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Medieval London

Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron

Edited by
Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal



Medieval London
Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron

RESEARCH IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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Medieval London

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Research in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Western Michigan University

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1. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 41 (1968), pp. 1–18.
2. *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (London: Athlone, 1971), pp. 173–201.
3. *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. R. L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1981), pp. 88–109.
4. *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England*, ed. John Taylor and Wendy Childs (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), pp. 132–49.
5. *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), pp. 129–54.
6. *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1985), pp. 13–37.
7. *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig. Proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Janet Backhouse, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 10 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp. 126–49.

8. *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2003 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Peregrine Horden, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 15 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007), pp. 186–202.
9. *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Julia Boffey and Virginia Davis, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 17 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), pp. 141–81.
10. *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed. A. E. J. Hollaender and William Kellaway (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), pp. 197–248.
11. *A History of the North London Branch of the Historical Association, together with Essays in Honour of Its Golden Jubilee* (London: The Historical Association, 1970); reprinted in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200–1540*, ed. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London and New York: Longmans, 1990), pp. 160–83.
12. *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 15: *Medieval Women in Southern England* (1989), 35–58.
13. *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500*, ed., Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 99–111.
14. *Essays on Medieval Childhood: Responses to Recent Debates*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007), pp. 40–53.
15. *The London Journal*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1–16.
16. *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 219–45.
17. *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2002), pp. 219–41.
18. *The Fifteenth Century, IV: Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Linda Clark and Christine Carpenter (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004), pp. 111–33.

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Abbreviations

<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> (now <i>Historical Research</i>)
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BL	British Library, London
<i>BRUO</i>	A. B. Emden. <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–9. see <i>BIHR</i>
<i>Bull IHR</i>	see <i>BJRL</i>
<i>Bull J Ryland Libr</i>	[Great Britain. Public Record Office.] <i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> . 6 vols. (1226–1516). London: HMSO, 1903–27.
<i>Cal Charter Rolls</i>	[Great Britain. Public Record Office.] <i>Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> . 48 vols. (1272–1509). London: HMSO, 1892–1975.
<i>Cal Close Rolls</i>	[Great Britain. Public Record Office.] <i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> . 22 vols. (1272–1509). London: HMSO, 1911–62.
<i>Cal Fine Rolls</i>	[Great Britain. Public Record Office.] <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> . 8 vols. (1219–1485). London: HMSO, 1916–2003.
<i>Cal Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>	Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.). <i>Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A–L</i> . 11
<i>Cal Letter Books, A–L</i>	

- Cal Norman Rolls
- Cal Papal Registers
- Cal Pat R
Cal Patent Rolls
- Cal Wills
- CCLR
- CCR
- CFR
- CLB, A-L
- CLBL, A-L
- CLRO
- vols. London: Printed by order of the Corporation under the direction of the Library Committee by John Edward Francis, 1899–1912. Alexander Charles Ewald (ed.). “Calendar of Norman Rolls—Henry V,” 2 parts. Part 1 is in HMC, *The Forty-First Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*. London: HMSO, 1880, Appendix II, pp. 671–810. Part 2 is in HMC, *The Forty-Second Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, for HMSO, 1881, Appendix II, pp. 313–472.
- William H. Bliss et al. (eds.). *Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*. 20 vols. (1198–1521). Vols. 1–14, London: HMSO, 1893–1961; vols. 15–20, Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1978–2005.
- see *Cal Patent Rolls*
[Great Britain. Public Record Office.] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*. 65 vols. (1216–1509, 1547–63). London: HMSO, 1893–1948.
- Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.). *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688, Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of London at the Guildhall*. 2 vols. London: J. C. Francis, 1889–90.
- see *Cal Close Rolls*
see *Cal Close Rolls*
see *Cal Fine Rolls*
see *Cal Letter Books, A–L*
see *Cal Letter Books, A–L*
Corporation of London Records Office (formerly housed at Guildhall; now part of LMA)

- Commissary Register
- Commissary Wills Corporation R.O.
Corporation Records Office
CPMR
- CPR*
CS
EETS
EHR
Eng Hist Rev
EngHR
GL
- Greater London RO
- GRO
Guildhall Record Office
Hist Ang(l)
- Hist Journal*
HMC
- HMCR*
HMSO
HR
Husting Deeds Rolls
- Husting Rolls
- Commissary Court of London, registers of wills. 5 vols. (formerly held in the Guildhall Library as MS 9171/1–5; now in LMA)
see Commissary Register
see CLRO
see CLRO
A. H. Thomas and Philip Edmund Jones (eds.). *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*, 6 vols. (1323–1482). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926–61. (Vol. 3 has the title *Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London, A.D. 1381–A.D. 1412.*)
see *Cal Patent Rolls*
Camden Society
Early English Text Society
English Historical Review
see *EHR*
see *EHR*
Guildhall Library, London (some GL records, including the Commissary Court of London's registers of wills, are now in LMA)
Greater London Record Office (now part of LMA)
see CLRO
see CLRO
Thomas Walsingham. *Historia Anglicana*. 2 vols. (1272–1422). Ed. Henry T. Riley. Rolls Series, vol. 28. London, 1863–4.
Historical Journal
[Great Britain.] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
HMC Reports
His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
see Husting Deeds Rolls
Rolls of the London Court of Husting (formerly in CLRO, now in LMA)
see Husting Deeds Rolls

- Husting Wills* Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.). *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688*. 2 vols. London, 1889–90.
see *Husting Wills*
- HW* see *Cal Letter Books, A–K*
- LB A–K* see *Cal Letter Books, A–K*
- Letter Book, A–K* London Metropolitan Archives
(includes collections formerly in CLRO and Greater London RO)
- LMA* J. S. Brewer, James Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie (eds.). *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. 21 vols. in 36 parts, and 1 vol. of addenda in 2 parts. London, 1862–1932.
- LP* Middlesex (county of)
Past & Present
- Middx. Registers of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (formerly kept in PRO, where each volume was known by the surname of the first testator; now in TNA, class PROB 11/–).
P & P see *CPMR*
PCC wills [Great Britain. Record Commission.] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*. Ed. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas. 7 vols. London, 1834–7.
- Plea and Memoranda Rolls* Public Record Office, London (now TNA)
- PPC* *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*
[Great Britain. Record Commission.] *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento*, 7 vols. (London, c. 1767–83, 1832).
see *Rot Parl*
- PRO* *Studies in Church History*
- Proc Camb Antiq Soc* Southwark Local History Library
[Great Britain. Record Commission.] *Statutes of the Realm*. Ed. A. Luders et al. 11 vols. London, 1810–28.
see *SR*
- Rot Parl* see *SR*
- RP* see *SR*
- SCH* see *SR*
- SLHL* see *SR*
- SR* see *SR*
- Statutes of the Realm* see *SR*

Stow, <i>Survey</i>	John Stow. <i>Survey of London</i> (2nd edn, London: 1603). Ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908; rpt 1971.
<i>TR Hist Soc</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>TLMAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew (formerly the PRO) see <i>TR Hist Soc</i>
<i>Trans Roy Hist Soc</i>	see <i>TR Hist Soc</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	see <i>TR Hist Soc</i>
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments
<i>Westm Chron</i>	L. C. Hector and Barbara Harvey (eds.). <i>The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394</i> . Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1982.

Introduction

THESE SELECTIONS FROM THE work of Caroline M. Barron offer insights into two pathways of a long and distinguished career. One pathway, of course, is her detailed examination of many aspects of the history of London in the later Middle Ages. The great metropolis of the British Isles—a superb case study for urban life in northwestern Europe in its many forms and varieties and with a very rich body of extant record materials—has been Professor Barron’s main focus since she began to offer learned and insightful contributions to this field in the late 1960s. The other pathway, represented by the arrangement of the papers chronologically by publication date within each of the four sections of this volume, is offered to illustrate how a working historian “moves with the times,” incorporating new topics, new areas of personal interest, and new additions to the academic agenda into her research and writing. Caroline Barron began her career by publishing on the politics of London with special attention to the City during the reign of Richard II (1377–1399), drawing heavily on the many different kinds of archival material preserved in various municipal and national repositories and libraries. Over the years she has extended her scope, though the political history of London (in an ever-widening definition) has continued to be of importance to her and to many of her students. This side of her work culminated in her treatment of the city and its government and governing personnel in her magisterial volume, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People* (2004).

The papers we have selected are also meant to illustrate the way in which Professor Barron has expanded the chronological boundaries of her focus, having gone well beyond the troubled days of Richard II into those of his cousin-successor-usurper Henry IV, and then into the mid-fifteenth century and beyond. Her paper on Ralph Holland takes us to the London of Henry VI; the will of Thomas Salter (and his biography as she builds it around the will) carries us into and eventually through the vicissitudes of pre-Reformation days and on to those of the Reformation itself. In addi-

tion to being able to stake a claim to a wider chronological canvas, she has turned to many aspects of the social history of the realm that have only emerged during the course of her career: publications on women, on children and orphans, on education (especially of girls), on domestic lifestyles, on merchant culture, on lay piety and popular religion, on benefactions and bequests, on books and chronicles as guides to literacy and civic identity and on the historiography of the City (both in medieval incarnations and in recent scholarship). Beyond this extensive list of topics and questions, represented in the papers chosen for this volume, her list of publication shows even more areas of interest and scholarly production. A complete treatment and the inclusion of more Barron papers would take us to material on still other fields of endeavor, published but not represented in this volume. There are excursions into music, a comparative look at English and continental urban development, markets and the topography of early modern London, studies of the Guildhall of the City and some of its churches, as well as a look at the urban poetry of William Langland. Both Thomas More, for sixteenth-century coverage, and Professor Sylvia Thrupp, for twentieth-century coverage, have been put under the bright light of Barron's scholarly acumen. In addition, the thriving worlds of urban archaeology and museum studies have drawn her attention and support. In fact, it is not a stretch of historical and professional assessment to assert that virtually every aspect of late medieval London has been of interest to Barron over the years.

The four divisions of Barron's papers that we offer below have been arranged to illuminate these movements within her scholarship. Within each section we have published the papers in the chronological order of original publication, making the trail of focus and of diversity easier to follow. The first section, "Crown and City," takes us into the tangled and often antagonistic relations between the king and his major city: tyrannical behavior from the monarch, the revocation of the City's ancient and highly profitable privileges, the cost of the restoration to royal favor, and the king's ultimate fate of deposition and what is perhaps a revisionist depiction of the role the City played in this, as Barron has untangled the tortuous tale. And to support our comments about Barron's push against narrow chronological boundaries, her look at London at the time of Henry VI—a kind of compare-and-contrast pairing with the London of Richard II—rounds out the political papers.

"Parish, Church, and Religious Culture" reminds us that public life is not made by bread alone and that men and women—like the institutions

of their world—are multi-faceted, with identities that encompass public life, political life, economic and social status, and lay religion or religiosity—with “religion” as both a belief system and as a vast worldly structure that was both hierarchical and participatory. In these papers we range from a treatment of the City’s great cathedral and London’s bishops, with an eye on the extent to which St Paul’s did or did not figure in the affections, benefactions, and consciousness of Londoners, to a paper on such an oddity as the popularity of an Italian kitchen-maid saint from Lucca who somehow just “caught on” in a surprising fashion in a distant land. Then, as a counterweight to an individualized and biographical examination of one man’s strange career—apprentice, liveryman, Carthusian brother, and parish priest, in turn, as Thomas Salter had been through the course of a long life—we offer Barron’s definitive treatment of the parish fraternity. In these ubiquitous institutions we can find the intersection of the Church as a localized institution and the daily lives of those for whom it ministered. In this paper we see how the larger contours of Christendom are woven into the tapestry of neighborhood and community, of craft and guild, of parish, of residential patterns, and of family devotion and the varying traditions of benefaction, involvement, and loyalty.

One of the many impressive aspects of Barron’s work is the easy way in which she can move from a macro-assessment, as in a look at the government of a large and divided city in its difficult relations with its king, to a micro-study, as when she turns to individualized studies of men and, in more recent years, of women. The papers we offer in “The People of Medieval London” show her concern for those who stood on different rungs of the socio-economic and political ladders, coming through to us at widely differing levels of prominence and “knowability.” We have a famous lord mayor, as in her early study of Richard Whittington, or some of the women of the city, or a leader of a political faction in Lancastrian times when the City—as always—was beset by divisions and strife (as in her paper on Ralph Holland). Set against these one-on-one studies, there are some more general assessments: chancing her arm, we might say. The “golden age” of London women, or a survey of the status and treatment of children, are topics on which the views of an expert are welcome, whether they serve to summarize the current state of scholarly discourse, or to offer a perspective for further discussion, or to take separate bits and pieces from the voluminous but dispersed recorded sources and to arrange them into a coherent pattern. Both close-up analysis and a synthetic interpretation are here for the taking.

As we know, much of medieval social and political life was enacted in public: performance and theater, costumes and badges that identified rank and trade and religious affiliation, civic chronicles that put London's doings on a par with those of other major European cities, liveried servants and the conspicuous consumption of the great households—all being bracketed together here as “The Intellectual and Cultural World.” From the sprawling urban establishments of peers and bishops and mitred abbots that had to be fed and clothed and stabled, to the aspirations of merchants and burghers for a chivalric identity, the City was an exciting if disquieting place in which to live and work. From educating and socializing its young to creating a distinct London identity through its records and chronicles and officials and their ceremonies, the tableau of London's great presence and prominence in the realm is easy to read.

In 2004 the annual Harlaxton Symposium was designed to honor Caroline Barron, the topic for the year being “London and Medieval Urban Life.” The papers were published in 2008 as *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron* (edited by Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott, published by Shaun Tyas). In that volume Vanessa Harding, Barron's long-time colleague in presiding over the Medieval and Tudor London Seminar at the Institute of History Research, University of London, wrote a detailed analysis of and a tribute to Barron's work (pp. 1–11), not just as a published scholar but as the supervisor of dissertations, as an organizer of great energy and ingenuity, as one who invariably has extended a warm welcome (along with professional guidance) to both newcomers and to old and familiar faces, whether from elsewhere in the UK or from abroad. Vanessa Harding sets Barron's work into the context of the many fields and areas in which she has made a contribution: some of these (like the reign of Richard II) had already been mapped out, some were fields in which she and her contemporaries hammered out new issues, some were directions to which she pointed her students. Moreover, Barron has always framed her own work in a setting of great generosity, naming and thanking those with whom she has worked. We see this in her acknowledgements, in the vast amount of co-editing and co-authoring she has done, and also in her more casual thanks to those who have been cajoled into going along on all those field trips to museums, obscure churches, and towering ruins. There is little need for us to cover this same ground in this introduction and appreciation as we strongly endorse Professor Harding's analysis of and compliments to Professor Barron.

One indication of Caroline Barron's central role in historical studies is in the number of her papers—a few published here, many others as listed at the end of this volume—that are chapters in edited volumes. She has risen to so many occasions. This is borne out by a look at her record of co-editing and co-publishing; the *festschriften* she has organized (and to which she has contributed), the colleagues of many ranks with whom she has collaborated, the students she has pushed to publish their own work. She is a willing and active member of virtually any relevant team effort, be it for a one-day conference or a full-length volume, and she is invariably able to comb her vast knowledge of the sources for medieval London (and many other fields) to offer something of interest and of significance on virtually any topic that comes to mind. Her prominent roles in the Records of Early English Drama (REED), the London Record Society, the Harlaxton Symposium, the Friends of the Institute of Historical Research, the Historic Towns Atlas, and as a corresponding fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, among other such honors and duties, attest to her acumen as an historian and to her widely-recognized and greatly-appreciated virtues and contributions as a learned colleague and loyal friend. Any journal, any collection of papers, any conference program—all are enriched by the presence and collegial participation of Professor Barron, whether as author, editor, commentator, or simply as a perspicacious member of the audience. We offer this volume of her papers as a tribute to a colleague who “just happens” to be a major scholar, one who has taught us to re-think what we assumed to be accepted wisdom, to be generous and welcoming to our seniors and to our juniors, and to always keep in mind the value of new questions about the past while giving full credit to those who have worked to answer some of the old ones.

Joel T. Rosenthal and Martha Carlin, May 2016

Part I
CROWN AND CITY

Chapter 1

The Tyranny of Richard II

IN THE SUMMER OF 1397 Richard II began to tyrannize his people. Thomas Walsingham drew this conclusion from his observation of the activities of the commissioners who had been sent around England at this time, to raise loans for the Crown.¹ The medieval mind, steeped as it was in Aristotle's analysis of tyranny, believed that the misuse of the property of a subject provided the criterion of tyrannical behavior by a ruler. In the words of Sir John Fortescue, 'When the king ruleth his realm only to his own profit and not to the good of his subjects, he is a tyrant.'² Unlike Walsingham, the men who drafted the deposition articles of 1399 refrained from accusing Richard of behaving tyrannically, although the conduct alleged in one of the articles might well pass as a contemporary definition of tyranny:

*bona sic levata non ad commodum et utilitatem Regni Anglie convertendo, setad sui nominis ostentationem et pompam ac vanam gloriam prodige dissipando.*³

Seventeen of the thirty-three deposition articles, moreover, are concerned with those aspects of Richard's government in the years 1396–99 which touched upon the possessions of his subjects.⁴ Mr Steel has already pointed out the importance which men of property attached to the sequestration of the Lancastrian inheritance in 1399 and to the other financial exactions which marked Richard's last years.⁵ Four aspects of these financial exactions merit more attention than they have yet received from historians: the loans of 1397, the fines for pardon, the blank charters, and—because they are inextricably associated with the financial exactions—the novel oaths which Richard demanded from his subjects. These exactions were essential ingredients both in Richard's tyranny and in Henry's success; and in a precise comprehension of their nature lies understanding not only of Richard's rule but also of his character.

The four financial grievances will be dealt with in turn, for the most part in the order in which they occurred. In this examination the articles of deposition will be strictly interpreted, and supplemented by the records of the central government. Since the contemporary chroniclers are more notable for their hysteria than for their honesty, their evidence will only be used when it can be corroborated from other sources.

In the first of the deposition articles examined here, Richard is accused of having borrowed money from men of the realm whom he provided with letters patent guaranteeing repayment by a certain date but, in spite of this, the loans were not repaid by the agreed date.⁶ These loans were advanced to the king in the late summer of 1397 and, since historians have frequently referred to them as forced loans, with the implied suggestion of impropriety in the manner of their collection, it is necessary to investigate how they were raised.⁷ Until now Walsingham's account of Richard's methods in collecting these loans has been accepted. Commissioners were sent, the chronicler says, with letters under the royal seal specifying the sums which were to be lent but leaving the names of the lenders to be filled in by the commissioners, after they had found out secretly who was in a position to lend money to the Crown.⁸ Walsingham does not accuse the king of using force and, as McFarlane pointed out, 'what he is really complaining about is the efficiency with which the royal commissioners sought out those who could be persuaded to lend.'⁹

There are, in fact, two groups of documents which throw light on the way in which this loan was raised: four of the commissioners' reports, and several of the sealed indentures whereby individuals promised to lend to the Crown.¹⁰ The reports show that the commissioners were provided with letters under the privy seal in which the king asked for a 'notable' sum.¹¹ None of these letters survives, so it is impossible to know whether the individual names were written in when the letter was drafted or added by the commissioner. Similarly it is impossible to know what necessity the king pleaded. When the commissioner delivered the letter he asked for a sealed indenture from the recipient promising a loan by a certain date. Some of these indentures survive, collected by the sergeants-at-arms John Drax and Thomas Wodyngfeld in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Durham. Most of them were sealed in August and early September 1397 and promise production of the loan by Michaelmas or Christmas of that year. Occasionally the indentures promised not to lend but to give. The men of Doncaster, for example, claim that they cannot lend a great sum but,

instead, will give the small sum of eight marks which they deliver to John Drax.¹² As events were to prove, these donors fared best.

On finishing their work the commissioners drew up lists of all those who had received letters of privy seal and of their response. These lists were for the information of the Council. From them, and from the indentures, it is clear that it was possible to refuse the king's request. John Drax delivered forty-six letters and collected only eighteen loans or gifts; the commissioner in Essex and Hertfordshire delivered seventy-four letters and collected twenty-three promises to lend, twenty refusals and thirty-one equivocations; the Midlands' commissioner delivered thirty-two letters and achieved twenty-three promises to lend, and the commissioner in Cambridgeshire delivered fifteen letters and collected eight promises. In the Receipt Rolls there are recorded the names of 220 lenders whose loans amounted to just over £22,000.¹³ One hundred and ninety-four lenders received letters patent guaranteeing repayment by Easter 1398.¹⁴ Although 200 lenders may seem a large number, the evidence of the surviving reports suggests that it probably represents success in only one case out of three. If the refusal rate was so high, the element of force—if it existed—must have been negligible.

Yet it was not necessarily easy to avoid lending the king money. A good excuse was required and much would depend upon the local commissioner. The prior of Newsham was able to plead poverty on the grounds that his resources were tied up in rebuilding his cloister and Sir John Stanley pleaded an illness which rendered him unable to speak.¹⁵ These two, like many others, were excused and the commissioner wrote simply 'nul' or 'n'ad de quoy' on his report. But if the commissioner did not accept a refusal the recalcitrant individual would have to make his excuses before the Council.¹⁶ For the bishop of Durham or the earl of Northumberland, both of whom chose to appear before the Council, such an encounter would not have appeared too formidable.¹⁷ But this threat must have had a galvanizing effect upon lesser men, and the Midlands commissioner, who appears most frequently to have used it, had the greatest success in raising loans. In one case at least, a man who was to appear before the Council 'pur faire fyn', is recorded as having advanced a loan.¹⁸ The high rate of accepted refusals indicates that the threat of an appearance before the Council was only used on those who, the commissioners believed, could well afford to help the king.

But once a prospective lender had sealed an indenture to lend to the Crown, the money was not necessarily forthcoming. There are seventy-

two surviving indentures whereby various loans were promised to Richard. Five lenders provided less than they had promised and seventeen failed to provide any loan at all. This problem of the man who promised by indenture to lend a certain sum and then failed to do so, was later to trouble the Lancastrian kings. In 1453 Henry VI sent a letter to a defaulting lender in which the recipient is asked why he neither provided the money he had promised nor appeared before the Council to explain his default.¹⁹ Just such a letter was sent by Richard in April 1398 to the mayor and sheriffs of York instructing them to exact payment of various sums of money owed to the king by certain individuals ‘by their letters obligatory’. Those who still refused to pay were to be imprisoned or appear before the Council.²⁰ These were tough measures but, in McFarlane’s words, ‘in threatening a contumacious defaulter with penalties, the government can hardly be accused of unconstitutional taxation. It had, at least, the right to ask men who broke their contracts to explain.’

This evidence, then, helps to reinforce the arguments of those who have doubted that such loans to the Crown in the medieval period can properly be called ‘forced loans’. But the evidence does nothing to reinforce McFarlane’s conclusion that such loans, if not forced, must have been usurious. There is no hint either of force or of usury in the transactions reviewed here. The loans of 1397 fit, rather, into that category of non-profitable obligatory lending to the Crown which has recently been defined by Dr Harriss,²¹ who argues that the subject had an obligation to aid the king in a national emergency and could only refuse to do so on a plea of insufficient security, poverty or illness. He was not expected to make a profit from the king’s plight. In this matter of raising loans Richard did no more than his predecessors had done although he may have gone some way towards perfecting a procedure which was much in evidence during the Lancastrian period.²² The deposition article, which significantly makes no charge that Richard raised the loans by improper methods, was advisedly silent on this matter. Not only was the king’s right to raise such loans tacitly acknowledged but Henry had no intention of calling into question that aspect of the royal prerogative.

The deposition article does accuse Richard of failing to repay the loans by the specified date. McFarlane held that this charge was ‘unsubstantiated’, but the evidence does not support his view.²³ There were 220 lenders recorded in the Receipt Roll of whom only eight were noted as having ever been repaid. Only two men, John Bernard the treasurer of Calais and Richard Whittington, were repaid by Easter 1398, the date set

for repayment in the letters patent. Both these repayments were acts of policy; no English king could afford either to starve Calais of money or to alienate his chief financier.²⁴ Richard Whittington's importance to the king can be gauged from the fact that he was the only individual Londoner to lend money to him between November 1396 and the accession of Henry IV.²⁵ Moreover two of the lenders who were repaid received their money after the accession of Henry. The six repayments during Richard's reign were therefore exceptional and give no ground for supposing, as Mr Steel does, that they reveal on Richard's part a general intention to honour his obligations.²⁶

In some cases Richard rid himself of the obligation to repay these loans by persuading individuals to renounce their claims to repayment. Four men from Essex did this in May and June 1398 when the prospect of repayment was receding and the need to gain the royal favour increasing.²⁷ In June 1399 the men of Hereford renounced their claim to repayment of their loan of £100 in return for a confirmation and exposition of their charter.²⁸ The case of London is the most outrageous. In 1392 Richard, having taken the liberties of the City into his own hands, then restored their charter to the citizens in return for a free-will offering of £10,000. But an examination of this restored charter on the Patent Roll itself reveals that it was a qualified one since it concluded with the phrase 'until it shall be otherwise ordained for them.'²⁹ When the Londoners lent the king 10,000 marks in August 1397 it was, in fact, the price which they had to pay for a proper restoration of their liberties, and in that month the king confirmed their charter in perpetuity. The 10,000 marks was as much a gift as the £10,000 of 1392. It is more than likely that Richard Whittington, who was mayor of London at the time, negotiated these transactions.

This examination of the loans made to Richard in 1397 has revealed the accuracy of the deposition article. It does not accuse Richard of having forced men to lend to him and there is no evidence to suggest that his methods were improper. On the other hand the article does accuse Richard of failing to repay the loans at the agreed date and this charge is completely substantiated.

The second of the financial ingredients of Richard's 'tyranny', the fines for pardon, must now be examined. The two relevant deposition articles accuse Richard first of having made those who rose against the king in 1387/8 with Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick sue for pardon in spite of his promise that they should not have to do so, and secondly, of making

those who had already bought letters patent of pardon pay a second time before they could derive any security from those letters.³⁰

The need to sue for charters of pardon arose even before the condemnation of Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick in the parliament at Westminster in September 1397. In the chancellor's opening speech to that parliament the king declared a general pardon 'forspris cynquant persones queux plerra a Roi nomer et tous ceux qui serront empescher en cest present Parlement'.³¹ Adam of Usk who was present at the time, records that although the Speaker, Sir John Bushy, protested about the secrecy surrounding the fifty excepted persons, yet the king was adamant in his refusal to reveal their names.³² The result of this was, as Richard had intended, that no one felt secure. The first individual charters of pardon were granted in October 1397.³³ The need to sue for such individual charters must have been widely known before parliament reassembled at Shrewsbury in January 1398 for, on the first day of that month, the sheriffs had been ordered publicly to proclaim that those seeking such pardons were to do so by 24 June.³⁴ When parliament reassembled, therefore, the Commons hoped that if they made a sufficiently generous grant of supplies the king would in return issue a complete and not a qualified general pardon. But they were to be disappointed, for Richard in issuing a general pardon still excepted those who had risen against him in 1387/8; these unnamed people were to sue for pardons individually.³⁵ Early in June 1398 the Council decided that the deadline for seeking pardons should be extended beyond 24 June to Michaelmas.³⁶ But the demand for pardons did not stop there. A writ to the sheriffs in February 1399 suggests that, not only was the policy of compelling individuals to sue for charters of pardon continued, but also that the general pardon itself was not permanent; for it was to be 'extended' until Martinmas 1399.³⁷ Clearly if the general pardon itself was only temporary then the need to seek individual charters of pardon became even more pressing. Richard was pursuing a policy of calculated insecurity.

There is clear evidence, therefore, of the need to seek pardons. Can substantiation also be found for the charge that Richard made men pay for these pardons? The first piece of evidence is a Council minute printed by Nicolas. Although it is not dated it can be assigned, on internal evidence, to the week beginning 24 September 1397, that is, the last week of the Westminster parliament. It was decided at this Council meeting that certain 'persones exemptz' were to be summoned to appear before the Council. A copy of the arrangement made between these persons and the

Council was to be made for the king. The money obtained from them was to be put in a special bag by the treasurer and, if the individual failed to agree with the Council, he was to be imprisoned. No one was to be present at Council meetings at which this business was transacted except the chancellor, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal and Sir John Bushy, Sir William Bagot and Sir Henry Green.³⁸

The second piece of evidence reveals this procedure in action. John More, a London mercer, was fined 100 marks by the Council in this way for having ridden with the condemned lords, contrary to his allegiance. In his case, however, the king in April 1398 was moved by pity and pardoned him the fine.³⁹ Finally there is the evidence, already noted by Mr Steel, provided by a number of entries in the Receipt Rolls of payments made 'de fine facto coram consilio'.⁴⁰ There are only twenty-five such entries in all between Michaelmas 1397 when the formula first appears and Richard's deposition. Many of these entries clearly have nothing to do with the fines for pardon and must represent not so much a part of the 'tyranny' as the generally enlarged activity of the Council.⁴¹ Some of the fines were, however, clearly for association with the Appellants of 1387/8. Thomas fitz Nicole paid £100, and a further £50 'pro mora sua penes Ricardum comitem Arundell'. Richard Crowe paid £13 6s. 8d. because he was lately retained by the earl of Arundel, and John Corbet, described as 'nuper scutifero ducis Gloucestrie', paid £100 and £33 6s. 8d.⁴² The fact that fitz Nicole and Corbet had to pay twice lends color to the charge that Richard demanded money for pardons a second time. It is not surprising that there are so few such entries in the Receipt Rolls since the Council had decided that the fines for pardon were to be put in a special bag in the possession of the treasurer, thus avoiding the normal exchequer procedure.

Only a dozen or so men were lucky enough to secure that their letters of pardon were enrolled on the Patent Rolls; only a favoured few such as Sir John Bushy, Sir William Bagot and Sir Henry Green were granted this security.⁴³ Two supplementary pardon rolls of 1397-9 record the granting of pardons to a further 596 people between October 1397 and September 1398, for their association with the Appellants.⁴⁴ Richard's purpose in demanding that individuals should sue personally for pardon was probably twofold. There was a financial motive in that the selling of pardons was profitable and, more important than this, by forcing individuals to sue for pardon Richard was driving them to acknowledge their guilt. Whereas previously his enemies had been hidden, now they were revealed to him. From the lists compiled by the Council Richard now

knew whom he could terrorize, whom he could blackmail and whom he had to fear. The grant of a charter of pardon was not the end of insecurity but its beginning.

Fines for pardon were not only exacted from individuals. In December 1397 a commission was appointed to assemble the men of Essex and Hertfordshire in order that they might 'offer' Richard the sum of £2,000.⁴⁵ In return for this the men of these two counties were to be pardoned for all their treasonable activities before 1 October 1397 and their sheriffs were no longer to be accountable at the exchequer for sums which they could not levy, that is, bad debts. The two knights for these shires, John Howard and Robert Teye, were instructed to return to the Shrewsbury session of parliament bearing the consent of the king's lieges in these counties to these exactions. This consent was obtained and Essex agreed to pay 2,000 marks and Hertfordshire 1,000 marks. A commission was appointed to raise the sum in Essex and its members were authorised to compel payment by imprisonment or otherwise. The king was to be informed of the names of those who refused to contribute.⁴⁶ Although Richard granted letters patent exonerating the sheriff of the two counties from his liability to pay ancient farms or bad debts, there is no record of any pardon to the men of these counties for their part in the events of 1387/8.⁴⁷ Moreover, since it was customary for the king each year to release sheriffs from their bad debts, this did not represent a very real concession.⁴⁸ Between May 1398 and January 1399 the men of Essex paid £1602 6s. 8d. into the exchequer, that is, £269 in excess of their agreed 2,000 marks. This mistake in the king's favour was not acknowledged.⁴⁹ The concession to the sheriff was merely the cover for a piece of blatant extortion.

It may have been the ease with which Richard was able to wring this money from the men of Essex which led him to conceive and implement the idea of blank charters and the particular persecution of London and the sixteen counties nearest to it. The names which he collected of those who had sued for pardon may also have confirmed his suspicion that the main bulk of support for the Appellants had come from this area.

The accuracy of the deposition articles is again well attested. Richard did demand that the associates of the Appellants of 1387/8 should seek individual pardons for which they had to pay, and there is evidence that some men had to pay twice. Moreover, not only were individuals thus exploited, but in at least one case the men of a county had to pay a corporate fine in order to be pardoned.

The third financial aspect of Richard's misgovernment was the use of 'blank charters'. The deposition charge accuses Richard of having compelled the people in seventeen counties to seal letters in which they submitted to him as traitors; 'cuius colore' he obtained great sums of money. Although these letters were returned to those who had sealed them, the king then made proctors, acting on behalf of all the individuals in those counties, seal similar letters.⁵⁰ The deposition charge does not call these letters blank charters, but a Commons' petition to Henry during his first parliament, together with his assent to it and his consequent writ to the sheriffs confirms that such letters, whether sealed by individuals or by the proctors, could be popularly known as blank charters.⁵¹ From this combined evidence it is apparent that blank charters were not blank but contained an admission of guilt for treasons, misprisions and evil doings against Richard and a submission to his grace which was couched in terms thought to be contrary to the estate and liberties of those who had to seal such letters.⁵²

This charge against Richard is the most elusive; partly because the letters in question were subsequently destroyed and partly because contemporary chroniclers used the phrase 'blank charter' with emotional abandon.⁵³ Fortunately the chronicles can be by-passed, for there remain at least one individual blank charter and two of the proctors' blank charters.

As early as 1396 Richard had begun to demand blank charters from individuals, for a copy of such a letter is preserved in the letter book of Christ Church Canterbury. This letter, addressed to the king and written just after Arundel's translation to the archbishopric, contains a submission to the king in abject terms and pledges the persons and goods of the monks 'ad beneplacita tanti Regis'. The king in acknowledging this communication refers to 'vos lettres a la blanche chartre'.⁵⁴ It may be that the chroniclers' confusion as to the contents of the blank charters is due to differences of wording in the letters from different institutions; but the chronicler who wrote that the letters contained the words 'because that we before this time grievously offended your majesty, we give unto you us and all our goods at your will' was probably not far from the mark.⁵⁵ In abbreviated, and less tactful, form this was the gist of a blank charter.

These blank charters were not a direct financial agreement although in some cases, at least, they were used as a means of extorting money. In the words of one of the Brut continuators, 'King Richard . . . made and ordained blank charters and made them to be sealed of all manner of rich

men throughout the realm, insomuch that they compelled divers people to set to their seals, and this was so for great covetousness.⁵⁶ A blank charter, therefore, was not so called because it was blank but because it gave the king *carte blanche*. These blank charters of Richard's reign have no connection with the truly blank diplomatic documents with which ambassadors were provided from the thirteenth century onwards.⁵⁷

These individual blank charters were superseded by proctors' letters or blank charters as early as the late summer of 1398.⁵⁸ These proctors acted on behalf of persons living in London and the sixteen adjacent counties. Two such proctors' letters are known: from London and from Essex. The London letter is preserved in English copies in two chronicles.⁵⁹ The proctors for the City were Roger Walden, the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Braybrook, the bishop of London, Richard Whittington the mayor and the two sheriffs John Askham and John Woodcock. On behalf of all the citizens they acknowledge their guilt, their need for the king's grace and their desire to submit to him in all things. The proctors are further empowered to act on behalf of the citizens in swearing to uphold the acts of the Westminster and Shrewsbury parliaments. An original letter, written in French, but in otherwise identical terms from the men of Essex, survives among the records of Westminster abbey.⁶⁰ In fact only the top half of the document remains and it may be that it was 'destroyed' by tearing off the bottom half to which the seals were attached. It is impossible, therefore, to know who were the proctors for Essex. The similarity of wording in the London and Essex letters suggests that the only other version of this document—that preserved in the All Souls letter book—was the French prototype which was drafted, perhaps by Walden, and sent as a model to each of the counties.⁶¹

Many chroniclers claim that Richard extracted block sums of money from the men of these counties on the grounds that he could not travel safely there unless they provided money as surety.⁶² Various chroniclers mention £1,000 or 1,000 marks as being paid by each county although there is no trace of such sums to be found in the Receipt Rolls and the deposition articles are vague about the financial aspects of blank charters.⁶³ If such fines were paid, Miss Clarke has suggested that their legal basis would be the misprision committed by the men of London and the sixteen counties in concealing knowledge of treasonable intent: this was punishable at law and could be purged by confession and making fine with the king.⁶⁴

There is evidence that Richard cared greatly about these blank charters and took pains to preserve them. In a signet letter written from Wolverhampton on 19 January 1399 he instructed the chancellor to deliver to Roger Walden various letters sealed by persons in seventeen counties which were at that time in the chancellor's charge.⁶⁵ A memorandum of 6 February in the Close Roll noted that this had been done. It stated that, although the original letters sealed by the archbishop, other bishops, the mayor and aldermen of London, and other men of the realm were now in the archbishop's keeping, a copy of the petition (or proctors' blank charter) had been put into a canvas bag and was in the charge of Thomas Stanley, the keeper of the chancery rolls. With this copy had been put several other rolls which contained the names of persons living in ten of the sixteen counties concerned.⁶⁶ The care with which Richard, while preparing for his expedition to Ireland, decided how his precious lists of names and blank charters should be preserved during his absence, indicates both the importance which he attached to them and the increasing unbalance with which he ruled his kingdom.

Blank charters, therefore, were not blank but were couched in terms which gave the king *carte blanche* over the lives and possessions of his subjects. The charters were of two kinds; first those from individuals and, secondly, the letters from proctors acting on behalf of the Londoners and the men of sixteen nearby counties.⁶⁷ The chroniclers claim, and the deposition article suggests, that such charters were used as an indirect means of extorting money, although there is no clear evidence to substantiate this charge. More important to Richard than the financial motive was the security which these blank charters represented and the power which they gave to him.

It was this same security, which Richard craved for his person and for his acts, which led him to demand oaths from his subjects. Two charges of this kind are made against Richard in the deposition articles. First he is accused of having made sheriffs swear a new and unaccustomed oath that they would obey all writs, even those under the signet, and that they would imprison instantly anyone whom they heard speaking ill of the king. Secondly he is accused of demanding oaths from his spiritual and temporal lieges which were 'nimium odiosa'. They swore the oaths demanded for fear of death.⁶⁸

Other charges against Richard of having chosen unsuitable men as sheriffs, of keeping them in office too long and of using them to pack parliament, have already been discussed by historians.⁶⁹ This novel oath which

the sheriff had to swear has not, so far as I am aware, received the same attention although there is good evidence to support the charge. In a signet letter of January 1398 Richard instructed the chancellor to issue a writ appointing a royal clerk to take the oath of the new sheriff for Shropshire, Adam Pessale. With this writ the chancellor is to send to the clerk 'la copie de la nouvelle serement par nous iam tarde ordennez et fait en tiel cas'.⁷⁰ It is unlikely, then, that Adam Pessale was the only sheriff who had to swear this new oath.

The second charge against Richard in the matter of oaths is equally well substantiated. It has already been seen that in their blank charters of July and August 1398 the proctors representing the men of London and the sixteen counties undertook to swear to uphold the acts of the Westminster and Shrewsbury parliaments and all ordinances made since then. This, however, was not all. Before this, the prelates, lords, knights and burgesses who attended those two meetings of parliament had had to swear to maintain its acts.⁷¹ When the parliamentary committee met on 19 March 1398 at Bristol, the form of oath was enlarged and now included a promise to uphold the ordinances made since parliament dispersed but 'by its authority'.⁷²

After the banishments of Hereford and Norfolk at Coventry on 16 September 1398 Richard felt the need to demand enlarged pledges from his subjects. These new demands for oaths must be distinguished from the earlier proctors' blank charters for they were different in kind and this difference was recognised by Henry IV himself.⁷³ The new mayor of London, Dru Barentyn, who was elected on 13 October 1398, swore the oath on behalf of the citizens. A copy survives of this oath which includes a pledge, not only to uphold the acts of the Westminster and Shrewsbury parliaments, but also the judgments and ordinances made at Coventry.⁷⁴

The inadequacy of a system whereby some men took oaths on behalf of others must have become rapidly apparent to Richard for in January 1399, again under his signet, he instructed the chancellor to issue writs to all the counties, cities and boroughs of the realm, instructing them to proclaim publicly the text of the oaths 'au fin que chescun nostre lige ent purra avoir . . . conissance et savoir leffect de les foie et serement quilz nous ferront de obeir, tenir, mentenir et sustenir les estatuts ordinances establissements et iugements avaunt ditz'.⁷⁵ But even this public proclamation did not satisfy Richard. On 8 February he sent writs to at least two bishops—and most likely to others also—enclosing a copy of the oath which Dru Barentyn had sworn and instructing them to obtain in like form the

oaths of all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons and other ecclesiastical persons in their dioceses and to return a schedule with the names and seals of the persons so sworn. A copy of the writ which was sent to the bishop of Norwich is preserved in the register of William Curteys, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, but the original writ sent to Richard Medford, the royalist bishop of Salisbury, survives, together with his return which is dated 3 June 1399.⁷⁶ The list of names and the seals have gone but it is interesting that at least one bishop complied with Richard's absurd demands.

When the parliamentary committee met on 18 March 1399 and revoked the letters of attorney which had been granted to Hereford, expanded oaths were demanded of the committee members to uphold the judgments at Coventry.⁷⁷ On the day after this revocation Richard was even led to forbid the bringing of any letters into the country which were contrary to the statutes and ordinances made in the last parliament 'or by authority thereof'.⁷⁸ But, as Richard's methods become more extreme, so the shadows lengthen and tyranny is at its end. Only a month after the bishop of Salisbury had returned into chancery the list of those who had sworn the oath to uphold the parliamentary acts and the judgments at Coventry, Henry of Lancaster arrived at Ravenspur and Richard's house of cards collapsed.

The financial and other related exactions practiced by Richard in the years 1396–9 may be briefly summarized. By August 1396 he had initiated the policy of demanding sealed letters, commonly known as blank charters, from individuals whereby they submitted themselves and their goods to the king's will. This was a selective policy aimed at the richer sectors of English society. A year later, in August 1397, there began the great series of loans which yielded about £20,000 into the exchequer. These loans were not improperly raised but, with a few exceptions, they were not repaid. During the Westminster parliament in the autumn Richard began to sell charters of pardon to those who had been associated with the condemned Appellants. The majority of such sales took place in the spring and summer of 1398 and may have raised as much as £30,000.⁷⁹ Later that year, Richard, in a crooked bid for popularity, returned the blank charters which he had obtained from individuals, but only after he had secured proctors' blank charters from London and certain counties whereby all the people living in those areas were bound in terms of great subservience to the king. These documents may have been accompanied by a fine and they certainly included a pledge to uphold the acts of the Westminster and Shrewsbury parliaments as well as other acts considered by the king

to have been done by its authority. Richard continued to demand oaths from his subjects throughout the winter of 1398/9—expanded to include the judgments made at Coventry in September 1398—and in February 1399 he decided that the general pardon, previously granted, was to be terminable. Thus Richard proclaimed his untrustworthiness and, in the oft reiterated words of the deposition articles, ‘quamplures . . . de Regno regem reputant infidelem’.

From a study of the roll of Henry’s first parliament two things at least are clear. In the first place Henry and his chosen advisers either did not need, or did not deign, to stoop to fabricating Richard’s crimes. Almost all the charges which have been examined can be substantiated from the remaining government records. The *gravamina* are, therefore, a useful starting point for an examination of Richard’s ‘tyranny’ and the more extravagant chronicle accounts of forced loans and truly blank charters must be treated with circumspection. In the second place Henry’s response to the petitions for redress, arising from Richard’s misgovernment, reveals that financial pressure which was to mould all later Lancastrian policy. The new king freely ordered that the blank charters and the sealed pledges to observe the various statutes should be publicly destroyed.⁸⁰ Such magnanimity cost Henry nothing and, in any case, the acts of this parliament had rendered such documents worthless. Moreover Henry confirmed Richard’s grants of pardon but in the case of the fines and the loans, his response was equivocal; he would be advised. In fact only two of the 200 loans were noted as having been repaid by Henry after his accession and there is no evidence to suggest that those who had paid fines for pardon ever recovered their money. The new king could not afford to make repayments on the scale of Richard’s exactions, and the disillusionment of men of property with the Lancastrian revolution came very quickly.

It remains to ponder Richard’s motives. The desire for revenge was no doubt there. No doubt also the removal of the restraining hands of Anne of Bohemia and John of Gaunt played its part. But in these years he surely does not appear either as Mr Steel’s schizophrenic or as Professor Galbraith’s calculating exponent of the royal prerogative.⁸¹ Richard’s measures were too extreme to be the work of policy, too well organised to be the acts of a madman. Throughout his actions there runs the constant demand for lists of names; of those who had lent money and of those who had refused to lend; of those who came before the Council to seek pardons; of those who refused to contribute to the Essex fine; and of those who had sworn the required oaths. Richard needed to know who were his

friends and who were his enemies because he was afraid. The demands for money, the intimidation of individuals before the Council, the calculated insecurity, the persecution of certain counties, the absurd oaths, the secret and furtive use of the signet, the peripatetic journeys, the building up of the Chester guard marked with the badge of the White Hart, the dismissal of parliament, the banishments at Coventry and the manipulations of local government—all these are the acts of a man who was afraid; of a king, frightened into tyranny.⁸² When confronted by the hostility of his subjects Richard tried, not to conciliate them, but to trample them underfoot, and, while he thus intimidated, milked and insulted his subjects and gave them increasing cause to hate and misunderstand him, he was vainly trying to hide from himself the fact that he was at their mercy.

APPENDIX

Westminster Abbey Muniments 12228

A nostre tresexcellent tresredoute tressouverain et tresgracious seigneur le Roi, treshumblement supplient vos treshumbles espritelx et temporelx gentils et communes de vostre contee d'Essex que come tresgrandes et dolorouse malices mesprisions et malveises coniecturacions dascuns et des plusours du dit contee eient estee procures faits et perpetres a vostre maieste roiale a tresgrante et perpetuele confusion et reprove de tous les inhabitants du dit contee sibien innocents come des autres, qui pur lour dimerites ont deservis punissement assez cruel si la treshaute benignite de vous nostre tresredoute seigneur, replenie de toute grace, vorroit proceder envers eux solonc lour dimerites, ont deserviz destruction et nemy sans tresgrantes causes de multitude de vostre poeple infinite. Y please a vostre tresexcellent et tresredoute maieste roiale conserdier la tresgrante repentance de vos ditz lieges et lour tresardent desir qils ont d'amendier, redresser et en tout maner solonc lour petits poairs reformer de tout come ce pourra ascunement estre possible lour excessies, folies desusnommez, lour recevoir a mercie et grace et de la habuntante fontaigne du grace dont vous ad endewe luy toutpuissant Roi exemplair de tout mercie et grace, pardonier entierment et du coer tout qanque devers eux ad en lour defautes conceu vostre tresexcellent maieste roiale avantdite. Et lour voillent vos ditz treshumbles lieges sousmettre et lour soursmettent de fet de

faire portier et obeier tout qanque pouira ascunement plere a mesme vostre mageste per les causes desusdites. Et enoutre supplient vos dites treshumbles lieges qils pourent estre receuz per les plus suffiseants du dit contee, a quele nombre que vostre treshaute maieste vorra devisier en nomier de eux et de tous vos lieges du dit contee, a iurer loialment [garder, observer, luer et maintenir a trestoutz leur poers, sanz fraude] ou mal engin tous les estatuts establishments . . .

Paper, Measurement 30 x 11 cm.

Torn at bottom edge.

Inscribed crossways on verso, in contemporary hand, ' . . . tempore Regis Ricardi II'.

[I am most grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey for permission to print this document and to Professor F. R. H. Du Boulay for help in transcribing it.]

NOTES

¹ *Annales Ricard Secundi*, in *J. de Trokelowe et H. de Blaneforde . . . chronica*, ed. H. T. Riley (R.S., 1866), p. 199 (hereafter referred to as *Walsingham, Annales*). *Walsingham* also uses the noun *tyrannis*, p. 223.

² Sir John Fortescue, *Governance of England*, ch. 4. Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, iii. 7; Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum*, Bk. i, ch. 3; Nicholas of Oresme, *De Moneta*, ch. 25; Reginald Peacock, *The Repressor*, ed. Churchill Babington (R.S., 1860), i. 299.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 419. The restraint of the composers of the deposition articles may be explained by another widely held belief about tyranny, namely that it was shameful and degrading for free men to live under a tyrant. Nicholas of Oresme described those who became habituated to tyranny as living in a condition 'servili barbara'—of slavish barbarism. Henry may have eschewed the word tyrant for fear of offending his future subjects.

⁴ See nos. 18, 21, 23–4, 26, 28–9, 31–2, 36–9, 41, 43, 45, 48.

⁵ A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 249; A. Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer* (Cambridge, 1954), ch. 3, where he concludes that Richard was more reliable financially than his successor.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 419.

⁷ See, for example, T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (Manchester, 1928), iv. 37, 47–8.

⁸ *Walsingham, Annales*, pp. 199–200. *Walsingham's* account of Richard's

tyranny, which was clearly written after the deposition (see p. 229), appears to be an expanded version of the articles of deposition rather than an independent account; see especially pp. 234–7.

⁹ K. B. McFarlane, 'Loans to the Lancastrian kings: the problem of inducement', *Cambridge Hist. Journal*, ix (1947–9), 54.

¹⁰ Public Record Office, E 101/512/9 (Midlands, damaged); E 34/1B marked 15/43 (Cambridgeshire, damaged); E 34/1B marked 15/27 (Essex and Hertfordshire); E 34/1B/12 (north-east England). Also, possibly, E101/512/7 (Dorset and Wiltshire, but much damaged). The indentures are to be found, *inter alia*, in box E 34/1B.

¹¹ P.R.O., E 34/1B/12. John Drax's report for north-east England is headed 'Ces sont les noms desous escriptes as queux letteres du privy seale nostre seigneur le Roy furent direct dapprompter l'argent al oepe nostre dit seigneur le Roy et per les mains de John Drax delivrer cest as savoir'.

The prior of Royston pleaded that he could only lend 10 marks and not the 'notable' sum for which the king had asked, P.R.O., E 34/1B marked 15/43.

¹² P.R.O., E 34/1B/26. See also E 34/1B/20, indenture in which the men of Tickhill gave 10 marks instead of lending a larger sum; E 34/1B/19, indenture in which the abbot of Riveaulx gave 20 marks instead of lending a larger sum.

¹³ P.R.O., Receipt Rolls, E 401/606 (loans on 9 and 22 Aug.); E 401/608 (loans on 4. and 26 Dec.).

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, pp. 178–82. Fifteen of those who are recorded as having received letters patent for repayment of money lent to the Crown do not appear in the Receipt Roll entries. Forty-two lenders recorded in the Receipt Roll did not receive letters patent.

¹⁵ P.R.O., E 34/1B marked 15/43; E 34/1B/17.

¹⁶ See case of Mr Richard Rysshby of Warwick; also that of Mr Richard Wyche of Worcester, P.R.O., E 101/512/9.

¹⁷ P.R.O., E 34/1B/12.

¹⁸ Mr Richard Rysshby of Warwick, of whom it was noted that 'viendra al Councill nostre dit Seigneur le Roy pur faire fyn ovesque le Councill avaunt dit de son prestement', finally lent £26 13s. 4d. P.R.O., E 101/512/9, and E 401/606, loan recorded 22 Aug. 1397.

¹⁹ McFarlane, *ubi supra*, p. 60.

²⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, pp. 363–4 dated 3 Apr. 1398. See also further writs to this effect in June 1398, *ibid.*, p. 368. This procedure was not, as Tout believed, a different method of obtaining money but was a continued effort to exact some of the loans promised the previous summer (see *Chapters*, iv. 47).

²¹ G. L. Harriss, 'Aids, loans and benevolences', *Hist. Journal*, vi (1963), 1–19.

²² E.g. Edward III's attempts to raise loans in 1346 and 1347. For Lancastrian borrowing see Harriss, *ubi supra*, pp. 3–4.

²³ McFarlane, *ubi supra*, p. 54.

²⁴ P.R.O., Receipt Roll, E 401/606, Easter 1397:

9 Aug.	John Scarle, chancery clerk	lent	£200 0s. 0d	repaid	1 Oct. 1400
22 Aug.	William Grevell		£133 6s. 8d.(total)		3 Oct. 1399
	John; abbot of St Albans		£66 13s. 4d		27 March 1399
	Abbot of Croyland		£66 13s. 4d		19 Jan. 1398
	Abbot of Bury St Peter		£66 13s. 4d		10 June 1399
	Richard Whittington		£382 2s. 6d		4 Dec. 1397

Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9, p. 179:

22 Aug.	Abbot of Woburn	lent	£26 13s. 4d	repaid	Note that he was repaid: no date
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P.R.O., Receipt Roll, E 401/608, Michaelmas 1397/8:

4 Dec.	John Bernard, treasurer of Calais	lent	£16 13s. 4d	repaid	24 Dec. 1397
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²⁵ Apart from the loan listed in n. 24 above, Whittington lent to Richard in March 1397 (£572 8s. 4d.), Dec. 1397 (£666 13s. 4d.), Nov. 1398 (£666 13s. 4d.). For all these loans he received either cash or tallies of assignment.

²⁶ Steel, *Exchequer*, p. 119.

²⁷ P.R.O., Receipt Roll, E 401/606, Easter 1397:

22 Aug.	Thomas Coggeshale	lent	£66 13s. 4d	renounced	8 June 1398
	Prior of Dunmowe		£13 6s. 8d.		19 June 1398
	Thomas Briche		£66 13s. 4d		20 May 1398
	Men of Braintree		£6 13s. 4d		20 May 1398

²⁸ P.R.O. Receipt Roll, E401/608, loan received on 4 Dec. 1397. Charter dated 23 June 1399, *Cal. Charters Rolls 1341–1417*, pp. 282–3. Confirmed by Henry IV 30 Nov. 1399, *ibid.*, p. 386. See also R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (1882), p. 57. This renunciation is not noted in the Receipt Roll but only in the Patent Roll. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396–9*, p. 181. There may have been other renunciations which were similarly not recorded.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391–6*, p. 173; but it is necessary to look at the original roll, P.R.O., C 66/366 m. 31. There is no copy at Guildhall.

³⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 418, articles 23, 24.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 347; *Chronicon Adae de Usk 1377–1421*, ed. E. M. Thompson (1904), p. 152.

³² *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, p. 155. There is no reason to believe, as Steel does, that Usk has wrongly placed this event (*Richard II*, p. 242n). Walsingham amalgamates the general pardon of Sept. 1397 with that of January 1398, *Annales*, pp. 224–5.

³³ P.R.O., C 67/30 m. 3, 18 Oct. 1397.

³⁴ P.R.O., C 81/517/11819, writ under privy seal sent from Coventry, 1 Jan. 1398.

³⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 359, 369.

³⁶ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (Rec. Comm., 1834–7), i. 81 (hereafter referred to as *P.P.C.*). Meeting held 4 June 1398.

³⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls 1396–9*, p. 438; 27 Feb. 1399.

³⁸ *P.P.C.*, i. 75–6. The document is from British Museum, Cotton MS. Cleopatra F. iii. fo. 8v. It is an isolated folio and bears no date. The reference to ‘cest present Parlement’ confines its date either to 17–30 Sept. 1397 (Westminster) or 27–31 Jan. 1398 (Shrewsbury). It was probably during the former parliament that the meeting was held since the Council decided that the King’s Bench should next sit on 3 Nov. and subsequently in the week beginning 13 Jan. The archbishops were to send writs to all churches to pray for the soul of the duke of Gloucester and, since this could not be until after his death had been made public, the meeting of the Council must have been after 24 Sept. but before 30 Sept. Tout, iv. 35 n. 1, believed this document must be dated to late 1398 because of the reference to Lord Cobham’s forfeited estates. It is true that Lord Cobham was not publicly condemned until 28 Jan. 1398; yet Richard was already granting away his lands by Oct. 1397: *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, p. 253.

³⁹ P.R.O., C 81/ 573/ 12038, writ under privy seal from Windsor dated 24 Apr. 1398. His pardon is on the Pardon Roll, P.R.O., C 67/30 m. 19. John More had been a prominent supporter of the ex-mayor John of Northampton. He had been sent to Tintagel Castle in 1384 for his law-breaking activities in London on Northampton’s behalf but had been pardoned in 1386. He was an M.P. in 1382, 1383; alderman of Cordwainer ward, 1382–3; sheriff 1383–4. See R. Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (1949), *passim*; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas (1932), pp. 109–13.

⁴⁰ Steel, *Exchequer*, p. 118.

⁴¹ P.R.O., Receipt Roll, E 401/614, Easter 1399. Thomas Remys paid a fine of £166 13s. 4d. and Walter fitz Walter one of £50 on behalf of John Devereux, defunct, for his occupation of the spiritualities of Frompton and Newent.

⁴² P.R.O., Receipt Rolls, E 40:/608 (16 Nov. 1397; 18 March 1398); E 401/609 (13 July 1398); E 401/612 (11 Feb. 1399; 5 March 1399). John Corbet had lands in Essex and was described as an esquire of the duke of Gloucester in 1393, *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391–6*, p. 319; *Cal. Close Rolls 1392–6*, pp. 254, 295. Richard Crowe may be the same as the esquire of that name who was retained by Richard 1 Feb. 1399, *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, p. 470. Thomas fitz Nicole was an M.P. for Gloucestershire in 1393, 1395. He was associated with the earl of Arundel in a land transaction, *Cal. Close Rolls 1396–9*, pp. 72, 84.

⁴³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, pp. 272, 280, 282, 317, 331, 341. In at least five further cases the chancellor was instructed to issue charters of pardon under the great seal which have not been enrolled: see P.R.O., C 81/570/11739, 11745; C 81/579/12649, 12693; C 81/581/12839.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., C 67/30 mm. 19, 4, 3; C 67/31 mm. 13, 13v, 12, 4, 2.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, pp. 311–12, dated 20 Dec. 1397.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Fine Rolls 1391–9*, pp. 250–2, dated 5 Feb. 1398. In the Fine Roll there follows the beginning of another similar commission which may have been intended for Hertfordshire.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Charter Rolls 1341–1417*, p. 371, dated 6 Feb. 1398.

⁴⁸ See, for example, P.R.O., E 370/143/3, which is a roll of fines made with Crown debtors, during Richard's reign. If the sheriffs were not pardoned their bad debts they were usually allowed to pay by instalments.

⁴⁹ P. R.O., Receipt Roll, E 401/609, Easter 1398, payments made on 13, 21 May, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27 (two), 28 June, 13 July; Receipt Roll, E 401/611, Michaelmas 1398/9, payments made on 21 Oct. and 30 Jan. The official receipt—for only £ 1333 6s. 8d.—is to be found enrolled on roll of receipts, P.R.O., E 364/34 m. 13d. There is no record of any payment from the men of Hertfordshire, which may have been used by Richard as an excuse in order not to grant the promised pardon.

⁵⁰ *Rot Parl.*, iii. 420.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 426, 432. *Cal. Close Rolls 1399–402*, p. 57.

⁵² The counties concerned are described variously as 'seventeen counties' and 'London and the seventeen counties'. The list in the All Souls letter book (see n. 61) is London,* Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire,* Berkshire,* Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk,* Essex, Hertfordshire* and Middlesex.* The list in the Close Rolls is the same but omits the six counties marked with asterisks (see n. 66).

⁵³ *Annales*, p. 236, where Walsingham suggests that the blank charters were to be used to facilitate the sale of Calais to the French king. This is, as Steel says, 'improbable': *Richard II*, p. 258, n. 1. The second continuator of the Croyland chronicle believed that the paper to which the seals were attached was literally blank, *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, transl. by H. T. Riley (1854), p. 352.

⁵⁴ *The Letters Books of the Monastery of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. J. B. Sheppard (R. S., 1887–9), iii. 48–53. The pledge states 'bone quae dictae vestrae Cantuariensis Ecclesiae sunt et nostra, quibus in vestris necessitatibus parcere non curabimus, in supportacionem tantorum onerum graciosae vestrae offerimus majestati'. Dr J. Palmer first drew my attention to this reference.

⁵⁵ *Eulogium historiarum*, ed. F. S. Haydon (R. S., 1858–63), iii. 378–9.

⁵⁶ *The Brut*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (E.E.T.S., 1906–8), ii. 356. Continuation C. See also *Historia Vitae de Regni Ricardi II Anglie Regis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1729), pp. 146–7: 'propter pecunias divitiasque colligendas'.

⁵⁷ J. Dickinson, 'Blanks and blank charters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lxvi (1951), 375–87; D. Queller, 'Diplomatic blanks in the thirteenth century', *ibid.*, lxxx (1965), 476–91.

⁵⁸ *Eulogium historiarum*, p. 378, says that it was after the Nottingham Council that the king decided to terrorize London and the 16 counties. This would be after 24 June 1398; *P.P.C.*, i. 81. Moreover the letters contain no reference to the banishments at Coventry on 16 Sept., so they were probably drafted before that date.

⁵⁹ Brit. Mus., Cott. MS. Julius B.i fos. 3v–33v, printed *Chronicle of London*, ed. H. Nicolas (1827), pp. 155–6, note X. Guildhall Library, MS. 3313 fos. 34v–35v, printed *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), pp. 49–50.

⁶⁰ Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 12228, see Appendix below. I am grateful to Miss Barbara Harvey who first drew my attention to this document.

⁶¹ Letter book, All Souls Library, MS. 182 fos. 193v–194, printed M. V. Clarke and N. Denholm Young, 'Kirkstall Chronicle', *Bull. J. Rylands Libr.*, xv (1931). 120–1, note D.

⁶² Walsingham, *Annales*, p. 234; *Eulogium historiarum*, p. 378.

⁶³ *Chronicle of London*, p. 83, states that London paid £1,000 and other shires 'as they might be'. *Historia . . . Ricardi II*, p. 146, says that the counties paid 1,000 marks or £1,000 to receive the king's grace. In *Annales*, p. 235, Walsingham says that the sum was large and called 'Le Pleasaunce' i.e., for recovering the king's pleasure. A list of names, with sums of money written in against each, and headed 'pro domino rege' may be an assessment for such a fine. It is of Ossulton Hundred in Middlesex, Westminster Abbey Muniment no. 12356. Between them, 35 men are assessed to provide £395 10s. The London loan of £2,000 received in the exchequer 31 Aug. 1398 may also be such a fine; but it was repaid 9 July 1399; P.R.O., Receipt Roll E 401/609, 614; Issue Roll E 403/562.

⁶⁴ Clarke and Denholm Young, *ubi supra*, p. 113.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., C 81/1354/31, letter under signet from Wolverhampton, 19 Jan. 1399.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls 1396–9*, p. 503.

⁶⁷ *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 352, states that Braybrook and other prelates met two proctors from each of the counties at Bedford. It is possible that Walden and Braybrook acted as 'official' proctors for each county. The important role played by the bishops is also emphasized by the author of *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II . . . Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Soc., 1856), p. 13. There is no other record of such a meeting at Bedford.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 420, 421.

⁶⁹ A. Steel, 'Sheriffs of Cambs. and Hunts. in reign Richard II', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, xxxvi (1934), 1–34; H. G. Richardson, 'John of Gaunt and the parliamentary representation of Lancashire', *Bull. J. Rylands Libr.*, xxii (1938), 175–222. Richard, while making his preparations for the Shrewsbury parliament was also busy with the appointment of sheriffs: P.R.O., C 81/1354/25, letter under

signet in which Richard appointed Thomas Dacombe as sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, dated 22 Nov. 1397. In another signet letter, damaged, Richard instructed the chancellor to summon Lord Dacre to the next parliament and to send a writ to Richard Redeman, the sheriff of Cumberland, for a purpose not specified, dated 26 Nov. 1397, from Banbury: C 81/1354/24.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., C 81/1354/27, signet letter 22 Jan. 1398 from Shrewsbury. Richard's methods in appointing new sheriffs may be surmised from another signet letter dated at Eltham 13 Dec.—probably 1397—in which the king says that he has received complaints about the sheriff of Shropshire, P.R.O. C81/1355/60.

⁷¹ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 355–6, 359.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁷³ *Cal. Close Rolls 1399–1402*, p. 57, writ to sheriffs 30 Nov. 1399, in which Henry orders them to destroy (a) blank charters sealed with seals in which subjects in London and various counties and cities acknowledged themselves guilty of various treasons and misprisions and submitted themselves to the king's grace; (b) other documents, likewise sealed and sent into chancery, in which they gave their bond to keep the statutes of the Westminster and Shrewsbury parliaments and all judgments and ordinances made at Coventry by authority of parliament.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., Ancient Correspondence, S.C. 1/43 no. 20.

⁷⁵ P.R.O., C 81/1354/31, signet letter from Wolverhampton 19 Jan. 1399.

⁷⁶ Clarke and Denholm Young, *ubi supra*, pp. 119–20, printed from Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 7096 fos. 165v–166; P.R.O., Chancery Miscellanea C 47/19/4 no. 10. Dr R. W. Dunning most kindly drew my attention to this document.

⁷⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 372–3. J. G. Edwards, 'The parliamentary committee of 1398', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xl (1925), 321–3, esp. p. 328 where he states that the last meeting of this committee was probably a further meeting of the committee on the following day, 24 Apr. 1399, when the oath which had been drafted on 18 March 1398 was taken by Edward, duke of Albermarle, Ralph de Neville earl of Westmorland, Thomas de Neville Lord Furnivall, and Mr Richard de Holme. Brit. Mus, Cott. MS Cleopatra F. iii fo. 12. The presence of Albermarle and Westmorland may be explained by their agreement about the Close of Morton in Inglewood forest on that day 23 Apr. 1399: *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, p. 556, Richard de Holme was admitted as prebend of Holme (attached to the York diocese) 15 Nov. 1393, see J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*, rev. edn., vi. 56–7. On 16 Nov. 1397 he was described as 'king's clerk' when he was presented to the church of Bishopsburn. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396–9*, p. 254.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls 1396–9*, pp. 488–9. This was an expansion of an earlier writ of 16 March 1398, whereby all letters addressed to great men of the realm were to be opened and shown to the mayor of the port concerned; *ibid.*, p. 288.

⁷⁹ From the evidence of the cost of pardons, as discussed *supra*, it can be estimated that the cheapest pardon cost £13 6s. 8d. and the average cost was nearly £100. It is a conservative estimate, therefore, to reckon that the 600 pardons were sold for £50 each.

⁸⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 426, 432; *Cal. Close Roll 1399–1402*, p. 57. Many of these documents were burnt in Cheapside on 6 Feb. 1399: *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., new ser., xxviii), Lambeth MS. 306 p. 52.

⁸¹ Steel, *Richard II*; V. H. Galbraith, 'A new life of Richard II', *History*, xxvi (1942), 223–39.

⁸² Walsingham, *Annales*, pp. 238, 248, mentions Richard's fear; also *Historia ... tempore Regis Ricardi II*, pp. 146–7, 'Consilium enim dabant Regi quidam susurrones, sibi adhaerentes, quod, si aurum sufficiens adipisci potuisset, nihil vereretur aut timeret de suis inimicis, set, e contra, omnes eum timerent, et cuncta sibi prospera contingerent.'

Chapter 2

The Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392–7

IN 1392 RICHARD II declared that he had found ‘notable and evident defaults in the government and rule of the city of London.’¹ In the several judgements against the Londoners during the summer of 1392, the reasons for the royal displeasure are never given more precisely. It is possible that no specific charges were made against the Londoners, but rather that Richard kept the reasons for his anger purposely clouded in mystery so that the citizens might be trapped in self-accusation.² The contemporary chroniclers, in their wild guesses and imaginative supply of fable where fact has failed, reflect the general air of mystery. Had there been any official statement of formal accusation, it is likely that the Westminster Chronicle, at least, would have known of it or seen it. Richard’s reluctance to show his hand may, in this case, have been supported by the desire of the Londoners not to write down, or to preserve, any of the documents which could later be used against them. While the course, and consequences, of Richard’s seizure of the liberties of the city of London may be trace with some certainty, the causes of that quarrel can be only tentatively suggested.

William Venour, the grocer who was mayor of London in the years 1389–90, was accused and convicted in 1392, together with his fellow sheriffs and aldermen, of having allowed defaults and misprisions to arise in the city ‘for lack of good ruling.’³ It is true that Venour’s election in October 1389 was the occasion of some contention, for the old ‘non-victualling’ party argued that the goldsmith, Adam Bamme had, in fact, gained the greater number of votes. But in the end the victualling party prevailed and Venour was declared elected, for the Londoners realized that it was disastrous for them to be divided as they had been since the time of John of Northampton.⁴ There is no other evidence to suggest that there was lawlessness or trouble in London during Venour’s mayoralty.⁵ Moreover in October 1390 Adam Bamme, the rejected goldsmith of the previous year, was elected as mayor. It is true that during Bamme’s year of office, the erstwhile leader of the non-victualling party, John of

Northampton, was finally pardoned by the king, but this was specifically stated to have been done at the request of the late mayor William Venour and the other aldermen.⁶ It would seem, therefore, that the factions and troubles which beset London in the 1380s had been finally laid to rest and that whatever defects there were in the government of the city, they did not arise from a recrudescence of this 'good old cause'.

There were, it is true, other cases which might conceivably have justified some royal intervention in the affairs of the city, but none of them could compare with the rioting and disorder of the struggles of the 1380s. John Walpole, a tailor, had complained in November 1388 about the malpractices and inhumanities of the keeper of the Ludgate prison, John Bottesham. Walpole was not alone in his complaints, but he was most persistent, and when his bill and the verdict against Bottesham were later quashed, incorrectly, by the city's recorder, Walpole turned his venom against the mayors and other civic officers. In 1390 he brought his case on petition to the duke of Lancaster, before the King's Council and, although his cause had some justice, he pursued it in such an immoderate way that a jury summoned to hear the case in February 1395 concluded that 'a great part of the uproar and rancour in the city from the time of Nicholas Twyford [Mayor 1388–9] to the present day was made and spread by the ill-will of John Walpole, who was a great disseminator of discord'.⁷ It is clear that Walpole had some reason for complaint and that the city's law officers were incorrect in quashing a verdict in his favour, but this decision was reversed on appeal in the usual way to the justices-in-error, sitting at St Martin's-le-Grand. By itself this case can hardly have justified so drastic a punishment for the city as a whole as the seizure of the corporate liberties.⁸

The city further attracted the disapproving attention of the king and his council in these years, over the problem of the disposal of butchers' offal in the Thames. The statute of 1361 had confined the slaughter of beasts to the west of Knightsbridge or to the east of Stratford. But this limitation had been ignored by the London butchers who were slaughtering beasts as near to the city as Holborn Bridge. The king instructed the mayor and sheriffs to see that the statute was enforced before 27 February 1392.⁹ In February, and again in May 1392 the Londoners were allowed some respite in this writ.¹⁰ This can however, hardly be the cause of the king's displeasure for, as a result of a petition from the Londoners to the Winchester parliament of 1393, the king relaxed the stringency of the 1361 statute. Since the slaughtering of beasts so far out of London raised

their price, the king agreed that a special house should be built on Thames-side for the butchers' use and that they should only dispose of their offal there. All other slaughter houses were to be destroyed.¹¹

Neither the wrongs done to John Walpole, nor the nuisance of butchers' offal, sufficiently explain the drastic royal action in 1392. There remain three spheres of contention. The seemingly impregnable, and highly irritating, realm of city custom; the ever-present problem of the financial relations between London and the crown, and the frequent lawlessness in the city which provided a watchful king with his most obvious pretext for interference.

There is some evidence to show that at least two city customs (which usually took the form of financial or legal privileges) were called into question in the months immediately preceding the king's seizure of the London liberties. One of these disputes arose between November 1391 and January 1392 and concerned vessels or goods in the Thames water at London which the king claimed as deodand. The London sheriffs, however, argued before the king's council that such deodands, like escheats, belonged to them since the waters of the Thames lay within their franchise. Such goods, therefore, they claimed, could not be granted by the king to his servants (as Richard had done), although the chancellor argued on the king's behalf that the Londoners has such forfeitures only by trespass and not as deodands.¹² Another civic custom upon which the mayor, John Hende, appears to have stood firmly in January 1392 was the Londoners' right to be informed if the chancellor wished to summon a citizen to appear before him. The mayor argued that it was one of the London privileges that no one might be arrested in the city, without the assent of the mayor or his officers. The council was, however, clearly dissatisfied with Hende's reply on 20 January 1392, for he was required, together with three other Londoners, to attend the council daily for the next eight days, and each of them was bound in a recognizance of £1000.¹³ The outcome of this dispute is not recorded. If it (or the question of deodands) was responsible for the king's anger against the city in 1392, there is no indication that the negotiations which led up to the final settlement, dealt with these problems. Indeed there is no evidence of a detailed compromise following the seizure of the city's liberties, but only of their comprehensive removal and, ultimately, comprehensive restoration. The Westminster chronicler, it is true, mentions that three of the city's liberties were not restored, but none of these three corresponds to any custom

which is known to have caused friction in the period immediately before the breach between the king and the city.¹⁴

What, then, of the financial relations between London and the crown in the years 1388–92? The last corporate loan advanced by the mayor and commonalty of London to the crown was in March 1388.¹⁵ Since then, not only had the city failed to lend money in its corporate capacity, but there was also a marked decline in loans from individual Londoners,¹⁶ although the city contributed as usual to parliamentary taxation. The explanation may be, as Professor McKisack suggests, that ‘the fate of Brembre may well have made the citizens chary of financial dealings with the Crown, and the cessation of fighting in the Channel had removed the main inducement to generosity’.¹⁷ According to the author of the *Eulogium*, after the parliament of 1389 the Londoners excused themselves from providing the king with money on the grounds that they were not *potentiores aliis mercatoribus*.¹⁸ In an attempt to extract money from the Londoners the king, in February 1392, sent a writ to the sheriffs to make a return of suitably qualified persons who had not yet taken up knighthood. Similar writs had been sent to the London sheriffs in 1344, 1356, and 1366, and the reply on those occasions, as in 1392, was that there was no one in the city who certainly enjoyed £40 a year in land of rents since tenements often stood empty and could easily be destroyed by fire.¹⁹ Such a bland return from the London sheriffs must have been particularly vexing to the king for, while it may have been true in 1344 that no Londoner certainly was worth £40 p.a., by 1412 there were at least seventeen London citizens who were worth this amount, or more.²⁰ It seems clear that Richard was irritated and annoyed by the Londoners’ refusal to provide him with money during these years. Thomas Walsingham and the Monk of Westminster both record that the citizens declined to lend Richard a sum of money for which he asked. Their accounts of this incident differ somewhat, and the details seem improbable, but their general conclusion that money lay at the root of the quarrel, is likely to be correct.²¹ Richard had extravagant tastes and grandiose schemes, and even his peaceful foreign policy required money for subsidies to foreign allies.²² The king knew that Londoners could, even if they would not, lend him the money which he required, and in these circumstances he could only transform requests for cash into inescapable demands by a judicious use of the royal power and prerogative.

But such high-handed action by the king would not have been tolerated by the king’s councillors if there had not been reasonable pretexts

for the seizure of the city's liberties. The privileged customs of London could provide some justification for royal interference: so, too, could the ever-present, but usually submerged, lawlessness in the city. Here, there are signs that the situation in London was approaching a point where royal action might be justified. In December 1391, William Mildenhall of London appeared in chancery accused of having concealed the fact that his father, Peter, had spoken disrespectfully of Richard II saying that he was unfit to govern and should stay in his latrine. The king kindly agreed to allow William to go free on condition that in future he would 'so far as reasonably he may speak respectfully of the king's person' and that if he heard other unfavourable sentiments in the city he was to report them.²³ Again in November and December 1391 the mayor and aldermen imposed an 8 p.m. curfew in the city, prevented transport by boat across the Thames at night, and enjoined an armed watch nightly in the wards, committing all those who broke the curfew to the counters.²⁴ On 23 December the king sent a writ to the mayor and sheriffs instructing them to prevent unlawful assemblies, since he had heard that the city was infested with armed peace-breakers, who committed assaults and felonies and hindered the civic officers in the exercise of their duties 'which the king will not, and ought not, to endure'.²⁵ This writ was followed by a further one in January instructing the mayor and sheriffs to prevent unlawful secret assemblies in which Londoners disputed heretically and subverted the Catholic faith, and which gave rise to tribulations and tumults. 'It is the king's will that within the bounds of his power shall bud forth no heresies or errors to infect the people'.²⁶

These writs suggest that the situation in London in the months of November 1391 to January 1392 was tense and restless. The authors of Continuation C of the Brut Chronicle and the Harley 565 London Chronicle, describe an incident of mob violence to which they attribute the seizure of the city's liberties. A baker's servant, carrying a basket of horse loaves along Fleet Street to a hostelry, was accosted by a member of the household of John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury and, at that time, treasurer of England. The bishop's servant, who was called Romaine, not only stole a horse-loaf but, when the baker's man protested, hit him over the head. A brawl ensued instantly, Romaine fled to his master's inn in Fleet Street, and the following crowd, finding the gates shut against them, threatened to fire the house. Just in time John Hende, the mayor, arrived with the sheriffs and persuaded the crowd to disperse. As a result of this display of mob violence Waltham complained to Thomas Arundel,

archbishop of York and chancellor, and together the two men took their grievance to Richard himself.²⁷ The Brut continuator's account is a highly partisan one, laying the blame fully upon the bishop and his household servants, and emphasising the legitimate desire of the citizens to see 'justice' (as they called it) done to the bullying Romayne.²⁸ This story cannot be substantiated from any record source, but some such incident is likely to have provided Richard with the pretext which he needed to set his campaign against the city in motion. Further, such an incident could well have gained the king a certain measure of support amongst the lords of the council who, having great houses in or near London, were particularly susceptible to such acts of lawlessness on the part of the Londoners.

It is clear that the mayor and aldermen miscalculated the strength of Richard's determination, or they would have taken steps both to placate him and to protect their liberties long before a crisis was reached. It was Richard's skill that he concealed from the Londoners for so long the parlous nature of their situation. When the king decided to move against the citizens he had much which he could throw into the scales against them; the injustices done to John Walpole; the butchers' nuisances; the detaining of royal deodands; the intransigence of civic custom; the lack of financial support and the general lawlessness. In the face of a campaign which had been devised over a period of months, if not years, and which was sprung on them by surprise attack, the Londoners were helpless. For their recent stubbornness and financial stringency, Richard made them pay remorselessly with their pride and their pockets. In desperation John Hende instructed his aldermen to see that all inhabitants of their wards took fresh oaths of allegiance, for the better preservation of the peace.²⁹ Conciliation and reform had come too late, for Richard had opened his campaign.

The first salvo in Richard's attack upon the city came with the writ of 13 May 1392, sent to the London sheriffs and informing them that the Court of common pleas had been removed to York.³⁰ The continuator of the Croyland chronicle explains that this action of Richard's came as a result of 'the ill-will shown by the citizens of London',³¹ and it was a move certain to be detrimental to the interests of the city. Not only would London litigants be compelled to travel a great distance, but the Londoners would be deprived of the trade which the concourse of people to Westminster inevitably produced. Moreover it was not only the common pleas which were moved to York, but also the chancery, exchequer and inmates of the Fleet prison.³² It is possible that Richard hoped to set

up a new capital in the north of England, away from the antagonistic counties of the south-east, and he may have wished especially to favour and encourage the city of York,³³ but the only explanation to be found in the writs removing the various institutions of government was ‘urgent causes affecting the king and the estate of the realm.’³⁴ If the king’s motive was indeed to damage the interests of the Londoners, such an exodus was also of great inconvenience and expense to many other subjects, as the Monk of Westminster pointed out.³⁵ The efficiency of the courts must have been greatly impaired and there was general relief when they returned again to Westminster in the autumn.

Having thus suggested his displeasure to the citizens of London by the removal of the chief organs of government to the distant city of York, Richard then openly declared his dissatisfaction. By a writ sent from Stamford on 29 May, and addressed to the mayor, sheriffs, and all the aldermen of London, which was couched in terms described by the Westminster chronicler as *satis terribile et valde horribile sic quod aures audientis faceret pertinere*,³⁶ all the recipients were instructed to appear before the king and his council at Nottingham on 25 June, under pain of forfeiture of life and limb. Together with the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, the Londoners were to send a further twenty-four citizens in *secundo gradu potentioribus civitatis*.³⁷ The whole deputation was to be endowed with *plena potestas* to answer whatever should be laid before it, notwithstanding any of the city’s privileges and customs. Moreover before leaving, the delegates were to make provision for the safe-keeping of the city as they should later have to answer for it at their peril.³⁸ The Londoners made a return to the writ stating that the mayor, two sheriffs, and remaining aldermen, together with twenty-four other named citizens would be present at Nottingham on the appointed day.³⁹ The deputation was furnished with a commission under the common seal whereby its members were given full and sufficient power by the commonalty of the city to reply on its behalf to what the king should lay before them, and to receive whatever the king and his council should ordain in accordance with the royal writ of 29 May.⁴⁰ This written commission, however did not, it should be noticed, empower the deputation to act ‘notwithstanding the customs and privileges of the city’, as had been specifically requested in the royal writ.

Events on 25 June did not go well for the Londoners. The mayor, John Hende, and John Shadworth and Henry Vanner, the sheriffs, were all removed from their offices by the king and his council, and sent to prison.⁴¹ The ostensible reasons given for this action were twofold. Firstly,

the commission which the London deputation had brought under the common seal was considered by the king to have 'divers defects'.⁴² This may be explained by the refusal of the Londoners to override their customs and privileges. Secondly the king declared that he must pay heed to the 'notable and evident defaults which he had notoriously and openly found in the governance and rule of the city during the time of John Hende, John Shadworth and Henry Vanner'. These 'intolerable damages and perils' required that the king should lend a 'helping hand'.⁴³ The royal helping hand now took the form of appointing the royal councillor and 'king's knight', Sir Edward Dalyngridge, as warden of the city, and replacing the elected sheriffs by two other Londoners, Gilbert Maghfeld and Thomas Newnton, who were selected by the king. These changes, the king believed, would provide a 'better and sounder governance and rule of the city . . . especially in the administration of justice'. The choice of Dalyngridge for the office of warden of London is easy to understand since he was an assiduous member of the king's council and also of what has been called 'the king's party'.⁴⁴ Both the ironmonger Maghfeld and the mercer Newnton were comparatively inexperienced aldermen. Maghfeld was known to the king as a London customs collector, but the selection of Newnton is less easy to explain.⁴⁵

After depriving the city of its elected officers the king continued the process of 'taking over' London. On the day after the judgement against Hende and the others, Sir Edward Dalyngridge was appointed royal escheator in the city, an office customarily held by the mayor.⁴⁶ On the same day the king instructed the new keeper of the city to see to the election of a new alderman for the ward of Lime Street since the grocer John Hadle had been transferred by the king to the office of mayor of the Calais staple.⁴⁷ Two days later, still at Nottingham, the king issued a commission of oyer and terminer to the dukes of York and Gloucester, John, earl of Huntingdon, Thomas, earl marshal, John Devereux, the steward of the household, Robert Charleton and Walter Clopton, the two chief justices, Thirning, a justice of the common bench, and Sir Lewis Clifford and Sir Richard Stury two members of the council, to enquire into the notorious defaults in the government of the city of London. Their enquiry was to be carried out in accordance with the statute provided for such cases,⁴⁸ i.e., the statute made in the 1354 parliament which laid down the procedure to be followed in correcting faults in the government of London. It stipulated that if the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, upon whom lay the burden of civic government, should fail in their duty, they should be tried by royal

judges and should answer for themselves. For the first offence the fine was to be 1,000 marks; for the second offence 2,000 marks, and for the third offence the liberties of the city were to be seized into the king's hand. Moreover the statute was to be put into operation regardless of any civic franchise, privilege, or custom, although its provisions were to apply not only to London, but to all the cities and boroughs of the realm.⁴⁹ Richard had studied the provisions of this statute and in his attack upon the city he was most careful to observe its letter, if not its spirit.

On 29 June 1392 Sir Edward Dalyngridge left Nottingham to take up his new duties as warden of London.⁵⁰ At 9 a.m. on Monday, 1 July, he came to Guildhall with those aldermen who had not been imprisoned and was well received there by a crowd of Londoners. His commission of appointment was read out and he was sworn to office in the same form as the London mayors. Then the new sheriffs' commission was read and they also were sworn.⁵¹ On the same day Dalyngridge borrowed £20 from Gilbert Maghfeld to provide, perhaps, for the immediate expenses of his new office.⁵² The business of the city appears to have returned to normal quite rapidly. The mayor's court was functioning under the new warden by 6 July, and it would seem that he appointed William Venour as his deputy for some cases.⁵³

Meanwhile the duke of York and his fellow commissioners began their work. John Hende, John Shadworth, and Henry Vanner were brought by their several custodians to a preliminary hearing held at Aylesbury on 10 July.⁵⁴ As a result of this hearing, there appears to have been a slight change of direction in the royal policy. Three days later the duke of York sent a writ from Aylesbury to the constable of the Tower of London instructing him to summon William Venour, John Walcote, and John Loveye, the mayor and sheriffs for the years 1389-90, together with twenty-two other aldermen serving in those years, to Eton on Thursday, 18 July. With these men, the constable was further to summon the deposed Hende, Shadworth, and Vanner and the aldermen for the current year who had already appeared at Nottingham.⁵⁵ Clearly the commissioners had decided that the defaults in the government of London sprang from errors of the past, as well as the present governors.

The gloomy mood in which the fifty or so Londoners arrived at Eton on 18 July is not hard to imagine. Although John Shadworth made some show of resistance, in the end they all submitted to the king's judgement.⁵⁶ On the feast of St Mary Magdalen, 22 July, the commissioners announced their verdict. There had been faults in the government of the

city due to the negligence, not only of the present mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, but also of William Venour the mayor in 1389–90 and his fellow sheriffs and aldermen who were convicted by their own acknowledgement. Consequently they were fined a total of 3,000 marks, that is, for the first and second offences, as stipulated by the statute of 1354.⁵⁷ Then, for the third offence, and still in accordance with the statute, the liberties of the city were forfeited to the king. Upon hearing the verdict, with the advice of his councillors, the king decided to use his direct authority to ‘cherish the good rule and wholesome government of the city’ by himself appointing a warden, two sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen. Accordingly Thomas Arundel, as chancellor, selected a place within Windsor Castle where William Venour and the other Londoners could appear before the whole council and hear the king’s will. The large gathering of councillors included the archbishop of Canterbury; the bishops of London, Winchester, Salisbury, and Coventry; the duke of Lancaster and his two brothers the dukes of York and Gloucester; and the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. In the presence of this august company, the chancellor announced the king’s appointment of Sir Baldwin Radyngton as warden, and Gilbert Maghfeld and Thomas Newenton were chosen again as sheriffs. The king, on this occasion, selected fifteen other men to serve as aldermen and three more were chosen on the following day. Since the French oaths of the warden, sheriffs, and aldermen are recorded in the Close Roll it seems clear that all these men were sworn to office before the king and his councillors.⁵⁸ On the same day, 22 July, John Hende and the two sheriffs who had been in prison since 25 June were now released on a bail totaling £3,000. They were to be ready to appear before the king and his council to make reparation for the offences of which they had been convicted earlier at Nottingham.⁵⁹

The reasons which lay behind Richard’s replacement of Dalyngridge by Radyngton may only be guessed. Radyngton was, perhaps, a more convinced ‘royalist’ than Dalyngridge, and he had been responsible as controller for building up the military side of the king’s household.⁶⁰ The author of the Brut continuation wrote that Richard had found Dalyngridge to be ‘too gentle and tender unto the Londoners’, and Walsingham, not necessarily better informed but perhaps more imaginative, explained that the king had removed Dalyngridge because he discovered that he had taken an oath to the Londoners to protect their liberties, and to work for their secret restoration as far as he could.⁶¹ Moreover the Westminster chronicler agrees that Radyngton executed his new office ‘satis rigide’.⁶² But

Richard may have intended, in replacing the diplomatic Dalyngridge with the more rigid Radyngton, both to frighten the Londoners and also to release Dalyngridge to act as a 'free agent' in the complicated negotiations between the crown and the city which were to follow.

Radyngton was duly appointed warden and escheator of London, and the citizens were to pay all reasonable expenses incurred by him and Dalyngridge while they acted as wardens of the city.⁶³ The king further instructed Radyngton to charge another five named Londoners to act as aldermen during the royal pleasure, thus bringing the total number of aldermen up to the usual twenty-five.⁶⁴ Then, by two drastic moves the king placed at his own disposal the entire income of the city of London. On 22 July 1392 the new sheriffs were instructed to account at the exchequer for their whole income and not merely for the customary city farm of £300.⁶⁵ Seven days later Richard reappointed the current city chamberlain, Stephen Speleman, during his pleasure, to receive all the monies, issues, and profits of that office. But out of this income Speleman was to be allowed only his expenses and necessary charges, and for the remainder of the city's income he was to answer at the exchequer.⁶⁶ Taken together these royal acts of policy leave no doubt that Richard's motive in quarrelling with the city of London was primarily financial.

It is clear, moreover, that at some point, probably along with the judgements of 22 July, a corporate fine of £100,000 had been laid upon the city.⁶⁷ And, while the income of the city was mortgaged to pay this enormous sum, many individual Londoners laboured under further financial obligations to the king. To add to the financial troubles, the city's cherished privilege of electing its own mayor and sheriffs lay in abeyance as Radyngton presided over meetings of the court of aldermen and mayor's court.⁶⁸ Further, in August the king appointed John Spencer as keeper of the great beam and two royal valets as collectors of scavage in the city. Both the choice of these officers, and the profits of their offices had been controlled and enjoyed by the citizens by chartered right or immemorial custom.⁶⁹

But behind the scenes peace negotiations were being carried on and, as a preliminary to the thorny questions of cash and custom, the city gave Richard and his queen a magnificent reception on 21 and 22 August. Detailed accounts of these festivities survive in several sources, and the reception itself seems to have followed a pattern which was to become increasingly familiar throughout the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ The king, accompanied by Queen Anne, was met on the south side of London Bridge by

Radyngton, the warden and aldermen, and the men of the various crafts arrayed in distinguishing liveries.⁷¹ After a ceremony of welcome the procession moved across London Bridge and along Cheapside, past houses decked with cloths of gold and bunting, to St Paul's. The conduits flowed temporarily with the proverbial red and white wine and the journey was enlivened by various tableaux, including a scene representing St John the Baptist in the wilderness; a saint who was known to be especially revered by Richard II.⁷² Finally, after a brief visit to the tomb of St Erkenwald in St Paul's cathedral, the king, queen, lords, and Londoners moved on to feast in Westminster Hall. On the second day of the festivities the king and queen dined in the city as guests of the warden and were presented with further gifts. After this the whole party made its way back to Westminster with the now-gracious king inviting the Londoners in for a drink before they finally left for home.

The writers vary somewhat in the details of this pantomime but the general course of events is clear. There are one or two unusual features. The anonymous letter-writer, the Westminster chronicler, and Richard of Maidstone all agree that at the beginning of the ceremonies the king was symbolically given both the sword and the keys of the city which he returned again to the citizens at the end of the first day to demonstrate his pardon.⁷³ In all the accounts, the gifts to the royal guests feature prominently. Amongst these were two golden crowns; two gold cups or basins; two golden images of the Trinity and St Anne; two horses; an exotic 'tabula' for the king, large enough to be a reredos or altar and worth 500 marks; and a crystal chest and ewer inlaid with gold for the queen.

This magnificent, but somewhat forced, merry-making was followed by tangible signs that Richard's anger was abating. On 17 September a royal writ informed the warden, aldermen, and good folk of London that the city might elect two sheriffs on the feast of St Matthew (21 September) according to ancient custom.⁷⁴ Then, two days later, Richard issued from Woodstock the crucial pardons for which the Londoners had been waiting. In effect, there were four separate pardons, all granted, it was stated, at the queen's request. Firstly, William Venour and his fellow aldermen of 1389–90 who had been convicted at Windsor on 22 July were pardoned their two fines of 1,000 and 2,000 marks. Secondly, John Hende, the deposed mayor, and the two sheriffs Henry Vanner and John Shadworth who had been sent to prison at Nottingham on 25 June and had only been released on bail on 22 July, were now pardoned their faults and contempts and their fines were remitted.⁷⁵ Thirdly, by other letters patent the king

forgave the citizens their corporate fine of £100,000 and all their offences and trespasses except treasons and felonies.⁷⁶ Finally, again by letters patent, the liberties of the city of London were restored to the citizens, but with the vital proviso ‘until the king shall otherwise ordain’. That is, the citizens did not receive back their liberties in perpetuity but only during good behavior and at the pleasure of an unpredictable king.⁷⁷ This conditional restoration of the city’s liberties explains much in the relations between the crown and the Londoners in the last years of Richard’s reign.

So the reconciliation was achieved, at least upon the surface of events. The official documents, followed by many of the chroniclers, attribute the Londoners’ return to favour to the gentle supplications of Richard’s consort, Queen Anne. Walsingham suggests that it was the duke of Lancaster and his brother the duke of Gloucester who especially pleaded for the Londoners, while the anonymous letter writer acknowledges the labours of the archbishop and of Robert Braybrook the bishop of London.⁷⁸ Professor Tout believed that the reconciliation was the work of Baldwin Radington, but the signs are that it was, in fact, the judicious labours of his predecessor as warden, Sir Edward Dalyngridge, which achieved the final result.⁷⁹ When he was replaced by Radington as warden of London on 22 July, there is no evidence that Dalyngridge was in any way in disgrace. He was in London at the king’s request from 23 to 29 July, negotiating with Radington, and from 17 to 26 August Dalyngridge was again in the city at the king’s request ‘*pro concordia facienda versus Regem pro civibus London*’.⁸⁰ Dalyngridge had been present in London before, during, and after the royal reception in the city on 21 and 22 August. He was also present at Woodstock in September, and it seems that this assiduous, but moderate, royal councilor who enjoyed the confidence of both the Londoners and the king is likely to have been the real architect of the practical terms of the settlement.

In the city the situation began to return to normal. On St Matthew’s day the new sheriffs were elected in accordance with civic custom. With prudence the Londoners selected the royal nominees, Thomas Newenton and Gilbert Maghfeld.⁸¹ Four days later the royal grants of the profits and offices of scavenger and keeper of the king’s beam in London were revoked.⁸² Finally on 13 October, the feast of the translation of St Edward and the traditional day for the election of the mayor, William Staundon was chosen in the customary way by the aldermen and a gathering of the commonalty at Guildhall.⁸³ There remained merely some clearing up of the financial aspects of the royal tenure of the city’s liberties, before

Radyngton handed over the government of the city to Staundon on 28 October.⁸⁴ Moreover now the dispute with the Londoners was settled, on 25 October the king issued the first writ for the return of the common bench from York to Westminster.⁸⁵ So this costly and inconvenient experiment was brought to an end.

But in spite of the magnificent reception and expensive gifts which the citizens offered to the king at the end of August, and in spite of the manifest expression of royal pardon and grace which was accorded to the citizens by the charters emanating from Woodstock on 19 September, the matter did not rest there. The financial pressure upon the Londoners was only just beginning. On 22 October the warden, accompanied by the sheriffs and other Londoners, rode to the duke of Lancaster's house in Holborn where he was staying with his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester. Each of the brothers was presented with two silver gilt basins together with an unspecified sum of money which the writer of an anonymous letter, from which this incident is known, places at £400 for Lancaster and £200 each for York and Gloucester.⁸⁶ But apart from the costs of these receptions and gifts, it is clear that the king demanded £10,000 as the cost of his pardon. Here again, the chronicle accounts vary considerably but John Stow, Walsingham, and the author of Harley Ms 565 agree that the sum was £10,000 and this, moreover, is the amount for which the king acknowledged receipt on 28 February 1393.⁸⁷ It is clear that the collection of this sum, and possible further sums for the king in the city, caused considerable hardship. One chronicler says that the collection of such a large sum in the city caused many citizens to flee from London in order to avoid contributing,⁸⁸ and in the Westminster parliament in January 1394 both the clergy and the widows of London petitioned the king to be free of a novel tax imposed by the city's governors. In this case the mayor, aldermen and common council put a counter-petition to the king in parliament stating that it was only just that all those who had benefited from the return of the king's courts to London, and the restoration of the city to royal favour, should contribute towards the cost of the royal fines.⁸⁹ From scattered evidence it is clear that various sources in the city were tapped. There was a civic tax collected in the wards assessed on lands and rents; the London companies contributed, the chamberlain raised money by loans, and the bridge estates were called upon to provide cash.⁹⁰

Moreover, this direct royal fine of £10,000 was not the only financial demand made by Richard during these years. The king and queen

spent the Christmas of 1392 at Eltham and the Londoners contributed to his festivities there by providing seasonal mummers and presents of two unusual jewels for the royal couple, a dromedary with a boy seated on its back for the king and a great bird with a wide throat for the queen.⁹¹ In the following summer of 1393, at Richard's express command, the wardens of London Bridge paid Thomas Wreuk, a mason, to carve two stone statues of the king and queen to be placed above the stone gate on the bridge. The canopies above the statues bore the arms of the king and queen and of St Edward the Confessor, and all the stonework was to be painted, while the surround was to be whitened with plaster to show off the statues and shields to better effect. In their hands the statues bore gilded latten sceptres. The total cost to the bridgewardens of this piece of required royal propaganda was £37 0s 10d.⁹² Further in December 1394 the citizens provided the king with a loan of 10,000 marks, although this appears to have been repaid in March and April the following year in the usual way.⁹³

But these financial demands should be considered in the light of the concessions which the king made to the Londoners in the Westminster parliament of 1394, and the exceptionally large spending revealed by the royal wardrobe account roll for the years 1392–4. In the 1394 parliament the king allowed the London alderman to remain in office from year to year, instead of the annual turn-over which had been in operation since 1377. This concession would clearly contribute a great deal to the permanence and efficiency of civic government.⁹⁴ Secondly, the king acceded to the Londoners' request that the ward of Farringdon might be divided into two with an alderman for the area outside the walls and another for the area inside the walls.⁹⁵ Thirdly, and most importantly, the statute of 1354 which dealt with the punishment of the city's transgressions and which had so recently been brought into operation against the Londoners, was now modified. The king conceded that the general words 'errors defaults and misprisions' should not include an erroneous judgement given in a city court of law. Such errors could, in any case, always be corrected, upon a writ of error, by the judges sitting at St Martin-le-Grand.⁹⁶ All these were useful and important concessions to the Londoners.

The wardrobe account for the years 1392–4 reveals that the king purchased over £13,000 worth of saddlery, mercery, skins, and drapery in these two years. Only when the wardrobe was equipping Richard's two expeditions to Ireland did its expenditure exceed this amount.⁹⁷ Of this £13,000 about 90 per cent went into the pockets of London merchant suppliers of whom the two most prominent were the draper, John Hende,

the imprisoned mayor of 1392, and the young and rising mercer, Richard Whittington.⁹⁸ It may be, therefore, that much of the money which Richard extorted from the citizens found its way back into their pockets in the form of purchases for the royal wardrobe and household. Of course, far more Londoners contributed to the £10,000 fine than acted as royal suppliers.

But in spite of these concessions, and the unusual profits enjoyed by certain London merchants as a result of Richard's 'spending spree' in the city in 1393–4, a cloud hung over London. For Richard's restoration of the city's liberties on 19 September 1392 had not yet been made permanent. Unlike the personal pardons, it was only to be effective until the king should ordain otherwise.⁹⁹ Hence, in spite of the magnificent reception of August 1392, the multitudinous and expensive presents, the corporate fine of £10,000 paid to Richard in February 1393, the mumming at Christmas 1392 and the new and flattering statues which now dominated London Bridge, the city liberties remained still in jeopardy. In parliament in 1394 the Londoners petitioned the king for a 'plein et perpetual restitution' of their liberties as they used to enjoy them, to have and to hold for themselves and 'lour heirs et lour successours a tous jours'. There is no recorded royal reply to this petition in the parliament rolls and it is clear that Richard did not accede to the London request.¹⁰⁰

From September 1392, therefore, the Londoners held their liberties not in perpetuity but only during good behavior. Their position was weak. Then, on 6 June 1397, the mayor of London, Adam Bamme, died in office. Two days later Richard took the unprecedented step of appointing a mayor for the city. His choice fell on Richard Whittington.¹⁰¹ Twice in Edward III's reign the mayor had been deposed by the king but his successor had been chosen by the citizens. The right of the Londoners to choose their own mayor had been established in 1215.¹⁰² The king had appointed wardens before but never a mayor. The unusual nature of Richard's action can be barely ascertained from the contemporary evidence, but Arnold in his chronicle has preserved a unique reference: 'This yere, in Junii, decessid the Mayre, and for him chosen Richard Whittington, who the Lords wold not admytt till on the morowe was admitted be the king and occupied tyl Saint Edward's day'.¹⁰³ It would seem, therefore, that although the king chose Whittington, the barons of the exchequer, before whom a new mayor was normally sworn, refused to swear him and so the king himself performed the task. Two pieces of evidence substantiate this supposition. In the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer rolls, where the swearing of the

London mayors is normally recorded, there is no record of Whittington being sworn in June 1397 although he duly appears in October when he was re-elected by the citizens.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, there is recorded on the close roll for this year a full copy of the mayor of London's oath. This is the normal oath taken by the mayors and although the entry is undated it was probably enrolled there for the king's own reference.¹⁰⁵ This episode throws an interesting light on the attitude of the judiciary to Richard II and suggests that the barons of the exchequer, at least, were prepared to make a stand in defence of legality and the liberties of London.

There are many reasons for believing that Whittington was a close friend of Richard II.¹⁰⁶ In 1397 he served his sovereign well and, in so doing, served also the interests of the city. As mayor, he negotiated the 'loan' of ten thousand marks (£6,666 13s 4d) whereby the Londoners bought a full and perpetual confirmation of their liberties from Richard II, and Whittington managed also to keep London peaceful during the contentious autumn parliament of 1397.

The London loan of 10,000 marks was one of a number of loans, totalling in all over £20,000, which Richard raised from his subjects in the summer of 1397. It was not repaid.¹⁰⁷ But in return Richard, on 12 June 1397, four days after Whittington's appointment as mayor, granted a full charter of liberties to the Londoners in which their rights were confirmed *in perpetuum*.¹⁰⁸ The problem of raising so large a sum in the city was again acute. The bridge revenues and resources of the city companies were called upon as in 1392.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, individuals paid contributions to the chamber at Guildhall and received receipts for their money under the chamber seal.¹¹⁰ In just over two months Whittington appears to have collected the necessary amount and on 22 August 1397 the exchequer acknowledged the receipt of 10,000 marks from the Londoners.¹¹¹ The king wrote to thank the Londoners for their 'pecuniary assistance' and referred to the need for good government in the city during the forthcoming meeting of parliament.¹¹²

So the quarrel of 1392 was finally resolved. The manner of its solution strongly suggests that Richard's motive for seizing the London liberties in 1392 was financial, although he concealed his objectives with general complaints about lawlessness and bad governance. But Walsingham observed that the Londoners were not ignorant of the fact that the end of the business would be silver and gold.¹¹³ The citizens' aloof refusals in the years 1388–92, cost them in the succeeding five years £16,666 13s 4d in straight exactions, £10,000 or so in jewels and gifts, the costs of a mag-

nificent reception and Christmas entertainment, and the new statuary on London Bridge; in all, perhaps, a total of £30,000.¹¹⁴ Clearly the poorer citizens, such as the widows and clergy who petitioned parliament in 1394, found the exactions hard to pay, but the signs are that the city as a whole could afford the demands which Richard made. If London were prosperous, this could explain the king's original biting irritation. Moreover while some Londoners such as Gilbert Maghfeld may have sunk into debt as a result of Richard's interference, others like Richard Whittington rose to prominence and wealth in the sunshine of royal favour. If Richard could be a harsh tax officer, he could also be a generous patron. Hence it is clear that, notwithstanding the friction between the crown and the city in these years, there was a group of Londoners, small but powerful, which supported Richard II. In spite of the events of 1392–7 Richard does not appear to have alienated the city as a whole, and the reluctance of the Londoners to commit themselves openly to the cause of Henry Bolingbroke in 1399 is striking. Henry had been in England at least a month, and had taken Richard prisoner, before the Londoners sent a deputation of submission and fealty to him at Chester. Moreover if Bolingbroke had considered that the Londoners were ripe for revolt against Richard he would have landed in the south, rather than in the Lancastrian strongholds of the north.

Where the city of London was concerned Richard had walked the tightrope of royal absolutism with some success. His action against the Londoners in 1392 had been well planned and was carefully legal; he had acted constantly with the advice of his council and had involved his powerful uncles in the unpopular decisions; he had observed the statute of 1354 to the letter: he had balanced fierce anger with gentle pardon; he had imposed great penalties in order to gain favour by reducing them; and when the storm was abated he cultivated a few powerful and sympathetic Londoners. By these judicious methods he gained the money which he wanted without seriously forfeiting the goodwill of the citizens. If Richard's policy in other spheres of royal activity had been as successfully planned and consistently carried through, the Lancastrians might never have entered upon their greater inheritance.

NOTES

¹ *C.F.R. 1391-9*, p. 40; *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London: Letter-Book H 1375-1399*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1907), p. 379 (hereafter cited as *L.B.H.*).

² This suggestion may be reinforced by the fact that William Venour and his fellow aldermen of 1389-90 were found guilty on 22 July 1392, by their own acknowledgement, *C.Cl.R. 1392-6*, pp. 87-9.

³ *Cl.R., 1392-6*, 87-9.

⁴ Monk of Westminster, p. 217; *L.B.H.*, p. 348. For the details of the original struggle between John of Northampton and Nicholas Brembre see Ruth Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London, 1949), chs. 5 and 6.

⁵ The mayor's court plea and memoranda rolls are missing for Venour's year of office, but this may indicate only that they were examined in 1392 and not returned. In any case these rolls do not all survive.

⁶ Northampton's full pardon dated 2 December 1390, *L.B.H.*, p. 359; *C.P.R. 1388-92*, p. 335; *R.P.*, iii, p. 282. Adam Bamme ordered the men of the city to be of one accord in this matter and the citizens were forbidden to wear any badge or sign which would indicate to which of the two parties they belonged, *L.B.H.*, p. 364. The letters patent revoking the judgments against John of Northampton, and his associates John More and Richard Norbury, followed on 1 December 1391 as a result of a commons' petition in parliament, *R.P.*, iii, pp. 291-2; *L.B.H.*, pp. 370-371. A royal signet letter referring to a petition from the mayor and citizens about John of Northampton and what may be the petition in question are to be found in the P.R.O. Chancery Warrants (C.81) no. 1355/32 and Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) File 341, no. 16100.

⁷ *Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London, 1381-1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1932), p. 230 (hereafter cited as *Cal. P. and M., 1381-1412*). The details of this case, which began in 1388 and continued at least until 1397, can be traced in *Cal. P. and M., 1381-1412*, pp. 158-61, 170, 187-8, 228-30, 236, 242; *L.B.H.*, pp. 368-9, 374, 392, 395-6; *C.P.R., 1391-6*, pp. 76, 290. Walpole's petition to the duke of Lancaster and the consequent council proceedings in March 1390 are to be found in P.R.O. Parliamentary and Council Proceedings (C. 49) File 67, no. 17. For a similar case of a London petition to the duke of Lancaster see *Cal. P. and M., 1381-1412*, pp. 109-13, and Ruth Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

⁸ The case may, however, explain the London petition to the parliament of 1394 asking for a modification of the statutes of 1354, see below, note 97, and also the obscure passage in Monk of Westminster, pp. 276-7; see below, note 14.

⁹ 6 December 1391, *C.Cl.R., 1389-92*, pp. 409-10; *L.B.H.*, p. 372. See E. L. Sabine, 'Butchering in Mediaeval London', *Speculum*, viii (1933), pp. 335-53, esp. pp. 348-9.

¹⁰ The Londoners' request for a respite in this matter was discussed by the

council at its meeting on 27 February 1392, see John Prophet's journal printed as Appendix II in J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 489–504, esp. pp. 491–2. Other writs 22 February 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1389–92, pp. 409–10, *L.B.H.*, p. 372; 23 May 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 375; 28 May 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1389–92, p. 567; *L.B.H.*, p. 376.

¹¹ *R.P.*, iii, p. 306; *C.Cl.R.*, 1392–6, p. 133; *L.B.H.*, pp. 392, 394.

¹² A deodand was a personal chattel which was considered to be the immediate cause of death of its owner. As such it was forfeited to the king to be applied by him to pious uses, i.e., prayers for the soul of the deceased. In fresh water both the vessel and its cargo, which were considered to be the cause of the owner's death were treated as deodand. 17 November 1391 a writ was sent to the London sheriffs about a boat called a 'shout' which had been abandoned in the Thames and was currently in the possession of John Trygg, fishmonger. The king claimed the boat as deodand, but there is no recorded reply to the writ, P.R.O. Exchequer King's Remembrancer Memoranda Roll (E. 159) 168. The case was argued in the council on 24 and 26 January 1392, Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 490, 491. There is evidence which supports the claims made by the London sheriffs, although the city was granted deodands in Southwark by charter in 1550, Walter de Gray Birch, *The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London* (rev. edn, London, 1887), p. 117 (hereafter cited as Birch, *Charters*). See also *L.B.H.*, p. 125 and n.

¹³ Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 489. This London privilege had been confirmed by Edward III in 1327, Birch, *Charters*, p. 56.

¹⁴ Monk of Westminster, pp. 276–7. The three liberties which the chronicler says were not restored were (i) the privilege claimed by the London freemen of being able to bequeath rents or goods for founding chantries or fraternities, without buying a special license from the king. In fact, the means whereby the city fraternities, by the use of feoffees, had been evading the provisions of the statute of 1279 had been revealed by the enquiry of 1388–9. A new statute had, therefore, been made in 1391 making land acquired on behalf of guilds and fraternities subject to the same restraints as other lands covered by the statute, see *L.B.H.*, p. 371 and n. 4; *Statues of the Realm*, ii (London, 1816), pp. 79–80; H. M. Chew, 'Mortmain in Medieval London', *E.H.R.*, ccxxxvi (1945), pp. 1–15. This privilege had therefore been withdrawn before the seizure of the city's liberties in 1392. (ii) The exact meaning of this second privilege is obscure. The chronicler appears to state that the right of appeal from decisions given in secular London courts was now to be as effective as in any other part of the realm. But, in fact, appeals on writs of error from decisions given in civic courts had always gone to special royal justices sitting at St Martin's-le-Grand, and continued to do so after 1392. There is no observable change in procedure. In effect, the decisions of city courts were subject to revision, but by a process different from that in operation in the rest of the realm. London continued to occupy a unique place in the kingdom. There may be some oblique reference here to the case of John Walpole, [n. 8 above] and Birch,

Charters, pp. 3-4, 53, 58; A. H. Thomas, ed., *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls, 1298-1307*, (Cambridge, 1924), pp. ix-xi; G. Norton, *Commentaries upon the History, Constitution and Chartered Franchises of the City of London* (3rd edn., London, 1869), pp. 361-3. (iii) The privilege claimed by the Londoners that any villein should be able, in London, to defend himself as a free man against charges brought against him by his lord. The chronicler states that the king now required that lords should be able to exercise their rights as fully in London as elsewhere. Again there is no observable change in London custom or practice in this matter after 1392, and villeins continue to gain their free status by living in the city, see *Cal. P. and M., 1364-81*, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

¹⁵ The sum lent was £5000, 6 March 1388, P.R.O. Exchequer Receipt Roll (E.401) 570. Tallies were issued 10 April 1388, P.R.O. Exchequer Receipt Roll (E.401), 575.

¹⁶ Six Londoners between them lent Richard £1533 6s 8d in 1388; eight Londoners lent £501 18s 7 ½d in 1389; four Londoners lent £239 13s 4d in 1390. There were no London loans in 1391. On 23 February 1392, William Venour, who had been a regular royal creditor, lent Richard £333 6s 8d (to avert disaster?), but there are no other London loans in 1392. Other regular London royal creditors had been the goldsmith, Nicholas Exton, and the vintner, William More. This information all derived from P.R.O. Exchequer Receipt Rolls (E.401).

¹⁷ M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), p. 468.

¹⁸ *Eulogium*, iii, p. 367.

¹⁹ *L.B.F.*, p. 105; *L.B.G.*, pp. 68, 205-6; *L.B.H.*, p. 378. The sheriffs' return in 1366 is to be found in P.R.O. Chancery Miscellanea (C. 47) 1/16 nos. 16 and 17, and the 1392 return in Sheriffs' Accounts (E. 199) Bundle 26 no. 5.

²⁰ J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, ed., 'Lay Subsidy temp. Henry IV', *Archaeological Journal*, xlv (1887), pp. 56-82.

²¹ Walsingham, ii, pp. 207-8, mentions a sum of £1000. He says that the Londoners followed their refusal by assaulting a Lombard merchant who was prepared to lend the king the money. He concludes his account with some general invective against the character of the Londoners. Monk of Westminster, p. 270, mentions a sum of 5000 marks or pounds to be advanced upon the security of a jewel worth considerably more. He says that the citizens, having refused the king, were then prepared to lend such an amount to a Lombard who subsequently lent it to Richard, who was understandably annoyed when he discovered the origin of the money.

²² J. J. N. Palmer, in F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron ed., *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), pp. 75-107.

²³ *C.Cl.R.*, 1389-92, p. 527.

²⁴ *L.B.H.*, pp. 371-2, 373.

²⁵ *C.Cl.R.*, 1389-92, p. 530; *L.B.H.*, p. 373.

²⁶ 21 January 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1389-92, pp. 530-1.

²⁷ *The Brut or the Chronicle of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (Early English Text

Society, 1908), part ii, Continuation C, p. 345 (hereafter cited as Brut C). *A Chronicle of London 1089–1483* (Harley 565), ed. H. Nicolas, London, 1827), pp. 79–80.

²⁸ Tout, *Chapters*, iv, p. 479, suggests that the southern chroniclers believed that the two north country minsters had prejudiced their master against the southern city. It is possible, also, that it was Arundel who persuaded Richard to move the courts to York, in order to favour the chief city of his diocese. See John H. Harvey in *The Reign of Richard II*, pp. 205–15.

²⁹ 17 May 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 375.

³⁰ *L.B.H.*, p. 378. Later in the month the king made provision for the transport of the chancery rolls and the writs and memoranda of the common bench to York, 18, 31 May 1392, *C.P.R. 1391–6*, p. 65.

³¹ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, ed. and trans. H. T. Riley (London, 1854), p. 352.

³² 30 May 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1389–92, pp. 466, 467, 565–6. 7 June 1392, *C.P.R. 1391–6*, p. 67. Special chests had to be bought for keeping the exchequer rolls and memoranda in St Peter's York at a cost of 47s., and for keeping the king's treasure in York castle at a cost of 29s 2d, payments made 11 July 1392 and 30 October 1392, P.R.O. Issue Rolls of the Exchequer (E403) 538 and 541. For a general survey see Dorothy M. Broome, 'Exchequer migrations to York in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T. F. Tout*, ed., A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 291–300. The suggestion (pp. 292–3) that Richard moved the courts away from Westminster in order to be able to hold the enquiry into London iniquities on grounds less favourable to the citizens can hardly be supported, since the trial of the Londoners was held before the council, which could meet anywhere; in the Londoners' case at Nottingham and Windsor.

³³ See John Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Walsingham, ii, p. 213; Victoria County History. *The City of York* (Oxford, 1961), p. 57.

³⁴ 30 May 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1389–92, p. 466.

³⁵ Monk of Westminster, pp. 267–8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

³⁷ Knighton, ii, p. 319.

³⁸ 29 May 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1389–92, p. 466; *L.B.H.*, p. 377; Monk of Westminster pp. 268–9. It may be that William Staundon, grocer, who was not currently an alderman (he had been alderman of Aldgate 1383–90 and sheriff in 1386–7), was appointed as the mayor's locumtenens during the absence of the city government at Nottingham, *ibid.*, pp. 272–3.

³⁹ *L.B.H.*, pp. 377–8; Monk of Westminster, pp. 269–70.

⁴⁰ *L.B.H.*, fo. ccclxx^v.

⁴¹ *C.Cl.R.*, 1392–6, p. 2.

⁴² *L.B.H.*, p. 379.

⁴³ *C.F.R.*, 1391–9, p. 49; *C.P.R.*, 1391–6, p. 100; *L.B.H.*, p. 379; cf. Monk of

Westminster, p. 272.

⁴⁴ Tout, *Chapters*, iii, pp. 352, 411 n.1, 413 n.3, 470. The career of Dalyngridge, as Tout admitted, showed signs of vacillation and his adherence to Richard's cause was not unqualified.

⁴⁵ Maghfeld's career is exceptionally well documented because of the chance survival of one of his ledger books among the exchequer records, P.R.O. Various Exchequer Accounts (E. 101) 509/19. This volume has been analysed and Maghfeld's career investigated by M. K. James, 'A London Merchant of the Fourteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, viii (1955-6), pp. 364-76. See also Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson, *Chaucer Life Records* (Oxford, 1966), ch. 25. Maghfeld had been an alderman in 1382-3 and had been re-elected in March 1392. Newton was elected for the first time in March 1392, A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London* (London, 1908), i, p. 401. Maghfeld had been a collector of tunnage and poundage in London from March 1388 to December 1391, and was still a collector there of the cloth and alien petty custom to which he had been appointed in May 1389, see Olive Coleman, 'Collectors of Customs in London under Richard II' in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed. A. E. J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (London, 1969), pp. 179-94. Thomas Newton had been a collector of the wool subsidy in Southampton in 1386-7, *C.F.R.*, 1383-91, pp. 129, 164.

⁴⁶ *C.F.R.*, 1391-9, p. 49; *L.B.H.*, p. 379. Dalyngridge's accounts as escheator in London for the period 26 June-22 July 1392 are enrolled, P.R.O. Escheators' Accounts (E. 357), ii fo. 33.

⁴⁷ 26 June 1392, *C.C.L.R.*, 1392-6, p. 1. Hadle had been an alderman intermittently since 1375, sheriff in 1375-6 and mayor 1379-80. Whether Hadle was immediately replaced by Adam Bamme as alderman of Lime Street ward is not clear, see Beaven, *op. cit.*, p. 174 and n. Hadle's appointment as mayor of the Calais stable coincides with the final return of the staple to Calais in the summer of 1392. See Tout, *Chapters*, iii, pp. 478-9.

⁴⁸ *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, p. 166. On 10 September 1392, Charleton was paid £10 for his costs and labours in the sessions at Nottingham, Windsor, and elsewhere, enquiring into the various articles objected against the citizens and commonalty of London. Alexander Domenik, a clerk, William Hornby, a king's attorney in the common bench, and Edmund Brudynell, a king's attorney in the king's bench, were each paid 66s 8d for the same reason, P.R.O. Issue Roll of the Exchequer (E.403) 538. Huntingdon, together with the duke of Lancaster, was considered by one chronicler to have been the instigator of the quarrel, Monk of Westminster, p. 268.

⁴⁹ *R.P.*, ii, pp. 258-9; *Statutes of the Realm*, i (London, 1810), pp. 346-7. The immediate cause of this statute was the lax observance of the Statute of Labourers in London, where the royal justices could not operate. In effect, therefore, the city had been in the position of acting as judge in its own cause.

⁵⁰ For the particulars of Dalyngridge's movements see his account as a

member of the king's council from Christmas 1391 to February 1393, P.R.O. Exchequer Accounts Various (E.101) 96/1; Dalyngridge had been constantly attending the Council at Stamford and at Nottingham since 18 May 1392.

⁵¹ *L.B.H.*, p. 379.

⁵² Maghfeld account book, fo. 30v. Dalyngridge also bought three pipes of red wine from Maghfeld for £10, *ibid.*, fo. 30v. On 28 July 1392, Dalyngridge borrowed a further £10 and the same sum again on 10 August. These debts, as well as an old one of £3 13s 4d are all recorded as paid, *ibid.*, fo. 38. Thomas Newenton, Maghfeld's fellow sheriff, bought a tun of wine from him on 12 July, costing 6 marks, *ibid.*, fo. 31.

⁵³ *Cal. P and M, 1381-1414*, pp. 182-3.

⁵⁴ *C.Cl.R., 1392-6*, p. 9. Hende had been imprisoned at Windsor, Vanner at Wallingford, and Shadworth at Odiham.

⁵⁵ 13 July 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 386.

⁵⁶ Monk of Westminster, pp. 273-4. Some evidence of Shadworth's resistance is, perhaps, also to be found in the obligation of £3,000 entered into by three London mercers, John Loveye, William Shiringham, and Thomas Vynent, to Sir Bernard Brocas (a king's knight) to ensure that Shadworth, their fellow-mercier, would not escape or absent himself, 9 July 1392. This was cancelled 18 October 1392, *Cal. P. and M., 1381-1412*, pp. 182-3.

⁵⁷ The close roll entry recording the verdict against the Londoners does not mention these fines, but the subsequent pardon makes it clear that they were imposed at this time, *C.P.R., 1391-6*, pp. 171, 173.

⁵⁸ 22 July 1392, *C.Cl.R., 1392-6*, pp. 87-9. All the men chosen by the king to serve as aldermen had already held this office, and their number included the deposed sheriffs, Shadworth and Vanner.

⁵⁹ 22 July 1392, *C.Cl.R., 1392-6*, p. 12; 23 July 1392, *ibid.*, pp. 78-9; *L.B.H.*, p. 383.

⁶⁰ For Radyngton's career see Tout, *Chapters*, iii, pp. 196-9.

⁶¹ Brut C, p. 346; Walsingham, ii, p. 209.

⁶² Monk of Westminster, p. 274.

⁶³ 22 July 1392, *C.P.R., 1391-6*, p. 125; *L.B.H.*, pp. 382, 383; *C.F.R., 1391-6*, p. 51. Radyngton's account as escheator is enrolled, P.R.O. Escheators' Accounts (E.357) 12 fo. 1v; 24 July 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 384.

⁶⁴ 24 July 1392, *C.Cl.R., 1392-6*, p. 12. One of the five aldermen selected by the king on this occasion, William Cresswyk, had not previously occupied the office.

⁶⁵ Maghfeld and Newenton were formally appointed as sheriffs, *C.F.R., 1391-9*, pp. 53-4; *L.B.H.*, p. 383.

⁶⁶ 29 July 1392, *C.P.R., 1391-9*, p. 53.

⁶⁷ Pardon of 19 September 1392, *C.P.R., 1391-6*, p. 130.

⁶⁸ *Cal. P. and M., 1381-1412*, p. 184; September 1392, *C.P.R., 1391-6*, p. 150. Recognizances for debt were also made before Radyngton, see Guildhall

Record Office, Roll of Recognizances, no. 12.

⁶⁹ 27 August 1392, *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, pp. 144, 147; *L.B.H.*, p. 385. The choice of the keeper of the great beam and the profits of his office had been granted to the commonalty of London by Edward II in 1319, Birch, *Charters*, p. 48. For the city's claim to scavage see *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, ed. H. T. Riley, I, *Liber Albus* (Rolls Series, 1859), pp. 223-6, 230.

⁷⁰ See Knighton, ii, pp. 319-21; Brut C, p. 47; Walsingham, ii, pp. 210-11; Monk of Westminster, pp. 274-6. The Carmelite friar, Richard of Maidstone, wrote a long Latin poem to celebrate the occasion, *Political Poems and Songs*, ed., T. Wright, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1859-61), i., pp. 282-300. An unknown member of Richard's entourage wrote a letter describing the events of these days in French, see Helen Suggett, 'A Letter Describing Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London 1392', *E.H.R.*, lxii (1947), pp. 209-13.

⁷¹ Walter Strete, a mercer, owed 13s 8d to the company wardens for his livery of baldekyn which had been ordained 'for the coming of the king', Mercer's Hall, Account Book 1347-1464, fo. 12v.

⁷² Maidstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 294, 296. John the Baptist is also represented on the Wilton Diptych.

⁷³ Maidstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 286, 299; Monk of Westminster, p. 275.

⁷⁴ 17 September 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 384.

⁷⁵ 19 September 1392, *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, p. 171; *L.B.H.*, pp. 380-1. The obligations into which their friends had entered to secure their freedom on 23 and 24 July were now cancelled on the grounds that the king had pardoned the three men their fines and ransoms, *C.Cl.R.*, 1392-6, pp. 78-9; *L.B.H.*, p. 383.

⁷⁶ 10 September 1392, *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, p. 130; *L.B.H.*, p. 381. The original of these letters patent is preserved in the Guildhall Record Office, Charter no. 47 (274 A).

⁷⁷ 19 September 1392, *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, p. 173; *L.B.H.*, p. 381. The letters patent contain no exceptions to the liberties which were restored to the Londoners, but the Monk of Westminster (see note 14 above) and the anonymous letter writer (Suggett, *op. cit.*, p. 212) both state that some of the city's privileges were not restored at this time.

⁷⁸ Walsingham, ii, pp. 209, 210. For Lancaster's financial dealing with certain Londoners see Ruth Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

⁷⁹ Tout, *Chapters*, iii, p. 199. It would appear that Radyngton lacked the flexibility needed by such a negotiator and, although he was praised by Walsingham (ii, p. 209), his reputation must suffer somewhat from the account of the attack made by him, and members of his household, upon the abbey and city of Chester in July 1394, see A.R. Myers, ed., *English Historical Documents 1327-1485* (London, 1969), pp. 1222-3.

⁸⁰ Dalyngridge's account, P.R.O. Exchequer Accounts Various (E.101), 96/1.

⁸¹ 21 September 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 385. There is no record of their being sworn to office in P.R.O. Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer Roll (E.368) 165. This may

be because the sheriffs were sworn, not before the barons of the exchequer, but before the constable's lieutenant at the Tower of London, *L.B.H.*, p. 386.

⁸² See note 69, above. 25 September 1392, writ of *supersedeas*, *L.B.H.*, p. 385. The letter of privy seal authorizing this writ survives and shows that the Londoners had petitioned against the grant of these offices to the royal valets, and that the king, wishing right to be done to the citizens, granted their request and acknowledged that these offices belonged to the Londoners, P.R.O. Chancery Warrants (C.81), 8317B.

⁸³ *L.B.H.*, pp. 386–7. Staundon was sworn before the constable's lieutenant at the Tower of London, as the sheriffs had been (see n. 81 above) and this is specifically mentioned in Brut C., p. 346. More unusually, Staundon was also sworn before the king in person at Westminster, *L.B.H.*, p. 387.

⁸⁴ The four sheriffs for the year 1391–2, Henry Vanner, John Shadworth, Gilbert Maghfeld, and Thomas Newton had to account at the exchequer, writ 7 October 1392, *L.B.H.*, p. 390, and P.R.O. Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer Roll (E.368) 165, *praecepta* Hilary fo. 1v. 18 October 1392, eleven aldermen undertook in Radyngton's presence, to pay Stephen Speleman, the chamberlain, £5 on 30 November 1392. Four days later nine of the same aldermen, together with six others, similarly agreed to pay Speleman £11 6s 8d on the same day, *L.B.H.*, p. 391. The purpose of these undertakings is obscure. 1 November 1392, Speleman, who had had a difficult task in accounting to two masters in the year 1391–2, was acquitted on his accounts by the mayor, aldermen and citizens, *L.B.H.*, p. 390.

⁸⁵ 25 October 1392, *C.Cl.R.*, 1392–6, p. 21. Further instructions for the return of the exchequer, king's bench, and Fleet prisoners followed, *ibid.*, p. 76. Writs of aid were issued for the various clerks appointed to transport the rolls and memoranda southward, *C.P.R.*, 1391–6, pp. 189, 191, 196. It is clear that this was not achieved without considerable difficulty, *ibid.*, p. 218. Robert Rodyngton and Thomas Sywardleby each received 13s 4d for their special labours in bringing south the exchequer records, and a special escort of archers was paid £4, P.R.O. Issue Rolls of the Exchequer (E.403) 541, 6 and 26 November 1392. The sheriff of York received a reward of £40 and a grant of £15 towards the repair of the new bridge at York, *C.Cl.R.*, 1392–6, p. 31. John de Ravensar, the keeper of the hanaper, received £105 16s 6d on 19 April 1393 for his expenses in transporting the chancery rolls to and from York, *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁸⁶ M. D. Legge, ed., *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions* (Anglo Norman Text Society, Oxford, 1941), pp. 185–6.

⁸⁷ *C.P.R.*, 1391–6, p. 226. The official receipt states that the Londoners paid the sum 'with good heart' which is at variance with Walsingham's account (ii, p. 211) of the great bitterness with which the sum was collected. See also John Stow, *Annales or a General Chronicle of England* (London, 1631), p. 307; *A Chronicle of London*, p. 80. Brut C., p. 347, states that the Londoners gave Richard £20,000; *Eulogium*, p. 368, says that the sum was £40,000; the Monk of Westminster, pp. 274, 278, says that the original demand for £40,000 was reduced at the queen's

request to £20,000. As this sum was, according to the chronicler, to be composed either of cash or jewels it may be that the gifts were estimated as worth £10,000, which left the Londoners with a further £10,000 to be paid in cash. The anonymous letter, Suggett, *op. cit.*, p. 213, states that the amount was £10,000 plus 2000 marks annually.

⁸⁸ *Eulogium*, p. 368.

⁸⁹ *R.P.*, iii, p. 325; P.R.O., Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) nos. 6036, 7343, 1052. No royal responses to these petitions is recorded.

⁹⁰ Ordinance for levying 5,000 marks in the wards, undated but circa 1393, *L.B.H.*, fo. cclxxx. This ordinance makes it clear that there had already been one levy for tallage in the city, and those who were then assessed were to pay according to that assessment. Parish churches, chantries, mysteries, and fraternities were to contribute at a lower rate of 40d in the pound, see *L.B.H.* fo. cclxxx and *R.P.*, iii, p. 325. 5 June 1394, the mercers paid £10 'for certain businesses touching the franchise of the City', Mercers' Hall, Account Book 1347–1464, fo. 13v. 4 June 1394, Gilbert Maghfled lent £5 to the chamberlain 'pour notre franchises', Maghfled Account Book, fos. 35, 47v. In the year ending Michaelmas 1392 the Bridge House Estates contributed £60 'pro diversis negotiis' touching the city, and in the year ending Michaelmas 1393 a further £4 11s, Guildhall Record Office, Bridge House Accounts Roll 11 m. 1, Roll 12 m. I, IV.

⁹¹ Monk of Westminster, p. 278. The mercers provided five men as mummers at a cost of £3, Mercers' Hall, Account Book 1347–1464, fo. 12. Gilbert Maghfled lent the city chamberlain 40s for the mumming at Eltham at Christmas, Maghfled Account Book fo. 35. Again Sir Edward Dalyngridge may have arranged these festivities for he spent ten days in London in December 1392, P.R.O. Exchequer Accounts Various (E. 101) 96/1.

⁹² Guildhall Record Office, Bridge House Accounts Roll 12 m. 8, 9, 10. Cf. John H. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych—A Re-examination', *Archaeologia*, xcvi (1959), pp. 1–28, esp. p. 52 n. 7.

⁹³ 5 December, 1394, P.R.O. Receipt Roll of Exchequer (E.401) 596; repayments 1 March, 3 April 1395, Issue Roll of the Exchequer (E403) 549. This money was probably raised specifically for the king's journey to Ireland. Gilbert Maghfled on 4 December 1394 lent £50 towards the city's 10,000 marks, for which he was promised, and received, repayment by 15 March 1395, Maghfled Account Book. fo. 52v.

⁹⁴ *R.P.*, iii, 317. Beaven, *op.cit.*, I, p. 402, notes that the last annual election of aldermen took place in March 1394.

⁹⁵ *R.P.*, iii, pp. 317–18, P.R.O. Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) file 21 no. 1050.

⁹⁶ *R.P.*, iii, p. 317. There is an undated and unendorsed petition from the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London addressed to the king and lords of the 'present parliament' which also asks for a modification of the 1354 statute whereby the crimes of individual London governors should not be able to bring corporate punishments upon the city. It may be that this more sweeping petition

was refused by the king in the parliament of 1394, P.R.O. Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) file 121 no. 6040.

⁹⁷ Account Roll of Richard Clifford for the years 1392–4, P.R.O. Exchequer Accounts Various (E.101) 402/13. This is the only such particularized account to survive for Richard's reign, although the enrolled accounts give the totals of expenditure, see Tout, *Chapters*, iv, pp. 423–4; vi, p. 108.

⁹⁸ The actual total of the roll was £13,242 9s 11 ¼ d, made p of £387 10s 2d (saddlery); £6,203 15s 7 ½ d (mercery); £2,219 11s (furs); £4,431 19s 2 3/4d (drapery). For the career of Richard Whittington see Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth', in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed., A. E. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (London, 1969) pp. 197–248. [*Reprinted as Chapter 10 in the present volume.*]

⁹⁹ *C.P.R.*, 1391–6, p. 173. The calendar of the patent rolls does not, however, give the crucial wording at the end of the document, 'quousque aliter ordinandum que eisdem in cuius etc.', P.R.O. Patent Rolls (C66) 336, m. 31.

¹⁰⁰ *R.P.*, iii, pp. 324–5; P.R.O. Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) file 121 no. 6041. There is also in the P.R.O. another undated and unendorsed petition from the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London to the king, in which they recite the judgments of 1392 and ask for a restoration of the city's liberties 'en cest present parlement', which is probably to be dated to 1394. In this petition the Londoners ask also for a modification of the statute made at York in the ninth year of Edward III's reign, to the effect that merchant strangers might not sell goods retail between themselves within the franchises of the city of London, P.R.O. Ancient Petitions (S.C.8) file 190 no. 9456. Knighton (ii, p. 321) records that in September 1392. the king deferred any final decision about the liberties of London until the next parliament. He then goes on to state, incorrectly, that in the parliament of 1394, the Londoners were restored 'ad sua pristina privilegia'.

¹⁰¹ *L.B.H.*, p. 436; H. T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life in XIII, XIV and XV Centuries, 1276–1419* (London, 1868), p. 544.

¹⁰² Birch, *Charters*, p. 19.

¹⁰³ *The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle* (London, 1811), p. xxx.

¹⁰⁴ P.R.O. Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer Roll (E. 368) 169 and 170.

¹⁰⁵ *C.Cl.R.*, 1396–99, p. 135; P.R.O. Close Rolls (C. 54) 239 m iv. Cf. note 58 above.

¹⁰⁶ Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard Whittington', pp. 205, 229–30. [*Reprinted as Chapter 10 in the present volume.*]

¹⁰⁷ Caroline M. Barron, 'The Tyranny of Richard II', *B.I.H.R.*, xli (1968), pp. 1–18, esp. 1–6. [*Reprinted as Chapter 1 in the present volume.*]

¹⁰⁸ *C.P.R.*, 1396–9, p. 136; P.R.O. Patent Rolls (C.66), 345; Guildhall Record Office, Charter no. 49 (297A).

¹⁰⁹ 'Paid £50 to the Chamber (of London) by order of Richard Whittington, Mayor and the Aldermen', Guildhall Record Office, Bridge House Accounts roll

15 m. 1v. The Grocers' Company on 23 July 1397 paid £13 6s 8d to Whittington and the aldermen, 'Pur le fraunchises de Londres,' *Facsimile of the First Volume of the Ms. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London, 1345-1463*, ed. J. A. Kingdon (London, 1886), i, p. 78.

¹¹⁰ John Woodcock, a mercer and associate of Whittington, contributed £50 which he was fortunate enough to have repaid by Henry IV, 7 April 1400. Woodcock was paid by assignment a total sum of £1,300 6s 6½ d. This was mainly to cover money owed to him by Richard II and Isabella for purchase of mercery. These debts amounted to £1,250 6s 6½ d which left £50. The entry in the issue roll states that this sum was Woodcock's contribution to the loan of 10,000 marks lately made by the mayor and citizens of London to King Richard, P.R.O. Issue rolls of the Exchequer (E.403) 565. The grocer and ex-mayor William Venour contributed £100, which he was repaid during Richard's reign, 4 November, 1397, P.R.O. Issue Rolls of Exchequer (E.403) 556.

¹¹¹ P.R.O. Receipt Rolls of Exchequer (E.401) 606.

¹¹² 21 August 1397, *L.B.H.*, p. 438.

¹¹³ Walsingham, ii, p. 210.

¹¹⁴ There can be added to this sum the cost, estimated at 12,000 francs, of a circlet of gold set with precious stones and pearls, which the Londoners presented to Queen Isabella when she arrived in the city as Richard's bride in November 1396, *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au regne de Charles VI*, ed. L. Drouet-D'Arcq (Paris, 1863-4), ii, p. 277.

Chapter 3

London and the Crown, 1451–61

THE STRENGTH OF EDWARD of York as he approached London in February 1461 lay not only in his armed retinue, but also ‘in the commonalty of London who were delirious with joy and obviously prepared for a change of dynasty.’ Such is the accepted view.¹ It was propagated by his most consequential supporters and, equally inevitably, by London chroniclers writing after Edward’s accession.² But what was the ‘commonalty of London’? Historians have often written of London welcoming Henry Bolingbroke, or supporting Henry V, or failing to support Henry VI during the 1450s, as if the city during this period was a homogeneous body. This was not so.

In the mid-fifteenth century 30,000 to 40,000 people lived in the City and its immediate suburbs.³ Of the 12,000 to 14,000 adult males only those who were ‘free’ (i.e. citizens) mattered politically. The freemen numbered between 3,000 and 4,000.⁴ The distinction between free and un-free in the city was important. A man acquired the freedom if he had served a lengthy apprenticeship, or by patrimony if his father were free, or if, indeed, he could purchase it. A freeman was a person of substance with a stake in the community, who shared the burdens of administration and defence and, in return, enjoyed certain trading privileges and exemptions from taxation. A wealthy, successful freeman could hardly avoid the expensive office of alderman. The freemen of the city, called the commonalty, met every October at Guildhall to elect the mayor for the succeeding year from among the twenty-five aldermen. Although all freemen stood an equal chance of shouldering this burden, members of merchant, rather than artisan, companies were usually elected. Of the 159 aldermen between 1400 and 1485 all but eleven came from the established merchant companies of Drapers, Mercers, Grocers, Fishmongers, Skinners, Goldsmiths, Ironmongers, and Vintners.⁵ The artisan freemen resented this merchant monopoly of office and occasionally expressed their feelings

violently. Between 1437 and 1444 there was a consistent, but unsuccessful, attempt to elect Ralph Holland, a tailor, as mayor.⁶

On occasion, bitterness may have existed between wealthy merchant freemen and their poorer artisan brethren. Yet the gulf between them was never so wide as that which separated the minority of freemen from the majority of the unfree. Among the unfree there were, of course, stable elements: Italian and Hanseatic merchants, secular clerks and members of religious orders, the thousand or so law-abiding 'Doche'.⁷ But the bulk of the 10,000 unenfranchized comprised skilled and unskilled day labourers, apprentices, and vagrants, as well as the retainers and servants of magnates whose town houses lay in or near the city. In times of crisis the desires and activities of the unenfranchized were as much a pre-occupation of the Court of Aldermen as the external threat from the approach of armies. When law and order seemed likely to break down, the unenfranchized became quick witted and nimble-fingered. At best, they enjoyed the chance of plunder; at least, a spectacle and a few days holiday. Such a prospect dismayed propertied freemen.

Two incidents illustrate this division of interest. After Warwick's defeat at the second battle of St Albans in February 1461 the road to London lay open to Queen Margaret. To prevent the city from being plundered, the mayor and aldermen sent victuals to her army at their own expense.⁸ William Gregory records what followed:

Ande the mayre ordaynyd bothe brede and vytayle to be sende unto the quene, and a certayne sum of money with alle. But whenn men of London and comyns wyste that the cartysse shulde goo to the Quene, they toke the cartys and departyde the brede and vytayle a-monge the comyns ... But as for the mony, I wot not howe hit was departyd; I trowe the pursse stale the mony.⁹

The author of the *Short English Chronicle* also notes the divergence of interest between the 'worthy and the Aldremen' and the 'comones'. The former wanted to come to terms with the queen to avoid the sacking of the city, while the latter were anxious to hold it for the Yorkist lords.¹⁰ A similar division arose in May 1471, when Thomas Fauconberg besieged London with an army of Kentishmen in the name of Henry VI. The author of the *Arrival of King Edward IV* observed that there were many who were inclined to admit Fauconberg: 'some for they were powre; some, men's servants, men's prentises, which would have bene right glade of a comon robbery, to th'entent they might largely have put they hands in riche mens

coffres.¹¹ London was not, therefore, homogeneous. But its divisions were horizontal, separating the wealthy from the poor, merchants from artisans, citizens from the unenfranchized. In 1461 the aldermen were Lancastrian and the mob was Yorkist; in 1471 the aldermen were Yorkist and the mob largely Lancastrian. Although the unenfranchized mob was a powerful force in city affairs and the enfranchized rulers could ignore its wishes only at their peril, yet the normal voice of the city was that of its wealthy governing minority, characterized by conservatism and caution.

This governing elite usually conducted the normal relations between the city and the Crown. The best-documented aspect of these relations is that of finance. But although the government of Henry VI was dependent on loans from London, London itself was equally dependent upon the Crown for the exercise of those privileges and exemptions upon which its economic prosperity was founded. For all its wealth and national importance in the fifteenth century, London still operated only within a framework of privileges granted by royal charters. Its officers were answerable to the king for the maintenance of law and order, for the execution of royal writs, and also for the protection of foreign merchants. The Londoners still remembered the events of 1392 when Richard II had seized the city's liberties, and their recovery had cost some £30,000. They could not, therefore, lightly refuse royal requests for financial help, nor effectively demand redress of grievances before supply.¹²

Throughout the fifteenth century the city rulers were constantly on their guard to protect the liberties and privileges of London, not only from the challenges of other towns, but also from claims by the Crown. They were concerned with financial advantages, which might be won or lost as the Crown decided. Although most disputes were perennial, a new area of friction arose during the 1430s. In order to augment his dwindling resources, Henry VI began to grant monopolies of certain indispensable offices in the city to royal servants by letters patent. In 1432 Thomas Multon was granted the office of wine-gauger. In the fourteenth century the gauger had charged buyer and seller a halfpenny each for gauging a tun of wine, but by the mid 1440s the mayor and aldermen complained to the King's Council that he was charging 4d a tun.¹³ In November 1440 six esquires of the king's household were sold the office of cloth-packer in London in survivorship for £48. The Londoners keenly resented this monopoly, particularly because Henry IV had granted them the right to pack their own cloths.¹⁴ In December 1440 Henry VI granted the monopoly of the office of wine-drawer to William Styce and Thomas Quyne;

they were empowered to exercise the office through deputies and to draw the accustomed fees.¹⁵ In 1394 the fees had been established at 10d a tun for carrying wine from the port to a destination within the walls, and at 16d for a tun carried beyond the walls.¹⁶ Here the citizens complained not so much about the rates charged, but about the monopoly itself, since it effectively destroyed their right to draw their own wine.¹⁷ Finally, in October 1442 the king granted the office of garbeller in the ports of London, Southampton, and Sandwich jointly to Richard Hakedy, a grocer, and William Aunsell, a royal sergeant.¹⁸ This grant particularly affected the Grocers, who complained in 1446 that garbelling in the city was carried out by men of 'little behaviour or value'.¹⁹

The king's motives in granting such patents are understandable. He could realize in hard cash a hitherto unexploited asset and by doing so obtain income as well as a means of rewarding royal servants. But monopolies cut across long-established vested interests and tended to raise the price of the inescapable services which patentees offered. Several companies might feel particularly aggrieved—the Drapers about the cloth-packer, the Vintners about the gauger and wine-drawers, and the Grocers about the garbeller. Yet everyone in the city was affected: the burdens of increased costs had to be shared. The aldermen, therefore, on behalf of the citizens at large, constantly complained about patents. In 1442 they tried, but without success, to make the grant of a royal loan conditional upon the revocation of the cloth-packers' and wine-drawers' patents.²⁰ They claimed that such patents conflicted with the city's chartered rights and infringed the jurisdiction of the mayor. As a deterrent, they ordained that any freeman who accepted such an office by royal grant should lose his freedom and pay a £20 fine.²¹ In 1444 the citizens achieved a partial but unsatisfactory concession: occupiers of disputed offices already granted by royal patent were to enjoy them for life, but their reversion was to belong to the mayor and citizens. The Londoners continued to press for a grant of such offices in perpetuity—and not least when they negotiated with Edward of York in the months before and after his accession.

The conflict over patents is only one area where a watchful and indigent Crown questioned the customary privileges of London. These conflicts occurred within the better-known context of the financial relationships between the Crown and the city. The Londoners' unsuccessful attempt in 1442 to make the grant of a loan conditional upon the withdrawal of the royal patents demonstrates the interplay of finance and privilege. The Londoners were very important royal creditors, although

at times their importance might be eclipsed by, for example, Cardinal Beaufort.²² London loans to the crown might be raised from individuals; from merchants of the Calais Staple, many of whom were Londoners; or from the city in its corporate capacity. Such loans were interconnected, for a large advance by the Staplers or by a group of prominent citizens might well make it difficult for the city to raise a corporate loan if it were asked for one soon afterwards.

The City Journals reveal something about the negotiations which preceded a corporate London loan. The king usually sent a letter to the mayor and citizens explaining his need. A meeting of the Common Council would be especially summoned, at which the king's letter would be read and discussed.²³ From time to time the king employed more direct methods. Thus in March 1415 the archbishop of Canterbury and other royal councillors went to Guildhall to argue the merits of the policy to invade France; and in July 1444 the earl of Suffolk explained the need for a loan to finance the embassy which would bring Margaret of Anjou to England as Henry's bride and thus achieve a final peace with France.²⁴ Also, the city from time to time received direct requests from France, as in June 1435 and July 1451 when the mayor and aldermen of Calais sent letters asking for assistance; or in January 1453 when the earl of Shrewsbury wrote from Aquitaine.²⁵ Between 1416 and 1448 the citizens very rarely refused to lend; but on no occasion did they lend as much as the king requested. This was a custom which both parties probably well understood.²⁶ When the Londoners did refuse a request they always pleaded poverty. Their primary concern, once they had agreed to advance money, was to achieve good security for repayment. They were important lenders who had to be kept in good heart; thus they fared better than many other creditors at the Lancastrian Exchequer.

The copious information which the Exchequer records provide is opaque. They never reveal, for example, whether a loan for which tallies of assignment were issued was ever repaid. On occasion, irredeemable tallies were returned to the Exchequer and new ones issued under the guise of a 'fictitious loan.'²⁷ Unless another source survives which supplements the Exchequer's record of tallies issued, it is impossible to know whether, or how, a creditor received his money. For corporate London loans, however, the City Journals provide a partial check. On two occasions the City Chamberlain made a statement to the Common Council about the king's indebtedness to the city. In February 1439 John Chichele reported that the king's outstanding debt amounted to £2,666 13s 4d.²⁸ At least £333

6s 8d of this dated back to a loan made to the Crown in March 1431, and in the intervening eight years the Londoners had corporately lent £14,333 6s 8d. Hence the amount outstanding in 1439 was a small, and not an unreasonable, proportion of their outlay since 1431. In March 1450 John Middleton reported that the king then owed the Londoners £3,230 12s 4 1/2d.²⁹ Since 1431 the city had advanced twenty-two loans to the Crown and only five of these were still outstanding. The evidence of the Journals suggests, therefore, that the Londoners received preferential treatment at the Exchequer, and also that their tallies of assignment were largely honoured by the sources on which they were drawn.³⁰

The relationship between the Crown and the city in the fifteenth century was delicately balanced. On the one hand, the financial need of the Crown; on the other, the anxiety of the city about its privileges.³¹ The political shifts of the period 1450–61 made it hard for either party to maintain the customary equilibrium. The relations between the Crown and the city during these years have to be carefully examined, for it cannot be assumed that decisions taken by the Londoners were politically inspired. By 1449 Henry VI was considerably in debt. According to Professor Fryde, ‘the business community was becoming indifferent to the fate of the regime and had lost all trust in it: the repeated refusals of Londoners to lend money to Henry VI during the last disastrous campaigns in France in 1448–52 show this very clearly. The financial bankruptcy of the Lancastrian monarchy was as complete on the eve of the Wars of the Roses as was its political collapse’.³² Professor Storey has also argued, but not with reference to the merchant community, that it was the bankruptcy of Lancaster which drove York to rebellion.³³

Although after 1448 the Crown is likely to have been very short of ready cash, the evidence that the Londoners were indifferent to the fate of Henry VI’s regime is less convincing. Although the City Journals record seven occasions between 1448 and 1460 when the Londoners refused the king’s requests for loans, yet during the same period they did, in fact, make fourteen loans or gifts.³⁴ This represents a slightly higher rate of support than had been customary between 1416 and 1448 when they had provided, on average, a gift or a loan each year. The unprecedented number of refusals to lend did not reflect indifference, but arose from the unprecedented number of royal requests for assistance. When the citizens refused such requests they pleaded ‘insufficiency’—and often in good faith. For, apart from the corporate loans of those years, the Londoners had advanced considerable sums either as individuals or as merchants of the Calais

Staple. Between 1448 and 1460 the Receipt Rolls of the Exchequer record loans from the Staplers amounting to over £37,000, as well as loans totalling £21,500 made by eighty-three individual Londoners. Moreover, the Staplers are known to have provided at least a further £24,000.³⁵ Nor do the Receipt Rolls record all the corporate loans or gifts made by London from 1448 to 1461. In fact only two such advances are recorded: a loan of £666 13s 4d in October 1449, and a gift of £1,333 6s 8d in January 1453.³⁶ Yet the City Journals reveal the existence of a further twelve loans or gifts. The loans amounted to over £2,000 (the exact amounts of three are not known), and gifts to over £1,000.³⁷ Thus the incompleteness of the Receipt and Issue Rolls is revealed when they are checked against the City Journals. Any assessment of the degree of support for Henry VI's government based upon them is bound to be faulty. Indeed it was not the Londoners who failed Henry VI, but the Exchequer itself.

The Exchequer had originally dealt mainly with cash; its procedures could hardly cope when revenue was anticipated as extensively as it was by the government of Henry VI. Early in the fifteenth century a loan from London was usually recorded as received in the Receipt Roll and the issue of tallies for repayment similarly noted a few days later. But the process of acknowledging receipt of a loan became indivisible from the process of issuing tallies of assignment. If all the sources of royal revenue were so desperately overburdened with unpaid tallies that the Exchequer could issue no more, then the loan would not be recorded on the Receipt Rolls. In July 1444 Common Council agreed to make a loan to the Crown but instructed its agents not to hand over the money without obtaining a written receipt from the officials of the Exchequer as well as an assignment upon the next parliamentary tenth and fifteenth. In fact, the agents could obtain only a note of receipt from John Poutrell, a collector of the wool subsidy in London.³⁸ There is no record of the loan in either the Receipt or Issue Rolls. A loan for the defence of Calais in 1451 amounting to £1,333 6s 8d was acknowledged in a similar way: the four treasurers of the parliamentary subsidy, together with William Beaufitz, one of the collectors of tunnage and poundage in London, entered into a semi-private obligation to guarantee repayment to Thomas Catworth, the mayor, and two aldermen.³⁹ There is no mention of this loan in the Exchequer records. In both these cases the Londoners appear to have negotiated directly with the collectors of royal revenue and the Exchequer itself was innocent of the transaction.

When the derelict state of the Exchequer between 1448 and 1460 is considered, the extent of London support for the government may be reassessed. Individual Londoners and the city corporately gave or lent at least £30,000, and the merchants of Calais at least £60,000. The London merchant community was primarily concerned with the safety of Calais, and it was certainly fretful about the repayment of loans. Yet the pattern and extent of their lending does not suggest that they were indifferent to the fate of the regime. Throughout the 1450s they continued to have a financial stake in the government and this was an important consideration in their response to overtures from those who planned to dislodge the Lancastrian dynasty and, in so doing, render its debts irredeemable.

The policy of the mayor, aldermen, and Common Council was to maintain the city's neutrality and the *status quo*. In January 1452 Richard, duke of York, marched towards London, was refused entry by the citizens, and withdrew to Dartford.⁴⁰ When Henry VI's illness between August 1453 and December 1454 made him unable to conduct the government himself, the city rulers were careful to maintain good relations not only with York, but also with Queen Margaret. When York was staying at Baynard Castle in November 1453, the mayor and aldermen were in two minds whether to visit him or not. In the end they decided to wait for instructions from the royal council and not to commit themselves or to show favour to either party 'except as commanded by the king and his council'.⁴¹ In the same spirit the Court of Aldermen decided later to greet the Queen on her arrival in the city in their scarlet liveries, and also to do the same for the duke of York on the following Friday.⁴²

On the eve of the battle of St Albans in May 1455 the mayor and aldermen sent messages to the lords supporting York to refuse them entry into the city on the king's orders.⁴³ During the period of York's ascendancy and second protectorship, lasting until February 1450, there is no evidence that the Londoners corporately lent money to the government.⁴⁴ The city had its own troubles in 1456. Fierce fighting broke out between the London mercers and the Italian merchants; and the failure of the city authorities to curb this violence resulted in the imprisonment of an alderman, William Cantelowe, and other mercers.⁴⁵ This showed that the city was not immune from the general lawlessness and unrest which permeated the country at large.⁴⁶ Early in 1458 King Henry tried to reconcile York and the Nevill earls with the heirs of the magnates slain at Saint Albans three years earlier. The presence of so many armed retinues in or near London posed a formidable task for the civic authorities; the

Journals indicate their efforts to keep the peace: 535 men were enrolled to patrol the wards; a river curfew was imposed from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.; the gates were to be closed during the same hours; and a rota of night watches was drawn up for the aldermen.⁴⁷ Whereas the duke of York and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury lodged within the city, the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and Lords Egremont and Clifford remained outside—in Fleet Street and Westminster.⁴⁸ York, Warwick, and Salisbury all possessed town houses within the city walls: York at Baynard Castle, Warwick in Old Dean Street, west of St Paul's, and Salisbury at the Erber in Dowgate ward.⁴⁹ The other lords did not. On this occasion the Londoners successfully maintained the peace, and the king commended their efforts.⁵⁰

Whether through fear or ambition the supporters of the duke of York began to arm in 1459. On 23 September they fought an indecisive battle at Blore Heath in Cheshire. This battle provoked the king to write from Nottingham to the mayor and citizens of London. When his letters had been read sergeants were sent to the Venetians and the Florentines, and also to the wardens of the Gunners, Armourers, Bowyers, Fletchers, Mercers, Haberdashers, Joiners, Tailors, and Upholders instructing them to come to the Court of Aldermen the next day to hear the king's command. Meanwhile no arms were to be sold openly or privately to any adherent of the duke of York or the earls of Warwick or Salisbury.⁵¹ The city was to be defended in the king's name.⁵² But after the rout of Ludford on 12 October the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, together with York's eldest son, the earl of March (the future Edward IV) fled to Calais; and York himself fled to Ireland. On 11 October the aldermen had assured the king of the good disposition of the city, as well as of their daily labours to preserve the peace.⁵³ On 16 October Common Council agreed to give the king £666 13s 4d 'to relieve his great expenses after the recent perturbations'.⁵⁴ There is little evidence, therefore, of Yorkist sentiment in the city at this time.

At the Coventry Parliament of November 1459, York, Warwick, and Salisbury were attainted. On 8 November Common Council made a further loan for the relief of Calais.⁵⁵ Two months later, however, the city resisted the king's commissioners of array on the grounds that such commissions infringed the liberties of the city. Yet the mayor and aldermen gave £33 6s 3d, towards the wages of soldiers mustering at Sandwich under the earl of Wiltshire for embarkation to Calais.⁵⁶ In return, the citizens received 'gracious' letters from the king, which promised them his

support in their long-standing quarrel with the London clergy over tithes, and also assured them that he would not infringe their liberties if they remained loyal.⁵⁷

In February 1460 the citizens were once more put upon the alert; the city companies contributed towards the cost of new artillery; and on 1 March Henry VI was honourably received at Cripplegate.⁵⁸ The earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury planned their return from the comparative safety of Calais. But when a letter announcing that Warwick's fleet was anchoring off Hastings on 8 June was brought to the Court of Aldermen, the court decided not to forward it to the king because it was of no great matter.⁵⁹ Nevertheless the mayor and aldermen made careful provision for the defence of the bridge, the burning of the drawbridge, the mustering of archers, and the guarding of the Tower. At the same time, many citizens were enlisted to maintain continuous watch.⁶⁰ London was not therefore taken by surprise when the earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury landed at Sandwich on 26 June. As they advanced, a meeting of Common Council was held 'for guarding the city in these times of trouble'. The Council agreed to assist the mayor and aldermen in holding London for the king. Yet it stipulated that Lords Hungerford and Scales, the commanders of the Tower garrison, should not help to defend the city.⁶¹ Thus the Londoners hedged their bets. Whatever the outcome of the rebellion, they could plead that they had held the city for the victor.

On 28 June Common Council took detailed measures to defend the bridge, but they were measures which would also allow the passage of noncombatants. A deputation was sent to the insurgent earls to try to move them to take another route or not come through the city, but if they, or any of them, were to come to the city, they would find it defended by the whole authority of the mayor, aldermen, and common council. This deputation was sent with the approval of those royal councillors who were lodged in the Tower. The keeping of the city gates that night was entrusted to reliable aldermen.⁶² The next day was Sunday, the feast of St Peter and St Paul, and, by tradition, a day of civic ceremony. But the mayor and aldermen abandoned their usual procession to St Paul's. They also decided that any messenger coming from the insurgent lords should not be received.⁶³ On Tuesday 1 July the deputation sent three days before returned, and the determination of the Londoners to resist crumbled.⁶⁴ They were not prepared to see the city sacked for the cause of Henry VI, and so the earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury entered peacefully. London became Yorkist on 2 July 1460, but not before. It was a decision born of realism

and self-interest, not of principle and altruism. Once, however, the city governors had agreed to open the gates to the earls, it was imperative that the latter should gain control of the government, if not of the Crown itself. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the city throwing its whole weight behind the Yorkist campaigns during the next months, for if Henry VI were to return in triumph to his rebellious capital, the privileges and purses of the city would inevitably suffer.

London support for the Yorkist cause after July 1460 was of two kinds: the practical support of money and fighting men, and the moral support of organized cheering crowds. Between 4 July 1460 and 7 April 1461 the citizens corporately lent the Yorkists £11,000.⁶⁵ There is nothing remotely comparable to this scale of lending over so short a period in the pattern of corporate London support to the Crown during the Lancastrian period. But even this large sum does not represent the full extent of London support for the Yorkist cause. At least three city companies lent over £500 to the future Edward IV, and individual Londoners also provided quite substantial amounts.⁶⁶ *Ad hoc* sums of money were also produced for the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, which were never recorded in the royal Exchequer; it seems unlikely that they were repaid.⁶⁷ This very extensive financial help, amounting to at least £13,000, was crucial to Edward IV's triumph and helps to explain how his cause was able to survive its defeats at Wakefield and the second battle of St Albans.

But London help was not confined solely to finance, important though that was. When the citizens allowed the retinues of March, Warwick, and Salisbury to enter the city on 4 July 1460, Henry VI's remaining partisans withdrew to the Tower under the leadership of the earl of Kendal, Lords Scales, Hungerford, and Lovel, and Sir Edmund Hampden. From this vantage point a considerable bombardment of the city took place and, in retaliation, the Tower was blockaded.⁶⁸ Common Council made this decision reluctantly, 'for the security and defence of the city' since no other way seemed to be safe for the city.⁶⁹ In spite of a defiant exchange of letters between the defenders of the Tower and the Londoners, the royal defeat at Northampton on 10 July and the successful capture of Henry VI made the surrender of the Tower inevitable.⁷⁰ On 16 July the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London agreed under their common seal to accept the terms of the Lancastrian surrender.⁷¹ Soon afterwards the hapless supporters of Henry VI, now prisoners in the Tower, suffered 'pleyn execucion and due administracion of justice . . . in all hast possible according to his saide lawes and their demerites in that

behalve'.⁷² The earl of Warwick headed a commission of oyer and terminer which sat at the Guildhall on 23 July. Sir Thomas Brown, a former under-treasurer of England (1447–9) and currently sheriff of Kent, was attainted for treason, together with three other leading defenders of the Tower. Two more defenders were attainted on 28 July. All six were drawn, hanged, and quartered the next day. On 2 August John Archer, a member of the Inner Temple who was also councillor of the duke of Exeter, the Constable of the Tower, underwent a like fate.⁷³

Although the mayor and aldermen decided to dress in their liveries to welcome the duke of York in November 1460, the Londoners were no more anxious than his Nevill allies to make him king.⁷⁴ Moreover Lancastrian support was swelling, especially in the north and south-west. Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, was raising forces in Wales in Henry VI's name; early in December letters from him, the queen, and the young Prince Edward, were read in Common Council.⁷⁵ A letter from the earl of Northumberland, likewise a supporter of the king, was also read to Common Council some days later.⁷⁶ But in spite of this pressure a contingent of Londoners, led by John Harowe, a mercer, marched north to be defeated with York at Wakefield on 30 December 1460.⁷⁷ When the news reached London, Common Council at once agreed to a further loan of 2,000 marks 'on account of the great insurrections and turbations in the kingdom'.⁷⁸ The news of the earl of March's victory at Mortimer's Cross on 3 February must have heartened the Londoners. Yet the northern levies of Queen Margaret were pillaging their way south.⁷⁹ In spite of the bows, arms, and bowstrings supplied by the Londoners,⁸⁰ Warwick's army was defeated at St Albans on 17 February and the road to London lay open to the queen. In this crisis the mayor and aldermen played for time by sending carts of food and money to try to keep her troops away from London.⁸¹ She and her advisers, now strengthened by their possession of Henry VI, made a fatal mistake by not seizing London when it was comparatively undefended. They perhaps knew that the aldermen and Common Council were planning to hold London for the Yorkist cause; they may also have thought the defences of the city a sufficient deterrent.⁸² Warwick, however, was able to effect a rendezvous with March and together they moved towards London. On 26 February Common Council received a letter from Henry VI declaring March a traitor and enjoining resistance to him, and also one from March and Warwick requesting entry into the city.⁸³ Their request was granted. On 1 March 1461 the Londoners joined the retinues of March and Warwick in St John's Fields at Clerkenwell outside

the city to provide Edward with the popular acclaim necessary for his seizure of the Crown.⁸⁴ Three days later he took possession of the realm and was installed as king. Of the events of 4 March 1461 the Journals' clerk writes in his most laconic manner:

Memorandum on Wednesday 4 March 1461 Edward duke of York, called earl of March, with various lords & magnates . . . with a great commonalty of the kingdom, entered the royal palace at Westminster and took possession of the kingdom in the royal seat, namely on the south side of the great hall there, and he took it upon himself and obtained it with honour, Richard Lee Mayor, with the Recorder and Aldermen and many other citizens of the city present there, at the command of the said lord the king.⁸⁵

Edward did not, of course, secure the throne merely by sitting on a royal seat, but by his bloody victory at Towton on 29 March. Common Council received the news with joy and relief. The king's letter from York instructed the citizens to thank God for his victory; it also informed them of the theft of much of his treasure and many of his horses. The Londoners took the hint and, in the euphoria of victory, agreed to lend the king a further 2,000 marks 'for the good conclusion of these events'.⁸⁶

But with the new king securely established the Londoners began to take a firmer line. At the end of April they refused to provide money for Calais; and for his coronation on 28 June they made only a comparatively small gift of 1,000 marks, because their recent expenses in his cause had been so great.⁸⁷ Yet the aldermen and common councilmen considerably exercised themselves over the choice of new liveries to wear when greeting Edward on entry into the city, and at the coronation itself. 'Le lyghter grene' cloth was selected by Common Council since it was learnt that the men of Coventry would also be in green.⁸⁸ Within weeks of the coronation, Richard Lee, the mayor, was able to report to Common Council that the amounts lent by each citizen had been recorded in a book at the Exchequer.⁸⁹ This formal acknowledgement of the London debts on the Receipt roll was an all important achievement: it provided a measure of security for repayment such as the Londoners had not enjoyed since 1449.

Only eight days after the coronation, Common Council decided to take up the matter of the cloth-packers patent with the king.⁹⁰ At first, Edward appears to have been prepared only to allow the Londoners to have the disposal of the disputed 'offices' for the next six years, but the citizens pressed to have them in perpetuity.⁹¹ They were to be disappointed,

for the royal letters patent of 15 August granted them the offices of cloth-packer, gauger, garbeller, and wine-drawer only during the king's pleasure. The mayor and aldermen were not satisfied. Although they managed to secure new letters patent dated 26 August which granted them the offices during good behavior, they still failed to secure a grant in perpetuity.⁹²

The recording of the London loans at the Exchequer and the grant of the long disputed 'offices', albeit only during good behaviour, were tangible concessions.⁹³ But Edward was not always amenable to the wishes of the Londoners; his negotiations with Hanse merchants, for example, were far from satisfactory for the citizens, and the large corporate loan, for all that it was recorded, remained outstanding.⁹⁴

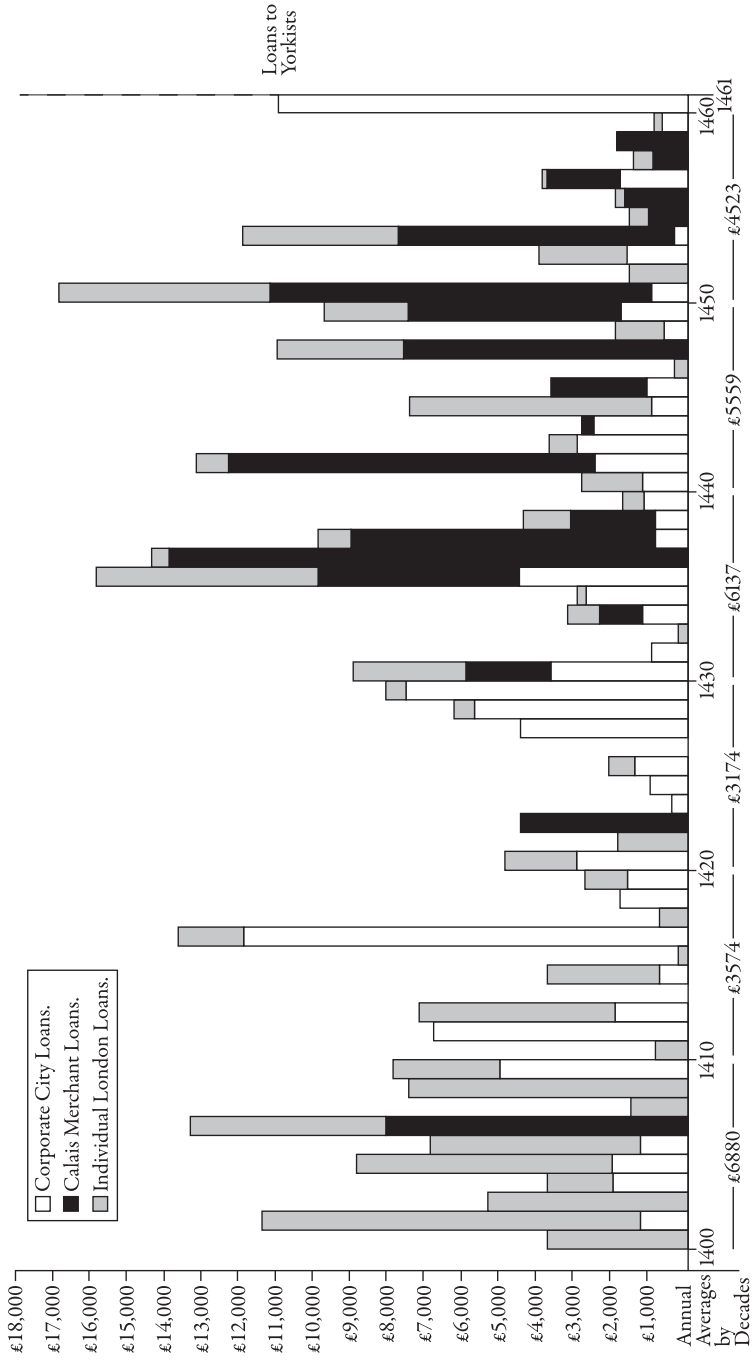
The end of this story comes in 1478. By then Edward's debt to the city amounted to £12,923 9s 8d: the original £11,000 borrowed in 1460–1, and a further meagre £1,923 9s 8d accumulated in the intervening eighteen years. Edward's method of dealing with this desperate debt was summary and effective: he sold the Londoners certain privileges, rights, and properties to the sum of his indebtedness.⁹⁵ First, for £1,923 9s 8d, the right to acquire lands in mortmain to the value of 200 marks a year;⁹⁶ secondly, for £7,000, the offices of cloth-packer, garbeller, gauger, and wine-drawer in perpetuity, together with the right to elect their own coroner;⁹⁷ and finally, for £9,000, the manor of Blancheappleton together with Stewards Inn, free of rent and in perpetuity.⁹⁸

So the considerable investment of the citizens in the Yorkist cause in 1460 and 1461 eventually proved to have been worthwhile. It is perhaps worth reflecting that, but for the creative meddling of Henry VI and his council in the 1440s over civic offices, Edward IV would have had nothing with which he could bargain for the liquidation of his London debt.

The commonalty of freemen who comprised the political community of London was not therefore indifferent to the fate of the Lancastrian regime, but, rather, continued to support it with loans and gifts until June 1460, only a few days before Warwick and Salisbury's army entered the city. The £30,000 which the Londoners lent to Henry VI either individually or corporately (excluding loans from the Staplers) between 1448 and 1460 compares favourably with the £35,000 which they lent, according to the calculations of Dr Ross, to Edward IV between 1462 and 1475.⁹⁹ The pattern of lending in both periods is not noticeably different; and the apparent discrepancy between the respective sums borrowed by Henry VI and Edward IV is almost certainly the result of lacunae in the Lancastrian Exchequer records. The city of London remained loyal to Henry VI until

the arrival of Warwick and Salisbury early in July 1460 made a shift of allegiance necessary. Once the citizens had made such a shift, they were bound to ensure the success of the Yorkists; and this explains the massive financial support provided by the Londoners in the succeeding months. Without their support the Yorkists would not have been able to survive their defeats as well as the death of their leader. Without a Yorkist victory, the Londoners had no hope of maintaining their privileges intact, let alone of augmenting them. But with Edward IV on the throne they were able to demand and, ultimately, to secure rights and offices long sought and long denied. The primary concern of the commonalty of London was consistent: it was, as their clerk noted, 'the security and defence of the city'.¹⁰⁰

Table 3.1. London loans to the Crown, 1400–1461



1. *Sources*: This table is based upon information largely derived from Exchequer Records: Receipt and Issue rolls, deeds, and Warrants for Issue. Further information was also found in the Letter Books and the Journals of the city, as well as in the printed calendars of the Patent and the Close rolls. The table itself is imperfect because of the deficiencies of the Exchequer records of the 1450s (see p. 63); the loss of the London Journal for 1429-36; and the very damaged condition of the Journal for 1456-62. The latter, incorrectly bound at a later date, has now been photographed in its entirety, and the photographs are bound according to the original fifteenth century sequence. Throughout this essay when citing Journal 6, I have cited the uncorrected foliation.
2. *Cross-checks*: For corporate loans by the city to the Crown the Exchequer records can be checked against entries in the City journals. For the loans of individual Londoners the records of the Exchequer provide the only surviving information.
3. *Staplers' Loans*: The table takes account only of those loans made by merchants of the Calais Staple which the Exchequer recorded. Dr G. L. Harriss has shown ('The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry between Lancaster and York', *E.H.R.* lxxv (1960), 30-53) not only that some of the Staplers' loans—for example that of £24,000 in 1456 to pay the wages of the mutinous Calais garrison—were not recorded, but that the Staplers in 1462 received a formal acknowledgement from the Crown of its total debt to them of nearly £41,000.
4. *Conclusion*: Despite its several limitations, the table shows that the most marked support for the Lancastrians came in the early years of the dynasty; that the aggressive campaigns of Henry V in France attracted less support than defensive measures after 1430 to save Calais, Normandy, and Gascony; and that the corporate London loans totaling £11,000 made during the nine months July 1460–April 1461 were unprecedented in amount over so short a period (see above).

Table 3.2 Table of loans made by the citizens of London to the Yorkist Lords 1460–61

This list of loans is derived from the bill (E 404/72/1, no. 23) originally attached to Edward IV's warrant under the privy seal to the Treasurer, dated 24 July 1461, to make an assignment for the repayment of the loans (E 404/72/1, no. 22). It is supplemented with information from volume 6 of the City Journals.

4 July 1460	loan of £1,000	Journal 6, fo. 253.
9 July 1460	loan of 500 marks	Journal 6, fo. 251 ^v . Note that each alderman was to provide £10: John Wenlock to receive 100 marks for sailors and the rest of the money for city defences.
13 July 1460	loan of £1,000	Journal 6, fo. 255. Date of Common Council given, 14 July 1460.
8 December 1460	loan of 500 marks	Journal 6, fo. 286. Notes that it was agreed to lend 1,000 marks on certain conditions which were, presumably, not satisfactorily fulfilled.
5 January 1461	loan of 2,000 marks	Journal 6, fo. 285.
11 February 1461	loan of £1,000	Journal 6, fo. 4 ^v . Notes that the sum was to be made up of 500 marks still remaining from the levy of 8 December, together with a new levy of 1,000 marks.
13 February 1461	Loan of 1,000 marks	Journal 6, fo. 40. Notes a further 500 marks agreed for 'garnishing' the city.
[3] March 1461	Loan of £2,000	Journal 6, fo. 36 ^c .
7 March	Loan of £2,000	Journal 6, fo. 14.
7 April 1461	Loan of 2,000 marks	Journal 6, fo. 55.

A loan of £11,000 from the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London is duly recorded in the first Receipt roll of Edward IV's reign under the date 22 June 1461, P.R.O. E 401/877.

NOTES

¹ B. Wilkinson, *Constitutional History of England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1964), p. 108; cf. the more cautious view of C. D. Ross *Edward IV* (1974), p. 24.

² E.g. Gregory's Chronicle printed in *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (C.S., n.s. xxxii, 1876), p. 215.

³ For the vexed topic of the population of medieval London see J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948); Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Michigan, 1948); and E. Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund, 1951). I shall discuss it further in my introduction to the forthcoming volume of the *Historic Towns Atlas: The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*.

⁴ A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364-81* (Cambridge, 1929), lxii. In 1538 there were 4,040 freemen householders (Thrupp, *op.cit.*, p. 51).

⁵ Mercers (36), Drapers (32), Grocers (28), Fishmongers (15), Skinners (13), Goldsmiths (12), Ironmongers (7), Vintners (2). Before 1461 only two aldermen belonged to artisan guilds: a tailor and a saddler. They were better represented between 1461 and 1485 by four tailors, three salters, and two haberdashers. The trades of three aldermen for the period 1400-85 are unknown.

⁶ Caroline M. Barron, 'Ralph Holland and the London Radicals 1438-44', in *Essays in Honour of the Golden Jubilee of the North London Branch of the Historical Association* (1970), pp. 60-80. [Reprinted as Chapter 11 in the present volume.]

⁷ Sylvia L. Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century', in *Studies in London History*, ed. A. E. J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (London, 1969), pp. 251-72.

⁸ C(orporation) of L(ondon) R(ecords) O(ffice), Journal 6, original fo. 10 (see notes to Table 3.1).

⁹ Gregory, *op.cit.*, pp. 214-15.

¹⁰ J. S. Davies (ed.), *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI* (C.S., o.s., lxiv, 1855), 108-9.

¹¹ *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward . . .*, ed. J. Bruce (C.S., o.s., 1, 1838), p. 34.

¹² Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard II's Quarrel with London 1392-7', in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 173-201. [Reprinted as Chapter 2 in the present volume.]

¹³ *C.P.R., 1429-36*, p. 248; and for further appointments, *ibid.*, p. 442; *C.P.R., 1436-41*, pp. 40, 44. See A. L. Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England*, (London, 1906), i; pp. 300-1. In the fourteenth century royal gaugers were frequently appointed in London, but the grant of 1432 is the first in the fifteenth century. Royal control of the office may have lapsed. The king's renewed interest in the office was certainly financial: the London gaugers' accounts survive intermittently from 1437 to 1457, P.R.O. E 364/75/ 13: 81/2:91/7, For London

protests about the activities of the gaugers in the 1440s see *P.P.C.* vi. 50; C.L.R.O. Journal 4, fo. 36; *Rot. Part.* v. 113–15.

¹⁴ *C.P.R.*, 1436–41, p. 490; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 443–4; for London protests about the cloth-packers patent in the 1440s, see C.L.R.O., Journal 3, fos. 83–83v, 109v, 114v; Journal 4, fos. 32v, 36v, 53v, 60v; *P.P.C.* vi. 50.

¹⁵ *C.P.R.* 1436–41, p. 485; *C(alendar of) L(etter) B(ooks of the City of) L(ondon)*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (11 vols., London, 1899–1912), *K*, pp. 278–9.

¹⁶ *C.L.B.L.*, *H*, p. 424

¹⁷ C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fo. 99. For protests about the wine-drawers' patent see Journal 3, fos. 103, 106v, 109v, 114v; Journal 4, fos. 18, 36v, 60v; *P.P.C.* vi. 50.

¹⁸ *C.P.R.*, 1441–46, p. 128.

¹⁹ *P.P.C.* vi. 50. For the city's resistance to royal patentees in the 1440s see *C(alendar) P(lea and) M(emoranda) R(olls) 1437–57*, ed. P. E. Jones, (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 60–1; C.L.R.O. Journal 4, fos. 22, 22v, 36v. For the Grocers' activity see *Facsimile . . . of MS. Archives of the . . . Grocers of the City of London A.D. 1345–1463*, ed. J. A. Kingdon (London, 1886), ii. 43v, 63, 94; Sylvia Thrupp, 'The Grocers of London', in *Studies in the History of English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. M. M. Postan and E. Power (London, 1933), pp. 247–92.

²⁰ C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fos. 109v, 114v.

²¹ C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fo. 75. In 1444 the grocer Richard Hakeday who had accepted the office of garbeller by royal patent stood in danger of losing his citizenship, Journal 4, fos. 22, 22v. Thomas Quyne who had a share in the wine-drawers' monopoly lost his citizenship on 20 February 1444, Journal 4, fo. 18.

²² G. L. Harriss, 'Cardinal Beaufort—Patriot or Usurer?', *T.R.Hist. S.*, 5th series, xx (1970), 129–48.

²³ E.g. February 1441, C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fo. 74v.

²⁴ *C.L.B.L.*, *I*, p. 135; C.L.R.O. Journal 4, fo. 33v.

²⁵ *C.L.B.L.*, *K*, p. 190; C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 58v, 100v.

²⁶ The only clear case between 1416 and 1448 of a complete refusal to lend was on 16 July 1426, C.L.R.O. Journal 2, fo. 80v.

²⁷ A. Steel, *The Receipt of the Exchequer 1377–1485* (Cambridge, 1954), p. xxxiii; G. L. Harriss, 'Fictitious Loans', *Ec.H.R.*, 2nd series, viii (1955–6), 187–99.

²⁸ C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fo. 9v.

²⁹ C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 227–228v, transcribed by E. Jeffries Davies and M. I. Peake, 'Loans from the City of London to Henry VI 1431–1449', *B.I.H.R.* iv (1926–7), 165–72.

³⁰ The London assignments were usually drawn upon the revenues of parliamentary taxation or the proceeds of the wool subsidy in the Port of London.

³¹ On four occasions the London support for the crown in the Lancastrian period took the form of goods or troops rather than a cash loan: for example, in 1418 for the siege of Rouen; and in 1436, 1449, and 1451 for the defence of Calais.

³² E. B. Fryde and M. M. Fryde, 'Public Credit, with Special Reference to

North-Western Europe', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller, vol. viii (Cambridge 1962), p. 470.

³³ R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966), p. 75. Cf. A. B. Steel, 'The Financial Background of the Wars of the Roses', *History*, n.s. xl (1955), 18-30.

³⁴ On 10 September 1450, 2 May 1453, 1 August 1453, 8 August 1453, 7 December 1453, 13 May 1454, 9 August 1454, 13 May 1455, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 45v, 100, 116v, 117, 136, 184, 242.

³⁵ See above, Table 3.1, note 3.

³⁶ P.R.O. Receipt Rolls of the Exchequer, E 401/813, 16 October 1449; E 401/829, 31 January 1453.

³⁷ London also raised a contingent to help to defend Calais in 1449. The costs of providing 43 lancers and 319 archers were divided amongst the city companies and amounted to about £700, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 10v-12v, 105v; Kingdon, op.cit., fos. 301, 307.

³⁸ The amount of the loan was £1,766 6s 2 1/2d; the king's council had refused a further £233 13s 9 1/2d, composed of unpaid royal tallies. The bill from John Poutrell was 'made after the use of the kinges rescette of the reseivyng to the behove of the kinge'. C.L.R.O. Journal 4, fos. 35, 39; Journal 5, fos. 227v-228.

³⁹ C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 43, 43v, 49, 57.

⁴⁰ *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies, op.cit., pp. 69-70. On 4 March 1452 the duke of Exeter brought news of the accord between the king and the duke of York, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 71.

⁴¹ 20 November 1453, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 132v.

⁴² 20 February 1454, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 150.

⁴³ 20 May 1455, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 243v.

⁴⁴ During York's first protectorship in 1454 the Londoners made only a small loan in June, of £300, on the authority of parliament, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 170, 171, 174. In August 1454 they refused York a loan for Calais.

⁴⁵ R. Flenley, 'London and Foreign Merchants in the Reign of Henry VI', *E.H.R.* xxv (1910), 644-55; 29 October 1456, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 85.

⁴⁶ E.g. on 29 March 1457 the men of the city companies were enjoined not to meddle in affairs touching the king, queen, or prince, or any lords of the king and queen, but to hold their tongues and to refrain from speaking any scandalous, shameful, or dishonest things, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 117v.

⁴⁷ 8 and 25 February, 3 March 1458, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 191v, 192, 193v, 194.

⁴⁸ *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies, op.cit. p. 77.

⁴⁹ C. L. Kingsford, 'Medieval London Houses', *London Topographical Record*, x (1916), 59-64, 114-16; *ibid.* xii (1920), 52-55.

⁵⁰ C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 193, 193v.

⁵¹ 26 September 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 138.

⁵² 6 October 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 143v.

⁵³ 11 October 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 145.

⁵⁴ 13 October 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 163.

⁵⁵ 8 November 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 166v, 168v.

⁵⁶ C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 224v, 225v, 227.

⁵⁷ 5 February 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 196v; *C.L.B.L. K*, pp. 402–3; J. A. F. Thomson, ‘Tithe Disputes in Later Medieval London’, *E.H.R.* lxxviii (1963), 1–17.

⁵⁸ 28 February 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 204.

⁵⁹ Date between 9 and 14 June 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 217v.

⁶⁰ 23, 26 June 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 219–220v.

⁶¹ 27 June 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 237–237v.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 238v.

⁶⁴ 1 July 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 239v.

⁶⁵ See Table 3.2.

⁶⁶ I have traced the following loans: 5 December 1460 £200 from the Grocers; 27 January 1461 £200 from the Drapers; and £133 6s 8d from the Fishmongers (P.R.O., E 401/873). These companies received assignments for repayment recorded on 27 January, 3 and 9 February 1461 (E 403/820). On 8 March 1461 William Edward, grocer, lent £100; Hugh Wyche, alderman, £100; John Norman, alderman, £40; the prior of Christ Church, £333 6s 8d (E 401/873 and E 404/72/1, no. 16). On 16 March 1461 the Prior of St Bartholomew’s, Smithfield, lent £40 (E 404/72/, no. 19). By July 1461 John Lambard, one of the sheriffs, had lent a total of £273 18s 8d (E 404/72/1, no. 24). It should be remembered that all dates given on the Receipt Rolls are notional and *ex post facto*.

⁶⁷ On 8 August 1460 the aldermen provided £125 for the earl of March, and on 29 November 1460 500 marks for the earl of Salisbury (C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 260, 278v). On 13 December 1460 the wardens of the city companies were assembled to discuss the question of safeguarding the person of the king and the safety of the city (*ibid.*, fo. 282v). Perhaps as a result of this meeting the Mercers agreed to lend 500 marks ‘for the wele of oure sovereigne lorde the kyng and the comon wele of all the lande, to the hasty spede of the Erle of Warwick into the northcuntre’; 130 mercers contributed to this loan (*Acts of Court of the Mercers’ Company 1453–1527*, ed. L. Lyell and F. D. Watney (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 48, 54–8). The Mercers provided a further £100, lent by eighty-four individuals, for the earl of Warwick during the years 1460–61 (*ibid.*, pp. 51–3).

⁶⁸ In their accounts for 1460–61 the Pewterers recorded payments of 5d a day for two men ‘watchynge att the Towre of London’ for thirty days (C. Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers* (London, 1902), i. 427).

⁶⁹ 6 July 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 251.

⁷⁰ 10 July 1460, *ibid.*, fo. 250v.

⁷¹ 16 July 1460, *ibid.*, 10 256.

⁷² Royal proclamation, 21 July 1460 (C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 257).

⁷³ P.R.O., Exchequer Miscellanea, E 163/8/10; *Coram Rege* Roll KB 27/798, Michaelmas, 39 Henry VI, *Rex m.*; *John Benet’s Chronicle for the Years 1400 to*

1462, ed. G. L. and M. A. Harriss, *Camden Miscellany*, xxiv (1972), p. 227; C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV* (1923), i, 92-93. I owe these references as well as the previous four sentences to Dr Robin Jeffs. He and I hope shortly to publish a full account of the earl of Warwick's *oyer* and *terminer* of July 1460. Warwick's commission was not enrolled on the Patent Roll. Nor can it be found in the surviving records of the sign manual, the signet and the privy seal.

⁷⁴ 10 October 1460, C.L.R.O., fo. 271.

⁷⁵ 2 December 1460, *ibid.*, fo. 279.

⁷⁶ 18, 19 December 1460, *ibid.*, fo. 284.

⁷⁷ John Harowe was a prominent mercer. As he was serving his apprenticeship by 1422-3, he would have been born about 1406. He was Warden of the Mercers' Company in 1443 and 1449. On occasion, however, he had himself fallen foul of the wardens; he was fined 'for words spoken in court' and 'for lying and uncourteous language'. Although a common councilman by 1444, he never attained the rank of alderman. He was three times M.P. in the city, and the chroniclers indicate that he was more markedly active in the Yorkist cause than most of his contemporaries in that city. He left no extant will. See J. C. Wedgwood, *The History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Common House 1439-1509* (London; H.M.S.O. 1936), i, 429-30; unpublished information from the Mercers' Company records kindly supplied by Miss Jean Imray.

⁷⁸ 5 January 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 285.

⁷⁹ At this time Queen Margaret addressed an undated letter to the citizens of London urging them to ignore Yorkist rumors that she intended 'to draw toward you with an unseen power of strangers, disposed to rob and despoil you of your goods and havings'. *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain*, ed. M. A. E. Wood, (London, 1846), i, 95).

⁸⁰ 11 February 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 4v.

⁸¹ See above p. 59. On 21 February 1461 Common Council sent a deputation to Barnet to meet the Queen's deputation headed by Sir Edmund Hampden, Sir John Heron, and Sir Robert Whityngham. A proclamation from the queen enjoining peace throughout the city was agreed to by the Common Council and published, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 10v, 35v.

⁸² On 24 February 1461 men were mustered in the city, and steps were taken to provision and garrison the Tower, *ibid.*, fo. 35.

⁸³ 26 February 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 13.

⁸⁴ C. A. J. Armstrong, 'The Inauguration Ceremonies of the Yorkist Kings and their Title to the Throne', *T. R. Hist. S.*, 4th ser. xxx (1948), 51-68.

⁸⁵ C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 37v.

⁸⁶ 7 April 1461, *ibid.*, fo. 55.

⁸⁷ 22 April, 20 June 1461, *ibid.*, fos. 56, 50.

⁸⁸ June 1461, *ibid.*, fo. 54. The Goldsmiths, Carpenters, and Pewterers all sent men to greet the new king, Welch, *op.cit.*, p. 27; W. S. Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company* (London, n.d.), p. 24; *Records of the Worshipful Company of*

Carpenters, ed. B. Marsh, ii (Oxford, 1914), p. 34. The Mercers sent twenty-four men who were to pay themselves for their own black hats and tippets, but who were to be provided with the green gowns at the company's expense, *Acts of Court, op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁸⁹ 5 August 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 46v; cf. June 1461, *ibid.*, fo. 54. Lee reported that the date under which the loans were recorded was 4 July. The king's warrant to the Treasurer, to enter the Londoners' corporate loans amounting to £11,000 in the book of receipt under the date 7 April 1461 and to make an assignment to them, is dated 24 July 1461 (P.R.O. E 404/72/1, no. 22). The loan is, in fact, recorded under the date 22 June 1461 (E 401/877). There is no record of assignment. For the dates at which loans from individual Londoners were recorded at the Exchequer see above, n. 66.

⁹⁰ 6 July 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 44.

⁹¹ 30 July 1401, *ibid.*, fo. 45v.

⁹² 14 August 1461, *ibid.*, fo. 23v; *C.P.R.*, 1461–67, pp. 69, 70; The original letters patent of 26 August, C.L.R.O. Charter 57.

⁹³ Edward also, on the day after his Coronation, granted the Londoners the manor of Blancheappton, see n. 98 below.

⁹⁴ On 10 February 1462, the Recorder reported to Common Council that he had had a meeting with the king who had expressed the hope that the citizens were not wanting their money urgently but had instructed the lords of his council to make appropriate assignments (C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 15v). In March there were further negotiations about the repayment of 18,000 marks (i.e. £12,000) owed by the king to the citizens (*ibid.*, fo. 16).

⁹⁵ Francis Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars & Inventories of the Exchequer* (London, 1836), iii. 27; C. L. Scofield, *op. cit.*, ii. 215 n. 6.

⁹⁶ 20 June 1478, Walter Birch, *The Historical Charters . . . of the City of London* (rev. ed., London, 1887) pp. 87–9; C.L.R.O. Original Charter no. 63. In 1411 the citizens had obtained a royal grant to hold lands to the yearly value of £100. *C.L.B.L.*, I, p. 92.

⁹⁷ 20 June 1478, Birch, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–93; *C.P.R.*, 1476–85, p. 103. The citizens had been in dispute with Henry VI over the officer of Coroner in 1437, see W. Kellaway, 'The Coroner in Medieval London' in *Studies in London History, op. cit.*, pp. 75–91.

⁹⁸ Blancheappton was part of an ancient city soke which had passed from the Bohuns to Henry IV on his marriage to Mary de Bohun, co-heiress of Humphrey, earl of Hereford. Its privileged status and immunity from civic jurisdiction, which made it a haven for criminals and shoddy workmen, were a source of anxiety to London's rulers during the 1440s and 1450s. See C.L.R.O. Journal 4, fos. 86, 96, 102, 184, 187; Journal 6, fos. 236, 110; *P.P.C.* vi. 50. *C.L.B.L.*, K, p. 336. On 26 May 1462 the city was granted the lease of Blancheappton and Stewards Inn at a farm of £20 (Journal 7, fos. 2, 107v). In 1465 this rent was abrogated at the queen's request. In 1478 both the grant of the manor and the release from the

annual farm were confirmed in perpetuity (Journal 8, fos. 145v, 168v, 169v-70, 173v). Two of Edward IV's letters patent to the mayor and citizens, dated 29 September 1465 and 18 June 1478 respectively, are not recorded on the Patent Roll. The originals are at Merchant Taylors' Hall, Miscellaneous Documents, Box 122, nos. 8a and 8b.

⁹⁹ C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p. 378.

¹⁰⁰ 6 July 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 251.

The Deposition of Richard II¹

IT IS ALMOST FIFTY years since K. B. McFarlane first exploded the myth of Lancastrian ‘constitutionalism.’² In a famous essay he laid bare the opportunism of Henry Bolingbroke in seizing the Crown in 1399, and of those—in particular the Percys—who supported him. Moreover there was no cooperation between Crown and parliament in the fifteenth century that was not, McFarlane argued, born out of necessity. But although Henry Bolingbroke has been effectively stripped of his hero clothing, Richard II retains still the popular reputation of a tyrant.³ In consequence his deposition is seen to be, in some way, predictable, deserved and, even, necessary. The time is ripe, perhaps, to sweep away the last vestiges of Lancastrian propaganda, and to take another look at contemporary attitudes to Richard’s government in the late 1390s, and at the events of 1399.

There are three widely held views about Richard’s rule which need to be challenged: first the view that Richard’s government in the late 1390s was widely unpopular and so contributed in an important way to his deposition; second the view that Richard had few supporters and none of them rallied to his cause in the summer of 1399; third the view that there was widespread enthusiasm for Henry Bolingbroke’s ‘challenge’ of the Crown. These three views, none of them very well grounded, have served as a mutual support group in which each has been used to prop up the others.

Historians have almost universally condemned Richard II’s government as unsuccessful, unpopular, and doomed. Bishop Stubbs who saw Henry Bolingbroke as a constitutional monarch, characterised Richard as an ‘absolute monarch’, a ‘royal tyrant’, and a king who ‘without subterfuge or palliative, challenged the constitution.’⁴ Much more recently Professor May McKisack in her exemplary *Oxford History of England* volume summarised the moderate Whig view of Richard II. She admitted that he was a man of personal charm and ‘good character’ but yet ‘he rode roughshod over common right; and the nation at last repudiated him for the tyrant

that he was'.⁵ The articles of deposition embodied in the official 'record and process' and copied into the rolls of parliament, it is true, repeatedly accused Richard of violating his Coronation oath. Doubtless he did do so on occasion, but whether he did so more often than, say, Edward I before him or Edward IV after him, is a moot point. But while it may well be true that some of the accusations against Richard in the deposition articles may have been contrived and embroidered, yet there is no doubt that several of Richard's actions in the years following 1397 were innovative and capricious.⁶ But this does not necessarily mean that his government was unpopular, or that his subjects found the level of Richard's capriciousness and innovation unacceptable. It was, however, the purpose of Henry Bolingbroke's supporters, who drafted the articles, to make a connection between Richard's uncustomary style of government and widespread unpopularity. But is it true that Richard's government was unpopular? Historians have tended to see support for the claims of the deposition articles in the testimony of the chroniclers of the time. Dr Tuck is not alone when he writes that 'the chronicles make it clear that Richard's rule was widely unpopular'.⁷ It is indeed from the chronicles, and not from any surviving documentary material, that we have inherited the pervasive view that Richard's government was widely resented and that, in the 1390s, he ruled over a restless and discontented people, eagerly awaiting the chance to rebel.

Since the chronicles bear such a weight of testimony they need to be carefully considered. Some of the accounts are blatantly hostile and critical; others are fawning and hagiographic, but all of them, it should be remembered, were written *after* Richard's deposition.⁸ We have no accounts for the years 1395–9 which were written without benefit of hindsight. We have no way of knowing, therefore, whether Richard's government seemed tyrannical and oppressive to those who were living under it. By 1396 the excitable Henry Knighton was dead and the judicious Westminster chronicler had stopped writing. The most influential chronicle of the time, Thomas Walsingham's *Annales Ricardi Secundi* was written after Henry had become king and from a careful Lancastrian point of view.⁹ Walsingham used the account of the deposition, the 'record and process' which was enrolled on the parliament rolls and which seems to have been circulated widely. Dr Gransden has written of this part of Walsingham's history that 'The text from the end of the annal for 1396 is a highly coloured narrative of Richard's arbitrary rule, apparently written as an historical introduction to the account of the deposition itself. Some

passages are copied word for word from the articles accusing Richard of misgovernment, which were included in the “record and process”. Other passages, she points out, ‘have such an exaggerated, romantic tone that their melodramatic details are hard to believe.’¹⁰

Walsingham was not the only chronicler to write during the early years of Lancastrian rule with a copy of the ‘record and process’ in front of him, with hindsight guiding his pen. The monk of Evesham, who wrote the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* also used the ‘record and process’ as the basis of his account of these years but ‘synthesized it with other sources with his own rhetorical moralizations.’¹¹ The continuator of the *Eulogium* (possibly a Franciscan attached to the Greyfriars house at Canterbury)¹² also wrote after 1399 and used a copy of the ‘record and process’.¹³ Not surprisingly neither the Evesham monk nor the Canterbury friar offers a particularly flattering picture of Richard, or his government.¹⁴ Of a rather different kind is the account of the events of 1399 written by Adam of Usk: this is full of interest since Usk joined Henry’s invading entourage in July 1399 (perhaps as a result of his attachment to Thomas Arundel, the deposed Archbishop of Canterbury who came from France with Henry) and later helped in September to draft the articles of deposition.¹⁵ On 1 November Usk’s support of the Lancastrian cause was rewarded with the grant of a living in Kent.¹⁶ His chronicle provides a personal and vivid account of events in the second half of 1399 but it is not to be considered—nor was it intended—as an impartial account of Richard’s government.

To serve as a counterbalance to the weighty pro-Lancastrian chronicles, written after the deposition of 1399 had made clear on whom Fortune had smiled, there survive three very slight, but important, chronicles written in northern Cistercian houses (not normally noted for chronicles), Kirkstall in Yorkshire,¹⁷ Dieulacres in Staffordshire,¹⁸ and Whalley in Lancashire.¹⁹ The Kirkstall chronicler writes glowingly of Richard’s achievements in ridding himself of his treacherous enemies in 1397–8. He writes that Richard is like the sun lately concealed by cloud ‘but now in arms he bounds on the mountains and leaps over the hills, and tossing the clouds on his horns shows more brightly the light of his sun.’²⁰ This apparently contemporary narrative breaks off in 1398, and is later resumed after the events of 1399–1400 when the tone has changed. In the words of Maude Clarke, ‘There is no marked change in style. The same writer was at work, but now he knew the end of the story and walked delicately in fear of those in high places.’²¹ In the same way the first part of the Dieulacres chronicle was written by an author who was sympathetic

to Richard II; the second part, which covers the years 1400–1403 was compiled by a monk of the house who had been a supporter of Henry IV.²² Here again there is a notable change of tone in 1400. These northern Cistercian chronicles, slight as they are, were used with devastating effect by Clarke and Galbraith in the 1930s to discredit the bland account of Richard's willing deposition to be found in the official Lancastrian 'record and process'. In short, they concluded, that Richard had been tricked into leaving Conway by promises which were subsequently broken; he did not give up his crown 'hilari vultu' in September and he may well have made a protestation at that time which was swept aside.²³ But beyond discrediting the official account of the events of 1399, these northern chroniclers, and in particular the Kirkstall chronicle, suggest that Richard's government was not necessarily widely unpopular and there may have been some among Richard's subjects who admired his assertion of the regality and prerogatives of the Crown.

Recently Dr John Palmer has re-examined the historical value of the French chronicles of the Lancastrian revolution.²⁴ Several accounts were compiled at the French court in the years immediately following Richard's deposition. They are not of equal value, as Dr Palmer has demonstrated and some, like Froissart, have no value at all. The two most important accounts were made available to the English public in the first half of the nineteenth century when they found little favour amid the prevailing Whig constitutionalism of the time. The *Histoire du roy d'Angleterre Richard*, attributed to Jean Creton, was translated and published as 'The Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard II' in *Archaeologia* in 1824.²⁵ The second account, the *Chronicque de la traison et mort Richart Deux* was printed with an English translation in 1846.²⁶ These two French chronicles had, however, been known to Tudor antiquaries. Holinshed certainly knew Creton's work and Stow had a copy of part at least of the *Traison*.²⁷ Shakespeare seems to have known both chronicles and his sympathetic portrait of Richard in his last months is clearly derived from these French accounts.²⁸ Indeed Shakespeare's play is a neat, but obvious, fusion of the Lancastrian view of Richard to be found in Acts One and Two, followed by the French interpretation of Richard as a tragic hero derived from the French chronicles in Acts Three to Five. What may appear as a somewhat capricious change in Richard's character between his departure and return from Ireland reflects, quite simply, a change in Shakespeare's source material.

It is important to know what reliance may be placed on the accounts of the events of 1399 to be found in these French chronicles. Dr Palmer's work is of great help here. He believes that the *Traison* was written by an apprentice herald, living in the house of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and later Duke of Exeter, who was the king's half-brother.²⁹ The author was in England from April 1398 (he may have come to England with Richard's bride, the French Princess Isobel) and he may have left England with Isobel when she was sent back to France in 1400.³⁰ The author did not go to Ireland with Richard's expedition in 1399, but he stayed in, or near, London and provides an account of events in the south of England during 1399.³¹ The *Metrical History* was probably written by Jean Creton, a valet de chambre of Charles VI. He arrived in England in May 1399 and accompanied Richard's expedition to Ireland. He returned with the advance party led by the Earl of Salisbury, joined Richard at Conway, accompanied him to London, and then left for France before Richard's deposition on 29 September.³² Both the author of the *Traison* and Jean Creton wrote their accounts after Richard had been deposed, probably in 1401–2. They too, like the compilers of the Lancastrian 'record and process', wrote with hindsight and for propaganda purposes. Their accounts are as much vitiated by their pro-Richard bias as the Lancastrian chroniclers are by their pro-Henry bias.³³ The purpose of the French writers was to glorify and sanctify Richard (for whom they seem to have had a measure of personal affection) and to demonstrate the perfidy of the English. They may also have been writing to justify the possibility of French intervention in English domestic affairs.

This brief survey of the surviving chronicle accounts of the years 1395 to 1400 has demonstrated that, with the possible exception of the first account in the Kirkstall chronicle, there survive no accounts of these years which were not written *after* the deposition of Richard II and the accession of Henry IV. The French and the Cistercian chroniclers revealed the duplicity of the official Lancastrian account of the events of August and September 1399. Insofar as the Lancastrian accounts have anything to say about Richard's government in the preceding years they are likely to be equally unreliable and to base their information on the official 'record and process' which was deliberately circulated for propaganda purposes. There is no doubt that Richard did introduce innovations in government, and that there were aspects of his rule which were arbitrary, uncustomary, and bore heavily on certain individuals. But it seems unlikely that these injustices, which formed the normal small change of English medieval king-

ship, were widely resented, or were so unpopular as seriously to undermine Richard's government. There was certainly material out of which Lancastrian apologists could fashion a case against Richard, and they did this effectively in the 'articles of deposition'. But it is necessary to distinguish between the likely impact of Richard's government at the time, and the significance which lawyers for the prosecution chose later to give to those uncustomary acts.

The government of Richard II has been condemned because there seems to have been so little support for the king in the summer of 1399. The rapidity with which the opposition to Henry Bolingbroke melted away has been taken to indicate the general unpopularity of Richard's rule. But this explanation may well be too facile. There may be good reasons for the failure of the armed resistance to Henry in 1399 which have more to do with logistics than with loyalty.

The only armed resistance which could be offered to an invader would be that provided by the king's retinue or by the retinues of those loyal to the king. To raise men meant to summon retainers. Since the early 1390s Richard had been developing the range and size of his retinue; from 1397 he had particularly focused on Cheshire and he began to recruit specifically for military, as opposed to general, service to the Crown.³⁴ In 1399 Richard took the greater part of his retinue with him to Ireland, and so seriously weakened the resistance which might be offered to an invader.³⁵ It had also been Richard's intention to make Chester into a secure 'inner citadel' from which he could hold his realm, but he left the castles of the principality, for example Chester itself, and Holt, too thinly garrisoned to be able to offer effective resistance. As Dr Philip Morgan has written, 'Richard's principality could guarantee his personal security, but not that of his realm and, stripped of its military strength for the campaign in Ireland, it could offer little resistance to Henry of Bolingbroke's campaign.'³⁶ Retinues do not rally easily in the absence of their leaders and Richard, who took such trouble to bind his retinue to him personally, seems to have failed to appreciate how important it was for the king, the retinue leader, to be present.

It is clear that Henry Bolingbroke's invasion took everyone by surprise (unlike the long, planned invasion of Henry Tudor nearly a hundred years later). Richard left for Ireland believing that Bolingbroke was safely under house arrest in Paris, supervised by the Duke of Burgundy.³⁷ On 28 June the Duke of York, left by Richard as guardian of his realm, and a man who, throughout his life was found to be unequal to the tasks

entrusted to him, learnt that the 'king's enemies' were gathering at Calais. He sent writs to the sheriffs to summon men to defend the realm.³⁸ At this point York may have underestimated the danger for he appears not to have sent messengers to Richard in Ireland until 4 July, at least two days after Bolingbroke had taken Pevensey castle in Sussex, but failed to establish there a bridgehead for his invasion.³⁹

Dr Dorothy Johnston has effectively described the difficulties which Richard faced on learning of Bolingbroke's movements from the Duke of York.⁴⁰ It appears that Richard did not leave Waterford until 24 July, or thereabouts, that is three weeks after Bolingbroke was first sighted off Sussex.⁴¹ This delay in leaving Ireland was seen by contemporaries, and has been judged by historians, as the crucial error which cost Richard his crown. So serious was this mistake that Jean Creton attributed it to treacherous counsel on the part of Aumerle who deliberately argued in favour of a delayed return.⁴² Creton, however, only wrote this after he knew of Aumerle's later treachery. But Dr Johnston has demonstrated how acute were the difficulties which faced Richard in trying to get his household, and his treasure, an army of some 5,000 men, their horses and equipment, back to England.⁴³ By the time Richard learnt of Bolingbroke's arrival, the ships which had brought the royal army to Ireland had been dispersed. Rather than the king return with a few men in disarray, it was decided to send the Earl of Salisbury at once to north Wales to hold the situation for the king until Richard himself could gather up his army, and a fleet, and return. It is extremely difficult to achieve a secure chronology for these events in July 1399, but Dr Johnston argues that Salisbury may have left Ireland on 17 July, and Richard himself a week later, sailing from Waterford. The returning fleet seems not to have had a common destination. Whereas Richard himself appears to have landed in south Wales, either at Haverfordwest or Milford Haven, other vessels in his fleet turned up at Plymouth, Dartmouth, and at Bristol, unfortunately, in this last case, after the town had capitulated to Bolingbroke on 29 July.⁴⁴ Later goods from Richard's household were found in Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Bristol, and Southampton.⁴⁵ Much was also left behind in Ireland, including £6,500 in the castle of Trim in the custody of the Duchess of Surrey, wife of the king's nephew, Thomas Holland.⁴⁶ The disorder which accompanied Richard's final return makes the decision to delay that return even less justifiable. Meanwhile Salisbury had been unable to raise troops in north Wales because men believed that the king was dead.⁴⁷

There is no doubt that the crisis of the summer of 1399 revealed flaws in Richard's character and errors in his judgment. It was a mistake to take the heart of his household and the bulk of his retinue to Ireland and he showed lack of judgment in leaving a vacillating incompetent in charge of his realm. Moreover Richard placed too much reliance on the ability of the Duke of Burgundy to control Henry Bolingbroke's movements. But his most crucial mistake was his failure to return immediately from Ireland and so to hold together the forces of resistance. By the time that Richard finally returned to England, about 27 July, Bolingbroke had already been three weeks on English soil. This was too long to expect men to rally to a dream or shadow, or a 'king over the water'. Medieval monarchy was essentially personal monarchy; medieval armies marched for leaders whom they knew and beheld. In the final analysis it was Richard's absence, not his unpopularity, which led men to desert him. As Dr Morgan has argued, 'the collapse of Richard's cause was really due to gross military incompetence and an absence of political will, not to treachery.'⁴⁸ Dr Given-Wilson has recently written that 'one might speculate that, had the king's supporters been more effectively organised and directed at that time, they were sufficiently numerous to provide Bolingbroke with a real trial of strength. Unfortunately for Richard, they were never given a chance to do so.'⁴⁹

There are signs, moreover, that Bolingbroke encountered pockets of resistance; his march through England in July and August 1399 may not have been quite the triumphal progress that has often been described.⁵⁰ Some of Henry's advance forces had taken Pevensey castle, held for life by the Lancastrian retainer Sir John Pelham, on 3 July. But the local *posse comitatus*, commanded by some of the Sussex gentry, besieged the Lancastrian troops in the castle and were still doing so three weeks later when Lady Pelham wrote in some desperation to her husband in the north with Bolingbroke.⁵¹ It may have been the hostility of the men of the shires of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent which dissuaded Henry from landing in the south of England. The Duke of York was able to raise a force of some 2,000 men in July by summoning the remaining members of the king's retinue, the sheriffs, and several magnates.⁵² Within Cheshire and Wales there were sporadic attempts to ambush Bolingbroke's troops.⁵³ But York seems to have been incapable, or unwilling, to lead Richard's supporters against Bolingbroke and as Dr Given-Wilson concluded, 'the affinity came to be led, but nobody was capable of leading it.'⁵⁴

If the response of the city of London to the news of Bolingbroke's invasion is considered, it is possible to detect a reaction which fell some

way short of an enthusiastic welcome. There were good reasons why Richard might not have been greatly loved in London. The city may have been in need of a sharp rebuke but Richard's treatment of London in 1392 had certainly lightened the pockets of the citizens.⁵⁵ Moreover the Londoners, together with the inhabitants of sixteen other southern counties, had been required in 1398 to seal 'blank charters' in which they submitted in abject terms to the king's grace.⁵⁶ Certainly Richard seems to have believed that the city was hostile to him and he avoided going there: he may not have been in London after the prorogation of the Autumn Parliament in 1397 until he was brought to the Tower as a prisoner in September 1399. Moreover Richard and his advisors feared that the Londoners would attempt to rescue the Earl of Arundel as he was led to execution in September 1397.⁵⁷ But, in the event, the citizens did not rush forward to save Arundel.⁵⁸ There were, in fact, many Londoners who had a vested interest in supporting Richard's regime. Much of what the king saved by refraining from war with France he spent among the merchants and craftsmen of London. The tomb for Richard and Queen Anne which had recently been completed had cost over £900 which had been paid to two London masons, Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote and to two London coppersmiths, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest.⁵⁹ In May 1397 William Fitzhugh, a London goldsmith, had supplied various precious objects, including a gold cup, for Queen Isobel.⁶⁰ Christopher Tyldesley, another Londoner, was appointed as the king's goldsmith in 1398 and, together with at least ten other London craftsmen, had joined the royal retinue travelling to Ireland in the following year.⁶¹ Many Londoners benefited from Richard's style of monarchy. It was not in the interests of the merchant aldermen who ran the city government to quarrel with a king like Richard, let alone to depose him. Richard was sufficiently astute to realise that neither the English nobility, nor the merchants of London, comprised homogeneous groups. In both cases, therefore, Richard attempted to build up a nucleus of supporters and in London this 'royalist' party may have been led by the mercer, Richard Whittington.⁶² But the success of such a policy will depend not only upon the loyalty of the chosen men, but also upon the influence which they can exert over their peers. The Ricardian group among the nobility failed because men of too great influence, for example the Percys, remained aloof, but in London the policy was much more successful. The mayor and aldermen remained loyal to Richard for several weeks.

When Henry found that he could not command sufficient local support to land safely in Sussex, he played safe and sailed to Ravenspur in Lancastrian territory. Whatever Henry's original intentions may have been (and it is possible that his aim was simply to be acknowledged as Duke of Lancaster), those intentions were, perhaps, transformed by a visit from Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. It would appear that Percy offered the support of the ready armed Percy retinue in return for the promise of the Wardenship of the West March which had been taken from the control of the Percys in 1396. Only the king could grant the Wardenship of the March, so it was in Percy's interest to assist Henry to royal powers. In fulfillment of this promise, on 2 August 1399 Henry granted the Wardenship of the West March to Henry Percy under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster. As Professor Bean pointed out Henry 'was employing the prerogatives of the English Crown under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster a fortnight before he met Richard'.⁶³ Henry Percy and Henry Bolingbroke must, by this date, have shared their intention to make Henry Bolingbroke King of England.

The author of the *Traison* recorded that while Henry was still at Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire, he sent out letters to several English towns and to bishops and nobles of the realm. In the letter addressed to the towns Henry warned Englishmen of Richard's intention of using foreign help to force his subjects into bondage and subjection greater than they had ever known. It was also the king's intention, Henry assured his readers, to arrest all the governors of those towns which had at any point since 1377 supported the views of the Commons against those of the king and his council. All these town governors were to be rounded up at a great festival to be held after the king's return from Ireland. 'Wherefore my friends and good people, when the aforesaid matters came to my knowledge, I came over, as soon as I could, to inform, succour, and comfort you to the utmost of my power, for I am one of the nearest to the Crown of England and am beholden to love and support the realm as much, or more, than any man alive . . . Be well advised and ponder well that which I write to you, your good and faithful friend Henry of Lancaster'.⁶⁴ Is it possible to believe that the author of the *Traison* has preserved a verbatim copy of a letter written by Henry at this time? Was the letter, now preserved in French, originally written in English? The *Traison* author was certainly in England at this time, and he may well have been in London. Moreover the author of the *Eulogium* also noted that Henry sent letters to the Londoners in which he styled himself Duke of Lancaster and promised to reform what was amiss

in the realm.⁶⁵ It is very likely that Henry would have sent out support-seeking letters soon after his arrival, to justify his return and to test the response to a possible bid for the Crown. But if he sent one hundred and fifty of these letters, as the author of the *Traison* alleges, it is, perhaps, curious that not one of them has survived. If such a letter was written to the mayor and aldermen of London, and if they had agreed to receive it, then it might have been copied into the city's Letter Book. As it happens the last two folios of the city's Letter Book H which covers the reign of Richard II have been cut out: what was once recorded on them and the reason for their removal may only be guessed at.⁶⁶ But if Henry wrote a letter of the kind that the *Traison* author has recorded, then it would seem that Henry felt in need of wider political support than he currently enjoyed.

Whether such a letter was ever sent by Henry, or ever received in London, it is nevertheless clear that the Londoners did not quickly abandon Richard and offer their support to Henry. While York summoned the remnants of the king's retinue to meet him at Ware,⁶⁷ prayers were offered publicly in London for the peace of the realm and the success of the king in Ireland.⁶⁸ On 18 July the Duke of York, by now in Oxford, ordered Dru Barentyn, the mayor of London, to ensure that armorers in London sold their goods only to true lieges of the king.⁶⁹ There is, in fact, no evidence of any support, either official or unofficial, for Henry in London, in marked contrast to the city of York which lent Henry 500 marks before his accession.⁷⁰ The Duke of York, meanwhile, moved westwards in the hope of meeting up with Richard's army returning from Ireland. But on the very day when Richard may finally have reached England, 27 July, the Duke of York capitulated to Henry Bolingbroke at Berkeley Castle.⁷¹ Together they marched to Bristol which, two days later, opened its gates to them. It may have been from Bristol that Henry wrote a second letter to the Londoners: on this occasion the letter was addressed specifically to them and the tone is much more confident, and less insinuating, than his earlier letter. Again for the text of this letter we have to rely on the author of the *Traison* who honestly notes that he has recorded only the beginning of the letter:

I, Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford and Earl of Derby, commend myself to all the people of London, high and low. My good friends, I send you my salutations and I acquaint you that I have come over to take my rightful inheritance. I beg of you to let me know I if you will be on my side or not; and I care not which for I have people enough to fight all the world for one day. Thank God.⁷²

The author of the *Traison* may well have seen such a letter posted up in London, or heard it read out. He records that the Londoners, on hearing the letter, decided unanimously to support Henry.

Other evidence, however, suggests that the Londoners did not act quite so precipitately, or else that Henry's letter took a long time to arrive in the city. After the fall of Bristol to the combined forces of the Duke of York and Henry on 29 July, the Lancastrian army moved north to try to take Chester before the king could reach his 'inner citadel'. Meanwhile Richard, with a very small retinue, made his way across Wales to Conway castle. Early in August, (it is impossible to be certain of exact dates), Richard was persuaded by Henry Percy to leave the security of Conway Castle. He was brought to meet Bolingbroke at Flint where the two men came to some sort of agreement, and then Richard was brought as a virtual prisoner to Chester by 16 August. It was not until Richard's fortunes had sunk this low that the Londoners finally decided to renounce their allegiance to him. The Duke of York had defected, Bristol had fallen, and Richard himself was a prisoner before the Londoners brought themselves to take the fateful step of sending a deputation to Henry. No official record of the sending of this embassy survives but it is noted by several chroniclers. The author of the *Traison* records that six or seven of the most notable burgesses were sent, although Usk believed that three aldermen came with fifty commoners.⁷³ Such a large delegation seems rather unlikely. Usk also records that the delegation came to meet Richard and Henry at Chester (where they were from 16 to 20 August), whereas Jean Creton says that the meeting place was Lichfield (24 August) and the author of the *Traison* records that it was Coventry (26 August).⁷⁴ According to Adam of Usk the Londoners in the deputation recommended the city to Henry and, under the common seal of London, renounced their fealty to King Richard. This decisive action by the Londoners may have come late but it was crucial, for the deputation in this way sanctioned Henry's seizure of the Crown before Richard had been officially deposed. But it is worth remembering how long Henry had had to wait for this important mark of approval. Henry was on English soil by 4 July and yet the city of London did not announce its support of him until 16 August at Chester. It had taken the mayor and aldermen of London six weeks to make up their minds to desert Richard and offer their allegiance to Henry. Indeed Bolingbroke had been wise in not landing in the south of England and marching straight on London, for it was only after Richard had become

Henry's prisoner and his cause was clearly lost, that the rulers of London were prepared to take the fateful step of renouncing their legitimate ruler.

But in spite of the Londoners' reluctance to accept Henry, once they had done so they supported him whole-heartedly and there are signs, apparent in the first parliament of Henry's reign, that they were able to strike some sort of bargain with the future king. Richard was brought to London and lodged in the Tower to await his walk off role in Henry's play.⁷⁵ On the last day of September 1399 the estates were summoned to Westminster to depose Richard II and endorse Henry's claim to the English crown. There is little doubt that the crowd which provided the 'vox populi' necessary to endorse Henry's seizure of the Crown was composed largely of Londoners. Later the prior of St Botolph's Abbey at Colchester was to claim that the Northerners had risen against Henry in rebellion because he had only been elected king by the rabble of London.⁷⁶ At Henry's coronation on St Edward's day, 13 October, the mayor, recorder, and aldermen took their accustomed places at the coronation feast and some of the city companies provided minstrels.⁷⁷

The first parliament of Henry's reign met on 14 October. Several of the general measures, for example the restrictions on the wearing of liveries, would have been welcome to the Londoners.⁷⁸ But there were other measures which were directly instigated by the Londoners and these reflect, perhaps, the bargaining of the previous two months. Not only were all the city's charters confirmed but the citizens were granted the additional right of keeping the city's gates and collecting tolls in the markets of Cheap, Billingsgate, and Smithfield.⁷⁹ The statute of 1354 which had laid down the procedure for taking away the city's liberties was modified and the Fishmongers' monopoly on the sale of fish by retail within the city was once more abolished.⁸⁰ Letters patent appointing a royal cloth-packer in the city were declared null and void and the London sheriffs were to be empowered to hold inquests in the absence of the king's coroner, or his deputy, if necessary.⁸¹ The Londoners did not get everything for which they petitioned, for example they would have like to see more stringent measures against foreign merchants introduced, but what they had secured constituted a decent 'package' and would have reassured them that they had backed the right horse at Chester.⁸²

Individual Londoners were also rewarded. Dru Barentyn, the mayor in 1398–9, and Thomas Knolles, his successor in office, were given tenements which were in the king's hand.⁸³ Other Londoners received goods or lucrative offices. Most unusually, Richard Whittington and the two alder-

men who had acted as MPs in Henry's first parliament, John Shadworth and William Bampton, were appointed as members of the royal council for the first year of Henry's reign.⁸⁴ It was extremely unusual for London merchants to serve on the king's council and suggests, perhaps, the extent to which Henry was anxious to secure the continued support of the city.

This support was to be soon tested. At the Christmas season following the parliament, a group of supporters, still loyal to Richard, attempted to organise an armed rising to restore Richard to the throne. It has been customary to dismiss this as a minor disturbance and a matter of very little concern to Henry.⁸⁵ Aumerle seems to have betrayed the plot to Henry who rode to London and there, with the help and support of the mayor, Thomas Knolles, raised an army with which to defend himself against Richard's supporters.⁸⁶ But the element of surprise had been lost, the rebels were scattered and many of them were summarily executed. Others survived to be brought to trial before Henry and then condemned to traitors' deaths.⁸⁷ But it is worth remembering that this rising took place *after* Richard was deposed and imprisoned. The leaders, the two Hollands, uncle and nephew, Thomas Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, and John Montague, Earl of Salisbury, had all been treated leniently by Henry IV. They had kept most of their lands and had lost only the most recent of their titles; their lives were safe. Their only motive in conspiring against Henry at this time can have been loyalty to Richard, for they had comparatively little to gain and much to lose by their efforts. Several of Richard's household knights and esquires, men like Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir Thomas Blount, joined the rising and died for it.⁸⁸ A number of clergymen were also involved: Roger Walden, the ex-Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, and William Colchester, the Abbot of Westminster, together with a group of royal clerks.⁸⁹ This rising, abortive though it was, serves as a reminder that Richard was able to inspire loyalty which was not so shallowly-rooted as that of his cousin Aumerle.

Inevitably, perhaps, this unsuccessful rising led to Richard's death, probably murder. Had he inspired no loyalty, he would not have been dangerous. As it was he could not be allowed to live.⁹⁰ Yet within two years there was a rumor that Richard was alive in Scotland 'wherof moche peple was glad and desirid to have him kynge ayeen.'⁹¹ The friars, who considered Richard as their 'furtherar and promoter' seem to have been behind this optimistic episode. This challenge to Henry's authority was not armed but intellectual. As many as twenty friars drawn from houses at Cambridge, Leicester, Aylesbury, Northampton, and Nottingham challenged the

legality of Henry's kingship, on the grounds that Richard's abdication had not been made freely, but was constrained, and that Henry had, therefore, usurped the Crown.⁹² Needless to say the friars suffered for having openly voiced what many may have felt.

It is important, if we are to understand how kingship evolved in medieval England, to detach ourselves from the Lancastrian interpretation (and the French) of Richard's personality and government. Many of his initiatives in the last years of his reign were later taken up and developed in the 'new monarchy' of the Yorkists and Tudors.⁹³ It is doubtful whether Richard's government in the late 1390s was any more unpopular than most governments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England. Articles of Deposition might easily have been carved out of all of them. What was fatal to Richard's rule was his failure to be where he was needed in July 1399, and his prolonged absence in Ireland reveals that lack of a *feél* for the realities of kingship which was to be fatal. Although he may have been personally disliked by some of the nobility, there is considerable evidence that he was a man of considerable charm, and even charisma. Men were prepared to risk their lives for him after his deposition. Hard-headed realists, like the Londoners, did not judge his government to be a self-evident failure and took six weeks to decide to support the 'popular' Henry Bolingbroke. Bishop Stubbs, who found little good to say of Richard's government, yet was able to diagnose the source of his own historical bias. 'Richard II fared ill at the hands of historians who wrote under the influence of the House of Lancaster, and he left no posterity that could desire to rehabilitate him'.⁹⁴ Nearly six hundred years after Richard's deposition, it is time, finally, to rid ourselves of the pervasive influence of the propaganda of the House of Lancaster.⁹⁵

NOTES

¹ A draft of this paper was read at the conference held at Leeds in March 1986, and at the seminar in Late Medieval history held at the Institute of Historical Research and organized by Mr Jim Bolton and Dr Paul Brand in December 1988. I am very grateful for all the suggestions made on both those occasions by those who were present and, in particular to Dr Helen Jewell, and my colleague Dr Nigel Saul, who both took the trouble to provide me with additional information. Mrs Jenny Straford kindly read the proofs and suggested a number of invaluable improvements.

² K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), chapter 3. This lecture was first given in Oxford in 1940.

³ For a brief survey of some of the different interpretations of Richard's reign that have been promulgated since the nineteenth century, see John M. Theilmann, 'Stubbs, Shakespeare and Recent Historians of Richard II', *Albion*, VIII (1976), 107–24.

⁴ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origins and Development* (Oxford, 1875) II. 507–9.

⁵ M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 496–8.

⁶ See, for example, my 'Tyranny of Richard II', *BIHR*, XLI (1968), 1–18. [Reprinted as Chapter 1 in the present volume.]

⁷ A. Tuck, *Crown and Nobility, 1272–1461* (1985), p. 213.

⁸ For extremely useful surveys of the chronicle writing of Richard's reign, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, II (1982), chapter 6, and John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), chapter 9.

⁹ Walsingham's *Annales* are printed in *Iohannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneford monachorum S. Albani nec non quorundam anonymorum: Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (RS, 1866).

¹⁰ Gransden, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Monk of Evesham), ed. George B. Stow (University of Pennsylvania, 1977).

¹² See J. I. Catto, 'An Alleged Great Council of 1374', *EHR*, LXXXII (1967), 764–71, esp. 765–6.

¹³ *Eulogium historiarum sive temporis*, ed. F. S. Haydon, 3 volumes (RS, 1858–63); see esp. III. 382–4.

¹⁴ Gransden, *op. cit.*, p. 183. McFarlane also notes the wide and purposeful dissemination of the 'record and process', *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁵ *Chronicon Adae de Usk 1377–1421*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (1904).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xvi; for a detailed account of Usk's career, see the biography in *BRUO*, III. 1937–8.

¹⁷ The attention of historians was first drawn to the Kirkstall chronicle by M. V. Clarke and Denholm Young, 'The Kirkstall Chronicle 1355–1400', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (hereafter *BJRL*), XV (1931), 100–137. This was reprinted, in part, in M. V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 99–114. The chronicle has since been edited and translated by John Taylor. *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, Thoresby Society (Leeds, 1952).

¹⁸ The Dieulacres chronicle was first printed in its entirety by M. V. Clarke and V. H. Galbraith, 'The Deposition of Richard II', *BJRL*, XIV (1930), 125–81; the Latin text of the chronicle occupies pages 164–81. The essay, but not the text of the chronicle was reprinted in Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, pp. 53–98.

¹⁹ The brief chronicle from Whalley Abbey (BL Harley Ms 3600) largely corroborates the version of events to be found in the Dieulacres chronicle, see Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, pp. 75–6.

²⁰ Taylor, *Kirkstall Chronicle*, p. 75.

²¹ Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, p. 100.

²² Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 190–2.

²³ Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, p. 88.

²⁴ J. J. N. Palmer, 'The Authorship, Date and Historical Value of the French Chronicles of the Lancastrian Revolution', *BJRL*, LXI (1978–9), 145–81, 398–421.

²⁵ 'Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second', ed. John Webb, *Archaeologia*, XX (1824), 1–423.

²⁶ *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux roy d'Angleterre*, ed. Benjamin Williams (English Historical Society, 1846).

²⁷ See Peter Ure, 'Shakespeare's Play and the French Sources of Holinshed's and Stow's account of Richard II', *Notes and Queries*, CXCVIII (1953), 426–9; also M. McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 59–60.

²⁸ Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 179–80.

²⁹ Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 160.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

³³ Palmer argues that only Creton's account may be trusted, but it is possible that he rejects too much of the *Traison* in pointing out some of the obvious borrowings from Creton, see *ibid.*, pp. 402–21.

³⁴ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (1986), pp. 222–3, and Philip Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277–1403*, Chetham Society, (Manchester, 1987), pp. 198–203; see also James L. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Archers of the Crown', *Journal of British Studies*, XVIII (1979), 14–29, esp. 19–29.

³⁵ Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

³⁶ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

³⁷ A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (1973), pp. 212–13; and J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (1970), p. 54.

³⁸ Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 224, citing PRO E101/42/12. On 10 July the writ that had been sent to the city of York to send 60 armed men to assist the king at Ware was superseded on the grounds that the men would be needed to defend the north from the Scots, *CCR 1396–9*, p. 518.

³⁹ 3 July 1399 writ from the Duke of York to the local gentry of Sussex to inform them that 'certain enemies' of the king had assembled to invade and had already taken Pevensey castle; they were to besiege the castle with the *posse comitatus* and guard the coasts against invasion, *CPR 1396–99*, p. 596, on this, *Politics and Crisis*, p. 139. 4 July 1399 a messenger was despatched to Ireland, Dorothy Johnston, 'Richard II's departure from Ireland July 1399', *EHR*, LXXXVIII (1983), 785–805, esp. 792, citing PRO E403/562.

⁴⁰ Johnston, *art. cit.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 794.

⁴² Creton, *Archaeologia*, pp. 55–9.

⁴³ Johnston, *art. cit.*, pp. 793–4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 794.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 796.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 797–8.

⁴⁷ Creton, *Archaeologia*, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁴⁹ Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Lady Pelham wrote to her husband, in English, on 25 July, printed in Mark Antony Lower, *Historical and Genealogical Notices of the Pelham Family* (privately printed, 1873). This letter, lauded by Lower as ‘a truer specimen of female bravery or conjugal love and fidelity than this is probably not to be found in the annals of this or any other country’, seems now to be lost. See also Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 232–3 and notes there cited. Clearly the *posse comitatus* had maintained the siege of Pevensey Castle for at least three weeks as instructed by the Duke of York, *Politics and Crisis*, p. 137.

⁵² Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁵³ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 204–5 where he records that there were several attempts to rescue Richard as he travelled south with Bolingbroke; and see Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁵⁵ Caroline M. Barron, ‘The Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392–7’, in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, eds. F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (1971), pp. 173–201. [Reprinted as Chapter 2 in the present volume.]

⁵⁶ Barron, ‘Tyranny’, esp. pp. 10–14.

⁵⁷ *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies, Camden Society (1855), p. 10. According to an unprinted section of Giles’s chronicle Arundel chose to be led along Cheapside in the hope that he would be rescued. BL Royal MS. 13 C. 1 f. 109v.

⁵⁸ Monk of Evesham, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–4. It appears that the earl’s son, Thomas, was helped to escape from custody in the Coldharbour house of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, by a London mercer, William Scot, *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), p. 50.

⁵⁹ *The History of the King’s Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, I. *The Middle Ages* (1963), 487–8.

⁶⁰ PRO E403/555.

⁶¹ *CPR 1396–9*, pp. 319, 333. For the Londoners who went with Richard’s retinue to Ireland, see *ibid.*, pp. 519, 522, 523, 546, 566, 573; also *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1381–1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 261, 262. Included in the London contingent were Christopher Tyldesley and four other London goldsmiths.

⁶² Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth', in *Studies in London History Presented to P. E. Jones*, eds. A. E. J. Hollaender and William Kellaway (1969), pp. 197–248, esp. pp. 205–6, 211, 229–30. [*Reprinted as Chapter 10 in the present volume.*]

⁶³ J. M. W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, XLIV (1959), 212–27, esp. 220.

⁶⁴ *Traison*, pp. 180–2. Thomas Gascoigne preserved a list of the promises made by Henry in 1399 and broken by 1406, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. J. E. T. Rogers, (Oxford, 1881), pp. 229–31.

⁶⁵ *Eulogium*, III. 381. John Taylor accepts that Henry sent out letters from Pontefract, *English Historical Literature*, p. 230. In 1326 Queen Isabella and Prince Edward sent letters to the Londoners expounding their policy and asking for support. Copies were posted in Cheapside, *ibid.*, p. 122.

⁶⁶ *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1907).

⁶⁷ *CCR 1396–9*, p. 518; *CPR 1396–9*, pp. 587, 592, 597; Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 225 and references there cited.

⁶⁸ The writ was sent by Archbishop Walden to Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London (who was, in fact, with the king in Ireland) dated 15 July 1399, Register of Robert Braybrook, Guildhall Library MS 9531/3 f. 252v.

⁶⁹ *CCR 1396–9*, p. 509.

⁷⁰ *Foedera*, ed. T. Rymer, 10 volumes (3rd edn. The Hague, 1735–45), III. iv. 187.

⁷¹ For a chronology of these events, see James Sherborne, 'Richard II's Return to Wales July 1399', *Welsh History Review*, VII (1974–5), 389–402.

⁷² *Traison*, p. 187. A letter in French, rather similar in tone to that recorded by the French chronicler, was written by Henry from Burton on Trent to the Council on 17 July 1403, 'que la Dieu mercy nous sumes asses fort encountre tous les malveullantz de nous et de notre roiaume', *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, 6 volumes (1834–7), I. 208.

⁷³ *Traison*, pp. 212–3; Creton, *op. cit.*, p. 376; Usk, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁷⁴ A chronology for Richard and Henry's journey south is provided by the monk of Evesham, *op. cit.*, p. 156. The 'official' itinerary, derived from writs, is provided by the editor, *ibid.*, p. 208. The 'official' itinerary dates are given here. The only reference to this London delegation to be found in any of the civic records is provided by the accounts of the Merchant Taylors' Company. They paid 61s 4d as the costs of four horses and a man to ride to Leicester with the mayor, Merchant Taylors' Hall, MS A 4, f. 4. It seems likely that these payments, recorded under the year 1398–9, were for the mayor's delegation, but the place cannot have been Leicester since there is no evidence that the royal party went through that town which would have been considerably off the direct route from Chester to London.

⁷⁵ Richard was taken first to Westminster and then transferred by water to the Tower. Henry meanwhile was received in London 'gloriose', and stayed at the palace of the bishop, Robert Braybrook, Monk of Evesham, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Braybrook, who returned to south Wales with Richard, seems then to have left the king, perhaps because at 63 he was too old to make the rough journey across Wales to Conway. He finally reached London on 22 August, only ten days ahead of Henry and Richard. As L. H. Butler remarked, 'Nothing seems to have been easier than for the Braybrooks to accomplish a politic change of sides in 1399'; 'Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London and his Kinsmen', (unpublished Oxford DPhil, 1951), pp. 162–6.

⁷⁶J. H. Wylie, *Henry IV* (1884), I. 420.

⁷⁷The Taylors paid 33s 4d to the minstrels, and 6s 8d for their drink, Accounts, see note 74, f. 7; the Grocers paid 48s 4d to the minstrels, 8s 6d for their hoods, and 6s 8d for their victuals, *Facsimile of the First Volume of the Ms Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London 1345–1463*, ed. J. A. Kingdon, 2 volumes (1886) I. 83.

⁷⁸*Rot. Parl.* III. 428; writ to mayor to enforce the new regulations, *CCR, 1339–1402*, p. 182, and see *Rot. Parl.* III. 477.

⁷⁹PRO Ancient Petition 6079; *Rot. Parl.* III. 429; *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1341–1417*, III, 399.

⁸⁰*SR*, I. 346–7; II. 117–8; *Rot Parl.* III. 442–3; Ruth Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (1949), pp. 103, 111 and n. 2. On the fishmongers' monopoly, see *Rot. Parl.* III. 444; *SR*, II. 118. Richard had restored the fishmongers' monopoly in May 1399 before going to Ireland, *CPR 1396–9*, p. 575.

⁸¹*Rot. Parl.* III. 443–4; *SR*, II. 118. On Coroners, see PRO Ancient Petition 6075; *Rot. Parl.* III. 429; W. Kellaway, 'The Coroner in Medieval London', in *Studies in London History*, pp. 75–91, esp. pp. 83–4.

⁸²PRO Ancient Petition 6080; *Letter Book H*, pp. 53, 222. When Henry IV confirmed the charter for the Hanse merchants he attempted to demand reciprocal privileges for English merchants abroad, *CPR 1399–1401*, pp. 57, 140; *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book I*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1909), pp. 5–6.

⁸³PRO E368/172 f. 73; E 404/15/462; *CPR 1399–1401*, pp. 407–8.

⁸⁴Barron, 'Richard Whittington', p. 216 and n. 2.

⁸⁵McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 69; E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 25–7.

⁸⁶The French sources accuse Aumerle of betraying the plot to Henry, but for a different account of how the news reached the king, see *An English Chronicle*, p. 20. Thomas Knolles was later paid for his expenses in providing 10 armed men and 20 archers to defend the Tower at this time, PRO E401/604; E403/564 under date 4 February. For the 1400 rising in Cheshire see P. McNiven, 'The Cheshire Rising of 1400', *BJRL*, LII (1970), 375–96.

⁸⁷An incomplete account of the trial of some of the conspirators before Thomas Knolles, the mayor, and Matthew Southworth, the recorder, of London is preserved in *Letter Book I*, pp. 1–4.

⁸⁸For a survey of those who took part in the Epiphany rising see

Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–5. Writs pardoning those who took part are to be found in *CPR 1399–1402*, pp. 180, 192, 193, 194, 220, 225, 228, 319, 385. On Brocas and Blount see T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (Manchester, 1920–33), III. 413. n. 3; IV. 143. n. 1, 345; V. 307. n. 3, and references to Blount to be found in Given-Wilson, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁸⁹ The clerks who supported Richard included three Cambridge graduates, William Feriby, Richard Maudeleyn, and Ralph Selby, see *BRUC*, pp. 225, 396–7, 517. Feriby and Maudeleyn were both executors of Richard's will. John Bathe, rector of Stapleford Salisbury, revealed Feriby's hiding place to some officers of the city of London and was subsequently granted absolution, *Calendar of Papal Registers 1396–1404*, p. 396.

⁹⁰ By 29 January 1400 the French king knew that Richard was dead, Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, p. 27.

⁹¹ *An English Chronicle*, p. 23.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 23–4; for a discussion of this protest against Henry see Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 27–8; R. L. Storey, 'Clergy and Common Law in the Reign of Henry IV', *Medieval Legal Records Edited in Memory of C. A. F. Meekings*, eds. R. F. Hunnisett and J. B. Post (1978), pp. 342–408, esp. pp. 353–61. See also *CCR 1399–1402*, pp. 529, 570, 577.

⁹³ This argument is developed further in Caroline M. Barron, 'The Art of Kingship: Richard II 1377–1399', *History Today*, 35 (June, 1985), 31–7.

⁹⁴ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 499.

⁹⁵ James Sherborne's interesting and convincing article, 'Perjury and the Lancastrian Revolution of 1399', *Welsh History Review*, 14 (1988), 217–41, unfortunately appeared after this article had gone to print. Although the emphasis is different, our conclusions are perfectly compatible.

Chapter 5

Richard II and London

FROISSART, WRITING IN THE years immediately following the deposition of Richard, attributed a leading role in the king's downfall to the Londoners who, 'being rich from their trade, are enabled to live in state, and by whom the other parts of England are generally governed . . . said to one another privately . . . "if this wicked king Richard be suffered to rule according to his pleasure, we must all be ruined and the country destroyed. Ever since he began his reign, the kingdom has not prospered to the degree in which it did before".¹ Froissart's analysis is neither particularly subtle, nor particularly accurate. In fact, Richard probably disliked the Londoners rather more than they disliked him, and their role in his deposition was minor compared with that played by the retainers of the disaffected nobility.² However, Richard could not ignore the men of London, even if he found their company uncongenial, and it is clear that at times he took trouble to cultivate their loyalty and to curb their lawlessness. It has been customary to consider the relationship between the Crown and the city from the point of view of the Londoners and to chart their struggles to win, and then to defend, their privileges and freedoms.³ In this chapter the focus will shift from the Londoners to the Crown. What did Richard require, or desire from his 'capital city'? How far did the Londoners meet his needs and expectations, and what could the king do to elicit a better response?

When Richard became king on the death of his grandfather in June 1377, his inheritance was a reasonable one: the monarchy was popular and both Edward III and the Black Prince had been respected and admired. Richard's three surviving uncles were committed to loyalty to their brother's son. Richard was 11 when he became king; four years later he married Anne of Bohemia and might have been expected to become actively engaged in the business of ruling his kingdom. However, he seems, rather, to have chosen to prolong his minority and to have been content with the trappings, rather than the realities, of royal power. He was happy to govern

by fits and starts and to leave the routine work to others. How long this state of affairs might have continued is difficult to say, but the death of his mother, Joan of Kent, in 1385, the mounting aristocratic opposition in Parliament and the imposition of the Commission of 1386, jolted Richard into action. In 1387, when he was 21, Richard began to take his kingship seriously but this was too late to save him from the ignominy of the merciless Parliament of February 1388. From this nadir of royal authority Richard developed his 'will to power' and in 1389 he formally declared his minority to be at an end.⁴ The Londoners were not the only ones to be caught out by this change of mood and style. What Richard had tolerated in the 1380s would be tolerated no longer, and the lightning attack on the city's liberties in 1392 was a vigorous manifestation of this new 'hands-on' style of royal government.

Richard did not spend much time in London, which is neither unusual nor surprising. Edward III had spent more time at Eltham and Sheen than he did at Westminster or the Tower.⁵ Indeed Richard's personal experiences of the Tower in June 1381 and in December 1387 cannot have engendered in him warm feelings for the place. However, unlike his grandfather, Richard spent a great deal of time travelling around his kingdom. The chronicler Thomas Walsingham attributed his travels to a desire to live at the expense of others.⁶ In the 1380s he probably travelled in search of pleasure and entertainment, but in the 1390s he demonstrated a desire to be king throughout his realm. Whatever Richard may have felt about London, it is clear that he favoured Westminster, and in this he resembled Henry III, whose patronage of Westminster was in marked contrast to his contentious relations with the Londoners.⁷ Perhaps both kings sought in Westminster the 'perfect capital city' which London seemed so conspicuously unable to provide.

What did Richard require from London? Financial wealth and expertise was increasingly concentrated among the merchants who traded in and out of London and the king needed their financial support. He needed the large sums raised there by direct taxation, and the even larger sums raised by the indirect taxation of the customs. More crucially the king needed a buoyant money market where he could raise cash loans quickly and efficiently to maintain the business of government while waiting for the parliamentary taxes to lumber slowly into the Exchequer. The king expected gifts, as well as loans, in celebration of coronations, weddings, or victories, and as bribes, or, occasionally, to ward off a dire threat to the security of the realm. The Londoners themselves, when they greeted

their new monarch in 1377, acknowledged that the city was ‘camera vestra’, a phrase which may have fallen on receptive young ears.⁸ Later kings hoped and expected to be able to exercise a certain amount of patronage in the city in the giving of the freedom, or civic offices. However, this kind of urban patronage does not seem to have been as important a means of stretching the royal revenue in the fourteenth century as it became later under the Lancastrians and Tudors.⁹

When England was at war, the king expected that the most populous city in his realm would provide men to fight and ships to transport them across the Channel to foreign fields. It was also in London that the king might look to acquire the large numbers of bows and bowstrings, armor, harness, food supplies, and all the accoutrements of war without which large numbers of men could not be converted into armies. However, Richard also hoped, misguidedly as it turned out, that the city would provide men to fight not only against foreign enemies but also against noble enemies from within the realm. In the autumn of 1387 Richard believed that with the help of the current mayor of London, the fishmonger Nicholas Exton, and the influential ex-mayor, the grocer Nicholas Brembre, he would be able to raise an army in London to use in his planned moves against Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick. However, this attempt to use Londoners to form an army for ‘internal’ use was a dismal failure. When the king sent for the mayor and aldermen to ask how many men-at-arms they could supply, they replied that the inhabitants of the city were craftsmen and merchants who had no military experience, and they could only be used to fight to defend the city. The wardens of the city crafts, whom Richard summoned the following day, gave him the same answer.¹⁰ The Londoners were not willing to fight for the king against the retinues of lords with whom he was at variance. That Richard thought that they would do so demonstrates how far, at that point, his finger was from the pulse of his kingdom.

It was in the City of London that the king expected to find the skilled craftsmen and the luxury goods which would grace and elevate his court. It was in the workshops of London that tailors, goldsmiths, skinners, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers, painters, and saddlers could be found to create the trappings of majesty. It was on the wharves and in the warehouses of London merchants that the officers of the Wardrobe would hope to find the silks, velvets, furs, and gold wire out of which to fashion the visible grandeur of the monarch. The role of foreign merchants—in particular the Italians—as importers and suppliers of these expensive

goods who traded in England under royal protection, but in a state of constant rivalry with denizen, or native, merchants, provided a source of fruitful conflict between the king and the Londoners. The king encouraged the presence of alien merchants in London as an alternative source of revenue, to provide luxury goods, and as a sword of Damocles to hold over the heads of the English merchants who were not always eager to dance to the royal tune.

But the City of London was, for the Crown, more than simply an urban conglomeration of people and buildings. It was the capital of England. It was here that royal visitors were brought, such as the king of Armenia at Christmas 1385,¹¹ and where jousts and tournaments were held. Here royal 'triumphs' and processions were played out. The appearance of the city was a matter of concern to the king: he wanted his capital city, his processional city, perhaps even his New Jerusalem, to be clean and impressive. The king needed also a peaceful and orderly city. The Westminster Chronicler notes that disturbances in London were particularly troubling to the king since the city was 'cameram suam'.¹² It was London's failure to be orderly that provoked Richard's sharp action against the city in 1392.¹³ If members of the King's Household, and nobles and their retinues, could not walk safely in city streets, then the king himself felt insecure, and if city government had degenerated into a mass of squabbling factions and street fights, then London was failing to provide an appropriate ambience for the king's regality.

Finally, Richard wanted, and perhaps politically he needed, to be popular in the City of London. Here he required to feel loved and secure, to be greeted by cheering crowds, and to be ushered through the streets by deferential aldermen. He wanted their love and their loyalty, and to feel that they would stand with him against all comers. When love and loyalty failed to come spontaneously from the Londoners, Richard tried to bludgeon such popularity out of the city. However, in the event he acquired the appearance, but not the reality.¹⁴ Certainly he had his supporters among the London elite—and possibly also lower down the economic scale—but widespread popularity eluded him. Richard's failure in his relations with London is a microcosm of his failure as a king: a tendency to mistake the appearance for the reality, and to rely upon the part rather than the whole. The ends which he was pursuing were not unreasonable ones, but he chose inappropriate means to secure them.

The strength and weaknesses of the monarchy on the death of Edward III have been recently characterized,¹⁵ but what was the state of

the City of London in 1377 when Richard came to the throne? There is no doubt that it was in the midst of a constitutional crisis, immediately provoked by the events of the Good Parliament of 1376 but with roots that went much deeper.¹⁶ London in the reign of Richard II has been characterized as ‘turbulent’, but students of London history will know that for most of its history London had been turbulent.¹⁷ It was only in the reign of Edward III that London had enjoyed a measure of stability. The turbulence of Richard’s reign was a reversion to the norm, but the causes of that turbulence had shifted. When men and women live together in closely packed, but not necessarily closely knit, communities, the opportunities for dispute, and for the verbal and physical expressions of disagreement, are manifold.

London was not immune from the wide-ranging results of the catastrophic mortality of the Black Death in 1348–9. The crisis mortality ratio in London seems to have been 18 per cent, almost three times more acute than the worst plague epidemics of the sixteenth century. Keene has estimated that the city, which may have had a population of 70,000–100,000 in 1300, dropped to nearer 40,000 by the 1380s.¹⁸ In London the loss of population seems to have been largely beneficial for the survivors: there was more space and better living conditions. Labour was scarce and so the wage-worker was able, in spite of the Statute of Labourers and the restrictive practices of the employers, to push up his wages and his standard of living. Women were allowed, indeed encouraged, to play a part in the industrial and mercantile life of the city.¹⁹ Apprentices, of both sexes, were in short supply and so their conditions of service improved. As wages rose, so there was increased demand for consumer goods, clothes, household wares, shoes, jewellery, armour, and for a widening range of foodstuffs. As standards of living rose, so the urban proletariat became more prosperous, more skilled, more educated, and more vociferous. The ‘small people’²⁰ were on the march, and they began to look critically at the way in which the city was governed and to form themselves into groups to resist the controlling authority, whether of the masters of their craft or of those who ran the government of the city.

Since the inauguration of the commune in 1189, the City of London had been governed by a mayor and twenty-four aldermen who were drawn, almost exclusively, from mercantile trades, i.e., men who traded in wine, or wool, or spices, or cloth or furs. Others who took part in governing the city were jewellers and goldsmiths, who were skilled craftsmen rather than merchants, but wealthy because they worked on such

expensive materials. The fishmongers also governed the city because they not only monopolized the sale of fish, but owned most of the ships which were the sinews of overseas trade. It was these wealthy merchants who dominated the government of London. Moreover, the importance of such men had been enhanced by the notorious bankruptcies of the Italian firms of the Bardi and the Peruzzi in the 1350s. Native Englishmen now moved into royal finance, an area which had previously been monopolized first by the Jews, and then by the Italians. Now it was Englishmen who acted as bankers to the Crown and not all of them were Londoners. The Hull merchant William de la Pole and Richard earl of Arundel played important roles in financing Edward III's wars against the French.²¹ However, London merchants were also drawn into royal finance: Adam Fraunceys, John Pyel, Richard Lyons, Adam Bury, and John Pecche. None of these men was born in London; they were all rich and successful immigrants.²² They had bought up manors which had belonged to families wiped out by the Plague, or ruined by their expenses in France. They traded overseas in wool and cloth, collected the royal customs, lent money to the Crown (or organized such loans), owned houses and shops in London and manors in the country, and held office in the city by virtue of their wealth. They were clever, successful, ruthless, and opportunist. Within this elite mercantile class there were acute rivalries, for example between the Grocers and the Drapers.²³ There were conflicts between these men as employers of labour and sellers of goods, and those whom they employed, often the poorer members of the same craft. The mercantile trades often did not see eye to eye with the artisan crafts in the city, and they were frequently in conflict among themselves. The interests of those who produced and sold food were different from those of the consumer. Most craft organizations wanted to exercise a monopoly of their own craft while encouraging a free market elsewhere in the interests of lower prices. These economic rivalries were not novel but, since the community had shrunk in size and acute poverty no longer curbed protest and enterprise, the conflicts were overt and articulated. Golden opportunities beckoned and seemed to be within reach. So the base on which the government of London rested in the late fourteenth century was particularly unstable as rival groups gained and lost control of civic government. There was a high rate of immigration and only a slowly developing sense of communal responsibility. The causes of turbulence were many and varied, and it is not surprising that neither Richard, nor his counselors, understood the issues which were tearing London apart, nor could they control the contending factions. In the

end Richard imitated the strong-arm tactics of Edward I and successfully brought the Londoners to heel. However, in the earlier part of his reign he had tried, as did his uncle John of Gaunt, to harness one faction to his cause. The failure of this policy was apparent when Nicholas Brembre was executed in 1388, and Richard came to realize that he must stand above civic faction. This was a lesson that he might, with profit, have applied to his kingdom as a whole.

It would be difficult to argue that London failed Richard in its role as royal banker. The Londoners, like other Englishmen, contributed to the three poll taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1380,²⁴ and to the thirteen direct parliamentary taxes granted during Richard's reign: these taxes amounted, for the Londoners, to seventeen fifteenths, i.e., a total of about £12,750.²⁵ On seven occasions, moreover, between October 1377 and March 1388, the Londoners corporately provided seven substantial loans ranging in amount from £2,000 to £5,000.²⁶ These loans were usually advanced on the security of the customs or parliamentary taxation, and on four occasions royal jewels or plate was handed over as additional security. In September 1380, when the mayor and commonalty lent £2,000, they were given as security a coronet decorated with gold, diamonds, sapphires, and pearls. However, in January 1382 the king was obliged to ask for the coronet back, so that it could be used at his wedding.²⁷

The bulk of the parliamentary taxation and all the London loans fall in the period before 1388. It might be thought that this decline in financial support was the result of Richard's 'personal rule' which began in 1389. However, it is probably of more significance that in July 1389 the first of a series of truces with France was proclaimed in England.²⁸ In these circumstances neither Parliament nor the Londoners felt the king's needs to be so pressing. Richard may not, however, have experienced a diminished need for money and it is clear from the Receipt Rolls of the Exchequer that the king now turned to Italians to provide the resources which the Londoners were unable, or unwilling, to offer him.²⁹ Whereas the Londoners were prepared to acknowledge themselves to be the king's chamber in time of war, they were less willing to offer financial help in peace (or truce) time. The king, on the other hand, required temporary funding to maintain his household and to live like a king. Corporately the city did not lend to the Crown after 1388, but some individual Londoners were prepared to finance the Crown, and in 1397 Richard Whittington appears to have taken over where Nicholas Brembre had left off.³⁰

While England was at war with France, the king expected the city to forward the war effort in a number of tangible ways which extended well beyond the simple provision of finance. The extent to which Londoners joined the English armies—the Pistols and Bardolfs of the Cheapside taverns—is hard to say. Some must have joined the various expeditionary forces, but they did so as individuals retained by particular lords.³¹ There is no evidence that the city, in Richard's reign, raised a contingent of its own to send, as it did in 1436 and 1449.³² However, it was in the London workshops that armor, harness, and bows were fashioned to equip those who did cross the Channel.³³ It may have been London shipping which was most important to the war effort (finance apart) and it was because fishmongers owned ships that they played such an important role within the mercantile community of London. In 1373 the city had provided the king with a fully equipped barge, *The Paul of London* which was captained by William Martlesham, 'mariner of London'.³⁴ It is not clear what role it played, but the barge was refurbished, and sent back to the fray in 1376.³⁵ Seven years later, however, the barge was lying derelict in the Thames, fit for neither war nor commerce, and so the chamberlain was instructed to sell it as profitably as he could.³⁶ There was continual pressure on London shipping to transport armies or make attacks on enemy shipping.³⁷ Just as the English preyed on French shipping, so the enemy fleets seized English goods when they could.³⁸ These were not the conditions in which cross-Channel trade could flourish.

On occasion the war came nearer home. It was feared that the French would seize the opportunity provided by the death of Edward III to attack not only the south coast but also to sail up the Thames to London. In preparation for this attack, the city gates were chained, the quays downstream of London Bridge were 'bretasched' (i.e., fortified against attack), elaborate measures were taken to guard the city's walls and river frontage, and the inhabitants of the wards were compelled either to join the 'home guard', or to contribute cash, or to provide a day's labour, all this in the city's defense. The fear of attack, judging by the detailed measures worked out to repulse it, seems to have been real enough.³⁹ Further steps were taken in 1380: a fifteenth was levied to pay for armed barges, and a further tax of 6d in the pound on rents to provide enough money to build a stone tower to match that already built by the munificent John Philpot, one on each bank of the Thames, 60 feet high and linked by an iron chain which could be drawn across the river to protect the city, and the English fleet, from attack.⁴⁰ While Richard was away on campaign in

Scotland in the summer of 1385, there was a further fear of French invasion and men were rushed to the coast. The large sum of two fifteenths (about £1,500) was raised in the wards to be used to safeguard the city.⁴¹ The size of the sum suggests genuine anxiety. The usual midsummer festivities of wrestling matches at Smithfield and plays at Skinnerswell were banned; at the approach of the enemy, in true Homeric fashion, women and children were to stay indoors while the men at arms, and the archers, were to go forth to fight.⁴² The acute fear of a French attack continued into the next year, when a sales tax was imposed in the city to pay for the cost of repairing the walls 'especially in this time of war'.⁴³ However, the 1389 truce with France brought these military efforts to an end and the Londoners ceased to hold either themselves or their purses ready for the defence of the city.

There seems to be little doubt that London was able and willing to provide the royal court and household with the trappings of majesty. In the course of Edward III's reign the royal household had appeared increasingly extravagant particularly after 1360, as more was spent on luxury goods and less on war. Both the Black Prince and the king himself had established Wardrobes in the city which served as purchasing centers, storehouses, centers of household administration, and, occasionally, for residence.⁴⁴ Many great lords (e.g., Henry of Bolingbroke) likewise established town houses which also served as purchasing offices for their households.⁴⁵ London merchants and craftsmen responded eagerly to this challenge and Richard, like his grandfather and his contemporaries, was able to find among the workshops and warehouses of the city, craftsmen and luxury goods of a quality well suited to decorating his court: painters like Gilbert Prince and Thomas Lytlington, goldsmiths like Nicholas Twyford and Christopher Tildesley, saddlers like Henry Pountfreyt, skinners like William Wiltshire, and silkwomen like Mathilda Bailly.⁴⁶ The quality of the craftsmanship of these London workshops is apparent from the surviving examples brought together in the Age of Chivalry exhibition.⁴⁷ There was a boom in the development of luxury crafts in London, fuelled by royal extravagance, and the cessation of the war with France. Edward III's expenditure in the Great Wardrobe in the last ten years of his reign averaged just over £3,000 per annum, and in the first ten years of Richard's reign the expenditure was much the same at £3,170 per annum. However, in the period of Richard's personal rule, from 1390, the average spending rose to nearly £10,000 per annum.⁴⁸ Royal expenditure now shifted from armorers and bowyers to painters and goldsmiths. In both cases, how-

ever, the suppliers were Londoners. Richard's developing taste for royal magnificence, the outward and visible signs of royal power, worked to the advantage of the Londoners. The king certainly wanted gifts and loans to finance his court and household, but his officers usually spent this money in London warehouses.

The Londoners were not, however, the exclusive partners in this symbiotic relationship. Some of the larger Italian banking houses, the Bardi and the Peruzzi, had been bankrupted by Edward III in the 1340s, but there is no doubt that the Italians remained active in the city both as royal financiers and as suppliers of luxury goods to the Wardrobe.⁴⁹ In 1389 the king needed to present gifts to Waleran count of St Pol and his companions when they left for France, having sworn to observe the truce. He purchased two cloths, one red and one violet, from the London draper John Hende at a cost of £22, but eleven lengths of cloth of gold and four pieces of silk at a total cost of £74, from the Italian Bett Lombard.⁵⁰

From the king's point of view it was advantageous not to allow the citizens of London to monopolize his custom. There were two groups of outsiders who challenged the Londoners' control of the trading and craft activities that went on in the city: foreigners, i.e., Englishmen who were not citizens of London, and strangers or aliens, i.e., those born outside the allegiance of the king of England. On the whole the Londoners were united with each other, and against the king, in their desire to restrict the activities of aliens and strangers in the city. They were, however, much less united about the extent to which they wished to curtail the activities of foreigners in London and, in particular, the activities of foreign fishmongers. Quite clearly different groups within the city had very different economic interests and these interests were neither consistent nor coherent.

By long tradition the king protected alien merchants who traded within his realm. These men brought into England goods which could not otherwise be obtained: silk thread and cloth, velvet, spices, wax, gold wire, furs, and they could be made to pay for the privilege of access to this market by providing cash loans when required, and by paying customs dues at a higher rate than denizen merchants.⁵¹ Alien artisans could also be encouraged to introduce into England skills which were unknown or inexpertly practiced. In London groups of Flemish and Brabant weavers had been organized into craft guilds⁵² and in 1377 these clothworkers were specifically taken under the king's protection.⁵³ This did not, however, prevent sixty of them from being massacred in June 1381.⁵⁴ Alien craftsmen were rarely welcome in the city, and royal protection was crucial, but not

always effective. Alien merchants were, likewise, regarded with suspicion. The king had good reasons, as we have seen, to encourage them to come to England, to import rare goods, and to export English wool and cloth paying a high rate of custom. The most contentious aspect of the alien merchants' operations was their constant infringement of the citizens' exclusive right to buy and sell retail in London. Alien merchants were free to sell wholesale to London merchants, who would then be responsible for their retail distribution. The Londoners fought bitterly to maintain the exclusive right of citizens to trade retail in the city which had been established by the Statute of York in 1335. This privilege, known as the 'franchise' was, on occasions, suspended by both Edward III and Richard II: it was in the king's interest to encourage alien merchants and to remove the citizens' monopoly over retail sales of alien imports, since this brought down the prices at which those goods were sold. An astute king could play off one interest group against another, but this was a difficult and, sometimes, dangerous game.⁵⁵

However, the city's franchise also curtailed the activities of foreigners (i.e., non-citizens) in the London markets. How far were foreigners able to buy and sell freely in the city? When the Londoners succeeded in 1376 in securing the restoration of the franchise after a period of twenty-five years, this reinstated, among other monopolistic controls, the London fishmongers' monopoly over the retail sale of fish in the city. This became an important issue in the civic disputes of the 1380s. Most Londoners, apart from the fishmongers and their supporters, wanted to see this particular monopoly abolished so that fish would be available more cheaply in the city. This was the popular cause championed by John of Northampton. Those who supported the franchise, and thereby the fishmongers' monopoly, could argue that since the mayor and aldermen already controlled the prices at which many victuals were sold in the city (e.g., bread, wine, beef, poultry, and fish), the prices could not be kept artificially high by the fishmongers' monopoly. The fishmongers, moreover, did not see why the city franchise which protected the monopolistic interests of all London crafts and trades, should be removed only in their case.⁵⁶

The interests of the king were not clear-cut in this debate. Whether a free market in the retail sale of food or a series of monopolies mitigated by price control was 'better', i.e., produced cheaper food, was not clear. What harvest could the Crown reap out of this contentious field? It appears that Richard II attempted to use the divisive issue as a means of developing a party of supporters in the city. Whereas John of Gaunt seems

to have supported the draper John of Northampton and the anti-monopolists, Richard II cultivated the grocer Nicholas Brembre and his successor in the mayoralty, the fishmonger Nicholas Exton. Both of these men, and their supporters, wanted to maintain the city's franchise and the monopolies enjoyed by all citizen retailers, including the fishmongers.⁵⁷ What the king wanted was that alien craftsmen and merchants should be able to live and work peacefully in London, whether they were Flemish clothworkers or Italian or Hanseatic merchants, and that these men should be able to create, import, and sell high quality goods, while paying the Crown for the privilege of so doing. By and large the king achieved this objective. However, Richard had great difficulty in deciding how to handle the divisive civic struggles over the retail food monopolies. His partisan interventions in the 1380s aggravated the armed disputes which it was in his best interests to contain. The autocratic policies which the king adopted in the 1390s at least had the advantage of raising the Crown above civic faction. Whereas he might have thought in the 1380s that his best policy was to divide and rule, he came to realize that the Crown was best served by a peaceful and united city.

It was important to the king that London, his capital city, should be clean, healthy, and safe. It has been argued that the ravages of the Black Death and the subsequent outbreaks of plague made the city governors more aware of the need to keep London clean.⁵⁸ In this the interests of the city and the Crown coincided, but it was the Londoners who had to pay for improved urban hygiene. There is considerable evidence that the mayor and aldermen were taking much more trouble to see to the cleaning of the city than they had done in the earlier part of the century. Each year the men of the wards were reminded of their responsibility for keeping the streets clean and civic rubbish tips were provided.⁵⁹ There was particular concern about the state of the quays downstream from London Bridge⁶⁰ and about the Walbrook which flowed through the center of the city as an open sewer.⁶¹ In 1385 the city appointed its first sanitary officer, known as the serjeant of the Channel, and his task was to ensure that the city's streets and lanes were kept free of rubbish.⁶²

However, there was a particular aspect of city hygiene which was of concern to the king and that was butchering. It appears that more fresh meat was consumed in the later fourteenth century than had been the case earlier; in part because of the greater availability of pasture land, and in part because of the rise in real wages and the increased standard of living.⁶³ The Black Death not only encouraged the growth of the butchering indus-

try, but also made people more conscious of the health risks from blood, offal, and carcasses left rotting in public places.⁶⁴ In 1369 Edward III sent a fierce writ to the mayor and aldermen complaining about the 'grievous corruption and filth' which arose in the lanes and streets of the city from the blood and offal which the butchers left on the road from the Shambles to Newgate, and on the banks of the Fleet river where they washed their carcasses. Slaughtering was, in future, to be done away from the city, either in Knightsbridge to the west or in Stratford in the east.⁶⁵ It was the butchers who worked in the western part of the city who caused the trouble, for it was in the western suburbs that most of the town houses of the aristocracy were situated. When the king himself had to come from Westminster, he would ride along Fleet Street and have to pick his way through the discarded entrails around Fleet Bridge. It was, clearly, much more difficult for the butchers to slaughter beasts farther away from the markets in which they sold the meat, and it looks as if little was done to meet the royal and aristocratic complaints in spite of reminders. On this issue it is clear that the interests of the butchers were in direct conflict with the interests of the aristocratic inhabitants of the city. In 1391 the leading inhabitants of the great houses lying to the north-west of the city got together to petition the king about the slaughtering of animals at Holborn Bridge, led by the duke of Lancaster, and including the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, whose houses were in Holborn; the heads of the religious houses of St John of Jerusalem, St Bartholomew's, and Clerkenwell; and the abbot of Leicester and the prior of Sempringham, whose town houses lay east of Holborn Bridge, outside the city walls. The king insisted that slaughtering at Holborn Bridge was to stop within three months on the threat of a £1,000 fine.⁶⁶ The mayor and aldermen secured two extensions, and then the city was swept into the king's hand.⁶⁷ In 1393, when the dust of the great quarrel between the Crown and the city had settled, it appears that a partial compromise on the matter of the butchers was worked out, whereby they cut up their offal and deposited it from boats in the Thames in midstream.⁶⁸ Richard, and his aristocracy, wanted London to be clean and wholesome: a city of which they could be proud and where they could move about their business with ease. The city governors appeared to be indifferent to this concern, or unable to enforce the royal will. London had failed to look the part.

But if the dirt and offal in the London streets were unpleasant, the lawlessness and violence were dangerous. Many English towns in the later fourteenth century were turbulent, but London was turbulent on a greater

scale and its disorders impinged more upon the king and the court. There were points in the yearly cycle when the rulers of London anticipated misrule and violence, and took measures to control it. The legitimated disorder at Christmas, and at Midsummer, posed particular problems for the mayor, and the aldermen were instructed to be particularly vigilant and visible at these times.⁶⁹ Some of the lawlessness in the city was imported by the household retainers of the great lords who enjoyed provoking the local inhabitants while their masters were lodging in London.⁷⁰ With this in mind the mayor and aldermen tried to ensure that great lords and their households lodged outside the city in the suburbs.⁷¹ However, there is no doubt that the constitutional and economic conflicts of the 1370s and 1380s were home-grown, and the issues were often fought out with fists in the streets of London.⁷² There were times during the later fourteenth century when the mayor was unable to keep the city 'surely and safely' for the Crown as he promised to do when he took up office, and then the king had to intervene as Edward III did in July 1376, in the wake of the disputes over the method of electing the Common Council. On this occasion the citizens were quick to deny that there had been any tumult and to assure the king that the matter was now under control.⁷³ When the new mayor, elected in the following October, failed to ensure good order in the city, the king removed him and ordered the mayor and commonalty to elect someone else.⁷⁴ In March 1378 there was further rioting, between the goldsmiths and the pepperers, and in August a fight broke out near Ludgate when a fishmonger and his family were turned out of their house by a gang of men led by William Leek, a tailor.⁷⁵ Two months later the king's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, and his servant were attacked by a gang of Londoners led by John Maynard, a waxhandler.⁷⁶ A month later groups of craftsmen, in particular cordwainers and glovers, created disturbances which were sufficiently serious for the king to send a writ of enquiry.⁷⁷ The rebels, therefore, from the countryside around London did not fall upon a peaceful and united city in June 1381: their numbers were swelled by the inhabitants of the city itself, anxious to find violent expression for their own rivalries and grievances.

The events of June 1381 did not bring peace to the city in their wake. The faction fighting intensified and two broadly based parties emerged: one led by the grocer Nicholas Brembre and the other by the draper John of Northampton, who was elected mayor in October 1381. It appears to have been Northampton's policy to widen participation in civic government, and to try to run the city in the interests of the 'small

people', the less affluent craftsmen and shopkeepers who were not engaged in overseas trade. By abolishing monopolies Northampton hoped to keep down food prices, and by ensuring that there was an adequate supply of small change, to ensure that food and other necessities could be bought piecemeal by the poor.⁷⁸ Of course these policies did not command universal support, but at first they seem to have been welcomed by the king. In October 1382 Richard wrote twice to the Londoners urging them to re-elect John of Northampton as mayor. This was the first time that a king had overtly tried to influence the city in its choice of mayor.⁷⁹ Richard may have been moved to this course of action by Northampton's ability, as it seemed, to keep London under control. He was duly re-elected but his second mayoralty was much stormier than the first and Richard seems to have lost confidence in him and in his policies for in the following October Nicholas Brembre was elected mayor 'rege favente'.⁸⁰ The election was virtually a riot and Northampton's refusal to accept the outcome led to his imprisonment, trial by the king, and banishment from the city for the next seven years.⁸¹

The lawlessness in London had become so bad by the beginning of 1384 that the king was forced to intervene in order to remove Northampton and his principal allies from the scene, and also to support Brembre in making an example of one of Northampton's supporters from among the 'small people', and thereby frighten the citizens into order. John Constantine, a cordwainer who was convicted of having urged the citizens to close their shops and rise in support of the arrested Northampton, was executed and his head displayed above Newgate. This summary, and unprecedented, execution was not accepted without protest, and the Westminster Chronicler noted that he had been a man of godly life who attended church regularly.⁸² Early in April Richard sent a writ ratifying the actions of the mayor and aldermen in condemning Constantine. He sent the writ to strengthen the government of the city, to repress and check conspirators and those who broke the peace, and to prevent riot and insurrection.⁸³ The execution, which seems to have served as a warning to others, was successful in that the more extreme rioting was brought under control. However, the mayor was clearly unable to keep control of the city without royal help and the king cannot have been pleased with the perpetual rioting which disfigured civic life.

In the following October the king went further in his intervention in the mayoral election. He forbade the carrying of arms in the city⁸⁴ and he sent three members of his Household, John lord Neville of Raby, Lord

Fitzwalter, and Sir Thomas Morieux, a Chamber knight, to act as ‘observers’ and to ensure that the election was conducted peacefully and ‘according to custom.’⁸⁵ Although over 300 citizens were duly summoned,⁸⁶ other ‘persons of the middle sort’ turned up uninvited, and protested vigorously when Brembre was re-elected.⁸⁷ The king favoured Brembre’s re-election but the protesters wanted the goldsmith, Nicholas Twyford. Both sides probably tried to use strong-arm tactics and the presence of the courtiers seems not to have had any effect. However, from this time on it became usual for the mayor to try to restrict participation in the mayor’s election to the ‘better sort’ who had been summoned.⁸⁸ The involvement of the Crown also became the norm: in October 1385 Brembre was re-elected for a third term ‘rege annuente’.⁸⁹ Two years later Richard wrote to the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, threatening them that if they did not choose a mayor ‘who could govern the city well’, he would refuse to allow the barons of the Exchequer to take his oath. The Westminster Chronicler records that Nicholas Exton was re-elected ‘rege volente’.⁹⁰ In the aftermath of the Merciless Parliament of February 1388, the king warned the mayor and commonalty to ensure the peaceful election of a ‘trusty and loyal mayor’. Their choice of Nicholas Twyford, the rejected candidate of 1384, may well not have found favour with the king.⁹¹ The king’s seizure of the city’s liberties in 1392 and the appointment of a warden to govern the city was the most extreme form of royal intervention. However, even after the restoration of the city’s liberties, the king continued to keep an eye on the mayoralty and, when Adam Bamme died in office in May 1397, the king did not allow the citizens to elect his replacement, but simply himself chose Richard Whittington and imposed him upon the city.⁹²

Richard did not rely solely upon the mayor to impose order in the city; he tried to make contact more directly with the citizens by demanding oaths of fealty. Such oaths, in various different forms, were to become one of the hallmarks of Richard’s government. The use of oaths was not unique to the king. In 1377 all the members of fifty of the more powerful misteries, whether masters, servants, or apprentices had been sworn to keep the peace, obey mayoral summonses, put down conspiracies, keep the city’s secrets, and only come to Guildhall if summoned.⁹³ Similar oaths were demanded of all the ‘good men’ of the city in March 1382, February 1384, and May 1385.⁹⁴ Presumably it was hoped that by these means the city would be fashioned into a giant fraternity bound together by mutual oaths. It was therefore no novelty for the Londoners to find themselves expected to swear to ‘live and die’ with King Richard against

all rebels in the autumn of 1387.⁹⁵ It was Brembre's role in collecting these oaths which formed the basis of some of the charges against him in the Merciless Parliament.⁹⁶ The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, in January 1388 absolved the Londoners from these oaths, but at the end of the Merciless Parliament the aldermen and chief men of the city were required to bind themselves once again: this time to uphold the Acts of the recent Parliament.⁹⁷ With a touching faith, those in authority continued to use the sanctity of oaths as a means of imposing order and extracting loyalty.⁹⁸

Richard's incessant, and ultimately useless, demands for oaths during the last years of his reign found their way into the Articles of Deposition.⁹⁹ What the king and others in authority wanted, was for men to take 'vertical' oaths, i.e., to masters, or lords, or city rulers, or to the king, but not to take 'horizontal' oaths among themselves.¹⁰⁰ Ultimately the king's use of oaths to try to ensure a peaceful and loyal city was a failure: perhaps because those who took the oaths were not those who broke the peace, or perhaps because the sanction of the Church was not sufficiently feared.

What Richard wanted from London during his reign was a clean, beautiful, and peaceful city. He did not get it. It may be that more systematic efforts were made during his reign to keep the city clean and to deal with the problems of butchers' offal in the western suburbs. However, the city was exposed to almost continuous rioting during the 1370s and 1380s. Richard's policy at first was strongly to back a favoured mayor, like Brembre, and to use the 'king's party' thus created to impose order, and to build up support for royal policies in the city. The fate of Brembre demonstrates both how this policy had failed and also how it was resented. In 1392 the king declared a 'plague on both your houses' and simply suspended the city's freedoms and ruled London directly. This policy may not have made Richard more popular but it seems to have made London more peaceful. The deaths of some of the charismatic ringleaders may also have helped: Brembre in 1388, Twyford in 1391, Exton in 1393, and, finally, John of Northampton himself in 1398. The Londoners seem to have grown tired of their persistent form of mercantile 'bastard feudalism', and the rampant economic opportunism of the 1370s settled down into comfortable, but reasonably benign, oligarchy. Paradoxically Richard's strong-arm tactics contributed to the creation of peace in London, but similar measures deployed against the nobility created enmities which the king could not contain, and which led, ultimately, to his own deposition.

Above all, perhaps, Richard wanted entertainment from London: pageantry and a stage and cast for dramatic events in which he would be the star performer. It may be that Richard's youthful accession to the throne gave him an exaggerated taste for such 'shows', for he was only 11 when he was crowned. The city was specially cleaned and decorated for the procession and the Great Conduit in Cheapside was transformed into the Heavenly City, where four virgins stood scattering gold leaves and coins. These virgins offered the king a cup of wine from the conduit, which normally flowed only with water. From the center of the Heavenly City a mechanical angel bowed down and offered the king a golden crown. The chronicler Thomas Walsingham does not record whether the king spoke or not, but there is no doubt that Richard was the most important spectator and participant, the focus of the pageant.¹⁰¹ Doubtless he enjoyed this. The following Christmas 130 London citizens rode through the city to entertain the young king at Kennington where he was staying with his mother and his uncles. The group passed through the city from Newgate, along Cheapside and over London Bridge to Southwark, accompanied by a large company of musicians. When the Londoners reached Kennington they donned masks and dressed up as knights and esquires escorting an emperor and a pope and twenty-four cardinals. They brought with them loaded dice and offered to play with Richard: three times he threw the dice and three times he won: a gold bowl, a gold cup and a gold ring. The lords also won rings and then there was dancing and feasting.¹⁰² Such festivities were clearly enjoyable and Richard may have begun to develop a taste for such things. It may not have been helpful to him to have begun to believe that the dice were always loaded in his favour. There seems to have been some celebration for Anne of Bohemia when she arrived to marry Richard, for she was certainly led in procession through the city and the Great Conduit was once again decorated.¹⁰³ But once Richard and his queen were crowned, there were no more triumphs provided by the City of London. He was now expected to turn his attention to the serious business of governing his realm and leading English troops in foreign conquests. But in the 1380s Richard showed little sustained interest in either of these tasks. His taste for pageantry and spectacle had to be satisfied by the tournaments which were a regular feature of courtly life.¹⁰⁴

The dramatic and humiliating events of 1388 left their mark upon Richard's kingship. At the end of the Merciless Parliament, all the lords renewed their coronation oaths and the reign began again. Richard decided to take his kingship seriously and to put away childish things. In 1389 he

declared himself to be of age,¹⁰⁵ and he reasserted royal authority by controlling the localities, building up noble alliances, and making a truce with France. However, the desire for pageantry appears not to have left him and at the end of 1389 he learnt about the magnificent 'triumph' provided for Isabella of Bavaria, the young queen of Charles VI, by the citizens of Paris. Froissart's description of this sumptuous spectacle is such as to make any king envious. When Richard heard of the Parisian pageant he decided 'in imitation of this' to hold a series of grand tournaments and feasts in London.¹⁰⁶ In fact 1390 was a bumper year for tournaments. Richard held a tournament at Smithfield and then immediately afterwards the famous jousts were held at St Ingelvert near Calais. But the tournaments which Richard organized at Smithfield early in October were particularly magnificent, and considerable time and effort went into their preparation. Sir William, son of the count of Hainault, and Waleran, count of St Pol, were among the foreign knights who came to take part. In all sixty knights and their ladies rode mounted through the city from the Tower to Smithfield, and Richard's knights 'had their armour and apparell garnished with white harts and crowns of gold about the harts' necks'. Richard and Anne lodged in the bishop of London's palace lying just to the north of St Paul's cathedral and every night the guests were entertained there with dinners and dancing. Clearly for the Londoners the presence of so many lords and their retinues in the city posed a peace-keeping problem, and must have inconvenienced the normal business of the city. On the other hand such an influx of wealthy young aristocrats must have been good for business, as Froissart shrewdly notes.¹⁰⁷

In spite of the magnificence of these jousts and festivities, it seems clear that Richard still yearned for a second coronation procession, such as he remembered from his youth and such as the citizens of Paris had provided for Isabella. Two years later he seized the opportunity presented by his quarrel and reconciliation with the City of London to extract a 'triumph' from the citizens. To argue that Richard quarreled with the Londoners in order to achieve a magnificent reception would be to stretch the evidence, and it is clear that he was primarily concerned about the endemic disorder in the city, but he was not slow to seize the opportunity that had been created. There is no doubt that Richard was anxious to exact a useful fine from the Londoners, and to curb their arrogant lawlessness, but the form of his reconciliation was probably just as important to him. The importance of the civic triumph of 1392 may be reflected in the fact that two accounts of it survive: a Latin poem written by Richard

of Maidstone and a letter written in French which describes the same occasion.¹⁰⁸ Was it the Londoners or the king who commissioned these accounts?

It seems likely that the Londoners had some shrewd advice as to what themes and pageants would be acceptable to the king. It may be that the agent in these difficult negotiations was the royal warden Sir Baldwin Raddington or, more likely, his predecessor, Sir Edward Dallingridge. The procession on August 21 was well rehearsed and well prepared: the warden offered the king the keys of the city and the civic sword, and begged him to enter his chamber. Richard took the sword and keys and agreed to enter London to see 'whether my people have learned to recognize their king'. The queen, who accompanied the king throughout the pageant, suggested to the warden and aldermen that there was hope. If Richard had pardoned the citizens at this point, he might not have been offered the pageants: it was necessary to keep the Londoners on tenterhooks. Also, he wanted to see the quality of their gifts.¹⁰⁹ At the conduit in Cheapside, groups of singing angels scattered golden leaves, very much as they had done for Richard's coronation pageant. Further west along Cheapside, Richard and Anne encountered a much more ambitious pageant, a castle suspended by ropes in the air and inhabited by a youth and a girl who miraculously descended and presented the king and queen with two crowns, symbolising both earthly rule and eternal rule in heaven. At the west end of Cheapside, at the little conduit, God Almighty sat enthroned and surrounded by three circles of singing angels. The royal party then went into St Paul's before riding westwards over Fleet Bridge to Temple Bar where the city had staged the most elaborate of the pageants. John the Baptist, Richard's particularly favoured saint, stood surrounded by savage beasts snapping and snarling. John pointed to the Lamb of God while an angel descended to the street bearing two gold altarpieces, one for Richard and one for Anne, and each bearing an image of the Crucifixion to remind the king of the suffering and the forgiveness of Christ. Richard then turned and spoke to the citizens, and in the sight of Christ, his Mother, and St John, he declared, 'I freely forgive all the crimes of my people.'¹¹⁰ The rituals of festive reconciliation continued into the evening, and probably even into the next day.¹¹¹

If we are right in assuming that these pageants reflected an agreed agenda between Richard and the citizens, then the events of 21 August 1392 can reveal something about Richard's image of the appropriate relations between a king and his capital city.¹¹² The choice of images in the

pageants is religious and not military: the king comes to his city, as Christ comes to the heavenly Jerusalem, or as a bridegroom to the bridal chamber.¹¹³ The city is cleaned and decorated and beautified as the citizens await the coming of their king. The throngs of Londoners are respectful, orderly, and pleasing to the eye since they are dressed up in their liveries. Through the warden the citizens offer the king not only rich and well-chosen gifts but also humility and loyalty. The king, magnificently dressed can, at the same time, be both impressive and magnanimous. By means of these orchestrated pageants it might well have seemed that Richard and his people were bound together in a shared ideal of the harmonious Christian polity. However, it was, of course, drama and not life.

Although Richard forgave the Londoners, he did not remit their fine, nor did he restore their liberties completely. The citizens had no choice but to continue to play their penitent role. Just as they had visited Richard at Kennington at Christmas following his coronation, so at Christmas 1392 the Londoners sought out the king at Eltham and presented Richard and his queen with extraordinary and expensive gifts: for Richard a golden dromedary ridden by a boy, and for the queen a pelican, to remind her of the self-sacrificing role that she was expected to play. The king 'ad instanciam domine regine' pardoned the Londoners and remitted £20,000 of the £30,000 fine which they owed him.¹¹⁴ For the Londoners the expensive and humiliating drama had finally come to an end.

Richard's style of government, and there is much that can be admired about it, was not in harmony with the nobility nor with the London merchants and artisans. In spite of the shared festivities of August 1392, he was not at ease with them, nor they with him. Whereas Richard in the pageants played a role which was as real to him off the stage as on it, the role played by the Londoners did not come naturally to them. They continued to find Richard baffling and inscrutable. The king never really trusted the Londoners and the scar tissue left by the wound inflicted by the Appellants four years earlier never properly healed. So the elaborate pageants of 1392 remained as symbols only, and in reality the relations between the king and the Londoners continued on an uneven and uncertain course. Once again Richard had mistaken the trappings of royalty for the reality of royal power. The Londoners could, when sufficiently goaded, supply the trappings, but only the king could make royal power a reality.

NOTES

¹ I am very grateful to Professor Nigel Saul and Professor Paul Strohm for reading a draft of this chapter and for making a number of helpful suggestions for improvement.

Sir John Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France and Spain*, ed. and trans. T. Johnes, ii. (London, 1857), 683.

² For the further development of this argument, see C. M. Barron, 'The Deposition of Richard II', in *Politics and Crisis*, 132–49, esp. 139–40. [*Reprinted as Chapter 4 in the present volume.*]

³ R. Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London, 1949); P. Nightingale, 'Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change in Late Fourteenth-Century London', *Past and Present*, 124 (1989), 3–35.

⁴ *Westm. Chron.* 391–3.

⁵ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360–1413* (New Haven, 1986), 33–4.

⁶ *Hist. Angl.* ii. 96–7.

⁷ G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200–1540* (Oxford, 1989), 97–100; N. E. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', in W. J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History Presented to Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1995), 196–218.

⁸ *Hist. Angl.* I, 329.

⁹ For examples of civic offices requested by Richard II for his servants, see *LBH* 208, 282–3, 316–17, 338; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 104.

¹⁰ *Westm. Chron.* 207–8, 217; H. T. Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries 1276–1410* (London, 1868), 499; *LBH* 321.

¹¹ *Westm. Chron.* 155–7.

¹² *Ibid.*, 62.

¹³ For a discussion of the causes and course of this quarrel, see C. M. Barron, 'The Quarrel of Richard II with London, 1392–1397', in *Reign of Richard II*, 173–201. [*Reprinted as Chapter 2 in the present volume.*]

¹⁴ *Westm. Chron.* 207–8, 215–19; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 500.

¹⁵ W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327–1377* (London, 1990); A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), ch. 1.

¹⁶ G. Holmes, *The Good Parliament of 1376* (Oxford, 1975); C. M. Barron, *Revolt in London: 11th to 15th June 1381* (London, 1981), esp. 12–20. Nightingale, 'Capitalists'.

¹⁷ G. A. Williams, *Medieval London from Commune to Capital* (London, 1963).

¹⁸ D. Keene, 'A New Study of London before the Great Fire', *Urban History Yearbook 1984* (Leicester), 11–21, esp. 20.

¹⁹ C. M. Barron, 'The "Golden Age" of Women in Medieval London', in K.

Bate *et al.* (eds.), *Medieval Women in Southern England* (Reading, 1989), 35–58. [Reprinted as Chapter 12 in the present volume.]

²⁰ This phrase is used by Thomas Usk, the ‘secretary’ to John of Northampton’s party, in his Appeal in which he gives evidence against his former master, R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt (eds.), *A Book of London English, 1384–1425* (Oxford 1931), 18–31; P. Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow* (Princeton, 1992), ch. 7 and app. 1 by A. J. Prescott.

²¹ Holmes, *The Good Parliament*, 69–79.

²² Barron, *Revolt*, 13–14; S. O’Connor (ed.), *The Cartularies of Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel* (London, 1994).

²³ Nightingale, ‘Capitalists’, 17–20.

²⁴ See C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, ed. E. B. Fryde (new edn., Oxford, 1969), ed.’s introd., pp. xii–xxii.

²⁵ For a list of the taxes granted to Richard II, see J. H. Ramsay, *A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1925), ii. 433. For the relative weight of direct and indirect taxation, see W. M. Ormrod, ‘Finance and Trade under Richard II’, in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. A. Goodman and J. L. Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Fig. 8.8.

²⁶ 5 October, 1377, £5,000, *LBH* 79–80, 87–8; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 410–12; PRO E401/528; 16 Mar. 1379, £5,000, *LBH* 119–21, 122–3, 149; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 429–30; PRO E.401/535; to Sept. 1380, £2,000, *LBH* 156, 159, 160; PRO E. 401/539; 22 Sept. 1383, £2,666 13s 4d, *LBH* 218–19; PRO E. 401/550; 26 June 1385, £5,000, *LBH* 267–8; 29 Nov. 1386, £4,000, *LBH* 23–4; 25 Mar. 1388, £5,000, *LBH* 323.

²⁷ *LBH* 156, 159, 160 Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 443–4. This may have been the same crown that was given as security in Sept. 1383 and borrowed back again for Christmas, *LBH* 219.

²⁸ July 1389, May 1392, May 1396 (*LBH* 342, 377, 414, 450).

²⁹ H. Bradley, ‘Italian Merchants in London’, Ph.D. thesis (London, 1992), 213–15, 456.

³⁰ J. A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), esp. ch. 4; C. M. Barron, ‘Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth’, in A. E. J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (eds.), *Studies in London History Present to Philip Edmund Jones* (London, 1969), 197–248. [Reprinted as Chapter 10 in the present volume.]

³¹ For examples of writs of protection issued to individuals to travel abroad on military service in the retinues of particular lords, see *CPMR, 1364–1381*, 268, 270, 287; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 23, 39, 40, 43, 81, 161, 261; see J. W. Sherborne, ‘Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France 1369–1380’, *EHR* 79 (1964), 718–46.

³² C. M. Barron, ‘The Government of London and its Relations with the Crown’, Ph.D. thesis (London, 1970), 457–61.

³³ E.g., the royal writs of May 1376, Feb. 1381, Oct. 1386 (*LBH* 27, 160, 288–9).

³⁴ Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 368–71.

³⁵ *LBH* 20.

³⁶ *LBH* 215–16, 236; in Oct. 1380 the city provided armed barges for the defense of the realm, *LBH* 155.

³⁷ Apr. 1385, Aug. 1387 (*LBH* 263, 311).

³⁸ June, Aug. 1376 (*LBH* 31, 33); for piracy at sea in 1387, see *Westm. Chron* 181–5; for a discussion of the effects of the French wars on shipping, see Nightingale, ‘Capitalists’, 28.

³⁹ *LBH* 64–66.

⁴⁰ 2 Oct. 1380, Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 444–5. It seems unlikely that the tower was ever, in fact, built.

⁴¹ *LBH* 269–71; *Westm. Chron.* 125.

⁴² *LBH* 272.

⁴³ *LBH* 297–9; there had been earlier efforts to repair the city’s walls in 1378, 1379, 1384, and 1385 (*LBH* 116, 137, 236; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 56). The fear of enemy attack was such that in Sept. 1386 the city prepared for a siege (*LBH* 285–6; Knighton, ii. 211–13). To deal with the emergency the city had to borrow from Biernes Chest (£500) (*LBH* 342–3).

⁴⁴ For the various royal Wardrobes in the city, see M. D. Lobel (ed.), *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (Oxford, 1989), 78, 84.

⁴⁵ Henry of Derby’s London Wardrobe, like his London residence, seems to have been remarkably peripatetic; in 1381–2 it was in Coleman Street; in 1387–8 it was near Baynard’s Castle possibly in the building later known as the Duke’s Wardrobe (PRO D.L. 28/1/1 and 2).

⁴⁶ Between 1378 and 1384 Nicholas Twyford, a London goldsmith, was paid over £70 for various silver gilt cups bought from him, usually as gifts for visiting envoys (PRO E401/530, 533, 535, 537, 556); for skimmers see E. M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966), 85, 134–5; for silk-women, see K. Lacey, ‘The Production of “Narrow Ware” by Silkwomen in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century England’, *Textile History* 18 (1987), 187–204; for the London painters see J. Mitchell, ‘The Painters of London’, M.A. thesis (Royal Holloway, Univ. of London, 1989); and for the goldsmiths see T. F. Reddaway and L. M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmith’s Company 1327–1509* (London, 1976), esp. 311–12, and C. M. Barron, ‘The Deposition of Richard II’, in *Politics and Crisis*, 139–40. [*Reprinted as Chapter 4 in the present volume.*]

⁴⁷ J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400* (London, 1987).

⁴⁸ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, 80–5, and table p. 82.

⁴⁹ Bradley, ‘Italian Merchants’, 255, 257–8.

⁵⁰ PRO E.403/524. I am grateful to Professor Nigel Saul for this reference.

⁵¹ E. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England’s Export Trade, 1275–1547* (Oxford, 1963), 11–13.

⁵² In 1375, 1376 (*LBH* 17, 50).

⁵³ *CPMR 1364–1381*, 251; for examples of hostility to alien craftsmen in London see *LBH* 95, 135.

⁵⁴ *Westm. Chron.* 5–7; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 450.

⁵⁵ Nightingale, ‘Capitalists’, 9–16. For a discussion of the privileges of the Hanse merchants see H. Palais, ‘England’s First Attempt to Break the Commercial Monopoly of the Hanseatic League, 1377–1380’, *American Historical Review*, 64 (1959), 852–65; and M. M. Postan, ‘The Economic and Political Relations of England and the Hanse from 1400 to 1475’, in *id.* and E. Power (eds.), *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1933).

⁵⁶ See the protests voiced by the fishmonger and late mayor Nicholas Exton as a Member in the Parliament of 1382 (*RP* iii. 143).

⁵⁷ In the Merciless Parliament of 1388 the city lost its ‘franchise’, i.e., the right of the citizens to monopolize the retail sale of goods in the city. This meant that aliens and foreigners could buy and sell freely in the city notwithstanding the city’s privileges, *Westm. Chron.* 323; O. Ruffhead (ed.), *Statutes at Large* (London 1769), vol. i, 11 Richard II, cap. 7, pp. 375–7. The Westminster Chronicler believed that the Londoners deserved this loss of their privileges, because they were behaving in such a factious way, although he makes it clear that in his view the protests against the monopoly of the victuallers were ‘wrong-headed’ (*Westm. Chron.* 335).

⁵⁸ E. Sabine, ‘City Cleaning in Medieval London’, *Speculum* 12 (1937), 19–43.

⁵⁹ E.g., 1375, 1378, 1379, 1382, 1385 (*LBH* 3, 108, 111, 137, 183, 255–6).

⁶⁰ Years 1377, 1379, 1385 (*LBH* 63, 137, 152, 255, 256).

⁶¹ Year 1383 (*LBH* 216).

⁶² In 26 Oct. 1385 (*LBH* 275); in 1390 Nicholas Foche was appointed as ‘Surveyor of streets and lanes within the liberty of the City’ (*LBH* 355).

⁶³ On the increased urban consumption of meat, see C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989), 196–202.

⁶⁴ E. Sabine, ‘Butchering in Medieval London’, *Speculum* 8 (1933), 335–53. The Cambridge Parliament of 1388 was also concerned about the unhealthy squallor of towns (Ruffhead (ed.), *Statutes at Large*, vol. i, 12 Ric. II, cap. 13, p. 382).

⁶⁵ Years 1369, 1370 (Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 339, 356–8). In 1380 the prohibition was confirmed in Parliament (*LBH* 301).

⁶⁶ 6 Dec. 1391, *LBH* 372.

⁶⁷ *LBH* 375–6; Barron, ‘Quarrel’, 175–6 and nn. 9–11.

⁶⁸ *LBH* 392; in the wardmotes held in June 1393 enquiries were to be carried out into butchers’ nuisances (*LBH* 394).

⁶⁹ Mayoral writs at Christmas 1376, 1378, 1380, 1383, 1384, 1387, 1388, 1390, 1391, 1393 (*LBH* 54, 111, 157, 224, 254, 321–2, 337–8, 361, 373, 405); in 1393 the king reinforced the mayor’s writ with his own (*LBH* 405); for mayoral

writs at Midsummer, see 1378, 1381, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387 (*LBH* 92, 165, 232, 266, 283, 308; Riley (ed. and trans.) *Memorials of London*, 488). The earlier writs simply instructed the aldermen to ensure that measures were taken against fire, and that proper watch and ward was kept. In 1384, however, the writ specified the eves of St John (24 June) and Sts Peter and Paul (29 June) and instructed the aldermen to come arrayed 'according to ancient custom', (*LBH* 232). The reference to 'ancient custom' usually suggests an innovation, and may have misled John Stow into believing that the Midsummer watch processions were older than they in fact were (J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908), i. 101–4.

⁷⁰ Barron, 'Revolt', 16–18.

⁷¹ E.g., *Westm. Chron.* 225–7.

⁷² See Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 11–31.

⁷³ *LBH* 35–7.

⁷⁴ The incompetence of the mayor, Adam Stable, is suggested by the royal writs addressed to him in Feb. and Mar. 1377 (*LBH* 57, 60).

⁷⁵ *LBH* 98–9, 113–14; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 415–17.

⁷⁶ *LBH* 104, 111; Riley (ed. and trans.) *Memorials of London*, 424, 427–8.

⁷⁷ *CPMR 1364–1381*, 275–6, 279.

⁷⁸ *LBH* 183.

⁷⁹ *LBH* 200–1. At this time Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, was chancellor of England; Professor Saul has suggested to me that Braybrooke may have influenced Richard in favour of Northampton.

⁸⁰ *Westm. Chron.* 59–63. No royal letter sent in support of Brembre is recorded in the city's own letter-books. For the hostility which Northampton's policies aroused, especially among the fishmongers, see *LBH*, 203–5; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 473–4; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 36.

⁸¹ For an account of the riot at the mayoral election in Oct. 1383, see Thomas of Usk's appeal, Chambers and Daunt (eds.), *Book of London English*, 18–31; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 53–7.

⁸² *Westm. Chron.* 65; for the details of the Constantine case, see *LBH* 231; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London* 482–3; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 50–1. John Constantine had joined Bishop Despenser's crusade to Flanders in 1383, PRO C76/6/67 n. 8 (I am grateful to Colin Paine for this reference).

⁸³ *CPR 1381–1385*, 391; in sending this writ, Richard was responding to a petition from the mayor, Nicholas Brembre (PRO S.C.8/183/9147). (I am grateful to Professor Nigel Saul for this reference.)

⁸⁴ Writ sent from the manor of Sheen (*LBH* 250); 12 Oct. 1385, royal proclamation to restrict those attending mayoral election to the 'good folk' elected from the wards for Common Council, and others especially summoned (*LBH* 251). The mayor also issued writs to prevent 'conventicles and gatherings', July 1384, 21 Sept. 1384, 18 Oct. 1385 (*LBH* 241, 249, 274).

⁸⁵ *LBH* 250; *CPMR 1381–1412*, 62–3.

⁸⁶ Ninety-four Common Councilmen and 237 other 'good men', *CPMR 1381-1412*, 84-9.

⁸⁷ The protests against Brembre's re-election were led by armourers (17), goldsmiths (14), tailors (8), and mercers (7), with a sprinkling of pinner, cutlers, cordwainers, broiders, fullers, skinner, and haberdashers (*LBH 63-9*). The disaffected electors wanted Nicholas Twyford, a goldsmith, in preference to Brembre who was, however, elected with the king's approval (*Westm. Chron.* 101-3); later there were protests to Parliament about the 'gang warfare' surrounding Brembre's re-election; see 'A Petition of the Folk of the Mercery', in Chambers and Daunt (eds.), *Book of London English*, 33-7; PRO S.C.8/199/9925.

⁸⁸ Years 1385, 1386 (*LBH 274*, 289).

⁸⁹ *Westm. Chron.* 136.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 206; *LBH 317*.

⁹¹ *LBH 334-5*; *Westm. Chron.* 371. The mayoral elections in London continued to be contentious: in Oct. 1389, when William Venour, a grocer, was elected, the goldsmiths, drapers, and mercers shouted for Adam Bamme, a goldsmith. The Westminster Chronicler thought that this demonstrated how serious were the divisions which had torn the city apart since the early 1380s (*Westm. Chron.* 405; *LBH 348*).

⁹² On 8 June 1397 (*LBH 436*; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London* 544-5; Barron, 'Quarrel', 198-9).

⁹³ On 12 Mar. 1377 (*LBH 59*).

⁹⁴ *LBH 178*, 228, 264.

⁹⁵ *LBH 314-5*.

⁹⁶ *Westm. Chron.* 264.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 233; *LBH 328*; *RP* iii, 251-2. The return to the writ lists 490 citizens and 93 clerics who had taken the oath (*CPMR 1381-1412*, 144-5).

⁹⁸ E.g., *LBH 375*.

⁹⁹ C. M. Barron, 'The Tyranny of Richard II', *BIHR* 41 (1968), 1-18. [*Reprinted as Chapter 1 in the present volume.*]

¹⁰⁰ The fear of 'horizontal' oaths is apparent in the terms of the enquiry into guilds and fraternities initiated by the Cambridge Parliament of 1388, see L. Toulmin Smith and L. Brentano (eds.), *English Guilds: The Original Ordinances of More than One Hundred Early English Guilds* (EETS, London, 1870), 127-31.

¹⁰¹ *Chron. Angl.* 153-6; arrangements for the coronation, *LBH 69*.

¹⁰² The Londoners came to visit the king on the Sunday before Candlemas (Stow, *Survey of London*, i, 96-7).

¹⁰³ *Westm. Chron.* 23-5; *CPMR 1381-1412*, 3; see petition presented to the new queen by the Londoners (*CPMR 1381-1412*, 7-8; Reddaway and Walker, *Goldsmith's Company*, 44-5).

¹⁰⁴ *Westm. Chron.* 111, 165; for the Smithfield tournament of 1386, see Stow, *Survey of London*, ii, 30; R. V. Barber, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), 100, 185.

¹⁰⁵ *Westm. Chron.* 391–3.

¹⁰⁶ Froissart was an eyewitness to the Parisian reception: Froissart, xiv, 253.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 257; J. S. Davies (ed.), *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI (1377–1461)* (London, 1856), 6; Riley (ed. and trans.), *Memorials of London*, 521–2; S. Lindenbaum, ‘The Smithfield Tournament of 1390’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20 (1990), 1–20.

¹⁰⁸ Maidstone’s poem is printed in T. Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, 2 vols. (RS, London, 1859), i. 282–300; part of the poem is trans. in E. Rickert, *Chaucer’s World* (New York, 1948), 35–9. See also Patricia J. Eberle, ‘Richard II and the Literary Arts’, in *Richard II*, ed. Goodman and Gillespie, 244–6. For Maidstone see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–9), ii. 1204; *Westm. Chron.* 503–9. Suggett suggests that both the Westminster Chronicler and the author of the letter in French may have been dependent upon a newsletter (H. Suggett, ‘A Letter Describing Richard II’s Reconciliation with the City of London, 1392’, *EHR* 62 (1947), 209–13.)

¹⁰⁹ All the sources record that both the king and the queen were given fine horses, as well as the rich inanimate gifts. The author of the letter in French records that on the day following the procession, the king was given a silver-enamelled altarpiece, and the queen a crystal hamper and gold-mounted ewer (Suggett, ‘Reconciliation’, 212).

¹¹⁰ The author of the letter in French places the reconciliation in Westminster hall where the queen, the archbishop of Canterbury (William Courtenay), and the bishop of London (Robert Braybrooke) pleaded on their knees for the city. The steward (Sir John Devereux) then, on the king’s behalf, forgave the citizens and largely restored their liberties (*ibid.*). On the role of Queen Anne as intercessor, see Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow*, 105–11.

¹¹¹ Suggett, ‘Reconciliation’, 212–13.

¹¹² See G. Kipling, ‘Richard II’s “Sumptuous Pageants” and the Idea of the Civic Triumph’, in D. M. Bergeron (ed.), *Pageantry and the Shakespearean Theatre* (Athens, Ga., 1985), 83–103.

¹¹³ For an interpretation of the symbolism of these events rather different from that of Kipling, see Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow*, 105–11.

¹¹⁴ *Westm. Chron.* 510; the next year 1393 the Londoners again visited the king at Christmas, bringing with them a ship crammed with spices and gifts to be distributed to the king and queen and others at court (*ibid.* 517).

Part II
PARISH, CHURCH,
AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE

The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London

BY THE BEGINNING OF the sixteenth century medieval London comprised 107 parishes within the City's jurisdiction, and a further ten lay in the suburbs. Within these parishes, but by no means evenly distributed throughout the parish network, there were a host of lesser groupings known as parish fraternities or guilds. These were voluntary associations of men and women linked together to provide mutual charitable help and communal prayers for living and dead members. Between 1350 and 1550 there are references to between 150 and 200 of these associations within the parishes of London, both inside the walls and outside in the suburbs, if it is proper to describe Westminster and Southwark in this way.¹

The parish guilds of medieval London received a fair amount of scholarly attention at the beginning of this century, but then languished for a time.² Recently, however, historians have been concerned to explore the nature of popular piety in England in the century before the Reformation. Heresy has always provoked attention, but the ordinary religion of ordinary people is more elusive. Several historians, in particular Dr J. A. F. Thomson, Dr Susan Brigden and Professor J. Scarisbrick have been exploring the character of parish life in England in the fifteenth century. All three have emphasised the importance of parish fraternities as suggestive of the vitality of Christian faith and practice, and of the neighbourly and social obligations which bound the parish community together.³ It is surely likely that it is in their voluntary associations that medieval men and women most truly expressed their priorities and preoccupations.

The size of London's population ensured that there was a degree of specialisation of purpose in the hundreds of different associations within the city: the larger the population, the greater the degree of specialisation. It is therefore possible to distinguish more clearly than elsewhere different kinds of associations or groupings for different purposes. Interestingly, and for our purpose helpfully, the government of London was not carried on by a guild, as at York or Coventry. The old Anglo-Saxon *cnichtent-*

guild of London was already disintegrating by the twelfth century and in its place emerged government by aldermen, each representing a territorial unit of the city. By the fourteenth century, although the aldermen took an oath and wore a common livery, they had no religious association and came from a variety of trades. The Common Council was, by the fifteenth century, also composed of ward representatives and did not even wear a common livery. So, as early as the thirteenth century, the government of London had outgrown its guild structure and, even at the local level, it was not the parish fraternities which were responsible for local government. The citizens met together in the wardmotes to elect their bealdes and ward officers and to present offenders and offences.⁴ Because they lacked this governing role parish guilds in London were more spontaneous, and more voluntary, than elsewhere. It was not necessary to join them to get to the top or to exercise power.

The link between the parish fraternities and the trade guilds is, however, less easily severed. Every craft association in London, as elsewhere, had at its core, a fraternity or religious brotherhood dedicated to the worship and promotion of a particular saint. But it is important to try to eliminate craft associations from this study because their purposes were different and, to some extent, their membership was not entirely voluntary. By the fifteenth century it is possible to separate true parish fraternities from craft guilds, but it is not so easy in the fourteenth century when this distinction was only just beginning to develop with the explosion of the guild movement as a whole. It is clear that in many cases a guild began as a neighborhood fraternity but then, perhaps because men following the same craft tended to live in the same area, these parish associations developed into trade fraternities and then, later, into trade or craft companies. For example, the guild of Corpus Christi in the church of All Hallows, Bread Street, was first referred to in the wills of a mercer and a salter in 1349. But later most of the bequests to the guild were from salters and in 1454 Thomas Beaumont, a salter, bequeathed land to the fraternity on which a hall called 'Salters' Hall' was in course of being built. By 1483 the chapel of the Corpus Christi guild in All Hallows was known as the Salters' chapel.⁵ In the same way the joiners seem, by the end of the fourteenth century, to have taken over the fraternity of St James in the Church of St James Garlickhythe (although the fraternity return of 1388 gave no hint of such a craft association).⁶ The poulterers took over the fraternity of Corpus Christi in the church of St Mildred Poultry and adopted the little chapel of St Mary Coneyhope in the parish as their own.⁷ The butchers

appear to have monopolised the guild dedicated to the Virgin Mary in St Leonard Eastcheap⁸ and, among the great trading companies, the drapers took over the guild of the Virgin in St Mary le Bow⁹ and the skinners dominated the Virgin's guild in St John Walbrook and also the Corpus Christi guild in the same church.¹⁰

The way in which this transformation from neighborhood fraternity to trade fraternity took place is well illustrated in the case of the brewers. In 1342 a group of seven Londoners, including a chandler, a whitetawyer, an attorney at law, and a brewer decided to repair a chapel in the church of All Hallows London Wall 'in honour of Jesus Christ who hanged on the Cross and of his mother and all saints'. They funded a taper to burn before the cross in the chapel. Then the first pestilence came and all the members of this small fraternity died except John Enefeld, a brewer, who 'assembled other good men of the brewers of London and persuaded them to maintain the light in the church'. At his death in 1361 John Enefeld bequeathed a tenement in West Smithfield to the fraternity, and in 1383 the four wardens of the guild (two of whom may be certainly identified as brewers) purchased a rent to help support the costs of a chaplain. The fact that this guild was developing into a craft guild is revealed by the tell-tale clause in the ordinances returned into Chancery in 1389: no member of the fraternity was to receive the servant of another member unless he left 'in a good manner' and with his master's good will. A further clause stipulated that if a member placed his son or daughter with another to learn the craft, then the brethren were to help to ensure that the terms of the indenture were carried out. Such clauses are never to be found amongst the ordinances of 'pure' parish fraternities and reveal that between 1342 and 1389 the original small fraternity founded simply to maintain a light before the Cross in a chapel in All Hallows church, had developed into the craft fraternity of the brewers.¹¹

Not all the guild returns of 1388/9 make this distinction clear. For example neither the self-declared brotherhood of whitetawyers which met to honour the Virgin in the church of All Hallows London Wall, nor the pouchmakers who honoured the Virgin in the Hospital of Our Lady of Bethlehem outside Bishopsgate, included any craft clauses among their ordinances and, if they had not declared themselves to be associations of whitetawyers or pouchmakers, there would be no way of knowing this from their ordinances.¹² On the other hand, like the brewers, the carriers who met at Whitefriars, the carpenters (appropriately dedicated to St Joseph) who met at St Thomas of Acon and at St John at Halliwell, and

the glovers who met in the chapel of the new plague churchyard (later Charterhouse) all inserted craft clauses into their ordinances.¹³ The glovers' ordinances are very detailed, the carriers' quite brief and the carpenters merely enjoin that:

If any brother go idle for default of work and another brother has work whereon he may worken his brother, and that work be such that his brother can work it, then shall he work his brother before any other thing, and give him as another man would take of him for the same work.¹⁴

But whereas this craft or trade regulation element was rare among the ordinances of 1388, even among self-confessedly craft associations, yet by the fifteenth century there was no longer any confusion between what was, and what was not, a craft guild. In the 1380s the difference was in the process of definition as groups of men drew up their ordinances for the first time.

If parish fraternities in London may be distinguished from governing groups and from trade or craft associations, they may also be distinguished from confraternities. Only one of the 150 or so London parish fraternities ever calls itself a confraternity, and that is the fraternity of the Holy Blood of Wilsnak established in 1491 in the church of the Austin Friars.¹⁵ Their use of the word confraternity may reveal the European origins of the membership, since the word was frequently used on the continent. In Florence the word confraternity was used indiscriminately and meant simply fraternity or association.¹⁶ In England, however, confraternity was used to mean 'association with', an outside group joined in some way, but not completely, to a larger body. In 1455 William Estfeld, a mercer and ex-mayor of London, bequeathed a cask of red Gascony wine, or its value, to St Alban's Abbey, the Priory Church at Canterbury, the Charterhouse at London, the Priory Church at Walsingham and to the convent at Sopwell, Hertfordshire, because he was a capitular brother of each of these houses.¹⁷ The Priory of St Mary Overy in Southwark had an association of *confratres*, and the advent of printing seems to have stimulated the practice of confraternity in the religious houses of London.¹⁸ Early in the sixteenth century the Carmelites, the Hospitals of St Mary Bethlehem, St Thomas of Acon, and St Katharine by the Tower all advertised their confraternities through the medium of the printed word.¹⁹ At St Katharine's a *confrater* made a single payment of ten shillings and four pence, or spread the sum over seven years, and in return received the usual

prayers and also a room, bedding, and food in old age.²⁰ Obviously the practices of confraternities must have influenced the practices of parish fraternities, but they were different kinds of associations. Whereas confraternities were organised by the religious houses to raise money from lay people for spiritual ends, parish fraternities were spontaneous and self-motivated associations and reveal a different aspect of lay piety.²¹

Of the 150 or so parish fraternities which are known to have existed in London only seven have left any records of their own. From Westminster there survive some accounts of the guild founded in the small hospital and chapel of St Mary Rounceval at Charing Cross and also a reasonably substantial run of accounts of the guild of Our Lady's Assumption in St Margaret's church.²² The guild of the Assumption in St Margaret's church in Southwark also has a few accounts surviving among the parish records.²³ The Register book of the fraternity of St Charity and St John the Baptist survives as a much damaged Cotton manuscript in the British Museum.²⁴ And there is a fine Bede book in the Guildhall library, which belonged to the fraternity of parish clerks in the city dedicated to St Nicholas.²⁵ There are, in fact, only two London Fraternities whose records survive as more than fragments. The register and accounts of the united guilds of the Holy Trinity and SS Fabian and Sebastian survive in a manuscript now at the British Museum. The register, compiled *c.* 1463 covers events from 1377 to the Dissolution of the Chantries, but most of the information, the rental and accounts, dates from the 1440s and 1450s.²⁶ The other substantial register is that of the guild of the Name of Jesus which met in the Shrouds beneath St Paul's Cathedral. This fraternity, which was originally founded in the middle of the fifteenth century, was reformed by John Colet when he was Dean of St Paul's. The manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library, records on the flyleaf that it was 'bought and ordained by Master John Colet, Anno 1507' and contains detailed ordinances, copies of letters patent, deeds, and complete accounts from 1513 to 1534.²⁷

The register of the parish church of St Peter Cornhill, compiled *c.* 1425–26, has copied into it the 1403 ordinances of the guild of St Peter in that church.²⁸ About thirty other London parishes have surviving records, either churchwardens' accounts or parish registers and cartularies, which date from before 1540 but none of them contains anything but incidental material relating to parish fraternities.²⁹ On occasion the guildwardens contributed sums of money to church expenses, or lent torches or burial cloths, but there are no guild accounts intermingled with those of the churchwardens. What seems to be clear is that the guild or fraternity war-

dens, like the light-wardens, kept their own separate accounts. The wardens of the guild of Our Lady and the Jesus Brotherhood in the church of St Dunstan in the East had their own boxes and, on occasion, paid sums over to the churchwardens.³⁰ When the parishioners of St Michael Cornhill drew up regulations in 1480 for the better ordering of the finances of the church, it was laid down that the churchwardens and the wardens of the brotherhoods were to bring in their accounts regularly.³¹ Thomas Bentley, who wrote the history of his parish church of St Andrew Holborn in the 1580s clearly had access to the brotherhood rolls of the St Sythe guild and the guild of St John and St Christopher which are now lost.³² Such examples might be multiplied. Almost none of this material now survives and much of our information about the London parish guilds must be tangential.

Royal covetousness provoked two important collections of evidence, one near the start of this survey and the other towards the end. The earlier collection of material is known as the guild returns of 1388–89; the later collection is the chantry certificates of 1546 and 1548. The earlier enquiry, initiated at the Cambridge Parliament of 1388 may have been prompted by fear as well as greed. The sheriffs were instructed to require all masters and keepers of guilds and fraternities, and also of misteries of artificers, to return into Chancery such licences as they had for the existence of the guild, together with any rules, forms of oaths, details of congregations, assemblies, liveries, privileges, lands and rents (whether within or without mortmain), and of any goods or chattels. In response to this demand some thirty-one religious and fourteen craft guilds in London brought in their rules, and details about their foundation and endowments, to Chancery early in 1389.³³ It is most unlikely that we have the complete corpus of such returns: many must have been lost or strayed from Chancery. Indeed four of the London returns are now to be found among the miscellaneous charters in the Bodleian Library.³⁴ It is likely that many guilds avoided making any sort of return. Certainly there are references to guilds which existed before 1388 and for which there are now no returns. It is likely that the Parliament of 1388 was anxious to ensure that land was not slipping into mortmain without the purchase of a licence (to compensate the king for lost services), but the MPs may also have been anxious to flush out dangerous secret societies, the kind of illicit secret associations which contemporaries believed lay behind the Great Rising of 1381.³⁵ Certainly London had spawned numbers of associations of discontented yeomen, journeymen, and day labourers who tried to unite against the repressive

regulations of the craft masters.³⁶ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the guild returns are somewhat bland documents; the members of the guilds were anxious to stress their poverty and their piety. Although the returns may reflect the genuine purposes of the guilds, one must remember that the members themselves, and the scribes who drafted the returns, were not unaware of the intentions and anxieties which lay behind the royal writs. The ambiguity of purpose in the responses of 1388 may have been intentional and several craft fraternities may have been anxious to appear simply as parish guilds. Yet in spite of these caveats the returns throw a good deal of welcome light on some associations of lesser men in the late fourteenth century; they tell us something, if not everything, about the reasons which led men to form themselves into associations in this way. The royal servants who read the returns rapidly drafted new legislation emerging in a statute in 1391 which brought land left to parish or other fraternities within the scope of the mortmain legislation.³⁷ But the guilds were not banned as seditious, which suggests that the dominant royal motive had been greed all along. Or perhaps the clerks believed in the innocence of the returns which they received?

At the end of the period the chantry returns of 1546 and 1548 throw some light on the most successful guilds, namely those which had acquired a landed endowment. Since it was land in which the king was interested, those guilds, by far the majority, which ran their finances on quarterage payments rather than income from rents, did not feature in the Chantry certificate for London and Middlesex. Only some twenty or so endowed London parish guilds are described in the Chantry certificate.³⁸

The darkness between these two floodlights is illuminated somewhat by references to fraternities to be found in London wills. Indeed it is only from wills that we can learn of those evanescent fraternities which never became wealthy enough to maintain a permanent chaplain, never acquired any lands or rents and whose members probably gathered together informally to provide halfpennies to maintain a light before the altar of their chosen saint in their parish church. London is richly served with wills. The Hustings Court in which citizens enrolled their wills has a complete set of rolls surviving from the middle of the thirteenth century.³⁹ Those Londoners who were not citizens, and many who were, registered their wills either in the Archdeaconry or the Commissary Court; the Archdeaconry registers cover only the years 1393 to 1415 whereas there are Commissary Court registers for the whole period.⁴⁰ The wills run into

several thousands and it has only been possible to sample this rich source of material.

Some of the more prosperous London guilds sought the security of royal letters patent. Only two guilds, in the churches of St Magnus and St Botolph at Billingsgate saw the need to obtain such royal licences before the 1388 enquiry,⁴¹ four other guilds purchased licences in 1392, 1397, 1400 and 1403,⁴² but between 1440 and 1475 fourteen London guilds sought such licences.⁴³ In part this may have been provoked by further legislation in the 1430s,⁴⁴ but it may also reflect a flurry of reorganisation and reinvigoration which characterises London guild life in the mid-fifteenth century. At this time older, and not very well organised, guilds within the same church were amalgamated, as the two guilds in the church of St Botolph Aldersgate were amalgamated in 1446;⁴⁵ some guilds were simply reorganised and put on a more secure footing, like the St Sythe guild in St Andrew Holborn.⁴⁶ These reorganised guilds are, not surprisingly, those which make the strongest showing in the 1548 Chantry certificate. Unfortunately the Letters Patent reveal less about the purposes of these mid-fifteenth-century parish guilds than the earlier 1388 returns into Chancery; they concentrate on the legal persona of the guild and describe the right to wear a livery, have a seal, and plead and be impleaded in the courts, but they reveal nothing about the guild ordinances beyond the fact that members were empowered to draft them, and to elect wardens or masters. It is clear that the government was less afraid of secret societies than it had been in the fourteenth century.

The late fifteenth-century records of the commissary court of London and the registers of Bishop Fitzjames (1508–22) and Bishop Tunstall (1522–30) record the ordinances of some new fraternities which were established in the houses of the five orders of friars in London.⁴⁷ Some of these new fraternities were really craft associations, like the shearmen who met in the Austin Friars from 1454 and the fraternity of St Christopher of the waterbearers who met from 1497 in the same church. Some of these new guilds were fraternities of foreigners: the Germans who honoured the Holy Blood of Wilsnak met in 1459 at the Crutched Friars, and in 1491 at Austin Friars when their ordinances specify that ‘noon shall not be received but if he be born beyond the sea.’ The Dutchmen met to honour St Katherine from 1495 in the same church. But there were other fraternities which were neither craft associations, nor groupings of foreigners, who used the London friaries as their base. Oddly enough their

ordinances are almost identical which may suggest that the fraternities were inspired, or encouraged, by the friars themselves.⁴⁸

The chronological pattern of the foundation of parish fraternities may reveal something of the motives of those who formed them. Only five London fraternities appear to have been in existence before the Black Death of 1348–49; the earliest of these was the guild of St Katherine which was founded in 1339 to build a chapel in honour of the saint on the south side of St Mary Colchurch.⁴⁹ Five more fraternities were formed in the years 1349–50 and then a further seventy-four appear for the first time in the years 1350 to 1400. It might be argued that this rapid acceleration in the rate of foundation is more apparent than real and is merely the product of our source material, in that the guild returns of 1388/9 provide a good deal of information about recently founded fraternities. But the evidence of the wills enrolled in the Hustings Court shows that this cannot be the explanation. The wills go back to the mid-thirteenth century and yet there are no recorded bequests to fraternities until the decade 1340–50 after which the number of recorded bequests rises steeply throughout the later fourteenth century.

Why then this sudden popularity? Parish fraternities, whatever else they may have been, were essentially communal chantries. Those who were not rich enough to endow a personal chantry could, nevertheless contribute to the costs of a fraternity chaplain who would pray for all the members, both living and dead. Professor Kreider has discussed the pattern of chantry foundation in England and has demonstrated that the greatest number of foundations took place in the fourteenth century and that in most counties, including London and Middlesex, the greatest number of chantries were founded in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁰ It seems clear that in London the foundation of personal, private chantries came first and was then followed by the foundation of communal fraternal chantries. Whereas at first only the rich could attempt to protect their souls in the afterlife, yet by the second half of the fourteenth century ‘middling’ Londoners had evolved a means of communal spiritual self-help which found expression in parish fraternities. There may also have been another factor: the shortage of labour following the Black Death led to a rise in wages and an improvement in the standard of living of wage-earners, including artisans and craftsmen. Out of their wages such men were now able to afford small amounts of quarterage to help to insure their souls.⁵¹ The communal London parish fraternities, therefore, follow at a little distance the private chantries which inspired them.

The extent to which the Black Death itself may have inspired men to found chantries or fraternities has long been a matter of debate. Professor Kreider firmly rejects 'the hoary notion that the chantries were the response of piously petrified Englishmen to the terrors of the Black Death'.⁵² But whereas Englishmen may not have been 'piously petrified' about the welfare of their souls, they may have been 'socially petrified' at the prospect of an indecent burial. When the house of Carthusians was established in 1371 on the site of the City's major plague cemetery to the north of St Batholomew's a plaque was placed on the building. It recorded that the plague had reached London

where people superabunded. So great a multitude eventually died there, that all the cemeteries of the aforesaid city were insufficient for the burial of the dead. For which reason very many were compelled to bury their dead in places unseemly and not hallowed or blessed; for some, it was said, cast the corpses into the river.⁵³

It is not by chance that every set of London fraternity ordinances which has survived from the fourteenth century specifies in great detail the obligations which members have towards ensuring the decent burial of dead brothers and sisters; the collection of the body from outside London, the recitation of psalms, dirges and masses, the attendance at the funeral clothed in the livery of the fraternity, the fines imposed for absence without reasonable excuse and the provision of a goodly number of candles and tapers around the corpse. The regulations about funerals and about intercessory prayers are the dominant components in the fourteenth-century ordinances. In London it would seem that it was the Black Death of 1348/9 which provided both the incentive and, indirectly, the means for the formation of parish fraternities.

But once the immediate terrors of the plague had receded (and plague remained an intermittent visitor to London throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) did the fraternities continue to attract members? The evidence suggests that they did. Whereas seventy-four parish fraternities appear for the first time in the fifty years between 1350 and 1400, in the next fifty years there were a further twenty-five, in the next fifty another twenty and in the years between 1500 and 1548 another thirty appear for the first time. These figures suggest a continuing popularity and the evidence from wills points in the same direction. Of the 1,383 wills enrolled in the Archdeaconry court between 1393 and 1415, just over 8 per cent record bequests to parish fraternities. In the 666 wills

enrolled in the Commissary court between 1522 and 1538, 22 per cent of the testators remembered their parish fraternities.⁵⁴

The available evidence suggests that parish fraternities did, indeed, continue to retain their hold upon the imagination and the purses of medieval Londoners. But were the fraternities of the later fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries answering the same needs as those of the earlier period? An answer to this question may be provided by comparing the guild ordinances of 1388/9 with those recorded in the later registers. The two groups of ordinances reveal certain common preoccupations. The fraternity feast remains, throughout the period, a constant and important event. Members were obliged to attend the feast and to contribute to its cost. It was on these occasions that the new masters would be chosen, the accounts read and audited and mass celebrated by the fraternity chaplain. Eating and praying together remained essential elements in fraternity associations. Another common theme throughout the period was the constant concern that all members of the fraternity should live at peace with one another. Law suits between members were to be avoided at all costs and agreed methods of arbitration were laid down. In the guild of the Assumption in the church of St Stephen Coleman Street disputes between brothers were to be taken to the two masters, who were to summon two other brothers, so that the four of them might 'strive to make peace without the interference of any stranger and without the need to go to the common law'.⁵⁵ It is impossible to know how far the masters of the parish fraternities did, in fact, exercise this equitable jurisdiction, but the provision of arbitration procedures remained a feature of guild ordinances. In the later guilds, however, there were more emphatic injunctions against brothers and sisters slandering each other, quarrelling or resisting the authority of the wardens. A reading of these later ordinances suggests that the members of fraternities were often unruly and headstrong and could be barely restrained from assaulting each other by the common rules of decent behavior.⁵⁶

Many historians, and in particular George Unwin, have emphasised the 'social security' aspect of fraternity associations. Certainly the declared intention to assist financially the sick and needy members of the fraternity remained a common characteristic of guild ordinances throughout the period. Virtually all the fourteenth-century fraternities aimed to care for the sick and indigent members at rates varying from eight to fourteen pence a week; in the later fifteenth century the rates had risen from twelve to twenty pence a week. The care of needy members was seen as both a

social and a Christian duty, and some fraternities specified in great detail how this help was to be administered. But there are difficulties in tracking down the practice of these charitable functions. The references in the surviving fraternity accounts, admittedly not very numerous, are extremely slight. The guild of Our Lady's Assumption at Westminster maintained four cottages for poor people who also received six shillings and eight pence each a quarter, but it would appear that the beneficiaries were not themselves members of the guild.⁵⁷ In 1495–96 the wardens of Our Lady's guild in St Margaret's church in Southwark paid John Sent seven pence every Sunday for forty-nine weeks which amounted in all to £1 6s 8d and £1 from the guild wardens.⁵⁸ There is no record of charitable payments in the accounts of the guilds in St Botolph Aldersgate. On the other hand the chantry returns of some of the London fraternities do suggest that considerable charitable help was being administered. The fraternity of the Blessed Virgin in the church of St Dunstan in the West was giving a total of £17 1s 4d to eleven poor people and the *Salve* guild in St Magnus spent nearly £20 on helping brothers and sisters who were in prison, blind, fallen into decay and poverty, or sick of the palsy.⁵⁹ Other guilds, apart from that at St Magnus, recognised the victims of false imprisonment as worthy recipients of fraternal charity.⁶⁰ But the only recorded acts of charity of the great Jesus Guild in St Paul's were the payments of £8 to each of four poor old men who acted as vergers in the guild chapel in the Shrouds beneath the Cathedral. Yet this guild had a recorded excess of income over expenditure of £201 in 1532.⁶¹ The inference to be drawn from the surviving London guild accounts is that only a very small proportion of the fraternity income was spent on works of charity and that the bulk of the money was spent on the chandler. This discrepancy between declared intention and surviving evidence remains somewhat baffling. It may be that the economics of the proposals had not been realistically costed. Members of the guild of the Virgin in the house of the Carmelite friars paid only three pence a quarter in dues and yet they could receive seven pence a week in sick pay, thus in two weeks they could receive more than they paid in a whole year.⁶² Even though most ordinances stipulated membership for a period of years—usually five—before a new member might receive benefits, yet it is easy to see how rapidly the wardens might run out of funds. Since most of the guilds had quite small memberships it seems unlikely that they were able to afford the scale of health insurance schemes outlined so hopefully in their ordinances. But what may have happened is

that the guild offered informal rather than formal help. The members of the guild of the Holy Blood of Wilsnak decided in their ordinances that

when any brother or sister is sick, then shall every brother and sister give a half penny every week to the sustentation and keeping of the said sick.⁶³

In this way the money was handed to the sick member but never passed formally through the guild accounts. Hence membership of a guild, throughout this 200-year period, may have provided some insurance against abject poverty, but the help was probably casual and informal rather than automatic and regulated. But if the parish fraternities of London remained consistent in some of their functions, yet it is clear that there were also significant changes of emphasis over the period. By the late fifteenth century the earlier concern for a decent burial has shrunk simply to one clause in twenty or thirty. This appears to be no longer a major preoccupation in fraternity association and, indeed, in the great Jesus fraternity at St Paul's, founded in 1459 and reorganised in 1504, the burial of members did not feature at all. In the same way intercessory prayers became much less prominent and the emphasis seems to have shifted towards this life, conviviality, decent living, processions, and the celebration of saints' days. Again, whereas all the fourteenth-century fraternities hoped to provide lights or tapers to burn before the image of their saint in the parish church, none of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ordinances specify such devotions. Another change which is perhaps unexpected is a decline in the attachment to a common livery. In all but one of the fourteenth-century ordinances provision was made for the wearing of a common livery, if not a gown, then at least a common hood. But only two out of the six late fraternity ordinances are concerned to maintain this outward form of common association, although the mid-fifteenth century Letters Patent had all licensed the wearing of a livery. It is difficult to explain the declining popularity of liveries unless it was that the general governmental disapproval of the liveries worn by noble retainers was beginning to make an impression lower down the social scale. This comparison of the earlier ordinances with the later ones, however impressionistic, does suggest some interesting shifts in the religious and social preoccupations of ordinary Londoners. The continuing popularity of parish fraternities in London may owe something to their capacity to respond to changing needs and concerns.

The geographical distribution of parish fraternities in London may be instructive. It is striking that all but one of the sixteen extra-mural parish churches had a fraternity, and several had more than one.⁶⁴ Ten of these extra-mural parish fraternities were among the most prosperous and most securely established of all the London parish guilds on the eve of the dissolution of the Chantries.⁶⁵ The extra-mural parishes were extremely large (St Botolph Aldersgate had 1,100 communicants in 1548 and St Margaret's at Westminster had 2,500) and some of the parishioners may have been particularly eager to create a smaller unit with which they might identify. The guild membership may have included about one-tenth of the parishioners in these larger parishes.⁶⁶ It is also likely that in these large suburban parishes, some of which fell within the jurisdiction of the city and others did not, the parish fraternity came to play a quasi-governmental role as Dr Rosser has demonstrated in the case of the guild of the Virgin's Assumption at Westminster.⁶⁷ Five London parish fraternities are known to have maintained common halls and all of these lay outside the city walls. In the west the guild of the Virgin in St Bride's Fleet Street had a hall by 1533 and the fraternity in St Clement Danes built a hall in the churchyard where the parishioners assembled, which had rooms underneath which were let out to the poor rent free.⁶⁸ To the north the guild of the Holy Trinity in St Botolph Aldersgate built a fine hall in the 1490s and glazed the windows with painted glass and by the 1540s the neighboring guild in the church of St Giles Cripplegate had also acquired a common hall.⁶⁹ South of the river in the parish of St Olave, the guild dedicated to the Name of Jesus had a hall known as Jesus House from the time of its foundation in 1533.⁷⁰ It seems clear that these halls served as a locus for the life of the parish, as well as the guild, and when the fraternities were disendowed the parishes by various means continued to maintain the old fraternity halls as parish halls or rooms. So the impulses which were at work in parish communities before the 1540s and 1550s continued to shape the form of parish life after the chantries were dissolved and the superstitious fraternities abolished.

The membership of the parish fraternities may reveal something of the needs to which they answered. Mrs Basing in her study of the Holy Trinity guild in St Botolph Aldersgate managed to identify about a third of the 667 known members of the fraternity; 119 of these were royal servants, lawyers, clergy, or gentry and the remaining 124 belonged to London craft guilds or companies. The membership of so many who were not citizens is surprising but many of these may have become members

when Henry IV stayed at the Priory of St Bartholomew in 1409.⁷¹ But the vast majority of the London members of the guild belonged to the artisan crafts in the city: brewers, butchers, dyers, carpenters, smiths, and tailors. Only one alderman belonged and there were very few members from the great mercantile companies. Many of the artisan members can be found acting as masters or wardens of their crafts.

The same membership pattern is reflected in the other parish fraternities. Although we have no other membership lists comparable with those of the guild at St Botolph Aldersgate, it is possible to collect together the names of *c.* 725 men and women who belonged to other parish fraternities during these years. Only sixty-three of these can be identified as members of the great overseas trading companies (skinners, grocers, mercers, vintners, fishmongers, goldsmiths, and drapers) and of these, only nine were aldermen. It may be that the great merchants did not feel the need of either the spiritual or the social benefits offered by the parish fraternities. To answer their social needs the merchants had their exclusive club, the court of Aldermen, or their trade company. Life at Mercers' hall or Grocers' hall was far grander than anything which could be offered by a parish fraternity. To answer their spiritual needs these men could afford to endow permanent private chantries; they did not need the communal prayers of parish fraternity chaplains.⁷² What seems clear is that the parish fraternity movement was, predominantly, a 'middle class' artisan movement and to such men the parish fraternity was often the centre of their social and spiritual world.⁷³

There were, however, three fraternities which were distinctly more upper class; the guild of the Virgin in the church of All Hallows Barking which, after modest beginnings in the fourteenth century was reformed in the 1440s by a distinguished clutch of royal officials and London merchants and continued to serve as a social club for the wealthy aldermen/merchants of this newly-prosperous eastern part of the city.⁷⁴ The guild of the Name of Jesus, as refounded by John Colet in 1504, was also composed of distinguished aldermen, among whom the Mercers were conspicuous.⁷⁵ Lastly the fraternity dedicated to St Barbara at St Katharine's Hospital appears to have come into existence in the early sixteenth century and to have had a membership list headed by Henry VIII and Queen Katherine and including two dukes and their ladies, three earls, and a collection of knights.⁷⁶ The connection of this guild with London seems to have been very slight.

The membership of London parish fraternities was not only predominantly artisan, it was also markedly feminine. All the guild ordinances which have survived specify sisters as well as brothers, except, perhaps, one.⁷⁷ It is clear that women joined the fraternities on equal terms with men; they did not join solely in their capacity as wives. The ordinances of the guild of St Katherine in St Botolph Aldersgate specified that brothers should pay three pence quarterage 'and if he have a wife, and she will be a sister, then shall he pay six pence for them both in the quarter . . . and if a single woman come into the brotherhood, pay as a brother doth'. The ordinances of the guild of SS Fabian and Sebastian in the same church put it more stringently, 'And if a singlewoman come into the brotherhood she shall pay no less than a brother doth'.⁷⁸ Indeed the membership lists of the Holy Trinity fraternity in that church reveal the presence of many single women; eighteen entered the fraternity between 1377 and 1415.⁷⁹ To the accounts of the guild of the Virgin's Assumption in St Margaret's church in Southwark in 1495–96 is appended a list of fourteen 'new-made' brothers and sisters of the guild, including the parish priest, ten married couples, two single men, and Alice Davy.⁸⁰ In this case a married couple paid a shilling entrance fee which was the same as a single person, but guilds varied in their practice.⁸¹ In the Bede roll of the fraternity of St Nicholas (the parish clerks guild) those to be prayed for are listed in five categories: clerks, priests, secular brothers, secular sisters, and dead brothers and sisters.⁸² What is perhaps even more surprising is to find women listed alongside men as founders of a guild. In 1403 sisters are named with brothers as founders of the fraternity in St Peter Cornhill, sixteen brothers and three sisters who bore names which were different from those of the brothers and so were not, we may presume, wives.⁸³ In the same way sisters, together with brothers, petitioned for new letters patent in 1442 for the fraternity at St Augustine Papey. In this case twenty-six brothers and eleven sisters joined together in the petition.⁸⁴ In 1448 when new letters patent were sought for the guild of *Salve Regina* in the church of St Magnus, the petition was presented by the four wardens, together with six named brothers and six named sisters.⁸⁵ There is no instance, however, of women holding office in a London parish fraternity, but the fact that wives, single women, and widows could all belong to fraternities on equal terms with men, must have contributed considerably to their popularity.⁸⁶

The dedications of the London parish fraternities reveal an expected pattern. The Virgin Mary rises head and halo above all the other saints, fifty-seven fraternities were dedicated to her, alone or in partnership. Next

in popularity, but far behind the mother of Christ, was His supposed bride, St Katherine, the protectress of the dying, patron of young girls, students, and craftsmen whose work was based on the wheel. Following St Katherine was St Anne, the mother of the Virgin; twelve fraternities were dedicated to her. It is possible that there may have been secular reasons for choosing St Anne. In 1397 the parishioners of St Michael Cornhill petitioned the king to be allowed to form a guild in honour of St Anne to maintain a chaplain to pray for the king, for the brothers and sisters of the guild, and for the soul of the late Queen Anne (d. 1394). Perhaps they had a shrewd suspicion that their chances of obtaining the licence would be enhanced by an appropriate dedication. By 1491, when considerable water had flowed under the political bridges of England, the parishioners had wisely added St George to the original dedication.⁸⁷ St George claimed eleven dedications, all but two in the years after 1450. Another saint who enjoyed some late popularity was St Christopher who attracted ten dedications in all. The Holy Trinity had eleven dedications and Corpus Christi seven. The most striking addition to the dedications in the fifteenth century is that of the Name of Jesus. The famous fraternity founded in St Paul's in 1459 was followed by others at St Dunstan in the East (1481), St Bride Fleet Street (1487), St Olave Southwark (1533), and St Michael Queenhythe (1544).⁸⁸ The fact that Londoners were attracted to the new cult of the name of Jesus suggests the vitality of their faith in the half century before the Reformation.⁸⁹

More important, perhaps, than the choice of saints, was the selection of a fraternity chaplain. Only about twenty-five of the London fraternities had sufficient landed endowments out of which to pay the salary of a permanent chaplain. But there is no doubt that even from their modest fourteenth-century beginnings the desire to have their own chaplain was paramount in the minds of the members. The brothers and sisters of the guild of St Austin at Paul's Gate hoped to be able to afford a priest to maintain a chantry in the church, and to pray for the brothers and sisters of the guild and for all Christians. The 'little company' of the light of Corpus Christi in the church of St Giles hoped that if their chattels increased they would be able to afford a chaplain.⁹⁰ The more prosperous guild of the Virgin at the church of St Dunstan in the East had originally supported a chaplain; 'every good man of the brotherhood and the parish' and a few others gave a sum towards this every year. But this proved unsatisfactory and unreliable so the brotherhood invested in property to provide a more reliable income.⁹¹ Most fraternity priests were, however, maintained on a

yearly *ad hoc* basis and depended for their salary on the ability of the wardens or masters of the guild to collect the quarterage payments. Most of these fraternity priests were, therefore, insecure; more than most of the clergy within the late medieval church, their livelihood depended upon the whim of lay people. If the brotherhood failed to hold together, or if its members disliked their chaplain, then his salary might not be forthcoming. May it not be that this element of control was attractive to lay men and women?

We know a little of how these London parish fraternity chaplains were selected. The guild of the Virgin in the church of St Giles Cripplegate had, by 1388, acquired sufficient lands to employ a perpetual fraternity chaplain who was to celebrate mass every day. The chaplain was to be chosen by the vicar of the church (if he were a member of the guild), the two wardens, and twelve of the best men of the guild. The chaplain was to be provided with a house, he was to be attentive to all brothers and sisters, poor as well as rich, sick and healthy. The chaplain was not to be removed without reasonable cause and without the assent of the same group who had selected him.⁹² The fraternity chaplain at St Peter Cornhill was also to be chosen by the parson of the church and the wardens of the guild. But his contract of employment specified that he could only be absent from his duties for forty days in the year, and he was to be fined a penny for each day's absence beyond the forty. If he was absent for more than twenty days beyond the specified forty he was to lose his job. If he turned out to be a notorious lecher ('which God forbid'), or night wanderer or tavern-goer, then he was to be warned by the parson and guild wardens. If the chaplain ignored this warning, and was convicted on the evidence of reliable witnesses, then he was to be dismissed by the parson in the presence of the wardens and parishioners. On the other hand if he became old and feeble, he was to continue to receive his salary until his death.⁹³ Although in this case the parson is involved in the choice and dismissal of the fraternity priest, yet in neither case can he act without the assent of the lay wardens of the fraternity.

No other guild ordinances specify in such detail the terms of employment of the fraternity priest. Dr Rosser has pointed out that the wardens of the guild of the Virgin's Assumption at St Margaret's Westminster, actually advertised for candidates for their fraternity priest in the early sixteenth century.⁹⁴ Even if the rector or vicar was involved in the selection of a fraternity chaplain (and this was doubtless a reasonable precaution since the two men would have to work together in the same church) yet it

was the wardens who paid the salary and to whom, ultimately, the chaplain was answerable. The power to select the priest with whom you might be most frequently involved, to choose the kind of moral person you required, and to be able to dismiss incompetent or negligent chaplains, must have been powerful incentives for joining a fraternity. Lay involvement in the running of the parish church is not something that emerges with Protestantism, indeed it might be argued that the Reformation was but an extreme expression of that lay interest.

The parish fraternities of London were, above all, expressions of parish, neighbourly solidarity. With a few exceptions, most fraternities drew their membership from the parishes themselves. They are an expression of an active corporate parish life. If we accept that the existence of one or more fraternities within a parish is the sign of an active parish community before the Reformation it may be instructive to compare such parishes with those where, later in the sixteenth century, parishioners funded the salary of a lecturer to work alongside their rector or vicar. Between 1559 and 1581, twenty-six London parishes established lectureships.⁹⁵ All but six of these parishes had fraternities before the Dissolution. Or to look at the picture the other way round, before the Dissolution there were twenty-one active parishes in London (judged by the number of parish fraternities or the extent of landed endowment for them), of which eleven had established lectureships by 1581 and a further six by the end of the century.⁹⁶ Thus of the twenty-one most vital parishes in London before 1548, all but four had established lectureships before the end of the century. There can be detected, therefore, a tradition of parish life and community effort which transcended the changes of doctrine.

Some of the London fraternities were, already before the Reformation, concerned to provide preaching. The guild of the Name of Jesus at St Paul's provided preachers at Paul's Cross and at St Mary Spittal.⁹⁷ The guild attached to the hospital of St Mary Rounceval also recruited preachers and the fraternity in the church of St Giles Cripplegate in 1548 was paying 3s 4d annually to a preacher.⁹⁸ By 1565 this same parish was employing the puritan Robert Crowley to preach every Sunday.⁹⁹ This, in itself, is an interesting instance of a continuity of practice within a single parish.

It would be a mistake to paint too rosy a picture of parish fraternities. Many of them cannot have been more than very fleeting associations. Geoffrey Bonere, a paternostermaker, had bequeathed tenements in Fleet Street in 1368 to the fraternity of St Hilda in the church of St Michael Le Querne. But by 1407 the guild no longer survived and the tenements had

passed into eager private hands.¹⁰⁰ The guild in honour of the Conception of the Virgin which had been founded in the church of St Sepulchre at Newgate before 1349 by 'poor people of the parish' had disappeared by 1402 when the mayor held an enquiry to find out what had happened to tenements bequeathed to the fraternity.¹⁰¹ The fraternity in the church of St Mary Woolnoth which had been bequeathed the tenement called the Cardinal's Hat by Simon Eyre in 1459, had disintegrated by 1492 when the tenement passed to the rector and churchwardens instead.¹⁰² Even those fraternities which did not disintegrate, were not always well run. In the course of a visitation of the church of St Magnus in *c.* 1519 it was reported that, through the negligence of the churchwardens and the masters of the *Salve* guild, neither the priests, nor the clerks attended the mass of the Virgin and the parish clergy were generally negligent in their attendance. The visitors reported that in their view the masters of the *Salve* guild could well have rectified the situation if they had bestirred themselves.¹⁰³ Whether the guild priests ceased from frequenting taverns and from going fishing at the times of divine services is not clear, but the chantry return of 1548 describes a comparatively well organised guild in which the two priests received £16 between them and nearly £20 was distributed in poor relief.¹⁰⁴ But the visitors' report reveals that not all laymen could live up to the responsibilities for which some craved.

It would, of course, be wrong to suggest that parish fraternities were the only expression of parish vitality; parish halls were built by parishioners at Hackney and at St Clement Danes and the returns 1548 make it clear that several parishes made some sort of provision for the poor.¹⁰⁵ Thrice weekly at St Leonard Foster Lane the parishioners subscribed for an additional priest to help the rector 'of devotion and good will at their own charge'.¹⁰⁶ The churchwardens' accounts of St Dunstan in the West, St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St Andrew Hubbard, and St Stephen Walbrook all reveal that the wages of the parish clerk depended upon collections made in the parish.¹⁰⁷ At St Stephen's in 1507 the names of the contributors and the amounts of their contributions are all recorded.¹⁰⁸ The rebuilding of parish churches such as St Margaret's at Westminster, St Andrew Undershaft, and St Giles Cripplegate is a further indication of parish cohesion and vitality.¹⁰⁹

This study of the London parish fraternities may have revealed something of the preoccupations of medieval men and women. It has demonstrated both the fragility, and the adaptability, of the guild structure. Fraternities which were first formed to secure decent burial and suf-

ficient prayers for their members, evolved over two hundred years into organisations to focus the parish will, to build halls, to administer poor relief, to provide sermons and, above all to allow lay men and women a say in the quality and character of the religious services offered to them. The increasing vitality of parish fraternities in London in the early sixteenth century may demonstrate, not so much an increasing commitment to the doctrines of what was to become 'the old faith' but, rather, a rising tide of lay participation in religion led, in its turn by rising prosperity and increasing literacy. Perhaps we concern ourselves too much with changes of doctrine. When the Reformers, and the Counter-Reformers, had trampled across the parishes of England, lay men and women sprang up once more like trodden grass, and found in parish vestries and lectureships and the administration of the Elizabethan Poor Law, adapted solutions for old needs. Perhaps we may look for the seed bed of the English Reformation, not in Lollardy, nor in anti-clericalism, but in the vitality of the parish community.

NOTES

¹ C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England*, Oxford 1925, 141, noted that he had identified 160 parish fraternities in London but gave no sources. I have identified 176 London parish fraternities, but some of these rapidly developed into trade guilds and there must be many others whose existence is not revealed by the chance survival of the evidence for which see below.

² See George Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, 1911, esp. chap. ix; H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Guilds of Medieval England*, 1919; L. Toulmin Smith, *English Guilds* (EETS, 1870).

³ J. A. F. Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London 1376–1531' (unpublished Oxford DPhil thesis 1960), chap. ii; Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, chap. ii; Susan Brigden, 'Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-century London', *P & P*, ciii, 1984, 67–112.

⁴ For a discussion of the structure of London government in the fifteenth century see my thesis 'London and its Relations with the Crown 1400–1450' (London Ph.D. thesis, 1970).

⁵ R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills Enrolled in the Court of Husting*, 2 vols., 1859 (hereafter HW), i 547, 565–6; ii 533, 534, 535, 587.

⁶ The fraternity ordinances of 1388 are printed in R. W. Chambers and Marjorie Daunt, *A Book of London English 1384–1425*, Oxford 1931, 44–7 (hereafter Chambers and Daunt). Bequests by joiners to the fraternity are recorded in the Archdeacon of London, Register of Wills, Guildhall Library, MS 9051/1 in 1398 fo. 13; 1405 fos. 13v–14; 1407 fos. 19–19v; 1412, fo. 15v. I am extremely grateful to Robert Wood who has read all the wills in the Archdeacons' Register (1393–1414) and most kindly provided me with references to bequests to fraternities and guilds. For the association of the joiners' company with the fraternity of St James Garlickhithe see also H. L. Phillips, *Annals of the Worshipful Company of Joiners*, 1915, 2.

⁷ This fraternity was established in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in Coneyhope Lane in the parish of St Mildred Poultry. The first reference to the fraternity appears in the will of a helmet-maker in 1349, *HW* i 576 and there were bequests from smiths and armourers in 1394, 1399 and 1408, Guildhall Library MS 9051/1 1395 fo. 5v; 1398 fo. 20v; 1408 fo. 3v; bequests from poulterers are recorded in 1397, *HW* ii, 335 and Guildhall Library MS 9051/1, fos. 7v–8. In 1441 John Hildy poulterer, made a bequest to the guild of Corpus Christi in the chapel of St Mary de Conynghopelane, *HW* ii 501. See also *Anc. Deeds* A 7595, A11938; John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908; hereafter, Stow), I, 263; C. J. Kitching, ed., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*, London Record Society, 16 (1980), 100.

⁸ There are bequests from butchers, or their widows, to the fraternity of the Blessed Virgin in St Leonard Eastcheap recorded in 1383, 1389, 1422, 1434, 1442, *HW* ii, 257, 280, 433, 495, 563. The chantry return of 1548 mentions some of these bequests, but not the fraternity, Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 31b.

⁹ In 1361 certain good men of the drapers of Cornhill, and other good men and women had founded a fraternity dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in the Hospital of St Mary of Bethlehem outside Bishopsgate, PRO C47/42/202. Bequests are recorded from a jeweller in 1364, a vintner in 1371 and a draper in 1380, *HW*, ii, 90, 159, 218. But the drapers appear to have switched their allegiance from St Mary Bethlehem to the more central church of St Mary le Bow. A fraternity there, dedicated to the Virgin, first appears in 1361 and attracted pouchmakers and leather merchants, but by 1388 Robert Warwyk, a draper, made a bequest to the 'Common Box of the fraternity of St Mary established by the drapers in the church of St Mary le Bow', *HW* ii, 271. From this time onwards the Drapers monopolized the fraternity there, see A. H. Johnson, *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London*, Oxford 1914, i, 110–11.

¹⁰ Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1966, 105–15; the earlier guild dedicated to the Virgin developed into the fraternity of the yeomanry and the Corpus Christi guild became the fraternity of the livery.

¹¹ The fraternity return of 1389 is in two parts, PRO, C47/42/206 and 471.

¹² The return of the whitetawyers is PRO, C47/42/211 and that of the pouchmakers C47/46/464 which is also printed in Chambers and Daunt, 53–7.

¹³ The return of the fraternity of the carriers is in the Bodleian Library, MS London and Middlesex Roll 3; the return of the carpenters is PRO, C47/46/465 and is also printed in Chambers and Daunt, 41–4; the glovers made a return in 1389 but no saint is specified nor place of meeting, PRO, C47/42/217. One of the fifteenth-century registers of the Commissary Court of London contains the enrolled ordinances of the fraternity of the craft of glovers, dated to 1354 when the fraternity met at Newchurchhawe (later Charterhouse). Although these ordinances may contain a core of fourteenth-century clauses, many of the ordinances are distinctly fifteenth century in character, see H. C. Coote, 'Ordinances of Some Secular Guilds of London,' *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* (hereafter *TLMAS*), iv, 1871, 33–7.

¹⁴ Chambers and Daunt, 43. I have modernized the spelling.

¹⁵ Coote, *TLMAS* iv, 1871, 65–9. There was another brotherhood dedicated to the Holy Blood of Wilsnak established in the Crutched Friary in 1459, *ibid.*, 59–62. On this cult see Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 1975, chap. iv.

¹⁶ See John S. Henderson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence' (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1983), and see also his 'The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy 1260–1400', *SCH* xv, 1978, 147–60. I am very grateful to Dr Henderson for many helpful discussions about Florentine confraternities. See also Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State*, Oxford 1971; Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, 1982.

¹⁷ *HW* ii, 510.

¹⁸ Membership lists of this confraternity survived as flyleaves of a Book of Hours, BL Additional MS 62105. I am most grateful to Dr Martha Carlin for drawing this manuscript to my attention. For letters of confraternity, see Clark Maxwell, 'Some Letters of Confraternity', *Archaeologia*, lxxv, 1926, 19–60 and lxxix, 1929, 179–216.

¹⁹ *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England . . . 1475–1640*, comp. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd edn. 1976, 14077 c50–56a.

²⁰ The fraternity in the Hospital of St Katharine by the Tower made a return in 1389 and there are bequests recorded in 1378, 1386, PRO, C47/42/216, *HW* ii, 209, 268, 343. The fraternity appears to have been refounded and dedicated to St Barbara early in the sixteenth century. An account of the distinguished membership, headed by Henry VIII and Queen Katherine, and of the social benefits which could be derived from membership was printed in 1518 when Sir William Skevington was master, see *Short Title Catalogue*, 14077 c55a. It was probably this printed prospectus which Strype saw and incorporated into his *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1720, i part 2, 6–7.

²¹ It is interesting to note, however, that the advent of printing seems to have encouraged enterprising parish fraternities to offer associated membership to outsiders and thus to style themselves as confraternities, see the printed leaflets of the confraternities of St Ursula in St Lawrence Jewry, St George in Southwark, and

St Cornelius in Westminster, *Short Title Catalogue*, 14077 c59, 70, and Brigden, 'Religion and Social Obligation', fig. 2.

²² The accounts for the guild of the Assumption survive for 1474–77, 1487–90, 1505–08, 1515–21, and for St Mary Rounceval for 1520–24, 1538–40, these are bound together in a single volume in the Westminster Abbey Munitment room. These accounts were used by Westlake (see n. 2) but have been most recently studied by Dr A. G. Rosser in 'Medieval Westminster: The Vill and Urban Community 1200–1540' (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1984), and in his article 'The Essence of Medieval Urban Communities: The Vill of Westminster 1200–1540', *TRHS*, xxxiv (1984), 99–112.

²³ Accounts for 1495–97, 1533–34, Greater London RO, P92/SAV/5, 6, 14. There are also some miscellaneous receipts, etc., P92/5AV/23, 28, 29. For a discussion of the fraternities in Southwark see Martha Carlin, 'The Urban Development of Southwark c. 1200–1550' (unpublished University of Toronto thesis, 1983).

²⁴ BL MS Vitellius F xvi fos. 113–23. This fraternity was established in the Hospital of St Augustine Papey in 1430 to care for poor and impotent priests, Stow, i, 146, 161, ii 293, and T. Hugo, 'The Hospital of Le Papey in the City of London', *TLMAS*, v (1877), 183–221.

²⁵ Guildhall Library MS 4889 (usually on exhibition in the Museum of London). The Bede roll covers the years 1448–1523. The earliest reference to the guild is to be found in a bequest in 1406, Guildhall Library MS 9051/1 1406 fol. 8. The parish clerks tried, unsuccessfully, in 1548 to claim that they were a trade guild, see J. Christie, *Some Accounts of the Parish Clerks*, 1893 and R. H. Adams, *Parish Clerks of London*, 1971.

²⁶ P. Basing, ed., *Parish Fraternity Register: Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and SS Fabian and Sebastian in the Parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate*, London Record Society, 18 (1982).

²⁷ Bodleian Library MS Tanner 221. Extracts from this volume were printed by W. Sparrow-Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinem Ecclesiae Cathedralis Santi Pauli Londiniensis*, 1873, 435–62.

²⁸ Guildhall Library MS 4158 fols. 131–65. Long extracts were printed in *HMCRC, Sixth Report, Appendix*, 1877, 411–14.

²⁹ For a list of Pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts, see Guildhall Library. *Churchwardens Accounts of Parish Churches within the City of London, A Handlist*, 2nd ed. 1969. For a list of London parish cartularies see A. C. Dyson, 'A Calendar of the Cartulary of the Parish Church of St Margaret Bridge Street', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, i, 1974, 163–91, esp. 163 n. 4.

³⁰ Guildhall Library MS 4887, accounts of St Dunstan in the East 1497–1509, see fos. 7, 113, 123, 132.

³¹ W. H. Overall, *Accounts of the Churchwardens of St Michael Cornhill 1456–1608*, 1869, 200–206, 212.

³² Caroline M. Barron and Jane Roscoe, 'The Medieval Parish Church of St Andrew Holborn', *London Topographical Record*, xxiv, 1980, 31–60.

³³ The London returns are listed in Westlake, *Parish Guilds*, 180–88. This list is not complete and additions have been made by transfers from Ancient Petitions etc., so it is necessary to consult the typescript list in the Round Room of the PRO. Many of the London returns are transcribed and translated in a manuscript volume in Guildhall Library MS 142. The six returns in English are printed by Chambers and Daunt, 40–60.

³⁴ Bodleian Library MS London and Middlesex Rolls, 2, 3, 4 a and b. These returns are in English and I intend to publish them in full elsewhere.

³⁵ For the background to the Cambridge Parliament see Anthony Tuck, 'The Cambridge Parliament of 1388', *EHR*, lxxxiv, 1969, 225–43.

³⁶ Between 1350 and 1417 the city records reveal the existence of yeomen or journeyman groupings among the shearmen, saddlers, skinners, spurriers, cordwainers, and tailors, see H. T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life*, 1868, 247–8, 250–51, 306–7, 495–6, 543, 609–12, 653; *Letter Book G*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 1905, 143; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1364–81*, ed. A. H. Thomas, Cambridge, 1929, 89, 264, 291–2.

³⁷ 15 Richard II cap. 5, *Statutes at Large* i, 1769, 401–2.

³⁸ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*.

³⁹ *HW*.

⁴⁰ The Archdeacons' Register is now Guildhall Library MS 9051/1 (see n. 6 above). The Commissary Court Registers (1375–1548) are Guildhall Library MSS 9171/1–14 and contain thousands of wills which have not been read with an eye to parish fraternities although Dr Brigden has read the commissary wills for the period 1522–39, see her 'Religion and Social Obligation', 94 and n. 153.

⁴¹ 1370, *CPR 1367–70*, 448; 1371, *CPR 1370–74*, 165.

⁴² Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin in St Giles Cripplegate, 1392, *CPR 1391–96*, 43, 170; fraternity of St Katherine in St Mary Colechurch, 1400, *CPR 1399–1401*, 284; fraternity of St Michael in St Michael Cornhill, 1397, *ibid.* 202; fraternity of St Peter in St Peter Cornhill, 1403, *CPR 1401–05*, 206.

⁴³ Fraternity of the Virgin in St Dunstan in the West, 1440, *CPR 1436–41*, 447; fraternity of the Assumption in St Margaret Westminster 1440, *ibid.*, 448; fraternity of Rectors in St Benet Fink, 1441, *CPR 1441–46*, 4; fraternity of St Nicholas of the Parish Clerks of London, 1442, *ibid.*, 51–2 (see also 1449, *CPR 1446–52*, 263; 1475, *CPR 1467–77*, 544, fraternity of the Virgin in St Giles Cripplegate, 1443, *CPR 1441–46*, 140–41; fraternity of St Sythe in St Andrew Holborn, *ibid.*, 194–5; fraternity of the Virgin in All Hallows Barking, 1443, 1465, *LP1509–14*, 5452; *CPR 1461–67*, 428; fraternity of the Holy Trinity in St Botolph Aldersgate, 1446, *CPR 1441–46*, 451; fraternity of St Katherine in St Mary Colechurch, 1447, *CPR 1446–52*, 70; fraternity of the Salutation of the Virgin in St Magnus, 1448, *ibid.*, 173–4; fraternity of the Virgin in St Margaret Southwark, 1449, *ibid.*, 264; fraternity of the Name of Jesus in St Paul's Cathedral, 1459, *CPR 1452–61*, 480; fraternity of the Holy Trinity in Leadenhall Chapel, 1466, *CPR 1461–67*, 516; fraternity of the Virgin in St Mary Rounceval,

1475, *CPR 1464–77*, 542.

⁴⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv, 507; R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter Book K*, 1911, xli.

⁴⁵ The guilds which were amalgamated were those of the Holy Trinity (earliest reference 1374) and SS Fabian and Sebastian (earliest reference 1378), Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register*, xiii–xvi.

⁴⁶ Barron and Roscoe, *London Topographical Record*, 37.

⁴⁷ Coote, *TLMAS*, iv, 1871; Reg. of Bishop Fitzjames, Guildhall Library MS 9531/9 fo. 9v (fraternity of the Virgin in Austin Friars, 1509); fo. 27 (fraternity of the Virgin and St Barbara in Black Friars, 1511); fo. 142v (fraternity of the Virgin in Crutched Friars, 1521); Reg. of Bishop Tunstall, Guildhall Library MS 9531/10 fos. 32–32v (confirmation of the 1511 ordinances of the fraternity of the Virgin and St Barbara in Black Friars, 1522).

⁴⁸ Dr Brigden has suggested that the foundation of new fraternities based on the Friaries may reflect dissatisfaction with, or hostility to, parish life and the parish priests, 'Religion and Social Obligation', 95.

⁴⁹ See return of 1388, PRO, C47/41/199.

⁵⁰ L. Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution*, 1979, chap. iii, esp. figures 1, 2, and table 3:1.

⁵¹ Quarterage payments ranged from as little as two pence in the guild at St Austin at Paul's Gate, PRO, C47/41/193, to as much as thirteen shillings and four pence a quarter in the guild of St Katherine at St Mary Colechurch, PRO, C47/41/199.

⁵² Kreider, *English Chantries*, 86.

⁵³ William St John Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, 1925, 7.

⁵⁴ These figures are derived from the researches of Robert Wood and Dr Susan Brigden, see n. 6 and 40 above. Between 1539 and 1547 when the royal hostility to chantries and to the doctrine of purgatory became more apparent, the percentage drops to 8.5 per cent, information supplied by Dr Susan Brigden in a letter.

⁵⁵ Return of 1388, Bodleian Library MS London and Middlesex Roll 4b.

⁵⁶ See, for example, the injunctions against slander and drunken behaviour among the ordinances of the fraternity of Dutchmen founded in the Crutched Friars in 1495, Coote, *TLMAS* iv, 1871, 74.

⁵⁷ A. G. Rosser, thesis, 353–4.

⁵⁸ Greater London RO, P92/SAV/5; P92/SAV/14.

⁵⁹ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 20, 25. The fraternity of the Virgin in St Giles Cripplegate distributed just over nineteen pounds to sixteen poor householders and the fraternity of the Virgin in St Bride Fleet Street relieved seven poor people at a cost of eight pounds annually, *ibid.*, 18, 107.

⁶⁰ The fraternity in St James Garlickhythe ordained that if a member had been lately imprisoned, and had been in the brotherhood seven years, then he was to receive fourteen pence a week while he was in prison, PRO, C47/41/191; Chambers and Daunt, 47; the guild of St Stephen in St Sepulchre Newgate also

gave fourteen pence to members who were in prison, PRO, C47/42/207.

⁶¹ Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum*, 458; Bodleian Library MS Tanner 221 fo. 126.

⁶² PRO, C47/41/189.

⁶³ Coote, *TLMAS*, iv, 1871, 67, 68.

⁶⁴ The only extra-mural parish church which appears not to have had a fraternity is St Botolph Aldgate. St Olave's church in Southwark had five fraternities and St Margaret's in Westminster had eight.

⁶⁵ The guilds in St Botolph Bishopsgate, St Giles Cripplegate, St Botolph Aldersgate, St Sepulchre Newgate, St Andrew Holborn, St Bride Fleet Street, St Dunstan in the West, St Clement Danes, St Olave Southwark, and St Margaret Southwark. The Westminster guilds at St Margaret's church and at St Mary Rounceval were also flourishing.

⁶⁶ The figures of communicants are derived from the Chantry certificate of 1548, Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 48, 139. For estimates of guild membership see A. G. Rosser, thesis, 312–3, and Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register*, xiii, xxi–xxv.

⁶⁷ Thesis, 315–6, and *TRHS*, 1984, 104.

⁶⁸ The earliest reference to the hall of the fraternity of the Virgin in St Bride Fleet Street occurs in the will of Thomas Threyne, gentleman, in 1533, see type-script list of references to St Bride's in Guildhall Library MS 6570A; further references to the hall in 1545 and 1547, *ibid.* In St Clement Danes there were parish rooms which may have belonged to the fraternity, but this is not clear, Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 152.

⁶⁹ Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register*, xvii–xix; the 'Comen Hall' of the guild of the Virgin in St Giles Cripplegate was sold in 1549, see *CPR 1547–48*, 294–5 and deeds of 1567 and 1710 relating to the later history of this hall are to be found in Guildhall Library, Additional MSS 632, 404.

⁷⁰ Carlin, thesis, 272.

⁷¹ Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register*, xxi–xxv.

⁷² The greater merchants of London may also have succumbed to that 'privatization' of religious practice which Dr Colin Richmond has recently described in 'Religion and the Fifteenth-century English Gentleman', in R. B. Dobson, ed., *Church Politics and Patronage*, 193–208.

⁷³ Chaucer observed that it was a haberdasher, a carpenter, a weaver, a dyer, and a tapisser who were all clothed in the same livery 'of a solempne and a greet fraternitee', *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, lines 361–4.

⁷⁴ For this guild see *CPR 1461–67*, 428; *CPR 1467–77*, 46, 192; *LP 1509–1514*, 5242; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 47, 95; *CPR 1547–48*, 384; *CPR 1548–49*, 31, 64; *CPR 1549–51*, 409, 424–5; Stow i, 131. Bequests recorded in the Archdeacon's Register between 1394 and 1402 suggest that the members in the early years were quite modest people, Guildhall Library MS 9051/1.

⁷⁵ See n. 27 above.

⁷⁶ See n. 20 above. This grand fraternity, with its distinguished membership bears comparison with the guild of the Holy Trinity at Luton of which Edward

IV and Queen Elizabeth Woodville were members and from which a very fine illuminated register survives (paper read to the Conference of the British Archaeological Association by Dr Jeremy Griffiths, April 1984).

⁷⁷ The exception was the guild of St Katherine founded in St Paul's Cathedral in 1352; sisters are not mentioned, but they may not have been excluded, PRO, C47/41/200.

⁷⁸ Chambers and Daunt, 48, 51.

⁷⁹ Basing, *Parish Fraternity Registers*, 5–18.

⁸⁰ Greater London RO, P92/SAV/5. The ordinances of the guild of the Virgin established in the Black Friars in 1511 specify that if a brother dies his wife may remain as a member provided that she pays her dues; if she remarries however, she may only remain if her new husband joins, Guildhall Library MS 9531/9 fo. 29.

⁸¹ In the same way in some guilds husbands and wives together paid a set amount for the guild feast, but in the guild of St Peter Cornhill, men paid twelve pence for the feast and their wives paid eight pence, *HMCR, Appendix to Sixth Report*, 413a. In the guild of the Virgin and St Barbara founded in the Black Friars in 1511, men paid four pence for the feast and women paid two pence, Guildhall Library MS 9531/9 fos. 27v–28.

⁸² Guildhall Library MS 4889 fo. 5 *et seq.*

⁸³ *HMCR Appendix to Sixth Report*, 412a.

⁸⁴ BL MS Cotton Vitellius F xvi fos. 114v–115.

⁸⁵ *CPR 1446–52*, 173–4; this petition was presented by the four wardens, six brothers and six sisters, only two of whom bore the same names as the men.

⁸⁶ There was only one London guild which was described as a 'sisterhood', that of St Anne in St Olave Southwark. A membership list names five women, but there are bequests recorded in the wills of men, see Carlin, thesis, 416, 519 n. 28.

⁸⁷ *CPR 1396–99*, 202. The connection of St Anne with St George is made in the will of Alice Hongreforth, *HW* ii, 608. The church had a guild dedicated to St Michael and the Virgin, and two other guilds, one dedicated to St Nicholas and St Katherine and the other to the Name of Jesus. By 1524 the pairings of saints had shifted and in the will of John Maidenhead, draper, the five guilds listed are the Jesus guild, the Virgin and St Anne, St Michael, St George and St Christopher, and St Nicholas and St Anne, J. A. F. Thomson, thesis.

⁸⁸ *CPR 1452–61*, 480; 1481 will of Sir Bartholomew James, *HW* ii, 598 and Guildhall Library MS 4887; 1487, will of Robert Pykemere, citizen and cutler, Guildhall Library typescript MS 6570A; 1533, Carlin, thesis, 272; the 1544 subsidy for London refers to the brotherhood of Jesus and the Virgin in St Michael Queenhythe, PRO, E179/144/123 (I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Robert Lang). In 1524 there appears also to have been a guild of Jesus in the church of St Michael Cornhill, see n. 87 above.

⁸⁹ On this new feast, see Pfaff, esp. chap. iv.

⁹⁰ Return of guild of St Austin, PRO, C47/41/193; return of guild of the little company of the light of Corpus Christi, PRO, C47/46/469.

⁹¹ PRO, C47/42/204.

⁹² PRO, C47/42/205.

⁹³ *HMCR Appendix to Sixth Report*, 412–13.

⁹⁴ Rosser, thesis, 313 n. 3.

⁹⁵ Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560–1662*, Stanford, California, 1970, list on pages 123–4 and Appendix D. Three of the parishes listed by Seaver, Christ Church Newgate, Holy Trinity Minorities and St Helen Bishopsgate, were not parishes before 1548. St Saviour Southwark took over St Margaret Southwark and so has been included. Those which established lectureships but had not had parish fraternities before 1548 were St Margaret Lothbury, St Mary Aldermanbury, St Michael Paternoster, St Martin Ironmonger Lane, St Martin Orgar, and St Mary Aldermary.

⁹⁶ Seaver, Appendix D. The pre-1548 ‘active’ parishes which do not appear on Seaver’s list are St Botolph Billingsgate, St John Zachary, St George Southwark, St Margaret Westminster, St Michael Queenhythe, and St Olave Southwark. All these had lectureships by 1654.

⁹⁷ Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum*, 457.

⁹⁸ Rosser, thesis, 351; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 18.

⁹⁹ Seaver, 123.

¹⁰⁰ *HW* ii, 132; *CCR 1405–09*, 189–90, 334–35; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1399–1422*, 158–9.

¹⁰¹ The return of this little fraternity which claimed that it had no oaths, no livery, no goods and no chattels is PRO, C47/42/201. John de Shenefeld, a tanner, bequeathed tenements to the fraternity in 1349, *HW* i, 540–41, but the guild had dissolved by 1402, *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1399–1422*, 107–8.

¹⁰² See the will of Sir Hugh Bryce, Alderman, *HW* ii, 600–601; *Stow* i, 205.

¹⁰³ [Richard Arnold], *The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold’s Chronicle*, 1811, 273–8.

¹⁰⁴ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 25.

¹⁰⁵ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 151, 152.

¹⁰⁶ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 216, 65; see also the will of William Jarden, tailor, who endowed an annual sermon at St Margaret’s Westminster so that a scholar from Queen’s College Oxford might come once a year to preach the word of God, Rosser, *TRHS*, 1984, 110.

¹⁰⁷ All the accounts are in Guildhall Library, St Dunstan in the West MS 2968; St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, MS 2596/1; St Andrew Hubbard, MS 1279; St Stephen Walbrook, MS 593.

¹⁰⁸ Guildhall Library MS 593 fo. 6.

¹⁰⁹ St Margaret Westminster was rebuilt between 1487 and 1523, Rosser, thesis, 283–97; St Andrew Undershaft between 1520 and 1532; St Giles Cripplegate between 1545 and 1550, Nikolaus Pevsner, *London: The Cities of London and Westminster*, 2nd edn, 1962, 136, 145.

London and St. Paul's Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages

IT IS NEARLY FIFTY years since an attempt was made to write a history of St Paul's cathedral in the later medieval period. Christopher Brooke's scholarly and suggestive chapter remains compulsive and compulsory reading.¹ But the destruction of the great medieval building and the existence of a voluminous, but disorderly, body of archives, have tended to discourage historians. Now St Paul's is rising from its long sleep. The dean and chapter have commissioned a new history of the cathedral to be edited by Professor Derek Keene, and several younger scholars have been encouraged to tackle the archives, now housed at Guildhall Library rather than in the cathedral itself.² There is a new typescript catalogue which usefully supplements the enticing, but enragingly unsystematic, listings to be found in the Royal Commission's *Ninth Report* published in 1883.³ Some of the most obviously-interesting material was printed in the late nineteenth century by William Sparrow Simpson (d. 1897), the librarian and sub-dean of the cathedral. He published documents in *Archaeologia* and three books of collected essays which are much more scholarly than their titles might suggest.⁴ The new history, which will be the work of many authors, is due for publication in 2004. This essay is, therefore, simply an interim report: to provide a rope bridge between the sturdy histories written by Sparrow Simpson and Brooke and the new edifice now being built. The object of this short study will be to make use of some of the material relating to the cathedral which may be found among the records of the City of London. The paucity of that material is, in itself, suggestive.

Christopher Brooke noted the ambivalence in the relations between the City of London and the great cathedral perched on its western hill. On the one hand he suggested that:

between the cot on Cornhill and the cathedral at the other end of the City, there was little relation, however familiar a sight each might have been to the other⁵

and yet he noted also:

the intimate link of church and city which revealed itself in the business dealings of the canons, in the chafferings in the nave . . . This link was a very solid one, and of vital concern to both partners; but there are few aspects of medieval St Paul's more elusive.⁶

Were the men of the cathedral precinct, the bishop, the dean, the canons, chantry priests and other cathedral clergy, miles apart from the men and women of medieval London, or was there 'an intimate link' between them?

By 1312 the major work on the cathedral, the rebuilding of the east end and the lady chapel, was completed. This was followed by the building of a new chapter house and cloister completed twenty years later, the work of the London master mason William Ramsey, who died in the Black Death of 1349.⁷ After this most of the work on the cathedral took the form of repairs: the rebuilding of the south transept facade in 1387–8 and the restoration of the steeple in 1462 following a fire in 1444. The most characteristic additions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the building of the colleges in the precinct: the 'Presteshous' for chantry priests in the early 1320s, the College for the Minor Canons in 1353, Holme's College for the priests of his chantry in 1386 and, finally, Lancaster College for the two priests who served the chantry established under the will of John, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399). The Becket chapel in the middle of the Pardon Churchyard (which lay in the angle formed by the nave and the north transept) was rebuilt in 1415 and surrounded by a cloister. The impressive scale of the late medieval cathedral may be gained by looking at the recently-discovered copper-plate map showing the cathedral and its precinct *c.* 1553–9.⁸

The cathedral and its precinct occupied a substantial area inside the city walls. Within the ecclesiastical complex lived a large number of clerical personnel ranging from the dean, the four archdeacons, the three major office-holders, the treasurer, praecentor and chancellor (who was also the *magister scholarum*), the thirty greater canons and the twelve minor canons.⁹ Half of the greater canons might be in residence at any one time: when Urban V instituted an enquiry in 1366 into pluralism among the English clergy, twenty-one of the thirty canons claimed that they were normally resident in London.¹⁰ The twelve minor canons were housed together in a college in the precinct and were expected to live according to rules which were revised by Bishop Braybrook in 1396.¹¹ In addition thirty vicars choral lived in a house at the west end of the pre-

cinct and there was, also, a host of chantry priests, who lived together in the three colleges, Holmes,¹² Lancaster and the 'Presteshous'. By the reign of Edward VI there were more than fifty chantry priests working in, and around, St Paul's.¹³ There were, in addition, the boys who attended the school¹⁴ and the men of the households of the dean and the greater officers.¹⁵ It has been calculated that, judging by the bequests in his will, the household of Dean William Say who died in 1468 numbered some forty people.¹⁶ The bishops of London tended to be frequently seen in the city: Robert Braybrook (bishop from 1381 until his death in 1404) spent half his time in his London palace, and his establishment was probably larger than that of the dean. It has been estimated that the household numbered some eighty men.¹⁷ In all, therefore, the precinct of St Paul's housed a minimum of 500 people (not including the schoolboys), divided among separate households and colleges, but meeting together in the cathedral. Hence both the buildings and the large concentration of clerical personnel must have exercised a considerable impact upon the city.

There was, however, a particular sense in which the cathedral became more remote, or more cut off, from the city in the later medieval period. From the time 'when the memory of man runneth not' the Londoners had been accustomed to gather together at their folkmoor which met in the open area lying to the north-east of the cathedral. The men of London were summoned to the folkmoor by the ringing of the great bell which hung in the free-standing bell tower which had been rebuilt *c.* 1220. In the middle of the thirteenth century the folkmoor was still being summoned at St Paul's and yet by 1321 the king's justices were told that the folkmoor was now closed.¹⁸ In 1285, perhaps because of the building work going on at the east end of the cathedral, or perhaps because of his 'difficult' relations with the Londoners, Edward I ordered that gates and walls should be built to enclose the precinct and, effectively, to cut the Londoners off from their folkmoor site.¹⁹ Here the desire of the crown to curb the means for the expression of popular protest coincided with the desire on the part of the cathedral clergy for greater security and a more peaceful environment in which to carry out their duties. In 1310 Edward II had found it necessary to instruct the mayor and sheriffs to ensure the safety of the 'Canons of the Church of St Paul in London, and the Vicars and the other ministers of the same church, their men, lands, things rents and all their possessions, forbidding all and singular persons to do them any injury, harm, damage or grievance.'²⁰ In 1321 the mayor and citizens protested in vain at the removal of their public meeting place: the dean and canons, supported

in this instance by the king, had managed successfully to exclude the Londoners from free access to the cathedral precinct. Later, in the 1440s and 50s, the dean and chapter erected a set of bars (or a barrier) and a cross to the west of the cathedral, perhaps to control access from Bowyer Row (now Ludgate Hill). Although the mayor and aldermen claimed that the bars and the cross were built on the common soil of the city and so were a nuisance to the commonalty, their protests were, once again, ineffective.²¹

By the early fourteenth century the dean and his clergy had managed successfully to separate their community from the engulfing city. This physical separation may have been symptomatic of a more pervasive detachment. About 2,500 wills were proved in the London Husting Court in the years between 1258 and 1358, the period in which the choir of St Paul's was completely rebuilt. Of these wills, only forty-nine record bequests either to the old, or to the new, work at the cathedral. In this same period nearly three times as many Londoners (i.e. 134) made bequests to London Bridge. But the picture changes somewhat in the period 1358–1544. The number of wills proved in the Husting Court is smaller, but of the 1332 enrolled wills, 114 testators remembered the cathedral church in their wills whereas only 92 made bequests to London Bridge in this period.²² Among Londoners it was not customary, as it was in other parts of the London diocese, to remember the mother church in their last wills and testaments with a small monetary bequest. In Middlesex in the fifteenth century about 15% of all testators made a small bequest to their cathedral church of St Paul's which, presumably, many of them would never have seen.²³

But among Londoners it seems to have become increasingly popular to be buried in St Paul's churchyard. In the twelfth century, while the canons were buried in their own burial ground near the Becket chapel, Londoners would be buried in a churchyard near the charnel house in the north-east corner of the precinct. Possibly as a result of the Plague of 1348–9, a new 'Pardon church yard' was dedicated at St Paul's. A reference to this new burial place first occurs in the will of William Blith, a saddler, drawn up in April 1349, in which he requested burial in the churchyard of St Paul's church called 'Pardonchirchew'.²⁴ Between 1358 and 1544 sixty Londoners whose wills were proved in the Husting Court asked to be buried in St Paul's churchyard. It seems to have been a popular burial place with rich and poor alike. Several quite poor London widows in the years 1393–1415 requested burial in St Paul's churchyard and, at the other end of the economic scale, many members of the wealthy and successful

Gifford and Buckland families (Richard Buckland, fishmonger, merchant of the Calais Staple and Treasurer of Calais, d. 1436) also chose to be buried there.²⁵ The decision to be buried in the churchyard at St Paul's may not always have been a voluntary one. When the successful alderman and ironmonger, John Hatherle, drew up his will in April 1459 he left a vestry which he had built for his parish church of St Michael Queenhythe to the rector, churchwardens and parishioners in perpetuity. The new vestry had been built under Hatherle's own house which overlooked the churchyard, and he stipulated that a condition of the grant was that St Michael's parish churchyard should cease to be used 'except under pressing necessity, and that deceased parishioners and others were in the future to be buried in St Paul's churchyard'.²⁶

To judge from the wills enrolled in the Husting Court, the Londoners were not especially enthusiastic about St Paul's cathedral, but this indifference was reciprocated. Only two deans, four canons and one minor canon enrolled their wills in the city's Husting Court in the years between 1264 and 1535.²⁷ This may simply reflect the small number of St Paul's clergy who held land in London. But of the seven testators whose wills were enrolled in the Husting Court, only two remembered the city or its inhabitants in their wills. Martin Elys, a minor canon who drew up his will in June 1393, left money to his relatives who were London waxchangers and made a bequest to the fabric of London Bridge. But his will makes clear that his loyalties were to the cathedral clergy of St Paul's and, in particular, to 'his brethren the minor canons living in their common hall'.²⁸ The other civic benefactor among the clerical testators of St Paul's was Dean John Colet, who described himself in his will drawn up in June 1514 as 'Dean of St Paul's, citizen and mercer of London, freeman of the City, son and heir of Henry Colet, late knight and Alderman'.²⁹ Martin Elys and John Colet were Londoners by birth and had family links which fostered their interest in the city. It may be possible to detect others among the clergy of the cathedral precinct who had London connections.

Thomas Boleyn, a Doctor of Divinity, who was a canon of St Paul's between 1447 and 1451, was the brother of Geoffrey Boleyn, the mercer and mayor of London in 1457–8. Ralph Shaa, a Doctor of Theology, who was a canon between 1477 and 1484, was the brother of Edmund Shaa who was mayor of London in 1482–3.³⁰ But it is noticeable that the men chosen to be deans of St Paul's in the fifteenth century (e.g. Laurence Booth 1456–7, William Say 1457–68, William Worsley 1479–99) had links with the York diocese, rather than with London. Even if the bishops and

deans were not Londoners by birth or upbringing, they certainly employed Londoners in their households. Thomas Horstone (or Shapewyke), who held a canonry at St Paul's from 1404 until his death in 1410, was the son of a London draper, William Horstone, who represented the ward of Candlewick Street in the Common Councils of 1384–6. Young Thomas trained as a notary and became secretary to Robert Braybrook, the bishop of London (d. 1404). During this time he was consecrated as a priest and so was able to move into a canonry on Braybrook's death.³¹ It is possible to assess the extent of the 'London' influence in Braybrook's household because of the survival of a number of his accounts which provide the names of some of his household servants and of his suppliers.³² Several of his servants were laymen, and a number of them were London citizens, such as the notary Denis Lopham or the bishop's 'wardrober' and general factotum, John Chertsey, a London draper, described as 'the most experienced and wealthiest' of Braybrook's lay retainers.³³ Braybrook also bought furs and cloth from London merchants: at Christmas 1385. John Shellingford, draper, supplied the household with livery cloth worth 100 marks. William Oliver, a skinner, and John Donnington, Thomas Baret, Ralph Debenham and John Hende, drapers, were also household suppliers.³⁴ When the bishop was staying at his house at Much Hadham in Hertfordshire, valets from his household were sent to London to buy silk and to collect a hat that had been trimmed for the bishop, a new girdle, some strong galoshes for travelling and a pair of spurs.³⁵ Bishop Braybrook's most recent biographer believed that he took a lively, and indeed partisan, interest in political events and factions in London in the 1380s and, on occasion, intervened to speak for the citizens when they were in trouble with Richard II.³⁶ It is difficult to assess whether Braybrook was unusually involved with the politics of the city or whether this is simply the result of the survival of more material from his household. Some comparable material does survive, however, covering the years 1479–1496 from the household of William Worsley, who was dean of St Paul's from 1479 to 1499, and this suggests that almost all the supplies for his household were purchased from Londoners.³⁷

The material so far discussed would seem to suggest that the Londoners and the cathedral clergy went their separate ways: the citizens were cut off from their folk moot site and the precinct was walled and enclosed; comparatively few Londoners remembered the cathedral in their wills, although more of them, as time went on, elected to be buried in the new Pardon churchyard next to the cathedral; the chantry chaplains apart, few

of the cathedral clergy seem to have been born in London and such contacts as there were between the citizens and the clerical households of the precinct seem to have been routine business transactions, simply the supplying of services and goods. But there were, of course, other points of intersection between the two worlds.

In the first place the dean and chapter held a very considerable estate which not only included manors outside London, but also a large portfolio of urban property in the city. In fact the dean and chapter were probably the largest single landowner in the city and, at one time or another, held messuages or tenements in every city parish.³⁸ The advowsons of nineteen city parish churches (i.e. *c.* 20%) were held by the dean and chapter.³⁹ It has been calculated that in the fourteenth century, sixteen of these churches were held by chantry priests in the cathedral.⁴⁰ It is difficult, however, to assess how active such men were in their London parishes. At the time of the royal enquiry of 1547, fourteen (i.e. 74%) of the St Paul's churches were specifically stated to be served by a resident vicar (but not all of these would have been cathedral clergy) whereas in the city as a whole only 51% of churches were clearly served by a resident vicar or rector.⁴¹ The city's records of the Assize of Nuisance (1301–1431) and the Possessory Assizes (1317–1470) bear witness to the active role played in the city by the dean and chapter in their capacity as landlords. Whereas the bishop of London, whose urban estate was very small, appears only once, the dean and chapter were constantly called to defend their properties, or to repair them.⁴² It is clear that co-operation between the cathedral and the city was also possible. The dean and chapter held most of the land lying between the cathedral and the Thames, including a wharf known as Paul's Wharf. In 1430 the city leased to the dean and chapter for ninety-nine years, at a yearly rent of 10s., an adjacent derelict wharf which belonged to the city, so that the chapter might develop the two wharves together and, at the same time, also provide an efficient watercourse running down into the Thames.⁴³

In spite of the enclosing of the cathedral precinct and the exclusion of the London folkmoot, yet the great cathedral still remained a very civic, or secular, space. It was the preferred location for the formal conduct of legal business. Men and women agreed to pay debts on specified days 'in St Paul's church'; deeds were written and sealed there (especially at the font) and many men appear to have hung about there in the hope of acting as jurors or witnesses.⁴⁴ In 1314 a royal writ to arrest certain apostate friars was published in the cathedral church in the presence of many canons and

ministers of the church ‘and of many persons then writing there’.⁴⁵ Outside, the churchyard and precinct were used for a variety of secular activities: around the feasts of St Bartholomew (August 24) and the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) wrestling took place there, although this was forbidden on pain of forty days imprisonment.⁴⁶ The disorder outside could spill over into the Cathedral itself: there were brawls and exchanges of abusive language.⁴⁷ John Walpole, a London tailor with a grievance against the judges and judgments in city courts, encountered the mayor John Fressh (1394–5) as he was walking up Ludgate towards St Paul’s. He followed him up the street pulling at his sleeve, shouting abusively and demanding justice. When the mayor reached the churchyard he met the two royal councilors, Sir John Bushy and Sir William Bagot, but this did not deter Walpole, who continued to shout at the mayor and to abuse his servants, calling them ‘false harlots’. He pursued Fressh through the churchyard and into the church itself ‘taking him by the sleeve and shouting and arguing with him, until they reached Paternosterrowe where John shouted angrily: “Mayor, do me justice, or I will bring such a mob about you that you will be glad to do justice”’ and for these threatening words he was sent to Newgate.⁴⁸ It was the task of the four vergers to keep the cathedral free from such disturbances. They were expected to guard the entrances to the precinct with chains to prevent the entry of wheeled vehicles and to expel women of ill fame, porters, beggars and minstrels who ‘undevoutly’ made a noise near the altars in the cathedral.⁴⁹ In 1385 Bishop Braybrook found it necessary to issue a fearsome letter threatening with excommunication all those who bought and sold in the cathedral, or played football there or shot at crows and doves thus endangering the glass in the windows.⁵⁰ It is unlikely that bouncing by the vergers or fulminations by the bishop were able to keep profanity out of the cathedral or its precinct. There was no covered market in the City until the rebuilding of Leadenhall in the 1450s and Gresham’s Royal Exchange in the 1560s and there were no weather-proof courts or covered pitches where young men could play football or practice their shooting skills. The sheer size of St Paul’s must have made it hard to police (total length 585 feet; the nave was 100 feet wide and the transepts measured 290 feet from north to south). How was it possible to create within this vast cathedral a spiritual space for the Londoners? One way may have been to cut off small areas such as chantry chapels, like that of Roger of Waltham (d. 1341) built in the chapel of St Lawrence, at the east end of the choir,⁵¹ which could be sheltered from the prevailing secu-

lar activity. At the different altars the priests and groups of singers might be able to create small oases of calm and spiritual focus.

Within the cathedral there were scores of chantries: when Bishop Braybrook came to reorganise and reform the chantries in St Paul's in 1391, there were seventy-four chantry priests. By the time of the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, the number had been reduced to thirty-four chantries served by forty-seven chaplains.⁵² But of these numerous early chantries only twelve appear to have been founded by Londoners: the chantries of Roger Benyn (d. 1277–8), Aveline de Basing (d. by 1282) and Henry Edelmeton (d. by 1279) were all established in the chapel over the Charnel House.⁵³ Nicholas Wokyndon (d. by 1321) and Hamo de Chigwell (d. 1332) shared a chantry at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr. The chantry founded by Sir John de Pulteney, mayor and draper (d. 1349), survived until the Reformation and was one of three St Paul's chantries administered by the mayor and aldermen of London: the other two were the chantries of Roger Benyn and Henry Guildford (d. 1312).⁵⁴ In 1345 the mayor of London complained to the dean and chapter about the paucity of chantry chaplains singing masses in the cathedral in proportion to the considerable endowments that had been made.⁵⁵ It is noticeable that later Londoners who could afford to establish permanent endowed chantries seem to have chosen to set them up in their parish churches rather than in the cathedral.⁵⁶ The majority of the chantries established in St Paul's Cathedral were founded by the cathedral clergy or, occasionally, as in the case of John, duke of Lancaster, by a member of the royal family. But through their appointment of the priests to a number of the St Paul's chantries the mayor and aldermen directly influenced the composition of the personnel of the cathedral and, since the chantry priests lived together in the 'Presteshous', the men chosen by the Londoners would have played their part in forming the communal character and attitudes of the chantry priests as a group.⁵⁷

One way in which close links between the cathedral and the Londoners might have been forged would have been by the foundation of lay fraternities based in the cathedral. Such fraternities might have adopted a particular altar, or funded lights at shrines or before images of particular saints, and thus encouraged their veneration. Given the size of St Paul's and the number of chapels, the evidence for vigorous lay support is remarkably small. Only three fraternities based on St Paul's made returns to the enquiry of 1388: one dedicated to the Virgin's Assumption that met in the Lady chapel;⁵⁸ one dedicated to St Katherine and All Saints that met in

the chapel of St Katherine which was probably located on the south side of the choir;⁵⁹ and a third fraternity dedicated to All Souls which met in the chapel over the charnel house.⁶⁰ The surviving wills provide very little evidence of widespread support for these fraternities among Londoners. There are two further St Paul's fraternities to which bequests are made in fourteenth-century wills but which appear not to have made a return to the guild enquiry of 1388. These were a guild of the Resurrection (which may have been another name for the All Souls' charnel house fraternity) and a guild dedicated to St Anne which met in the crypt of the cathedral and seems to have been established by 1371.⁶¹ In this year the dean and chapter drew up an agreement with the twelve wardens and brothers of the guild who met together in the chapel of St Anne in the crypt. They were to have the key to the chapel door (entered from the outside) and were to be allowed to furnish and equip the chapel as they wished.⁶² But in spite of this formal beginning, there is only one reference to the fraternity, in a will of 1378, and no mention after that date.⁶³

The paucity of references to fraternities in St Paul's cathedral after 1400 is notable and there are few before that date. It is not that London was short of fraternities: there were hundreds of them.⁶⁴ But Londoners chose to associate with their parish churches rather than with the cathedral. In the same way the craft guilds, or companies, did not focus their religious activities on St Paul's, whereas in northern France it seems to have been common for local crafts to maintain altars in their civic cathedrals and to contribute to their construction and upkeep.⁶⁵ In London there is some evidence to suggest that certain crafts, having originally focused on a chapel in St Paul's, later divided their loyalties and established a focus in their local parish church in addition to their cathedral base. It seems likely that the fraternity dedicated to St Katherine in St Paul's that made a return to the guild enquiry in 1388 was, in fact, the original fraternity of the haberdashers. Both the wardens who drew up the return in 1388 were haberdashers but, by the early fifteenth century, the haberdashers' fraternity dedicated to St Katherine was no longer exclusively based in the cathedral but had established a link with the parish church of St Mary Staining near the company hall.⁶⁶ But the earlier link with the cathedral was revived in 1524 when the master and wardens of the Haberdashers' Company were given responsibility for the selection and remuneration of the two priests attached to Master John Dowman's chantry set up at one of the altars in the chapel of St Katherine.⁶⁷ It was, however, the tailors' craft that established the longest-lasting relationship with the cathedral.

Between 1361 and 1375 the use of a chapel by the north door of St Paul's 'halowed in thonoure of St John Baptiste' was granted by Simon Sudbury, the bishop of London, to the tailors.⁶⁸ The use of this chapel was important to the tailors and they spent considerable sums of money on its furnishings throughout the fifteenth century yet, from at least 1403, the craft was also paying for torches and fittings for a chapel in their hall some distance from St Paul's in the north-east of the city. Gradually this chapel became the more important focus of the activities of the fraternity although the merchant tailors were still paying 'the Priest at the North side of St Paul's' when the chantries were dissolved in 1548.⁶⁹ But there are some signs, that in the later fifteenth century, St Paul's may have re-captured a share of the 'craft fraternity market': the fraternity of the coopers, dedicated to the Virgin, met in the Lady chapel of St Paul's church; the armourers met in the chapel of St George, and the yeomen fraternity of the dyers chose to meet in St Paul's to distinguish themselves from the fraternity of the masters of the craft who met in the church of St James Garlickhythe.⁷⁰ It is not, however, difficult to understand why a craft fraternity would prefer to dominate the liturgical and ceremonial life of a local parish church rather than to be one among many in the vast, and comparatively distant, cathedral.

But if the Londoners were unwilling to come into the cathedral then there was some attempt to take the message out to them. In the old folkmoot area lying to the north-east of the cathedral a cross had been erected by 1241 which came to serve as an open air pulpit.⁷¹ Here 'Bulls and papal edicts were read, heretics were denounced, heresies abjured, excommunications published, great political changes made known to the people, penances performed.'⁷² Here in 1356, and again in 1357, Richard FitzRalph, the learned secular from Oxford who became archbishop of Armagh, delivered his vitriolic sermons against the friars.⁷³ Here also, twenty years later, the much less forceful Thomas Appleby, bishop of Carlisle, was attempting to preach when a riot between the goldsmiths and the pepperers in West Cheap became so intense that the wounded were stumbling into the churchyard and his preaching was, not surprisingly, disturbed.⁷⁴ In 1382 the cross was damaged by an earthquake and five years later Archbishop Courteney offered forty days indulgence to those who would help to repair it.⁷⁵ Thomas Kempe, bishop of London 1448–89, had the cross entirely rebuilt, added a roofed pulpit for preaching and adorned it with his own coat of arms.⁷⁶ By 1483 a gallery had been built along the north side of the nave wall, facing the cross, so that some

listeners, at least, might be placed in a more advantageous, and drier, place in which to hear the preacher. Before this covered gallery was built, the distinguished audience that gathered to hear the special civic sermons during Whitsun were protected from the wind and rain by a cloth, or awning, provided by one of the city sergeants.⁷⁷

The cathedral of St Paul did play a part, albeit not a large part, in civic ceremonies. On October 28th, the feast of Sts Simon and Jude, when the mayor accompanied by the aldermen and the liverymen of the crafts rode to Westminster to take his oath to the king before the Barons of the Exchequer, it was customary for the mayor, after dinner, to go from his house to the hospital of St Thomas of Acre in Cheapside, where he would meet up with the men of his livery company and the aldermen. From here they would proceed together to St Paul's, where they would go in procession into the nave of the cathedral and there pray for the soul of Bishop William (1051–75) 'who, by his entreaties, it is said, obtained from his lordship William the Conqueror, great liberties for the City of London.'⁷⁸ It should be noticed that the mayor and aldermen did not go to the cathedral to pray, or to make offerings, at the shrine of St Erkenwald but, rather, to give thanks for the relatively unsaintly bishop who had obtained an important charter for the Londoners.⁷⁹ From the nave, the mayor and aldermen would move into the churchyard and at a spot near to the graves of the parents of Thomas Becket they would pray for all the faithful departed. After this they would return through Cheapside to the church of St Thomas of Acre where they were expected each to offer a penny, and then they all went home. There were other days, all in the winter season, when the mayor and aldermen would ceremoniously attend St Paul's clothed in their liveries: the Feast of All Saints (November 1), Christmas Day, St Stephen's day (December 26), the day of St John the Evangelist (December 27), the Feast of the Circumcision (January 1), Epiphany (January 6), and the Purification of the Virgin (February 2).⁸⁰ John Carpenter, who carefully records these ceremonial visits to St Paul's notes that only on the four most important days, namely the day of the mayor's riding, Christmas, Epiphany and the Purification, were the mayor and aldermen expected to stay to hear the whole service including Compline; on the days of lesser importance they could withdraw after Vespers.

The major ceremonial linking the civic hierarchy with the cathedral took place at Whitsuntide. The three civic sermons in Easter week were preached at St Mary's Hospital, north of Bishopsgate (perhaps in

part as a fund-raising enterprise for that important London hospital) and the Mayor and Aldermen 'arrayed in their suits' (in *secta sua*) processed out of the City to hear the preachers.⁸¹ But on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday following Whitsun the mayor and aldermen led a procession of the city's rectors to the cathedral. This was an important point in the civic calendar: at Whitsun the mayor and aldermen left off their winter liveries trimmed with fur and donned their summer liveries trimmed instead with taffeta. In 1382 John Sely, a skinner and the alderman of Walbrook ward, had the temerity to appear for the procession on Whit Monday wearing a 'cloak that was single and without a lining' although the ordinance had specified, for that year, that the aldermen should wear cloaks of green lined with green taffeta. Sely was obliged to entertain all his fellow aldermen to dinner at his own cost on the following Thursday and to get his cloak duly lined.⁸² So the Whitsun processions to St Paul's on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday following Whit Sunday were important points in the civic year. John Carpenter writing in the early fifteenth century described the ceremony with considerable care:

When Monday in the feast of Pentecost had at length arrived, before dinner and between nine and ten by the clock, it was the custom for the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, arrayed in their suits, to meet in the church of St Peter upon Cornhill, as also all those of the livery of the Sheriffs, as well as of the Mayor. From which place, the Rectors of London heading the procession, those who were of the Sheriffs' livery followed, and, next to them, preceding the Mayor, those who were of his livery; after whom came the Mayor, with the Recorder and Aldermen, in order of precedence, the procession passing through Chepe to the churchyard of St Paul's. Entering this on the north side, they were there met by the officials of the church; then, passing out by the south side of the churchyard and through the close of Watlyngstrete, they entered the church by the great door on the west side; which done, they came to stand in the nave, while the hymn *Veni Creator* was chaunted by the Vicars to the music of the organ in alternate verses, an angel (i.e. a clerk dressed as an angel) meanwhile censuring from above. This ended, the Mayor and Aldermen, ascending to the altar, made their offerings; after which they returned, each to his home.⁸³

On the Tuesday and the Wednesday there were further processions, following slightly different routes and incorporating, on the Tuesday, the men of Middlesex and, on the Wednesday, the men of Essex. It is clear

that these Whitsuntide processions were important to the Londoners. Henry Barton, a skinner who had twice been mayor of London, asked to be buried in the charnel house of St Paul's and gave a large silver thurible to the cathedral, weighing 13 lbs, with the specific injunction that it was to be used to cense the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city 'and all the people here assembling' during the three Whitsuntide processions. Perhaps Barton intended that his thurible should be used by the censing angel aloft in the cathedral. But it is clear that he wanted to be remembered by his fellow Londoners and that the Whitsun procession seemed a suitable occasion.⁸⁴ Barton, who was extremely wealthy, also wanted the mayor and aldermen and most of the city's bureaucracy to attend his obit in the charnel house chapel of St Paul's on All Saints' day and also on All Souls' day following. Those who came were to be paid for their attendance and to be rewarded also with bread, wine and beer.⁸⁵ More modestly, John Watson, a brewer who died in 1522, asked to be buried near the cross in St Paul's churchyard and requested that the wardens and liverymen of his craft, when they came with the mayor and aldermen to St Paul's on Christmas Day, should 'turn towards his grave and there say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* for his soul'.⁸⁶ But the coming of the Reformation swept away the censing of processions and the offering of masses for the souls of the departed; in 1548 the Whitsuntide processions were replaced with 'three solemn sermons'.⁸⁷

It is clear that some bishops of London and deans of St Paul's were anxious to foster a closer relationship with the city. Cathedral statutes imposed extensive obligations of hospitality upon resident canons in their first year in office: they were to give two large banquets to which they invited not only the bishop and the other canons, but also the mayor and aldermen, the justices and leading royal officials 'that the liberty and honour of the Church be maintained, friendship between Church and City continue and the royal curia look more favourably at us'.⁸⁸ Bishop Braybrook (1386–1404) was assiduous in his attempts at reform: he tried to clean up the nave; he reorganised the minor canons into a college and, in 1391, he amalgamated the chantries in the cathedral in order to provide viable salaries for their priests and to encourage a better and more committed life style.⁸⁹ He may also have been concerned to revive the cult of St Erkenwald.

The shrine of St Erkenwald had been restored and enriched as part of the rebuilding work at the cathedral in the early fourteenth century.⁹⁰ But, judging from bequests in wills, the shrine of the saint only attracted

minimal support from Londoners. In 1368 Thomas Morice, a lawyer, gave a 'girdle of blew' to the shrine and in the following year William Passeware, a draper, left twenty shillings each to the two chaplains serving at the shrine in return for their prayers.⁹¹ There seems also to have been a fraternity associated with the shrine, but there are only two references to it, in 1378 and 1404.⁹² It would seem that, among his many other reforms at St Paul's, Braybrook attempted to revive the flagging interest in the saint and his shrine. In 1385 he re-established the two festivals of the saint (his burial on April 30 and the translation of his relics celebrated on November 14). These were to be kept as 'first class feasts' in the cathedral, when the parochial clergy of the diocese were expected to come to the cathedral in their copes and walk in procession with the canons and ministers of the choir of the church.⁹³ It may also have been Braybrook who commissioned the late fourteenth-century alliterative poem on the life of St Erkenwald in order to encourage an interest in his cult. It is clear that the author knew London well and had a London audience in mind. The miracles of St Erkenwald as recounted in the twelfth century *Vita* of the saint are abandoned in favour of a somber account of how a just judge who had died as a pagan is enabled to come back to life for just long enough to allow St Erkenwald to say the words of baptism.⁹⁴ The judge's uncorrupted body then instantly crumbles to dust. Clearly the story owes much to the famous account of how St Gregory (d. 604) managed to release the soul of the just Emperor Trajan (d. 117) from Hell some five hundred years after his death. It has been suggested that the author of the alliterative poem may have been Ralph Strode, the Common Sergeant of London and Chaucer's 'philosophical' friend, but whether he was or not, the writer was clearly well-acquainted with London and would seem to have a London audience in mind.⁹⁵ The miracle performed by the saint seems to be intended to encourage those who act justly on earth for they will be rewarded, albeit tardily, in heaven. Such a message may have been aimed particularly at the city's rulers, rather than the populace at large who favoured heroic and bloody tales of suffering martyrs. But whatever the intended audience, it appears not to have found a wide readership: only one manuscript of the poem survives.⁹⁶ So, although Braybrook's attempts at reforming the administration of the cathedral and its clergy may have been effective, yet he seems to have been less successful at attracting Londoners (and particularly the London governing elite at whom the Erkenwald poem may have been aimed) to support the 'mother church'. There are no recorded bequests from Londoners to the shrine of St Erkenwald after 1404,

although Bishop Robert FitzHugh, who died in 1435, left to the shrine the ring which he had received from the Doge of Venice.⁹⁷

While Thomas More was dean (1406–21) the cloister around the Pardon churchyard lying to the north of the cathedral was rebuilt and John Carpenter, who was the common clerk of the city from 1417 until 1438, apparently paid for a series of painted boards to hang in the cloister, depicting the Dance of Death or the *Dance Macabre*. The idea seems to have come from Paris, where the cloister walls of the church of the Holy Innocents were painted in 1424 with frescoes showing Death leading members from all levels of society in a grim final dance. The paintings were accompanied by a French poem and in 1430 Carpenter appears to have commissioned John Lydgate (who had been in Paris in 1426) to produce an English version of the poem, which was inscribed on the panels in the cloister at St Paul's. Although the cloister with the painted panels was pulled down in 1549, Lydgate's poem has survived in several versions.⁹⁸ It is not easy to explain why John Carpenter chose to make this particular benefaction: his will of 1441 makes no reference to St Paul's and so it does not appear that he had any particular affection for the cathedral. He did not choose to be buried in the Pardon churchyard but elected to be buried in his parish church of St Peter Cornhill.⁹⁹ It is possible that he commissioned the paintings and the verses in his capacity as executor for Richard Whittington, for he spent some of Whittington's money at about this time on enlarging the endowment of the chantry chapel over the charnel house at St Paul's.¹⁰⁰ Whether the painting and the verses would have attracted Londoners to the cathedral, or discouraged them, is difficult to assess: the poet certainly included a mayor, artisans, merchants, and burghesses along with the nobility and clergy in the deadly dance.

Bishop Thomas Kempe (1448–89) seems, like Braybrook, to have been active in attempting to attract Londoners to the cathedral. His efforts to renovate the stone cross in the churchyard and to develop it as an open air pulpit have already been noted.¹⁰¹ But he went further than this: presumably he noticed that the fraternities in the cathedral, by comparison with their great popularity in the city's parish churches, were poorly supported in St Paul's. None of them seems to have attracted any local support by the middle years of the fifteenth century. It may, therefore, have been Kempe's idea (certainly it occurred during his episcopate) to establish a new fraternity in the eastern crypt of the cathedral dedicated to the new, and widely popular, cult of the Name of Jesus. If it was Kempe's idea, then it was also strongly supported by Dean Thomas Lisieux (1441–56)

who, in his will, asked to be buried in the crypt of St Paul's near to the Jesus altar and he also provided for the establishment of a chantry at the Jesus altar (which was never realised).¹⁰² That a fraternity dedicated to the Holy Name was established in the crypt is suggested by the 1455 will of the mercer, Thomas Bataille, who left forty shillings to 'my Bretherhode of Jhu in the crypt of St Paul's' and the fraternity received letters patent in 1459 confirming its organisation and officers. Membership was open to men and women.¹⁰³ But the fraternity appears not to have flourished strongly. There are comparatively few bequests to it recorded in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Whatever the intentions of the founders of the mid-fifteenth century, the guild does not appear to have attracted wide support to the cathedral at this time.

There was a final attempt to win the Londoners to the support of the cathedral made by Dean Colet (1505–19) who was himself the son of a successful London mercer, Henry Colet. Dean Colet, like Bishop Braybrook at the end of the fourteenth century, was an energetic reformer.¹⁰⁵ In 1518 he drew up new rules governing all the cathedral clergy. He imposed especially strict rules on the fifty or so chantry chaplains who served in the cathedral and insisted that they should be of good character and personally examined by the dean before they were instituted to office. They were also to be learned, to show musical ability and they were to read the new statutes and take an oath to observe them. They were, moreover, to accept no additional stipends and were to attend divine service in the cathedral at all the greater feasts. Those who were 'secutores chori' were to take part in the daily services of the cathedral and to live together in St Peter's College. They were not to wander around the city nor to leave it without the express permission of the dean. Colet was attempting both to raise the standard of divine service in the cathedral and also to improve the reputation of the cathedral in the city.¹⁰⁶ In his famous Convocation sermon, Colet called the wider church to reform.¹⁰⁷ The foundering fraternity of the Holy Name in the crypt of his cathedral also attracted his attention. In 1507 he bought a new record book for the fraternity and reorganised it with new ordinances regulating the officers, finances, membership, and purposes. The main thrust of Colet's reforms was to improve and enhance the celebration of the services in the cathedral and, in particular, the services for the feast of the Transfiguration on 6 August and the feast of the Name of Jesus celebrated on the following day when the canons, the vicars choral, and the choristers were all encouraged to attend. There was, moreover, to be a Jesus mass celebrated every Friday.

So the quality of the music was to be improved as was the appearance of the chapel. The Londoners were to be drawn in, not only as brothers and sisters of the fraternity, but the services were also to be widely advertised in the city: the London waits, dressed in a special livery and equipped with a banner 'with the cognizance of Jesus' were to proclaim the two special feasts throughout London. On the day before the feast of the Holy Name a bonfire was to be lit in the churchyard near to the door which led down into the Jesus chapel in the crypt. On the day itself the chapel was to be decorated with greenery and herbs and the brothers and sisters who attended the services were to feast on bread and ale. By these reforms Colet was clearly attempting to harness the wealth and the piety of the Londoners to the needs, both physical and liturgical, of the cathedral. He seems to have been successful. The reformed guild was both prestigious and wealthy with a yearly turnover of some £200 derived from the sales, throughout England, of 'the devotions' of the fraternity, that is of the daily prayers which were said there for named persons. The surviving sixteenth-century records reveal strong support among the Londoners, in particular, members of the wax chandlers' company and, most notably, the rich and prosperous mercers.¹⁰⁸ The fraternity flourished until the Dissolution of the Chantries in 1548 and was, most unusually, refounded in Mary's reign, albeit in a new form and closely linked to the stationers' company.¹⁰⁹

Colet attempted to bridge the divide between the cathedral and the city in another way. In 1512 he reformed the long-established grammar school associated with the cathedral. Responding to the rising demand not only for education, but also for a more humanist education, he reorganised the school, enlarged it to provide for 150 boys, provided some free places, and inserted the study of Greek into the curriculum. Colet also encouraged the boys to take on the role of bishops at the customary St Nicholas feast and to preach sermons, presumably as a means of practicing their Latin rhetoric.¹¹⁰ From the wealth inherited from his father, he provided the school with new premises on the east side of St Paul's churchyard, which comprised a school house, a chapel, and a house for the master and 'other offices'.¹¹¹ The significance of this endowment lies in the fact that Colet made over this property, not to the dean and canons of the cathedral, but to the master and wardens of the mercers' company. It was to be this city company that would run the school for boys at St Paul's Cathedral. Only a dean with the intellectual and financial clout of John Colet could have removed the education of boys at St Paul's Cathedral outside the control of the church.

It is right to see an ambiguity in the relations between the City of London and St Paul's cathedral: an intimate link on the one hand and a distant relationship on the other. But, in spite of the efforts of Bishop Braybrook and Bishop Kempe and Dean Colet, and of some Londoners like the skinner Henry Barton, it seems that indifference triumphed over intimacy.¹¹² The Londoners displayed conventional and correct sentiments towards their cathedral church: they went there with their heads and with their feet but their hearts were truly engaged with their parish churches, where they enthusiastically contributed towards their rebuilding and refurbishment, where they founded chantries, joined fraternities and, in the end, chose to be buried.

NOTES

¹ C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', in W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins (eds), *A History of St Paul's Cathedral and the Men Associated with it* (London, 1957), pp. 1–99.

² Geoffrey Yeo, 'Record-keeping at St Paul's Cathedral', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 8 (1986), pp. 30–44; for an account of the preliminary work on the new history see, Centre for Metropolitan History, *Annual Report 1998–99*, pp. 19–23.

³ Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Ninth Report* (1883), part 1, Appendix, pp. 1–72.

⁴ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St Paul's* (London, 1881); *idem.*, *Gleanings from Old St Paul's* (London, 1889), and *idem.*, *St Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life* (London, 1894).

⁵ Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', p. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁷ See John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (rev. edn., Gloucester, 1984), pp. 242–5.

⁸ *London's Lost Map* (London, 1998): leaflet issued at the exhibition of the copperplate map from Dessau held at the Museum of London, The spire of the Cathedral was burnt in 1561 and not rebuilt before the Great Fire of 1666.

⁹ Simpson, *Chapters*, chapter 2.

¹⁰ Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', p. 53; in the thirteenth century these canons each consumed rations of 21 loaves of bread and 30 gallons of ale a week, *ibid.*, p. 60; Simpson, *Chapters*, pp. 31–37.

¹¹ The Minor Canons were incorporated in 1394 and statutes for their common life were issued in 1396, see W. Sparrow Simpson, 'The Charters and Statutes of the College of the Minor Canons in St Paul's Cathedral, London', *Archaeologia*,

43 (1871), pp. 165–200; also published separately in the same year, and then reprinted in *idem.*, *Gleanings*, chapter 1.

¹² Adam de Bury, mayor of London, who died in 1385, left lands to endow a chantry chapel served by three chaplains ‘near the north door of St Paul’s behind the cross before the altar of the Blessed Mary Magdalen about to be erected there’, R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Hustings, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688*, 2 vols (London, 1889–90), ii, p. 254. This chapel was later augmented by Roger Holme (Chancellor of St Paul’s, d. 1395) and Adam de Bury’s name was lost sight of in favour of that of Roger Holme, whose name was attached to the College in which the chantry priests lived, *ibid.*, p. 254 n. 2; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, p. 59. I am grateful to Marie-Hélène Rousseau for information about the chantries in St Paul’s cathedral which she will be publishing as part of her University of London PhD dissertation.

¹³ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, pp. 52–7, and see W. Sparrow Simpson, *St Paul’s Cathedral and Old City Life*, chapter 5; Brooke has pointed out that in 1366 although many of the chantry priests were pluralists yet, since they often held livings in the city, they were not physically absent, ‘The Earliest Times to 1485’, pp. 75–6. Such pluralism would have reinforced the links between the cathedral and the city.

¹⁴ See A. F. Leach, ‘St Paul’s School before Colet’, *Archaeologia*, 62 (1910), pp. 191–238; E. Rickert in ‘Chaucer at School’, *Modern Philology*, 29 (1932), pp. 257–74, esp. p. 260, points out that there were eight boys in the Almonry school, but it is not known how many would have attended the grammar school.

¹⁵ R. Macleod, ‘The Topography of St Paul’s Precinct, 1200–1500’, *London Topographical Record*, 26 (1990), pp. 1–14, esp. pp. 4–6.

¹⁶ Brooke, ‘The Earliest Times to 1485’, p. 93. It has been estimated that the household of Dean William Worsley (1477–99) numbered between 20 and 30 people. I am grateful to Dr Hannes Kleineke and Stephanie Hovland for this information, which will appear in more detail in their edition of *The Household Accounts of William Worsley Dean of St Paul’s 1479–97* (Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2003).

¹⁷ L. H. Butler, ‘Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London (1381–1404) and his Kinsmen’, Oxford University D. Phil. 1951, p. 254 and Appendix B, ‘Itinerary of Bishop Braybrook 1382–1401’, pp. 560–625. Even when Braybrook was not in his London palace, he was usually at Fulham or Stepney. Similarly Bishops William Gray (1425–31), Robert FitzHugh (1431–36) and Robert Gilbert (1436–48) appear rarely to have left the diocese and were frequently in London, see Irene Zadnik, ‘The Administration of the Diocese of London: Bishops William Gray, Robert FitzHugh and Robert Gilbert (1426–1448)’, Cambridge University PhD 1993, pp. 228–56, Appendix 5, pp. 270–82.

¹⁸ Folkmoots were held in 1227 and 1242, H. M. Chew and M. Weinbaum (eds), *The London Eyre of 1244*, London Record Society, 6 (1970), pp. 16, 63; G. A. Williams, *Medieval London from Commune to Capital* (London, 1963), pp.

35–6; H. M. Cam, *The Eyre of London: 14 Edward II, A.D. 1321*, 2 vols, Selden Society, LI (1968), p. 32.

¹⁹ Macleod, 'The Topography of St Paul's Precinct', pp 10–11; for the dates at which the walls around the precinct were built, see M. D. Lobel, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times until c. 1520*, The British Atlas of Historic Towns, vol. iii (Oxford, 1989), p. 92.

²⁰ H. T. Riley (ed.), *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London, 1868), p. 76.

²¹ C[orporation of] L[ondon] R[ecord] O[ffice], 28 January, 11 March 1445, 7 October 1446, Journal 4 fol. 60v., 69, 142; 13 and 20 December 1454, Journal 5, fol. 212, 214.

²² Calculated from Sharpe, *Husting Wills*, volume ii (see note 12).

²³ Jessica Freeman, 'Middlesex in the Fifteenth Century: Community or Communities?' in M. Hicks (ed.), *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 89–103, esp. p. 102.

²⁴ *Husting Wills*, i, 652; see Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670* (Cambridge, 2002), 90–91.

²⁵ See R. A. Wood, 'Poor Widows, c. 1393–1415' in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton (eds), *Medieval London Widows 1300–1500* (London, 1994), p. 57; J. Stratford, 'Joan Buckland (d. 1462)', *ibid.*, pp. 114, 117, 122, 128.

²⁶ CLRO, Husting Roll 195 (44); see also Vivienne Lee, 'The Life and Benefactions of John Hatherle, Mayor and Alderman of London', Royal Holloway, University of London, MA thesis, 1998.

²⁷ Gilbert de Bruera (dean 1335–1354), *Husting Wills*, i, p. 682; John Colet (dean 1505–1519), *ibid.*, ii, p. 640; Alan de Hotham (prebendary of Sneating 1331–1352), *ibid.*, i, p. 660; Hugh of St Edmund (canon d. 1264), *ibid.*, i, p. 9; James of Abbyngworth (canon d. 1275), *ibid.*, i, p. 19; Ralph Dunioun (canon d. 1286), *ibid.*, i, p. 77; Martin Elys (minor canon d. 1393), *ibid.*, ii, pp. 304–6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 305.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 640.

³⁰ J. M. Horn, comp., John le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*, vol. v, *St Paul's London* (London, 1963), pp. 26, 57; S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor, paperback, 1962), pp. 325, 366.

³¹ *Fasti Ecclesiae*, p. 27; Butler, 'Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London', pp. 291–2; *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 385.

³² C. M. Woolgar (ed.), *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, Part ii, (Oxford, 1993), pp. 695–6.

³³ Butler, 'Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London', pp. 305–6, 407–12; *Husting Wills*, ii, pp. 330–31.

³⁴ Butler, 'Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London', pp. 130–41, 487, 525.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 130–41.

³⁷ Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, p. 721; see footnote 16.

³⁸ D. Keene and V. Harding, *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London before the Great Fire* (London Record Society, 1985), pp. 40–49. For the estates of the dean and chapter outside London, see Brooke, ‘The Earliest Times to 1485’, pp. 60–65.

³⁹ These churches were: St Antholin, St Augustine by Paul’s Gate, St Benet Gracechurch, St Benet Thames Street, St Botolph Billingsgate, St Faith, St Giles Cripplegate, St Gregory, St John Zachary, St Martin Orgar, St Mary Aldermanbury, St Mary Magdalen Fish Street, St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St Michael Bassishaw, St Michael le Querne, St Olave Bread Street, St Olave Silver Street, St Peter le Poer, and St Peter the Less, compiled from G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898). A slightly different list of 21 churches is printed ‘from a St Paul’s codex’ in Sir William Dugdale, *A History of St Paul’s Cathedral*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1818), p. 371.

⁴⁰ Brooke, ‘The Earliest Times to 1485’, p. 75.

⁴¹ Calculated from Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*.

⁴² E.g. H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway (eds), *London Assize of Nuisance 1301–1431* (London Record Society, 1973), cases in 1304, 1316, 1318, 1370, 1371; H. M. Chew (ed.), *London Possessory Assizes: A Calendar* (London Record Society, 1965), cases in 1401, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1433.

⁴³ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *C[alendar of] L[etter] B[ooks] of the City of London: Letter Book K* (London, 1911), p. 120.

⁴⁴ E.g. in February 1368 Thomas de Grantham promised to pay a debt to Thomas de Aston, clerk, at Michaelmas following in ‘St Paul’s Church’, A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364–1381* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 111; in July an acquittance was drawn up ‘in the cathedral church of St Paul’, A. H. Thomas (ed.) *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413–1437* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 144–5; in August 1445 Thomas Morestede sold and released the manor of Theydon Gernon in Essex to Elisabeth Cobham at the ‘fonte in Poulys church’; in a case before the Mayor and Aldermen in July 1454 the plaintiff urged his right to summon witnesses in his support ‘of good name and fame, not suspect, nor common jurors, nor usually sworn as witnesses at St Paul’s or elsewhere’, P. E. Jones (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1437–1457* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 82, 150; c.f. W. Sparrow Simpson, *St Paul’s Cathedral and Old City Life*, p. 81; Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, p. 89.

⁴⁵ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *LBE* (London, 1903), p. 38.

⁴⁶ R. C. Fowler (ed.), *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport et Stephani Gravesend, Episcoporum Londoniensium* (Canterbury and York Society, 1911), pp. 145–6; 1411, Riley, *Memorials*, p. 580.

⁴⁷ See a case in 1328 when a dispute between hopeful occupants of a prebend in the Cathedral led to a fight between their supporters, A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1323–1364* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 55 and n.

⁴⁸ A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Select Plea and Memoranda of the City of London 1381–1412* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 228–30; see also C. M. Barron, ‘The

Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392–7', in F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. M. Barron (eds), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), pp. 173–201, esp. pp. 174–7 [reprinted as Chapter 2 in the present volume]; see also D. D. Rollenhagen, 'Londoners at Law: Justice, Public Honor and Private Interest in the Reign of Richard II', Cambridge MPhil, 1993, pp. 20–24.

⁴⁹ The vergers' statutes were drawn up when Ralph de Baldock was dean (1294–1304) and revised in the time of Thomas Lisieux (1441–1456), see W. Sparrow Simpson, *Gleanings*, pp. 79–83.

⁵⁰ For Braybrook's letter, see W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis* (London, 1873), pp. 391–2. The mayor of London had earlier, in 1327, forbidden the use of stone-bows and arbalests to shoot at pigeons and other birds perched on St Paul's because of the damage caused to the windows, and to passers-by, A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1323–1364* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 36.

⁵¹ See Lucy Sandler, 'The Chantry of Roger of Waltham in Old St Paul's' in *The Medieval English Cathedral*, pp. 168–190.

⁵² W. Sparrow Simpson, *St Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life*, chapter 5; *idem.*, 'On a Newly-Discovered Manuscript Containing Statutes Compiled by Dean Colet for the Government of the Chantry Priests and Other Clergy in St Paul's', *Archaeologia*, LII (1890), pp. 145–74; Nichola Gear, 'The Chantries in St Paul's Cathedral', Royal Holloway, University of London, MA Dissertation 1996, pp. 7–5, 84–7.

⁵³ This joint chantry was later augmented by John Carpenter acting in his capacity as executor of Richard Whittington, see note 100 below. The foundation of all the chantries in St Paul's Cathedral will be studied in considerable detail in the London PhD thesis of Marie-Helene Rousseau. I am grateful to her for sharing her research on this subject with me.

⁵⁴ Sir John de Pulteney, draper, had been four times mayor of London and died in the plague in 1349, Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 361; *Husting Wills*, i, pp. 609–611; HMC, *Ninth Report*, p. 47a; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, p. 53; city appointments to Pulteney's chantry in *LBI*, pp. 45–6; *LBK*, pp. 191, 239; *LBL*, pp. 19, 71, 191, 260, 288; city appointments to Benyn's chantry are recorded in *LBI*, p. 194; *LBK*, pp. 60, 115, 373; *LBL*, pp. 156, 271; to Guildford's chantry in *LBH*, pp. 315, 338; *LBK*, pp. 58, 122–3; *LBL*, pp. 161, 233; William de Melford, archdeacon of Colchester and a canon of St Paul's who died in 1336 established a chantry in the cathedral which was also, later, administered by the mayor and aldermen of London, *Husting Wills*, i, p. 424, HMC, *Ninth Report*, p. 46b; *LBK*, p. 191; *LBL*, pp. 71, 191, 260, 288.

⁵⁵ Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 224–5.

⁵⁶ The parish of St Mary at Hill had, by the end of the fifteenth century, six or seven perpetual chantries, see C. Burgess, 'Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century', in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford,

1996), pp. 247–9.

⁵⁷ Rosalind Hill 'A Chanterie for Souls: London Chantries in the Reign of Richard II'; in Du Boulay and Barron, *The Reign of Richard II*, pp. 242–55, p. 244; W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum*, p. 236; Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', p. 75.

⁵⁸ PRO C47/41/187; John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), i, p. 641; in 1466 William Wykes of Southwark left £40 to the brotherhood of the Virgin in St Paul's, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, i, p. 195; in the Chantry return of 1548 there is a reference to a keeper of the light of the BVM, but not to a fraternity, Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, p. 222.

⁵⁹ PRO C47/41/200; J. Strype, *John Stow's Survey of London*, i, pp. 641, 653. In 1380 John de Wendelyngburgh, a pouchmaker, left a bequest to the fraternity which may have been the guild of the associated craft of haberdashers, *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 223, see footnote 66.

⁶⁰ PRO C47/42/209a and b; Strype, *Stow*, i, p. 643. In 1392 William de Lincoln, a saddler, left a bequest to the fraternity of the 'charnell' in St Paul's churchyard, *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 302.

⁶¹ London citizens made bequests to this fraternity in 1376, 1383, 1393, *Husting Wills*, ii, pp. 157, 246, 303.

⁶² GL MS 25121/513; I am grateful to Dave Rollenhagen for this reference and for providing me with a copy of his edited translation. See also W. Dugdale, *St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 76.

⁶³ Will of Walter Potenhale, woodmonger, *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 203.

⁶⁴ C. M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *The Church in Pre-reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 25. [Reprinted as Chapter 6 in the present volume.]

⁶⁵ Note, for instance, the windows funded by the different urban crafts at Chartres, Sées, and Rouen.

⁶⁶ I. Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (Chichester, 1991), p. 10; this suggestion is reinforced by the bequest in 1380 by John de Wendelyngburgh, a pouchmaker (a craft closely associated with the haberdashers) to the fraternity of St Katherine in St Paul's church, *Husting Wills*, ii, pp. 222–3.

⁶⁷ The chantry was established under the will of William Barbe, fishmonger, dated 26 February 1525, see Guildhall Library, St Paul's MS 25, 271/73 (reference kindly supplied by Marie-Helene Rousseau); see also Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, pp. 54, 91.

⁶⁸ M. Davies, 'The Tailors of London and their Guild, c.1300–1500', Oxford DPhil 1994, pp. 9–22.

⁶⁹ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, p. 87.

⁷⁰ P. Maryfield, 'Love as Brethren': *A Quincentennial History of the Coopers' Company* (London, 2000), p. 10; for the armourers, see *CPR 1452–1461*, p. 108; for the dyers, see will of William Watfield, dyer, 1474, Commissary will, Guildhall

Library MS 9171/6 f. 166. I am grateful to John Oldland for this reference.

⁷¹ Lobel, *City of London*, p. 92; Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, p. 87.

⁷² W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters*, p. 152.

⁷³ Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', p. 69.

⁷⁴ Riley, *Memorials*, p. 415.

⁷⁵ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters*, pp. 152–5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* John Stow records that William Littlebry (alias Horne) a salter who died in 1487 left 4d to each preacher 'at Paules Crosse' which legacy, he sourly notes, 'was not performed', *Survey*, i, pp. 246, 331.

⁷⁷ The gallery can be clearly seen in the painting of St Paul's now at the Society of Antiquaries. In 1420 William Wilkoc was granted the office of measuring oysters at Queenhythe with the customary remuneration, but he was bound to suspend a cloth over the mayor and aldermen when they went to hear sermons in St Paul's churchyard, Sharpe, *LBL*, p. 231; in 1457 and 1461 it was the valet of the City's Sergeant of the Channel who was responsible for the awning, *CLRO Journal* 6, ff. 123v, 49.

⁷⁸ H. T. Riley (ed.), *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London* (London, 1861), p. 24.

⁷⁹ Bishop William appears to have been instrumental in securing William I's charter of privileges for London soon after William's coronation, see C. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), pp. 28–29; D. Bates (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acts of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford, 1998), p. 593 no. 180.

⁸⁰ *Liber Albus*, p. 25; John Stow, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, records that the mayor of London went, accompanied, to St Paul's on All Souls' day (November 1), Christmas, St Stephen's day, St John's day, January 1, Epiphany and the Purification, *Survey*, ii, p. 190; see W. Sparrow Simpson, *St Paul's and Old City Life*, chapter 3.

⁸¹ Christopher Thomas, Barney Sloane and Christopher Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London* (London, 1997), p. 127.

⁸² Riley, *Memorials*, p. 466; cf. *Liber Albus*, p. 26.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Agreement about the use of Barton's silver thurible between the dean and chapter of St Paul's and the rector of St Stephen's Walbrook, 30 July 1429; HMC, *Ninth Report*, ix, p. 31b; W. Sparrow Simpson, *St Paul's and Old City Life*, p. 62.

⁸⁵ Barton drew up his will 31 July 1434 and it was proved 18 June 1435; much of the will is translated in J. E. Price, *A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall of the City of London* (London, 1886), pp. 123–5; see also Stow, *Survey*, i, p. 330.

⁸⁶ *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 649.

⁸⁷ CLRO Letter Book Q. f. 94v., cited by W. Sparrow Simpson, *St Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life*, p. 83.

⁸⁸ See Statutes from the time of Baldock 1305 and Lisieux, 1450, cited in Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', p. 87.

⁸⁹ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Gleanings*, chapter 1; *idem.*, *St Paul's and Old City Life*, pp. 99–101; *idem.*, *Registrum Statutorum*, pp. 142–54; Hill, 'London Chantries', p. 244.

⁹⁰ See Jenny Johnson, 'Medieval London and Saint Erkenwald', MA thesis 1993, Royal Holloway, University of London, pp. 11–13.

⁹¹ *Husting Wills*, ii, pp. 107–9, 139; in 1374, Richard Russell, a maker of paternoster beads, also made a bequest to the shrine, *ibid.*, p. 160; Richard de Preston, a grocer, who died in 1391 left £40 to the old work of St Paul's and his best sapphire jewel to the shrine of the saint to help those with 'infirmities of the eyes', Guildhall Library, Commissary Will Register, MS 9171/1 f. 234; Dugdale, *History of St Paul's*, p. 16.

⁹² Walter Potenhale, a woodmonger, made a bequest to the lights of the fraternity of St Erkenwald in 1378, *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 203; Nicholas Hotot bequeathed 13s. 4d. to the fraternity in 1404, Archdeaonry wills, Guildhall Library MS.9051/1 f.

⁹³ 26 November 1385, the feasts to be observed; 21 April 1386, 40 days' indulgence to those who observed them; 14 May 1393, mandate for the parochial clergy to walk in the procession, W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum*, pp. 393, 394; *idem.*, *Documents Illustrating the History of St Paul's Cathedral* (Camden Society, 1880), pp. 15–24, HMC, *Ninth Report*, p. 53a.

⁹⁴ See *St Erkenwald*, ed. Ruth Morse (Brewer, 1975); see also Eamon Duffy, 'St Erkenwald: London's Cathedral Saint and his Legend', in *The Medieval English Cathedral*, pp. 150–67.

⁹⁵ *Saint Erkenwald*, ed. I. Gollancz (Oxford, 1922), pp. lx–lxi; see Johnson, 'Saint Erkenwald', chapter 4, and Duffy, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–67.

⁹⁶ B.L., Harley MS 2250.

⁹⁷ Zadnik, 'Administration of the Diocese of London', p. 248.

⁹⁸ Stow, *Survey*, i, pp. 109, 329–30; Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, 101–102; D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1970), pp. 177–9; F. Warren and B. White (eds), *The Dance of Death* (EETS, 1931); Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1425', p. 65.

⁹⁹ For Carpenter's will, see T. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (London, 1856), pp. 131–44.

¹⁰⁰ See, J. Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London, 1968), p. 7 n. 1.

¹⁰¹ See above and note 76.

¹⁰² For a detailed account of the fraternity, see Elizabeth A. New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with Special Reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London c. 1450–1553', University of London, PhD, 1999, esp. pp. 38, 108–10; Thomas Kempe in his will drawn up in 1488 asked to be buried in St Paul's and established a chantry there, but he made no reference to the fraternity of the Name of Jesus, PRO, PCC will Prob 11/8 f. 226v–228v (information kindly supplied by Dr New).

¹⁰³ New, 'Cult of the Holy Name', pp. 110–11; that the fraternity had a

musical and liturgical purpose is suggested by the provision in the Letters Patent for 'clerks and boys' to serve there, *CPR 1452-61*, p. 480.

¹⁰⁴ William Gregory, skinner and mayor, left 6s. 8d. to the fraternity in 1465 to pray for his soul, see J. S. Gairdner (ed.), *Historical Collections of a London Citizen* (Camden Soc., 1876), p. xlv; Robert Botiller, citizen and goldsmith left 40s. to the brothers and sisters of the guild in 1470, see W. Sparrow Simpson, 'On the Parish of St Peter Cheap, in the city of London from 1392 to 1633', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 24 (1868), p. 253; Thomas Podyngton, fishmonger, left the torches from his funeral service to the fraternity in 1485, *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 588; there are a further eleven bequests to the fraternity between 1461 and 1505 (information kindly supplied by Dr New).

¹⁰⁵ See E. F. Carpenter, 'The Reformation; 1485-1660', in Matthews and Atkins, *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 100-171, esp. pp. 106-16.

¹⁰⁶ The new rules printed by Sparrow Simpson in *Archaeologia*, LII (1890), pp. 145-74; see also *idem.*, *St Paul's and Old City Life*, chapter 5; Dugdale, *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 360-67.

¹⁰⁷ For the text of the sermon, see C. H. Williams (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, vol. 5, 1485-1588 (London, 1967), pp. 652-60; C. Harper-Bill, 'Dean Colet's Convocation Sermon and the Pre-Reformation Church in England', *History*, 73 (1988), pp. 191-210.

¹⁰⁸ E. New, 'Cult of the Holy Name', pp. 122-36.

¹⁰⁹ Ian Gadd, 'The Guild of Jesus and the Incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557', paper read to the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 1 July 1998.

¹¹⁰ See J. G. Nichols (ed.), 'Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop' in *Camden Miscellany* (Camden Series, n.s. 14, 1875), pp. 1-34; Shulamith Shahar, 'The Boy Bishop's Feast: A Case-Study in Church Attitudes towards Children in the High and Late Middle Ages', in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood* (Ecclesiastical History Society, 1994), pp. 243-60.

¹¹¹ See Colet's will drawn up in 1514, *Husting Wills*, ii, p. 640.

¹¹² In the six volumes of the Journals of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council covering the years 1416-1462 (with a gap between 1429 and 1436) in the Corporation of London Record Office there are a total of only twelve references to St Paul's cathedral and, of these, five refer to a single dispute over the dean and chapter's attempt to erect some bars at the top of Ludgate Hill, see note 21.

Chapter 8

The Travelling Saint: Zita of Lucca and England

UNLIKE SEVERAL OF THE English saints whose visibility has been discreetly reduced in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, St Zita of Lucca was a real and verifiable person. Born at Monsagrati in the hills north of Lucca in about 1218 she early displayed signs of distinctive piety.¹ At the age of twelve she moved into the town of Lucca to take up work as a servant/housekeeper of the wealthy Faitinelli family who lived in a house (which is still standing) near the church of San Frediano. Here her sanctity developed: she carried out acts of practical charity, helping pilgrims, the destitute and those condemned to death. Among her daily tasks she found time for prayer and for fasting. Zita was probably not an ideal servant for she prayed as she worked and this sometimes led to 'sub-standard' housework.² She avoided amorous relationships with her fellow servants (or anyone for that matter) and remained a virgin all her life.³ A scientific examination of her mummified remains suggests that she experienced severe malnutrition in her childhood and tuberculosis after her arrival in Lucca. Her work in the kitchen left a legacy of carbon deposits in her lungs.⁴ But, in spite of this, she regularly attended her local church of San Frediano (a house of regular canons) and was accustomed there to pray before a painting of the crucified Christ flanked by the Virgin and St John which is still to be seen in the church. Her employers, having at first been unenthusiastic about her religious fervor, in the end promoted Zita's activities and allowed her the freedom to travel to various holy sites in the region.⁵ There is evidence also that her diet improved in her later years: perhaps as her employers came to value the *ancilla dei* in their household.⁶

When Zita died on 27 April 1278 the Faitinelli family paid for her funeral and large crowds gathered attempting to secure relics. Almost at once miracles began to occur at her tomb and in 1278 these were gathered together and recorded by a notary of the Faitinelli family, 'Faytinellus Melioris'.⁷ In 1321 the family built a chapel at the church of San Frediano and had an altar dedicated there to 'saint' Zita. In the 1370s, a century after

Zita's death, the family, in anticipation of the hoped-for translation of the saint's relics, embellished the chapel yet further and provided a new altar and reliquary. Conveniently, perhaps, some new miracles were recorded in 1380. And while the family pressed for confirmation of the cult of the 'saint' they developed the chapel as their own family mausoleum, erecting an expensive marble balustrade in 1412.⁸ This appropriation of the chapel as a private mausoleum caused some friction with the canons of San Frediano, but a compromise was finally reached whereby the family could choose the 'rector' of the chapel, but he had to be one of the canons of the church.⁹ Finally in 1519 Pope Leo X sent a bull to Antonio Faitinelli in which he authorised the celebration of the feast of Beata Zita in the church of San Frediano on 27 April as a 'major double'.¹⁰ In this way, Zita's sanctity, strongly attested and recognised locally, was confirmed at Rome, although she was not formally canonized until 1696. It was then accepted that she had been popularly recognised as a saint for many years and her name was finally added to the Roman Martyrology in 1748. So, by the end of the seventeenth century her cult in Lucca (and elsewhere) had been flourishing for 400 years. Remarkably, for 200 of those years, between the mid fourteenth and the mid sixteenth centuries, her cult had developed strongly in England, where there seems to have been more enthusiasm for Zita than anywhere else in Europe apart from Lucca itself. This is a surprising phenomenon and worthy of some examination. Several historians have studied the movement of pilgrims and intercessors over long distances to visit the shrines of venerated and miracle-working saints.¹¹ The survival of pilgrim badges far from their place of origin also bears witness to the movement of pilgrims across Europe.¹² But what we have in the case of St Zita is not the movement of pilgrims, nor the movement of relics, but the movement of the cult itself. While the *body* of the saint remained securely in the church of St Frediano in Lucca and attracted a modest local following, the *cult* of the saint leaped across the Alps, and the French and German lands, and settled firmly in England. How and why did Zita's cult only reach England, and why was it so popular?

It should be said that domestic saints like Zita, although common in Italy and, to a lesser extent, in other parts of Europe, were not much in evidence in England where saints, after the Norman conquest, seem to have been drawn very much from the upper ranks of society: Edward the Confessor, Thomas Becket, Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster, Edward II, and Henry VI.¹³ The English popular cults seem to have made saints out of political figures (usually failures) or clerics, rather than ser-

vants, let alone women servants. But in Europe the female household saint was common and the role of such saints has been helpfully studied by Michael Goodich.¹⁴ In northern Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were Notburga of Rottenburg and Margaret of Louvain, but there are many more to be found in Italy. Apart from Zita herself, there was Margaret of Città di Castello, Sibillina Biscossi of Pavia, Veridiana Attavanti of Castelfiorentino, Oringa of Santa Croce sull'Arno and Jane of Orvieto. Goodich points out some common features of the lives and cults of these servant-saints: the role played by the servants' employers in promoting the cult, often for their own political reasons; the popular enthusiasm which followed the death of the saint; the attention paid to the post-mortem miracles which show the 'rural, female constituency of the servant saint'; and the appearance of some opposition to the cult, perhaps fostered by those opposed politically to the employers of the servant saint.¹⁵

So Zita's style of sanctity was not uncommon in thirteenth-century Italy, which may explain why her cult did not develop far outside her own city since every city had a servant saint of its own. But the promotion of cults within Italian city states depended upon the patronage of a particular local family and also upon the civic politics of the time. The apparent revival of interest by the Faitinelli family in the cult of 'their' servant saint in the last quarter of the fourteenth century coincides with a period in which they were active in the political life of Lucca, having been in exile in Venice while Lucca fell under the influence of Pisa.¹⁶ So Zita was useful to the Faitinelli family. She may also have been useful to the canons of San Frediano for it must have been advantageous to them to have a saint of their own who could begin to challenge the long-established cult (on which more below) of the Volta Santa in the cathedral of St Martin in Lucca. From the early fourteenth century Zita's cult was recognised by the city commune. The city statutes as early as 1308 called for a guard to be placed around the church of San Frediano on the vigil of her feast. By the middle of the century the civic accounts record official payments made at her shrine during her festival, and it would seem that her feast was recognised as a public holiday in Lucca.¹⁷ Indeed Zita's identification with her native city was so complete that Dante in *The Inferno* could identify a man from Lucca simply as 'an elder of Santa Zita'.¹⁸

But the evidence for the existence of the cult elsewhere in Italy is very slim. Vauchez asserts that the cult of Zita was propagated throughout Italy by the Friars Minor and the Dominicans but his evidence for this appears to be the single statement made in 1411 by a Dominican, brother

Thomas of Siena, that many Dominicans in the church of S. Crisostomi in Venice preached about the life and good works of Beata Zita.¹⁹ This may, however, simply reflect the presence of the Faitinelli family in exile in Venice for a large part of the fourteenth century. It is clear, in fact, that the cult was highly localised. Apart from England where references to Zita are very numerous, there is only scant evidence for her cult outside Lucca in the medieval period. In the fifteenth century a Dominican, Pietro Geremia, appears to have taken her cult to Palermo in Sicily, and there may have been another chapel dedicated to her in a church in Genoa.²⁰

When Daniel Papebroch, the editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, compiled his account of the life and miracles of St Zita in 1675 he made use of two medieval manuscript copies of the Life of Zita. His basic text was the fifteenth-century Life of Zita to be found at that time in the library of the monastery of Camaldoli, east of Florence on the borders of Tuscany. This manuscript is now in Florence.²¹ At a late stage the editor also made use of the manuscript compiled c. 1380 for the Faitinelli family, containing an account of the life and miracles of the saint which had been put together (c. 1286) in the presence of a notary very soon after her death a hundred years earlier. This earlier, thirteenth-century volume appears not to have survived. The editor of the *Acta Sanctorum* accepted, however, that the Faitinelli manuscript was a true and reliable copy of the earlier text. This late fourteenth-century manuscript is now in the library at Lucca.²² In addition to the account of the life and miracles of the saint, the manuscript also contains an Italian poem in praise of St Zita, and a hymn to the saint together with 'musica gregoriana'.²³ Two further fifteenth-century copies of St Zita's Life, one in Bologna and the other in Milan, have been identified.²⁴ So, at the moment, we know of four Italian manuscripts containing copies of the Life of the saint written before 1500.

What is, perhaps, surprising is that there are at least three other manuscripts which contain copies of St Zita's Life, and all of these were written in England. It is most unusual for an Italian saint to have both an Italian and an English manuscript tradition. One of the English manuscripts may well be the earliest surviving copy of a Life of the saint. It was written at Bury St Edmunds, largely in the 1370s and certainly by 1377.²⁵ Although the Bury text is close to the Faitinelli manuscript it is significantly different in that it contains an attested account of a single miracle, dated to 1286, which is not to be found in the Italian manuscripts.²⁶ The early dating of the Bury manuscript, and its inclusion of a miracle not to be found in the Faitinelli manuscript of c. 1380 indicates that there

were copies of the Life, if not the whole corpus of miracles of St Zita, circulating in England in the fourteenth century. This means that there was an interest in Zita in England which pre-dated the Faitinelli 'revival' of her cult in late fourteenth-century Lucca. And a continuing interest in Zita in England is indicated by the existence of two further English manuscript Lives of St Zita. One of these appears to have been written in the second half of the fifteenth century in southern England (possibly at the Carthusian house at Witham in Somerset) and forms part of a manuscript which also contains copies of pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Grosseteste on the *Virginité of the Blessed Virgin*, the *Revelations of St Bridget*, Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Name of Jesus*, and the book of the fifteen joys of the Virgin. The manuscript also includes the 'extra' miracle to be found in the Bury manuscript together with two Latin hymns to Zita (neither the same as the hymn in the Faitinelli manuscript), a prayer to Christ recalling the sanctity of Zita, and prayers to St Zita herself.²⁷ The manuscript further contains a miniature of St Zita, depicted as an elegant woman dressed in a red gown and holding a book and a pair of keys.²⁸ This manuscript belonged to William Rogers of Painswick in Gloucestershire in the seventeenth century and was later purchased by Phillips in 1836 and sold at Sotheby's in London in November 1971. It was then bought by the Biblioteca Statale di Lucca where it now is. It is clear that the original owner had a lively piety focused on the person of Christ and a particular devotion to St Zita.²⁹ It may be significant in locating the piety of the fifteenth-century owner that one of the Latin hymns to St Zita is also to be found in a mid fifteenth-century Syon Abbey manuscript, and that three of the surviving manuscripts of her Life have Carthusian links.³⁰

Apart from these two manuscripts containing copies of the Latin Life of St Zita there also survives a Middle English prose Life of the saint. This appears to have survived only as a single fragment, dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century and written in an 'elegant hand'.³¹ This has been studied and published by Thorlac Turville-Petre who wrote that 'the purpose of the English is evidently to provide a stencil translation, preserving the constructions of the Latin without regard to English idiom'.³² But the existence of this translation of the Latin Life bears witness to the popularity of the cult of St Zita, not only among Latin-speaking religious, but also more widely among the lay people of later medieval England. Of the seven surviving medieval copies of the saint's Life, four come from Italy and three (including the only medieval vernacular Life) come from England.

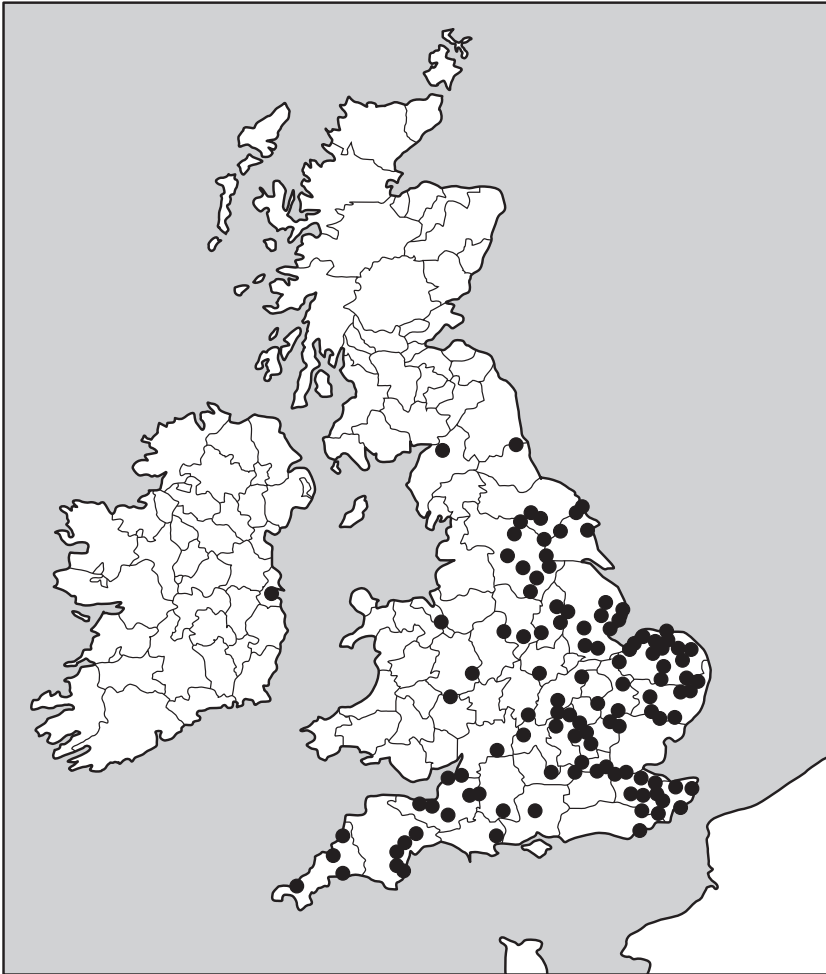
The remarkable popularity of St Zita in medieval England has not gone unremarked. Turville-Petre gathered together some of the evidence for the spread of her cult, and his work was developed further by Sebastian Sutcliffe.³³ An early reference to the cult of St Zita in England comes from London, where in the year 1356 (i.e., about eighty years after Zita's death), the rector of the church of St Benet Sherehog, Richard Vyncent, was described as the rector of St Sithe's, as he was again in 1358 and 1373.³⁴ In his will dated 1397, the mercer John Fressh asked to be buried 'in the church of St Sithe in the parish of St Benet Sherehog'.³⁵ Moreover the lane that led to the church was known as Sise lane as early as 1357. The high point of the cult of St Zita in the parish may, perhaps, be associated with the rebuilding of the church which took place between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries.³⁶ What seems likely is that a chapel, dedicated to the saint, was introduced in the fourteenth century and became very popular: so much so that St Zita, in the popular mind, took over the dedication of the church.³⁷ But the chapel in the church of St Benet Sherehog was not the only place in London where St Zita was venerated, By 1394 a guild dedicated to St Zita had been established in the church of St Andrew Holborn.³⁸ In the fifteenth century this fraternity was the most popular and prosperous of the fraternities in that church.³⁹

It may have been from London that the cult of St Zita spread out into other parts of the country. In the fourteenth century there are references to an altar dedicated to her in Norwich Cathedral by 1363,⁴⁰ a guild dedicated to her at Lynn by 1377,⁴¹ and a light dedicated to her in St Mary's Church in Carlisle in 1385.⁴² Two mural paintings of her, at St Alban's Abbey and Horley in Oxfordshire, have been dated to the fourteenth century (see Map 8.1).⁴³ Moreover there appears to have been a chapel belonging to the Knights Hospitallers dedicated to her at Eagle in Lincolnshire, possibly dating back to the 1365 and rededicated in 1407.⁴⁴ William Langstrother, preceptor of the Hospitallers at Eagle, when he was passing through Lucca in 1456, was able to persuade the canons of San Frediano to allow him to have some of St Zita's clothing and one of her little toes to take back to his chapel at Eagle which he claimed was dedicated to her.⁴⁵

The cult of Saint Zita had certainly taken root in England. There are over a hundred references to local devotions to her: many occur in wills in which bequests are made to altars, chapels, images or lights in parish churches (see Map 8.2).⁴⁶ There are over fifty surviving images of her in



Map 8.1. The cult of St Zita in England before 1410 (prepared by Dr Hannes Kleineke using GenMap UK).



Map 8.2. The cult of St Zita in England before the Reformation (prepared by Dr Hannes Kleineke using GenMap UK).

glass, on screens and in murals, including six alabasters. Ten guilds were dedicated to her.⁴⁷

There are, in addition, at least thirty English manuscripts (or manuscripts made for English patrons) which include Zita in the Calendar or Litany, or contain copies of hymns to her, or include prayers to her.⁴⁸ Six of these contain images of St Zita, usually dressed rather as an elegant lady than as a servant girl.⁴⁹ One of these books of hours, the 'Bolton Hours' (York Minster Library, Add. MS 2) written in the early fifteenth century has been recently discussed by Patricia Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg. They draw attention to the image of the mother, identified as Margaret Blackburn, kneeling before St Zita asking, they suggest, that the saint should guard the welfare and chastity of her daughter.⁵⁰ In addition to these manuscripts, there survive a number of English embroidered orphreys, including that sewn onto the famous Stonyhurst chasuble, which depicts St Zita holding her various symbols such as a rosary and keys.⁵¹

It is clear that both men and women went on pilgrimages to images of her set up in churches all over England. Statues of her, surrounded by lights, were to be found as far north as Carlisle and as far south as Kent, in Cornwall in the west and Suffolk in the east. English merchants took her cult to Ireland and even as far afield as Iceland.⁵² The shrine at Eagle in Lincolnshire containing her toe appears to have enjoyed a modest cult: in 1509 Alison Hudson from Brodsworth in Yorkshire asked in her will that the pilgrimage that she owed to 'Sent Syth of Equyll' be made.⁵³ These pilgrimages were later to be the focus of much Protestant criticism, but there is no doubting the popularity of the saint in fifteenth-century England. Brian Spencer has identified four lead pilgrim badges found in London as related to the cult of the saint.⁵⁴ He points out that although her dress might be thought to be rather too stylish for a servant girl yet, as we have seen, most of the English images of the saint to be found in fifteenth-century manuscripts show her as elegantly (indeed, on occasion, exotically) and expensively clothed.⁵⁵ Spencer suggests that the statues of the saint may have been sumptuously clothed by local devotees; Agnes Dobbs in 1515 left her best 'nekebend' to 'seyntt Syth' in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Oundle in Northamptonshire.⁵⁶

The numerous references to St Zita to be found in wills and the surprisingly large numbers of manuscripts and other artefacts which survived the iconoclasm of the Reformation, all testify to the popularity of her cult in England from the middle of the fourteenth century (if not earlier) until the eve of the Reformation. There is no suggestion in the surviving evi-

dence that her cult was in any way in decline in the early sixteenth century and the presence of her statue in the decorative scheme of Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey suggests that her cult was acceptable in high places, as well as among women and men of more modest means.

But the widespread diffusion of Zita's cult in England raises further questions. How was the cult brought to England and why was the saint so popular? In the past it has been largely agreed that the cult of St Zita was first brought to London by the merchants from Lucca. The London church of St Benet Sherehog (St Sithe) lay in Cheap ward, at the centre of the city, in a narrow street just south of Cheapside itself. Merchants from Lucca were prominent in this area during the late thirteenth and first four decades of the fourteenth centuries when they occupied houses adjacent to, and opposite the church.⁵⁷ Among these Lucchese merchants were the famous Riccardi bankers. It seems very likely that it was these merchants who set up an altar, or a chapel, dedicated to St Zita in the church of St Benet. But the cult persisted in the church even after the Lucca merchants shifted their devotions to the more prestigious Hospital of St Thomas of Acre just north of Cheapside. Here, by 1426, they had a chapel of their own (the *capella Lucanorum*) dedicated to the Holy Cross (known as the 'roode of Lukes'), recalling the cult of the *Volto Santo* of the cathedral in Lucca.⁵⁸ This chapel would have been close to that of the Mercers (also in the church of St Thomas) and it was with the Mercers that the Lucchese merchants largely did their business in London. Derek Keene has suggested that whereas the Lucchese merchants worshipped at the chapel of the Holy Cross at St Thomas of Acre, their servants went instead to the slightly more remote and modest church of St Benet (and St Sithe).⁵⁹ It seems very likely that the Lucca merchants who traded in and out of London must have had some responsibility for the introduction of St Zita's cult, but it should be remembered that merchants from Lucca traded in other countries in Europe, not only in London, and yet the cult does not appear to have developed elsewhere in the way that it did in London and throughout England.

It may be that it was not only Italians who brought the cult into England, but also that returning English pilgrims brought it back with them from Lucca. Before St Zita was born, indeed from the late eleventh century, there had developed another famous Lucchese cult, that of the *Volto Santo*, a particularly expressive figure of the crucified Christ hanging (clothed in the Syrian fashion) on the cross. This image of Christ was kept in the cathedral in Lucca, dedicated to St Martin.⁶⁰ The first certain reference to this cult

is to be found, perhaps surprisingly, in the work of the Canterbury monk Eadmer, who recorded that William Rufus was accustomed to swear by the Holy Face at Lucca.⁶¹ So the cult was known in England by the late eleventh century. Diana Webb has suggested that the cult may have been fostered by pilgrims on their way to Rome.⁶² One of those who went to Rome and stopped at Lucca was Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds (1065–1098). He gave relics of St Edmund to the Cathedral in Lucca where there was later an altar dedicated to the English saint.⁶³ It may have been Baldwin, or his predecessor as abbot, Leofstan, who saw the great cross at Lucca, took its measurements and had a copy made for the abbey church at Bury when he returned home.⁶⁴ Later in the twelfth century other monks from Bury visited Lucca.⁶⁵ There was, indeed, a 'well-established link between Lucca and Bury' inaugurated and fed by pilgrims and crusaders. So, as early as 1100, Bury had its own *Volto Santo*, the Cathedral at Lucca had acquired relics of St Edmund, and William Rufus was able to relieve his feelings by swearing by the *Volto Santo* of Lucca.

But English pilgrims had been accustomed to visit Lucca on their way to Rome long before the discovery of the *Volto Santo* and the visits of the abbots of Bury. Early in the eighth century St Willibald from Hampshire came to Lucca, en route to the Holy Land together with his brother Winnebald, sister Walburga and his father, who later came to be known as Richard. Here, in Lucca 'Richard' died and his children 'wrapped his body in a fine shroud and with filial piety buried it in the church of St Frigidian (Frediano) at Lucca, where it still rests'. This account of St Willibald was written by the Anglo-Saxon nun Huneberc.⁶⁶ Richard may have been a *sub-regulus*: one of those lesser kings who were being squeezed out of power by the burgeoning ambitions of the kings of Mercia. In Lucca he was certainly known as a king of the English and his place of burial near the high altar of the church of San Frediano was an important shrine in the early Middle Ages. Miracles were recorded at his tomb although his main claim to fame was to have died while on pilgrimage, and to have been the father of three very holy children, who kept his name alive and tended his cult.⁶⁷ But the presence of the body of St Richard, an English king of the eighth century, provided an additional reason for English pilgrims and English crusaders to make their way to Rome via Lucca and for the abbots of Bury St Edmunds (the guardians of the tomb and cult of another saintly Anglo-Saxon king) to visit the city in the late eleventh century. In the arch above the door into the baptistery in the church of San Frediano there is a medieval painting of the Virgin flanked by St Richard and St Zita: the two

saints who drew English pilgrims, and doubtless others also, to the church of St Frediano.

The death and sainthood of St Richard encouraged English pilgrims to visit his shrine in the church of San Frediano in Lucca from the eighth century. Such pilgrims, who in the eleventh century included the abbots of Bury St Edmunds, carried back to England the new cult of the *Volto Santo* but in the late thirteenth century they could carry back another new cult, that of St Zita. The links between Lucca and Bury St Edmunds continued to be important. It is surely significant that the earliest surviving English copy of the Life of St Zita is to be found in a Bury manuscript and that as early as 1299 there was an altar dedicated to the saint in the abbey church there.⁶⁸ John Lydgate, the prolific monk poet from Bury, wrote a verse prayer in honour of 'hooly Sitha, maide of gret vertu' in the early fifteenth century. Doubtless he used the account of her life to be found in the Bury library and wrote the poem to promote the attractions of St Zita's altar in the abbey church.⁶⁹ By the early fifteenth century, the widow Alice de Bryene who ran a substantial household at Acton, twenty miles from Bury, was observing Zita's feast day on April 27.⁷⁰ Doubtless in the transmission of the cult, the pilgrim travelers were aided and abetted by the merchants of Lucca who did business in London. It may have been a returning pilgrim who took the cult to Cumbria, or a returning crusading hospitaller who first brought Zita to Eagle in Lincolnshire. Moreover if the merchants of Lucca had been solely responsible for the spread of a cult in England it seems likely that they would have chosen the *Volto Santo*. But that never became widely popular and remained, rather, an elite cult at the hospital of St Thomas of Acre in London.

So, finally, we have to consider the characteristics of the saint herself and, perhaps, her particular miracles. Others have already pointed out the attractions of an everyday saint, a role model more accessible than the Blessed Virgin or the heroic, self-mutilating virgins of the early church.⁷¹ There may be a correlation between the increasing importance of servants in later medieval England, particularly in the period of population-shortage following the Black Death, and the popularity of St Zita.⁷² As has already been pointed out, England, unlike Italy and, to a lesser extent, northern Europe more generally, lacked home-grown servant saints. Into a land, therefore, starved of workaday saints, Zita came as a welcome addition to the 'whole company of heaven'. She combined sainthood with an ordinary working life: to use modern jargon she was an effective role

model, and demonstrated a practical localised and domestic interpretation of the seven corporal acts of mercy.⁷³

But there was something else. In her passage from Italy to England Zita acquired an additional characteristic. She helped those who prayed to her to find objects that they had lost. Almost all the ninety or so miracles recorded in the Lucca region in the decade following her death bear witness to Zita's help for men and women who were sick, paralyzed or blind. Occasionally she cast out devils and once she saved an alleged debtor from his creditor. But in only one miracle (number 91) does she help to find a lost object, in this case some grain and pork that had been stolen and hidden in a neighbor's granary. Moreover there is no evidence that the full account of all Zita's miracles circulated in England: it was her life that was known and recorded in the three surviving English manuscripts.⁷⁴ In this way, perhaps, those who chose to promote her cult in England could give to the servant-saint the miraculous gifts which they wished her to have. Hence in England her defining characteristic appears to have been the help she gave to those who had lost precious possessions. Normally these concerns are associated with women, but not always. It was the need to seek Zita's help in the search for lost objects that drew people to her images and shrines. Lydgate's hymn to the saint appears to contain the earliest reference to this aspect of her sanctity and emphasised her 'sovereign excellence':

To such as stonde in gret adversite;
For los of good by casuel negligence,
In all such caas do thy diligence
Them to restore, to wisse hem, and to Reede,
Geyn worldly trouble and feendys Violence
Supporte alle tho that calle the in ther neede.⁷⁵

Certainly it was this aspect of her cult which was criticised by those who were hostile to images and pilgrimages.⁷⁶ A 'Wycliffite' writer of the early fifteenth century complained that statues of saints were venerated rather than the saints themselves:

by common custom, an a wife lose a key of value of three pence, anon she will hie to seek 'seynt Sithe' and spend a noble or ten shillings in the journey and not bother to relieve the truly poor around her. Alas, what avowe this is to waste so much good in vain pilgrimage for a thing lost of so little value.⁷⁷

By the sixteenth century pilgrimages to the various shrines of St Zita were seen as frivolous and wasted enterprises. Sir Thomas More spoke scathingly of such pilgrimage to seek the help of St Zita, as did Sir David Lindsay in the middle of the sixteenth century, who commented sardonically on the practice of the common people of running to 'sanct Syith' when they had jewels stolen.⁷⁸ In an early sixteenth-century song, a young woman named Kit laments the loss of her 'key' and vainly hopes that 'Seynt Sythe' will be able to restore it.⁷⁹ But, whatever the reformers in religion may have thought, there is no doubt that the cult of St Zita spoke to a common need, or needs. In Catholic countries her story was later promoted to serve as an example to pious servants and, on occasion, to God-fearing employers. Over the years the incidents in which Zita had taken the goods of her employers to feed the poor were toned down, or eliminated altogether. As recently as 1955, however, Pope Pius XII, in response to a mass petition, proclaimed Zita to be the 'universal patron saint of women-servants.'⁸⁰ The rapid and widespread diffusion of her cult in medieval England, however, bears witness to the ways in which ideas, practices and beliefs often migrated along untrodden paths and were promoted by unofficial enthusiasms.

NOTES

¹ For an account of her life and miracles, see *Acta Sanctorum: Aprilis* (Antwerp, 1675), *sub* 27 April, pp. 497–527. This late seventeenth-century account was largely based on a fifteenth-century manuscript then in the library of the monastery of Camaldoli, supplemented by another earlier manuscript compiled by the Faitinelli family c. 1380. I am grateful for information about the surviving medieval manuscripts (on which see further below) to Diana Webb, who is preparing for publication a new edition of the Latin Life of St Zita, and also a translation of the Lives of several Italian saints, including Zita. For a modern account of her life, see F. Tomei, *Zita di Lucca: la vergine dei fiori e della carita* (Lucca, 1997).

² D. M. Webb, 'Women and Home: The Domestic Setting of Late Medieval Spirituality', in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), pp. 159–73, esp. p. 169; R. Sarti, 'Telling Zita's Tale; Holy Servants' Stories and Servants' History', in *Narrative of the Servants*, ed. R. Schulte and P. Hanizaroula (Florence, 2001), pp. 1–30, esp. p. 8.

³ M. Goodich, 'Ancilla Dei: The Servant as Saint in the Late Middle Ages', in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H Mundy*, ed. J. Kirschner and S. F. Wemple (Oxford, 1985), pp. 119–36, esp. p. 128.

⁴ G. Fornaciari *et al.*, 'Santa Zita di Lucca: malattie, ambiente e società dallo studio di una mummia naturale del XIII secolo', in *Atti dei I Congresso Nazionale*

di Archeologia Medievale, ed. S. Gelichi (Florence, 1997), pp. 280–85. I am grateful to Hugo Blake for drawing my attention to this report.

⁵ Goodich, 'The Servant as Saint', p. 129.

⁶ Fornaciari et al., 'Santa Zita'.

⁷ *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 510 and *passim*; see A. Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325* (University Park, PA, 2005), p. 203.

⁸ A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome, 1981), p. 281; D. Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City States* (London, 1996), p. 140.

⁹ Vauchez, *La Sainteté*, p. 282.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹¹ E.g. R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977). See also Dave Postles, 'Movers and Prayers: The Medieval English Church and Movement of People', in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Shaun Tyas, 2007), pp. 249–66.

¹² B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London, 1998).

¹³ See S. Walker, 'Political Saints in Late Medieval England', in *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, ed. R. Britnell and A. Pollard (Stroud, 1995), pp. 77–106; compare D. Weinstein and R. M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1100–1700* (Chicago, 1982), whose comprehensive analysis of some 800 medieval saints does not include Zita, nor do the authors discuss, among their various categories of saint, the 'servant saint', although they do have a category (small) for saints who came from the 'urban poor'.

¹⁴ Goodich, 'The Servant as Saint'.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁶ C. Meek, *Lucca 1369–1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 34 n. 10, 190, 368, 374, Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p. 140. The Faitinelli family seems to have played a less prominent part in the politics of fifteenth-century Lucca; there are only two references to members of the family in M. E. Bratchel, *Lucca 1430–1490: The Reconstruction of an Italian City-Republic* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 139 and 296.

¹⁷ Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 139, 164, 199, 238 n. 3; Tomei, *Zita di Lucca*, p. 57.

¹⁸ Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno*, XXI, 38.

¹⁹ Vauchez, *La Sainteté*, p. 247 and n. 187. Zita's cult may have enjoyed some continuing popularity in Venice: in the fifteenth century an English alabaster altarpiece depicting the life of Saint Catherine made for the Convent of Santa Catarina in the city was flanked by statues of St Dorothy and St Zita. It is now in the Ca' d'Oro: see F. Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 67 and fig. 8.

²⁰ I am grateful to Diana Webb for the information about Geremia. The reference in Genoa appears to be to a seventeenth-century fraternity dedicated to

Zita, rather than to a medieval cult, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 498.

²¹ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi G.5.1212.

²² Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 3459. For a brief description of the manuscript see M. Paoli, *Arte et committenza privata a Lucca nel Trecento e nel Quattrocento* (Lucca, 1986), pp. 92–93. For a discussion of the medieval and later Lives of St Zita, see R. Sarti, 'Zita, serva e santa: un modello da imitare?', in *Modelli di santità e modelli di comportamento*, ed. G. Barone, M. Caffiero and F. Barcellona (Turin, 1994), pp. 307–59, esp. p. 333 n. 40.

²³ MS 3459, ff. 52–55v. It is possible that the folios containing the hymn and music were added later when the manuscript was bound. The Italian poem, but neither the hymn nor the music, is printed in Tomei, *Zita di Lucca*, pp. 67–69. For the various publications of the poem and hymn, see Sarti, 'Zita, serva e santa', p. 333 n. 40.

²⁴ Bologna, San Domenico, serie VII cartella 10160, and Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, MS Gerli 26. ex inf. Diana Webb.

²⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 240, pp. 699–708. The manuscript contains a chronicle which ends in 1347 and is then followed by a miscellany of Lives of saints, local documents and poetry added by the monks of Bury. Some of the miracles attributed to St Edmund are dated 1374 and 1375, and the *explicit* on p. 582 provides the date 1377. The Life of the Blessed Christine which follows that of St Zita was said to have been copied from a manuscript in the possession of the Carthusians of London.

²⁶ Bodleian Library, MS 240, p. 708.

²⁷ Biblioteca Statale di Luca, MS 3540; the Life of St Zita is ff. 148–161v, the 'extra' miracle is on ff. 162r–v. The hymns are on ff. 163–64, and the prayers, ff. 163v–164v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 148v; illustrated in Tomei, *Zita di Lucca*, pl. 11, and in Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 30 November 1971, pl. 16.

²⁹ Lucca MS 3540, f. 123, includes a prayer invoking Christ's passion and prayers also to the BVM, and to a group of female saints: Anne, Katherine, Margaret, Cecilia, and 'Citta et Fide'.

³⁰ South Brent, Devon, Syon Abbey, MS 2, ff. 206v–207, printed in C. Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 121–22. A Carthusian interest in Zita is also suggested by the possible source of the Bury manuscript (Bodley, MS 240), the provenance of the Lucca manuscript (Lucca 3540) and the fact that the Milan manuscript (MS Gerli 26) may have belonged to the Carthusian monk Nicolai de Alberghertis (1395–1443), ex inf. Diana Webb.

³¹ Nottingham University Library, MS Mi LM 37; see T. Turville-Petre, 'A Middle English Life of St Zita', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35 (1991), pp. 102–5.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³³ S. Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha in England: An Introduction', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), pp. 83–89.

³⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1354–60*, p. 295, 517; *Ibid.*, 1369–74, p. 574. I am grateful to Derek Keene for information about the church of St Benet Sherehog and the men of Lucca in London. See M. Burch and P. Treveil with D. Keene, *The Development of Early Medieval and Later Poultry and Cheapside: Excavations at 1 Poultry and Vicinity, City of London*, MOLA Monograph 38 (London: Museum of London Archeology, 2011), pp. 256–57.

³⁵ Corporation of London Records Office, Husting Roll 127 (64). Note that the printed version of this will is misleading; see *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting London, 1258–1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 2 vols (London, 1890), ii, 338.

³⁶ Ex inf. Derek Keene.

³⁷ In a similar way, St Zita (Sythe) appears to have taken over the dedication of the church at South Molton in Devon, see N. Orme, *English Church Dedications: With a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter, 1996), p. 202.

³⁸ The fraternity is mentioned in two wills in that year, see C. Barron and J. Roscoe, 'The Medieval Parish Church of St Andrew Holborn', *London Topographical Record*, 24 (1980), pp. 31–60, esp. pp. 37, 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

⁴⁰ J. R. Shinnors Jr., 'The Veneration of Saints at Norwich Cathedral in the Fourteenth Century', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 40 (1987–88), pp. 133–44, esp. p. 133.

⁴¹ H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Guilds of Medieval England* (London, 1919), p. 197.

⁴² See the testament of Adam Taillons who left 12d. to the light of St Sythe in the church of St Mary at Carlisle, R. S. Ferguson, ed., *Testamenta Karleotensia* (Kendal, 1898), no. 157.

⁴³ C. E. Keyser, *A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland Having Mural Decorations*, 3rd edn. (London, 1883), p. 215; E. Clive Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings* (Haverfordwest, 1991), p. 22.

⁴⁴ See D. M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971), pp. 18, 95.

⁴⁵ B. Camm, 'Some Norfolk Rood-Screens', in *A Supplement to Blomefield's Norfolk*, ed. C. Hussey (London, 1919), pp. 237–95, esp. p. 269. In his will drawn up in 1449, John Clerke, a chaplain who owned a wooden statue of 'beatae Cithae', bequeathed a quantity of the hair of 'sanctae Cithae' to the chapel of St Mary Magdalen in York, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. J. Raine, 6 vols. (London, 1836–1902), ii, 151, no. CXVI.

⁴⁶ Many of these references are to be found in unpublished wills and I am particularly grateful to Graham Jones, Jo Mattingly, Sheila Sweetinburgh and Sebastian Sutcliffe for providing me with their unpublished material.

⁴⁷ There were guilds at: Camborne (Cornwall); St Petroc, Exeter (Devon); Wimborne Minster (Dorset); St Andrew Holborn and All Hallows, London Wall (London); Lynn and Fakenham (Norfolk); All Saints, Northampton, Scarborough (Yorks) and St Michan, Dublin.

⁴⁸ Turville-Petre, 'Middle English Life', p. 104 and n. 8. I am also grateful to

Nicholas Rogers and Elizabeth New who generously supplied me with unpublished references to St Zita to be found in manuscripts which I would not otherwise have located.

⁴⁹ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 57, f. 49v; London, BL, Add. MS 54782 (the 'Hastings Hours') f. 66v; Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS 3540, f. 148v; Madrid, Fundacion Lazaro-Galdiano, inv. no. 15503, f. 48v; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms 94 ('Porter Hours'), f. 87; Oxford, St John's College, MS 94, f. 9, York Minster Library, Add, MS 2., f. 40v.

⁵⁰ P. Cullum and J. Goldberg, 'How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. J. Wogan-Brown et al. (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 217–36.

⁵¹ Sutcliffe, 'Cult of St Sitha', p. 84, n. 12.

⁵² C. Lennon, 'The Foundation Charter of St Sythe's Guild Dublin, 1476', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 48 (1994), pp. 3–12; two images of St Zita are recorded in inventories of Icelandic churches in 1461, Margaret Cormack, personal communication. I am very grateful to Professor Cormack for sharing with me her unrivalled knowledge of saints' cults in Iceland.

⁵³ Sutcliffe, 'Cult of St Sitha', p. 84.

⁵⁴ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, pp. 197–99.

⁵⁵ In the Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 57, f. 49v, Zita is shown wearing a turban-like wimple and the statue of the saint on the tomb of Henry VII (1509–19) in Westminster Abbey also shows Zita dressed in a turban.

⁵⁶ R. M. Serjeantson and H. Longden, 'The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: Their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights', *Archaeological Journal*, 70 (1913), pp. 217–452, esp. p. 385.

⁵⁷ Ex inf. Derek Keene, see n. 34; S. Dempsey, 'The Italian Community in London during the reign of Edward II', *The London Journal*, 18 (1993), pp. 14–22.

⁵⁸ D. Keene and V. Harding, *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire, 1. Cheapside* (Cambridge, 1987), no. 105/18.

⁵⁹ See n. 34.

⁶⁰ For information about the cult of the *Volto Santo* and the links with Bury St Edmund I am indebted to the excellent article by D. Webb, 'The Holy Face of Lucca', in *Anglo-Norman Studies, IX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. R. A. Brown (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 227–37.

⁶¹ *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England (Historia novorum in Anglia)*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964), p. 31.

⁶² Webb, 'The Holy Face of Lucca', pp. 232–34. Webb also suggests that the popular cult of the *Volto Santo*, which was associated with those who were forming the new commune in Lucca, may have encountered some opposition from the Church which preferred to promote the cults of saintly bishops.

⁶³ A book of the *passio* of St Edmund was listed in the Cathedral inventory in 1239, see A. Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's "Passio Sancti Eadmundi"', *Revue*

Benedictine, 105 (1995), pp. 20–78, esp. pp. 71–78.

⁶⁴ See *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. A. Gransden, Henry Bradshaw Society, 99 (London, 1973), p. 115.

⁶⁵ Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury', pp. 75–77.

⁶⁶ *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*, trans. and ed. C. H. Talbot (London, 1954), p. 158.

⁶⁷ M. Coens, 'Légende et miracles du Roi S. Richard', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 49 (1931), pp. 353–97. When Archbishop Sigeric travelled to Rome in 990 to collect his pallium, he returned via Lucca, see V. Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', *Anglo-Norman England*, 19 (1990), pp. 197–246, esp. pp. 234–35.

⁶⁸ See n. 25 above, and Bury St Edmund Records Office, Sacrist's Roll A6/1/1. It is possible that St Zita was identified at Bury with Seietha, the daughter of a noble English family, who in the eleventh century had played a significant role in testifying to the uncorrupt body of St Edmund, see S. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 48–51.

⁶⁹ For the text see *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, part 1, EETS, e. s., 107 (London and Oxford, 1911), p. 137, where the poem is printed from BL, Harley MS 2255, f. 116v. The poem has been given the heading 'Incipit de Sancta Ositha', but the content of the poem makes it clear that it is addressed to St Zita, not Osyth. See J. Frankis, 'St Zita, St Sythe, and St Osyth', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 26 (1992), pp. 148–50, and D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (Charlottesville, VA, 1970), p. 265.

⁷⁰ ff. Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Widow's Household in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1999), p. 159.

⁷¹ Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha', pp. 87–88; Goodich, 'The Servant as Saint', pp. 120–23, 136; Cullum and Goldberg, 'Reading Devotional Instruction', pp. 225–28; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London, 1992), p. 174; *idem.*, 'Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century England', in *Women in the Church*, ed. Sheils and Wood, pp. 175–96.

⁷² P. Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (London, 2001), pp. 72–76 and references there cited.

⁷³ This 'humanization' of the saints in later medieval England has been recently discussed, see C. Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2004), esp. pp. 47, 48, 343–45.

⁷⁴ The single miracle found appended to Zita's Life in the two English manuscripts (Bodley 240 and Lucca 3459) relates to a boy whom she saved from death after he had fallen into a river.

⁷⁵ Lines 19–24, see n. 69 above.

⁷⁶ Lydgate is unique in referring in his poem to the 'litol stoon' which Zita was

accustomed to hold in her right hand 'to bete thy brest of hool affecioun'. This reference in the poem may explain the object in Zita's right hand to be found in the stained glass image of her at Wilby church in Suffolk, about twenty-five miles east of Bury St Edmunds, to be dated to the first half at the fifteenth century. There is a similar image of Zita at Cley in Norfolk, but it is very damaged. I owe this information about the stained glass to Rupert Webber.

⁷⁷ Text from BL, Add. MS 24202, f. 28, printed in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. A. Hudson (Cambridge, 1978), p. 87. This text testifies to the popularity of St Zita's cult already at this comparatively early date.

⁷⁸ *The Complete Works of Sir Thomas More*, vol. 6, part i, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, ed. T. Lawler, G. Marc'hadour, R. Marks (New Haven, 1981), Book 2, chapter 10, p. 227; see Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, pp. 101–2; Lindsay cited in Turville-Petre, 'A Middle English Life', p. 105.

⁷⁹ The 'amorous carol' together with music is to be found in BL, Royal MS Appendix 58. This is printed with commentary in R. L. Greene, *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 279, 494–95; a modern version of the song and music was prepared by H. B. Briggs for members of the London Plainsong and Medieval Music Society in *A Collection of Songs and Madrigals by English Composers of the Close of the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1891), pp. 1–2.

⁸⁰ Sarti, 'Telling Zita's Tale', pp. 1–30, esp. pp. 18–19. Sarti illuminatingly charts the evolution of the Zita story from the first fourteenth-century Life to the twentieth century, and provides an extensive bibliography.

The Will as Autobiography: The Case of Thomas Salter, Priest, Died November 1558

THE LONG WILL OF Thomas Salter, drawn up when he was eighty years old, serves—as he surely intended—as his autobiography. From it we learn of his childhood in Norwich and of his apprenticeship later in the household of Henry Adams, a salter in London, and of his progress through the craft to become a liveryman of the company. It is clear also from his will that Thomas was a devout Catholic who, at some point, abandoned the salter's craft for the priesthood. He served as a chantry priest in the parish of St Nicholas Acon and at St Michael Cornhill and he directed that he should be buried in the church of St Magnus, which lay at the northern end of London bridge. Although a priest, Thomas Salter retained close links with the Salters' Company, and he was clearly a man of considerable wealth, with an extensive wardrobe and the resources to make charitable bequests amounting to some £300 in cash. Thomas Salter drew up his will in August 1558 confident that 'the most hollie Catholique Church of Christe Jesus' was securely restored in England and that his body would lie in the lady chapel of St Magnus' church until the 'generall resurexcon day whiche I belyve faithfully shall come'.¹ But by the time Salter's will was proved on 19 December 1558, Queen Mary was dead, and the elaborate obits and masses and prayers which Salter had set out so carefully in his will were probably never carried out. Stow does not record his tomb in St Magnus' church.

The will is remarkable for its length and for the detail and precision with which Salter recorded his wishes (see Plates 9.3 and 9.4). Indeed the will is so detailed that the scribe who copied it into the Register of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury was moved on two occasions to illustrate the will in the margins (see Plates 9.1 and 9.2). The overriding impression is of a kindly, devout and meticulous man, proud of his Norfolk family and of his friends among the merchants of London, but also sensitive to the needs of those who were poor and ill. He was touchingly faithful to the friends of his youth. But behind the geniality and generosity there are

hints of a troubled past, perhaps a troubled conscience. Clearly Salter had fallen out with the parishioners of St Nicholas Acon where he found 'little kindness or friendshipp';² he remembered Thomas Moone, a barber living in Smithfield, who had been a faithful friend when Salter was 'in great trouble' thirty years earlier,³ and he left £5 to the Charterhouse at Sheen coupled with the request that they forgive him if he had offended them by word or deed long ago.⁴ In an exceptionally long will occupying some ten pages, these are but the faintest whispers of unease.

Thomas Salter's childhood was spent in Norwich; perhaps he was born in the parish of St Paul there. Certainly by the time he was six years old he was going to school to be taught his letters by one of the sisters of Norman's Hospital, Dame Katherine Peckham.⁵ The hospital had been founded in St Paul's parish in the twelfth century, but by the fifteenth century it was reserved for fourteen sisters (seven of whom lived in the house and another seven outside) who received small weekly pensions.⁶ Presumably Dame Katherine Peckham was living in the house when she taught young Thomas, and he remembered her seventy-two years later as 'a verie good devoute sister'; and to all the sisters (he believed there were twenty-four of them) he left a weekly halfpenny wheaten loaf to be given to them every Sunday 'because I have greate truste that they will prairie for me.'⁷

It is possible that young Thomas's surname was not Salter but that he acquired that name later when he came to London.⁸ His will records nothing of his parents but, by the time he drew up his will, his closest relatives were the five children of Robert Symonds of Suffield (a village some ten miles north of Norwich), by his third wife Elizabeth, whom Salter claimed as his 'very near kinswoman'. Robert and Elizabeth were both dead by the time Thomas Salter was drawing up his will. The will of Robert Symonds had been drawn up two years before that of Thomas Salter; he refers to seven children. His eldest son John was already married to a wife Mary, and was to inherit Robert's copyhold lands and the manor of Corlleys in Suffield. There were then three further sons by his third wife Elizabeth: Richard who was already married to a wife Elizabeth, John 'the younger' and Thomas who was not yet twenty-four. Three daughters are mentioned: Amy/Annys married to 'Bullocke', and then the two Elizabeths, the elder of whom was married to John Bozoun and the younger was not yet eighteen.⁹ So Robert Symonds remembered two older children and all his five children born to his third wife Elizabeth. His eldest son John, who inherited the manor at Suffield, went on himself to have seven children (three sons and four daughters) and is commemorated by a remarkable



Plate 9.1. A marginal illustration by the scribe, found in the registered copy of Salter's will, showing Salter's executor holding a money bag and preparing to hand over bequests to the five children (three men and two girls) of Robert and Elizabeth Symonds. John Symonds, who was to act on behalf of his brothers and sisters, is named. TNA, PROB 11/42a fol. 103v (copyright: The National Archives)

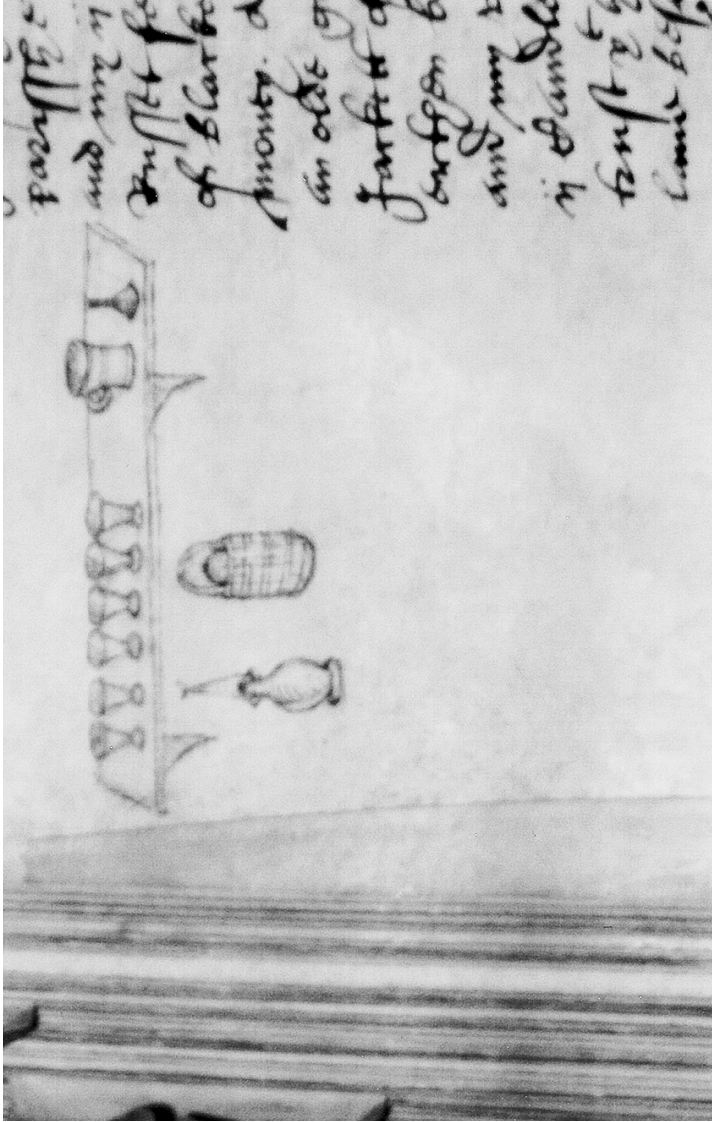


Plate 9.2. A marginal illustration by the scribe, found in the registered copy of Salter's will, showing the six glasses and the earthenware bottle with a funnel belonging to it, together with Salter's urinal glass and case, and a drinking 'cruse' (bottle), which Salter bequeathed to Thomas Busshope, parish clerk of St Nicholas Acon. TNA, PROB 11/42a fol. 104v (copyright: The National Archives)

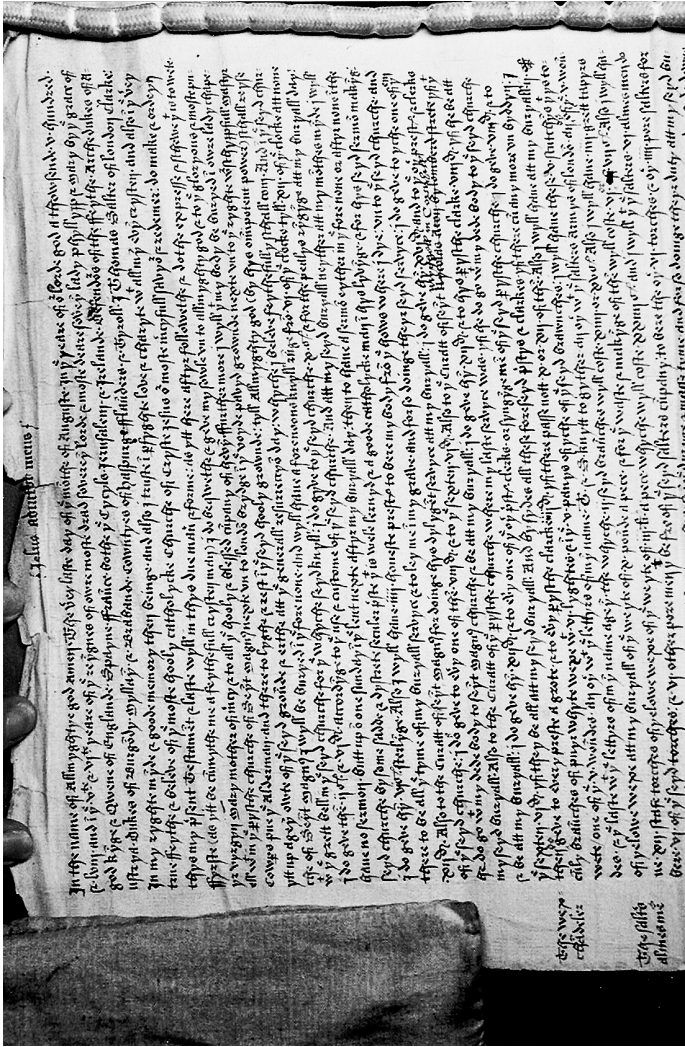


Plate 9.3. The first page of Thomas Salter's original will, drawn up 31 August 1558, showing the heading 'Jesus aductor meus' and the side headings 'The Wax Chandel' and 'The Salters almesmen'. Salter decided that it should be the curate of St Michael Cornhill, rather than of St Nicholas Acon in Lombard Street, who was to accompany his body to the burial in St Magnus' church, and this alteration can be seen in line 21. TNA, PROB 10/38, fol. 1 (copyright: The National Archives)

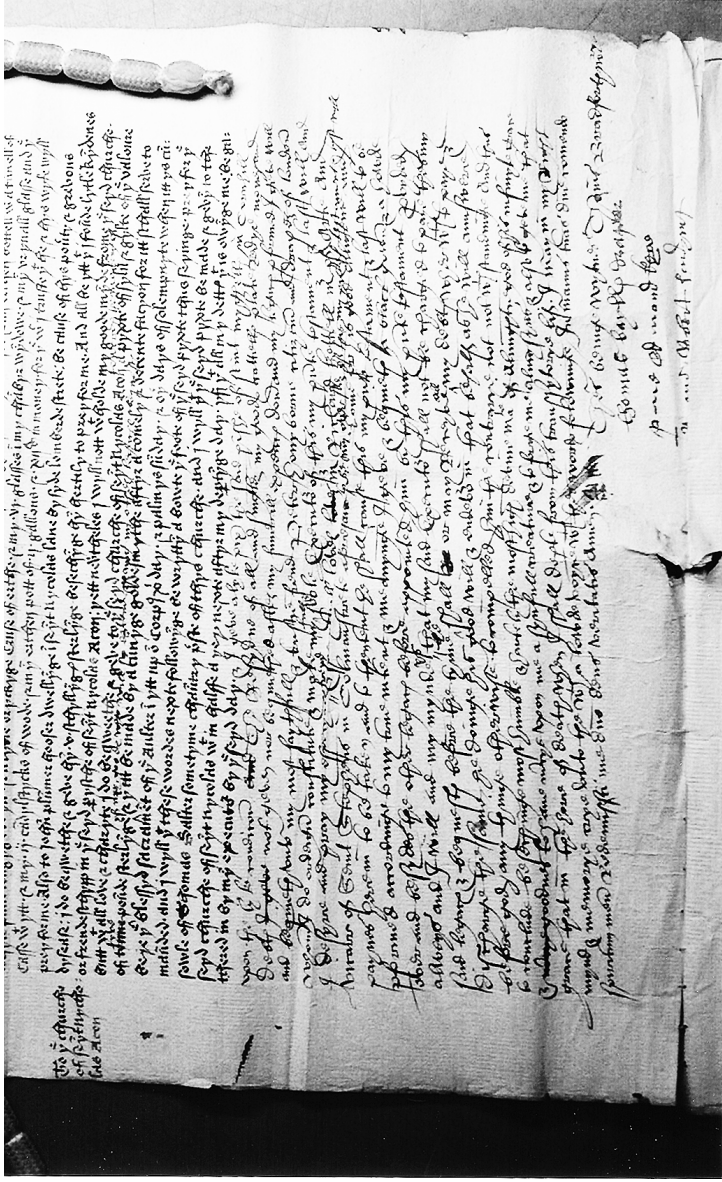


Plate 9.4. The fourth page of Thomas Salter's will, showing where Salter ceased to write the will himself and it was continued in the hand of the notary, Thomas Bradforth, who is also the first witness. The two smudged marks (one a cross) at the end of the will may be the marks made by Thomas Salter when he was no longer able to write. TNA, PROB 10/38, fol. 4 (copyright: The National Archives)

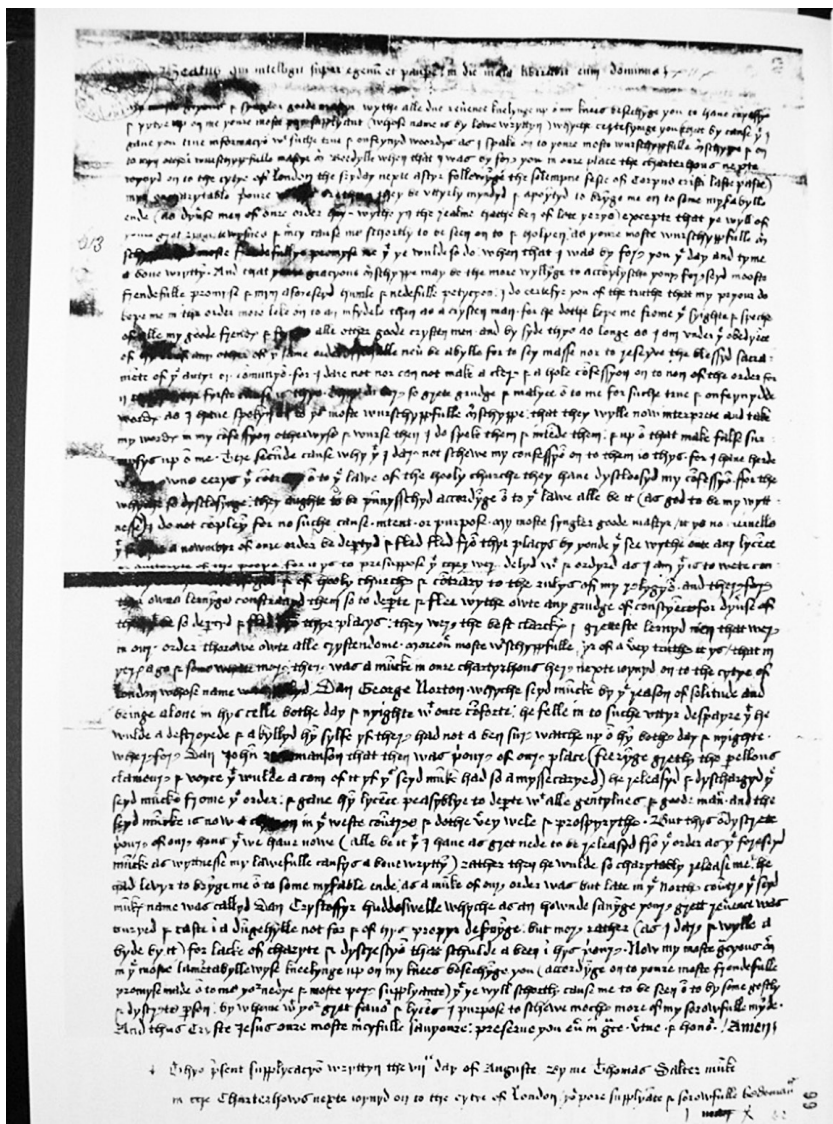


Plate 9.5. Thomas Salter's letter to Thomas Cromwell, dated 7 August 1534. The letter is written by Salter himself: the distinctive handwriting can be identified again when Salter drew up his own will twenty-four years later (see Plate 9.3). TNA, SP1/85 (copyright: The National Archives)

tomb chest with a Latin inscription in the south aisle of Suffield church.¹⁰ It is less easy to find out what happened to the five children of Robert Symonds by his third wife Elizabeth who were the beneficiaries under the will of their London kinsman.

Salter believed that his young relative John Symonds ‘the younger’ was living in the parish of St George Muspool (or Colgate) in Norwich, having completed an apprenticeship with the brother of Mr Leonard Sutterton, a Norwich alderman.¹¹ It seems likely that Thomas Salter knew young John (who had perhaps travelled to London before) because he designated him as the one to be informed when he died, and it is John who was to read out Salter’s will to his brothers and sisters when they all came up to London to collect their money (and their wardrobes) in order that they ‘shall perfectly see and knowe’ that the executors ‘be faithful and true doers’. Salter is touchingly concerned about the difficulties and expenses that his five young relatives might face in travelling up to London, and he is anxious that they should not have to stay in the city for more than two days because of the expense: he specified that his executors were to spend forty shillings ‘for their charges and expences’ and to ‘walcom them after a gentle facon’.¹² Whether the five country relatives ever received their £10 each and the items of Salter’s clothing is not known.¹³ The only one of them whose will survives is Thomas, who died in 1566, having been married to a wife, Dorothy, and leaving two daughters. He had remained in Suffield and was buried in the church there.¹⁴

But Thomas Salter himself chose to leave Norwich and his Norfolk relatives and travel to London to seek his fortune there. It is quite possible that he was an orphan for he makes no provision in his will for prayers for his parents, which may be of significance in the will of a pious man who sought many prayers for himself. Salter probably came to London early in the sixteenth century because he refers to his time as a servant ‘almoste fiftie yeres agone’.¹⁵ His master was the salter Henry Adams who was not himself a Norfolk man, so that is not the connection that brought young Thomas into his service. While in the Adams household Salter made a number of friends whom he remembered fifty years later with small bequests: Robert Forest, a salter now living in Fenchurch parish, Joan Nayle, married to a joiner and living in St Olave’s parish in Southwark, and Thomas Hollidaie, by the 1550s one of the Salters’ almsmen and perhaps the source of Salter’s charitable concern for this particular group of men.¹⁶ It is remarkable, and a testimony to Salter’s gift for friendship, that he not only remembered the young men and women with whom he had worked—and played per-

haps—when he was an apprentice fresh to London from Norwich, but he had also kept in touch with these friends from his youth because, when drawing up his will, he knew where they were currently living in London: he had followed their fortunes, as perhaps they had followed his. It is clear that the young Thomas was carving out a successful career for himself, for within ten years of completing his apprenticeship he had entered the livery of the Salters' Company and, if his later will is anything to judge by, he was certainly prosperous.¹⁷

But when he was nearly forty, and clearly doing well in London, Thomas Salter decided to abandon the world of trade and to become a Carthusian monk at the London Charterhouse. Between September 1517 and March 1518 he passed rapidly through the various procedures and was ordained priest in St Paul's Cathedral on 20 March 1518.¹⁸ The clever boy from Norwich who had become a successful London salter had turned away from the secular world to take up the most austere form of religious life then available to young men. The Carthusians combined Benedictine monasticism with eremitical asceticism: the monks spent most of the day alone in their cells, studying, meditating or engaged in manual labour, and they emerged only to attend three daily services in the conventual church. A Carthusian monk lived his life in silence, broken only when he chanted in church and when he was allowed to walk outside the monastery once a week.¹⁹ We know nothing of Salter's early career as a Carthusian, but he may not have been well suited to such a solitary life. His will suggests a man who had been friendly and gregarious in his youth, and the contrast with the large household of Henry Adams with its complement of young men and women, servants and apprentices, must have been sharp. But the decision to become a Carthusian monk had been Salter's own, adult, choice.

In the late 1520s, after ten years at the Charterhouse, Salter entered into the period which he refers to obliquely in his will as his 'great trouble'.²⁰ In 1529 William Tynbygh, who had been prior for nearly thirty years, resigned and was succeeded by John Batmanson who died two years later. John Houghton, who had been the prior at Beauvale, came to take over the leadership of the house during the years of extreme trial for the Carthusians of the London Charterhouse. Ten London Carthusians were executed in the following years for their hostility to the royal supremacy. Salter was not among them. Nor, on the other hand, was he among the rump of the remaining Carthusians who surrendered the house to the Crown in June 1538.²¹ Thomas Salter's name was probably not remem-

bered with honour among the members of the Carthusian brotherhood. As his will suggested, he had indeed offended the brethren in the Charterhouse, both in word and in deed.

At this distance it is hard to know what went wrong. It would appear that Thomas Salter did not get on well with the new prior, John Houghton. The cause of the trouble is not clear but one might guess that Houghton's austere, unbending lifestyle could not easily accommodate those who were less rigorous. For whatever reason, Salter attempted to run away and so was imprisoned in the conventual prison and while confined he suffered nightmares or delusions of some kind.²² Some thought these were feigned in order to secure his release. But in June 1534 Salter emerged from prison to swear, together with all the other Charterhouse monks, to the oath accepting the Act of Succession and thus the recognition of the validity of Henry VIII's second marriage to Anne Boleyn. But this submission did not secure for the monks the security and peace for which they hoped.²³ Two months later Thomas Cromwell visited the house, and while Cromwell was making a tour of inspection Salter seized the opportunity to talk with him and to rehearse his grievances against the Prior. He followed up this encounter with a letter to Cromwell written on 7 August 1534 in which he provided details of the harshness of Houghton's rule in the Charterhouse. Salter claimed that he could not go to confession because the brothers betrayed his confessions and so, unconfessed, he could not say mass nor receive the sacrament. He told Cromwell of a monk who had been so harshly treated by the brothers that he would have committed suicide had not the then prior, John Batmanson, sent him to a house of canons in the west country. But the current prior was much harsher than his predecessor and would not release Salter to go elsewhere.²⁴ Cromwell's response is not recorded, but he preserved Salter's autograph letter among his papers (see Plate 9.5).²⁵

The protest to Cromwell did not secure instant release for Salter. He was still confined in the Charterhouse prison in 1535, but seems then to have been allowed out, at least as far as the cloister. Meanwhile Salter's adversary, Prior John Houghton, together with two other Carthusian priors who would not take the oath accepting the Act of Supremacy (November 1534) whereby the king became the supreme head on earth of the church in England, were executed at Tyburn in May 1535. Salter was clearly looking for a way to leave the house, for Jasper Fylioll reported to Cromwell in that year that two monks, Thomas Salter and John Darley 'would like to be out of the Cloister' and that Darley had the prospect

of a job in Salisbury.²⁶ It would seem that Salter (and Darley?) were successful, for by May 1537, when some of the monks finally agreed to swear the oath accepting the royal supremacy and ten others who were obdurate were sent to Newgate to die there of starvation, their names were not to be found in either group.²⁷

Thomas Salter's evidence about the tensions within the Carthusian house, and the harshness of Houghton's regime there, may have been useful to Cromwell in breaking the unity and, ultimately, the will of the London Carthusians. In the words of Dom David Knowles, Salter 'spoke ill of his brethren and their superiors to their enemies'; and, in due course, the enemies rewarded the renegade monk.²⁸ From 1542 until his death sixteen years later Thomas Salter received a pension of £5 every year paid by the Court of Augmentations.²⁹ In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that when Maurice Chauncy returned to England in June 1555 to re-establish the Carthusian order in England at the Charterhouse at Sheen, Thomas Salter did not join him. Three years later the aged Thomas Salter left the modest bequest of £5 to the Sheen Charterhouse and asked the Prior and all his brethren to pray for him and to forgive him, 'if ever I have offended them longe before thies daies'. But the bitterness must have been deep. The calm and meticulous disposal of his accumulated personal possessions conceals the troubled conscience of Thomas Salter, a devout Catholic priest whose mid-life had, indeed, been a time of 'great trouble'.

When he left the Charterhouse Salter may have sought refuge in the house of Thomas Moone, a barber who lived in West Smithfield near to the sign of the Antelope, which would have been quite close to the Charterhouse. Thirty years later Salter remembered Moone as his 'faithfull frende' who had helped him in his time of great trouble.³⁰ It may be that the help which Moone gave Salter was medical. But Salter emerged from his trouble to find a job as a chantry priest serving a well-endowed chantry in the London parish of St Nicholas Acon. Here, by the time of the enquiry into chantries in 1548, Thomas was receiving a salary of £7 14s. and paid 6s. 8d. rent for 'a chamber in the churchyard'.³¹ Although Salter claimed in his will that he had found 'little kindness or frendshippe' in the parish yet he remembered several parishioners in his will. These were his neighbors Christopher Luter who had looked after him 'when anye sicknes was renynge' and Robert Henceball whom he declared to be 'verie friendfull unto me'; each of them received five shillings, as did John Plomer, a hosier living in St Nicholas Lane who suffered from poverty and 'grevous dysese'.³² Salter's charity to the parishioners did not

stop there: he gave 12d. to each of the children of 'Goodman Browne' and 12d. to 'Goodman Jeremiar', a Dutchman and goldsmith, and a further 12d. to his 'honeste wiffe'.³³ And when it came to disposing of the furnishings of his chamber, his pots and brushes and little chests and leather bags and bottles and glasses and candlesticks, Salter divided these between Joan Standely 'the maid dwellinge in the parisshe' and John Busshope the parish clerk.³⁴ And in spite of the cool reception he had received, Salter provided £5 to pay for a new silver gilt pyx for the parish to be used on the feast of Corpus Christi and on Palm Sunday, to be made by a skilled goldsmith 'after a comly and decent facion' since it was to hold the sacrament of the altar. And around the foot of the pyx were to be engraved the words 'Pray for the sowle of Thomas Salter some tyme Chaurtrie priest of this Church'.³⁵

Salter required his executors to organise three separate series of dole-giving. The first dole of halfpenny wheaten loaves were to be given to the poor people of the parish of St Magnus on the day when Salter was buried.³⁶ The second dole of 500 halfpenny wheaten loaves was to be distributed within three or four days of his burial in 'the parisshe where I was last in service'.³⁷ When he first drafted his will Salter intended to distribute a third dole of a penny to every poor person in the parish of St Nicholas Acon, but this clause has been crossed out in the original will and, instead, Salter chose to distribute larger sums to a small number of chosen people in the parish. The lack of friendship and kindness that Salter had found in St Nicholas Acon evidently led him to exercise more discriminating charity there.³⁸

When the chantries were dissolved in the reign of Edward VI, Salter would have been unemployed and, perhaps, in personal danger because of his faith. It is possible that he went into hiding in the notoriously conservative parish of St Olave in Southwark, which may well have provided a 'safe home' for Catholics during the reign of Edward VI. When Mary came to the throne St Olave's parish was 'exceptionally prompt and thorough in restoring the usages and panoply of the pre-Reformation church'.³⁹ The Vestry decided to restore the church furnishings less than six weeks after Mary came to the throne, and on 5 December that same year they agreed to appoint 'Sir' Thomas Salter, clerk, as their morrow mass priest. In return for an annual salary of four marks 'towards the maintenance of his living' he was to celebrate an early mass every morning 'at such an house' as the churchwardens should decide.⁴⁰ A new image of St Olave was made and 'a collection of lamps, banners, painted cloths, streamers and torches' was

purchased to be used in the parish in the revived celebrations and processions at Palm Sunday, Easter, Whitsun, Corpus Christi, Ascension Day Christmas, and at the feast of St Olave. Vestments and Catholic service books were assembled with enthusiasm and in 1555 the performance of religious plays was revived when 'playing garments' were bought for the children who 'played the profyttes' on Palm Sunday. Moreover by May 1554, less than a year after Mary's accession, the pre-Reformation guild dedicated to the Name of Jesus had been revived in the church and it is likely that Thomas Salter, as the morrowmass priest, would have acted also as the fraternity priest.

It would not be surprising, therefore, if Thomas Salter, whose loyalty to the 'most hollie Catholique Churche of Christe Jesus' was never in doubt, even if he could not cope with the rigors of the Carthusian way of life, had found a haven in Edward's reign in St Olave's parish in Southwark, arguably the most fervently Catholic parish in sixteenth-century London. Salter was himself a 'pore' brother of the re-founded fraternity of Jesus, and he asked in his will that the masters and brothers of the fraternity should accompany his corpse from 'the howse where I die' to St Magnus' Church and remain in the church until the mass and burial service were ended. And, as was his wont, Salter specified how they were to be dressed: 'in their clenely sadd [i.e. dark] coloured gownes and silke hodes and tipettes, and with the name of Jesus uppon their Brestes'.⁴¹ In recompense for this display of brotherly solidarity Salter left them twenty shillings for a 'recreacon' and a further twenty shillings for the funds of the brotherhood in return for their prayers. Thomas Salter also knew, and remembered in his will, several parishioners of St Olave's. He left to Joan, the wife of Vincent Nayle, a joiner who lived 'next beyond' St Olave's church, six English crowns which, he carefully notes, is thirty shillings sterling, because 'she and I were servants togethir in one howse' in Tower Street fifty years earlier.⁴² Salter also left a gold ring to 'goode mastyr' John Eston Esquire, a Justice of the Peace for Surrey and an MP for Southwark who lived in the parish. John Eston, in Edward's reign, had bought the silver gilt monstrance from the churchwardens of St Olave's for the considerable sum of £26 18s. 4d. (perhaps to hold it in safe-keeping) and then in Mary's reign he contributed 20s. towards 'the setting up of the altars'.⁴³ Thomas also requested that all the—very elaborate—wax tapers specified for his funeral were to be made by 'good Mr Day' the waxchandler of St Olave's parish provided that he would make them 'as good chepe as an other will do'.⁴⁴ Thomas Day not only supplied the parish church every year with

wax tapers and candles, but served as a churchwarden and also, later, as an auditor of the accounts.⁴⁵ Salter was also befriended in St Olave's parish by the self-made entrepreneur, Henry Leeke, an alien brewer. Leeke had built up a considerable estate in the parish of St Olave and by 1554 he was one of the auditors of the churchwardens' accounts. He may well have had recusant sympathies and his sudden journey 'beyond the sea to my frendys' in 1546, which led to his drawing up a brief will before his departure, may have been prompted by his Catholic loyalties.⁴⁶ He had returned by 1554 and played a prominent role in his very catholic parish. The general pardon he obtained on the accession of Elizabeth may have been sought to cover some shady business dealings, but it may also have been connected with his known loyalty to the old religion.⁴⁷ In his will Thomas Salter gave Leeke a gold ring valued at four French crowns and also 'inumerable thanckes for the greate frendely love and favour that he bare unto me of long tyme, whiche was to the greate furthering of my welfare and honestie'.⁴⁸

So when Mary came to the throne in 1553 and Catholicism was restored in England, Salter was once more able to work as a priest, although at first only as a morrowmass priest dependent upon the generosity of the churchwardens of St Olave's parish. Clearly he would have sought the security of an endowed chantry and the signs are that when he began to draw up his will he had not yet secured such employment: hence his frequent references to bequests to 'the parish where I was last in service' which clearly indicate that he did not know in which parish he would be serving when he died. But, in the course of drawing up his will, Salter appears to have secured employment in the parish of St Michael Cornhill. Several bequests of torches, originally destined for St Nicholas, have been altered in favour of the parish of St Michael and it is the curate of St Michael Cornhill who is asked to be present at Salter's burial service.⁴⁹ After the detailed description of the pyx to be given to St Nicholas parish, Salter notes, rather as an afterthought, 'And I give a lyke pixe to the said parishe of St Michaelles in Cornhill upon the like condicon'.⁵⁰

Although Salter may have gone into hiding in St Olave's parish during Edward's reign, it would appear that he returned in Mary's reign to the rented chamber in the churchyard of St Nicholas Acon where he remained until his death: the distribution of his small personal possessions, including the 'vi glasses in my chamber windowe' to two parishioners suggests that he was still living in the parish of St Nicholas. But there is no doubt that he wished to be buried and commemorated in the church of St Magnus,

lying at the northern end of London Bridge. Although St Magnus' church was near to Southwark where Salter had served as a morrowmass priest and where he was a brother of the Fraternity dedicated to the Name of Jesus, yet his choice of a church where he was not a parishioner, and where he seems not to have had particular friends, is puzzling. It maybe significant that the livings of both St Nicholas Acon and St Magnus were held at this time by Maurice ap Griffith, an Oxford graduate who began his life as a Dominican friar and was later consecrated as bishop of Rochester in April 1554. Griffith died at almost the same time as Salter and, like him, chose to be buried in St Magnus' church.⁵¹ Moreover St Magnus was a fine church, and Thomas Salter liked finery. Stow wrote that it was a 'fayre Parrish Church in which church have beene buried many men of good Worship'.⁵² It may have been the fairness of the church and the quality of those buried there which attracted Salter. He asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel of the church in the vacant area near to the pew of the Alderman Master John Cooper.⁵³ Since Salter makes no other reference to Cooper in his will, his choice of burial near his pew does not suggest intimacy but, perhaps, social ambition. Salter, as one might expect, was clear about the exact way in which his burial and exequies were to be carried out. His funeral was to take place in the morning when the great bell of St Magnus' church was to toll his knell from 6 am until noon. No sermon was to be preached either at the funeral or at the month's mind but, in the Lent following his burial, Salter provided six shillings for a sermon to be given by a 'sadde and discrete secular priest that is well learned and a good catholique in his lyvinge'.⁵⁴ Salter provided rewards for a number of curates, clerks and sextons whom he asks to be present at his burial service, but it was as a one-time member of the Salters' Company that Thomas particularly wished to be remembered. He asked the masters of the company to accompany his body to St Magnus' church 'in their best livery' and to remain until the end of the burial service. Their attendance was to be rewarded with forty shillings to spend on a meal 'where it please them'.⁵⁵

Salter, as so often, specifies very carefully exactly what the torches and tapers burning at his funeral are to look like. In addition to four great tapers of yellow wax each weighing ten pounds, and twelve 'staffe torches' of yellow wax each weighing three pounds, Salter instructed his executors to pay fourteen or fifteen shillings for two 'cummely braunches of pure white waxe' (i.e., six-branch standing candlesticks) and between the branches there were to be live escutcheons; two depicting the five wounds of Christ, two with 'the letters of my name T and S knytte together' and

one with the arms of the Salters' company.⁵⁶ During the funeral service the torches and tapers were to be held by the six almsmen of the Salters' company and a further ten poor freemen of the company. As we have come to expect, not only did Salter specify that all the poor men were to receive a sterling groat but also that they were to wear russet gowns costing twenty shillings each 'the saide gowne be wide and side downe to the ancle and wide poked sleeves and narrowe at the hands after a palmers garment'.⁵⁷

Between his burial service and his month's mind Salter asked that his grave be covered with a black woolen cloth embellished with a simple white cross, but during his burial service, and at his month's mind he asked the Salters for the use of their best hearse cloths.⁵⁸ At the month's mind service Salter wanted the same personnel to be present for the *Dirige*, and the mass, which was to be both read and sung. And the poor men of the craft were again to bear the torches and tapers wearing their russet palmers' gowns. After the service was over the contingent of salters was to return to Salters' Hall together with Salter's executor and the overseer of his will. Then, in due order, all the officers of the craft were to be lined up to receive the rewards that Salter had so carefully specified: aldermen and sheriffs of the company, 3s. 4d. each; wardens, 2s. 6d; past wardens, 2s., rener wardens, 1s. 8d.; past rener wardens, 1s. 4d.; liverymen of the company who came to his burial and month's mind, each 1s.; and the beadle who was responsible for ensuring that the members of the company were summoned to the funeral and months mind was to receive a special reward of 40s. And in addition to these individual bequests Salter provided 40 shillings for 'a little recreacon' for all of them 'for I am not able to give them a great dynner'.⁵⁹

Just as Thomas made detailed provision for his funeral, so he was very precise about his gravestone. He specified a grey marble slab on which there was to be an engraved brass made by a 'cunynge marbler' who lived on the south side of the parish church of St Dunstan in the West. The brass image was to depict a priest with his eyes 'cloosed togythir as all deademens eyes ought so to be', dressed in an alb and vestment and holding in both hands a chalice together with the consecrated host 'in a sunnie beame appearinge right above the chalice'. Above the head of the priest there was to be a scroll with the words *miserere mei deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*. At the foot of the image there was to be a tablet 'of Antick facon' which recorded that Thomas Salter, sometime priest of London, had departed from this transitory life in the year 1558 when he was eighty years old in the 'grace and greate mercye of god'. The exact date and month

of Salter's departing are left as gaps in his text. And at the base of the brass there was to be an engraved escutcheon with the arms of the Salters' company 'bycause I was in my youth one of the said companye and lyverey'.⁶⁰

Thomas Salter was, indeed, very attached to the company of the Salters and it is to them that he entrusted his major benefaction; his 'grett rewarde & gyfte' of 200 marks from which they were to buy lands and rents to produce an annual income. Needless to say, Salter was very precise as to how the income was to be spent. He had four objectives. His primary objective was to increase the stipend of the six almsmen of the Salters' company by two pence a week, and he carefully explained that this money was to be used to increase their salaries and not simply to replace other funding streams.⁶¹ The second objective was to provide four sacks of coal once a year for the six almsmen.⁶² In the third place the company was to oversee the keeping of his annual obit in St Magnus' church. Salter does not expect the master and wardens to attend the obit, but he hoped that the beadle and the six almsmen would do so and for this they were to be rewarded. In all, the costs of the annual obit were to amount to no more than 14s. 2d. And Salter's final stipulation was that 52s. was to be sent every year to the churchwardens of St Paul's parish in Norwich, who were to spend 12d. every week in buying halfpenny wheaten loaves for the twenty-four sisters in Norman's hospital or, failing them, for the poor of the parish. And, as if the wardens of the Salters were not given enough to do, Thomas even asks them to send an extra 12d. to the St Paul's churchwardens to buy a basket to be used for storing the bread. So in all, Salter calculated that the pensioners' salary increases would cost 52s. a year and the coal 16 shillings, the obit 14s. 2d., and the Norwich charity 52s making a total of £6 14s. 2d. or just in excess of ten marks.⁶³ If the Company had invested the 200 marks in London property this might have been expected to produce annual returns of about 7%, or fourteen marks which would have covered the specified bequests and, perhaps, left enough for repairs to the properties.⁶⁴

It seems evident that the Salters Company balked a little at the responsibilities and tasks allocated to them under Salter's will. Although two of the witnesses to the original will were Edmund Keye and Robert Harding, both of whom were salters, it is not clear to what extent Thomas Salter may have discussed his plans and intentions with the Company itself before he drew up his will. The Company had been given a very substantial role to play in fulfilling Thomas's wishes; not only were the masters of the Company to accompany Thomas's funeral procession to St Magnus' church

and stay until the end of the service in return for a forty shilling supper, but they were to oversee the administration, in perpetuity, of Salter's 'great rewarde' to the Company of two hundred marks. This money had to be invested in lands and rents and the income spent on a variety of charitable purposes, some of them at a considerable distance from London. City companies were increasingly burdened with such obligations and they were becoming rather more careful to ensure that the value of the bequest was sufficient to meet the obligations which were imposed.⁶⁵ In the course of drawing up his will, Thomas Salter may, perhaps, have had a stroke for the last few clauses are not written in his own hand, but by the notary, and at the end, although all the four witnesses signed their names, Thomas was able only to make a feeble, and smudged, mark (see Plate. 9.4).⁶⁶ At some point after the completion of the will, Keye and Harding may have discussed the provisions of Salter's will with the Salters' Court of Assistants and it may have been decided to send a deputation to visit the dying Salter. The Court was clearly concerned that the sum which the company was being given was inadequate for the purposes Thomas had in mind. So on 8 October Thomas was persuaded to reduce the amount to be given to the poor of Norwich from 52 shillings to 26 shillings so that the other 26 shillings could be paid to the Salters 'in consideration of suche paymentes' as Salter had required to be made from the income of his gift. And in order to ensure that the Company received the full two hundred marks, Salter was persuaded to reduce the amounts to be paid to each of his five kinsfolk from twenty marks (£13 6s 8d.) to ten pounds, since 'on better advise-ment' he realised that his money and goods 'woulde no further extend'. Moreover Salter's executors were to hand over one hundred marks by next Easter and the further hundred marks the following Christmas. It is clear that the Salters' Company intended to secure the 'great rewarde' that they had been bequeathed as quickly and as securely as possible. And, as some sort of payment, each of the three members of the deputation from the Company was to receive twenty shillings from Salter's estate.⁶⁷

Thomas Salter had a special affection for his Company because at its heart had been the fraternity dedicated to Corpus Christi in All Hallows church in Bread Street. The Salters had taken over the parish guild dedicated to Corpus Christi in the course of the fifteenth century and by 1483 this guild chapel in the church was known as Salters' chapel and the Salters maintained two priests in the church. Although in 1550 the Company had been forced to forfeit some of the rents that they had been given by the salter Thomas Beaumont in 1454, to fund a chantry

priest and maintain his obit in the fraternity chapel in the church, yet it was still possible that the fraternity might be re-founded.⁶⁸ The unhappy impression remains that the Salters' Company in which Thomas had been proud to be of the livery when he was a young man, and for which he had a special affection because of the company's role as 'kepers of the seale of the fraternity of Corpus Christi in London', did not feel as warmly and generously towards their erstwhile liveryman as he felt towards them. Moreover their task in carrying out the provisions in Salter's will was made more difficult by the fact that between the drawing up of the codicil on 8 October and the proving of the will on 19 December, Queen Mary had died on 17 November; the very future of Catholic England was in doubt.

But if the Salters' Company was hesitant about the tasks allocated to them under the will of Thomas Salter, his executor faced an even more daunting task. Salter appointed only one executor, his 'trustie frend' Peter Honyborne, a draper; and his 'especiall frende and spiritual lover' Master Richard Kettil, the vicar of St Stephen's Coleman Street, was to act as the overseer. In recompense for this task Kettil was to receive a black gown and hood in addition to the other legacies he had already received under the will: Honyborne seems to have received no legacies and no reward for acting as Salter's executor.⁶⁹ There may have been some verbal arrangement between the two men. Honyborne (Honntingborne) appears to have been a parishioner in Thomas Salter's last parish, St Michael Cornhill, and when he drew up his own will in 1565 he ended it with words which were almost identical to those used by Thomas Salter in closing his will five years earlier.⁷⁰

It is difficult to know how well Honyborne and Kettil carried out their tasks in the changed religious climate of Elizabethan England. It is impossible to know whether Salter's funeral and month's mind were carried out as he had hoped. Stow, who lists the monuments in St Magnus' church in the 1590s, says nothing of Thomas Salter's tomb, although he does record the tomb of Maurice ap Griffith the catholic bishop of Rochester who died in the year after Salter.⁷¹ Stow is notoriously selective and the fact that he does not choose to record Salter's tomb does not mean that it never existed.⁷² On the other hand its blatant Catholic imagery and emphasis on the chalice containing the body of Christ, might have made it a particular target for Protestant iconoclasts. But there is a legend in the Salters' Company that the almsmen of the craft were accustomed to visit Salter's monument once a year and knock on the tomb saying 'How do you do, brother Salter? I hope you are well'.⁷³ If there is any truth in the

legend, then there must have been a tomb to be visited. The church was burnt in the Fire of 1666 and rebuilt.

The Salters Company received their bequest and observed the letter, if not the spirit, of Salter's will. By the nineteenth century they could refer to a copy of Salter's will in 'an old book of gifts' to the Company. The six Company almsmen received their extra two pence a week (as part of a weekly allowance of 10s. 6d.) and each almsman received from the Company a chaldron (1 cwt) of coals which, it was claimed, 'more than compensates for Thomas Salter's gift of four sacks of coal each'. The Company acknowledged that Salter had left money for the celebration of his annual obit each year in St Magnus' church 'with other payments for superstitious uses', and the Company paid their almsmen an extra fifteen shillings yearly in lieu of the three shillings which Salter had left them as a reward for going to St Magnus' church. The Company discharged its obligations for Salter's bequest to the poor sisters of Norman's Hospital in Norwich by paying £1 6s. each year to the churchwardens of the parish of St Paul 'for the use of the poor'. When enquiry was made of the churchwardens, they answered that the money was 'carried into the general charity account'.⁷⁴ It is noticeable that although the Salters Company had received 200 marks and invested it in lands and rents from which the income would have risen with inflation, yet in the three centuries since Salter's death, the amounts paid out in charitable payments had not increased at all. How was the increased income from Salter's bequest being spent?

Does his will bring us any closer to Thomas Salter himself? Is it reasonable to believe that the priorities and concerns apparent in the will reflect those of the man himself? We have seen that the will while revealing much about its author has also, probably deliberately, concealed a good deal. There is, for example, no reference to Salter's parentage or family as one might have expected; his origins remain deliberately obscured. We are not told in what way Elizabeth, his 'very nere kinswoman', is related to the testator. Likewise there is no reference to the twenty years he spent as a Carthusian monk in the London Charterhouse, and the reasons for his silence only become apparent through access to other sources. There is a further mystery which Salter does nothing to explain, and that is how he came to have so much money to dispose of at the end of his life. It is true that he appears not to have possessed any silver plate, which would normally have been mentioned in the wills of moderately prosperous secular men and women, but Salter was certainly 'cash rich'. In total his bequests amounted to nearly £500: his funeral expenses (£41 14s. 4d.); the bequests

to fourteen named individuals (£24 6s. 4d.); the bequests to institutions (all prisons apart from the Charterhouse at Sheen; (£9 15s.); the bequests to his five relatives (£68 13s. 4d. reduced to £52); the two pyxes (£10), and the rewards to the three salters (£5). Then in addition there was the 'great rewarde' bequest of 200 marks (£133 13s. 4d.) given to the Salters' Company. This total of £291 2s. 4d. does not include the cost of his marble and brass tomb in St Magnus' church. Thomas Salter had probably been at one time a very successful salter who rose quickly to become a liveryman. But, surely, on entering the Charterhouse he would have surrendered all his personal wealth? It is true that individual Carthusians were allowed to own some personal possessions. When Thomas Golwyne, for instance, moved from the London Charterhouse to Mount Grace priory in 1519 he took with him a modest personal wardrobe, utensils of pewter and latten including items that had been given to him personally, and at least fourteen books.⁷⁵ It is possible that Salter left the London house with a comparable collection of personal items. But when he emerged again into the secular world he did so as a chantry priest earning £7 14s. p.a., augmented by his Charterhouse pension of £5 p.a. The wealth revealed in his will could not have been acquired by savings out of his salary. The source of this wealth remains a mystery.

Some of Salter's priorities are apparent in his bequests: it is his relatives, and the Salters' Company, who receive the bulk of his benefactions. The only institutions to benefit, apart from the Carthusian house at Sheen are the numerous London prisons: had Salter's sympathies for prisoners been aroused, perhaps, by his own experiences when confined in the conventual prison of the Charterhouse? And there is no doubting the importance which he attached to his funeral and his post mortem commemorations. But one of the most striking aspects of his will is the numerous bequests to individuals, each with a distinctive testimonial.

Another of Salter's priorities must surely have been his clothes. It is not simply that he seems to have quite a lot of them, but rather that he describes them with such meticulous attention to the details of their construction. It is true that Salter is meticulous about many aspects of his bequests but it may seem surprising that he, an ex-monk, is so fastidious about his clothing. In all he owned six gowns, two short gowns, four side gowns, one frock, one partlet (a ruff or collar) and three jackets. Although some of these were old, others were furred with cony and fittchewes (pole cat) or lined with fine worsted. In addition Salter had nine caps of satin, velvet and wool; ten pairs of ponyettes (cuffs); two pairs of new leather

gloves which he kept under the mattress on his bed and an assortment of leather and velvet bags and pouches. None of this clothing seems to have been specifically the apparel of a priest, except for Salter's six tippets, the long black scarf which was worn by the clergy over their surplice. He left five of these tippets to his fellow priest Richard Kettil, but one of black sarsenet he gave to Elizabeth Symondes specifying that it was two ells long (but lacked two nayles, i.e., two inches) and suggesting that if she could not use it herself she might 'sell it to some honest priest that is well benefited and have an honest pourcon of money for it'.⁷⁶ Salter also left two pairs of his best hose, two of his best shirts, two of his best towels and four of his best handkerchiefs to Richard Kettil, specifying 'that they be clene washed my said lynen before they be delyvered unto him'.⁷⁷

It is clear that Richard Kettil was Salter's 'best friend'. In appointing him as the overseer of his will he calls him 'my especiall frende and spiritual lover', and elsewhere in the will he thanks him heartily 'for his great love and favour that he hath borne unto me of long tyme'.⁷⁸ Richard Kettil receives, in addition to the tippets and all the best linen, two gowns, a jacket and seven caps. He was also given the six books in Salter's chamber. These consisted of a great book containing sermons and the Gospels and another 'lesser book' of the Epistles. In addition Salter had a 'portuas', that is a portable breviary which brought together in a single volume, in abbreviated form, all the antiphons and lessons necessary for the celebration of the canonical office.⁷⁹ Salter's fourth book was a primer written, as was customary, in both English and Latin. The primer, or Book of Hours, was the devotional book of the laity and usually contained, among other devotional works, the office of the Virgin, the seven penitential psalms, a litany and the offices for the dead. Salter writes that his primer contained all the readings from the Epistles and Gospels in English for every Sunday and holiday (i.e., festival day) for the whole year. This would, indeed, be a very useful book for a priest to possess. The fifth book was called *Ortus Vocabulorum*, a Latin dictionary with English meanings which had been produced towards the end of the fifteenth century and was printed by de Worde in 1500.⁸⁰ And the final volume, described by Salter as 'a verie little boke' was a copy of *The Imitation of Christ* (*Imitatio Christi*) a famous manual of spiritual devotion, attributed to Thomas a Kempis (c. 1380–1471), in which the Christian is instructed to seek perfection by following Christ as his model.⁸¹ This is not a remarkable collection of books, but they would have provided Salter with the necessary tools for serving as a chantry priest. Only *The Imitation of Christ* suggests that he might have

used books to deepen, or improve, his spiritual life. Moreover the listing of his books, in the middle of a catalogue of the different clothes to be given to Richard Kettil, suggests that Salter saw them as part of the furnishings of his chamber and that his eye fell upon them as he sat drawing up his will. The books are not described with the same intimacy and affection (or knowledge of their contents and defects) as are his clothes.

It might, perhaps, throw some light on Thomas Salter if we were able to find out more about his 'special friend and spiritual lover' Richard Kettil. Kettil had been vicar of St Stephen Coleman Street since 1550 and so, like Salter, he had lived through the upheavals of the religious changes of the mid-sixteenth century. Although Salter notes that Kettil was a Master of Arts, and in his own will Kettil describes himself as Bachelor of Law, yet there is no record of him to be found among the records of the alumni of Oxford and Cambridge universities.⁸² The chantry certificate records that in 1548 he received a salary of £11 p.a. for serving a parish of some 800 people without any help except perhaps a single chantry priest.⁸³ In his will, drawn up 25 February 1561, Kettil betrays no signs of Catholic sympathies. He commends his soul to his Maker and Redeemer 'trusting only through his mercy to be saved'. He repented of his sins and affirmed that 'I steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ has suffered death upon the cross for me and shed his most precious blood for my redemption, earnestly remembering the great benefits that I have thereby, and I give hearty thanks therefore'. Kettil asked to be buried in the chancel of St Stephen's church near the place where he had been accustomed to sit. He left 6s. 8d. to be distributed to the poor of the parish on the day of his burial and 40d. for a sermon to be given by 'a well learned preacher'. The overseer of his will, as he had been of Thomas Salter's, was his 'gossip' Agnes Sturtell, now the wife of Richard Long, to whom he left a gold ring. Agnes had six children, three boys and three girls, and two of them, Richard and Margaret Sturtell, were Kettil's godchildren.⁸⁴ Whereas Salter had many good friends scattered around the City, Kettil found his good friends in the bosom of the Sturtell family. But although Kettil was a graduate he was clearly much less prosperous than his older friend: his bequests amounted in all to just over £4, which is indeed what one might expect of a man who lived on an annual salary of £11. So the nature of the relationship between Kettil and his older friend, Thomas Salter remains, like much else about Salter, elusive.

* * *

It may be time to draw the threads together. Young Thomas was born in Norwich in about 1480. He may well have been an orphan since he never refers to his parents or to his lineage. He was taught his letters by Dame Katherine Peckham, one of the sisters at Norman's Hospital in St Paul's parish in the city. By the first decade of the sixteenth century he was in London serving an apprenticeship with Master Henry Adams, a salter. At this time Thomas may have been known by the name of his master, namely as Thomas Adams. As a young man he made good friends among the other servants and apprentices living in the household of his master and elsewhere, and he kept in touch with his friends from those years throughout his life. Thomas did well; he entered the freedom of the City, became a member of the Salters' Company and prospered sufficiently to become a liveryman before the age of forty. By this time he had taken the name of his craft and was known as Thomas Salter. But suddenly his career veered off in a different direction and in 1517 he decided to become a Carthusian monk and to be ordained as a priest.

Thomas Salter was clearly a gregarious man who enjoyed the company of his friends and cared about them. He was doing very well as a rising young merchant in the Salters' Company and was likely to become a master or warden, or even an alderman of London. Perhaps it was some sort of trauma, or acute sense of sin, which led him to choose the austere and virtually solitary life of the Carthusian house. The call to become a secular priest would have been comprehensible, but the decision to become a Carthusian is hard to understand. As it was, it was clearly a mistake. Salter found the harsh and unsympathetic regime of the Carthusians unendurable: he may have been bullied. He sought to be transferred to a less severe monastic community and when this request was refused by prior John Houghton, Salter tried to run away but was brought back and confined in the conventual prison. Here he suffered nightmares and was, clearly, deeply unhappy.⁸⁵ So when Thomas Cromwell visited the house in 1534 Thomas, searching for a way out, told him of his troubles and followed up their meeting with a letter. At the root of his distress was the fact that he was unable to celebrate mass or to receive the sacrament because to do this he had to make confession, and yet, when he did confess the other brothers maliciously betrayed his confessions. Although Thomas did not secure his release immediately, by the time the remaining brothers had

finally taken the oath accepting the Act of Royal Supremacy in May 1537, Salter's name was not to be found among them. The exact circumstances of Salter's departure from the monastery are unclear, but what is certain is that he managed to secure a £5 pension as other monks did. There is no record of his being granted a change of habit, but this must have happened because he became a chantry priest serving in the London parish of St Nicholas Acon, where he lived in a chamber in the churchyard with an income of nearly £13 p.a. Here in the parish he made some good friends, mainly among the humbler members of the community whom he remembered as his good and caring neighbors. He seems to have continued to live in his chamber in the churchyard and in his old age he was cared for by Joan Standely 'the maid' and the parish clerk John Bussshope, to both of whom he left all the furnishings in his chamber when he died. It is not clear what happened to Salter during the reign of Edward VI but he perhaps went into hiding in the sympathetic parish of St Olave in Southwark. He had good friends there including the influential Master Henry Leeke. When Mary came to the throne he became the parish morrowmass priest and joined the revived fraternity dedicated to the Name of Jesus and, at the age of nearly eighty, seems to have found employment once more as a chantry priest at the church of St Michael Cornhill. But he clearly revived his links with the Salters' Company and it was to them, as to a family, that he entrusted his substantial trust fund to maintain his obit and his charitable concerns for the poor sisters of Norman's Hospital in Norwich and the poor almsmen of his own company. He wanted to be buried under a fine engraved brass in the church of St Magnus.

Thomas Salter was not a martyr, nor was he an intellectual. He must have been a good business man and a competent administrator, and no detail was too unimportant to be overlooked. He was observant, meticulous to the point of fussiness, kind and charitable. He had a gift for loyal friendship and, perhaps, an inclination to name-drop. There are signs of this in his will: his desire to be buried next to the pew of Master John Cooper, the alderman; the importance he attaches to the fact that his kinswoman Elizabeth had married a 'nere kinsman' to Mr Ralph Symonds who had been a London alderman and sheriff; young John Symonds was noted as having served his apprenticeship with the brother of Mr Leonard Sutterton, a Norwich alderman, and Salter's first personal bequest was a 'wreathed hope of fine golde' to Dame Katherine Dormer, the widow of the London alderman, Sir Michael Dormer, sheriff and mayor of London who had died in 1545. Thomas besought Lady Dormer to wear the ring

every day in order to call the donor to mind and pray for him, 'sometyme one of her little acquayntance'.⁸⁶ But Salter had been able to seek help from a wide range of friends in his times of trouble. What seems clear is that it was the decision to become a Carthusian monk, a spiritual lifestyle for which he was completely unsuited, which was the great mistake of his life. But he never turned back on his decision to become a priest: when the chance came in Edward's reign, he did not, as many others did, abandon the priesthood, nor did he get married. He remained faithful to that commitment, and for Thomas Salter the mass remained at the heart of his faith. It was the body of Christ, manifested in the bread and wine of the mass, that held his loyalty. To the two parishes where he had served as a chantry priest he gave a pyx for holding 'the blessed sacrament of the aulter in yt upon Corpus Christi day' and on his tomb he wished to be portrayed as a priest holding in both his hands the precious chalice containing the consecrated host.⁸⁷ At the very beginning of his rehearsal of his 'grett rewarde' to the Salters' Company he noted that they were the 'kepers of the seal of the fraternity of Corpus Christi in London', and for Thomas Salter that was one of the defining characteristics of 'the misterie and Crafte of the Salters company'. Salter clearly saw the Company as holding the seal in trust until the day came for the re-foundation of the fraternity.⁸⁸ And it was the Carthusians' refusal to allow him either to celebrate mass or to receive the sacrament which was the grievance he expressed most vehemently to Thomas Cromwell.

Thomas Salter knew that he had taken a wrong turning and that he had failed to live up to his monastic vows. He looked back wistfully at the days when he was a young man with many friends in the London and the prospect of a good career in the Salters' company. When he drew up his will he called to mind those who had helped and supported him in his long life with its great troubles and he turned confidently to Christ Jesus his merciful saviour. Salter knew that he needed the forgiveness of the brothers in the Charterhouse at Sheen, and he asked God in prayer perpetually on his tombstone, and at the hour of his death, to have mercy upon him 'synnefull creature'.⁸⁹ The shields in the elaborate six-branch candlesticks expressed his loyalties: Thomas himself represented by an escutcheon bearing his initials of T and S, supported on the one hand by the arms of the Salters Company and on the other by a shield bearing the image of the five wounds of Christ.⁹⁰

APPENDIX

The Will of Thomas Salter dated 31 August 1558

This will was originally transcribed from the enrolled copy in the register of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (TNA, PROB 11/42a, ff. 100v–105) and printed by Roger Greenwood in *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 38 (1983), pp. 280–95 and is reproduced by kind permission of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. Greenwood's printed transcript has been checked against the enrolled copy and also against Salter's surviving original will which is almost entirely written in his own hand (TNA PROB 10/38).⁹¹ Some minor corrections have been made to Greenwood's printed transcript and paragraph numbers have been inserted for ease of reference. The headings in bold were provided by Salter himself when he drew up his original will but they were not included in the registered copy.

Jesus aductor meus

1. In the name of Almighty god Amen. The verie last daie of the moneth of August in the yere of our lorde god a thousand fyve hundred lvij [1558] and in the v th and vj th year of the Reignes of our most dread soveraigne lorde and most dreade soveraigne ladie Philippe and Marie by the grace of god kinge and **Q**uene of England, Spayne, France, both the Cicilles, Jerusalem and Ireland Defendours of the faith Archduckes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine and brabant, Counties of haspurge Flanders and Tiroll. I Thomas salter of london Clerke, in my right mynde and good memorie then being, and also I truste in perfect love and Charitie with all my even Christen, and also in the verye true faith and belieffe of the most hollie Catholique Church of Christe Jesus our most mercifull saviour and Redemer do make and ordeine this my present testament and last will in this due maner and fourme as it henceforth followeth and doth expresse and shewe, that is to witte:

2. First as it becomyth me a faithfull Christen man I do bequeath and give my sowle unto almightie god and to the glorious and most pur virgin marie mother of mercie & to all the hollie and blessed company of heaven.

3. Furthermor I will that my bodie be buried in our ladie Chappell within the parisshe Church of St Magnus nexte unto london bridge in the voide paved grownde nexte unto the right wourshipfull Maister Cowpers pewe the Alderman, and there to lie and rest in the said hollie grownde till almightie god by his omnipotente power shall raise it up agayne out of the said grownde and erthe at the generall resurexcon day whiche I belyve faithfully shall come. And in the said Church of St Magnus I wilbe buried in the forenone, and have a fornones knyll rung frome vj of the Clocke till xij of the clocke at none with the greate bell in the saide church, for the which saide knyll I do give to the said Church x s. and for the pealles ringinge at my buriall Daye I do give them ijs. vj d. according to the use and custome of the said Church.

4. And at my said buriall neither at my monethes mynde I will have no sermon, but upon on Sondaie in the lente nexte after my buriall daye then to have a sermon either in the forenone in the saide church by some sadde and discrete secular priest that is well learned and a good catholique in his lyvinge [fol. 101] and for his saide sermon making I do give him vj s. sterlinge. Also I will have iiij honest priestes to beare my bodie frome the howse where I die unto the saide Church and there to be all the tyme of my buriall service and to laye me in my grave and for so doinge their saide service I do gyve to eche one of them xij d. Also to the Curate of St Magnus for doing his diligent service at my buriall I do give him xvj d. and to the other prestes and Clerkes of the saide Church I do give everie one of them viij d. and to the sexten vj d. Also to the Curate of Sainte Mighell in Cornehill⁹² if that he do goo with my deede bodie to St Magnus Church and be at my buriall I do give him xij d. and to his parishe Clerke viii d. if he be at my saide buriall. Also to the Curate of the parishe church where my last service was if he do go with my deede bodie to the saide Church and be at my buriall I do give him xii d. and to everie of the other priestes Clerkes or singingmen of the said parisshe Church I do give viij d. and to the Sexten vj d. if they be at my saide buriall and besides all these forsaid priests and Clerkes if there come anye more unbidden I then do give to everie priest a grote and to everie parishe clerke iiij d. if there passe not x or xij of them.

5. **The Wax chandler** Also I will have at my buriall ij cummely braunches of pure white waxe with sixe lightes & in the v paynes of eche of the saide braunches I will have these v scutchons that is to witte one of the v

wowndes another with the letters of my name T and S knytte together an other with the Salters Armes of London an other of the V wowndes and the last with the letters of my name againe the which ij saide braunches will cost xiiij or xv s.

6. **The salters almesmen** Also I will have iiij great tapers of yallowe waxe at my buriall of the weight of x pounde Apece. and for the waste and makinge of them will coste vi or vii s. Also I will have xii staffe torches of yelowe waxe of the weight of iii li. apece whiche will coste xxiiij s. and I will that the salters vj almes men do beare vj of the saide torches and vj other pore men that be free of the said Salters company to beare the other vj torches and other vj torches and other iiij pore salters for to holde the iiij great tapers of waxe abowte my hearse in the dirige and masse tyme and for so doing their Dutie at my said buriall I do give to everie one of the said xvi pore Salters a Russet gowne of the price of xx s. and that the saide gownes be wide and side downe to the ancle and wide poked sleeves and narrowe at the hands after a palmers garment and beside the saide gownes I do give to everie one of them a russet Boston Cappe of the price of xxii d. and also to everie one of them a sterling grote to paie for their dyners that daie. And I will that the sixtene pore men be at the dirige and masse of my monethes mynde in their saide garmentes to holde the saide torches as they did at my buriall without anye more rewarde then is above written saving onely I do give to everie one of them one grote sterling to paie for their dynner that daie after that my saide monethes mynde is past and gone. I do give to the saide Church of St Magnus iiij of the saide staffe torches, and to the Church where I was last in service other iiij staffe torches and to the church of Sainte Mighell in Cornehill⁹³ I do give the last iiij staffe torches.

7. Also frome the daie of my buriall till the daie of my monethes mynde be paste I will have a clothe of blacke wollen cotten with a white crosse of lynng clothe sowed uppon it and layed uppon my grave & ij tapers of yelowe waxe one at the heade & an other at the feite of the full weight of ij li. a pece burning uppon my grave daie as longe as anye dyvine service is songe or saide in the fornone or afternone in the saide Church of sainte Magnus & for the burning and waystyng of the saide ij tapers all the monethes space I do give to the waxe chawndler iiij s. sterling and I will that good Mr Day the waxechaundler of St Olyves parisshe in southwerke have the ordeynng and making of all the saide lightes, and to be

well truly and honestlie paid for them, if that he will ordeine and make them as good chepe as an other will do.

8. The Salters company Furthermore I do hertely besiche all my goode masters of the wourshypful cumpany of the salters of london that I may have their best buriall clothe to be leyd uppon my Coffin at my buriall daie & my monethes mynde daie, bycause I was sometime one of their saide companye in my young daies as it is not unknowne unto them. And not only I have desired their saide buriall clothe for fortherining of myne honeste pore buriall, but for the moche more furthering of my said honeste buriall most humbly and lowly besichinge all my goode & worshipfull maisters of the salters company that they will followe me on my buriall daie to the saide churche of St magnus in their best lyvery and ther to tarie till the office of my whole buriall be ended and done and for their labour and paynes so taking for me I do give them by and by as sone as masse is done xl shillinges sterling for a recreacon for them to take it where it please them.

9. The monthes mynde And if it pleaseth my good maisters the salters to come againe to saincte magnus Churche in their said lyverye and to be at my monethes [fo1. 101v.] mynde and to offer at my masse, then as sone as the saide masse is done to retorne to their hall againe and myne executor and overseer shall follow them by and by home to their haull to give them the rewarde that I have willed to be given unto them by this my present testament and last will that is to wytte as sane as the said compa-nye is come upp in to their hall and do stand in ordre every man as they be in office and hath been in office or seniorite, if ther be anye alderman or Sherive of the said company and hathe been at my said buriall and monethes mynde with the said companye ther I give to the saide alderman iij s. iiij d. and to the shrive other iij s. iiij d. also, and to my good and worshipfull maisters the wardens of the saide companye then being I do give to eche one of them ij s. and vj d. sterling. And to all other that hath been wardens of the saide companye I do give ij s. sterling to everie one of them. And to eche one of the ij Renters xx d. sterling then being. and to everie one of these that hathe beene Renters of the Companye I do give iiij grotes sterling. And to all the residue of the saide companye that be in the lyverye and were at my buriall and monethes myde I do give to everie one of them xij d. sterling. But unto the bedell of the said companye then being, For the great labour and payne tayking in waring the saide companye to my

said buriall and monethes mynd I do give him x s. sterling as sone as all the said rewardes be gyven to the said companye, I will that my executoure do give by and by to my good maisters the wardens of the saide companye xl shillings sterling of my good for a little recreacon for them & all the saide companye, for I am not able to give them a great dynner.

10. Ferthermore at and upon the daie of my monethes mynde, I will have no more priestes and Clerkes at the Dirige & masse which I will have bothe redd and song in the forenone but the Curate of St Magnus and the other priestes and Clerkes of the said Churche and the foure honeste priestes that did beare me & leyde me in my grave on my burial daie. And to the Curate of St Magnus for doinge his duetie at my saide dirige and masse I do give him iiij grotes, and to the other said priestes viij d. apece and to everie one of the Clerkes of the saide Churche viij d. and to the sexten vj d.

11. **My buryall grownde** Furthermore for my buriall grounde in our ladie Chappell I do give to the Churche of saint Magnus foure poundes sterling, and to be paied well and truelie by myne Executour to the churche wardens of St Magnus upon my saide buriall daie before v of the clock at night with great thanks.

12. **Jesus frateryte in Suthewerke** Moreover I do humbly besiche all my good maisters and bretherne of Jesus fraternytie holden and kepte in the parish of Olave in south werke, that they will come with all their hole companye in their clenely sadd coloured gownes and silke hodes and tippettes, and with the name of Jesus upon their Brestes, and to follow my deade coorse frome the howse where I die unto St magnus Churche upon my buriall daie as the worshipfull companye of the salters shall do the same, and to tarie in the saide Churche till my dirige masse and buriall shall be ended, and for thus doinge for me I give them xx s. for a recreacon and I do give them other xx s. to the maynteyninge of their saide godlie brotherode, for the whiche I trust that they will preye for me late one of their pore breathern.

13. **A marble stone for my grave** Moreover against my monethes mynde day I will have a fayre graye marble stone leyd upon my grave of the full length and bredth of my saide grave, and before the saide stone be leyed upon my grave I will that there be an Image of a preist with an albe and a vestment upon him graven in copper of a cunynge marbler that dwell-

ithe in saincte dunstons parish in the West ageynste the sowth syde of the Churche, and that the saide Image be iij fote⁹⁴ in length, and that the saide Image do holde in bothe his handes the similitude [of a chalyce graven in copper & ye symylytude]⁹⁵ of a consecrate ooste in a sunnie beame appearinge right above the Chalice that the saide Image holdeth in both his handes under the saide sunie beame and the eyes of the ymage to be graven closed togethir as all deademens eyes ought so to be and a lyttle above the saide ymages heade, I will have a rolle graven in copper and ther sett and these wordes next followinge to be graven in it thus saying Miserere mei deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam and right and just under the said ymages foote I will that ther be a large plate of copper laied and made lyke a tablett of Antick facon; And in the said tablet I will have these wordes nexte following graven in it sayinge. In the grace and greate mercye of god here lyeth under this marble stone: the bodie of Thomas Salter priest sometyme of london whiche departed from this transytorie liff unto allmyghtie god upon the day of [fol. 102] the moneth and in the yere of our lord god M VC lvij he then being of the age iij score yeres unto whose sowle: almyghtie god be mercifull. Amen. And right undre and next ioyned unto the saide copper plate I will have graven in a scutchin of copper the armes of the salteres companye bycause I was in my youth one of the said companye and lyverey.

14. Of the almes to be gyvyn at my buryall day owte of seynt magnus cloystour Furthermore upon my buriall daie as sone as my deade bodie and the people that followeth it be come within St Magnus Churche dore I will that all such pore people as be within the saide Churche or nere abowte and without the saide Churche be sodenly and hastely called unto the Cloyster and while my dirgie masse and burial is a doinge to give to everie poore man woman and Childe a half penny lofe of newe baken wheaten breade and so lett hem departe out of the said Cloyster agayne at the wicket that openeth into temes streate and if there be anye pore people in the saide parish that be so sicke lame or bedded that they can not come to receave the said almes then I will that myne Executour as sone as he hath dyled the same daye do go home to their howses and to give to everie one of the said sicke lame or bedred one grote sterling in almes for to praye for my sowle and Christen sowles.⁹⁶

15. The ii d. dole Also in the parisshe where I was last in service I will that their be given to the pore people of the saide parisshe within iij or iij daies

a halpeny wheaten lofe newe baked to the number ofv hundred persons and vi skore to the hundred which saide breade will cost xxv s. and if the saide breade may not easely be provided, then let my Executour give my said almse in money that is to wytt to everie ij persons one peny or elles to everie fowre persons one two peny grote.

16. The iii d. dole Also in the parisshe of St. Nicolas Acon I do give theise rewardes and alms hereafter followinge, that is to witt to Christopher Luter bycause he was sometyme my nexte neybor and also redie to see unto me when anye sicknes was renyng I do give him v s. sterling, and to Robert henceball that was my late⁹⁷ nexte neybor and verie friendfull unto me to him I do give him other v s. and to John plumer bycause of his greate Disease and povertie I do give him other v s. and to everie one of the goodman browne smithes children I do give xij d. sterling and to the goodman Jeremiar ducheman and goldsmythe I do give xij d. and to his honeste wiffe other xij d. sterling.⁹⁸

17. The grett rewarde & gyfte to the salters cumpany Moreover I do bequeath and give to the misterie and Crafte⁹⁹ of the Salters companye¹⁰⁰ keepers of the seale of the fraternity of Corpus Christi in london with all my hole harte and mynde, besides the othir giftes and rewardes that be afore reehersed two hundredth markes of good and lafull moneye of england Upon this condition that they will faithfully and most truly performe and fulfill my godlie desir and charitable will, as it here playnely followeth and sheweth that is to witt: I will and desir that for this said ij hundred marks that I do give them that they will encrease ther vj almes mens Iyvinges more than it is at this present daye that is to witt to give to everie one of the said vj almesmen two pence sterling everie weeke yerely and perpetually frome the recepte of the saide ij c. markes¹⁰¹ more than they have hadd given them before these daies that is to witt where as before these daies they have given their said almes men but viij d. a week nowe to give them tenne pence a week and if they have before thies Daies given them ix d.-a weeke then nowe to give them xi d a weeke and if before thes daies they have given them x d a weeke then nowe and from hensfourth to give them xij d. a weeke, and not in no wise to mynisshe nor decrease none of their charitable and great rewardes or giftes that they have given yerely before these daies to their saide almesmen not for this saide rewarde and almes that I do give them.

18. Coolys for ye seyd poremen Furthermore out of the said ij hundred markes I will that the said company shall give to the saide vj almesmen ones in the yere perpetually iiij sakes of great Coles to everie one of them suche as comyth dayly frome Croydon and bromeley and other places of leke Coles.¹⁰²

19. The dyрге & masse for myn obyte Furthermore out of the said ij hundred markes I will the saide companye to keepe yerely and perpetually an obiit for me in the saide Church of good St Magnus that is to witte to have a dirige and a masse redd & songe in the forenone by the priestes and Clerkes of the said Church only and no more And I will that this moch money be spent at my Obite [fol. 102v.] and no more that is to Witte to the Curate of the saide Church I do give xij d. if he do his Duetie and be at my obite and to the other priestes of the saide Church if they be present at myne obite and do ther duetie at it I do give to ecche of them vj d. and to the other v singing men and ij sextens of the said Church if they be present and do their duetie at my obite I do give to eche of them vj d. And for the Peales that be runge at my saide dirige and masse I do give them ij s. vj d. for so is the Duetie to the said Church. And upon my saide obites day I will have a Coffin layde upon ij trestells over my grave and a Clenely hearse clothe layde upon it for all the dirige and masse tyme for the whiche I do give to the Church vj d. And for the ij tapers of waxe of ij li. a pece that shall burne at the hearses endes till the dirige and masse be ended and done and till he the Curate hathe sensed abowte the said hearse and hath saied Deprofundis. I do give to the wexchaundler for the waiste and making of the saide ij Tapers xij d. And for as moche as I have humbly desired my saide good maisters the saltirs above written to be at my saide buriall & monethes mynde, therefor I will not be so bolde to desir or to lake that they shoulde come to my saide obite yerely and perpetually, But I do most hertlie desir them, that their bedill of their companye & their vj said almesmen may yerely and perpetually be at my said obyte and [the seyd bedyll]¹⁰³ to offer the masse peny and for so doing and for his paynes taking att my said obite I do give him by this my last will xij d. sterling. And I will that the said almesmen do offer everie one of them an halpeny and for so doing I give to eche of them vj d. and so the whole expence of moneye at my said yerely obite is xij s. vjd. and no more. But and if ther be iij or iiij singing Children that are belonging to the saide Church and qwere then if they be at my saide dirige and masse I do give to eche one of them ij d. above the said some.

20. **Off ye almes to be gyvyn at Norwyche** Moreover out of the said ij hundred markes I will that the saide wardens and companye of the salters of london do delyver or cause to be delyvered yerely and perpetually upon newe yeres evins Eve to the Churche wardens of S. Paulis parishe within the Citie of norwiche in the counte of Norfolk two and fiftie shillinges of good and lafull money of england to be given in almes everie sondaie in the yere as it here followeth and sheweth that is to witte everie sondaie throughe the yere as sone as the highe masse is done in the saide parisshe churche of St Paule I will that the ij churche wardens of the said churche shall give xxiiij^{or} halpeny wheaten bread loves that were newe baking on the satterday nexte before unto xxiiij pore sisters of Vincent Norman which builded an howse for sisters in the saide parisshe many yeres agoo. And if their be not xxiiij sisters in the said howse at this present daye to receive and have the said almes of breade everie sonday in the yere that is to witte everie one of them a halpeny wheaten lofe newe bake, then so manye good sisters as be or shalbe hereafter I will that they be first served ever on the sonday of the said halpeny breade and the residue of the halpeny loves of breade that is lefte ungyven I will that it be given to the pore laye men and women in the said parishe of St paule. But in no wise to give my saide almes to suche laye people as be abhomynable swerers or advouterers or detractours or slanderers of their even Cristen for god hearithe not the prayour of no suche wicked people but he hearithe the prayer of all goode and faithfull cristen people and suche as fearith him lovith him & dreadeth him and kepeth his commandementes. our lord god give us all grace likewise to do the same. This foresaid perpetuall almes I have fownded and willed it to be given specially to the said pore sisters bycause I have a greate truste that they will praie for me, and also bycause a verie good devoute sister of the saide howse of Vyncent Norman was the first creature that taught me to know the letters in my booke Dame katherine peckham¹⁰⁴ was her name, I was scoller iij score and xij yeres agoo with her in the saide parishe of St. paule. I besiche Jesu have mercie upon her sowle.

21. Nowe for as moche as the saide churche wardens doth take the labour and payne to Distribute and give the said xij penyworthe of bread everie sondaie all the yere therfor I do give to them the ij vantage halpeny wheaten bread loves that thei have brought them by the Baker everie satterday with the said xij peny woth of breades which said bread I would it shold be brought into sancte paules Churche either uppon the satterday before evensong or elles upon the sonday before mattens and to be

put in a greate close basket that no myse not rattes do come to it and I desire my said good Maisters the salters that thei will give or send xij d. to the saide Church wardens to prepare and to paie for suche a basket for the said breade, and if so be that the said Church wardens will not take the labour and payne to distribute and give the said xxiiij loves [fol. 103] of wheaten bread to the saide sisters and poore laye people then let the parishe Clerke of the said St. Pauls Church give the saide breade everie sondaie in the yere unto them and for so doing then I do give to the saide clerke the ij vantage halpenywheaten loves everie sondaie throughe out the yere for his labour. And yet Furthermore if that my maisters the Wardens of the Salters company can here and perfectly knowe that the said almes is not given to the said sisters and pore laye people everye sondaie either in breade or ellis in money for scarseness of breade then I will that the said almes of breade be taken away frome them and to give it to their own almes men in london for ever.

22. My mastyr's ye salters of london Now I trust that my good maisters the salters of london doth right well perceave and knowe that the increasinge of ther said almes mens livings by me whiche is twelve pence sterlinge everie yere perpetually two and fiftie shillings sterling and the xxiiij sackis of Colis that I have given to the said vj almesmen yerely and perpetually at the price of viij d. a sacke is iustly and yerely to be paid xvj shillings sterling and the whole expence of money for all maner of charges at my saide obite and yeres mynde is xiiij s. ij d. And so then the said twise lij s. and the saide xvi s. for Coles and the said xiiij s. ij d. for my yerely obite the whole summe of the saide expences is no more but vj poundes xiiij s. ij d. sterling. And so then I trust that my good maisters the salters of london will purchase so moche with the said ij hundred markes in landes and rentes that they shalbe able yerely and perpetually not to perfourme and bere onely the charges of the foresaid iiij expences accordinge to this my present testament and last will, but also with the overplus of the money that shall come of the landes and rentes they shalbe yerely upon my obites day to make for them selves an honest recreacon in ther hall if it please them, and in so doinge I besiche god that moche goode may it do them, and besides all theis wordes I besiche them hertely that their poore almesmen may have that same day some parte of ther levings. Here foloweth the residue of this my present testament and last will

23. Off ye gyftes & rewardes to ye v chyldren that Robert Symonds had by his last wyfe elizabeth Furthermore I have dwellinge in the Countie of Norfolke v kynsfolkes that is to witt iij yongmen and ij yonge women and theis be their names Richarde Symondes John symondes and Thomas Symondes Elizabeth symondes and Elizabeth Symonds they were the Children of an honest yoman called Robert Symondes whiche was nere kinsman to Mr Raffe Symondes that was shriffe and alderman of london and the said iij yongmen and ij women were borne and Christened in the parishe of Suffeld x myle beyond Norwiche northwarde and the mother of them was ther fathers last wife, and she was my very nere kinswoman for the whiche I doo bequeath and give to her said V Children by this my present testament and last will as it here followeth and showeth that is to witt for as mooche as ther father and mother Robert and Elizabeth be bothe departed, I do give to ther said eldest sonne Richard Symondes twentie markes which is xiiij poundd vj s. viij d. of good and lafull money of englonde and I give him my blacke gowne furred in the fore partes with black cony and lyned with black frese in the backe partes and I do give him also my night satten cappe and my shorte gowne of puke coloured wullen clothe without lyninge but lyned at the hande and about the necke with black woursted, and I do give him my lethir bagg with the latten ringes and the lether girdle with it And I do give to the second sonne John Symondes twentie markes of good and lawful money and I do give him my syde gowne of puke coloured wollen cloth furred in the fore partes with blacke budge and lyned in the the backe partes with black cotton and I do give him also my blacke chamlet frocke and my Jacket of black damaske and my partelet of tawney damaske. and I do give to their yongest sonne Thomas Symondes twentie markes sterling of good and lafull money of englonde And because his name is Thomas as myne is therefore I do give him my best side and goode gowne of puke colourde wullen clothe and faced in the fore partes and in the sleeves with fyne tawny worsted and lyned in the backe partes with black Cotton, and I do give him also my black velvet powch and my blacke tuke bagge and my tawny chamlet Jacket and my blacke velvet night cappe newe made and my ij girdelles for my ij said powches one of black silke, an other of redd crule and my partlet of blacke satten and my partlet of tawney chamlett. Also I do bequeath and give to Elizabeth Symondes the eldes doughter of the saide Robert Symondes that he had byhis last wiffe twentie markes of good and lafull money of englonde and I do give her also my side and longe gown of black worsted furred in the fore partes with fittchewes and lyned in the backe partes with blacke cot-

ton, and I do give her my tippet of blacke sarsenet which is ij elles long lacking ij nayles and as she can not put the said gown and tippet to her owne use then [fol. 103v.] she may sell it to some honest priest that is well beneficed and have an honest pourcon of money for it, and I do give her also one paire of blacke ponyettes of damaske and an other payer of ponyettes of tawney damaske. Also I do bequeath and give to the said Robert Symondes yongest doughter called also Elizabeth Symons twentie markes of good and lafull money of englund which is thirtene poundes vj s. viij d., and I do give hir my said tawney gowne of wollen clothe that is lyned in the fore partes with black cotton, and in the after partes with playne wollen cloth, and also I do give hir one paire of ponyettes of blacke damaske, an other paire of tawney chamblet, and an othir little paire of ponyettes of tawney damaske. and I do give her also my ij eldest and porest gownes one of marble color and an other of Russet and bothe of frese which will make her two good gownes or other garments for the wourkinge daye.

24. And besides all these foresaid giftes and rewards that I here gyve them the v saide children that Robert Symondes had by his last wife Elizabeth I commende me moste hertely unto them trusting that thei do nowe perfectly perceave and fynde that I have remembred them as ther lovinge frende and pore kinsman, for which I do most humbly beseche them so to praie dayly that after this transitorie life both I and they may come to the glorious life in heaven which is evermore lasting amen.

25. Furthermore I hertely desir my executour & overseer to marke well my wordes that here nexte followeth which be these Certifyinge you of the trueth that the saide seconde sonne of the said Robert Symonds unto whome I have given xxti. markes and part of myne apparell as it is above written whose name is John Symondes: he dwelleth in the citie of norwiche and in the parishe of St. George of muspole beyond the blacke fryers bridge, where for I besiche you that as sone as ye may conveniently after my monthes mynde is past, that you will sende your letter unto the saide John Symondes to give him knoweldge of my departing, and what I have given him and his said ij other breadern & ij sisters by this my present testament and last will and appoincte you them in your saide letter what tyme and daie they shall come to you, that they may be dispatched within ij daies next after ther comyng upp, for it would be verie chargeable for them to lie longe here in the citie, and warne you them and charge them in your saide letter that thei bring no strangers with them, but to come

themselves onelie and as secretelie as they can also and when they be come I prairie you walcom them after a gentle facon, and make them honestie chere for the tyme they be here with you, for I truste I have left enough with you for so to do and also I besiche you let the said John symondes see and reade to his ij breatherne and ij sisters what I have given them in this my present testament and last will by the whiche then they shall perfectly see and knowe that ye be faithfull and true doers of me, and besides the same somes of moneye that I have given them & my saide apprell, yet nevertheless at ther departing frome you I will that you do give them of my goodes fortie shillings more to paie for their charges and expences in commyng upp to london and going home againe into ther owne Countrie, and or ever they do departe frome you, see they do give you a verie sure acquittance of testymoniall, that ye have paid them and delyvered unto them that & all that I have given them by this my present testament and last will.

26. Moreover my wel beloved executour and overseer I desire you that ye do monishe and strately charge the said John Symondes in your said letter that he do bringe upp with him to london a sure and true testimoniall out of his contrie that he and his other ij breadren & sisters that comyth upp to london with him were there fathers V children that he had by his last wife Elizabeth which was my nere kinswoman and but excepte he bringeth suche a true testymoniall upp with him ye mowght be deceaved by him. For his father had two wives before he marred my saide kinswoman, and by his ij other wives he had many children. Moreover my well beloved executour and overseer in theis wordes nexte following, I do give you knowlledge howe ye may have your said letter conveyed redily to the said John Symondes at Norwiche. At the taberd in graciouse streate lyeth many substanciall men of Norwiche and one in especial Mr. Leonarde Sutterton alderman of Norwiche and comyth verie often upp to london and he knoweth me and the said John Symondes verie well, and his howse where he dwellith, for the said John Symondes with the said aldermans brother was prentise & came out of his terme nowe of late yeres paste.

Here followeth my almes to all the prisons in london and nere abowte london.

27. **Ludgate preson Newgate preson** First unto the pore prisoners in ludgate I do bequeath and give tenne shillings of good and lafull money of

England and to be bestowed uppon them in meate & drinke [fol. 104] when they have moste nede of relieffe and soccour and I hartely desir my good and trustie executour and overseer to see it delivered unto them that the Jaylours and kepir of the saide prisons do not beguile them of it, And unto the pore prisoners in Newgate I bequeath and give tenne shillings in meate and drinke when thei have most neide of relieffe and soccour. Also to eche of the ij Counters in london I give other tenne shillings in meate and drinke to the porest prisoners of them. Also to the porest prisoners in the flete I give vj s. viij d. in meate and drinke when they have most nede of soccour. Also to the pore prisoners in the marshalsey tenne shillings in meate and drink when they have most neide of soccour. Also to the pore prisoners in the kinges benche tenne shillings in meate and drinke when they have most nede of it. Also to the pore prisoners in the counter in southwerke V shillings in meate and drinke when they have most nede of it. Also to the pore prisoners in the ij prisons at Westminster to eche of the ij saide presons I do give V s. in meate and drinke when they have most nede of it. Also to the pore creatures both men and women at bedlem that be madde and distracte of mynde I do give them tenne shillings in meate and drinke when they have most neide of it. Also unto my good and spirituall brother the anker at Westminster I do give him xl pence sterling for the whiche I desir him hertely to prairie for me.

The rewards to be given to dyverse persons whose names and rewardes here followeth.

28. First to Mr Richarde ketill¹⁰⁵ vicar of St Stephen in Coleman Streate I give and bequeath my longe and side gowne of puke coloured wollen cloth which is faced in the fore partes with blacke woursted and lyned in the backe partes with other wollen course cloth and also I do give him my ij tippettes for a priestes wearing, one of them is of puke colourde wollen cloth and overlayde with black satten on the one side and the other tippet is also of fyne puke colourde wollen cloth and overlayd on the one side with fyne sarsnet and I do give him also my iij other tippettes of puke colourd wollen cloth and overlaid on the one side with woursted. And I do give him the vj bookes in my chamber that is to witte one great booke on sermons and gospels and on other lesser booke of Epistles, the iij booke is my portuas, the iij is a prymer bothe in englishe and lattin, and all the pistells and gospels in englishe for everie sondaie and hollidaie that fallid in the hole yere, the v booke is called *ortus vocabulorum* and the

sixte is a verie little boke and it is called *Imitacio xpi* and I do give him my russett frese Jacket and ij paire of my best hoose and ij of my best shirtes, and ij of my best towelles, and iiij of my best handkerchers and that they be clene washed my said lynen before they be delyvered unto him. And also I do give him my V best cappes, and my ij night cappes of wollen, and my ij best paire of furred Cuffes, and ij payre of new gloves of leather which lieth under the mattresse within my bedsteede. And besides all these said giftes that I have given him in this my present testament and last will I do most hertely commende me unto him, evermore thankinge him for his great love and favour that he hathe borne unto me of long tyme, besiching him of his charitie daily to pray for me.

29. **To the Charterhous** Also to the right worshipfull Father prior with all his bredren in the Charterhowse at Sheene, I do bequeath v pounce of good and lafull money of england that is to witt fowre pound towards the edifyinge of ther said howse agayne, and the other xx s. to be spent upon a pyttance for the said prior & his bredren when it shall please them. And besides all this I do most hertely commend me unto them all and most humbly besichinge them to praie for me and also to forgive me if that ever I have offended them longe before thies daies, either by worde or deide.

30. **To my lady dormer** Also to the right worshipfull ladie Dame Katherine Dormer dwelling in the parishe of St. laurence Jurie in the Citie of london, I do bequeath and give my wreathed hope of fyne golde of the weight of vii angell nobles besiching her good Ladyshippe to weere it dayly upon her finger during her life, by the which doinge I truste her ladieshippe shall the better call me to mynde and to praie for me, sometyme one of her little acquayntance.

31. **Wyllyam Gyllott** Also I do bequeath and give V pound of good and lafull money of england unto my great friende William Gillott of the Countie of Kent yoman and singleman and dwelling in the parishe of Westram vij myle beyond Croydon and besides this innumerable thanckes I do render and give unto him, for the great frendship and faithfulness that I have founde in him longe before this daie besiching him of his charitie to praie for me.

32. Also to the honest man Robert Forest¹⁰⁶ salter of london dwelling in fanechurch parishe I do bequeath and give him xl s. sterling for that he and I were servauntes together in one howse almost fiftie yeres agone besiching him of his charitie to pray for me.

33. Also to the good honest woman Jone Nayle the wiffe of Vincent Nayle the Joynour dwelling next beyond St Olavys Church in [foI.104v.] Southwerke I do bequeath and give her vj englishe Crownes which is xxx s. sterling for that she and I were servants togethir in one howse in tower streate almost fiftie yere agone, besiching her of charitie to praie for me.

34. Also to the honest man Thomas Moone the barbour dwelling in Smythfelde nere to the signe of the Antlopp I bequeath and give xx s. sterling for that he was my faithfull frende when I was in great trouble about xxx yeres agone for the whiche I do hartely thancke him, besiching him of charitie to prey for me.

35. Also to Thomas hollidaie¹⁰⁷ one of the salters almes men I do bequeath & give him v s. sterling beside the other almes that I have given him for that he and I were servauntes both together with henrie Adams Salter of London almost fiftie yeres agone, and therefore I trust that he will prey for me.

36. Also to John Noble taylor dwelling in St. Swytunes lane I do bequeath and give him xl pence sterling trustinge that he will prey for me.

37. Also to John Plomer hooser dwellyng in seynt Nycolas lane bysydes Lumbard strete because of hys poverty & grevous dysease I do beqwethe & geve hym v schyllynges sterlynge besechyng hym of hys charyte to prey for me.¹⁰⁸

38. **Edwarde barker** Also to my welbeloved good sonn Edward barker the sonne of Frauncis barker Citizen and merchaunt taylor of london, I do bequeath and give him tenne poundes of good and lafull money of england and goddes blessing and myne with it for the whiche I trust he will prey hertely for me. But I will that the saide Francis Barker his father have the custodie and Use of the said tenne pound, till he the saide Edwarde be come to the full age of xxj yeres. And if so be that the saide Edwarde

do die before that he be the full age of xxi yeres I do give then the saide tenne poundes to his father and mother Francis and Julian for the whiche I truste that they will prey for me.

39. Also to my goode mastyr m Eston esqwyer & justyce of peace dwellynge in ye parysche of seynte olave in suthewerke I do beqweth & geve hym a golde rynge of ye valoure of xx s. sterlynge besechyng hym of hys charyte to prey for me.¹⁰⁹

40. Also to my singular and most intirly beloved good Master Mr. Henrie hooke otherwise called leeke, I do bequeath and give him a gold ring of the valour of iiij frenche Crownes besiching him of his charitee to prey for me, the said Mr. hooke dwellith in the saide parisshe of St. Olave in Southwerk and innumerable thanckes I do render and give unto him for the greate frendely love and favour that he bare unto me of long tyme, whiche was to the greate furthering of my welfare and honestie. I besiche allmyghtie god to rewarde him for it.

41. **Fraunces Barker** Also to the foresaid frauncis barker Citizen and merchant taylour of london dwelling in St. brides parishe in flete streate I do bequeath and give him three poundes vj s. viij d. of good and lafull money of england and to his verie honest wiffe Julian, I do bequeath and give her xxxij s. iiij d. I besiche them both to prey hertely for me.¹¹⁰

42. Also to Johan standely the maid dwellinge in the parisshe of St. Nicholas Acon by lombard strete, I give and bequeathe my pewter pynte pott and my ij brusshes one of ling and an other of hayre and my little Cheste without a keye and my best Russet felte hatt, and iij paire of ponyettes, one of woursted, an other of tawney Chamlet, an other of blacke Chamlet and my olde rounde Casket with a new covering and my lesser stole and xij d. sterling money.

43. And to John Busshope the parisshe Clerk of the said St. Nicholas I do bequeath and give him an olde gowne and a shorte that is in my Chamber of black wollen Clothe to make him a Cote or Jackett of yt if he will, and I do give him a pretie lether bagg of calves leathir and an erthen bottell with a funell of white plate longing to yt and a lytle Drinking cruse of erthe and my vj glasses in my chamber windowe and myne Urinall glasse and the case with it, and my ij candlesticks of woode and my erthen potte of ij gallons

and xij d. in money for the which I trust that he and his wiffe will prairie for me.

44. Also to John plummer hosier dwelling in St. Nicholas lane beside Lombardestreate, bycause of his povertie and greivous disease I do bequeath and give him v s. sterling besiching him hertely to pray for me.

45. **To the church of seynt Nycholas Acon** And albeit I found little kindness or frendshippe in the said parisshe of St. Nicholas Acon, yet nevertheless I will not withhold my good mynde frome the saide Church but with all love and charitie I do bequeath and give to the said Church of sancte Nicholas Acon towards the making of¹¹¹ a pixe of silver and gilte of the valour of V¹¹² pound sterling if my goodes will extend paying my other legaciis and bequests,¹¹³ and that it be made by a cunning goldsmyth after a comly and decent facion, for it shall serve to bere the blessed sacrament of the aulter in yt upon Corpus Christi day and palme sondaie, and other daies of solempnytie when it is commaunded, and I will that these wordes nexte following be written aboute the foote of the saide pixe thus saying, pray for the sowle of Thomas Salter some tyme Chauntrie priest of this Church and I will that the pixe be made and given to the saide Church of St. Nicholas within halfe a yere next after my departing daie if that all my debtes that is owinge me be gathered in by myne executour by the saide daie.

46. ¹¹⁴And I give a lyke pixe to the said parisshe of St. Michaelles in Cornhill [fol. 105] upon the like condicon.

47. The Residue of all and singular my goodes and Chattalles plate Redie moneye and debtes not given and nor bequeathed after my funerall expences done and my legacies perfourmed I give will and bequeath unto my most trustie frend Peter honyborne Citizen and Draper of london whome I do make ordyen and constitute my full sole executour of this my present testament and last will, and I desyre and praye my especiall frende and spiritual lover Mr. Richard kettell Master of Arte and vicar of St. Stephens in Colmanstrete aforesaid to be my overseer of this my present testament and last will unto whome for his good diligence and paynes herein to be taken, and to thentent he shall cause this my present testament and last will to be performed accordinge to my true intent and meanyng, I give and bequeath a blacke gowne and a hode over and besides

the other legacies before appoincted him by this my present testament and last will provided allwaies and I will and my mynde is, that my said executour shall not be charged to paie thies my said legacies and bequests before the tyme he shall or may receive all my debtes where with to paie and discharge the same he doinge his good will and endeavour in that behalf as he will answer before god anye charges compelling him to the contrarie not with standing.

48. And thus to conclude besiching most humbly and hertely the most high devine majestie of almyghtie god of his infinite grace and goodness to have mercie uppon me a synnefull creature and to forgive me all my synnes and also to give me that grace that in the houre of death when I shall departe from this transitoare liffe I may in my right mind and memorie crie unto the with a lowde voice with these wordes following, *In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum Redemisti me domine deus veritatis. Amen.*¹¹⁵

49. Thies being witnesses Thomas Bradforth notarie, Thomas Bayllis draper, per me Edmund Keye, per me Robert Harding.¹¹⁶

50. Memorandum¹¹⁷ where the saide Thomas Salter by his testament and last will bering the date the last daie of Auguste anno 1558 hathe willed and appoincted that the wardens and companye of Salters in london in consideracon of the two hundred markes to them given by the saide testament shoulde delyver or cause to be delivered yerely and perpetually Upon newe yeres Evens Eve to the Church wardens of S. paules parishe in Norwich lij s. of good and lafull money of england to be given in almes amongst other things as by the saide testament appereth, Notwithstanding after wardes the viij daie of Octobre in the yere abovesaid his will and mynde was that there shulde be given and delivered but one half thereof that is to saie xxvj s. and no more and the other half to be to the saide companie of Salters in consideracons of suche paymentes as he appoincted them to paie by reason of the said ij hundred markes. And where also he had given and bequeathed to his fyve kinsfolke named in the same testament twentie markes a pece in money with other thinges he willed and his mynde was that they shoulde have but tenne poundes a pece if they were lyving bycause upon further respecte and better advisement he thought his money and goods woulde no further extend, and also he willed his executour named in the same testament to paie and deliver to the saide com-

pany of Salters the saide two hundred markes if he myght in maner and foorme followinge that is to saye the one half within a moneth after Easter nexte ensuyng the said eight daie of Octobre, and the other half within a moneth nexte after Christmas then nexte following. And also he gave and bequeathed unto Robert Hardinge, Edmund Keye and William Gonne Citizens and salters of london three poundes of lauffull money of England that is xx s. apeece. Witness hereunto, Thomas Balles, Thomas Bradforth notarie and Thomas Honnyborne.

51. Will, together with the codicil, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury by Master Henry Cole, and execution of the will granted to the executor, Peter Honynghourne, 19 December 1558.

NOTES

¹ For a transcript of Thomas Salter's will, see the Appendix. The will has been divided into paragraphs and all references to the will in this article refer to these paragraph numbers. Will, paras 1 and 3. I am very grateful to Dr Matthew Groom who first brought Thomas Salter's will to my attention, and to Dr Martha Carlin for many helpful suggestions.

² Will, para. 45.

³ Will, para. 34.

⁴ Will, para. 29.

⁵ Will, para. 20.

⁶ For the hospital, see William Page (ed.), *Victoria County History: Norfolk*, 2 vols (London, 1906), ii, pp. 447–8; Carole Rawcliffe, *The Hospitals of Medieval Norwich* (Studies in East Anglian History, 2, 1995), pp. 61–89.

⁷ Carole Hill, 'Julian and Her Sisters: Female Piety in Late Medieval Norwich', in Linda Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century*, 6 (2006), pp. 165–87, esp. pp. 185–6.

⁸ In the will of Henry Adams, to whom Thomas had been apprenticed, drawn up in 1522 (by which time Thomas Salter had become a Carthusian monk), his old master left 20s. to his current apprentice on completion of his apprenticeship and 'to Thomas Adam 20s. to pray for me'. TNA PCC PROB/11/21, f. 21 It is possible that this was a bequest to Thomas Salter, now in the Charterhouse, but at one time known, as was common, by his master's surname.

⁹ Norwich Record Office, Consistory Court Will Register 265 Jagges, will drawn up 31 January 1556, proved 23 March 1556. Both Robert and John Symonds are listed as landholders in the manor of Suffield in a rental drawn up c. 1556, see British Library, Additional MS 36533, f. 18.

¹⁰ Norwich Record Office, Consistory Court Will Register 514 Jarnigo, will drawn up 14 December 1584, proved 16 March 1586. The inscription on the tomb of John Symonds records that he died 14 December 1584.

¹¹ John Symonds, son of Robert Symonds of Suffield, 'yeoman' was apprenticed to Thomas Sutterton, grocer of Norwich, in 1549–50 for eight years, so he would have just completed his apprenticeship when Thomas Salter drew up his will, see Winifred R. Rising and Percy Milligan (eds), *An Index of Indentures of Norwich Apprentices Henry VIII–George II* (Norfolk Record Society, 1959), p. 159.

¹² Will, para. 25.

¹³ Salter's original bequest to the five relatives was of twenty marks each (para. 23) but this was reduced to in the codicil to ten pounds (para. 50).

¹⁴ Norwich Record Office, Archdeaconry Court Will Register Waterladde, f. 486, will drawn up 10 February 1566; proved 6 June 1566.

¹⁵ Will, para. 35.

¹⁶ Will, paras 32, 33. and 55. Henry Adams drew up his will 6 March 1522, see TNA PROB/1 1/21, ff. 22v–23. From his will it seems clear that Henry Adams had come from Hertfordshire. Salter records that he and Joan Nayle were servants together in a house in Tower Street which may have been the home of Henry Adams early in the sixteenth century, but in 1522 he was living in the parish of St Botolph Bishopsgate.

¹⁷ Will, para. 13.

¹⁸ See Virginia Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages: A Register of Clergy Ordained in the Diocese of London Based on Episcopal Ordination Lists 1361–1539* (London, 2000).

¹⁹ For an account of the Carthusian rule, see Gerald S. Davies, *Charterhouse in London: Monastery, Mansion, Hospital, School* (London, 1921), pp. 41–5.

²⁰ Will, para 34.

²¹ E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930), p. 387 n. 3. For accounts of the Charterhouse in this period see the updated account of the house by David Knowles in Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies (eds), *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London, 2007), pp. 247–60.

²² Maurice Chauncy's account of the events in the London Charterhouse, which was originally published in Mainz in 1550, can be found in John H. P. Clark, *Dom Maurice Chauncy and the London Charterhouse* (Salzburg, 2006), ii, pp. 81–2.

²³ Andrew Wines, 'The London Charterhouse in the Later Middle Ages: An Institutional History', unpublished Cambridge PhD, 1998, pp. 206, 282–3.

²⁴ *Letters and Papers*, vol. 7, pt. 2 no. 1046, p. 408; printed in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, pp. 387–90.

²⁵ TNA SP1/85.

²⁶ *Letters and Papers*, vol. 8, no. 601, p. 227, and vol. 9, no. 284, p. 95; printed

in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, pp. 417–18; 427–8. John Darley was dispensed to hold any benefice with complete change of habit, i.e. to cease to be a religious and become a secular priest, 29 March 1536, D. S. Chambers (ed.), *Faculty Office Register, 1534–1549* (Oxford, 1966), p. 49. There is no record of a similar dispensation for Salter, although he must have been dispensed in order to serve as a secular priest.

²⁷ Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, p. 387 n. 3.

²⁸ Barron and Davies, *The Religious Houses of London*, p. 256.

²⁹ *Letters and Papers*, vol. 17, no. 1258, p. 694; vol. 18, no. 436, p. 258; vol. 19, no. 368, p. 237; vol. 20, no. 557, p. 263; vol. 21, part 2, no. 775, p. 442, TNA E 315/256.

³⁰ Will, para. 34. In fact Thomas Mone, barber surgeon of St Sepulchre's parish, drew up his will in the same month as Thomas Salter and died before him since his will was proved 5 October 1558, Guildhall Library, Commissary Register 9171/14, f. 63.

³¹ C. J. Kitching (ed.), *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate, 1548*, London Record Society, 16 (1980), p. 31. The certificate notes that Sir Thomas Sawyer aged 68 received a pension of £5 p.a. in addition to his salary.

³² Will, paras 16 and 37.

³³ Will, para. 16.

³⁴ Will, paras 42 and 43. Joan Standely (Stanley) died in 1569. There is no surviving will but probate was granted to her relative Alice Eccles, Guildhall Library. Commissary Register MS 9171/12, f. 195v.

³⁵ Will, para. 45.

³⁶ Will, para. 14.

³⁷ Will, para. 15. If the executors could not purchase enough bread then they were to distribute the 25 shillings in doles of 1d. for every two persons, 'or else' as Salter helpfully adds 'to every four persons one twopenny grote'. For Salter's last parish, see below, notes 49 and 50.

³⁸ Will, para. 16 and n. 8.

³⁹ Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London, 1996), pp. 98–9. I am much indebted to Dr Carlin's account of the parish of St Olave in Southwark.

⁴⁰ S[outhwark] L[ocal] H[istory] L[ibrary], MS 1622, St Olave's Vestry Book 1551–1604, ff. 5, 5v. Payments of Salter's salary are recorded in the churchwardens' accounts for 1554–6 and 1556–8, MS 1635, St Olave's Churchwardens' Accounts, ff. 34, 53.

⁴¹ Will, para. 12.

⁴² Will, para. 33.

⁴³ S.L.H.L., MS 1635, ff. 14, 33. Will, para. 39. Salter appears to have thought better of this bequest since it is cancelled in the original will, perhaps because Eston seems later to have become a convinced Protestant. He died in 1565; see S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, 3 vol. (London, 1982), ii, pp. 108–9.

⁴⁴ Will, para. 7.

⁴⁵ S.L.H.L., MS 1622, f. 2v; MS 1635, f. 14, 76v.

⁴⁶ Ida Darlington (ed.), *London Consistory Court Wills 1492–1547* (London Record Society, 1967), no. 242.

⁴⁷ For a rich biography of Henry Leeke, see Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 165–7.

⁴⁸ Will, para. 40.

⁴⁹ Will, paras 4 and 6.

⁵⁰ Will, para. 46.

⁵¹ A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), p. 248. John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), i, p. 212. Stow does not mention Salter's monument.

⁵² Kingsford, Stow, *Survey of London*, i, p. 212.

⁵³ Will, paras 3 and 11. John Cooper, a fishmonger, had only recently (21 June 1558) been elected as the Alderman of Bridge Without. He had served as sheriff in 1551–2, but, according to Stow, 'was put by his turn of Maoraltie', and died in 1585, see A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1913), ii, 36.

⁵⁴ Will, para. 4.

⁵⁵ Will, para. 8.

⁵⁶ Will, paras 5 and 6.

⁵⁷ Will, para. 6.

⁵⁸ Will, para. 8.

⁵⁹ Will, para. 9.

⁶⁰ Will, para. 13. For a discussion of Salter's brass in the context of other London wills specifying particular engraved images, see Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses* (London, 1978), chapters 7 and 8.

⁶¹ Will, para 17.

⁶² Will, para. 18.

⁶³ Will, paras 19–22.

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Professor Derek Keene for help on this point.

⁶⁵ Cf. John Tillotson, 'Early Tudor Executors in London and Their Work, with Particular Reference to the Probate Records of Sir John Rudston (d. 1551), Mayor of London', paper read at the Institute of Historical Research, November 2007. I am grateful to Professor Tillotson for letting me see a copy of his paper in advance of publication.

⁶⁶ The notary who completed the drafting of Thomas Salter's will, and witnessed the will and the codicil, was Thomas Bradforth who entered the Scriveners' Company in 1551. The last reference to him occurs in 1566, see Francis W. Steer (ed.), *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357–1623* (London Record Society, 1968), pp. 19 and 27.

⁶⁷ Will, para. 50. The three salters were Edmund Keye and Robert Harding who had both witnessed the original will on 31 August 1558, together with

William Gonne. Keye died in 1567; Robert Harding was elected alderman of Broad Street ward in 1567 but died the following year, see Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London*, ii, p. 38. The date of the death of William Gonne is not known.

⁶⁸ See J. Steven Watson, *A History of the Salters' Company* (London, 1963), pp. 6–9, 33; Caroline M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of R. H. Du Boulay*, eds Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 13–37, esp. pp. 14–15 [reprinted as Chapter 6 in the present volume]; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, no. 191; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1549–51*, 6 vols (London, 1924–9), iii, 393.

⁶⁹ Will, para. 47.

⁷⁰ Peter Honntingborne drew up his will 22 December 1563, TNA, PROB 11/46, ff. 316–17. Honntingborne translates Salter's final Latin peroration into English 'Into thy hands Lord I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of Truth'. Although this is a prayer in common use, it is not often found in wills. One of the witnesses to Honntingborne's own will was John Philpot, the rector of St Michael Cornhill.

⁷¹ Stow, *Survey*, i, 212.

⁷² On Stow's selectivity in recording monuments and tombs in London churches, see Christian Steer, 'Commemoration and Women in Medieval London', in Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott (eds), *London and the Kingdom*. Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XVI (Donington, 2008), 230–45.

⁷³ Steven Watson, *History of the Salters' Company*, p. 33. I am very grateful to Katie George, the archivist of the Salters' Company, for searching the Company archives for information about the history of Salter's bequest.

⁷⁴ *Report of the Commissioners Appointed by Parliament to Enquire Concerning Charities in England*, 32 vols (London, 1819–40), vi, pp. 326–31; xxvii, p. 694.

⁷⁵ Davies, *Charterhouse in London*, pp. 323–5.

⁷⁶ Will, para. 23. For help in understanding the clothing of Thomas Salter I am grateful to Kay Staniland. See also: Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London, 1984), p. 177.

⁷⁷ Will, para. 28,

⁷⁸ Will, paras 28 and 47.

⁷⁹ See Clive Burgess (ed.), *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints, Bristol*, Part 1 (Bristol Record Society, 1995), pp. xlv–xlvi.

⁸⁰ See Nicholas Orme, 'Schools and School-books' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1400–1557*, vol. 3., ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 449–69, esp. pp. 452, 460.

⁸¹ Will, para. 28. On the use of the *Imitatio Christi* within the London Charterhouse and its dissemination among the English Carthusians, see Wines, 'The London Charterhouse', pp. 252–4, and R. Lovatt, 'The *Imitation of Christ* in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 18 (1968), pp. 97–122, esp. pp. 107–113.

⁸² George Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), p. 154; for Kettill's will see London Metropolitan Archives, DI/C/332, Vicar General's Book, f. 54v (or 56v) and DL/C/358/1, the Bishop of London's Book, f. 49.

⁸³ Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, no. 103.

⁸⁴ The Sturtell family appears to have lived in the parish of St Swithin. John Sturtell, presumably Agnes's first husband, had died in 1560, and five of the children, Richard, Christopher, Thomas, Martha and Margaret all appear to have died (of the plague?) in 1563. Only Mary, who had married and was perhaps living away from London, appears to have survived, see M. Fitch (ed.), *Index to the Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London*, vol. 2 (London, 1973), p. 257.

⁸⁵ It is possible that at this time Salter consulted the anchorite monk at Westminster Abbey: in his will (para. 27) Salter left 40d. to 'my good and spirituall brother the anker at Westminster' and asked for his prayers. There is no record, however, of an anchorite at the restored Benedictine house at Westminster in Mary's reign, see C. S. Knighton, 'Westminster Abbey Restored' in Eamon Duffy and David Loades (eds), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 77–123. I am grateful to Dr Charles Knighton for his help in the search for an anchorite in Marian Westminster.

⁸⁶ Will, paras 3, 23, 26, 30; for Ralph Symonds and Michael Dormer see Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, ii, pp. 26, 27; for John Cooper and Leonard Sutterton, see notes 11 and 53.

⁸⁷ Will, paras 45 and 13.

⁸⁸ Will, para. 17.

⁸⁹ Will, paras 13 and 48.

⁹⁰ Will, para. 5.

⁹¹ I am grateful to Professor Alan Nelson who alerted me to the existence of Salter's original will.

⁹² In the original will changed from seynt Nycolas Acon by lomberd strete.

⁹³ In the original will changed from seynt Nycolas Acon by lomberd stret.

⁹⁴ In the original will 'and a halffe' is crossed out.

⁹⁵ The words in brackets were added by Salter in the margin of his will but were omitted by the scribe who enrolled the will.

⁹⁶ In the original will the words 'to pray for my soule and all xten soules' have been added above the line.

⁹⁷ In the original will changed from 'is nowe'.

⁹⁸ The following additional clause has been crossed out in the original will 'and to all other of ye seyde parische yt be pore and needy yf they wyll come in to ye seyde churche of seynt Nycols wt in iii or iiiii days nexte aftur my buryall day by my executors assyngment I do geve to every pore man woman and chylde one sterlyng peny or els for lack of small money to geve to every ii persons two peny grote'.

⁹⁹ The original will said simply 'the seyde salters'.

¹⁰⁰ The original will has inserted above the line 'kepers of the seale of the fraternyte of corpus christi in London'.

¹⁰¹ In the original will the words 'from the receipt of the said ii c marks' have been added above the line.

¹⁰² In the original will the words 'of like coles' have been added by a different hand.

¹⁰³ The words in brackets were inserted by Salter in the margin of his original will, but omitted by the scribe who copied it into the register.

¹⁰⁴ Dame kateryn Peckam in the original will.

¹⁰⁵ Keetyll in the original will.

¹⁰⁶ Forreste in the original will.

¹⁰⁷ Holyday in the original will.

¹⁰⁸ This bequest has been crossed out in the original will, presumably because it is repeated earlier (Item 16) and again later (Item. 44).

¹⁰⁹ This bequest has been crossed out in the original will and does not appear in the enrolled copy.

¹¹⁰ At this point in the original will there is a change of ink/pen although the hand is the same.

¹¹¹ In the original will the words 'towards the making of' have been inserted above the line.

¹¹² In the original will 'tenne' has been crossed out and 'fyve' written above.

¹¹³ In the original will the words 'if my goodes will extend paying my other legaciis and bequests' have been inserted above the line.

¹¹⁴ At this point the writing of the original will is continued in a different hand which appears to be that of Thomas Bradforth the notary who is also the first witness.

¹¹⁵ In the original will it appears that Thomas Salter may have made his mark, but the letters are smudged

¹¹⁶ All four men have signed the original will

¹¹⁷ In the original will the memorandum is written in a different hand.

Part III
THE PEOPLE OF
MEDIEVAL LONDON

Chapter 10

Richard Whittington: The Man Behind the Myth

THE HISTORICAL RICHARD WHITTINGTON and his mythical cat were first united in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.¹ So attractive a couple did they make that they have survived in popularity for over 450 years, affecting in their progress the tender spirits of the diarist Samuel Pepys² and providing for the urbane Horace Walpole a pretext upon which to resign from the Society of Antiquaries.³ Oliver Goldsmith proposed that Richard Whittington should be deprived of his cat and recognized only as an example to industrious apprentices.⁴ Although the conclusion of this essay will accord with Goldsmith's suggestion, the motive which lies behind the separation of Whittington from his cat is different. It was not my purpose to deprive Whittington of his cat in order to improve the moral value of his story, whether for apprentices or others, but rather to honour a man who needs none of Oliver Goldsmith's injunctions to industry; whose learned fellowship might have persuaded Horace Walpole to remain in the Society of Antiquaries and who shares with Samuel Pepys both his sense of humour and his humanity. This pursuit of Richard Whittington without his cat is offered in gratitude to Philip Jones among whose records in Guildhall my quest for the historical Richard Whittington first began.

When the popular legend of a cat bringing fortune to an impoverished master first appeared in England towards the close of the sixteenth century it was attached to a historical person; not, however, to a contemporary success story but to a man who had died early in 1423. The reason for this must lie in the fact that the financial successes of Richard Whittington's lifetime were perpetuated in a series of endowments and benefactions which not only served the needs of the City but also immortalized the name of their founder. Whittington's almshouses for thirteen poor men or women and Whittington's College for secular priests attached to the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal must have served to keep his name alive in the years between his death and the arrival of the legendary cat.⁵ When John Stow compiled his first survey of London in 1598 he

knew a great deal about the benefactions with which Richard Whittington had endowed the City. Stow knew of the fountains in St. Giles' courtyard and north of the church of St. Botolph, of the rebuilding of Newgate prison, of the endowments for the libraries at Grey Friars and at Guildhall, of the contributions for the new Guildhall built in the second quarter of the fifteenth century and for the repair of St. Bartholomew's Hospital as well as the foundation of the college and almshouse.⁶ Whittington's four executors—John Carpenter, John White, John Coventry and William Grove—had done their work well and ensured that Richard Whittington should not be one of those 'which have no memorial, who are perished as though they had never been, and are become as though they had never been born'.⁷

But what made possible Richard Whittington's posthumous philanthropy, and hence the survival of his name, was the fortune which he accumulated during his lifetime. In this essay I shall try to analyse how that fortune was built up, and investigate what Richard Whittington did with his money and, finally, to see whether this study can bring us any closer to the man himself.

Richard Whittington was born at Pauntley in Gloucestershire, the third son of Sir William Whittington and his wife Joan. The exact date of his birth is not known. His father died on 8 September 1358 when William, the eldest son, was twenty-three years old. The Whittington estate consisted of the manor of Pauntley worth 8 marks per annum, and some property at Sollershope in Herefordshire.⁸ At his death Sir William left the estate encumbered with an outlawry which he had incurred for failing to reply to a plea of debt brought against him by a clerk, William de Southam. Such an estate was, clearly, not sufficient to provide for three sons; and Richard, the youngest, must have travelled to London where he first appears in 1379, sufficiently established in his new environment to be able to contribute 5 marks to a civic gift of over £600 offered to the great lords of the realm to regain their favour.⁹

For forty years, through political upheaval, dynastic change, foreign war and internal rebellion, Richard Whittington managed to create and maintain a considerable fortune. He made money because he was adventurous enough to use it and did not give way to the temptation to hoard. Versatility, adaptability and a certain calculated bravado are the hallmarks of Whittington's financial career, which encompassed three spheres of activity: as a mercer, as a royal financier and as a wool exporter. Whittington's career as a mercer was apparently eclipsed by his interest

in royal finance and this, in turn, forced him into the business of wool export. For evidence of these various activities it is necessary to look, for the main part, at such royal records and accounts as survive. None of Richard Whittington's own accounts is extant; hence the picture of his activities must necessarily be somewhat lop-sided. It would be satisfying to know more of his transactions with other merchants and with great lords, of which we catch only occasional glimpses. But that the crown on its own played a large part in the creation of Whittington's wealth appears undeniable and thus an examination of Whittington's royal dealings will throw some light on his career as a whole.

The basis of Whittington's success lay in his skill as a mercer. In the ten years following his first appearance in civic records Whittington may have sold goods to Simon Burley and certainly supplied nearly £2,000 worth of mercery to Robert de Vere during his heyday as royal favourite.¹⁰ But with the fall of de Vere Whittington appears not to have let sentiment interfere with business. Between 1387 and 1394 he sold velvets and cloths of gold to the household of Henry, earl of Derby, although his sales there were modest compared with de Vere's purchases.¹¹ The first recorded sale of goods by Richard Whittington to the king came, perhaps significantly, soon after Richard II's assumption of sole control of government in May 1389. It may not have been simply coincidence that the young king should have turned to the man who had supplied his close friends in order to provide himself with the luxury goods for which his own taste hungered. In 1389 Richard paid £11 for two cloths of gold which he bought from Whittington to give to two knights who had come as messengers from Scotland.¹² But Richard Whittington's real 'breakthrough' as a mercer supplying the royal household came in the years 1392–4 when he sold goods to a total value of £3,474 16s. 8 1/2d. to the Great Wardrobe. These goods included velvets, cloths of gold, damasks, taffetas and gold-embroidered velvets.¹³ The total expenditure of the Great Wardrobe in these years was nearly £13,000 and the detailed account roll of purchases is the only such account to survive for the Great Wardrobe during Richard II's reign. This exceptional survival of the account and the enormous sums spent point to unusual circumstances.¹⁴ Could it be that Richard II dissipated the £10,000 which he extracted from the citizens of London by February 1393 on a wild spending spree, buying beautiful materials and clothes for himself, for his queen and her funeral, and for his household?¹⁵ Whatever the circumstances surrounding these purchases we do not know how—or whether—Richard Whittington, John Hende and the other suppliers were

paid the large sums owing to them.¹⁶ But when Richard II was deposed he left the throne owing Richard Whittington £1,000 for goods supplied to the Wardrobe and for money which had been lent to the king. Henry IV agreed that Whittington should be repaid this amount: an unusual concession by the new king and indicative of the position which Whittington had by now established for himself in royal finance.¹⁷

In the new—but less palmy—days of Henry IV Whittington continued to supply mercery to the royal court. No detailed accounts survive of the goods bought to form the trousseau of Blanche, the daughter of Henry IV who married Lewis, the eldest son of the king of the Romans, in 1401. Yet we know that Whittington supplied ten cloths of gold for the marriage at a total cost of £215 13s. 4d.¹⁸ Moreover, by 1403 Henry IV's 'treschère et bienaimé', Richard Whittington, was owed over £1,000 for the goods which he had supplied to the Great Wardrobe.¹⁹ When Philippa, another of Henry IV's daughters, married Eric, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden in 1406, Whittington provided pearls and cloth of gold to the value of £248 10s. 6d. for her trousseau.²⁰ Unfortunately, however, apart from these occasional and special purchases we know nothing of Richard Whittington's sales of mercery to the royal household for no rolls or account books survive for the Great Wardrobe between the massive spending of Richard II in 1392–4 and the comparatively modest expenditure revealed by the account book covering the years 1407–9. At the beginning of this book there is a list of the creditors of the Great Wardrobe and Richard Whittington's name is not to be found there. His debts, therefore, of 1403, must by that date have been paid. In these years 1407–9 Whittington sold goods worth only £126 15s. 4d. to the Great Wardrobe. Three other Londoners, Thomas Wotton and John Penne drapers and Henry Barton skinner, all supplied goods to a greater value. But the total expenditure of the Great Wardrobe in these years was moderate, being only just in excess of £1,000.²¹ William Loveney, the keeper of the Great Wardrobe at this time, was succeeded in office by Richard Clifford, whose first account book for the years 1408–9 reveals a further drop in purchases from Richard Whittington. In this year the goods bought from him cost only £59 3s. 9d. in a total account of over £3,500. There were many merchants whose sales to the Great Wardrobe were more valuable than Richard Whittington's in this year, and the purchases of mercery from Italians were particularly notable.²²

Although Richard Whittington's activities as a mercer declined in the later years of Henry IV and in the reign of Henry V, they did not cease

entirely. He was still sufficiently interested in his trade to buy Spanish merchandise which had been forfeited to the king in 1413 and in the same year he imported 'reynes', 'naperie' and 'towell' valued at £57 16s. 6d. into Sandwich. By June 1415 he was owed over £600 for goods supplied to the Great Wardrobe during the keepership of John Spencer (?1412–?1415).²³ But in the only two extant account books of the Great Wardrobe during the remainder of Richard Whittington's lifetime—those for the years 1419–20 and 1422–3—there is no record of any purchase of mercery or other goods from him.²⁴ This picture of his declining interest in the mercery trade is borne out by the enrolment of his apprentices to be found in the wardens' accounts of the Mercers' Company. In the years 1391–2, when the accounts begin, he had five apprentices enrolled; in 1395–6 he paid to enroll a further two apprentices; and in 1400–1 he paid for two more, but after this date he took on no new apprentices to learn the skill of mercery.²⁵ It would seem that his interests were shifting to other fields.

The business which distracted Richard Whittington from practising his craft as a mercer was royal finance. The motives which led men to venture upon such a quagmire are difficult to divine. Whittington clearly entered the business willingly and, we may surmise, with his eyes open. He does not fit into that category of reluctant lenders who provided small sums when the king managed to represent it as their duty to do so.²⁶ If he did not lend out of a sense of duty, what were his motives? It would seem unlikely that someone of his stature and position could be compelled, against his will, to lend to the crown. There remain, therefore, three possibilities. Richard Whittington lent to the crown either for direct financial gain, or for indirect benefits, or to involve himself in matters of high policy.

Recently, historians have favoured the view that loans advanced to the crown by merchants yielded a high rate of financial reward. Mr. Steel believed that men like Richard Whittington 'might be content to wait, especially if, as seems likely, they stood to make a handsome profit on the transaction.'²⁷ This possibility cannot be ruled out, but it cannot be proved either. Certainly if the size of the loan was inflated when it was recorded on the Receipt Roll to cover the interest, then the exchequer records have guarded their secret well. There is no case among Richard Whittington's fifty-eight loans where the sum repaid is larger than that recorded as lent. Moreover, Whittington himself sat as a judge in a series of trials for usury heard in the City of London in 1421. If his loans to the crown over a period of thirty years had been usurious, this would surely have been well

known among other London merchants and they would not have allowed him, nor one may suppose would Whittington have wanted, to sit as a judge in such cases.²⁸

The second explanation, namely that royal lenders received trading and other privileges, exemption from payment of customs, royal contracts or other such 'hidden' benefits, is again a possibility which cannot be converted into a certainty. As McFarlane wrote, 'one weakness of this explanation is that it is often impossible to discover those conjunctions of loan and grant which it requires.'²⁹ In the case of Richard Whittington there are several special royal grants which are certainly linked to loans which he had advanced to the crown, but the grants cover only the process of repayment and do not give Whittington any *extra* profit.³⁰ When he was made collector of the London wool subsidy his appointment seems to have served rather as a guarantee for the repayment of loans previously advanced, and as an encouragement to provide more, than as an extra financial reward.³¹ Moreover, if Whittington lent money to the crown in the hope of securing large orders for mercery for the royal household, his policy was singularly unsuccessful. From the surviving evidence it seems clear that his great days as a mercer preceded those as royal financier. That, for example, he should lend over £5,000 in the years 1407–8 in order to secure the purchase of mercery for the wardrobe worth less than £60 in 1408–9 is not credible. The evidence to support a theory of indirect financial gain is as unsatisfactory as the evidence for direct usury.

The third explanation remains, namely that Whittington lent money to three successive kings in order to involve himself in matters of 'high policy'. Whereas evidence to show that Whittington made a direct financial profit on his loans or that he derived indirect benefit from them has not been forthcoming, there is plenty of evidence to show that he became a man of considerable influence.³² He served albeit briefly, on the king's council; he sat on a large number of royal commissions; he was chosen as mayor of London once by the king and was elected to that office three times by his fellow citizens; he was consulted by great nobles and respected by merchants; he served as mayor of the staples of Calais and Westminster, and in advancing money to the crown, he must have been informed, and probably consulted, about matters of royal policy. For two hundred years the barons in England had been asserting their right, backed by armed force if necessary, to be consulted about 'negotia regni'. Is it, therefore, so surprising that a London merchant who achieved this should have thought he had received an adequate return for risking his

money? In short, it was Whittington's intention, in lending money to the crown, to buy the royal ear and the public eye.

Richard Whittington's first loan to the king was recorded as received at the exchequer on 23 August 1388. It was a very small loan; a mere £4.³³ Although the sum was small it may have served to bring Whittington to the king's attention, or if not the king himself, then to the attention of the exchequer officials. The first £4 was followed by a small loan in each of the succeeding two years, but then between 1390 and 1397 Whittington appears to have lent no money to Richard II. But this period includes the years 1392–4 when Whittington was selling such large quantities of mercery to the Great Wardrobe and these activities may well have absorbed completely both his attention and his financial resources. In March 1397 he made his first large loan to the crown, a loan of nearly £600.³⁴ Moreover, in September of the same year he was again able and willing to lend nearly £400 to the king. These loans are particularly interesting in the light of Whittington's appointment as mayor of London in June 1397. On 6 June Adam Bamme, the mayor, died in office and two days later the king appointed as his successor Richard Whittington 'in whose fidelity and circumspection we do repose full confidence'.³⁵ It would seem that in this case the king was infringing the right, granted to the Londoners in 1215, of choosing their own mayor; but he had his reasons for doing so. During this summer of 1397 Richard II raised over £20,000 from his subjects by persuading them to lend money to him.³⁶ The City of London provided a corporate loan of £6,666 13s. 4d. which was received at the exchequer on 22 August 1397.³⁷ This loan was, in fact, really a gift, or rather the price which the king chose to set on a full restoration of the City's liberties. On the same day that the loan from the Londoners was recorded as received at the exchequer, the Issue Roll recorded the payment to Richard Whittington of part of those *de Vere* debts which have already been described.³⁸ It may well be that there was some collusion between the king and the current mayor of London whom he had been fortunate enough to be able to choose. This alliance between the king and Whittington began, perhaps, with the king's spending spree in 1392–4; it was strengthened by the mutual help given during the summer of 1397; and it culminated in Whittington's striking loyalty to an increasingly unpopular sovereign. He was the only individual Londoner to lend money to the king between August 1397 and Richard's deposition.³⁹ The king rewarded this fidelity by ensuring that all Whittington's loans to him, except part of one, were repaid in cash rather than by assignment.⁴⁰

But in spite of his financial—and to some extent political—involvement in the ‘tyranny’ of Richard II, Whittington emerged from the change of dynasties unscathed. He was assured of repayment of some at least of Richard II’s wardrobe debts to him;⁴¹ he was appointed to Henry IV’s council and he continued to lend money to the new king as he had done to the old. But the new lending, although it is on a larger scale, is marked by those features which are familiar to those who have studied Lancastrian finance. Whereas six and a half of Whittington’s seven loans to Richard II were repaid in cash, only a quarter of his loans to Henry IV and Henry V are repaid in this way. It is much more usual in the fifteenth century for repayment to be made by assignment. Moreover, there appear those extra guarantees of repayment which a financially shaky government was forced to make; delivery of royal jewels as security,⁴² provision of indentures or bonds sealed by the Treasurer or by members of the council⁴³ and the issuing of letters patent guaranteeing priority in repayment.⁴⁴ But although Richard Whittington may have demanded extra guarantees from the new government he did not cease to lend; and it would seem that his loans were, in the end, repaid.⁴⁵ There are only two years between 1400 and his death in 1423 when Whittington did not lend money to the king, the years 1412 and 1416; but in several years he lent more than once, including 1402 when he made seven separate loans.

Sometimes Whittington’s loans were advanced for specific purposes: in 1401 a loan of £666 13s. 4d. for the expenses of the visit of the Eastern Emperor, in 1402 a loan of £258 6s. 8d. for the marriage of Princess Blanche, in 1407 a loan of £33 6s. 8d. for Lord Burnell’s expenses at the Gloucester Parliament, and in 1415 a loan of £466 13s. 4d. to maintain the siege of Harfleur. There were also occasions when Whittington lent money for what might well be described as ‘national’ projects, but when the crown did not (as it had done in the case of Lord Burnell in 1407) accept responsibility for the debt to Whittington incurred in its service. John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, borrowed £666 13s. 4d. from Whittington when he joined Henry IV’s expedition to Scotland, but he received only half of that sum as a reward for his trouble from the king.⁴⁶ Sir Thomas Talbot, who was keeper of the castle of Montgomery between 1403 and 1405, had borrowed £180 from Whittington. Talbot repaid him in various exchequer tallies which Whittington had not been able to cash by November 1408 when the king authorized the issue of new tallies.⁴⁷ Loans of this kind, when they are not acknowledged by the crown, are very hard to trace, but there is evidence that Whittington was a source

of ready cash for several individuals many, although not all, of whom were engaged in public business.⁴⁸

Although Richard Whittington normally acted on his own when lending money to the crown, there were occasions when he joined with others. Two of his loans in 1402 were made in conjunction with the grocer Thomas Knolles and other London merchants.⁴⁹ In 1406–7 Whittington joined with the draper Nicholas Wotton and William Brekespere to lend over £1,000 to Henry IV, as well as joining with other Calais merchants to provide £8,000 for the crown.⁵⁰ It is possible that more of Whittington's loans represent joint enterprises undertaken in his name; but, if so, there is no evidence which survives to prove it.

To be a successful royal creditor in the fifteenth century required at least three skills: skill in obtaining extra security for repayment such as royal jewels or bonds, skill in achieving through letters patent or by other means a prior claim upon sources of royal revenue which were usually considerably overburdened, finally, skill in ensuring that the tallies of assignment were issued upon lucrative sources of revenue. We have already noted the extra securities and the letters patent assuring priority which Whittington was able to acquire. Although Richard Whittington was frequently paid by assignment it is not always recorded upon what source of revenue his tallies were drawn. Thirty-one assignments to him are known. Apart from six assignments on the tenth and fifteenth and one assignment each upon the revenues of escheators and sheriffs, the Duchy of Cornwall and the chamberlain of South Wales, all the assignments to Whittington were made upon the wool subsidy, the most lucrative permanent source of royal revenue. These assignments were on the wool subsidy in the following ports: Chichester (1), Southampton (1), Ipswich (2), Kingston-on-Hull (3), Boston (3) and London (9). On a further three occasions Whittington's repayment took the form of a licence to export wool without paying the subsidy until the royal debt was paid.⁵¹ Assignments of this kind would naturally bring the creditor into contact with the wool merchants and the collectors of the subsidy in various ports. That Whittington should thus, himself, have been led to become both a wool merchant and a collector of the subsidy in London is not surprising. In fact it was essential for him to become involved in the wool trade if he was to secure repayment of his loans from this, the most lucrative, source of royal revenue.

There is no evidence that Richard Whittington took part in the wool trade during the reign of Richard II.⁵² Indeed his involvement in this branch of commercial activity may have been forced upon him by Henry

IV, who repaid some of Richard II's debts to Whittington by a licence to export wool from London without paying the subsidy to the value of £1,000 during the three years following 1400. But seven months after the grant was made Whittington asked that it should be converted into tallies of assignment on the grounds that his expenses had recently been so heavy that he did not have the necessary capital with which to export wool himself.⁵³ By 1404, however, Whittington was definitely exporting wool both from London and from Chichester. He may also have exported wool from Sandwich and Southampton but there is no definite evidence of this. In 1407 he monopolized the wool exports from Chichester, sending out six shiploads of wool to Calais carrying a total of over 250 sacks on which he paid more than £630 in custom and subsidy dues.⁵⁴ Whittington does not appear to have exported wool from London this year and from the records which have survived it would look as if this was his maximum effort. But it should be pointed out that the particularized customs accounts from which it is possible to learn the volume of Whittington's wool exports survive only intermittently for the period under review, i.e. 1395–1423. There are only eight such accounts for London, six for Chichester, eight for Sandwich and three for Southampton. The accounts usually cover periods of less than a year. Occasionally there survive controller's accounts or bundles of cockets for periods not covered by the particularized accounts. For London, Chichester, Sandwich and Southampton there are no particularized accounts at all for the reign of Henry V. During these years the only sources of information are chance references in the Patent, Close and Issue Rolls.

If Richard Whittington's wool exports from Chichester in 1407 do represent his maximum effort, then he has a place among the dozen or so most important English wool exporters of this period; but the scale of his operations is considerably less than that of the Italian wool exporters who operated from Southampton. For example, in the year from Michaelmas 1404 John Orlandini exported 316 sacks of wool on which he paid over £1,000 in customs and subsidies.⁵⁵ Whittington was, therefore, a considerable, rather than an outstanding, exporter of wool in the years between 1404 and 1416, the latest year in which we have reference to him in this capacity. Whether Whittington acted on his own or at the head of a group of exporters is not recorded. Henry London, a mercer, who was an apprentice of Richard Whittington's and who was involved with him in certain property transactions, appears also to have joined with him in the export of wool. The two men together acknowledged a debt of £187

16s. 10 1/2d. to the crown for customs and subsidy owed for wool which they had exported before Easter 1407.⁵⁶ There is some other evidence that Whittington may have been acting as head of a group—possibly composed of mercers—linked together in the export of wool.⁵⁷ It seems likely that Richard Whittington entered the trade, primarily to secure repayment of loans made to the Lancastrian kings but also, perhaps, to diversify his resources.

Not only did his role as royal financier lead Whittington into the wool export trade, it also led to his appointment as collector of the wool custom and subsidy in London. He held this office in the years 1401–3 and 1407–10. On both of these occasions the financial obligation of the crown to him was very heavy.⁵⁸ As a collector of the London wool subsidy he could ensure, firstly, that assignments made to him on that source of revenue were promptly paid and, secondly, that his licences to export wool without paying the stipulated customs in that port were executed without difficulty. The office could have been, in itself, a source of profit to Whittington although there is no evidence of this. More important, it offered the hope of repayment of loans made to the crown at a time when royal credit was running low.

Richard Whittington's financial edifice was built upon three piers: mercery, royal finance and wool exports. Of these, the second appears to have been the most important. What did Whittington do with his money? Although he was wealthy he does not appear to have become increasingly so and as his life progressed and, from the pattern of his loans to the crown, it would look as if he reached his high financial plateau in about 1407. But even if the size of his fortune remained somewhat static it is clear that he did not let it rest; he kept his money constantly on the move. What is remarkable is that, unlike almost all the other great London merchants, he does not appear to have invested any considerable proportion of his wealth in land. His concerns seem always to have been civic and public rather than personal and proprietary. His property transactions will be considered later, but our first concern will be, as it was Whittington's, his own position in the City and the kingdom.

Richard Whittington first appears in civic records in 1379, but by July 1384 he was a member of the common council as councilman for Coleman Street ward and he may have continued to act in this capacity intermittently until his election as alderman for Broad Street ward in March 1393.⁵⁹ Certainly Whittington was one of the twenty-four commoners whom the City sent to attend upon Richard II at Nottingham in

1392, when the king's displeasure with the citizens led him to seize the liberties of the City and to replace the elected mayor with a royal warden.⁶⁰ In September 1393 Whittington, who had recently been elected as alderman, was chosen to act as mayor's sheriff for the next year.⁶¹ At the end of his term of office he was successfully sued in the mayor's court by Thomas Spencer, who claimed that Whittington had allowed a prisoner, John Toky, to be released from Ludgate while the man still owed Spencer £11 13s. 4d. Whittington and John Bottesham, the keeper of Ludgate, both failed to appear on the day appointed for them to swear to their innocence. As a result the court decided that the plaintiff should recover £11 13s. 4d. from Whittington plus 6s. 8d. in damages.⁶² By not appearing in court Whittington was clearly acknowledging his remissness. But £12 was not too weighty a sum for him to pay since in these years he was supplying thousands of pounds worth of goods for the royal wardrobe.

The significance of the death of the mayor, Adam Bamme, in June 1397 has already been noted with its consequences for the City in general and for Richard Whittington in particular, whom the king appointed to the vacant mayoralty. Not only did Whittington take over Bamme's office but he also moved into his aldermanry of Lime Street where he remained until his death over twenty-five years later.⁶³ Richard II may have wanted an amenable mayor of London at this time, not only for the financial negotiations which have already been discussed, but also for the political manoeuvres which culminated in the arrests of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Warwick and Arundel. Contemporary chroniclers record the City's acquiescence in these arrests and trials; an acquiescence which they attribute to stunned amazement on the part of the citizens.⁶⁴ Whatever the Londoners may have thought about Richard's financial exactions during the summer of 1397 and his political trials in the Autumn Parliament of that year, they clearly saw the advantage of having as their mayor a man who was on good terms with this unpredictable king. Accordingly Richard Whittington was elected to continue as mayor in October 1397.⁶⁵ At the national level Whittington's mayoralty was marked by the royal demand for blank charters from individuals and from proctors acting on behalf of groups of subjects. In April 1398 Whittington, together with twenty-seven others who included at least four Londoners, was summoned before the king and council 'in order to declare what shall there be laid before him by the Council, at his coming'. On his arrival it seems likely that Whittington was confronted with one of those self-abasing documents popularly known as a blank charter.⁶⁶ Certainly, before his term of

office was over Whittington, as mayor of London, had sealed a proctor's 'blank charter', together with the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London and the City's two sheriffs. In this charter they acknowledged, on behalf of all the citizens, their guilt incurred in 1387/8 and in consequence placed themselves and their goods at the king's pleasure.⁶⁷ At the civic level Whittington's first mayoralty was chiefly marked by the organization of Blackwell Hall as the city's market for the sale of cloth.⁶⁸

In 1406 Whittington was elected to serve his second term as mayor. On this occasion Mass was celebrated first and then the commoners, 'peacefully and amicably, without any clamour or discussion', nominated Richard Whittington and Drew Barentyn. The mayor and aldermen then, 'by the guidance of the Holy Spirit', chose Whittington as mayor. It was decided that this new, and holier, procedure should be followed in all future mayoral elections.⁶⁹ During his mayoralty Whittington incurred the anger of the Goldsmiths' Company. A member of the company, William Chipstede, had denounced the wardens of the company before Whittington and the aldermen, saying that the company enjoyed an income from rents of £80–£90 per annum, which was spent on maintaining false quarrels. Subsequently Chipstede and some of his allies rioted against the wardens and Chipstede himself was arrested and placed in the custody of the sheriffs of London. Roger Osborne, one of his friends, sued for a writ of *corpus cum causa* to the chancellor on 21 April 1407. Queen Joanna also sent a letter to Whittington on 28 April 1407 asking for the release of Chipstede since he was a relation of her chaplain John Cleseby. Whittington's compliance with the queen's request without waiting for the assent of the wardens of the company considerably annoyed them.⁷⁰ This mayoralty was also notable for the City's continuing efforts to prevent the erection of illegal fish weirs in the Thames. Such weirs not only impeded navigation but also, when nets of a small gauge were attached to them, caught fish when they were very young. The attempts by the citizens to destroy illegal nets met with considerable opposition and the Londoners finally took the case to the king's council, where they were successful.⁷¹

Perhaps surprisingly, Richard Whittington only once served the City as an M.P.: at the parliament of 1416 when little of particular importance to the City took place.⁷² In October 1419 he was elected mayor of London for the third and last time. He must have been at least sixty years old by this time, which makes his election the more remarkable.⁷³ From the scanty evidence which survives, however, in the journals of the

court of common council which are extant from 1416, it would appear that Whittington attended about fifty per cent of the meetings of the court of aldermen, and only missed two of its sixty-five recorded meetings during this year of his mayoralty 1419–20.⁷⁴ One of the more striking events of his mayoralty was his attempt to regulate the prices of beer and ale sold in the City and to standardize the vessels in which it was bought. Whittington reaffirmed the ordinance of February 1408 which had regulated the size of containers in which ale was sold and he also tried to ensure standard sizes for beer barrels and kilderkins by demanding that coopers should register their marks at Guildhall.⁷⁵ Moreover, he laid down the prices at which beer could be sold in the City, which included 3s. 6d. as the highest price for a barrel of beer sold outside a brewer's house. The brewers complained that the price of beer lay beyond their control since it depended in turn upon the price of malt, and Whittington's attempts at price control were much resented by the company.⁷⁶ His attitude seems in no way to have been softened by the two pipes of red wine which the Brewers' Company gave him at the considerable cost of £7 3s. 4d.⁷⁷ This particular quarrel outlasted Whittington's mayoralty. In July 1422 in the mayor's court, Whittington accused the brewers of selling ale more expensively than was allowed by the ordinance, and also of buying up malt in the country before it came to London, thus sending up its price. The brewers were found guilty on this occasion of selling ale at 4s. 10d. or 5s. a barrel and were thus condemned to forfeit the £20 bond which they had entered into when they agreed to abide by the price ordinance made during Whittington's mayoralty. The four masters of the company, Robert Smyght, William Crane, Hugh Neel and John Philip, were condemned to prison until the £20 was paid over for the new work at Guildhall. When the mayor and aldermen had left the court, John Carpenter, the common clerk, offered the brewers some consolation saying that they should come to no harm, nor be imprisoned, nor pay the £20 fine

for wel þei wysten and knewen that alle þe forsaied juggement of þe mair and aldremen was not don at þat tyme bot for to plese Richard Whityngton, for he was cause of alle the forsaied juggement.⁷⁸

Whether Whittington was here acting vindictively or simply unrealistically in what he thought to be the common interest, it is hard to tell. That he alone secured the brewers' condemnation suggests that the other aldermen, younger men who were more actively engaged in trade, were pre-

pared to recognize the economic factors (particularly the price of malt) which were forcing up the price of beer.

The role of John Carpenter in this case is interesting. Carpenter had become common clerk in April 1417 and continued to hold the office until 1438.⁷⁹ During this time he compiled the famous book recording City custom, the duties of civic officials and general memoranda, known as the *Liber Albus*. The purpose of this volume was as Carpenter noted in his prologue, to ensure that the written and unwritten customs of the City should not sink into oblivion ‘per frequentes pestilentias subtrac-tis velut insimul cunctis gubernatoribus longaevis magis expertis et discretioribus Civitatis Regalis Londoniarum’. He wrote that he began the work in November 1419 during the mayoralty of that ‘nobilis vir’, Richard Whittington.⁸⁰ The idea was probably that of Carpenter himself but it may well have been Whittington who encouraged him to begin what must clearly have been a long and arduous labour. Certainly Whittington held Carpenter in high regard since he chose him to be the chief executor of his will.⁸¹

After his mayoralty Whittington continued to attend the court of aldermen. He was present at the series of trials for usury held in the mayor’s court in the months of June to August 1421 when several important Londoners were accused of usury.⁸² Richard Whittington attended the court of aldermen for the last time on 4 February 1423 and died before 8 March 1423 when his will was proved in the husting court.⁸³ His death was not widely chronicled although one of the Brut continuators wrote, ‘Also Richard Whyttington, mercer, died *pe* xiiii day of Marche: on whos saule Almyghtti God have mercy! Amen.’⁸⁴

Richard Whittington’s civic career was not confined to holding the offices of sheriff and mayor. He was three times a master of the Mercers’ Company, in 1395–6, 1401–2 and 1408–9. But as we have seen his interests were deflected from mercery ‘proper’ and although he never belonged to any other company, yet after his mastership in 1409 Whittington features very little in the company accounts. When, however, he was elected mayor of London for the third time in 1419 his company was proud of him and was more than usually lavish in the provision of trumpeters, pipers, minstrels, escorts and dinners on the day of Whittington’s taking the oath—28 October 1419.⁸⁵ In his will Whittington remembered his company and left them a bequest of £13 6s. 8d.⁸⁶ Moreover his executors ensured the permanent association of Richard Whittington with the

Mercers' Company by entrusting the administration of the almshouses and college of priests to its care.

In turning from Richard Whittington's civic to his 'national' career we are establishing a distinction which is more useful than real. The two were, of course, interdependent. The first royal tasks which came Whittington's way were appointments to act as custodian of goods: in 1384 the goods of John More who had recently been a sheriff of London; in 1398 a ship which was in dispute between the duke of Aumale and the earl of Ormonde; in 1400 the forfeited goods of the earl of Huntingdon.⁸⁷ More profitably, perhaps, in 1404 Richard Whittington and others were given custody of the manors which had lately belonged to Sir John Dodyngsels during the minority of his heir Edward.⁸⁸ Moreover, the mayor of London was always the royal escheator in the City, and when goods and chattels were forfeited to the king Whittington must have been particularly well qualified to assess their quality and value. After the death of the duke of Gloucester and his condemnation as a traitor in the Autumn Parliament of 1397, his goods were forfeited to the king. Whittington's precise list of Gloucester's goods which he had found in the City, all of which were carefully valued, survives to bear witness to his skill at this task.⁸⁹

Almost immediately after his accession Henry Bolingbroke on 1 November 1399 appointed three Londoners to be members of his council, acknowledging thereby the important role which the citizens had played in his usurpation. The three Londoners were Richard Whittington, another mercer John Shadworth and William Bampton, a fishmonger. Their fee was to be 50 marks per annum each although they had some difficulty in collecting their money.⁹⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that they held office for more than a year although Whittington may have attended the council unofficially on other occasions.⁹¹ But even so short an official spell of time on the king's council must have been gratifying to Whittington's self-esteem.

Possibly the most onerous of the royal tasks which came Whittington's way were the commissions of oyer and terminer to which he was appointed fifteen times between 1401 and 1418. The majority of these cases were concerned with the profits and plunder arising out of war conditions whether on land or sea. For example, Whittington's first case, in 1401, concerned the endless dispute over the count of Denia who had been captured at the battle of Najera thirty-four years before.⁹² Another case concerned the 'botyn' or 'fellowship' between John Freson and Robert

Foyard.⁹³ Four of Whittington's commissions involved the seizure of ships and disputes about their ownership⁹⁴ and two were concerned with rival claims to merchandise and cargoes.⁹⁵ Considered together, these commissions must have taken up a good deal of Whittington's time, but his appointment to them shows that he was considered to be knowledgeable not only about the law merchant, but also about the laws of war and the relative jurisdictions of the constable marshal and admirals of England.

Whittington was also appointed to several other special commissions most, but not all, of which were concerned with London. One of those which was not involved the supervision, in 1409, of the revenues to be collected in England on behalf of the Pope by Laurence, bishop of Ancona. Whittington, together with Philip de Albertis, a Florentine merchant, was to ensure that the bishop collected no more than the stipulated £866 13s. 4d. and that half of this should go to the college of cardinals at Pisa. The bond in which Philip and Richard undertook to do this was subsequently cancelled because nothing was done.⁹⁶ Three years later, in 1412, William Waldern the mayor of London, together with Whittington and Thomas Knolles, was appointed to sort out some Spanish and French merchandise which had been captured and brought to London. The Spanish goods were to be restored to their owners and the rest sold for the king's profit.⁹⁷ In the same year Whittington and Knolles, with the mayor and sheriffs of London, were commissioned to draw up a list of all the men and women in the City who were liable to pay the 6s. 8d. subsidy imposed by the last parliament on every £20 worth of income from land or rent. Their detailed return of over 1,000 names, which had to be made within two months, survives in the Public Record Office.⁹⁸

When the walls of the Augustine friary in Broad Street ward were demolished, or partly demolished, in 1415 Thomas Fauconer the mayor was instructed by the king's council not to demolish any wall or building in the City except on the advice of Richard Whittington and three other Londoners. Whether the four men on this committee were chosen for their sentiments as preservationists, or as aesthetes, or simply for their practical good sense, can only be guessed.⁹⁹

The Lollard rising in the suburbs of London at Epiphany 1414 had caused considerable alarm. Whittington was one of those appointed to the commission to search out Lollards in hiding in the City and suburbs.¹⁰⁰ Oldcastle himself escaped although he was condemned as a heretic and traitor in his absence. After he was finally captured and hanged in December 1417 further commissions, which included Richard

Whittington, were appointed to enquire into the lands held by the traitor either as Sir John Oldcastle or as John Lord Cobham.¹⁰¹ Whittington's appointment to these commissions, and his completely conventional will, make it most unlikely that he was, as Lysons suggested, affected by the 'enlightened religious views which were then making such a stir in England'.¹⁰²

Whittington served as mayor both of the Westminster and Calais staples. His main duty in connection with the first office was the witnessing of bonds between merchants. A number of such bonds are referred to in the Patent and Close Rolls and twelve of them were sealed before Richard Whittington as mayor. The earliest of these is dated 24 October 1403 and the latest 26 February 1418.¹⁰³ It would appear from these documents that it was the duty of the mayor of the Westminster staple to act as a kind of mercantile commissioner for oaths, witnessing recognizances for debt, bonds and general releases of actions.¹⁰⁴ The first reference to Whittington as mayor of the much more important Calais staple is found in December 1406 when he, together with other staple merchants, agreed to lend £4,000 to Henry IV. This was followed by a further loan of £4,000 in June 1407.¹⁰⁵ Whittington was still mayor of the Calais staple in April 1409 but there is no further reference to him acting in this capacity until July 1413, when he was paid for his expenses in bringing Robert Ekford from York to answer before the barons of the exchequer.¹⁰⁶

Richard II had been largely responsible for the considerable work done on the new nave of Westminster Abbey in the last decade of his reign.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps a spirit of pious regard for the wishes of his late king led Whittington to donate £6 13s. 4d. 'ad opus nove ecclesie' in 1401/2.¹⁰⁸ When, moreover, Henry V decided to interest himself in the project in 1413, Whittington was chosen, together with a monk, Richard Harweden, to act as a supervisor and accountant for the renewed scheme. Henry V had granted 1,000 marks per annum towards the work and it may have been his idea, rather than that of the monks, to associate Whittington with the project.¹⁰⁹ The king gave Whittington and Harweden permission to take stone-cutters and carpenters for the work, as well as stone, iron, lead, glass and other necessary materials.¹¹⁰ The joint accounts of these two men survive intermittently from 13 July 1413 until 25 December 1421, when other surveyors took over.¹¹¹ The work was not finished, but the south and north aisles of the nave had been built and roofed, and work had begun on the clerestory. The death of Henry V was a serious blow to the project which was not recommenced until 1468; Henry VI was more interested in

his building schemes at Eton and King's College. In spite of his eight years' association with the nave at Westminster Richard Whittington, surprisingly, made no bequest to the work in his will.

Because of his wealth, his knowledge of finance, his position in royal counsels and his business sense, private individuals often sought Whittington's help and advice. As early as 1382 his opinion was solicited in the valuation of some pearls¹¹² and he was sufficiently trusted to be handed jewels and other goods to a total value of £600 to hold until an orphan should come of age, without, apparently, offering any security.¹¹³ On at least four occasions Whittington witnessed land transactions;¹¹⁴ he was four times appointed an attorney;¹¹⁵ on three occasions he was chosen as an arbiter or umpire in disputes between individuals;¹¹⁶ once he was the recipient of a gift of goods and chattels;¹¹⁷ and in 1402 he was a receiver general in England for Edward, earl of Rutland and Cork.¹¹⁸ On at least nine occasions Whittington agreed to act either as a mainpernor or as surety. Those for whom Whittington agreed to act in this capacity ranged from Thomas Podmore, a London ironmonger, who wanted to marry a widow whose six children were in the care of the court of aldermen, to Henry Somer, the chancellor of the Lancastrian exchequer, in a recognizance of 10,000 marks.¹¹⁹ What is surprising is that only twice did Whittington act as an executor although his younger contemporary, the common clerk John Carpenter, for example, frequently acted in this capacity.¹²⁰ It is possible that some of these tasks which Whittington undertook for other people were profitable but they could also involve hard work and financial risk. They represent not so much a series of profitable undertakings as the inescapable incidents of a public career.

It has been suggested earlier that Whittington used his wealth to buy position rather than property. It is necessary to look now at the evidence relating to Whittington's land transactions both inside and outside the City of London and to see whether they bear out this suggestion.

There is very little evidence that Richard Whittington died in outright possession of any property outside London; he mentions none in his will. Certainly at his death he held no land in chief of the king. But when he died he had a part share in the manor of Sandhurst in Berkshire and of lands at Ulcombe in Kent which he held as a feoffee on behalf of others.¹²¹ Whittington appears to have held the same kind of temporary guardianship, with and for others, of the manor of Broxham in Kent,¹²² of some lands in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey and elsewhere, which formed part of the Bridge House Estate,¹²³ of the manor

of Grantchester and Barton in Cambridgeshire,¹²⁴ and of some lands in Chichester which he held with others to the use of John Carpenter.¹²⁵ In the same way the reversion of an estate in Coventry which Whittington acquired in 1409 with Thomas Fauconer, his wife Philippa and the mercer John Shadworth, appears to have been for Fauconer's use.¹²⁶ It is, however, worth noting here that Whittington must have had other connections with Coventry where his arms appeared in the windows of St. Mary's Hall and he, and his wife Alice, were enrolled in the guild of the Holy Trinity in that town.¹²⁷ In these transactions Whittington's interest in the properties was neither permanent nor personal. Sometimes his interest, while being equally transitory, seems to have been more directly financial. He enjoyed a part share of an income of 40 marks per annum from the manor of North Mimms in Hertfordshire and in 1397 he held of Thomas duke of Gloucester the fief of Thorley in the same county which was worth £7 per annum.¹²⁸ He was granted a share in the income from some properties in Dorset, Somerset and Devon by his friend and later executor, John White the master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.¹²⁹ None of these transactions suggests any attempt on Whittington's part to build up a large country estate.¹³⁰

But in the counties of Gloucester and Dorset Richard Whittington had a more permanent interest. In 1358 his father had died possessed of lands at Pauntley in Gloucestershire and at Sollershope in Herefordshire. These lands went to Richard's eldest brother William, who died without heirs. On his death they passed to another brother Robert and thence to his children. There is no evidence that Whittington made any claim on the family estates. In 1395, however, he acquired another Gloucestershire manor, that of Over Lyppiat, from his maternal uncle Philip Maunsell in lieu of a debt of £500.¹³¹ Three years later the king granted to Whittington and Hugh de Bysley the keeping of some messuages and small pieces of and at Frampton-on-Severn, Over Lyppiat, Daneway, and Cowley—all in Gloucestershire. Bysley and Whittington were not left to enjoy their possession but were ejected by James Clifford of Daneway and John Walker. Commissioners were appointed to enquire into the case which dragged on until 1406 when some kind of settlement was reached. Possibly Whittington gave up his claim to all lands except those at Over Lyppiat and in return he, together with William Hedyngton clerk, his ex-apprentice Thomas Roos and two others, received from James Clifford the quitclaim of the manor of Over Lyppiat.¹³² Whittington must have died in possession of this manor for after his death his brother Robert claimed

that Whittington, on his death bed, had instructed his co-feoffees of the manor of Over Lyppiat to enfeoff Robert and his son Guy with the manor.¹³³ Robert and Guy appear to have been successful in their claims against Thomas Roos and the other feoffees, for Guy's heir Thomas was later described as 'of Lyppiat co. Gloucester' and his daughter, Maud, took the manor to the family of Wye into which she married.¹³⁴ Apart from the manor of Over Lyppiat, Whittington appears also to have held some tenements in the city of Gloucester and elsewhere in the county which were granted to him, his brother Robert and three other Gloucester men during the reign of Henry V.¹³⁵ But it appears that although Whittington may have held land in Gloucestershire, he intended that it should go to his family there and it formed no part in the endowment of foundations established under his will.

Richard Whittington's connection with Dorset derived, not from his own family, but from that of his wife Alice. The Fitzwaryn family held a considerable amount of property in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset.¹³⁶ Alice had an only sister Eleanor who married John Chydyok, a Dorset man.¹³⁷ In August 1402 Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn, the father of Alice and Eleanor, made arrangements whereby certain properties in Somerset and Wiltshire should go to Alice and Richard at his death. But Alice predeceased her father and the inquisition which was held concerning his lands after his death in September 1414 shows that all his lands including the Somerset and Wiltshire ones had passed to Eleanor and John Chydyok.¹³⁸ It may be that Richard and Alice sold out their right to the Wiltshire and Somerset properties to Eleanor and John Chydyok before the death of Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn, which would explain why Whittington made no subsequent claim to these lands.¹³⁹ The position regarding Sir Ivo's Dorset properties is more complex. Ultimately they also passed into the Chydyok family, but some at least of them seem to have been in Richard Whittington's hands for part of Sir Ivo's lifetime. The inquisition post mortem on Sir Ivo's Dorset lands reveals that during the reign of Henry IV Sir Ivo made over the income from his Dorset manor of Poorstock to Richard Whittington and five others.¹⁴⁰ This may explain why a Dorset subsidy roll records that in September 1412 Whittington held lands at Melbury Osmond, Fifehead Neville, Blackland, Ramsbury and Mappowder in Dorset, worth in all £50 per annum.¹⁴¹ These lands may have formed part of the Poorstock estate, although they are not mentioned by name in the inquisition post mortem. It is clear, however, that they certainly formed some part of Sir Ivo's Dorset estate for in his will he

mentions 'tenentibus meis de Melbury Osmond' and he makes a bequest to a widow living in Fifehead Neville.¹⁴² It may be that just as Richard Whittington acquired the manor of Over Lyppiat in Gloucestershire in lieu of a debt owed to him by Philip Maunsell, in the same way he may have lent money to his father-in-law on the security of certain Dorset properties from which he could derive the income until the debt was paid. There is no evidence to suggest that Richard Whittington held on to these Dorset lands or made any claim to them at Sir Ivo's death.

The surviving evidence, then, does not indicate that Richard Whittington made any attempt to build up a landed estate outside London. Various properties, it is true, came into his possession at different times, for different reasons and usually briefly. But it seems clear that they were not Whittington's main concern. He was instinctively a merchant, a man who bought and sold goods, and he kept his money on the move. If Whittington did sell out his share in the Fitzwaryn estate, which he derived from his wife Alice, for cash, it would be what one would expect of him. Perhaps it was because he came from a gentle background that Richard Whittington did not feel that same urge to ape the landed gentry which drove many of the successful London merchants away from the City and into the fertile home counties.¹⁴³

With Richard Whittington's London property the picture is somewhat different. He definitely died in possession of a considerable amount of property in the City, comprising his own house and some other tenements in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster Royal and further properties in the three parishes of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, St. Michael Bassishaw and St. Botolph Billingsgate.¹⁴⁴ Together with four other mercers Whittington acquired the tenements in St. Botolph's parish in 1397.¹⁴⁵ Four years later he added to this the tenements in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw.¹⁴⁶ There is no record of Whittington's having possessed land in the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe in Castle Baynard ward and this may be a mistake for the parish of St. Gregory in the same ward. If so, then the will refers to shops which Whittington acquired in sole possession from William and Alice Gryffyn as early as 1384.¹⁴⁷ The most valuable of Whittington's London property was, however, that which lay in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster Royal. Whittington first acquired the tenement in 'la Rirole' which became his house. This he bought in 1402 with William Hedyngton and three mercers, Thomas Fauconer and Whittington's two ex-apprentices, Thomas Roos and Henry London.¹⁴⁸ In 1409 he acquired more property in the parish but this was

almost at once granted under licence to John White, the parson of the church of St. Michael, to use for rebuilding the church and to provide for a cemetery.¹⁴⁹ Finally Whittington acquired further property in the parish in Kyrounslane (later Maiden Lane) in 1415.¹⁵⁰

If Richard Whittington had died in possession of any other London property he would, presumably, have mentioned it in his will. The enrolled husting deeds reveal that he did at other times own, partly own, or hold in trust, other London properties. Unfortunately the deeds usually record only part of the transaction. There are twelve extant deeds registering grants of land, tenements or rents to Richard Whittington ranging in date from 1392 to 1422.¹⁵¹ There is one deed recorded in which Whittington grants land whose acquisition cannot be traced. It is dated 1421 and the recipients include two of Richard Whittington's executors, John Carpenter and William Grove.¹⁵² But there are four transactions for which we have more complete records. The first is a series of deeds relating to property in the parish of St. Alban Wood Street which Richard Whittington and the mercer, John Shadworth, gradually accumulated, partly from another mercer, John Woodcock, during the years 1391–8. This property was then made over to Woodcock's widow, Felicia, and others in 1409.¹⁵³ In the same way Whittington, and two others, in 1401 were granted the reversion of some tenements in the parish of St. Antholin which they held for Robert Louthe to whom they made a quitclaim in 1418.¹⁵⁴ Again some properties in the parishes of St. Mary Aldermary and St. Mildred Bread Street which were granted to Whittington and others in 1406 were made over by them to Peter Gerveyn, clerk, in 1420.¹⁵⁵ Lastly Whittington, together with William Shepton and William Grove, held the quitrent of a tenement in the parish of St. Swithin briefly in 1420 by grant of Richard Wiltshire of Heydon, formerly in Essex. In the following year they made over the 10s. quitrent to William Est who, by his will dated 8 September 1421, bequeathed the rent to the prior of Holy Trinity London.¹⁵⁶ In all of these four cases Whittington was merely facilitating transactions from which he himself appears to have derived no benefit. Of the sixteen persons with whom Whittington was involved more than twice in land transactions nine at least were mercers and his three most frequent associates were the mercers John Woodcock (nine times), John Shadworth (twelve times) and Stephen Speleman (five times). We have seen that the properties mentioned by Whittington in his will had already been acquired by him before 1402. These formed the kernel of his London estate. Those properties which he acquired after this date he appears either

to have held simply as a feoffee or to have sold before his death, which would help to explain the considerable amount of cash which he was able to leave to his executors.

Whittington's London estate was sufficient and substantial, but it was not outstandingly large and he does not appear to have been interested in becoming a property magnate. An idea of the extent of his London property, compared with that of other London citizens, may be gained from the subsidy list of 1412 for which Whittington himself was one of the assessors.¹⁵⁷ Whittington's London property was listed as being worth £25 per annum whereas that of many other Londoners, including his associate John Shadworth, was worth considerably more.¹⁵⁸ It could be argued that Whittington undervalued his own property in order to reduce the size of his contribution of 6s. 8d. on every £20 worth of lands or rents. But even his co-assessors valued their own lands more highly than Whittington; Thomas Knolles at £37 14s. 6d. and Robert Chichele the mayor at £42 19s. 2d.¹⁵⁹ It would seem that Richard Whittington had the means but not the inclination to build up a large estate in London.

If Whittington did not put his money into land and property, what did he do with it? As we have seen, he was able to lend sums of up to £2,000 yearly to the king from 1397 onwards. Thus he must have kept much of his capital in liquid form. But there are some indications that Whittington lent money not only to the crown but also to others, although the question of usury remains equally obscure. It appears that before November 1387 Richard Whittington had lent Sir Simon Burley 400 marks for which he received some of Burley's silver vessels as security. With some difficulty he was allowed to hold on to these after Burley's condemnation and the forfeiture of his goods.¹⁶⁰ By 1395 Whittington had lent his maternal uncle Philip Maunsell £500 in lieu of which he acquired the manor of Over Lyppiat in Gloucestershire.¹⁶¹ In 1400 he was unable to ship wool from London because of 'divers prests and payments' made to 'divers lords of the realm'.¹⁶² In 1405 he lent John earl of Somerset 1,000 marks and at about the same time he provided Sir Thomas Talbot with £180.¹⁶³ Occasionally references to debts owed to Richard Whittington are to be found in royal or civic records. Sometimes Whittington appears alone and sometimes in conjunction with other merchants, but it is not usually specified whether the debt has been incurred for goods bought from, or for money lent by, Richard Whittington.¹⁶⁴ On one occasion the debt in dispute concerned a part share in a French prisoner, Hugh Coniers, who had been captured at Agincourt. Whittington sold his share, valued at £296,

to the Italian merchant Stephen Turnebois with whom he had a long dispute about the payment of this sum.¹⁶⁵ Whittington's financial interests clearly extended beyond the three categories of mercery, royal finance and wool export which we have been able to trace in some detail, to any kind of saleable goods. Within his financial net Whittington caught many fish of different sizes and as trade was his business so it was essential to him to preserve his good name. In its defence he brought a case against a London woman, Joanna Hert. She had claimed publicly, in the king's courts and elsewhere, that Whittington owed her large sums of money and that he had in his possession goods and jewels which belonged to her and were worth thousands of marks. But on 21 June 1419 she acknowledged in the mayor's court that the truth of the matter was that she owed Whittington more than he owed her and accordingly she asked Whittington's pardon for thus defaming him.¹⁶⁶

The suggestion that Whittington kept most of his wealth in the form of liquid assets is borne out by his will and by the activities of his executors. Miss Imray has estimated from her study of the 1445 rental of the estates which formed the endowment of the almshouses and college of priests that the income of £250 3s. which these lands produced represented a total investment of £4,500. The London property named by Whittington in his will formed about a quarter of the total, which would mean that his executors had had £3,000–£3,500 to invest in the purchase of property in the City.¹⁶⁷ In addition to this, Whittington's will had enjoined his executors to make bequests which, in all, amounted to just over £1,000.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the executors carried out other works of piety such as the rebuilding of Newgate gaol and the work on the library at Guildhall which may have cost as much as £1,000.¹⁶⁹ Thus Whittington, at his death, must have left, apart from his London property, about £5,000–£5,500 in cash or jewels or plate. That Whittington expected his executors to be mainly concerned with movable goods, as he himself had been all his life, is suggested, first by the injunction in his will that his executors should sell his London property (which they did not do) and, secondly, by his stipulation that they should provide a chest for '*bonis meis et iocalibus pro anima mea distribuendis*'. When all this evidence is considered it is not surprising that by 1 December 1423 these executors were in a position to lend 500 marks to the king for Edward earl of March who was the king's deputy in Ireland.¹⁷⁰

It was this concentration upon liquid wealth, upon goods rather than upon land, which makes Whittington stand out from his contempo-

raries. There were other wealthy men of his day, most notably the draper John Hende, who may have been a little older than Richard Whittington. Hende first appears in civic records in 1369, ten years before Whittington, and he was an alderman by 1379.¹⁷¹ He was sheriff in 1381–2, and was twice mayor, in 1391–2 and 1404–5. Like Whittington he was a collector of the London customs and lent large sums of money to Henry IV and Henry V. He died five years before his more famous contemporary. But John Hende died in possession of extensive property in Kent and Essex and chose to be buried, not in London but at Bradwell in Essex.¹⁷² Most of his considerable wealth went into land and not, primarily, into a great London house and movable goods. It may have been not only shrewd business sense but also natural inclination which led Whittington to keep his wealth in this form.

Richard Whittington began life as a mercer; many of the most beautiful cloths and foreign goods must have passed through his hands. Perhaps his close association with Richard II was based not only upon financial necessity but also upon a mutual appreciation of things of beauty. Like many art dealers today, Whittington could only afford to keep a few of the beautiful objects that came his way. He was primarily a merchant and he had to buy and sell, but in Richard II he supplied a patron of taste. That Richard Whittington and Richard II were perhaps friends as well as associates is suggested by Whittington's early connection with two of the king's closest friends, Simon Burley and Robert de Vere, by the sales of mercery to the Great Wardrobe in 1392–5, by Richard's choice of Whittington as mayor in 1397, by Whittington's close association with the two royalist clerics Roger Waldern and Richard Clifford and by Whittington's loans to the king during the last three years of Richard II's reign. But perhaps most striking of all is the provision in the ordinances drawn up for Whittington's almshouses which enjoins the inmates to pray for the souls of Richard II and Thomas duke of Gloucester 'speciall lordes and promotors of the seid Richard Whittington'. There is no injunction to pray for the souls of the first two Lancastrian kings.¹⁷³

But apart from the particular association of Richard II and Whittington which may have been based upon the appreciation of fine goods and beautiful things, there are other pointers which suggest that Whittington was a connoisseur of works of craftsmanship. The Mercers' Company still possesses four silver spoons, made in about 1410 and engraved with Whittington's arms on the back of the bowls.¹⁷⁴ In his will Whittington's father-in-law left him not lands or rents, or even a bed as

he left his other son-in-law John Chydyok, but a silver gilt cup and cover and a very elaborately worked pair of rosaries with gold enamelled beads.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, according to family tradition Richard gave to his brother Robert Whittington a collar of SS, three dozen silver cups with covers, three basins and ewers, three nests of bowls, three flagons and three livery pots.¹⁷⁶

Finally there are Richard Whittington's seals which bring us as close as we can get to a man who left no personal documents of any kind. Five impressions of his seals survive attached to documents in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Skinners' Hall and Guildhall Library.

It seems that during his lifetime Whittington used three different seals. The earliest surviving impression of a seal of his is attached to a document dated 1402; the same seal is used again in 1410.¹⁷⁷ This seal displays a classical bust surrounded by the inscription 'S Ricardi Whityngton'. The design is simple and effective; the engraving is finely and delicately done. Moreover, the choice of a motif more characteristic of the Italian Renaissance than of early fifteenth-century England places it quite outside the normal run of merchant seals of this date. Whittington was not, after all, the only English merchant dealing with Lombards, Florentines and Venetians, but he must have been among the very few who were sensitive to the artistic currents of northern Italy. This seal suggests a man of considerable sensibility. In 1406 Whittington became mayor of the Calais staple and he may well have had a new seal engraved for his use in this office. Only one impression of this seal survives, when it is used to authenticate a letter sent to the duke of Burgundy in April 1409.¹⁷⁸ The new seal is larger and was probably not a signet ring as the other had been. Although the engraving is equally fine, the design of the seal is more conventional. The inscription is the same except that the 'S' has been expanded to 'Sig.' to fill the enlarged circumference. In the centre of the seal the Renaissance bust has been replaced by Whittington's arms, surmounted by his crest of a may-fly; on either side of the crest are two leopards' heads facing, adopted from the mayoral seal of London.¹⁷⁹ The Whittington arms as they appear on this seal are the same as the arms engraved on the silver spoons, that is, the simple Whittington arms without impaling Fitzwaryn.¹⁸⁰ This representation of Whittington's arms is of interest since there can be no doubt that these were the arms and the crest which he chose to use during his lifetime. Finally there are two impressions of a further seal which, if it was not Richard Whittington's own, must have been used by him in 1418 and again in 1422.¹⁸¹ It is a small and simple seal, delicately engraved and with



Plate 10.1. Impressions of Whittington's seal: (a) 1402. Guildhall Library MS 2903 (b) 1410. Guildhall Library MS 3457



Plate 10.2. Impressions of Whittington's seal: (a) 1409. BL, Add. MS 14820 (H)
(b) 1418. Skinners' Hall Deed 59

the same wispy pieces of foliage which are to be found in the other two seals. The perplexing thing about it is that the two lower-case letters which form its sole decoration appear to be either 'r b' or possibly 'r h'. One might have thought that Richard Whittington had borrowed someone else's seal, but his use of it on two occasions, four years apart, suggests a less casual connection. The two letters may be the initials of Sir Richard Beauchamp for whom Whittington acted as attorney and mainpernor in 1419.¹⁸²

There is very little evidence to suggest that Whittington was a man of learning as well as a man of taste. It is most likely that he could read and write and his choice of a seal with a Latin inscription would reinforce this supposition. But there is no evidence which suggests that he owned any books; there are none mentioned in his will while his younger contemporary and chief executor John Carpenter clearly owned quite an extensive library.¹⁸³ It is true that Whittington contributed £400 towards the building of the library at Grey Friars in 1411,¹⁸⁴ but it would seem that the foundation of a library at Guildhall was probably the idea of John Carpenter and it was under his influence that Whittington's executors made a contribution to this work as did the executors of another mercer, William Bury.¹⁸⁵ This lack of interest in intellectual matters does not separate Whittington from the bulk of the merchant class of London, but one might have expected that a friend of Richard II and an associate of his cultured court might have drawn up a will which would have been numbered among the twenty per cent of fifteenth-century wills of personal property which mention a few books.¹⁸⁶

If Whittington had been in possession of some of Chaucer's works or French romances this would have been notable, but he does not seem to have had even his own missal or Bible or liturgical manual. This is more strange, for in every way he would appear to have been a pious and conventionally religious man. In 1398 he went to the trouble of buying a papal licence to choose his own confessor,¹⁸⁷ he took part in the pursuit of Lollards after the rising of 1414 and his will betrays no Lollard leanings. It expresses conventional and pious aspirations. Whittington left money for obits to be said for his soul and that of his wife, for the expenses of his funeral, for the fabric of certain London churches, for the poor, for his company of Mercers, for the hospitals for the sick, the insane and for lepers, for prisoners, for monastic communities and the order of Friars in London, for the marriage of virgins and for the repair of roads. The reiterated request for prayers for his soul betrays little emancipation from the conventional framework of late medieval religious life.

Whittington would, indeed, have been shocked that a 'latro et lollardus' John Woodcock, who appeared before the king's bench in 1423, claimed to be one of Whittington's executors.¹⁸⁸

But apart from its conventional nature Whittington's will reveals also a somewhat cold and formal man. There are no personal bequests, only the four executors of the will and the overseer are named individually. Apart from these, no person, whether a member of his family, a friend, an ex-apprentice or a member of his household, is remembered individually with affection or care. No shafts of gratitude, love or solicitude lighten the cold and formal document, although provision is made for the sustenance of his household for a year after his death. Richard Whittington's wife, Alice Fitzwaryn, had died, probably between 1402 and 1409, and he had never married again although he may have been only about fifty years old at the time of her death. She had borne him no children and the desire for heirs which drove so many London merchants to second and third marriages seems to have been singularly absent in Whittington's case. Neither his parents nor his Whittington relations are mentioned in his will although he was claimed to have left the manor of Over Lyppiat to his brother and his nephew Guy on his death-bed. Guy Whittington, who finally acquired the manor, left money in his will for prayers to be said for Richard Whittington's soul.¹⁸⁹ In the ordinances drawn up for the almshouses and college of priests it was enjoined that the parents of both Richard and Alice should be remembered in the prayers of the inmates and their inclusion may have derived from some verbal request made by Whittington to his executors. Whittington was not a family man; he had associates rather than friends. At least nine apprentices were trained in his household and three out of the four whom we know to have survived to enter the livery of the company, Thomas Roos, Henry London and William Cavendish, became his business associates in land and other transactions.¹⁹⁰

If Whittington ended his life respected rather than loved, had this always been the case? We do not know when he had married Alice Fitzwaryn, but his married life probably coincided with the period when his career was in the making. Between 1380 and 1400 Richard Whittington made his name as a mercer, became successively common councilman, alderman, sheriff and mayor of London, began his career as a royal financier, was master of his company, became involved with the great men of the court like Simon Burley and Robert de Vere and ultimately became the trusted friend of his king, Richard II. In 1399 that king was

deposed and not long after 1402 Whittington's wife died. For a further twenty years he continued to play the part of a financier, a wool exporter and an important London citizen. But the fire had gone out of his life, the thrust of a man on the make had given way to the calm of a made man. He had reached a plateau of success and there were no further heights for him to scale. His friends had been killed, his patron deposed, his wife had died; at fifty he was too old to build up new relationships. He buys very little property after 1402; he becomes correct and formal; he is rigid in his treatment of the brewers, correct in his attitude to usurers, formal and cold in his will. He appears to have been an upright and judicious man, not one who was quickly or intemperately roused. In a busy career lasting for over forty years he was only twice involved in legal actions.¹⁹¹

To his contemporaries he embodied a living success story. He had been three times mayor of the premier city in England, consulted by kings and the great men of the realm, respected by his fellow citizens and enrolled in a guild as far afield as Coventry. City companies, other than his own, found it expedient to make gifts to him and to seek his good-will.¹⁹² They thought of him not, primarily, as a humanitarian or lover of his fellowmen, but as 'venerabilis mercator' or 'flos mercatorum' or 'honnourable et discrete persoun' or, in the words of the *Libelle of English Policy* 'the sonne of Marchandy . . . that lode sterre and chiefe chosen floure'.¹⁹³ As Whittington looked back on his life, did he find it sufficient to have been the outstanding merchant of his day or did his success turn to ashes? If, when he turned sixty, he yearned for friends and family, he did not betray this weakness. In the last years of his life we can picture him living in the vast house which, with its shops and solars and gardens, extended to La Rirole in the west and to Walbrook in the east, to the site of the later Cutlers' Hall in the north and to the church of St. Michael Paternoster in the south.¹⁹⁴ Here he lived surrounded by his household of servants and by the many objects of beauty, luxury and value which he had collected during a lifetime spent in trade. It was these things, rather than people, which he treasured as he dispassionately drew up his will, consulted his executors and waited to be buried beside his wife, in the tomb which he had prepared in the church next door.¹⁹⁵

APPENDIX I

Richard Whittington's Loans to the Crown 1388–1422

Note to Appendix

All the references to unpublished sources in this table are to exchequer records to be found in the Public Record Office. E401 references are to the Receipt Rolls; E403 references are to the Issue Rolls; E40 references are to Exchequer Deeds; E404 references are to Royal warrants to the treasurer and chamberlains to authorize payments out of the Exchequer. These warrants are usually issued under the privy seal.

The exchequer year was divided into two terms, Michaelmas (*c.* October to March) and Easter (*c.* April to September). There were Receipt and Issue Rolls for each term although they have not all survived.

The date recorded in the first column is, wherever possible, the date when the loan was recorded as received at the exchequer. Where the Receipt Roll is missing or faulty this date can sometimes be supplied from references to the loan made elsewhere. But it is necessary to bear in mind that the date on which the loan was recorded as received may well be merely a book-keeping record written some time after the loan was actually made (e.g. loans nos. 48 and Calais loans nos. 1 and 2). It becomes increasingly common as the fifteenth century progresses to find the recording of the loan as received in the Receipt Roll, the issue of tallies of assignment recorded in the Issue Roll and the apparent receipt of those tallies of assignment back into the exchequer, having been honoured by the collectors of royal revenue on whom they were drawn, recorded in the Receipt Roll, very close together in date (e.g. loans nos. 28, 32, 43, 45, 49). Although this last entry in the Receipt Roll is drafted in such a way as to suggest that the tallies of assignment have been cashed by the revenue collectors on whom they were drawn, in fact this is not necessarily the case but, as Sir Hilary Jenkinson noted as long ago as 1911, the Receipt Roll is 'no more than a register of tallies issued'.¹⁹⁶ Hence although the phrase 'tallies cashed' has been used for convenience in this table to describe these Receipt Roll entries, it cannot be certain whether the royal creditor ever received his money from the local source of revenue or not.

Sometimes it is possible to know that a tally had been brought back into the exchequer when it had not been cashed, but had been converted into a 'fictitious loan'. This is the name given by Mr. Steel to those entries on the Receipt Rolls where the tally is recorded in the normal way as issued and is then crossed through and an interlineation made recording a 'loan' from the man for whom the tally was originally issued.¹⁹⁷ This was usually the preliminary to the issue of a new tally for the creditor in question drawn on a different source of revenue (e.g. loan no. 31) and hence can be seen as a mark of royal favour.¹⁹⁸

The sums repaid are the same as those recorded as lent, except where specified. All sums in marks have been converted into pounds.

[*Richard Whittington's Loans to the Crown, 1388-1422*]

1	23 Aug. 1388 (not in Rec. Roll)	£4	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash 13 July 1392 E403/538
2	23 Aug. 1389 E401/573	£4	0s.	0d.	Noted in Rec. Roll as paid 13 July 1391. In fact paid cash 13 Nov. 1389 E403/527
3	26 Sept. 1390 E401/576	£10	0s.	0d.	Noted in Rec. Roll as paid 28 Sept. 1390. Paid cash on this date E403/530
4	19 March 1397 E401/604	£572	8s.	5d.	Repaid cash 6 June 1397 (£463 7s. 11d.) E403/555 and 24 Dec. 1397 (£109 0s. 6d.) E403/556
5	1 Sept. 1397 E401/606	£382	2s.	6d.	Loan received through John Innocent. Repaid cash 4 Dec. 1397 E403/556
6	4 Dec. 1397 E401/608	£666	13s.	4d.	Repaid by assignment 5 Dec. 1397 (£315 3s. 3d.) E403/556 and by cash 24 Dec. 1397 (£351 10s. 1d.) E403/556
7	8 Nov. 1398 E401/611	£666	13s.	4d.	Repaid cash 9 Dec. 1398 E403/561
8	7 April 1400 E401/604	£666	13s.	4d.	Repaid cash 5 June 1400 E403/567

9	12 June 1400 (not in Rec. Roll)	£666	13s.	4d.	Money lent for the expenses of the household on the security of some jewels. By 9 March 1402 the money not repaid but R. W. returned jewels and received instead assignment on London wool subsidy of which he is a collector. R. W. to remain in that office until Mich. 1402 to be sure of his own repayment—all other assignments on the London wool subsidy notwithstanding, E404/17/428, R. W. lost a collar of SS which was among the jewels pledged to him for this loan and agreed to pay £8 for it 11 May 1402, cash received at exchequer E401/626
10	27 Sept. 1400 E401/619	£666	13s.	4d.	Loan for the expenses of the household. Tallies for R. W. on collectors of tenth and fifteenth in Lincoln cashed before 18 May 1401 E401/622
11	5 Feb. 1401 E401/621	£666	13s.	4d.	Loan in connection with the visit of the emperor of Constantinople. Repaid by assignment 8 Feb. 1401 £403/569. Tallies on London wool subsidy cashed 8 Feb. 1401 E401/621
12	24 June 1401 (not in Rec. Roll)	£280	0s.	0d.	23 April 1403 warrant to repay R. W. E404/18/352. 20 June 1403 repaid by assignment E403/576
13	20 July 1401 E401/622	£133	6s.	8d.	

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------|------|-----|--|
| 14 | 12 Sept. 1401
(not in Rec. Roll) | £666 | 13s. | 4d. | Loan to Chamber. 3 Oct. 1401 warrant to treasurer informing him of loan and of jewels given to R. W. as security for repayment within 40 days. R. W. may sell jewels if not repaid; therefore treasurer to make him assignment on fifteenth; to be collected in Norfolk and Suffolk E404/17/11. Such an assignment was not made for 9 March 1402 R. W. returned jewels and was to receive new assignment. See loan no. 9 E404/17/428 |
| 15 | 28 Feb. 1402
E401/623 | £133 | 6s. | 8d. | Repaid by assignment 1 March 1402 E403/571. Tallies on London wool subsidy cashed 1 March 1402 E401/623 |
| 16 | before 9 March
1402 | £258 | 6s. | 8d. | Loan for the expenses of the marriage of Blanche to Lewis. Warrant to treasurer for repayment 9 March 1402 E404/17/428. See loan no. 9 |
| 17 | 11 May 1402
E401/626 | £467 | 5s. | 0d. | Loan from R. W., Thomas Knolles, John Woodcock and others. This loan appears to have taken the form of bonds which were owed to R. W. etc. by certain foreign merchants; these were to be used to pay the debt of the bishop of Bath and Wells of £2,772 to these foreigners. No sign of repayment of R. W. and others. |
| 18 | 11 May 1402
E401/626 | £1,683 | 13s. | 4d. | Loan from R. W., Thomas Knolles and others through Simon Berde. Connection with loan no. 17? |

19	11 May 1402 E401/626	£1,333	6s.	8d.	Two separate loans of £1,000 and £333 6s. 8d. recorded under the same date. No record of repayment. It is possible that these are not two new loans but rather the recording in the exchequer of loans nos. 9 and 14.
20	13 Nov. 1402 E401/627	£333	6s.	8d.	Note in Rec. Roll that R. W. repaid 2 Feb. 1403. No sign of this in Rec. or Issue Rolls at that date. Possible that a warrant dated 26 Feb. 1405 to issue R. W. with assignments on the Southampton wool subsidy in repayment of a loan of £333 6s. 8d. made to the exchequer refers to this loan E404/20/133
21	9 Dec. 1402 E401/627	£666	13s.	4d.	
22	23 Feb. 1403 E401/627	£100	0s.	0d.	Note in Rec. Roll that R. W. repaid 26 March 1403. No sign of this in Rec. or Issue Rolls of this date.
23	26 March 1405 E401/627	£1,000	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash 14 May 1403 E403/576
24	12 June 1403 (not in Rec. Roll which is incomplete; ends 30 May 1403 E401/630)	£666	13s.	4d.	Repaid by assignment 27 June 1403 £333 6s. 8d. E403/576. Repaid by further assignment 4 Sept. 1403 £231 1s. 0d. E403/576. This leaves £102 5s. 8d. unaccounted for.

25	17 July 1403 (not in Rec. Roll see loan no. 24)	£200	0s.	0d.	Repaid by assignment 20 July 1403 E403/576
26	15 Oct. 1403 E401/631	£1,000	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash 20 Nov. 1403 E403/578
27	16 Dec. 1403 E401/631	£100	0s.	0d.	Repaid by assignment 21 Dec. 1403 E403/578. Tallies on half tenth collected in archdeaconries of Bedford, Gloucester, Cornwall cashed 21 Dec. 1403 E401/631
28	21 Jan. 1404 (not in Rec. Roll)	£60	0s.	0d.	Repaid by assignment 23 Feb. 1404 E403/578. Tallies on half tenth collected in archdeaconries of Hereford, Lewes and Chichester cashed 23 Feb. 1403 E401/631
29	? Dec. 1404 (not in Rec. Roll, which ends 2 Dec. 1404)	£100	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash 2 March 1405 E403/580
30	27 March 1405 (not in Rec. Roll, see loan no. 29)	£1,000	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash only £800 18 July 1405 E403/582. Possible reference to this loan in Council minute 8/15 June 1405 where amount of R. W.'s loan is £400 0s. 0d. for repayment of which a warrant has been sent to the treasurer <i>Privy Council</i> , i. 268

- 31 before 10 June 1406 £1,199 3s. 9d. (not in Rec. Roll)
- (i) 10 June 1406 (in fact the writ is dated 1407 but this would seem to be an error) loan for defence of England made by R. W. with Nicholas Worton and William Brekespere. Warrant authorizing repayment by exporting wool without paying subsidy to value £600 in Chichester, £100 in Sandwich, £499 3s. 9d. in London. Done with assent of William Staundon and Richard Metlawe merchant's attorneys appointed in last parliament, R. W. and others to have letters under Great Seal for greater security E404/22/530
- (ii) 25 July 1406 letters to this effect enrolled on French Rolls P.R.O. C76/89, m. 3.
- (iii) 14 Oct. 1406 Warrant to treasurer to issue tallies on London wool subsidy for John Eton and Thomas Cressy in repayment of their loan of £300 but they are only to receive payment after R. W. has received £499 3s. 9d., John Hende £1,000 and Reginald Curteys £300 E404/22/82
- 32 28 July 1406 £666 13s. 4d. E401/638
- Repaid by assignment 6 Aug. 1406 E403/587. Tallies on half-tenth in archdeaconsries of Worcester, Gloucester, Oxon, Bath and Wells, Hereford, totalling £766 13s. 4d. cashed 6 Aug. 1406 with note in margin that this repayment includes £100 0s. 0d. lent by Richard Clifford through R. W. E401/638. One tally for £22 converted into fictitious loan for which new tally issued 12 June 1407 E403/591

- 33 28 July 1406 £1,000 0s. 0d. Repaid by assignment 28 July 1406 where loan stated to
E401/638 have been made on 18 May 1406 E403/587¹⁹⁹
- 34 13 Dec. 1406 £26 13s. 4d. Repaid by assignment 26 May 1408 E403/595
E401/639
- 35 before 15 April £666 13s. 4d. Warrant to treasurer to make payment to R. W. in
1407 (not in Rec. accordance with the indenture made between R. W. and
Roll) Thomas Lord Furnivall lately treasurer (13 Dec. 1404–15
April 1407) whereby R. W. lent £666 13s. 4d. which was
to be repaid out of the escheators' and sheriffs' income, 28
April 1407 E404/22/462
- 36 13 June 1407 £1,000 0s. 0d. (i) 16 June 1407 Bond of Thomas, archbishop of
E401/641 Canterbury and nine others to R. W. in £1,000 to be
repaid by Mich. 1407 E40/A13012
(ii) 17 June 1407 loan recorded in Patent Rolls; to
be repaid from wool subsidy all other assignments
notwithstanding *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 341–2
(iii) 27 June 1407 Detailed assignments for repayment
from wool subsidy *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 215
(iv) 5 March 1408 R. W. has received only £100. Gives
up bond of 16 June 1407 and in return to export wool
without paying subsidy from London, Southampton and
Chichester to value £900 *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 387.
(v) 12 March 1408 Repaid by assignment E403/594
(vi) 12 March 1408 Tallies on wool subsidy Southampton,
Chichester, London totalling £900 cashed E401/644

37	Oct.–Dec. 1407	£33	6s.	4d.	Loan made to Lord Burnell for his costs in bringing French Ambassador to Gloucester Parliament. Warrant to repay R. W. out of royal treasure 27 Feb. 1408 E404/23/297. Cf. payment of £66 13s. 4d. to Lord Burnell through R. W. for costs incurred at same time 22 Aug. 1411 Devon, Issues, 317
38	16 Jan. 1408 E401/643	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid cash 5 March 1408 E403/594
39	4 March 1408 E401/644	£200	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash 5 March 1408 E403/594
40	before April 1408	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid cash April 1408 E403/595
41	27 Oct. 1408 E401/648	£2,833	6s.	8d.	Repaid cash 4 Dec. 1408 (£2,500 0s. 0d.) and 13 Feb. 1409 (£333 6s. 8d.) E403/596. Possible reference to this loan 25 Feb. 1409 where a bond of the treasurer John Tiptoft and of archbishop of Canterbury to R. W. for repayment of a loan £1,100 0s. 0d. provided for the soldiers at Calais recently paid off, is mentioned <i>C.P.R.</i> , 1408–13, 54.
42	4 Dec. 1409 E401/650	£203	4s.	4d.	Loan made through John Burgh. Repaid by assignment 23 Sept. 1411 E403/608
43	9 June 1410 E401/652	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid by assignment 23 June 1410 E403/605. Tally on fifteenth and tenth in Norfolk cashed 23 June 1410 E401/652. Loan listed in Council minute c. 18 June 1410 amongst those advanced for the safe-keeping of Wales <i>Proc. Privy Council</i> , ii, 114

44	9 May 1411 (no Rec. Roll surviving for this term)	£83	6s.	8d.	Repaid cash 28 Aug. 1411 E403/608
45	2 March 1413 E401/657	£1,000	0s.	0d.	Repaid by assignment 17 March 1413 E403/611. Tallies on wool subsidy in London cashed 17 March 1413 E401/657. Note in the Receipt Roll that the archbishop of Canterbury and John Pelham were obliged to R. W. for this sum.
46	before 7 July 1413 (not in Rec. Roll)	£1,000	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash 7 July 1413 E403/612
47	14 July 1413 E401/658	£2,000	0s.	0d.	Repaid cash (£1,000 0s. 0d.) and by assignment (£1,000 0s. 0d.) 15 Nov. 1413 E403/614
48	29 Aug. 1414 E401/661	£533	6s.	8d.	Repaid by assignment 1 March 1415 E403/617. Note on 19 July 1414 Henry Botolf was paid 3s. 4d. for riding from London to Canterbury to the lord treasurer who was then there to collect an obligation to R. W. of £533 6s. 8d. E403/617. It may have been as a result of this journey that R. W.'s loan was recorded in the Receipt Roll whereas previously he had had only a personal bond
49	2 Sept. 1415 E401/667	£466	13s.	4d.	Loan to maintain siege of Harfeur. Repaid by assignment 3 Sept. 1415 E403/621. Tallies on wool subsidy in London, Boston and Kingston on Hull cashed 3 Sept. 1415 E401/667. R. W. also received letters patent granting him priority on these sources of revenue 2 Sept. 1415 C.P.R., 1413-16, 360

50	12 June 1417 E401/677	£1,333	6s.	8d.	Repaid cash 15 Dec. 1417 (£666 13s. 4d.) E403/633; 28 Sept. 1418 (£333 6s. 8d.) E403/636; 22 Nov. 1419 (£333 6s. 8d.) through Richard Knyghtley E403/643
51	4 Oct. 1417 E401/680	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid cash 15 Dec. 1417 E403/633
52	16 July 1418 E401/683	£333	6s.	8d.	No record of repayment in exchequer records. Grant of repayment loan £333 6s. 8d. from London wool subsidy by virtue of an exchequer tally 17 May 1419 C.P.R., 1416–22, 233, 236.
53	2 Oct. 1419 (not in Rec. Roll)	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid by assignment 17 Feb. 1420 E403/643. Tallies on Duchy of Cornwall cashed 17 Feb. 1420 E401/690
54	12 March 1420 (not in Rec. Roll)	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid by assignment 24 May 1420 E403/645. Tallies on chamberlain of South Wales cashed 24 May 1420 E401/693
55	before 18 April 1420 (not in Rec. Roll)	£200	0s.	0d.	Repaid by tally cashed on wool subsidy in Boston 18 April 1420 E401/693
56	18 May 1421 E401/696	£666	13s.	4d.	Repaid by assignment 17 July 1421 E403/651. Tallies on London wool subsidy cashed 17 July 1421 E401/696
57	11 March 1422 E401/698	£666	13s.	4d.	Repaid cash 23 April 1422 E403/655
58	23 July 1422 E401/702	£333	6s.	8d.	Repaid by assignment not recorded in Issue Roll but tally on collectors of fifteenth in Norfolk cashed 24 July 1422 E401/702

**Loans from merchants of the Calais Staple during period
when Richard Whittington was mayor, 1406–1408²⁰⁰**

Loan no. 1

£4,000 0s. 0d.

Lent before 25 Dec. 1406

Money advanced by Richard Whittington, Thomas Brown, John Chirche, John Rous, William Bowes and Richard Russell

History of the loan:

- (i) March 1407 Reference to this loan made by R. W. and others for payment of the Calais garrison E404/22/285.
- (ii) 29 April 1407 Warrant to treasurer to repay R. W. and others their loan of £4,000 E404/22/464.
- (iii) 29 April 1407 Letters patent for repayment from the London wool subsidy (£1,333 6s. 8d.), Boston wool subsidy (£1,333 6s. 8d.), Kingston-on-Hull wool subsidy (£1,000), Ipswich wool subsidy (£333 6s. 8d.) *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 321.
- (iv) 9 May 1407 Loan £4,000 recorded as received at the exchequer E401/641.
- (v) 24 May 1407 R. W. and others repaid £2,666 13s. 4d. by assignment E403/591.
- (vi) 24 May 1407 Tallies on Boston wool subsidy (£1,333 6s. 8d.), Kingston-on-Hull petty customs (£1,000), Ipswich petty customs (£333 6s. 8d.) cashed E401/641.
- (vii) 20 June 1407 Prior claim of R. W. and others to income from the wool subsidy at London re-affirmed *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 335.
- (viii) 15 July 1407 R. W. and others repaid £1,333 6s. 8d. by assignment E403/591.
- (ix) 2 March 1408 Part of the original loan of £4,000 0s. 0d. still remains unpaid (presumably £1,333 6s. 8d. for which assignments made on 15 July 1407) therefore the merchants petition the council for repayment *Proc. Privy Council*, i. 303–5.

- (x) 2 March 1408 Letters patent assuring R. W. and others of repayment of all that is due to them from this loan of £4,000 according to earlier letters patent, i.e. those of 29 April 1407 *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 414–15.

Loan no. 2

£4,000 0s. 0d.

Lent before 12 June 1407

Money advanced by Richard Whittington, John Chirche, John Rous, William Est and William Bowes

History of the loan:

- (i) 12 June 1407 Loan recorded as received at the exchequer E401/641.
- (ii) 17 June 1407 Defeasance of bond in which Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, bishop of Durham, Edward, duke of York, John, earl of Somerset, William Roos, Richard Grey, Hugh Lord Burnell, John Prophete, clerk, John Lord Stanley undertake to repay R. W. and others the sum of £4,000 before Candlemas 1408 or to deliver to them sufficient tallies on the wool subsidy. This in addition to letters patent of 29 April 1407 [loan no. 1 (iii)] E40/6255.
- (iii) 17 June 1407 Letters patent recording various loans to the crown including this one for which the archbishop and other bishops and lords are bound in writings. The king promises that this sum shall be fully repaid from the wool subsidy to be collected in English ports notwithstanding all previous assignments *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 341–2.
- (iv) 2 March 1408 Petition of Calais merchants to the council to have repayment of this loan either from the fifteenth or from the wool subsidy. The council agrees that the following assignments should be made on the Kingston-on-Hull wool subsidy (£2,000), Boston wool subsidy (£1,200), and Ipswich wool subsidy (£800) *Proc. Privy Council*, i. 305–7.
- (v) 2 March 1408 Letters patent assuring repayment from sources of income described under (iv) *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 414–15.
- (vi) 4 March 1408 R. W. and others repaid by assignment E403/594.
- (vii) 4 March 1408 Tallies on wool subsidy Hull (£2,000), wool subsidy Boston (£1,200), wool subsidy Ipswich (£800) cashed E401/644.²⁰¹

APPENDIX II

Richard Whittington's wool exports

The four ports of London, Chichester, Southampton and Sandwich were chosen for examination since there was reason to believe, from entries in Close and Patent Rolls and elsewhere, that Whittington might have been using these ports for wool export. All the particularized customs accounts which survive for these four ports in the P.R.O. have been examined. Where Whittington was found to be exporting, the amount of wool which he exported has been entered in the table. Where there is a customs account, but Whittington does not appear in it, the mark '0' has been inserted.

Entries in brackets are derived, not from customs accounts, but from the Patent, Close or Issue Rolls where licences or concessions to Whittington are recorded. It cannot be certain whether these were ever taken up by Whittington. These references were usually to sarpliers and pockets of wool, or to the value of custom to be paid. These amounts have been converted into sacks in the table at the rough reckoning of 2 sacks to a sarplier and £2 10s. 0d. custom and subsidy paid on a sack of wool. These equivalents have been worked out from customs accounts, e.g. Chichester in 1407, where the totals of sacks, cloves, pockets, sarpliers, custom and subsidy are all given.

Very few of the customs accounts cover a full year and many of them include parts of two years. They have been entered on the table where it seemed most appropriate and the exact details of all the accounts are given in the notes.

Year	London	Chichester	Southampton	Sandwich
1396		0 ²⁰²		
1397	0 ²⁰³	0 ²⁰⁴		
1398	0 ²⁰⁵	0 ²⁰⁶		0 ²⁰⁷
1399				
1400	0 ²⁰⁸			
1401		0 ²⁰⁹		0 ²¹⁰
1402		0 ²¹¹		
1403	0 ²¹²		0 ²¹³	0 ²¹⁴
1404	74.5 sacks; 36.75 cloves ²¹⁵	24 sacks; 25 cloves ²¹⁶	0 ²¹⁷	0 ²¹⁸
1405	149.5 sacks; 97.5 cloves ²¹⁹		0 ²²⁰	
1406	97.5 sacks; 96 cloves ²²¹	0 ²²²		0 ²²³
1407	[c. 200 sacks] ²²⁴	251.5 sacks; 52 cloves ²²⁵		0 ²²⁶
1408	[c. 120 sacks] ²²⁷	[c. 180 sacks] ²²⁸	[c. 60 sacks] ²²⁹	[c. 40 sacks] ²³⁰
1409		[c. 38 sacks] ²³¹		
1410	82 sacks; 51 cloves ²³²	[c. 50 sacks] ²³³		
1411		[c. 65 sacks] ²³⁴		
1412	74 sacks; 41 cloves ²³⁵	[c. 28 sacks] ²³⁶	-- ²³⁷	
1413	[c. 44 sacks] ²³⁸	[c. 65 sacks] ²³⁹		0 ²⁴⁰
1414				
1415	[c. 3 sacks] ²⁴¹			
1416		[c. 185 sacks] ²⁴²		
1417				
1418				
1419				
1420				
1421				
1422				
1423	0 ²⁴³			

NOTES

¹ See F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England* (1932), 93; James Tait's article on Richard Whittington in *D.N.B.*; Samuel Lysons, *The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages* (1860), 43.

² *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. H. B. Wheatley (1896), viii. 100, 21 Sept. 1668. 'To Southwark fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet show of Whittington which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon the people that see it, and even myself too'.

³ See William Bowyer, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1814), viii. 575; Samuel Foot's play, *The Nabob*, included in *Works of Samuel Foote Esq.* (1799), 316–17; *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with William Mason*, ed. W. S. Lewis and others (New Haven and London, 1955), 40; *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Countess of Upper Ossory*, ed. W. S. Lewis and others, i (1965), 84; *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Grey, Richard West and Thomas Ashton*, ed. W. S. Lewis and others, i (1948), 47.

⁴ *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Arthur Friedman (1966), i. 461 '... the old story of Whittington, were his cat left out, might be more serviceable to the tender minds, than either Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, or an hundred others, where frugality is the only good quality the hero is not possessed of'.

⁵ These two foundations and their history have been the subject of a recent detailed study by Jean M. Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (1968). I am much indebted to Miss Imray for allowing me to see the proofs of her book before publication and for help in answering many of my queries.

⁶ J. Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (1908), i. 16, 37, 108, 153, 208, 242–3, 272, 275, 300–1, 318, 329, ii. 23; *Grafton's Chronicle or History of England* (1809), i. 499–500. Grafton's work was first published in London in 1569, and was probably used by Stow.

⁷ *Ecclesiasticus*, xliv. For Whittington's will drawn up 5 Sept. 1421, see *Register of Henry Chichele, 1414–43*, ed. E. F. Jacob and H. C. Johnson, ii (1937), 240–4, and *Cal. Wills*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, ii. 432.

⁸ *Inquisitions Post Mortem for Gloucestershire* (British Record Soc., xlvii, 1914) vi. 7, inquisition on Sir William de Wetyngtone, kt., who had died on 8 Sept. 1358. The outlawry had been promulgated against Sir William on 3 Sept. 1358 in the husting court at London, Corporation of London Records Office, Husting, Pleas of Land, Roll 80; the plea of debt was brought by William de Southam, clerk, who was parson of Arrow church in Warwickshire, *C.C.R., 1354–60*, 368, *C.F.R., 1356–68*, 136. Although the manor of Pauntley was only worth 8 marks in 1358 it appears to have been worth £20 in 1399, see Lysons, *Model Merchant*, 13.

⁹ *C.L.B.H.*, 123–6, 24 Jan. 1379. On the causes of this dispute between John of Gaunt and other great lords and the City, see Ruth Bird, *Turbulent London of Richard II* (1949), 44–9.

¹⁰ These sales must have preceded de Vere's condemnation by the Merciless Parliament in Feb. 1388. 22 Aug. 1397 Whittington was paid £1,903 16s. 5d. by assignment for mercery which he had sold to Robert, late duke of Ireland, which was now in the king's hands because of forfeiture, P.R.O. Issue Roll E403/555. On the same day £500 worth of tallies on the London customs were issued for Whittington, P.R.O. Receipt Roll E401/606. On 15 July 1398 Whittington was issued with new tallies to the value of £393 16s. 5d. in lieu of some of those issued to him on 22 Aug. 1397, E403/559.

¹¹ J. H. Wylie, *History of Henry IV* (1898), iv. 159, 162, 163.

¹² Cash payment 13 Nov. 1389, E403/527.

¹³ See the Account Roll of Richard Clifford, keeper of the Great Wardrobe, for the years 16–18 Richard II, P.R.O. E101/402/13. John Hende, draper, supplied goods to a total value of £4,143 16s. 7 1/2d. The total sum of money spent by the Great Wardrobe in the period covered by this account was £12,902 9s. 4d., i.e. Whittington and Hende between them supplied over half the goods purchased.

¹⁴ The accounts of the Great Wardrobe (not particularized) survive in enrolled accounts at the P.R.O. When the Great Wardrobe paid for the cost of equipping Richard's two expeditions to Ireland its expenses were greater than during the period covered by Clifford's account, but at no other time, see T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, iv (1928), 423–4, vi (1933), 108.

¹⁵ *C.P.R.*, 1391–6, 130, 226. John Hende was mayor of London at the time when the payment of £10,000 to Richard was agreed by the Londoners. Whittington and John Woodcock, who also supplied goods to the Great Wardrobe, were among the 24 commoners who attended the king at Nottingham in June 1392, *C.L.B.H.*, 377–8.

¹⁶ No record of payments by cash or assignment through the exchequer either to Whittington or Hende for goods supplied to the Great Wardrobe. They may have been paid by Clifford out of money supplied from the exchequer for the needs of the Great Wardrobe.

¹⁷ Whittington was not paid cash but was to recover the sum by exporting wool from London without paying the subsidy, 24 May 1400, *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, 307. 3 Dec. 1400 a new grant was made to Whittington since he claimed that because of various expenses he had not had the capital with which to export wool. Assignments on the wool customs in various ports were made to him, E404/16/304, *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, 395. 8 Feb. 1401 assignments recorded in E403/569. Tallies converted into a fictitious loan, E401/621. New assignments on London customs 13 Aug. 1401, E401/622, and 1 Dec. 1401, E401/623 and E403/571.

¹⁸ The account book of purchases made for Blanche's wedding survives but it does not record the names of suppliers, P.R.O. E101/406/10, printed in *Archaeologia*, lxxvii (1916). Whittington had been paid the £215 13s. 4d. by Blanche's treasurer, John Chaundler, and it was he who recovered the money from the exchequer 19 April 1402, F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer from Henry III*

to Henry VI (1837), 283. Whittington also lent £258 6s. 8d. for the expenses of Blanche's journey to Germany, see Loan no. 16.

¹⁹ The exact sum was £1,238 ls. 8d., for which Whittington was provided with exchequer tallies. By 1405 he had still been unable to cash them when the treasurer was instructed to pay him in cash or to provide him with new assignments, £404/20/113.

²⁰ Whittington had been paid this sum by Richard Clifford, 'junior clerk of the Wardrobe of Lady Philippa', who recovered the sum from the exchequer 28 July 1406, Devon, *Issues*, 304.

²¹ Account book of William Loveney, keeper of the Great Wardrobe 8–10 Henry IV, E101/405/14. The total cost of goods bought was £1,038 14s. 4 1/2d. Thomas Wotton supplied goods to the value of £238 17s. 10d.; John Penne to the value of £136 15s. 8d.; Henry Barton to the value of £274 11s. 8d.

²² Account book of Richard Clifford, keeper of the Great Wardrobe 9–10 Henry IV, E101/405/22. The total cost of goods bought was £3,656 19s. 9d. Angelo Cristofar supplied mercery to the value of £184 8s. 0d.; Lewis de Port to value of £187 10s. 0d.; Ivo Lombard to value of £104.

²³ The Spanish merchandise cost Whittington £262 13s. 4d., payments on 9 June, 11 & 14 July 1413, E401/658. Possibly these payments have some connection with Whittington's appointment to a commission to sort out French and Spanish merchandise, see p. 283. Whittington's goods were imported into Sandwich on 21 May 1413, Controlment account 13 April–29 Sept. 1413, P.R.O. E112/127/1. The Great Wardrobe debt to Whittington amounted to £667 11s. 0d. for which he was given tallies of assignment on the wool customs at Chichester, under security of letters patent 15 June 1415, *C.C.R.*, 1411–19, 220. The dates of John Spencer's keepership are uncertain. Richard Clifford was keeper in 1412, Robert Rolleston was keeper in 1419. John Spencer had been controller of the household of Henry V as Prince of Wales in 4–6 Henry IV (see P.R.O. E101/404/24), and he may have been appointed keeper of the Great Wardrobe at the accession of Henry V.

²⁴ Account book of Robert Rolleston, keeper of the Great Wardrobe 7–8 Henry V, E101/407/1; the account is incomplete but the total expenditure of the surviving part amounted to £607 0s. 10d. Account book of Robert Rolleston 1–2 Henry VI, E101/407/13; total expenditure £754 3s. 10 1/2d.

²⁵ Mercers' Hall, Wardens' Accounts, 1347–1464, Edmund Peyton, John Pychard, Thomas Roos, John Weston, Nicholas Lemyng, f. 8v; Edmund Brige, John Empyngham, f. 32v; William Cavendish, Henry London, f. 32v. On 18 March 1409 Robert Steven, the son of Laurence Steven, was committed by the mayor's court to Whittington to finish his apprenticeship, *C.P.M.R.*, 1381–1412, 293–4. Robert Steven had been entered as an apprentice by William Butte in 1403/4, Mercers' Accounts, f. 38; but in 1409 Butte was in the Fleet prison for debt. Robert Steven never entered the livery of the company.

²⁶ G. L. Harriss, 'Aids, Loans and Benevolences', *Historical Journal*, vi (1963),

1–19; C. M. Barron, ‘The Tyranny of Richard II’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xli (1968), 1–6. [Reprinted as Chapter 1 in the present volume.]

²⁷ A. Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377–1485* (1954), 115; see also pp. xxxvii–xxxviii, 18–20; cf. K. B. McFarlane, ‘Loans to the Lancastrian Kings: The Problem of Inducement’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, ix (1947–9), 51–68.

²⁸ *C.P.M.R.*, 1413–37, 98–110.

²⁹ McFarlane, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, ix, 53; cf. Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, xxxvii.

³⁰ See for examples, Appendix I, Loans nos. 36, 49 and the two Calais loans.

³¹ See below, p. 277 (should be paragraphs 19, 20).

³² Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, xxxvii, argued that Cardinal Beaufort was getting richer all the time and thus able to make larger and larger loans, and from this he concluded that each loan must have been an immediate source of profit to him. What may have been true in the case of Cardinal Beaufort is not reflected in the pattern of Whittington’s lending where no increasing scale is apparent. Moreover it is estimated (see p.291) that he died worth between £6,000 and £7,000, which is only about five times the amount which he was able to lend to Henry IV in 1402, see loan no. 19.

³³ For a complete list of Whittington’s loans to the crown see Appendix I. This is loan no. 1.

³⁴ See loan no. 4.

³⁵ H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life* (1868), 544–5; A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London* (2 vols., 1908–13), i, 396.

³⁶ Barron, *Bulletin I.H.R.*, xli, 1–6.

³⁷ E401/606.

³⁸ E403/555, see note 10 above.

³⁹ See loans nos. 5, 6, 7.

⁴⁰ This in accord with Mr. Steel’s conclusion that Richard II was, in matters of finance, more reliable than his successor, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, 120.

⁴¹ See note 17 above.

⁴² See loans nos. 9, 14.

⁴³ See loans nos. 35, 36, 41, 45, 48 and Calais loan no. 2.

⁴⁴ See loans nos. 31, 35, 49, 52 and Calais loans nos. 1 and 2. Cf. G. L. Harriß, ‘Preference at the Medieval Exchequer’, *Bulletin I.H.R.*, xxx (1957), 17–40.

⁴⁵ On the process of repayment of royal loans see the introductory note to Appendix I. Whittington only once had a ‘fictitious loan’ for the small sum of £22, see loan no. 32.

⁴⁶ P.R.O. Warrant for Issue 24 Jan. 1404, E404/20/129. Beaufort was to be granted an assignment on the London wool subsidy. Warrant endorsed, paid 20 Jan. 1405.

⁴⁷ Warrant for Issue 20 Nov. 1408, £404/24/233. Sir Thomas Talbot was keeper of the castle of Montgomery from 2 Jan. 1403 to 7 Aug. 1405, *C.P.R.*, 1401–5, 184, 186, 194, *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 36.

⁴⁸ See p. 290.

⁴⁹ See loans nos. 17 and 18.

⁵⁰ See loan no. 31 and Calais loans nos. 1 and 2.

⁵¹ See note 17 above, loans nos. 31 and 36.

⁵² For Whittington's wool exports see Appendix II.

⁵³ *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, 307, 395; see note 17 above.

⁵⁴ This concentration upon Chichester was probably the result of a royal grant made 10 June 1406 authorizing Whittington and others to be repaid part of a loan of £1,119 3s. 0d. by exporting wool without paying the subsidy to the value of £600 in Chichester, see loan no. 31.

⁵⁵ P.R.O. Particularized Customers' Account from Southampton, E122/139/11. The actual amount of money paid by Orlandini was £1,055 17s. 3 1/4d., but it must be remembered that aliens paid a higher rate of subsidy.

⁵⁶ The obligation in which Whittington and London acknowledged their debt to the crown was delivered to the treasurer of England on 20 July 1407, Palgrave, *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii (1836), 75.

⁵⁷ See notes 238 and 239 below.

⁵⁸ Whittington was appointed 6 Oct. 1401, *C.F.R.*, xii. 140; reappointed 13 Nov. 1402, *ibid.*, 180; appointed again 20 Feb. 1407, *C.F.R.*, xiii. 47, 69; reappointed 30 Sept. 1407, *ibid.*, 81; reappointed 29 Sept. 1408, *ibid.*, 82. Writ dismissing Whittington and Hende from this office dated 26 July 1410, P.R.O. E122/72/27.

⁵⁹ See note 9 above; Whittington was listed as a common councilman for Coleman Street ward 31 July 1384, *C.L.B.H.*, 239; 13 Oct. 1384, *C.P.M.R.*, 1381–1412, 85; 18 July 1385, *C.L.B.H.*, 270; 25 March 1386, *ibid.*, 281; 1385/6, *C.P.M.R.*, 1381–1412, 123; he was not a common councilman for Coleman Street on 31 Aug. 1388, *C.L.B.H.*, 333. See Beaven, *Aldermen*, i. 71.

⁶⁰ 29 May 1392 royal writ summoning citizens to Nottingham, *C.L.B.H.*, 378.

⁶¹ 21 Sept. 1393, *C.L.B.H.*, 399; Riley, *Memorials*, 533–4.

⁶² *C.P.M.R.*, 1381–1412, 223–4; there are two royal commissions to Whittington as sheriff to make arrests in the City, 28 March and 15 April 1394, *C.P.R.*, 1391–6, 433, 442.

⁶³ Beaven, *Aldermen*, i. 174.

⁶⁴ 13 July 1397, writ of Richard II informing the mayor and citizens of the arrests, *C.L.B.H.*, 437; *C.P.R.*, 1396–9, 241. Other writs sent to the sheriffs of London concerning these arrests dated 13 and 15 July, *C.C.R.*, 1396–9, 137, 197, 208. The author of the Kirkstall Chronicle states that before setting out for Pleshy to arrest Gloucester Richard took the precaution of commending the secure custody of the City to the mayor and sheriffs, 'Kirkstall Chronicle', ed. M. V. Clarke and N. Denholm-Young, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xv (1931), 129–30. Walsingham wrote that Richard was accompanied on this occasion by a band of Londoners, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1866), 205. Froissart records that the Londoners, although stunned, believed that the dukes of York and Lancaster would see that all was well, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn

de Lettenhove, xvi (Brussels, 1872), 72–3.

⁶⁵ 13 Oct. 1397, *C.L.B.H.*, 440; Riley, *Memorials*, 545–6.

⁶⁶ 3 April 1398, *C.C.R.*, 1396–9, 277.

⁶⁷ See Barron, *Bulletin I.H.R.*, xli. 10–14.

⁶⁸ The City acquired Blackwell Hall in 1396, Husting Roll 124(57); Whittington's regulations for the market, *C.L.B.H.*, 449–50, and Riley, *Memorials*, 550–2; oath of the keeper of Blackwell Hall, *C.L.B.D.*, 200–1; see also A. H. Johnson, *History of the Drapers of London* (1914), i. 102–3.

⁶⁹ 13 Oct. 1406, *C.L.B.I.*, 52; Riley, *Memorials*, 565–6.

⁷⁰ Goldsmiths' Hall MS. 1518 B 39, Book A 1334–1442, f. 98; see also W. S. Prideaux, *Memorials of Goldsmiths' Company* (1896), i. 16; 9 June 1407 a writ of *supersedeas omnino* in this case *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 294. In fact the declared income of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1412 was £46 10s. 0 1/2d.; and in 1436 £70 0s. 0d.

⁷¹ 19 Feb. 1407, *C.L.B.I.*, 58–9; *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, ed. Sir H. Nicolas, i. 298–300.

⁷² 3 Sept. 1416 writ for election and return, *C.L.B.I.*, 158. Whittington's fellow M.P.s were Thomas Knolles, John Perneys, and Robert Whittingham. In 1406 a new electoral procedure was introduced from when there survive some of the sheriff's indentures recording the election of M.P.s and the names of those present at the election. The indenture for the 1416 election does not survive although eleven London indentures are extant between 1406 and Whittington's death in 1423. Whittington was present at six of the elections: 27 March 1413, 16 Feb. 1416, 28 Oct. 1417, 9 Oct. 1419, 14 April 1421, 19 Oct. 1422, P.R.O. C219/11/1 & 2, 8; C219/12/2, 3, 5; C219/13/1.

⁷³ 13 Oct. 1419, *C.L.B.I.*, 227; Riley, *Memorials*, 676.

⁷⁴ Corporation Records Office, Journals of the Court of Common Council (cited hereafter as Jnl.), 1 and 2. The years here recorded run from Oct. to Oct., the span of the mayoral year.

1416/17	Whittington attended 36	of the 84 recorded meetings:	43%
1417/18	13	42	31%
1418/19	25	51	49%
1419/20	63	65	95%
1420/21	28	39	72%
1421/22			
(Missing)			
1422/23	6	13 recorded meetings before his death:	46%

⁷⁵ *C.L.B.I.*, 65, 232, 237–8; Jnl. 1, f. 69v, 72v.

⁷⁶ *C.L.B.I.*, 232–7; Guildhall Library, MS. 5440, Brewers' Company Account Book, 1418–1440, ff. 32–4.

⁷⁷ During Whittington's mayoralty the Brewers collected £31 17s. 4d. to be used to get the statute 'contra braciatores' modified. Robert Whittingham, one of the sheriffs, received £20, John Carpenter, the common clerk, received 20s. for his counsel and for various labours; the company's total expenses amounted to £29 17s. 0d., *Brewers' Account Book*, ff. 25–26v.

⁷⁸ *A Book of London English 1384–1425*, ed. R. W. Chambers and Marjorie Daunt (1951), 140–2. The attitude of John Carpenter may well have been influenced by gifts from the company, see note 77 above. Carpenter appears to have been correct in his assessment of the situation: on 31 Oct. 1422 the masters of the company were summoned to court, Jnl. 2, f. 1; but after Whittington's death in March 1423 there seems to have been no further attempt to hold down the price of beer in the City until 1436, Jnl. 3, f. 125v, 129; *Brewers' Account Book*, ff. 69v–70.

⁷⁹ 20 April 1417, *C.L.B.I.*, 179–80; 4 Oct. 1438 Richard Barnet elected in his place, Jnl. 3, f. 164rv.

⁸⁰ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, ed. H. T. Riley, i (Rolls Series, 1859) 3–4.

⁸¹ Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 15.

⁸² *C.P.M.R.*, 1423–1437, 98, 100, 102, 103, 106. In the case involving charges against the grocer, William Burton, Whittington appears to have received a 10s. cash pledge from Walter Grenway, a weaver, on 31 Aug. 1421, *ibid.*, 104–5; Jnl. 1, f. 94.

⁸³ Jnl. 2, f. 3; *Cal. Wills*, ii. 432.

⁸⁴ *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (E.E.T.S., 1908), pt. ii, 449; the foundation charter for the College of Priests provides for the obit for Whittington to be said on either 23 or 24 March which could be the date of his burial, W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, pt. 2 (1830), 741.

⁸⁵ *Mercers' Hall, Wardens' Accounts, 1347–1464*, f. 77; the total outlay appears to have been at least £5 14s. 2 1/2d.

⁸⁶ Will of Whittington in *Register of Henry Chichele 1414–1443*, ed. E. F. Jacob and H. C. Johnson, ii. 240–4. The bequest was paid very rapidly to the Company since its receipt was recorded in the accounts covering the period June 1422 to June 1423, *Mercers' Hall, Wardens' Accounts, 1347–1464*, f. 82v.

⁸⁷ 10 Dec. 1384, *C.C.R.*, 1381–5, 491; 26 Jan. 1387, *C.P.R.*, 1385–9, 294; 20 April 1398, *C.C.R.*, 1396–9, 272, 364–5; 19 March 1400, *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, 244.

⁸⁸ 16 Feb. 1404, *C.P.R.*, 1401–5, 355, 374.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1392–9*, 225–5.

⁹⁰ 18 July 1400, warrant to pay three men as members of the council from 1 Nov. 1399, E 404/15/477; 5 Nov. 1400, payment by assignment to three men, E403/569; tally on customs converted into fictitious loan, E401/621; new assignment made 26 Jan. 1401, E403/569; tally on London customs again converted into fictitious loan, E401/621; new assignment made 18 Jan. 1402, E403/571; tally issued, E401/623. Whittington and William Bampton were recorded as attending the council 15 June 1400, *Proc. Privy Council*, i. 122.

⁹¹ Mr. J. L. Kirby suggests that Whittington and Hende may have attended meetings of the council in 1407 which dealt with the trouble at Calais; see 'The Council of 1407 and the Problem of Calais', *English Society and Government in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. C. M. D. Crowder (1967), 83.

⁹² 26 Sept. 1401, *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, 548. For the intricacies of this case see E. Perroy, 'L'Affaire du Comte de Denia', *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 573–81. Quarrels were still arising out of this case as late as 1431, see *C.P.M.R.*, 1413–37, 256–8.

⁹³ 16 July 1409, *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 97. On the obligations of this type of relationship, see M. H. Keen, 'Brotherhood in Arms', *History*, xlvii (1962), 1–17.

⁹⁴ 20 Nov. 1405, ship called 'le Mathewe' of Brittany, *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 95; 3 Nov. 1407, ship called 'Lawrence' of Ipswich, *ibid.*, 378–9; 20 June 1409, ship called 'La Trinite' of Bayonne, *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 84; 13 Dec. 1417 ship called 'Holygost', *C.P.R.*, 1416–22, 127, 174.

⁹⁵ 22 May 1414, *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, 192; 13 March 1417, *C.P.R.*, 1416–22, 85–6. The remaining commissions were mainly on appeal from previous judgments, see *C.P.R.*, 1401–5, 211, 221, 301; *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 100, 198; *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, 398.

⁹⁶ The bishop of Ancona had been appointed a collector in England by the Pope as early as March 1407, *Cal. Papal Registers, 1405–15*, 94–5. See also 13 July 1409, *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 516; 18 Aug. 1409, *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 101.

⁹⁷ 10 Dec. 1412, *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 476.

⁹⁸ 2 Jan. 1412, *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 379; *C.L.B.I.*, 99; P.R.O. Subsidy 144/20, printed by J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *Archaeological Journal*, xlv (1887), 56–82.

⁹⁹ 27 May 1415, *Proc. Privy Council*, ii, 168–9.

¹⁰⁰ 11 Jan. 1414, *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, 178; *C.L.B.I.*, 123.

¹⁰¹ These commissions were appointed after Oldcastle's capture and death on 14 Dec. 1417. Commission appointed 12 July 1418, *C.P.R.*, 1416–22, 202, and sat without Whittington on 25 Sept. 1418, *C.C.R.*, 1413–19, 489; see *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1399–1422*, 318–19.

¹⁰² Lysons, *Model Merchant*, 64.

¹⁰³ 24 Oct. 1403, *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 447; 26 Feb. 1418, *C.P.R.*, 1422–9, 483.

¹⁰⁴ *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 188, 378, 403–4; *C.C.R.*, 1409–13, 142, 258, 262, 342, 411; *C.C.R.*, 1422–9, 195; *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 295; see also P.R.O. *List of Early Chancery Proceedings* (1963), 45.

¹⁰⁵ See Calais loans nos. 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁶ 13 Aug. 1408, Whittington, as mayor of the Calais staple, was ordered not to execute the recent ordinance which had laid down that no new wool should be sold until the old wool at Calais was first disposed of, *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 339, 406; 29 April 1409, Whittington, as mayor of the Calais staple, used his seal to authenticate a document, *Royal and Historical Letters . . . Henry IV*, ed. F. C. Hingeston, ii (Rolls Series, 1965), 271–4; 7 July 1413, Whittington, as mayor of the Calais staple, is paid £1 7s. 10d. for his expenses in bringing Ekford to answer before the

barons of the exchequer to the king's advantage, E403/612; Devon, *Issues*, 322–3. 14 July 1413, Whittington paid back to the exchequer £16 13s. 4d. out of the money which had been given to him for his expenses, E401/658.

¹⁰⁷ R. B. Rackham, 'The Nave of Westminster', *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1909–10), 54–96.

¹⁰⁸ W[estminster] A[bbey] M[uniments] 25471, account of Brother Ralph Tonworth, warden of the new work, 1401–2.

¹⁰⁹ 14 Dec. 1413, royal grant of 1,000 marks p.a. to be made up of 500 marks from the issues of the hanaper and 500 marks from the London wool subsidy, *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, 145–6; Rackham, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* (1909–10), 34–96, estimates that the monks should have received £6,333 6s. 8d. from these sources by the time of Henry's death. In fact they received £3,861 0s. 0d.; see account of Henry Cays, warden of the king's hanaper, of money paid to Whittington and Harweden between 21 March 1413 and 13 August 1421, W.A.M. 23491.

¹¹⁰ 8 March 1414, *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, 166.

¹¹¹ 7 July 1413–25 Dec. 1416, W.A.M. 23492; 25 Dec. 1417–25 Dec. 1418, W.A.M. 23493; 25 Dec. 1420–25 Dec. 1421, W.A.M. 23494.

¹¹² 17 May 1382, *C.P.M.R.*, 1381–1412, 14. Whittington carried out the valuation with another mercer, John Woodcock.

¹¹³ The orphan was Thomas Pynchoun whose goods Whittington received c. 1398/9, and on 31 July 1406 Pynchoun acknowledged satisfaction for his property, *C.L.B.H.*, 446. In 1416 Whittington and Pynchoun acted together in a property transaction involving shops in the parish of St Michael Cornhill, Husting Deeds Roll 144 (27) & (28).

¹¹⁴ 15 Nov. 1397, for Thomas Chirchman re manor of Sparham, co. Norfolk, *C.C.R.*, 1396–99, 224; 10 March 1398, for Richard Foster re messuages in London, *ibid.*, 293; 12 June 1402, for the College of Holy Trinity, Pontefract, re London properties, *C.C.R.*, 1399–1402, 572; 1421/2 for William Waldern re lands in Devon, *C.C.R.*, 1422–9, 268.

¹¹⁵ 17 April 1399 Robert de Whitynton of co. Gos. (probably Whittington's brother) appointed Whittington as his attorney while he was in Ireland, *C.P.R.*, 1396–9, 529; 1388 attorney for Nicholas Marchaunt, mercer, Husting Deeds Roll 117 (36); 1389 attorney for Lewis de Clifford, vintner, Husting Deeds Roll 118 (80); 28 Oct. 1419 attorney for Sir Richard de Beauchamp, de Despenser, de Bergevenny, *Cal. Norman Rolls*, pt. i, 803 from P.R.O. C64/ 11, m. 11. For Whittington's other dealings with Sir Richard de Beauchamp see note 119 below.

¹¹⁶ 30 June 1400, arbiter for Sir William de Clynton in his quarrel with Sir John Russell, *C.C.R.*, 1399–1402, 134; 26 Feb. 1410, umpire in quarrel between John Lardener, mercer, and Drew Barentyn, goldsmith, *C.C.R.*, 1409–13, 85; 29 Nov. 1412, arbiter for Richard Fylongeley in his quarrel with John Brown, vintner, *ibid.*, 408, 425.

¹¹⁷ 31 March 1404, William Rody, a London mercer, made gift of goods and chattels to Whittington and John Tolyngton. The purpose of such gifts has

been discussed by P. E. Jones, *C.P.M.R., 1437–57*, xxii–xxviii. William Rody in this case seems not to have been establishing a trust but either paying a debt to Whittington and Tolyngton, or else forestalling the seizure of his goods for some other debt. In 1406 Rody found it necessary to borrow £60 for which he was successfully sued in the mayor's court in 1413, *C.P.M.R., 1413–37*, 10. Perhaps it was financial pressure which drove Rody to Picardy in 1421, *ibid.*, 89. The gift of goods and chattels by Rody is an early example of a procedure which became increasingly common in the 15th century. Can we detect here Whittington's inventive hand at work to discover a procedure whereby he could help a fellow mercer during a difficult financial period?

¹¹⁸ 7 May 1402, a receipt sealed by Whittington acting in this capacity, Guildhall Library MS. 2903.

¹¹⁹ 19 Nov. 1387 mainpennor for Thomas Austyn, mercer, under pain of £4,000, *C.C.R., 1385–9*, 359; 12 Jan. 1392, 16 Jan. 1393, 16 Jan. 1394 mainpennor, with Roger Waldern, for Richard Clifford, king's clerk, *C.F.R.*, xi. 34, 69, 108; 24 Jan. 1394 mainpennor for Robert Thorley, *ibid.*, 528; 16 March 1401 mainpennor for Richard Greneway who was in the Tower, *C.C.R., 1399–1402*, 262; 2 May 1403 mainpennor for James Spersholt, king's alnager in Oxon. and Berks., *C.F.R.*, xii. 183; 1 April 1413 mainpennor, with others, for Henry Somer, under pain of 10,000 marks that he shall answer in Parliament, *C.C.R., 1413–19*, 61–2; 8 Feb. 1414 mainpennor for Sir Thomas Beauchamp of Somerset, *ibid.*, 116; 24 Nov. 1416 surety for Thomas Podmore, ironmonger, *C.L.B.I.*, 169; 24 Feb. 1419 mainpennor for Sir Richard Beauchamp of Bergevenny, again on 5 July 1419 and 10 Dec. 1419, *C.F.R.*, xiv. 270, 281, 303, see note 115 above.

¹²⁰ See Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 15 n. 1; Whittington was an executor for Richard Clifford, bishop of Worcester 1401–7, who was translated to London in 1407. He made his will 20 Aug. 1416 and died 20 Aug. 1421, *Reg. Chichele*, i. 74, ii. 225. For Whittington's other connections with Clifford see note 119 above and possibly note 164 below. Whittington was also an executor for his father-in-law Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn who made his will 6 Nov. 1412; it was proved 5 Feb. 1415, *ibid.*, 18–22.

¹²¹ *C.C.R., 1422–29*, 77, 188. Whittington held the manor of Sandhurst with a number of others including William Moleyns of Lechlade, co. Glos. William Moleyns was married to Katherine, daughter of the London mercer, Thomas Fauconer, by whom he had a son William. 20 May 1417 William Moleyns, senior, enfeoffed Whittington and other London merchants with the manor of Brill, Bucks., to hold in reversion for his son William and his heirs, *C.P.R., 1416–22*, 105. Thomas Fauconer and Whittington had joint interests in Coventry, see note 126 below.

¹²² 4 Nov. 1407, 31 May 1410, 7 June 1410, Guildhall Library MS. 3457, 3458.

¹²³ 9 Nov. 1416, grant by John Whatele to Whittington and four others of collection of lands near the river, Corporation R.O. Bridge House Deeds Miscellaneous Portfolio H no. 45; enfeoffment by Whatele 10 Nov. 1416, Bridge House

Large Register of Deeds, f. 262, no. 294; letters of attorney by Whatele to deliver seisin to Whittington and others, 12 March 1417, *ibid.*, f. 263, no. 295; 1 June 1418 grant by Thomas at Hoo and Ralph Rocheford to Whittington and five others of lands in Bermondsey, *ibid.*, f. 267 no. 301. John Whatele was warden of London Bridge from 1404 to at least 1412. In 1418 there were two new wardens, *C.L.B.I.*, 34, 107, 204.

¹²⁴ Whittington held this with eight others. 7 June 1396 they demised it to Roger Waldern, clerk, John Waldern esq., and three other clerks, *C.C.R.*, 1396–9, 228. For Whittington's other connections with Waldern see note 119 above.

¹²⁵ Katherine, the widow of William Neel of London and Chichester, released her right in an estate to Whittington, John Carpenter, junior, and four others. Deed witnessed by John Cok, mayor of Chichester, 15 Aug. 1421, P.R.O. Ancient Deeds (Chancery) C146/1256.

¹²⁶ 19 June 1409, *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 520. See note 121 above.

¹²⁷ *Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine of Coventry*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (Dugdale Soc., 1935), 68 and n.

¹²⁸ 30 April 1409, grant of 40 marks p.a. from the manor of North Mimms and the reversion on the death of Beatrix Mountviroun, by Walter Swanlond to Whittington and seven others, W.A.M. 4435; inquisition taken at Stortford in Herts. 23 Nov. 1397 into lands of the late duke of Gloucester, P.R.O. C136/99/34.

¹²⁹ 28 Jan. 1418, *C.C.R.*, 1413–19, 453.

¹³⁰ Whittington, with five others including Henry London, his ex-apprentice, acquired land at Prittlewell near Southend in Essex in 1407 at a rent of 20 marks p.a., but there is no further reference to this property, *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 376, 374–5.

¹³¹ *Inquisitions Post Mortem for Gloucestershire* (British Record Soc. xlvii, 1914) vi. 196–7.

¹³² *C.F.R.*, xi. 277; *C.P.R.*, 1396–9, 585; *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, 552; *C.C.R.*, 1399–1402, 318, 498; *C.C.R.*, 1402–5, 145; *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 123, 238.

¹³³ P.R.O. Pleas in Chancery C1/69 no. 19.

¹³⁴ Lysons, *Model Merchant*, see family tree appended to book.

¹³⁵ Gloucester Cathedral Library Deeds vol. vi, 9; the deed is badly worn but it is dated at Gloucester, Monday before the feast of St. Gregory, Pope, in the reign of Henry V (regnal year illegible).

¹³⁶ Lysons, *Model Merchant*, 73.

¹³⁷ John Chydyok in 1390 held the manor of East Chelborough in Dorset in chief of the king, which he had granted to others without licence, *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 1387–93, 170; *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, 311. John Chydyok was already married to Eleanor by this date.

¹³⁸ P.R.O. C138/9 no. 38. It was, in fact, John, the son of John and Eleanor Chydyok, who finally inherited the Fitzwaryn lands: see the inquisition following his death on 6 March 1450, translated in *Dorset Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1216–1485*, i (1916), 280; see Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 4 n. 1.

¹³⁹ John Chydyok paid Whittington three sums of money amounting to £340 between 1402 and 1406, 9 May 1402, *C.C.R., 1399–1402*, 563, 15 May 1403, *C.C.R., 1402–5*, 165, 26 June 1406, *C.C.R., 1405–9*, 130.

¹⁴⁰ C138/9 no. 38, inquisition on Sir Ivo's Dorset lands taken 2 Feb. 1414 when jury state that in the reign of Henry IV Sir Ivo made over the income from the manor of Poorstock, together with a 40s. rent from the town of Barford, in Wilts., to Whittington, Robert —, chief justice of common pleas, Peter Pyneford, William Worcester, and two others whose names are illegible. There is no Robert who was a chief justice in the reign of Henry IV. Robert Belknap who had occupied the office in the reign of Richard II did not die until 1401; or the inquisition may refer to Robert Hill who was a justice of common pleas in the reign of Henry IV or to Robert Tirwhit a justice of king's bench in that reign.

¹⁴¹ *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids preserved in the P.R.O.*, vi (1920), 422.

¹⁴² *Reg. Chichele*, ii. 20.

¹⁴³ Corporation R.O. Charter no. 55, granted by Henry VI to the City 26 Oct. 1444, assumed that aldermen would have country estates to which they would return for recreation. By this charter the king conceded that the aldermen should not incur obligations as M.P.s, tax collectors, etc., outside the City.

¹⁴⁴ *Reg. Chichele*, ii. 240–4.

¹⁴⁵ Husting Deeds Roll, 126 (96).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 130 (28–31).

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 114 (12); when Whittington's executors made a conveyance in 1423 to Richard Osborn and John Stafford of the lands left to them under Whittington's will they described them as tenements in the three parishes of St Michael Bassishaw, St Botolph outside Billingsgate and St Gregory in Castle Baynard, *ibid.*, 152 (56).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 130 (97–99).

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 136 (71); inquisition *ad quod damnum* before licence to alienate granted 11 Henry IV, P.R.O. C143/441/21; 20 Dec. 1409, licence to alienate, *C.P.R., 1408–13*, 152; 13 April 1411, Whittington makes grant to parson of St Michael, *C.L.B.I.*, 77–8; Riley, *Memorials*, 578–9. Miss Imray suggests that Whittington's rebuilding of the church may have been inspired by a desire to provide a fitting burial place for his wife and, subsequently, for himself, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 5.

¹⁵⁰ Husting Deeds Roll 143 (35), (40), (41); for the executors dealings with Whittington's property in the parish of St Michael Paternoster Royal see Imray, *op. cit.*, 18–21.

¹⁵¹ Husting Deeds Roll 121 (11) 1392; 124 (56) 1395; 128 (64) 1400; P.R.O. Chancery Deed C148/C.S. 14 1401; Husting Deeds Roll 132 (85) 1404; 135 (44) 1407; 140 (6) 1412; 144 (27) 1416; 145 (13) 1417; 148 (12) 149 (27) 1420 & 1421; 132 (64) (108) 1403 & 1404; 151 (37) 1422.

¹⁵² Husting Deeds Roll 149 (31) 1421, houses and shops in Fleet St. in the parish of St Martin Ludgate.

¹⁵³ Husting Deeds Roll 119 (150) 1391; 121 (42) 1392; 121 (58) 1392; 126 (28) 1398; 137 (57) 1409; P.R.O. E201/D9839 1393.

¹⁵⁴ Skinners' Hall Deed no. 54, enrolled Husting Deeds Roll 130 (4) 1401; quitclaim 1 Dec. 1418, Skinners' Hall Deed no. 59.

¹⁵⁵ Husting Deeds Roll 134 (74) 1406; 148 (51) 1420.

¹⁵⁶ Husting Deeds Roll 148 (47) 1420; 149 (26) 1421; P.R.O. Exchequer Deeds E40/2030 and E40/2006; will of William Est, P.R.O. E40/2657.

¹⁵⁷ See p. 283 and note 98 above.

¹⁵⁸ The property of Drew Barentyn was valued at £55 16s. 11d.; John Shadworth £43 5s. 3 1/2d.; William Askham £78 4s. 1 3/4d.; Richard Merlawe £35 14s. 6d.; John Hende (see p. 292) £54 14s. 7d., *Archaeological Journal*, xlv. 62.

¹⁵⁹ The two sheriffs, who would in any case be men considerably younger and less well established than Whittington, were assessed thus: Walter Cotton £20 6s. 4d. and John Reynwell £16 0s. 0d. The suggestion that all the London property was undervalued is perhaps borne out by the fact that the properties mentioned in Whittington's will, all of which he had acquired before 1412, were valued in 1450 at £48 16s. 8d., which is nearly double the amount they (together with other properties probably) were said to be worth in 1412. Such a rise in value cannot be wholly accounted for by the passage of time, see Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 23.

¹⁶⁰ In return for the money which was owed to them Whittington and Sir John Devereux, the appellants' choice for steward of the household, were given two coffers containing silver vessels to the value of 560 marks and 16½ ounces, P.R.O. E154/1/19; cf. M. V. Clarke, 'Forfeitures and Treason in 1388', *Fourteenth Century Studies*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (1937), 115–45. Whittington subsequently found it necessary to petition the king in order to have his right to the silver vessels confirmed, and to prevent his being sued for them by the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. The petition is undated and was granted by the advice of the council, P.R.O. E28/5/47.

¹⁶¹ See p. 288 above.

¹⁶² *C.P.R., 1399–1401*, 307.

¹⁶³ See p. 274 above.

¹⁶⁴ On three occasions pardons of outlawry were given to those who had failed to pay debts owing to Whittington: 19 May 1411, to Ralph Burbugh of Somerset who had owed Whittington and Thomas But, mercer, £12, *C.P.R., 1408–13*, 254–5; 16 Feb. 1418, to Richard Clifford the younger, parson of Stepney, Middx., who had owed Whittington £51, *C.P.R., 1416–22*, 100–1; 18 May 1419, to William Butteler of Suffolk who had owed Whittington 40s., *ibid.*, 220. There are recognizances enrolled on the Close Rolls which may refer to debts, or some other kind of business transaction: 29 Nov. 1393 Whittington and five others, recognizance of £6,000 to William earl of Salisbury, *C.C.R., 1392–6*, 235; 26 Oct. 1398, Elizabeth, widow of William de la Zouche, recognizance of £44 to Whittington and three others, cancelled because paid, *C.C.R., 1396–9*,

406; 19 Nov. 1399 Whittington and John Woodcock, mercer, recognizance of 500 marks to Sir Hugh de Waterton, *C.C.R.*, 1399–1402, 100.

¹⁶⁵ Whittington claimed that Turnebois had agreed on 10 July 1420 to pay him £296 for his right in Hugh Coniers. Judgment was given for Whittington but Turnebois claimed that an error had intervened in the process, *C.P.M.R.*, 1412–37, 88, 89, 91, 93; *C.P.R.*, 1416–22, 384. It may have been in connection with this case that on 16 March 1417 nine Italian merchants, including Stephen Turnebois, acknowledged a debt of 4,000 marks to Whittington, William Waldern, mercer, and William Crowmer, draper, to be paid before 1 May 1417, Jnl. 1, f. 16.

¹⁶⁶ Riley, *Memorials*, 662.

¹⁶⁷ Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 23.

¹⁶⁸ *Reg. Chichele*, ii. 240–4.

¹⁶⁹ Imray, *op. cit.*, 24.

¹⁷⁰ Devon, *Issues*, 385.

¹⁷¹ *C.L.B.G.*, 252; Beaven, *Aldermen*, i. 395.

¹⁷² Silvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300–1500* (paperback ed., 1962), 349.

¹⁷³ Miss Imray has printed the earliest English version of the foundation ordinances for the almshouses, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, Appendix I, 107–21, see esp. p. 115; the Latin text of the foundation ordinances for both the almshouses and the college of priests is printed by Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, pt. 2, 738–47. Both foundations were to pray for Richard II and Thomas, duke of Gloucester ‘specialium et dominorum et promotorum eiusdem Ricardi Whityngton’, see esp. pp. 740, 746. The mention of Gloucester is puzzling; the only known connection between him and Whittington is the fief at Thorley which Whittington held of Gloucester in 1397, see p. 286 above. It is possible that Whittington knew of Richard II’s plan to arrest Gloucester in Aug. 1397, tacitly accepted it, and his murder, and was later troubled in his conscience and so led to offer prayers for him.

¹⁷⁴ George E. P. How, *English and Scottish Silver Spoons*, i (1952), 78–81.

¹⁷⁵ *Reg. Chichele*, ii. 20.

¹⁷⁶ Lysons, *Model Merchant*, 74–5. It is tempting to conjecture that the collar of SS here referred to may be that for which Whittington paid £8 to the exchequer in May 1402; see loan no. 9.

¹⁷⁷ May 1402, 31 May 1410, Guildhall Library MSS. 2903, 3457. See Plate 10.1 (a) and (b).

¹⁷⁸ BL, Add. MS. 14820 (H). The letter, dated 29 April 1409, is printed in *Royal Letters, Henry IV*, ed. F. C. Hingeston, ii. 271–4. See Plate 10.2 (a).

¹⁷⁹ The leopards’ heads had been used, uncrowned, as the authenticating mark on London silver from at least 1390 onwards, see C. J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks* (1921), 51–2, 78.

¹⁸⁰ Both spoons and seal bear an annulet for difference: on the spoons in

dexter chief, on the seal in base. [For a photograph of the spoons, see Plate 17.2 below.] That Whittington did not impale his wife's arms suggests that she may have been dead by this date. The impaled arms were ascribed to Whittington in later visitations of the City of London which are described and discussed by Lysons, *Model Merchant*, 10. The impaled arms are also to be found in a stained glass window of Pauntley church, *ibid.*, 17 n.z, and were probably those used on the joint tomb in St Michael Paternoster Royal.

¹⁸¹ 1 Dec. 1418, Skinners' Hall Deed no. 59; 9 March 1422, P.R.O. E40/A2006, the latter is a very distorted impression. See Plate 10.2 (b).

¹⁸² See notes 115 and 119 above.

¹⁸³ Will dated 8 March 1441 printed by Thomas Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1865), 121–44.

¹⁸⁴ C. L. Kingsford, *The Greyfriars of London* (1915), 170.

¹⁸⁵ Raymond Smith, *Guildhall Miscellany*, i (1952), 3–8, vi (1956), 2–6; *C.L.B.K.*, 53.

¹⁸⁶ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 161; Miss Thrupp notes that one of the few City merchants who is known to have spent any considerable amount of money on books was William Walworth.

¹⁸⁷ *Cal. Papal Registers, 1396–1404*, 130.

¹⁸⁸ J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards 1414–1520* (1965), 196.

¹⁸⁹ *Richard Whittington of Pauntley*, ed. T. Beresford-Davies (1959), 6.

¹⁹⁰ John Pychard who was Whittington's apprentice in 1391/2 and completed livery payments in 1395/6 is the one who is not later associated with Whittington in business transactions. See note 25 above.

¹⁹¹ See pp. 290–1 above.

¹⁹² For Whittington's connections with Coventry see p. 286 above; The Brewers made a gift to him, see p. 280 above. In the account book of the Merchant Taylors' Company, 1397–1445, kept at the company hall, there are recorded payments for hats/hoods given to Whittington every year between 1399 and 1414 at a cost ranging from 2s. 3d. to 4s. 6d. Usually Whittington is the only Londoner, apart from civic officials, to be so honoured, ff. 3v–75v.

¹⁹³ Whittington described as 'venerabilis mercator' in Husting Deeds Roll 151 (21) 1425; the epitaph on his tomb described him as 'Flos Mercatorum', see Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, 5 n. 2; 'Libel of English Policie' printed in *Principal Navigations*, by Richard Hakluyt, ii (1903), 114–47; the letter of 1409 which Whittington authenticated with his seal described him as 'honnourable et discrete persoun', see note 178 above.

¹⁹⁴ Whittington bought the house from Sir Baldwin Berford in 1402, Husting Deeds Roll 130 (97); for a description of the site see the conveyance in which Whittington's executors sell it to Thomas Wandesford in 1425, *ibid.*, 154 (21). The message to the north is described as the tenement of John Clerk which lately belonged to Sir John Fastolf. John Clerk was a cutler or sheather (see *C.P.M.R.*, 1411–37, 289) and he may have held the tenement as a trustee for the Company,

which did not own the site of its hall until 1451, see C. Welch, *History of the Cutlers' Company of London* (1916), i. 159–63. A John Clerk was paying the company 16s. rent in 1459/60 for a new tenement next to the hall, Welch, *ibid.*, p. 326; On Whittington's Inn and misconceptions as to its location, see C. L. Kingsford, *London Topographical Record*, xii (1920), 55–6. For the executors dealings with the site see Imray, *op. cit.*, 16–21.

¹⁹⁵ No trace of Whittington's tomb was found during the 1949 excavations of St. Michael Paternoster Royal which were undertaken with the express object of finding it, W. F. Grimes, *Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London* (1968), 130.

¹⁹⁶ 'Exchequer tallies', *Archaeologia*, lxii (1911), 367–80.

¹⁹⁷ A. Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377–1485* (1954), xxxii.

¹⁹⁸ G. L. Harriss, 'Fictitious Loans', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., viii (1955–6), 187–99.

¹⁹⁹ Some repayments to R. W. should be considered here although they cannot be attached to any particular loan. 22 July 1406 letters patent for R. W. to be repaid his loan of £1,207 0s. 4d. made for the defence of the realm from the archdeaconries of Norfolk, Norwich, Suffolk, Sudbury (£1,000) and Dorset and Salisbury (£207 0s. 4d.). This grant noted as void because nothing was done, *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 203–4. 9 Aug. 1406 letters patent for R. W. to be repaid loan of £2,015 3s. 10d. (this includes loan referred to above?) from archdeaconries of Norwich (£240), Norfolk (£300), Suffolk (£180), Sudbury (£280), Worcester (£266 13s. 4d.), Huntingdon (£133 6s. 8d.), Exeter and Totnes (£133 6s. 8d.), Hereford (£100), Bath and Wells (£266 13s. 4d.), Ely (£115 3s. 10d.), *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 215. 10 Aug. 1406 letters patent for repayment of loan to John Hende in which R. W.'s prior claim to repayment acknowledged, *ibid.*, 215.

²⁰⁰ For full details of the circumstances in which these loans were made and the seizure of wool by the Calais garrison which provoked the crisis see J. L. Kirby, 'The Council of 1407 and the Problem of Calais', *English Society and Government in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. C. M. D. Crowder (1967), 71–86.

²⁰¹ Note in this connection a Council minute dated by Nicolas to 7–8 Henry IV which records the expected income from the fifteenth and the advances made by R. W. and others for the wages of the soldiers at Calais which total £4,000 0s. 0d. *Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 107–8.

²⁰² 29 Sept. 1395–29 Sept. 1396 (damaged), E122/33/29.

²⁰³ 29 Sept. 1397–16 June 1398, E122/71/23.

²⁰⁴ 29 Sept. 1396–7 Feb. 1397, E122/33/31.

²⁰⁵ 16 June 1398–29 Sept. 1398, E122/72/25.

²⁰⁶ 7 Feb. 1397–29 Sept. 1398, E122/33/34.

²⁰⁷ 17 Feb. 1398–19 May 1398, E122/126/26.

²⁰⁸ 4 Nov. 1400–28 Nov. 1400, E122/72/2.

²⁰⁹ Cockets covering period 1 Nov. 1401–31 March 1402, E122/34/1.

²¹⁰ Some cockets survive for the years 1399–1402 in which Whittington does not appear, E122/126/30.

²¹¹ 16 Oct. 1402–11 Nov. 1402, E122/176/12.

²¹² Incomplete controller's account, a date 12 July 1403, E122/72/40.

²¹³ 29 Sept. 1403–25 March 1404, E122/139/4.

²¹⁴ 11 Nov. 1402–19 May 1403, E122/126/31.

²¹⁵ 30 March 1404–12 Dec. 1404, controller's account, E122/72/8. Whittington exported in three separate ships and for one of these, the 'Dedryk Baudeynson', the cocket authorizing it to sail survives, dated 14 Sept. 1404, E122/72/7.

²¹⁶ Cocket dated 14 Oct. 1404, E122/34/2.

²¹⁷ 25 March 1404–29 Sept. 1404, E122/139/7.

²¹⁸ 2 Oct. 1403–29 Sept. 1404, E122/126/33; there are also some cockets for the years 1404–5 in which Whittington does not appear, E122/126/34.

²¹⁹ 29 Sept. 1405–28 Feb. 1406, E122/71/6.

²²⁰ 17 Dec. 1404–29 Sept. 1405, E122/139/11.

²²¹ 28 Feb. 1406–25 May 1406, E122/177/23.

²²² 29 Sept. 1406–20 Feb. 1407, E122/34/3.

²²³ 1 Oct. 1405–29 Sept. 1406, E122/126/12 & 36.

²²⁴ Before 10 June 1406, warrant authorizing Whittington and others to export wool from London on which the custom and subsidy would have amounted to £499 3s. 9d., i.e. *c.* 200 sacks, E404/22/530 (see loan no. 31). Whittington and Hende were collectors in London during this period. Their account does not survive. Twenty cockets, subsidiary to their account, survive on which Whittington's name does not appear, E122/72/16.

²²⁵ Before 10 June 1406, warrant authorizing Whittington and others to export wool from Chichester on which the custom and subsidy would have amounted to £600, i.e. 240 sacks, E404/22/530 (see loan no. 31). The extant Chichester customs account covers the period 20 Feb. 1407–29 Sept. 1407, E122/34/3. Whittington exported wool in six ships which all left on 6 April 1407. The total value of the custom and subsidy which he paid was £637 7s. 3 1/2d. 4 March 1407, royal writ to the keepers of the passage at Chichester to allow four named ships (two of which correspond with the ships listed in the customs account) loaded with Whittington's wool to pass freely to Calais. Another royal writ to the keepers of the passage at Southampton to allow the 'Trinity of Tycheffeld' (also named in the customs account) to pass with armed men on board for the defence of Whittington's wool loaded at Chichester, *C.P.R.*, 1405–9, 178.

²²⁶ 22 Dec. 1406–2 Sept. 1407, E122/126/40 & 41; before 10 June 1406, warrant authorizing Whittington and others to export wool from Sandwich on which the custom and subsidy would have amounted to £100 i.e. *c.* 40 sacks E404/22/530 (see loan no. 31). From the Sandwich customs accounts it would look as if Whittington did not use this authorization in this port unless he did so in 1408 or later.

²²⁷ 5 March 1408, letters patent authorizing Whittington to export wool from London on which the custom and subsidy would have amounted to £300, i.e. *c.* 120 sacks, *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 387 (see loan no. 36).

²²⁸ 5 March 1408, letters patent authorizing Whittington to export wool from Chichester on which the custom and subsidy would have amounted to £450, i.e. *c.* 180 sacks, *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 387 (see loan no. 36).

²²⁹ 5 March 1408, letters patent authorizing Whittington to export wool from Southampton on which the custom and subsidy would have amounted to £150, i.e. *c.* 60 sacks, *C.P.R.*, 1405–8, 387 (see loan no. 36).

²³⁰ See note 226 above.

²³¹ Royal writ to customers at Chichester to allow Whittington's wool, packed in 18 sarpliers and 1 pocket, to be exported to Calais after payment of custom and subsidy 8 Jan. 1409, *C.C.R.*, 1405–9, 428.

²³² 23 March 1410–26 July 1410, E122/72/27.

²³³ Royal writ to customers at Chichester to allow Whittington's wool, packed in 24 sarpliers, to be exported to Calais after payment of custom and subsidy, 22 Feb. 1410, *C.C.R.*, 1409–11, 22–3.

²³⁴ Royal writ to customers at Chichester to allow Whittington's wool, packed in 32 sarpliers, to be exported to Calais after payment of custom and subsidy, 12 Feb. 1411, *ibid.*, 140.

²³⁵ 20 April 1412–29 Sept. 1412, E122/72/64, this account is incomplete so these totals represent Whittington's minimum export. 9 May 1411 Whittington had been granted a licence to export up to 100 sacks of wool in the next six years, either from London or from Southampton to places other than Calais, but paying the custom and subsidy, *C.P.R.*, 1408–13, 298, licence repeated 20 Sept. 1411, *ibid.*, 308.

²³⁶ 25 Oct. 1413 payment of £33 6s. 8d. to Whittington as relief of custom and subsidy on wool which he has exported from Chichester to Calais; similar payment on 25 Jan. 1414, E403/614.

²³⁷ See note 230.

²³⁸ 10 Oct. 1413, payment of £110 to Whittington and other London merchants as relief of custom and subsidy on wool which they have exported from London to Calais, E403/614.

²³⁹ Royal writ to customers at Chichester to allow Whittington's wool, packed in 31 sarpliers and 1 pocket, to be exported to Calais after payment of custom and subsidy, 'and to make his advantage thereof', *C.C.R.*, 1413–19, 45. Possibly it was this wool which was submerged in a storm off Shoreham and was subsequently washed up on the shore. Whittington, and a colleague John Aleyn, salvaged some of the wool and, in 1415, re-exported it again from Chichester; by royal grant they did not have to pay custom and subsidy a second time, *C.P.R.*, 1413–16, 149; *C.C.R.*, 1413–19, 222.

²⁴⁰ 13 April 1413–29 Sept. 1413, controller's account, E122/126/30.

²⁴¹ 2 March 1415 payment of £6 to Whittington as relief of custom and subsidy on wool which he has exported from London to Calais, E403/619.

²⁴² Royal writ to customers at Chichester to allow Whittington's wool, packed in 90 sarpliers and 1 pocket, to be exported to Calais after payment of custom and subsidy, 16 Nov. 1416, *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 325.

²⁴³ 1 Sept. 1422-29 Sept. 1423, E122/76/2.

Chapter 11

Ralph Holland and the London Radicals, 1438–1444

THE PROSPERITY OF THE City of London depends not upon the merchants but upon the artisans'. So declared the tailor John Bale in 1443. He spoke for a large group of Londoners, many of whom were excluded from active participation in the government of the City and whose sense of injustice and grievance, while firmly rooted in the kind of company demarcation dispute which was common in the period, extended to the whole fabric of civic government.

The basic conflict arose between the Tailors and the Drapers and this was symptomatic of the fundamental rift in City life: the rift between the artisans and the merchants. The artisan companies might be ancient, but in wealth and power they lagged some considerable way behind the merchant companies who controlled the City government and so also gained the royal ear. The opposition which the ruling merchant oligarchy encountered in these years fed upon a variety of grievances, but its unity and driving force depended upon one man, a tailor called Ralph Holland. By his personal ability he articulated the artisans' grievances, and out of the original dispute between the Tailors and Drapers there developed an organised opposition party in the city. This party first attacked the method of electing the Mayor and then, in 1443, resisted the new London charter which gave the Mayor and Aldermen powers as Justices, over and above their existing powers as Guardians of the Peace. When its attempts at reform within the existing framework of City government failed, the opposition party resorted to an attempt at an armed uprising. The failure of this in the autumn of 1443 marked the triumph of the conservative merchant elements but, during their brief period of agitation, Ralph Holland and his allies left behind them a record which helps to illuminate the actions and desires of that elusive being, the medieval common man.

The Tailors and Linen-Armourers of London had received letters patent from Edward III in 1327 whereby they were allowed to hold their guild once a year and to exercise the rights of search for defective work

and correction of offenders, subject to the Mayor of London.¹ It was not until 1364 that the Drapers first received letters patent. By these they were granted a monopoly of buying and selling cloth in the City, and the power to elect four wardens to oversee and rule the mystery by aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs if need be.² In the fourteenth century there appears to have been no conflict between the two companies. Whereas the Tailors made up cloth, especially linen cloth, and did not act as retailers, the London Drapers were primarily concerned with the buying and selling of woollen cloth.³

In 1390 the Tailors received further letters patent from Richard II which granted them the right to elect a Master as well as their four Wardens and to make ordinances for the better government of the mystery.⁴ Finally Henry IV incorporated the Tailors' Guild and authorized them to use a common seal and to hold land to the annual value of £100.⁵ So it would appear that in the first part of the fifteenth century the Tailors were the more established and the wealthier of the two companies. They had had a Master since 1390, they were incorporated in 1408 and there is evidence that they had a company hall as early as 1392, whereas the Drapers only began to build their hall in 1425.⁶ Moreover in 1413 when the income from the London property of the Tailors' company stood at £44 3s. 7d. that of the Drapers was only £22 13s. 6d.⁷

Yet in spite of all this the Tailors appear to have occupied a relatively subordinate position in the government of the City. In the years between 1327 and 1435, when Ralph Holland became an Alderman, the Tailors provided no Aldermen, and consequently no Mayors, whereas the Drapers in the same period furnished 34 Aldermen, 14 of whom became Mayors. The other companies from whom nearly all the Aldermen were drawn in this period were the Mercers, Grocers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners and Vintners. What reason can be found for this subordinate position of the Tailors? Why did they not achieve civic office? The situation may, perhaps, be explained by the fact that the Tailors were an artisan guild, albeit a wealthy one. A Tailor worked with his hands; a Draper bought and sold. A Tailor could make no more money than his hands could earn; a Draper in this period of the expanding English cloth trade could become wealthy and a man of influence at home and abroad. The other great London companies of this period were also primarily merchant guilds. Merchant Drapers like John Hende, William Crowmer and Simon Eyre were rich men and generous benefactors, but there were no Tailors who stood out in this way. Furthermore, since the Drapers had the monopoly of buying and selling woollen cloth in London, the Tailors became dependent upon

them for the means to carry on their own trade. Thus the London Draper had established himself securely as the indispensable middle man and the Tailor had no choice but to accept his dependent position.

In these circumstances an ambitious man, who had the necessary capital, would choose, if he could, to become a Draper. A few men appear to have belonged to both companies simultaneously, although this was unusual.⁸ Ralph Holland was one of these. He appears first in the records of the Drapers' company for 1413–14 when he was sufficiently advanced in status to owe money for the enrolment of his apprentice, Thomas Holme.⁹ In 1414–16 he paid 20s. to enter the livery of the Tailors' company and even after he was Master of the Tailors two years later, he is still to be found in the Drapers' accounts contributing 40s. towards the new Drapers' Hall.¹⁰ Indeed, even as late as 1441, when the Drapers' accounts end, Holland was still being assessed for quarterage, although it is clear from other evidence that by this date he had fully identified himself with the interests of the Tailors' company.¹¹

Ralph Holland may have come originally from Newington in Surrey in the early years of the fifteenth century.¹² By 1416 he was well established in London and was probably in his early twenties. Of his parents nothing is known, but sometime before 1419 he had married a wife Mathilda and by her had at least one son, also Ralph, who entered the livery of the Tailors' company in 1435/6 but appears to have died before his father.¹³ In 1419 Ralph Holland was elected Master of the Tailors' company¹⁴ and he appears first in the civic records when, on 5th September 1426, he was committed to prison, having criticised the Mayor for correcting the Tailors. This is the first hint of the outspoken radical who was to disturb the peace of the City at intervals over the next twenty years. On this occasion Holland was bound over with a caution, but he seems to have paid little attention to this.¹⁵ In the court of Aldermen on 8th October John Olney, a Mercer, Thomas Cook, a Draper, and Thomas Reynwell, a Grocer, gave evidence on oath against Holland. On that day the Mayor had reissued an ancient royal writ of 1315. This writ enjoined that only those citizens who had been summoned might attend the elections of the Sheriffs on 21st September and the Mayor on 13th October, and not the freemen of the City at large. It would seem that the practice of summoning citizens individually to these elections had lapsed, and that all interested freemen were accustomed to attend. By reverting to the older practice the Mayor and Aldermen were clearly intending to exercise some control over the composition of the electorate on these important occasions. Suspecting

this motive, Holland had been heard to declare that the writs about the election of the Mayor were new, fabricated and untrue and were not to be found recorded in any of the City's ancient books. In fact Holland was mistaken on this point for the royal writ of 1315 was recorded in the City Letter Book and, as a result of his ill-judged words, Holland was sent to Ludgate prison.¹⁶ The Sheriffs in their return to the royal writ of *habeas corpus* justified Holland's imprisonment on the grounds that he had not only 'wantonly declared that such ordinances were fabrications' but had also threatened the Draper, Thomas Cook, with violence.¹⁷ Early, therefore, in his career Ralph Holland fought for a wide civic franchise and consequently fell foul of the ruling oligarchy. This problem of the civic franchise and of the right of the 'inferior' citizens to vote at civic elections was to become an important plank in Holland's later platform and, by tackling the problem of the constitutional basis of government, he showed a political awareness which raised him above his contemporaries. On this occasion Holland submitted and he was released on £100 bail provided by four men of whom three may be definitely identified as Tailors.¹⁸

By 1429 Ralph Holland had become a Common Councilman and in February of that year he was presented to the Court of Aldermen by the men of the ward of Baynard's Castle as one of their four candidates for the vacant Aldermanry. The other candidates were Ralph Skinnard, who had been one of Holland's sureties, the Vintner Thomas Walsingham and Thomas Duffhous who was a Fishmonger and, currently, one of the Sheriffs. The Aldermen unanimously chose Walsingham.¹⁹ This rebuff did not make Holland more conformist. On 13th May 1429 Thomas Bradby, a Fishmonger, reported to the Court of Aldermen that in a meeting of Common Council held two days earlier, when the question of providing the King with a loan had been discussed, Holland had said that the King's necessity was not as great as the Mayor and Aldermen represented.²⁰ Then, in September of the same year, Ralph Holland finally gained access to the 'establishment', for the Commonalty elected him as their Sheriff for the succeeding year.²¹

Unfortunately the civic Journals are missing for the seven years following November 1429 so it is impossible to trace Holland's career in any detail.²² In September 1434 he was elected one of the annual City auditors.²³ From the Tailors' company accounts it is clear that he was prospering and in July 1435 he was able to lend £100 to the King.²⁴ By October of that year he had been chosen as Alderman for the ward of Bread Street.²⁵ But by now the rivalry between the Tailors and Drapers had crystallised

into a dispute over the rights of the two companies in searching for defective cloth in the City. In the year ending August 1435 the Tailors had spent £14 4s. 4d. on fees and entertainment for the lawyers who were helping them to construct their case against the Drapers.²⁶

The dispute between the two companies was aggravated by the statute of 1437 which demanded that the rules and regulations of all guilds, fraternities and companies should be submitted for approval to the local Justices of the Peace or to the governors of the cities concerned.²⁷ In London it had always been necessary for guilds and companies to submit their regulations to the Mayor for approval, and, if the company wardens exercised rights of search for defective work they never did so absolutely, but as the Mayor's deputies. As a result of the statute many City companies sought a new royal confirmation of their charters. In November 1438 the Drapers received new letters patent incorporating them as a company and empowering them to elect a Master as well as their four Wardens.²⁸ The new charter did not specifically grant the Drapers the right to search for defective cloth in the City, but the King appointed two Drapers as aulnagers in London, i.e. as collectors of the tax payable to the King on every piece of woollen cloth. No cloth could be sold, or made up, until it had been sealed by the aulnager to show that the tax had been paid and that the piece was of the correct width and length. Although the aulnagers were concerned with money, and not with defects of quality or workmanship, the grant of the office to two Drapers in February 1439 was regarded by their company as a considerable 'coup' and was greatly displeasing to the Tailors.²⁹

But the Tailors were not to be outdone. They also received letters patent dated 24th February 1439 which confirmed their earlier royal grants but also added a new and important clause empowering the Master and Wardens to 'have and make full search in and of the misteries aforesaid and of all those persons who are or shall be privileged with the Tailors and Linen Armourers . . . and to correct and reform all defects found among them . . . by the survey of the Mayor of your said City . . .'³⁰ By the considerable outlay of £79 18s. 3d. the Tailors had secured a signal advantage, for the search of members of their company was to be carried out by either the Mayor or their own Wardens.³¹ The Mayor had, before this, always been entitled to choose those deputies he wished, although in practice he usually selected the Wardens of the company concerned. Thus the Tailors' new charter could be argued to have infringed the rights of the

Mayor of London, and it was upon this ground that the Drapers chose to launch their attack.

Later in 1439 the Mayor ordered that both the Tailors and the Saddlers, whose new charter contained a similar search clause, should deposit their charters at Guildhall while it was decided whether they infringed the City's liberties.³² The Drapers' accounts for the year ending August 1440 show that they were seriously worried by the search clause in the Tailors' new charter whereby they were completely excluded from any search of the artisan company. They paid 2s. for a Chancery copy of 'the newe article in the Taylours charter' and a further 2s. for the drafting and writing of two bills which they sent to the Mayor 'for the same article'.³³ The Tailors, however, spent a further £60 in this year for a total confirmation of the new charter and other attendant expenses.³⁴

During the early years of this dispute there is no evidence that Ralph Holland was promoting the Tailors' cause at the Court of Aldermen in a provocative or outspoken way.³⁵ Rather he would seem to have been taking steps to become accepted as a conventional Alderman and, hence, a candidate for the Mayoralty. He was appointed to committees and selected to put the City's case in the dispute with the Prior of Holy Trinity to the Duke of Gloucester.³⁶ This would suggest that Holland was known and liked by Duke Humphrey, and the Tailors' accounts indicate that their recent success may have been due to his patronage, which would be of particular importance in this period of conciliar rule.³⁷ On 13th October 1439 the City Journals record for the first time the names of the two Aldermen whom the assembled freemen presented to the Court of Aldermen for their choice of Mayor for the following year. The candidates were Robert Large, a Mercer, and Ralph Holland. The Aldermen chose Robert Large.³⁸

One rejection did not cause a constitutional crisis and Ralph Holland was content to bide his turn. The ill feeling between the Tailors and Drapers certainly continued. In November of that year John Pevenel was sent to prison for saying that he could prove six members of the Drapers' company to be false, when in fact he could not substantiate any of his charges.³⁹ Meanwhile Holland continued to be appointed to various committees of the Court of Aldermen⁴⁰ and on 13th October 1440, the freemen again selected two candidates for the Mayoralty: John Paddesley, a Goldsmith, and Ralph Holland. The Aldermen chose Paddesley.⁴¹

It was during the Mayoralty of John Paddesley that the dispute between the Tailors and Drapers came to a head. Since 1439 both com-

panies had been arguing their case before the Chancellor, and before the Court of Aldermen. Then on 5th August 1441 the Wardens of the Drapers' company complained to the Mayor and Aldermen that they did not have their customary scrutiny of lengths of cloth in the possession of Tailors. The particular reason for their concern was the forthcoming St Bartholomew's Fair which was held for three days around 24th August. On this occasion much cloth was bought and sold by both Tailors and Drapers and it had been customary for the Drapers to exercise the right of search. The Court postponed replying to this complaint until all the Aldermen who were absent at the time, including Holland, should have been consulted.⁴² On 14th August 1441, the Mayor and Aldermen produced a compromise in time for the Fair. The Master and Wardens of the Drapers' company were to exercise their general rights of search for defective woollen cloth as before. But as a temporary expedient to preserve the peace, and to give the Tailors a chance to present their case later, the Mayor himself would search the unmade-up woollen cloth displayed for sale by the Tailors at the Fair.⁴³ Clearly by this date the Tailors were acting as retailers of cloth and it would seem that the artisan company was attempting to encroach upon the trading activities of the Drapers. It was this desire on the part of the Tailors to upgrade themselves into a merchant company which lay at the root of the dispute, of which the trouble over the right of search was but the symptom.

While the Drapers had been busy furthering their cause at the Court of Aldermen, the Tailors had prevailed upon the King to send a letter to the Mayor instructing him to allow the Tailors to search and remedy defects in their mistery in accordance with the earlier royal letters patent of February 1439.⁴⁴ In spite of this regal command it would appear that the Mayor continued with his original plan of searching the Tailors at the Fair himself for, although four Drapers were sworn in Court to exercise the scrutiny, no Tailors were similarly sworn.⁴⁵

The election of the Mayor on 13th October 1441 was, in these circumstances, of more than passing significance. Success or failure in the dispute over the rights of search would depend very largely upon the decisions of the Mayor in the coming year. Again there is little evidence to suggest that Ralph Holland had been acting in a way which his fellow-Aldermen might consider obnoxious. It is true that in March 1441 the Mayor's sergeant, John Russel, had been examined in Court about certain words which he had heard spoken by Holland,⁴⁶ but throughout the year he had continued to be appointed to arduous and important committees

of the Court of Aldermen.⁴⁷ There would seem to be no grounds on which the Aldermen could reasonably reject Holland as Mayor if he were presented as a candidate for the third time.

The events of 13th October 1441 were of such an unusual nature that they even attracted the attention of contemporary chroniclers. The London freemen, gathered together in Guildhall, chose two candidates, the Tailor Ralph Holland and Robert Clopton, a Draper. Then, while the crowd waited breathlessly in the outer hall, the Aldermen deliberated in private. Finally John Paddesley, the current Mayor, emerged leading upon his right hand the Aldermen's choice—Robert Clopton, the Draper. Instantly a commotion broke out and the Tailors and other 'handycrafty' men called out 'nay, not that man but Raulyn Holland'. Nothing the Mayor could do nor his Sergeant's attempts at crying '*oyes*' could quieten the incensed Tailors. Finally the Sheriffs had to round up the protesters and send them to prison. Indeed it appears that the Tailors not only rejected Clopton but even unofficially declared Holland to have been elected Mayor.⁴⁸

The story in the chronicles is substantiated by the official version of the events of October 13th to be found in the City Journals.⁴⁹ An *ad hoc* jury of eighteen men declared that eleven men had been responsible for breaking the King's peace, six Tailors and five Skinners. These eleven were committed to prison and on the following day the Master and Wardens of the Tailors' Company asked to be allowed to go bail for the prisoners. This was refused on the grounds that a mandate from the King had instructed the Mayor that the Tailors were not to be released on bail. On 4th November the men were still in prison and the Court of Aldermen sent a deputation to the King's Council to discuss the matter. Three days later a further committee of more senior Aldermen was sent again to the Council to urge that the Tailors and Skinners should not be set free without the consent of the Mayor and Aldermen. A note was added in the Journal to state that the Aldermen had been graciously received and their petition heard.⁵⁰ On 8th November Shefuld, the warden of Newgate prison where the eleven men were kept, reported to the Court of Aldermen that the prisoners claimed that they were not guilty of the offences for which they were imprisoned and that they knew that their release depended not upon the Mayor but upon the Lords of the Council. Shefuld further informed the Court that Kent and White, who were Tailors, and Sherde and Palmer, who were Skinners, were the ring-leaders, and that Palmer and Kent had declared that even if they never left

prison they would make no 'mediaciones' to the Mayor for their freedom. These were brave words.⁵¹ Subsequently, however, the men were released by a writ of privy seal and were bound over to keep the peace, to appear before the Mayor's Court and the King's Council and to make reparation for their transgressions.⁵²

With the troublesome Tailors and Skinners thus subdued, the new Mayor, the Draper Robert Clopton, turned his attention to achieving the suspension of the obnoxious scrutiny clause in the Tailors' charter. In this year the Drapers spent £10 2s. 11d. to some purpose for, on 21st August 1442, the King wrote to the Master and Wardens of the Tailors, withdrawing the exclusive right of search which had previously been granted to them and vesting this right once more in the hands of the Mayor or those deputies whom he chose.⁵³ Another royal letter was sent to the Mayor confirming his right of search over all companies and misteries in London, in accordance with the City's ancient liberties and customs, notwithstanding the opposition of certain Tailors and other men in the City.⁵⁴ Thus the Tailors found themselves once more subject to the scrutiny of the Mayor or, what was worse, any deputy whom he chose to appoint. Currently, moreover, the Mayor was a Draper and he was always a representative of the merchant classes. The Tailors had spent a great deal of money in obtaining their new charter and now it was worthless and had to be returned to the King's Council before Michaelmas 1442. How differently might events have turned out for the Tailors if their man, Ralph Holland, had been chosen Mayor.

It is not surprising that in these circumstances the City governors feared renewed trouble at the election of the Mayor which was due to take place on 13th October 1442. Accordingly they obtained a royal writ instructing the Mayor and Sheriffs to proclaim that, because of recent disturbances, no one but the Aldermen and other discreet and powerful citizens were to attend the Mayor's election.⁵⁵ As early as 1426 Ralph Holland had protested at this limitation of the civic franchise, and for fear of protest, the Aldermen decided to proclaim not only the King's recent writ but also the ancient one of 1315, to show that this limitation was not an innovation.⁵⁶

At the election on 13th October 1442 John Atherley, an Ironmonger, was chosen at a meeting consisting only of those who were summoned and whose names were checked off at the door of Guildhall.⁵⁷ The Journals do not record the election so that the name of the rejected candidate is unknown. Three days later a clergyman who was considered to have preached a seditious sermon at St Paul's Cross appeared before the Court

and was asked to provide a written text of his sermon. On the following day the Court was informed that it was an Alderman who had provided the clergyman with his seditious material, namely that the first and the best Mayor whom the City had ever had was a Cordwainer named Walsh. No Cordwainer Walsh, nor indeed any Cordwainer, had ever filled the Mayor's office, but such an assertion was no doubt intended by the clergyman and his Alderman informant to be an incentive to the artisan classes to restore the ancient order of civic life when, in the golden age, the artisans ruled the City. The Court took the matter sufficiently seriously to require each Alderman to swear on the Gospels that he was innocent of providing such seditious information.⁵⁸ Nine Aldermen were absent from this meeting of whom Ralph Holland, the only artisan Alderman, was one. His guilt appears likely but not proven.

Even if Ralph Holland was not the ultimate source of the seditious sermon at St Paul's Cross, he was stirring up trouble elsewhere. On 26th October 1442 the Court questioned Holland about his statement that John Paddesley during his Mayoralty in the years 1440–41, had spent 1,000 marks belonging to the City on his private concerns.⁵⁹ Holland's dislike of Paddesley is not difficult to explain for it was during his Mayoralty that the Mayor had taken back into his own hands the search of cloth exposed for sale by Tailors at Saint Bartholomew's Fair. Paddesley could also be held responsible not only for the choice of the Draper, Robert Clopton, to succeed him as Mayor, but also for the stern imprisonment of those Tailors and Skinners who raised their voices in protest at Clopton's election. The leader of the artisan Skinners in these years was Nicholas Toller who also criticised Paddesley. At Stourbridge Fair he had openly declared that Paddesley had been a false judge during his Mayoralty, had judged Toller himself unfairly and, in particular, had imprisoned men in Newgate unjustly. The Skinners' leader was here referring to Paddesley's imprisonment of the eleven Skinners and Tailors in October 1441. As a result of these injudicious words, the Court placed Toller under an obligation to keep the peace on penalty of paying £20 to the City Chamber.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, although the Tailors' charter had been suspended since August 1442, it had not yet been finally quashed by the King's Council. The Court of Aldermen sent the Recorder to present the City's case and then engaged two sergeants at law to represent them before the Council. The Tailors also employed legal counsel and spent money on journeys to Westminster and on dinners for important people.⁶¹ The Tailors' quandary was that their new charter was contrary to the liberties of London

since the right of search over all misteries lay by customary right with the Mayor or the deputies whom he appointed. Thus for companies like the Drapers, whose influence in civic affairs was considerable, the Mayor's right of search presented no problem. If the Mayor himself were not a Draper, he could be easily persuaded to appoint Drapers as his deputies. The Tailors, on the other hand, seemed unlikely to provide a Mayor and could exercise no influence over his choice of deputies. It was essential to them, therefore, to enjoy a right of search independent of the civic authority. There were two alternatives open to the Tailors; either they must have their independent right of search confirmed by the King, or they must achieve some influence in civic government. It seemed now as if they were about to lose both battles and so the situation between the artisans in the City who sided with the Tailors and the merchant governors who supported the Drapers, remained explosive. While the Tailors fought for their hard-won charter, resentment seethed among the poorer classes in the City. It is not surprising that the Draper, Robert Clopton, should have thought it worthwhile to buy a charter of pardon from the King for all trespasses and quarrels which had occurred during his Mayoralty.⁶²

The final outburst of artisan discontent in these years was caused, in part, by the City's new Commission of the Peace in 1443 which was incorporated into the new charter in 1444. The text of the 1443 Commission was not enrolled in Chancery and has not survived among the City's records. It was read out to the Court of Aldermen on 13th August 1443 and appears to have regularised the judicial powers of the Mayor and Aldermen, making them not simply Guardians of the Peace, but Justices with power to hear and terminate cases.⁶³ Until this date the Mayor and Aldermen had always been wary of acting as judges in criminal cases and had preferred to leave such matters to the royal judges, especially where the City Companies were concerned. For example, when Paddesley, the Mayor, in October 1441 had committed the eleven Tailors and Skinners to Newgate prison for breaking the King's Peace, they had been released on bail by a royal judicial decision. It was, no doubt, the need for stronger measures to safeguard law and order in the City which had led the Court of Aldermen to seek for this regularisation of their powers. But in the prevailing atmosphere, it is not difficult to see why the new Commission of the Peace provoked such a violent reaction. As a contemporary chronicler wrote 'A commission was sued for the City of London which was called a charter, and the Commons were greatly aggrieved therewith.'⁶⁴

The Aldermen may have particularly wanted the new Commission to be in operation before the St Bartholomew's Fair held in the middle of August, since the dispute between the Tailors and Drapers had not yet been finally settled by the King's Council, and the Court decided that the Mayor should search the woollen cloth sold by Tailors at the Fair as had been arranged during Paddesley's Mayoralty.⁶⁵ This compromise was known to be bitterly resented by the Tailors, but there is no evidence that they caused trouble during the Fair. Early in September, however, Ralph Holland launched a vehement attack upon the new Commission in the Court of Aldermen. He claimed that it would subvert the peace of the City and undermine its customary good rule to the detriment of the London artisans. Moreover he considered that the Recorder, Robert Danvers, and the Common Clerk, Richard Barnet, were particularly responsible for procuring the new Commission and he levelled other more scandalous charges against these two men which the Journal's clerk declined to record. Holland ended his attack upon a ringing note, 'This is a commission' he declared 'not of peace, but of war'. Indeed he was almost proved right.⁶⁶

The storm broke on 21st September 1443, the customary day for the annual election by the freemen of London of the Chamberlain, and the two Sheriffs. While the Sheriffs changed every year, the Chamberlain was usually re-elected since the office required experience and skill. On this occasion a large crowd of 'inferior' citizens refused to agree that John Chichele, who had served the City as Chamberlain since 1434, should continue in office the following year. Instead they raised their hands and cried for 'Cottisbrook'. Chichele may have been singled out for attack in this way because it was thought that by controlling the City's finances he was, in some sense, responsible for the purchase of the new Commission. But it may have been that, since the office of Chamberlain was one of the few important civic offices which the citizens controlled directly by annual election, their purpose was simply to exercise their powers rather than to attack Chichele. But they did not succeed, for the Mayor ordered that all those who had not been personally summoned should depart and the election take place again. The question was now put to the more select body of citizens and 'John Chichele was nominated Chamberlain with the unanimous consent of the Mayor and Aldermen.' The Journal's clerk added to his version of these events that Chichele was elected 'as a man faithful, wise, diligent and prudent'.⁶⁷

Who was Cottisbrook, the radicals' candidate? Before these events it is not easy to identify him with the artisan cause. He was a Grocer and a Common Councilman who had served the City as a Member of Parliament in 1442.⁶⁸ He was not unqualified to act as Chamberlain since he had already been one of the City's auditors.⁶⁹ After his rejection as Chamberlain by the Mayor and Aldermen, he became one of the more vocal and informed of the City radicals, but he appears to have died in 1444 or 1445.⁷⁰

The City governors now moved quickly. John Bakewell, a member of Christopher Water's household (a Skinner who was subsequently associated with Holland's conspiracy) was imprisoned for publicly cursing the authority of a City sergeant.⁷¹ John Arcall, a Tailor who had earlier insulted the Chamberlain, now declared in court that even if he were offered £100 he would not want Chichele as Chamberlain since he had been responsible for acquiring the new Commission.⁷² On 24th September 1443 the Masters and Wardens of all the City companies were summoned to the court of Aldermen and instructed to warn the men of their companies and the members of their own households, to desist from spreading false rumours and scandals about the Mayor and Aldermen. Three days later these same men were again summoned before the Court to be informed that the new Commission of the Peace was not contrary to the liberties of the City.⁷³ But this did not deter William Goldyngton, a spirited Carpenter, from declaring to the Mayor's sergeant that he had enough hurdles to draw all those traitors who had obtained the new Commission of the Peace from the Tower to Tyburn. The new Commission, he added, was contrived to bring the citizens of London into bondage.⁷⁴

To add to the problems of the City governors, the date for the election of a new Mayor was fast approaching. In the circumstances the Mayor and Aldermen felt the need for the support of the whole body of Aldermen many of whom had not attended the Court since August. The absent Aldermen were sent letters drafted in English by the Journal's clerk in which they were asked to come and give their counsel and advice in 'diverse matters of great charge that be full peysaunt touching the governance of the City of London which remain in suspension and undetermined'.⁷⁵ Most of the Aldermen responded to these letters and returned from the country. Ralph Holland, not surprisingly, attended the Court only once between the Sheriff's election on 21st September and the Mayor's election on 13th October. As a further precaution the Court obtained from the King, as it had done in the previous October, a writ which restricted the electorate at the Mayor's election to those who had

been personally summoned. This writ was made public in the City on 12th October, and the following day a Grocer, Thomas Catworth, was elected Mayor without any overt trouble.⁷⁶

But, in fact, it is clear from evidence that was later heard by the Court of Aldermen, that some considerable show of artisan force had been planned for the day of the Mayor's election. The Tailors had men armed with swords, poleaxes and other weapons ready for the occasion.⁷⁷ There had been a series of secret meetings. John Bale, a Tailor, had urged Thomas Shrub to attend a meeting to discuss the new Commission.⁷⁸ A Draper, Clement Lyffyn, gave evidence at second hand that two thousand people were ready to rise in the City and that the insurrection would be led by Master William Clif.⁷⁹ But as Clif was a perfectly respectable surveyor who was subsequently employed by the City on a variety of projects, his connection with the radical cause is doubtful. A man named Fayrefeld gave evidence that there was a meeting of men from the Tailors', Saddlers', Skinners', Goldsmiths', and Brewers' companies, who were summoned by the beadles of the Tailors and met at the house of the Friars Minor.⁸⁰ Another Draper, Thomas Cook, who had earlier crossed swords with Ralph Holland, reported that in the house of a Pewterer named Lambe, the Tailor John Blake had uttered words which violently threatened the King's Peace. Lambe himself was examined and declared that Blake had said that if the Commission remained in force the commons would rise, and if the commons rose there would then be great danger.⁸¹

The conspirators did not, however, confine themselves to planning an armed rising. William Cottisbrook, the Grocer whom the 'inferior' citizens had tried to make Chamberlain, had displayed a copy of the 'Great Charter of London' to his associates, and in the City at large. The 'Great Charter' of 1319 was so-called not only because it incorporated a large number of privileges which were important to the poorer freemen, but also because it had been confirmed in Parliament. Cottisbrook used this charter to try to undermine the authority of the Mayor and was heard to say that an elected Mayor is not the Mayor of those who had not elected him, hence those who had been excluded from the Mayor's election could withdraw their obedience to him. These were indeed radical doctrines about the basis of authority and must have appeared very novel to most contemporary Londoners. But in the end Cottisbrook denied that he had said any of these things.⁸²

There was also a wide-spread belief among the artisan conspirators that the royal writ restricting the attendance at the Mayor's election to

those who had been personally summoned, had not emanated from the royal Chancery but was, in fact, a fabrication by the Aldermen. Ralph Holland had attacked a similar royal writ in just these terms as early as 1426.⁸³ John Bale the Tailor who had already emerged as an agitator, and organiser of the movement, claimed that he heard the Lord Chancellor declare that the writ had not been recorded and that it had not passed through his hands nor come to his notice.⁸⁴ At some date around the middle of October the Tailors had come into contact with the Lord Chancellor since twelve of them had appeared before him. It would seem that they had been accused of making an armed—but obviously ineffective—rising or protest on the occasion of the Mayor's election. While Christopher Water, a Skinner of radical inclinations, had been attending a conspiratorial meeting at Ralph Holland's house on 15th October, a group of Tailors arrived with the news that the twelve Tailors who had appeared before the Lord Chancellor had been told by him that no writ about the Mayor's election had been sent by him.⁸⁵ Another Tailor named Henxton who, like John Bale must have been one of the twelve accused, had declared that there was no writ to prevent any freemen from attending the Mayor's election, and that the Lord Chancellor had told him this and Adam Moleyns had confirmed it.⁸⁶ On the face of it, it would seem unlikely that the Lord Chancellor, or Adam Moleyns, would have taken rebellious Tailors into his confidence in this way. But Henxton further declared that, whether the King's writ were a fabrication or not, it was, in any case, not authoritative since the power and authority of Parliament lay behind the City Charter. Here Henxton was thinking about the same Great Charter of the City which William Cottisbrook had been displaying to support the radical cause.⁸⁷ It is of no little interest that as early as 1443 an ordinary workman was aware of the antithesis between the authority of Parliament and that of the Crown. Indeed Henxton, whoever he may have been, fits more closely into the pattern and ideas of seventeenth century history than fifteenth. A child born before his time, John Bale, the Tailors' organisation man, had more pressing matters at heart when he stoutly maintained in Court, that the prosperity of the City depended upon the artisans and not upon the merchants.⁸⁸

Ralph Holland had lent his authority and his house to the conspirators. He was a Tailor and the ring-leaders in the movement were Tailors. The conspiracy, in its resort to force of arms, had clearly failed dismally, although it had also produced a brief flowering of ideas which could be dignified with the title of political thought. Although several men were

involved in the movement, Ralph Holland was obviously the most powerful and the richest of the radical agitators.⁸⁹ Moreover the Court of Aldermen was informed that for the last six years, since 1437, Holland had had many deputies appointed to organise the opposition.⁹⁰ In these circumstances it is not surprising that the failure of the movement should mark also the end of Ralph Holland's civic career.

The Court of Aldermen now turned its wrathful attention upon the radical leader, who prudently absented himself from its meetings. Thomas Catworth, the Mayor elect, and other Aldermen affirmed that they had been present when Ralph Holland had declared a number of objectionable things which were now listed by the Alderman John Reynwell for the benefit of the Court.⁹¹ Holland had asserted that the control of St Bartholomew's Fair belonged, not to the City, but to the Prior of St Bartholomew's, which would mean that the Mayor was exceeding his rights in searching the cloth sold by Tailors at the Fair as he had done since 1441. In fact Holland's assertion was well-founded since the control of the Fair had been granted to the Prior by Henry I and the matter had been in dispute between the Prior and the City since 1428 although it only became serious (as a result, perhaps, of Holland's activities) in May 1444, and a compromise on the matter was finally negotiated in 1447.⁹² In this case Holland was championing the partisan interests of the Tailors as against the general good of the City as a whole. Holland was also said to have declared openly that the King's writ, restricting the electorate at the Mayor's election in October 1443, had not been proclaimed in the City as it had been written under the King's seal.

The Court of Aldermen heard also of his scandalous words about certain individuals. Holland had said that the late Mayor John Paddesley was a brawler and always was and always would be, that the Common Clerk, Richard Barnet was out of his wits, that the Recorder Robert Danvers had been a disturber of the peace in his own part of the country and had come to spread discord in the City, and that Sir William Estfeld, the most venerable of the Aldermen, had an 'understanding' with Lord Cromwell, the King's Treasurer and had revealed to him the City's secrets.⁹³ Holland had further declared that the Court of Aldermen was under the sway of two or three of its members and, moreover, that he himself was the most able of its number to expedite City business when it was discussed by the King's Council. If Holland did, in fact, enjoy the confidence of the Duke of Gloucester this might well have been the case,

although the conceit and condescension of Holland's attitude would not have endeared him to the rest of the Court.⁹⁴

Apart from these statements the Court was told that Holland had advised the freemen of the City to present two bills to the Mayor and Aldermen to right their wrongs. In the first they were to demand that those who were party to a case should not act as judges, as had happened when the Court considered the dispute between the Tailors and Drapers. In the second bill they were to demand a restoration of their customary freedom to take part in the Mayor's election. Finally the Court was told that Holland had declared that he wished that all those who were in prison for love of him might be sustained. Indeed here spoke a man truly a forbear of John Wilkes. The fifteenth-century radical also knew how to play to his gallery.

In the light of these various declarations, and in view of the fact that Holland had supported the Tailors' case when it came up before the Council, although it threatened the City's liberties, the Mayor and Aldermen considered that it would be expedient if Holland were exonerated from his Aldermanry. But the Court wanted Holland to reply first to the charges against him. When Ralph Holland failed to appear on 23rd October 1443, John Combes, one of the sergeants, was sent to collect him. Combes, however, reported back to the Court that Holland had said that he could not come because his wife was lying gravely ill and so he had to go to Newgate to distribute money among the poor prisoners that they might pray for her recovery.⁹⁵ Holland continued to avoid an appearance in Court⁹⁶ and on 18th May 1444 he was finally exonerated from his Aldermanry, in the traditional formula, that he had sought to be dismissed and that the Court had found his reasons acceptable. A new Alderman was to be elected for Bread Street ward as soon as possible.⁹⁷ So ended the civic career of a premature radical and the movement to which he had given impetus, organisation and expression died with him.⁹⁸ As late as 1459 Holland's acts were cited as precedents, but the cause had been lost.⁹⁹ The radical movement had worked at first through the legitimate channels in its attempt to achieve the election of an artisan as Mayor. Then, thwarted in this, the movement had turned to conspiracy and attempted violence in October 1443.

But even after the failure of the rising and the eclipse of Ralph Holland the spirit of rebellion could be detected here and there. In January 1444 a man named John Farndon had to be sent to Newgate for presenting an unsuitable and scandalous bill against his Alderman in the

wardmote of Bishopsgate, in which he had affirmed that Thomas Chalton, the Alderman, had perverted the course of justice by delay, favour and negligence.¹⁰⁰ Similar bills had been presented in the ward motes of Bread Street, Broad Street, Queenhythe, Cornhill and elsewhere.¹⁰¹ In these bills the Aldermen had been accused of being usurers as well as supporters of robbery and adultery. The Chamberlain was said to have appropriated the Common Soil of the City and the Recorder to have forced men into obligations of £20 to observe ordinances which they considered to be unjust. There was, it had been claimed in the bill, one law for the rich and another for the poor.¹⁰² Resistance to the new Commission of the Peace continued also. A Dyer named William Haylyn was also sent to Newgate in January 1444 because he had protested at the spending of 2,000 marks to buy a charter which was contrary to the liberties and franchises of the City and would destroy freedom.¹⁰³

In general, however, the mood of the Londoners had softened. In September a meeting of the Common Council approved a revised draft of the charter which now included other new clauses which would be acceptable to the citizens, as well as the clause dealing with the powers of the Mayor and Aldermen as Justices of the Peace.¹⁰⁴ The City gained extensive rights in Southwark and the statement that nothing was to be done which would be to the detriment of the City's liberties, was reiterated constantly throughout the new Charter. Of course such a charter cost money, but the Common Council was sufficiently pleased with the new draft to agree that it should be paid for out of common funds, and even went so far as to vote great thanks to the Mayor and Aldermen for their efforts in obtaining it.¹⁰⁵ The new charter was finally sealed on 26th October 1444.¹⁰⁶

The dispute between the Tailors and Drapers took somewhat longer to settle. In 1447 it was necessary to re-enact the compromise of 1441 whereby the Mayor was to search woollen cloth sold by Tailors at St Bartholomew's Fair.¹⁰⁷ Then, on 6th October 1447, the Drapers' right of search over all woollen cloths sold by retail in the City was confirmed by the Mayor and Aldermen. This confirmation was subsequently cut out of the Letter Book of the City—no doubt by the indignant Tailors.¹⁰⁸ In January 1448 John Lucock, a Tailor, protested at the Drapers' scrutiny and Richard Adkyns, one of the Wardens of the Tailors' Company, was examined in Court.¹⁰⁹ The Lord Chancellor considered the case again in April of that year¹¹⁰ and in February 1450, the King himself reviewed the matter.¹¹¹ It would seem that a compromise, born of exhaustion, in the end prevailed in the City whereby the Tailors maintained their right to

search woollen cloth in Tailors' shops whereas the general right to search unmade-up cloth in the City remained with the Drapers. The quarrel may also have died because of the need for joint action against the pretensions of the Shearmen.¹¹²

The opposition movement led by Ralph Holland was short-lived, primitive and unsuccessful; but it need not be disparaged for that. It showed what an able—and affluent—leader could do for a cause. Indeed there is more to admire in Ralph Holland than, perhaps, in either Wat Tyler or Jack Cade. The opposition which he formulated and nurtured was not simply a case of the 'have nots' against the 'haves'; there lay behind it a seriousness of purpose, and an awareness of the way in which civic government could function. It is surely of importance that in the years between 1438 and 1444 men of little learning, but much zeal, were formulating ideas which were to continue to be the backbone of the 'Good Old Cause' for centuries to come. The advocacy of a wide civic franchise; the belief that the authority of a governor rests upon a basis of conscious consent; the assertion of the greater authority of an act of Parliament than the sole act of a King; the consciousness of the well-being of the whole depending upon all its parts—in this case the artisans as well as the merchant governors; and, lastly, the determination that all men should be equal before the law; all these beliefs are important ones and, perhaps, especially so for being found so early and in such a humble context.

NOTES

¹ F. M. Fry and R. T. D. Sayle, *Charters of the Merchant Tailors' Company* (1937), pp. 9–11.

² A. E. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* (1914), vol. I, pp. 204–8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 121–22.

⁴ 30 July 1390, Fry and Sayle, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–15. Entered in the City's Letter Books, together with a writ from the King, dated 27 September 1392, instructing the Mayor to allow the Tailors to enjoy their guild and customs, *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London, Letter Book H*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1907) p. 384. (Hereafter cited as *L.B.H.*; so also *L.B.K.*)

⁵ 2 August 1408, Fry and Sayle, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18; P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], Ancient Petition no. 12781; *C[alendar of] P[aten]t R[olls]*, 1405–8, p. 466.

⁶ H. L. Hopkinson, *The History of the Merchant Tailors' Hall* (1931), chapters i and ii; Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 112–13.

⁷ 'Lay Subsidy temp. Henry IV', ed. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. XLIV (1887), pp. 56–82; Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 128.

⁸ John Derby was variously described as a Draper and as a Tailor, see A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, vol. I (1908), p. 330 n. 1. In the early fifteenth century three men successfully petitioned to be allowed to transfer from the Tailors' to the Drapers' company, *L.B.K.*, pp. 39, 224, 309.

⁹ The surviving Drapers' accounts are printed by Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Appendix no. 18, pp. 283–348, see esp. p. 287.

¹⁰ Merchant Tailors' Hall, Wardens' Accounts 1397–1445, Ms. A4 f. 90. (Hereafter cited as Tailors' Accounts i.)

¹¹ Holland continues to appear in the Drapers' Accounts as a debtor until they end in 1442; otherwise the last description to be found of him as a Draper is in 1440, *C[alendar of] C[lose] R[olls] 1435–41*, p. 378. A deed enrolled in the Husting Court 13 March 1444 suggests that Holland had severed his connection with the Drapers since he claimed that a London shop had been granted to him as 'Ralph Holland per nomen Radulphi Holland pannarii', G[uildhall] R[ecord] O[ffice], Husting Roll 172 (21).

¹² In his will Holland made a bequest to the poor there, and he also owned property in Surrey, see Sylvia M. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300–1500* (Ann Arbor Paperback edn., Michigan, U.S.A., 1962), pp. 350, 381.

¹³ Mathilda, wife of Ralph Holland, entered the livery of the Tailors' Company 1419–20 and 'My mistress Holland' contributed 20/– for the chapel in 1438–39, Tailors' Accounts i, f. 113, 304v. 26 March 1421 a licence to have a portable altar was granted to Ralph Holland and his wife Mathilda, *Calendar of Papal Registers: Petitions* vol. VII p. 333. Ralph Holland, junior, in his will dated 24 October 1445, bequeathed tenements in the parish of St Dunstan in the East.

¹⁴ Tailors' Accounts i, f. 112.

¹⁵ G.R.O. Journal ii, f. 82v.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* f. 85; for the 1315 writ see *L.B.D.*, pp. 24–26.

¹⁷ *L.B.K.*, pp. 55–56.

¹⁸ 10 October 1426, G.R.O. Journal ii, f. 85v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* f. 131v.

²⁰ *Ibid.* f. 133v.

²¹ *L.B.K.*, p. 102.

²² Although the civic records of the Court of Aldermen and Court of Common Council (Journals) are missing, the Tailors' Accounts reveal some of Holland's activities. He enrolled two apprentices in 1425–26; two in 1428–29; one in 1433–34; one in 1434–35; one in 1438–39; two in 1440–41; two in 1443–44, Tailors' Accounts i., f. 159v, 193v, 244, 303v, 329, 370. Holland was probably the wealthiest member of the Tailors' Company. His contributions to the new kitchen in 1425–26, 1430–31 and 1432–33 were larger than those of any

other member of the Company, *ibid.*, f. 161v, 237v. Holland's contribution of £4 towards the new charter in 1439–40 was larger than that of anyone else, and in 1433–34 he lent the Company £15 but took as security two silver gilt basins and two silver pottles. He was repaid 10 years later, *ibid.*, f. 317v, 375.

²³ *L.B.K.*, pp. 183–84.

²⁴ 9 July 1435, *C.P.R. 1429–36*, p. 467; P.R.O. Receipt Roll E 401/742. Holland also lent to the Crown in June 1437 (£100), April 1442 (£200), April 1445 (£200), July 1449 (£100), July 1449 (£500), April 1451 (£100), all recorded in the Receipt Rolls under the relevant term.

²⁵ *L.B.K.*, p. 193.

²⁶ Tailors' Accounts i, f. 258v–259v.

²⁷ *R[olls of] P[arliament]* (1832), vol. IV, p. 507; see *L.B.K.*, p. xii.

²⁸ Text of charter, Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 214–15.

²⁹ The Drapers were Robert Shirborne and John Derby. Grant printed by Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–20.

³⁰ Fry and Sayle, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.

³¹ Tailors' Accounts i, f. 313v, 302. The largest items of expenditure were £30 for the Duke of Gloucester and £10 for the Bishop of Bath, the Lord Chancellor. Adam Moleyns, the Clerk of the Council, received £8 6s. 8d. and cloth worth £2. Most of the rest of the money was spent on dinners for important people, and fees for writing and enrolling the charter. See also C. M. Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Tailors* (1888), part I, Appendix iii., pp. 345–46.

³² P. E. Jones, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1437–57* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 33. In 1439–40 the Tailors paid ls. 8d. 'for a copy of the bill which the Mayor of London brought to our Lord the King and to the Council, for the charters of all the different mysteries of the City', Clode, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

³³ Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 337.

³⁴ Tailors' Accounts i, f. 317v–319v; Clode, *op. cit.*, pp. 345–46.

³⁵ Holland had, of course, been involved in the activities of his Company. The Recorder of London in 1438–39 had been entertained at Holland's house when his advice was sought by the Company and Holland had contributed £4 towards the cost of the new charter, Tailors' Accounts i, f. 203. 317v.

³⁶ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 7; *L.B.K.*, p. 230. March 1439, Holland appointed to Committee to supervise City Aqueduct, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 11.

³⁷ The Duke entered the livery of the Company in 1414, and men were enfranchised as Tailors at his request in 1416, 1417 and 1436, Tailors' Accounts, f. 73v, 89v, 94v, 265v. Other men entered the livery of the Company at his instigation in 1425 and 1433, *ibid.*, f. 150v, 237. Gloucester was given a hood in 1432, 1436, 1437, 1439, 1441–45, *ibid.*, f. 229v, 272, 283, 309, 333, 346, 361, 376, 397. Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, was enrolled in the livery in 1434 and Richard Nedeham described as 'with my Lady of Gloucester' entered the livery in 1445, *ibid.*, f. 246, 338. In 1431 Gloucester sold the 'Maison de Riall' to the Company for £40 and the sale was negotiated by Holland, *ibid.*, f. 216v–217v.

When the trouble with the Drapers became serious the Tailors spent 36/8d. on cloth for Gloucester's confessor in 1435, in 1439 paid the Duke £30 (a bribe?) and at Christmas 1440 the Company paid his Mummers £6 13s. 4d., *ibid.*, f. 259v, 313v, 332v. In July 1443 Holland acted as Gloucester's financial agent in receiving repayment of a loan for him, P.R.O. Issue Roll E 403/762.

³⁸ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 14v.

³⁹ 27 November 1439, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 30v.

⁴⁰ In August 1440 Holland was appointed to oversee the work on the new bars at Smithfield, in September he was one of the Aldermen sent to the King to put the City's case about the abuse of the sanctuary of St Martin's-le-Grand, and he was on a second, smaller, committee set up to deal with the same problem later in the month; G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 52v, 59, 60.

⁴¹ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 62v.

⁴² G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 93v.

⁴³ *L.B.K.*, pp. 259–60.

⁴⁴ 14th August 1441, *L.B.K.*, p. 260. The Tailors spent a considerable amount of money 'upon divers men for the search of St Bartholomew's Fair'. They also paid 6s. 8d. to a secretary 'for devising and writing a letter from the King to the Mayor of London' (the letter of 14th August 1441), and other sums upon travelling expenses and suppers, amounting in all to £6 12s. 1d. Tailors' Accounts i, f. 351–351v.

⁴⁵ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 94v.

⁴⁶ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 80.

⁴⁷ Holland had been appointed to the committees to supervise the new work on London Bridge, to deal with the Aqueduct accounts, and to arbitrate between the Bridge Wardens and the auditors of their accounts, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 67, 67v, 76v.

⁴⁸ C. L. Kingsford, ed., *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 154–55; F. W. Brie, ed., *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England* (Early English Text Society, 1906), p. 508; A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, eds., *The Great Chronicle of London* (1938), pp. 175–76; R. Flenley, ed., *Six Town Chronicles of England* (Oxford, 1911), p. 115; Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and of France*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1811), p. 615.

⁴⁹ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 97v.

⁵⁰ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 98, 10lv, 102. Holland did not attend the Court of Aldermen between 11 October 1441 and 31 January 1442, and his attendance after this date is very infrequent until July 1442.

⁵¹ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 102v.

⁵² Only eight of the men appear to have been bound over in this way, in the sum of 100 marks each. They largely acted as mainpernors for each other, although Nicholas Toller, a Skinner who came into prominence as an artisan leader in 1442 (see p. 344, also acted in this capacity, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 103v–104. The Tailors paid 6s. 8d. to 'men of our craft and others that were at Newgate', Tailors' Accounts i, f. 351v.

⁵³ Johnson. *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 343–44. Their expenditure included £3 12s. 0d. to Lord Salisbury and 18s. to Adam Moleyns, the Clerk of the Council, and the costs of employing lawyers. Moleyns had also received money from the Tailors and gifts of cloth yearly to the value of 33s. 4d. p.a. since 1439, Tailors' Accounts, f. 321, 333; *L.B.K.*, pp. 260–61; Sir H. Nicholas, ed., *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (1834), vol. v, p. 196.

⁵⁴ *L.B.K.*, p. 260. 23 August 1442, these two letters were received and read in the Court of Aldermen, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 150.

⁵⁵ 10 October 1442, *L.B.K.*, pp. 274–75.

⁵⁶ 11 October 1442, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 152v.

⁵⁷ *L.B.K.*, p. 275 and n. 1.

⁵⁸ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 153.

⁵⁹ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 154v.

⁶⁰ 11 October 1442, Toller was bound over to abide by the decision of the Court; 29 October 1442, the £20 obligation was substituted for the earlier one, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 153, 154v. Toller is first mentioned as a Skinner in 1426, J. J. Lambert, ed., *Records of the Skinners' Company* (1933), p. 94. He was a Master or Warden of the Company in 1438–39, *L.B.K.*, p. 222. It would seem that the artisan Skinners, as opposed to the merchant Skinners like Henry Barton, sided with the Tailors in their opposition to the City government in these years. Apart from the obvious community of interest, an explanation may lie in the fact that Nicholas Toller's brother, John, was a Tailor, *C.C.R. 1429–35*, p. 351. See n. 52 above.

⁶¹ 20 October, 5 November 1442, G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 153v, 156. In 1442–43 the Tailors spent a total of £11 16s. 9d. on expenses for legal counsel at Westminster and Guildhall, dinners and journeys to the King. Tailors' Accounts i, f. 365v–366.

⁶² *C.P.R. 1441–46*, p. 136.

⁶³ Journal iii ends 17 November 1442 and Journal iv does not begin until 13 August 1443. For the text of the new charter see G.R.O. Charter 55 and *Calendar of Charter Rolls* vol. VI, pp. 41–44. The process whereby the Mayor and Aldermen became fully integrated into the national system of local jurisdiction is discussed by A. H. Thomas, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1323–64*, pp. i–xxxiii.

⁶⁴ R. Flenley, ed., *Six Town Chronicles of England* (Oxford, 1911), p. 117.

⁶⁵ See pp. 340–1. The Wardens of the Drapers' Company were sworn to exercise their scrutiny. 21 August 1443, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 1v.

⁶⁶ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 4v.

⁶⁷ *L.B.K.*, pp. 286–87; G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 5v–6v.

⁶⁸ G.R.O. Journal iii, f. 76v, 115, 108v.

⁶⁹ 21 September 1442, *L.B.K.*, pp. 273–74. Cottisbrook was re-elected in 1443, *ibid.*, pp. 287–88.

⁷⁰ The last reference to Cottisbrook is to be found in July 1444, Thomas Rymer, comp., *Foedera* (3rd edn. 1739–45), vol. v, part i. p. 136.

⁷¹ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 7.

⁷² G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 4v, 7. Arcall had been associated with Holland in April 1441, P. E. Jones, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1437–57*, p. 165.

⁷³ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 7.

⁷⁴ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 7v. 5 October 1443, Goldyngton was released on bail of £100 to appear in the Mayor's Court, *ibid.*, f. 9.

⁷⁵ Letters dated 30 September 1443, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 7v–8.

⁷⁶ Writ dated 8 October 1443, *L.B.K.*, p. 288.

⁷⁷ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 11v.

⁷⁸ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 7v.

⁷⁹ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 8.

⁸⁰ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 9v.

⁸¹ Blake himself subsequently claimed in the Court that he had said nothing, and was allowed bail, 16 October 1443, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 9v, 10v.

⁸² For the 1319 charter see W. de G. Birch, ed., *The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London* (rev. edn. 1887), pp. 45–50; Gwyn Williams, *Medieval London* (1963), pp. 282–83; G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 10, 10v.

⁸³ See pp. 337–88.

⁸⁴ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 10.

⁸⁵ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 10.

⁸⁶ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 11v.

⁸⁷ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 10.

⁸⁸ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 10.

⁸⁹ On Holland's wealth see pp. 340–1 and n. 22 and 24. When he died Holland was possessed of two considerable houses—Basset's Inn and Pembridge's Inn—and eight other tenements in seven London parishes. On the two Inns see C. L. Kingsford, 'Historical Notes on Some Medieval London Houses', *London Topographical Record*, vol. X (1916), p. 56, vol. XI (1917), pp. 67–68. Holland left the two Inns to the Tailors' Company, the Rector of St Margaret Patyns and the Priory of St Leonard at Stratford, Middlesex, R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258–1688* (1889–90), vol. II, pp. 522, 525, 526, 563. Holland also bequeathed £80 to prisoners and £40 to hospitals (Rous P.C.C. 11). His property in London and Surrey was assessed as worth £24 p.a. in 1436, Thrupp, *op. cit.*, p. 381. In 1454, Oxford University wrote to his executors asking for a bequest from the goods of that 'worshipful and notable man Raulyn Holand' for the work of the new Divinity Schools, H. Anstey, ed., *Epistolae Academicae Oxon.* (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1898), pp. 323, 326.

⁹⁰ Thomas Thornton, a Draper, claimed that he heard Chantrell, a Tailor, declare this, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 10v.

⁹¹ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 11v.

⁹² August 1447, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 188v. Further negotiations in March 1453 led to a more permanent agreement on 28 October 1553, G.R.O. Journal v, f. 106v, 107, *L.B.K.*, pp. 453–55.

⁹³ See pp. 346 and n. 102.

⁹⁴ See p. 340 and n. 37.

⁹⁵ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 12.

⁹⁶ 25 October 1443. Holland had still not appeared and he was appointed to answer on 28 October. G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 12. On 4 November 1443 he was given a day two weeks away. 6 November 1443 Holland received a royal exemption from holding any civic office such as the Mayoralty or Royal Escheatorship, but nothing is mentioned in the writ about the office of Alderman. *C.P.R. 1441–46*, p. 220.

⁹⁷ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 25.

⁹⁸ There is no reference to Holland in the City Journals after May 1444, although he continues to appear in the Patent and Close rolls until June 1452, when he received two tenements in Watling Street from the King in recognition of his good services and personal kindness to the King and Henry V. *C.P.R. 1446–52*, p. 861. Holland died between 3 May 1452 (date of his last will) and 23 October 1452 (will enrolled). His executors appear to have had considerable trouble settling the estate and were not helped by the reckless behaviour of one of their number, Thomas Holland, the son of Ralph's brother, Robert. The other four executors had to petition Parliament to have Thomas's powers as an executor annulled. P.R.O. C49/File 32/15.

⁹⁹ 19 June 1459. G.R.O. Journal vi, f. 95v.

¹⁰⁰ 16, 24 January 1444, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 13.

¹⁰¹ G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 14, 16v.

¹⁰² 19 February 1444, evidence of John Farndon, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 17v. The bills also claimed that William Estfeld, when Mayor (1437–38), had unjustly brought a case against Holland. This may explain Holland's attack upon Estfeld for collusion with Lord Cromwell, see p. 350 above.

¹⁰³ Haylyn had been assessed to contribute 2s. towards the costs of the new charter, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 14.

¹⁰⁴ 21 August 1444 a draft of the new charter had been read to the Court of Aldermen which decided to continue negotiations with the King, and to consult the Commonalty, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 39.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 345 and n. 63. 7 September 1444, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 47v.

¹⁰⁶ The draft charter was again altered 18 September 1444, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 42. 19 October 1444 a further levy of £3 from each Alderman was needed to buy the favour of the King's Council, and further discussions about paying for the charter took place in November 1444 and January 1445, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 44v, 51, 57, 60v.

¹⁰⁷ 23 August 1447, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 189.

¹⁰⁸ *L.B.K.*, pp. 321–22; Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Appendix 14, pp. 233–35.

¹⁰⁹ 12 January 1448, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 205.

¹¹⁰ 19 April 1448, G.R.O. Journal iv, f. 216. The chronicler Robert Bale records in that year 'The Drapers and Tailors of London made great suit upon a truce between them but the Tailors obtained and recovered', R. Flenley, ed., *Six*

Town Chronicles of England (Oxford, 1911), p. 122.

¹¹¹ 4 February 1450, G.R.O. Journal v, f. 30.

¹¹² In 1445 the Tailors had an iron yard made for measuring cloth, and the Company had its standard meter yard 'tynned' for 4d. in 1455, Tailors' Accounts vol. ii, f. 75. On the final compromise see Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 119–20, and Clode, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–29.

Chapter 12

The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London*

IF WE ARE TO understand the legal position of women who lived in London we have to comprehend something of the legal position of women who lived elsewhere in England and more directly beneath the yoke of feudal law. The privileged customs of London, just as they gave greater freedom to men who lived in the city, in the same way mitigated the harshness of the common law as it affected women in London. By the time that Bracton was writing in the first half of the thirteenth century it was accepted by the common law of England that, on marriage, man and wife became one flesh. This theory of conjugal unity—or 'conglutination of persons' as it was scornfully termed by a sixteenth century critic—meant not that the married pair constituted a new or compound persona but simply that the legal personality of the wife became merged in that of the husband. The wife took her husband's name and was no longer a legal entity.¹

The extent to which the theory of conjugal unity operated differed somewhat, depending upon whether we are considering real estate (land) or personalty (movable goods or chattels). The common law of England was more concerned about land than about chattels for obvious reasons, for land was the crucial source of wealth and status. The wife had no claims upon her husband's landed property during his lifetime but Magna Carta secured to her a share of her husband's lands at his death as dower, to enjoy until her own death. Moreover she was to be allowed to remain in her late husband's chief mansion for forty days. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there developed the practice of creating jointures: instead of the husband providing for his widow by dower, the two families at the time of marriage, or the two parties to the marriage, purchased an estate to be enjoyed by the couple jointly. This would then pass to the widow for her support—in lieu of her dower claim—and ultimately to the offspring of the marriage. The widow was always free to reject the jointure and claim instead her dower at common law. Of course the wife might have lands of her own, the marriage portion (or dowry or *maritagium*) which was

given to her, usually by her parents, on marriage and any lands which she inherited. Her husband had an estate in these lands which endured until the end of the marriage. In theory the husband could alienate these lands without his wife's consent, but in practice this seems rarely to have happened.² With regard to property, therefore, the common law allowed a married woman some freedom of action: she could never act independently of her husband and she had no control over her husband's lands, although she could claim a third of them at his death. Over her own lands she retained at least a right of veto and she could regain control of them when she became a widow.

But when we turn to consider goods and chattels the situation is much more bleak for the married woman. In fact the common law of England was not much concerned with movable wealth being 'so small in value and so fragile in character',³ although this was clearly much less true in the case of the merchant and artisan classes as we shall see. On marriage the common law transferred all possessions to the husband who could dispose of them as he wished—and also any goods which came to his wife by inheritance during the course of the marriage. The attitude of the common law is succinctly expressed in the judgement in 1305 on Catherine Aleyn found guilty in London of receiving stolen goods. She was hanged with the terse comment 'no chattels, because she has a husband'.⁴

But even if the husband had the free disposal of the goods and chattels of the marriage during his life time, at his death they were subject to *legitim*, that is the division into thirds, one part for the widow, one for the children and the final third to be disposed of as the testator chose—usually for the benefit of his soul in pious works. If there were no children the widow was to receive half the goods. Goods and chattels were devised by testaments which were proved in church courts and it was canon law, derived from Roman law, which originally instituted and enforced the practice of *legitim*. It has been recently argued however that the common law of England never really accepted the enforced tripartite division of the testator's goods and that insofar as the practice had ever existed it had largely disappeared by 1400, except in cases of intestacy. But different customs pertained in different places and in the northern province, especially in the city of York, and in London, *legitim* operated throughout the medieval period and beyond.⁵ We shall consider the implications of this later.

It is obvious from what has been written already that we would not expect to find married women making wills (which dealt with land, or strictly speaking the use of land since all land belonged to the king)

or testaments (which dealt with goods and chattels). Sometimes we find married women making wills in which they devise their own inherited lands, with the consent of their husbands. The situation with regard to testaments was a little different, not least because they were subject to the jurisdiction of church courts rather than the common law courts. Both Glanvill and Bracton denied that a wife might make a testament since all her goods belonged to her husband, but both admitted exceptions to this which depended upon the decency and fair-mindedness of the husband. Again we do, in fact, on occasion find wives making testaments with their husband's consent.⁶

But on this matter the church courts attempted to combat the attitude of the English common lawyers and to treat the testaments of wives (whether authorised by their husbands or not) as valid. A church council of 1261 declared that those who impeded married women in making testaments should be excommunicated and this injunction was repeated by archbishop Stratford in 1342. This provoked the Commons in Parliament to complain in a petition that the Church's assertion of the right of married women (and incidentally of serfs) to make testaments was contrary to reason. The king did nothing, but it seems to have become accepted in England by the sixteenth century that only the testaments of married women which had been authorised by their husbands, were valid.⁷

In spite of the prevailing concept of 'conjugal unity' the common law did make some provision for the married woman (known as a *femme couverte* in 'couverture') to act independently of her husband. She was allowed to act *sole* (i.e. as if she were a single woman or as a widow) if her husband were permanently elsewhere, for example if he had entered a religious order or abjured the realm. In such cases the common law allowed a married woman to make contracts and to devise her lands as if her husband had died, although in the eyes of the church she remained a married woman. Even the common law of England had to bend sometimes to common sense. In the case of criminal cases husband and wife were not considered to be one flesh and the innocent partner was not held responsible for the other's crimes.⁸ To this extent at least the law of England recognised husband and wife as two people, and if we look at the legal position of married women living under the custom of London we find ideas of conjugal unity to be even less practised than in those parts of England where the common law held sway.

* * *

The custom of London as it related to women may be studied firstly in the city's own customals which were compiled during the medieval period, in particular Darcy's Customal of the 1330s and 1340s,⁹ and secondly in the records of the cases and judgements in the city's courts, and in particular in the mayor's court.

London women, like those elsewhere, had no say in the disposal of their husbands' lands. But London custom clearly stated that the husband could not permanently alienate the land which belonged to husband and wife jointly (e.g. *maritagium*/dowry, the wife's inherited lands or lands purchased jointly) unless the wife openly consented in the Hustings court.¹⁰ Such cognizances and confessions by women relating to land were to be recorded, as of record, in the Hustings court.¹¹ Rather more surprisingly, perhaps, the mayor and aldermen upheld the right of wives, who had purchased tenements jointly with their husbands, to retain possession of them after the husband's death and to grant them as they willed (in one case, at least, contrary to the will of the husband).¹²

London citizens held their lands directly of the king in free burgage (or socage) tenure: these lands were free of the obligation of military service and so could be freely devised, just as if they were chattels. So in boroughs, like London, which enjoyed burgage tenure we find wills of land, recorded here in the Hustings court.¹³ But a woman, married to a London citizen, could not make a will unless she came to the Hustings court with her husband and openly declared her will. Where her husband's consent was lacking, the will of the married woman in London was void.¹⁴

In London, as elsewhere, the goods and chattels of the married woman were considered to belong to her husband, at least in theory. But because goods in London, as in other towns, formed a greater part of the estate of a married couple, city custom tended to define more exactly the nature and extent of the husband's ownership. Debts which the wife incurred before marriage became the responsibility of the husband after marriage.¹⁵ If goods were stolen from a married woman, the couple had to make a joint plea for their recovery, or the husband might act on his own. In the same way a bill of trespass which alleged assault upon a married woman had to be by joint bill of the husband and wife, affirming the wrong done to the wife. Maud of Rickmansworth sued a writ of trespass against Geoffrey the Goldbeter who, she claimed, in 1376 had stolen substantial

goods and chattels from her house in Smithfield. Maud claimed that in this case she could sue Geoffrey independently since she had not been married at the time of the robbery.¹⁶ Conversely, if the wife was accused of a trespass, then although the bill should be sued against the husband and wife jointly, the wife could be expected to answer the bill on her own if the husband failed to appear. If convicted she could be sent to prison until she had provided satisfaction.¹⁷ Thus although the person and goods of the wife were deemed, by conjugal unity, to belong to the husband, so that assaults upon her were considered to be his damage, and theft of her goods considered to be the husband's loss, yet the wife could prosecute and be prosecuted independently in city courts, even though the initial bill had to cite both husband and wife.¹⁸ Just as a married woman could not make a will in London without the consent of her husband, in the same way she was bound to record his consent also to her testament.¹⁹

Although it might seem that the freedoms of married women in London were considerably circumscribed insofar as city custom followed the common law, yet it is clear that a woman who was married to a freeman (citizen) of London was allowed to share in the privileges which he obtained by that status. In 1454 William Bataille, in recognition of his 'long fighting' in Normandy which had reduced him to poverty, was admitted to the freedom of the city so that his wife might be able to keep a shop and trade retail in the city—a privilege reserved for freemen.²⁰ The married woman in London was frequently to be found pursuing her own 'mistry' or 'craft' and she could take on apprentices to learn her craft. Although the apprentice indenture was made in the name of the husband and wife jointly, it specified that the apprentice was to learn the wife's mistry.²¹ Not all such apprentices, moreover, were girls: Maud Picot apprenticed her son for nine years to Robert Sampson, a cordwainer, and his wife Isabel, a tailoress, to learn Isabel's trade.²²

The married woman in London also had the opportunity of electing to trade as a *femme sole*. The practice may well go back to the early thirteenth century²³ and is certainly to be found clearly described in Darcy's custumal of the 1340s:

'where a woman, *couverte de baron* (covered by her man, i.e. married) follows a craft of her own in the city in which the husband does not intermeddle, such a woman shall be bound as a single woman as to all that concerns her craft.'²⁴

The custumal spells out the implications of such economic independence for a married woman: she could rent a shop or a house in the city and herself be answerable for the rent, for which she, and not her husband, could be sued. She must, 'as if she were a single woman' answer complaints of trespass and actions of account and of debt 'as to that which concerns her trading and merchandise'.²⁵ In the mayor's court we find cases being prosecuted against married women who were trading sole: the husband was usually named in the plea, but the wife answered the charge. For example in 1444 John Lovell sued Edward Frank and Katherine his wife who traded sole in the art of brewer for a debt of ten shillings and ten pence which he claimed she owed him for four barrels of beer.²⁶ Katherine denied the debt and was given a day to wage her law—that is she was entitled to come to court with a specified number of men and/or women who would testify to her innocence.²⁷ Although there are a couple of instances where London widows are described as trading sole,²⁸ it seems to have been mainly married women who chose to claim the economic status of *femmes soles*; moreover the women whom we know to have traded as *femmes soles* were artisans, embroideresses, cloth weavers, brewers, upholsters, and, predominantly, hucksters.²⁹ A married woman who chose to act as a *femme sole* enjoyed a measure of economic independence and could, in effect, run her own business, rent a shop, accumulate money (and debts), contribute to taxation and train her own apprentices and servants. The possibilities of the status were entirely economic and in no way political, but they suggest that married women in London, particularly those of the artisan class, were frequently working partners in marriages between economic equals. Indeed there might be financial advantages in being able to shift goods, or cash, from one partner to another in times of economic pressure.

There is no doubt therefore, that in London the common law concept of conjugal unity did not unduly cramp the independence of married women. It is true that there were legal disabilities and that married women had comparatively little control over property and chattels and could only make wills and testaments with their husband's consent; yet they could, particularly if they were artisans, elect to trade sole and run their own business; they could join their husbands in business, and they could train their own apprentices as well as those of their husbands. But there is no doubt that the opportunities were even brighter for widows and in this case it seems to have been mercantile widows who particularly benefited.³⁰

The custom of London, as elsewhere, ensured that the widow had a claim upon her husband's estate: she was entitled to dower which might

be a third, if there were children, or a half, if there were none, of his real estate;³¹ she was also entitled to *legitim*, that is a third or a half share of her husband's chattels.

Dower in London, as elsewhere in England, was made up of two components. Firstly the widow was entitled to her 'free bench', that is a share in the house in which she and her husband had been living at the time of his death. In 1314 the 'free bench' to which Alice, the widow of John de Harrowe was entitled, consisted of the hall, principal chamber, and cellar together with the shared use of the kitchen, stable, privy and courtyard of her husband's principal tenement—presumably the house which they had jointly occupied before his death.³² But when, seventy years later, Cristina, the widow of Thomas Clenche was granted her 'free bench' according to 'ancient city custom', she was allowed not a share, but the whole, of her husband's principal tenement. It may have been the relaxation of population pressure in the city which allowed this more generous provision for widows.³³ It seems moreover to have been customary to allow the widow to have not just the rooms, but also their furnishings.³⁴ The second part of the dower was the third share of the husband's lands or tenements in which the widow would have a life interest and from which she would derive an income.³⁵

In the thirteenth century, at least, there seems to have been some uncertainty as to whether the widow in London might retain her dower for life, or only while she remained chaste and unmarried.³⁶ The confusion arose, perhaps, because the two parts of dower were treated differently and this is made clear in Darcy's custumal. When a widow remarried she forfeited her dower in the free bench, that is her home, but she retained her dower in the lands and tenements from which she had derived her income.³⁷ The evidence of London wills makes it clear that London widows were *not* automatically deprived of their dower income on remarriage.³⁸ The London widow could retain her 'free bench' for life, or until she remarried: this was a more generous provision than the mere forty days which feudal custom allowed to the widow.³⁹ There were in fact good business reasons, as we shall see, why it might be advantageous in a city like London to allow the widow this extended opportunity to maintain not only her husband's home but also his business.

The practice of dividing a dead man's goods and chattels into three parts and allocating them to the widow, the children and to his soul (*legitim*) seems to have become established as London custom during the

course of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ Darcy's custumal of the 1330s clearly defines the London practice of *legitim*:

Let it be stated that where a citizen of the city has wife and children, all the goods and chattels of the dead man, after his debts are paid, should be divided into three parts, of which one part rests with the dead man and should be distributed for his soul, another part shall be for his wife and the third part to his children to be divided among them equally notwithstanding any devise made to the contrary.⁴¹

In the fifteenth century, Londoners are to be found bequeathing goods and chattels to their wives with the proviso that if the wife does not consider the bequest sufficient she is simply to have her third part and no more.⁴²

The mayor and aldermen seem to have interpreted *legitim* in a way which was particularly advantageous to second wives. In 1369 Lucy, the widow and second wife of Henry Bretforde, secured half of his goods at his death since there had been no children of their marriage, although there *were* children from his earlier marriage. This ruling was later challenged and the words 'no such custom' written in the margin in a later hand.⁴³

The practice of *legitim* had ceased in much of England by the fifteenth century and men were devising their goods and chattels as they wished; and yet the practice persisted in York, in Wales and in London. It is difficult to be sure why *legitim* should have persisted in these places while testamentary freedom flourished elsewhere. In Wales it may have been local traditionalism and in London and York the custom may have been seen as a way of preventing the dissipation of the testator's goods outside the city.⁴⁴ The custom of *legitim* was only enforced upon London citizens, and some writers in the seventeenth century came to believe that the existence of the custom deterred men from taking up the freedom. In 1725 the custom of *legitim* was finally abolished by statute in London and the automatic right of widows and children to a share of the goods and chattels of London freemen was extinguished.⁴⁵

But the customs of London in relation to dower and to *legitim* had important consequences for London widows and, on the whole, placed them economically in a more advantageous position than widows elsewhere. A widow was assured of an income for life from a third of her husband's lands and rents and she could live in the family home (and continue thereby to run the business), not simply for forty days but until she remarried. If she chose not to remarry she could run the home and business until

her death.⁴⁶ But above all the share of her husband's goods, either a third or a half, secured to her automatically by London custom, was particularly important because a considerable portion of a man's wealth was, in London, in his goods and chattels. Quite large sums of money, or valuable goods, could in this way pass to the widow.⁴⁷ It is moreover worth remembering that although the widow's dower came to her for her life only and then reverted to her husband's heirs, the goods and chattels which came to her by the custom of *legitim* were hers absolutely.

The widow was free to draw up her own will and her own testament; she was not required to seek the assent of any male relative. By her will she could not bequeath away her dower lands, but she could dispose of the lands which had come to her by inheritance or which she had purchased; hence we find in the records of the Hustings court numerous wills of London widows devising lands as they chose.⁴⁸ Moreover London widows could also draw up testaments in which they disposed of quite considerable quantities of money, plate, jewellery, furnishings and, on occasion, books.⁴⁹ In this way it can be seen that quite a large amount of the movable wealth of London was distributed through the testaments of London widows who, unlike their husbands, were not bound by any rules about their distribution. The London widow benefited from the custom of *legitim* but was not forced to practice it, hence the greatest testamentary freedom in London was exercised by single women and widows.

But power did not come to London widows only at the point of death; we find them appearing in the city's records as 'freewomen' of London and it is worth attempting to discover how such a status was achieved and what privileges it conferred.

A man acquired the freedom in one of three ways, by apprenticeship, by patrimony (i.e. inheritance from his father) and by redemption (i.e. purchase). We have seen that girls served apprenticeships in London and that their indentures of apprenticeship were duly enrolled but where we have lists of entries to the freedom (for 1309–1312 and 1551–1553) on completion of the apprentice term, no woman is listed as taking up the freedom.⁵⁰ The reason for this may well be that the cost of taking up the freedom was not justified by the meagre privileges which it conferred on a woman; she could not exercise the political privileges, and the economic advantages (e.g. having her own shop) she could enjoy through marriage to a freeman—and most London women do seem to have married. But it was clearly not through apprenticeship that women became freewomen of London.

Entry by patrimony seems to have been just as rare. Alice Bridenell was admitted to the freedom in Mercers' company on payment of twenty shillings, because her great-grandfather had been a mercer.⁵¹ But this seems to be a somewhat exceptional case. On occasion we find women purchasing the freedom, perhaps because they were outsiders who were not married to freemen, nor were they the widows of freemen, and yet wished to enjoy the economic advantages of the freedom. But such cases were extremely rare: the names of about 2,000 people who bought the freedom between 1437 and 1497 are recorded in the city's recognizance rolls: three of them are women.⁵² It seems, in fact, that the route of most women to the freedom was via matrimony, that is, most of the women whom we find described as freewomen of London were, in fact, the widows of London freemen. Indeed in 1465 the court of aldermen declared it to be the 'ancient custom' of the city that every woman who was married to a freeman and living with him at the time of his death might be made free of the city after her husband's death, provided that she lived sole in the city and remained a widow.⁵³ What is clear however is that she could not bestow the free status on a new husband who was not himself a freeman of London. Whether the freeman's widow had to pay to take up the freedom is not clear but the implication is, perhaps, that she did not, since no fee is laid down by the court. It would appear, however, that widows who wished to be free of the city had to claim such status in a public court. In August 1449 Margaret, who described herself as the daughter of John Cruse, late tailor, and widow of John Spenser, brewer, drew up her will and declared that she was a freewoman of the city having been admitted to the freedom on 20 May 1449.⁵⁴ The implication here is that the date of Margaret's entry to the freedom was in some way verifiable; perhaps there was once a register of 'widows' freedoms' kept at Guildhall and now lost.⁵⁵

It is very rare to find women in London described as freewomen of London and not, apparently, widows.⁵⁶ Almost all the examples of freewomen which appear in the city's records come from the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and refer to the widows of freemen. In 1369 Alice, the widow of Simon de London, was supported by the mayor and aldermen of the city in her claim to be quit of the payment of toll in other English towns since she was a 'franche homme' of London,⁵⁷ and in 1384 Mathilda the widow of Hugh Holbech claimed the right to wage her law as a freewoman of the city.⁵⁸ But it is most frequently in wills that we find London widows describing themselves as freewomen of the city and their concern may have been to secure for their wills due execution and record-

ing in accordance with London custom.⁵⁹ There were therefore, for the widows who wished to continue to run a business and to trade, considerable advantages in claiming the freedom of the city.

What is interesting is that the widow of a London freeman was not merely allowed to continue her husband's business, but was, indeed, expected to do so. It was for this reason that, as we have seen, city custom secured to the widow the whole or part share of the 'principal mansion' of her husband not for a mere forty days but until she chose to remarry. In return for this privilege, the law and custom of the city expected the widow to maintain the household and to continue to instruct her late husband's apprentices. When the widow failed to do this the aggrieved apprentice might complain to the mayor's court. In 1429 John Haccher told the court that when his late master, the ironmonger Richard Gosselyn, had died his widow Beatrice had dismissed his household and refused to maintain him or to teach him 'to his manifest danger of falling into destruction and desolation'.⁶⁰ If the widow did not wish to maintain her husband's business household she was expected to make arrangements for the apprentice to be transferred to another master to complete the term of his indenture. But it is clear that many widows did maintain their husband's households and did see to the continued training of the apprentices. Mathilda Penne, the widow of a London skinner continued to train her husband's apprentice, and of the 1,000 apprentices presented for the freedom in 1551–53 on completion of their terms, fifty, or 5%, were presented by their late masters' widows.⁶¹

For the woman who wished to run her own business and control her own destiny, widowhood offered many possibilities, particularly if she were the widow of a London freeman. City custom secured to her a house, an income for life and a considerable share of her husband's movable wealth. She could take up the freedom which, while it conferred on her no role in city government, yet entitled her to continue to run her husband's business, to open a shop, to be free of toll throughout England, to wage her law in city courts, to train her husband's apprentices and present them in their turn for the freedom and to ensure that the provisions of her will were executed according to city custom. These opportunities were not open to the widows of non-freemen and they are likely to have been seized more frequently higher up the social and economic scale.⁶²

At the furthest point of the life cycle we have the unmarried woman, the spinster. We know that there were numbers of single girls apprenticed by their parents to learn crafts in London. The lengths of such apprentice-

ships ranged from seven to nine years and precluded matrimony during that time.⁶³ Since a girl was unlikely to be apprenticed before she was ten,⁶⁴ this would suggest that there were quite large numbers of unmarried girl apprentices between the ages of 10 and 20 in London, but their failure to take up the freedom—as we have seen earlier—on the completion of their apprenticeship, would suggest that most of them married. When women appear in the city records they are usually identified as wives or widows, but one cannot be sure that those who are not so designated are not in fact married. Unfortunately there are no poll tax lists for London but in Southwark, single women described as ‘hucksters,’ who might be married, and as ‘spinsters,’ who never were, occur in quite large numbers.⁶⁵ Recent work on northern towns in the late fourteenth century has suggested not only that women did not marry until their twenties but that a significant proportion may never have married.⁶⁶ Those who did not marry tended to be poor and most women seem to have sought security in matrimony. A young woman who did not wish to marry could, if she were well enough endowed, enter a religious house as a nun or, if she were poorer, work as a lay sister or nurse in such a house.⁶⁷ She might, of course, become a prostitute.⁶⁸

In this survey we have found women working in their teens, in middle age and in old age; we have found them in a social cross section of society ranging from poor hucksters, through artisans to merchants; we have found them single, married and widowed. In these circumstances it is not surprising that they are to be found at work in every kind of trade and craft. The range and variety of activities in which we find women engaged in London in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries need not surprise us.⁶⁹ There seem to have been certain activities where women were particularly active. Much of the buying and selling of food and of small items, selling which took place in the streets of London rather than in shops, was carried on by women known as hucksters. Half the women who occur among the original bills of the Mayor’s court in the fifteenth century sued as *femmes soles* were trading as hucksters.⁷⁰ Moreover women were particularly active in the sale of fish: in 1379 all the 18 stalls at the standard in Cheapside and at the north door of St Paul’s were leased to women.⁷¹ Women seem often to have kept ale houses or inns and, in connection with this, to have brewed beer. In 1418 of the 234 members of the Brewers’ Company, 39 were women.⁷² In their wills London women, like Mathilda de Mynns (who was not only a brewster but also a painter) bequeathed their brewing utensils.⁷³ Obviously women were to be found in many aspects of the clothing trade and in the various processes of making woollen cloth but,

above all, as silkwomen. In practising this craft they formed a guild in all but name and displayed a certain amount of collective activity, But it is likely that they always remained to a certain extent under the protective and protectionist wing of the Mercers' Company.⁷⁴ But there is no doubt that a skilled silkwoman of London was able to live a rich and prosperous life: Alice Claver, silkwoman, for thirty years a widow, made twelve tufts of silk and gold to decorate the coronation gloves of Richard III, laces of purple silk and gold thread for the coronation mantles of the king and queen and white silk and gold lace for Queen Anne's vigil mantle. Her household contained a girl apprentice, Katherine Claver, and boys whom she apprenticed elsewhere (possibly her husband's apprentices), two servants and a little boy and girl whom she took in out of charity. Her will provides a clear indication of the purposeful self-sufficiency of London widows in the fifteenth century.⁷⁵

The picture of the lifestyle of women in medieval London is quite a rosy one; their range of options and prospects differed only slightly from those of the men who shared their level of prosperity.⁷⁶ But it is clear that the situation began to change in the course of the sixteenth century although elsewhere the deterioration in the position of women seems to have come earlier.⁷⁷ By 1570 the Drapers' Company refused to allow Mr Calverley and his wife to take on a 'mayden' as an apprentice 'for that they had not seen the like before', and only after they had taken further advice did they allow the girl to be enrolled.⁷⁸ This case indicates that by 1570 girl apprentices (as opposed, perhaps, to servants) were rare and points clearly to a change in the formal economic role of women in London. This change is confirmed by a study of London apprentice records covering the years 1570–1640 which revealed that among 8,000 apprentice enrolments not one was a woman—and this survey covered a wide range of companies.⁷⁹

This erosion of the economic opportunities open to women has been noticed elsewhere, not only in other English towns, but in Europe also.⁸⁰ It may be that the 'visibility' of women in English towns in the later middle ages was caused by the ravages of the Black Death which threw women into the manpower breach caused by endemic plague. But as the recession began to bite into the economy in the fifteenth century women's work began to be pushed to the margins. Obviously this discrimination against women appears first in the 'more vulnerable' towns where the economy was based on the export of textiles.⁸¹ London was to some extent immune from this recession, since its economy was more diversified, but by the sixteenth century the demographic rise had wiped out a

labour shortage and replaced it by a labour glut. For this reason women were pushed out of the skilled labour market and they were no longer to be found in London enrolling to be trained as apprentices to learn a craft skill. Of course they continued to work but largely in informal and dependent positions, rather than as apprentices. It also appears that at the other end of the social scale merchants were increasingly turning themselves into country gentlemen and it was no longer compatible with their gentlemanly status for their wives to trade sole, to train apprentices or to carry on their own businesses.⁸²

What is clearly the case, however, is that women in the period—say 1300 to 1500—when they exercised economic ‘clout’ in London, failed to seize for themselves a public or political role. It would, probably, have been surprising if they had done this; but the fact remains that although we have seen women exercising the legal privileges and economic opportunities accorded to them by the customs of London, they never pursued the political privileges of freemen. They are not to be found in wardmotes nor holding any ward office;⁸³ they had a role in city companies but not a governing role;⁸⁴ they played an important part in parish fraternities but never served as masters or wardens.⁸⁵ Hence when the economic pressures came in the sixteenth century, when the growth in the population militated against the employment of women and when there were moves towards more capitalistic methods of production, then in London and all the other English towns, women were not in the political positions where they might have been able to control or influence these developments. In some senses women lost ground in the sixteenth century in the City of London which has still to be recovered.

NOTES

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¹ This paragraph and the following six are based upon a number of works: G. D. G. Hall (ed.), *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill* (London, 1965); Samuel E. Thorne (ed.), *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*, vol. ii (Cambridge, Mass. 1968); [T. E.] *The*

Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights or the Lawes Provision for Women (London, 1632); C. S. Kenny, *The History of the Law of England as to the Effects of Marriage on Property and on the Wife's Legal Capacity* (London, 1879); Frances Griswold Buckstaff, 'Married Women's Property in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Law and the Origin of the Common Law Dower', in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. iv (1893-4), 223-64; F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898), esp. vol. ii; F. Joüon des Longrais, 'Le statut de la Femme en Angleterre dans le droit commun medieval', in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, vol. xii *La Femme*, part ii (Brussels, 1962), 135-241; Ruth Kittel, 'Women Under the Law in Medieval England 1066-1485', in Barbara Kanner (ed.), *The Women of England from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present: Interpretive Bibliographical Essays* (Hamden, Conn., 1979), 124-37; Janet Loengard, 'Legal History and the Medieval Englishwomen: A Fragmented View', *Law and History Review*, vol. iv, (1986), 161-78; Richard M. Smith, 'Some Developments in Women's Property Rights under Customary Law in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi (1986), 165-94.

² Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii, 404, 410. The common law provided a writ, *cui in vita*, which enabled the widow to recover land which had been alienated by her husband without her consent. The 'curtesy of England' allowed a widower to enjoy his wife's lands, provided that a child survived of their union, until his own death. The lands then passed to the wife's heirs, who might not be the husband's heirs if their children had not survived.

³ Kenny, *History of the Law of England*, 63.

⁴ Ralph B. Pugh (ed.), *Calendar of London Trailbaston Trials under Commissions of 1305 and 1306* (HMSO, 1975), 72.

⁵ R. H. Helmholz, 'Legitim in English Legal History', *University of Illinois Law Review* (1984), 659-74.

⁶ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii, 428.

⁷ Michael Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1963), 234-41.

⁸ Mary Bateson (ed.), *Borough Customs*, 2 vols. (Selden Society, 1904, 1906), vol. ii, cxiii-cxiv; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii, 434.

⁹ The London customals which contain information about the position of women are the following: B.L. Additional MS. 14252 edited by Mary Bateson as 'A London Municipal Collection temp. John', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xvii (1902), 480-511; Darcy's Customal which was compiled in the 1340s but is now lost. It was copied extensively by John Carpenter when he compiled *Liber Albus* in the early fifteenth century, see H. T. Riley (ed.), *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn*, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1859-62), also H. T. Riley (trans.), *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London* (1861). William Kellaway, 'John Carpenter's Liber Albus', in *Guildhall Studies in London History*, iii (1978), 67-84, demonstrates that much of Carpenter's customal was copied, or actually lifted, from earlier city customals; Darcy's Customal was also

borrowed and copied by Robert Ricart when he compiled, c. 1480, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalender*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Camden Soc., 1872). These two fifteenth-century customals therefore preserve much of the custom of early fourteenth century London.

¹⁰ For cases where the wife made a joint alienation with her husband in the Husting court see H. M. Cam (ed.), *Eyre of London 14 Edward II A.D. 1321* (Selden Society, 1968), lxxi, 288–91, and Martin Weinbaum (ed.), *The London Eyre of 1276* (London Record Society, 1976), 105. If a husband made a final concord without his wife's consent, it would hold good only during his lifetime and after his death the widow might sue for recovery, *Liber Albus*, 71. Darcy's customal records, however, that a husband might, on his own, devise the reversion of tenements which he held jointly with his wife, Ricart, 97. For the practice in other boroughs, see Bateson, *Borough Customs*, ii, cciii. There is no evidence that the 'curtesy of England' (see above n. 2) applied in London, although it was practised in other boroughs in order to maintain a home for the 'unemancipated children', *ibid.*, ii, cvii–cviii.

¹¹ Ricart, 99.

¹² Bateson, *Borough Customs*, ii, 106–7; R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting London 1258–1688*, 2 vols. (London, 1889–90) (hereafter *HW*), vi–vii; A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London 1323–64* (Cambridge, 1926) (hereafter *CPMR*), 53. In this case, in 1328, the widow granted the tenements to her daughter although her husband wanted them to go to the son. In a similar case the royal judges upheld the right of Helen, widow of Robert Turk, fishmonger, to grant a house to the Bardi which she and her husband had acquired jointly, in spite of attempts by the son to gain possession, Cam, *Eyre of London*, lxxi, 152–7.

¹³ Ricart, 97; see for example *HW*, ii, 599–600. Although, strictly speaking, the London citizen's power of free devise related only to his London lands, by the fifteenth century it is clear that he considered his lands elsewhere to be subject to the same freedom, see E. F. Jacob, *Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414–1443*, vol. ii (Oxford, 1937), xxxvii and n. 5.

¹⁴ 1256 decision to this effect recorded. T. Stapleton (ed.), *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc., 1846), 24, 26. For invalidated wills, see *HW*, i, xlii, 105, 188.

¹⁵ E.g. 1477, the debts of Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Cockayne, became the responsibility of her new husband, Thomas Charles, Esquire, *CPMR 1437–57*, 97, 101–2; William Norton sued Henry Ridell and his wife Egidia for a debt of 10 marks which Egidia had incurred before her marriage, Corporation of London Records Office (CLRO), Mayor's Court Files 3/59.

¹⁶ In fact she failed to prosecute her plea. Cam, *Eyre of London*, 125–26.

¹⁷ *Liber Albus*, 205.

¹⁸ It would seem that women cited in city courts often acted through professional attorneys, e.g. the cases of Margery, widow of William Crowche, in 1454, and Joan widow of Richard Bokeland in 457, *CPMR 1437–57*, 149, 155. When

it was necessary to provide information on oath in city courts, husbands usually deposed on behalf of their wives, e.g. case in 1439, *ibid.*, 11–12. Married women could, however, wage their law in city courts to prove their innocence, see below, n. 27. In the early thirteenth century women whose husbands were absent might swear as to their tax assessment, and also pay it themselves. Bateson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 509.

¹⁹ Alice Benyngton in 1395 was licensed by her husband to make a testament which was proved in the Archdeaconry Court in 1403, see Guildhall Library Register Ms. 9051/1 1403 f. 8v. In fact among the 1390 testaments from the years 1380–1415 proved in the Archdeacon's Court, only three are those of married women. I owe this information to the kindness of Robert A. Wood.

²⁰ CLRO Journal 5 f. 210v.

²¹ 'And married women who use certain crafts in the city by themselves without their husbands, may take women as their apprentices to serve them and to learn their crafts, and such apprentices shall be bound by their indentures of apprenticeship to the man and his wife to learn the mystery of the women, and such indentures shall be enrolled, whether for women or for men', Ricart, 103.

²² Isabel was sued by Maud Picot because she had failed to teach her apprentice, or to provide him with his keep. CLRO Mayor's Court Files 1/50. In 1309/10 John de Staundone, cornmonger, was admitted to the freedom having been apprenticed to Agnes de Eure, the wife of John Coventry, for seven years. R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter-Book D* (hereafter *LBA/L*), (London, 1902), 109–10; Matthew Wynefeld, who was apprenticed to Agnes Pykerell ran away to Carlisle in 1366, R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London 1350–1370* (London, 1885), 125.

²³ The early thirteenth-century city custom has a section dealing with the raising of a tax on rents in the city. Each man was to swear on his assessment for himself, his wife and his children, 'and every woman who trades is treated similarly if she is by herself and trades openly'. The clause is a little ambiguous and does not make it clear whether it refers to single woman and widows, or to wives who have chosen to trade on their own, Bateson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 509.

²⁴ *Liber Albus*, 204–5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 205–6, 218–19.

²⁶ CLRO Mayor's Court bills 3/210.

²⁷ *Liber Albus*, 203–5 where it is recorded as city custom that women might wage their law in the city with the help of men or women as they pleased. Isolde de Tatershall, a householder in London but not necessarily a woman who traded sole, successfully waged her law when accused of inciting two people to murder and arson, Helena M. Chew and M. Weinbaum (eds.), *The London Eyre of 1244*, London Record Society, 6 (1970), 57–8; in 1365 Adam, the gaoler of Newgate and his wife Alice were jointly sued for twenty shillings which had been entrusted to Alice. The couple denied the debt and Alice, with the consent of her husband,

successfully waged her law. Although there is no indication that Alice traded sole, yet the case shows that married women could wage their law independently, *CPMR 1364–81*, 23.

²⁸ William North, clerk, brought a suit against John Northey, poulterer, and his wife Margaret for a debt of £40 which she had incurred while she was sole, in the name of Margaret Carpenter, widow, CLRO Mayor's Court bills 3/242. In 1440 Margaret, the widow of John Salisbury, asked the court to recognise her status as a 'merchant sole' within the city and to allow her the benefit of custom relating to that condition. In this case it appears that Margaret, who was supported by two fishmongers, may in fact have been claiming the status of a free-woman of London (see below), *CPMR 1437–57*, 35–6.

²⁹ Women trading as *femmes soles*, as dealers in white silk, as a shepster, as an upholster and as a huckster, CLRO Mayor's Court bills 1/123; 3/66; 3/80; 3/273; 3/377. In 1382 Isabelle Yerdele made and sold woollen cloths as a *femme sole*, *CPMR 1381–1412*, 20.

³⁰ See Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The History of Urban Families in England', *Journal of Medieval History*, xiv, (1988), 44–63, esp. 55–7 and references there cited.

³¹ It was very rare, outside towns, for a husband to create a dower for his wife out of movables, Kenny, *The History of the Law*, 63; in 1246 Margery, the widow of John Vyel, had been allocated a specific dower by her husband's will and tried to claim instead a third of her husband's chattels. The mayor and aldermen decided that where a wife had been assigned a specific dower—whether in land or chattels—she could not then claim more from his chattels than had been allocated to her under his will, *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, 12–16. Bracton clearly knew of this judgement and glossed it approvingly for this would leave the husband free to bequeath something extra to the widow depending upon her behaviour towards him during his lifetime, Bracton, ii, 180; in 1391 Alice, the widow of William Ancroft, mercer, received 500 marks from her husband's estate as dower, together with her clothing and the furnishings of her chamber, *CPMR 1381–1412*, 177 and n.; John Wakele, vintner, left his wife certain lands and tenements for life (as dower) on condition that she was content with the portion of goods and chattels which he had left her. If she was not content then she was to have only the dower in his chattels (i.e. no lands and rents) allowed to her by the law and custom of the city, *HW*, ii, 371.

³² *LBE*, 33–34; *Liber Albus*, 68, 393. This decision seems to have been known to Darcy when he compiled his custumal, Ricart, 102.

³³ *LBH*, 253.

³⁴ See the wills of John de Knopwed and 1341 and John Hammond in 1349, *HW*, i, 448, 516 and n. 31 above.

³⁵ *HW*, i, xxxviii and n. 4. In 1384 it was clearly stated that Cristina, the widow of Thomas Clenche, was to have her free bench together with a third of the tenements and rents in the city of which her husband had died seised as dower, *LBH*, 253. In 1397, however, it was clearly stated that a man might not devise to

his wife more than a life interest in his tenements, i.e. the widow's heir, as distinct from the husband's heir, had no claim on her dower lands, *CPMR 1381-1412*, 256-7; see also the case which came before the royal justices, Cam, *Eyre of London*, lxxii, 157-62; in 1282 Alice, widow of William Bokerel, exchanged the third part of a house to which she was entitled as dower for 8 marks and a gown worth 20 shillings, *LBA*, 52.

³⁶ Bracton wrote that according to London custom the widow only retained her dower until she remarried, Thorne, *Bracton*, iii, 400; but Britton argued that although this used to be London custom, it was no longer operative, F. M. Nichols (ed.), *Britton* (Oxford, 1865), ii, 291.

³⁷ Darcy, Ricart, 102. For a clear statement of the two parts of dower in London see case of Cristina Clenche, n. 35 above.

³⁸ *HW*, i, xxxix and n. 6.

³⁹ Bateson discussed the variety of borough practice in relation to dower lands and freebench. It would seem that London custom was particularly generous to widows, *Borough Custom*, ii, cvii-cx.

⁴⁰ See above; Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, 294; see the will of Henry de Enfield of 1290 where the tripartite division is clearly made, W. O. Hasall (ed.), *Cartulary of St Mary Clerkenwell* (Camden Society, 1949), 256-7.

⁴¹ Ricart, 100. The wife and children, if deprived of their appropriate share, might sue for recovery before the mayor and aldermen.

⁴² Jacob, *Register of Henry Chichele*, ii, xxxvii; see also the will of John Woodcock, mercer, in 1408, *HW*, ii, 398.

⁴³ *LBG*, 250 and n. 1. This decision was copied into *Liber Albus*, i, 392-3 in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century it was ruled that the custom of giving the widow of a second marriage half the goods only applied when the children of the first marriage had already been advanced by their father.

⁴⁴ Kenny, *The History of the Law*, 66-8; Helmholz, 'Legitim in English Legal History' (see n. 5 above); an anonymous discourse of 1584, attributed to Henry Middleton, defended *legitim* on these grounds, cited K. E. Lacey, 'Women and Work in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century London', in L. Duffin and L. Charles (eds.), *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial Britain* (London, 1985), 24-78, esp. p. 38.

⁴⁵ *HW*, xxxiii-xxxiv; the custom was abolished by statute in York in 1693 and in Wales in 1696, Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii, 349-56.

⁴⁶ See for example the case of Margaret Whitby, a widow of London, who submitted a bill for wax and tapers supplied to Dame Elizabeth Stoner in 1477-78, amounting in all to 21s 6d, C. L. Kingsford (ed.), *The Stonor Letters and Papers* (Camden Society, 1919), ii, no. 227.

⁴⁷ Felicia, the widow of John Woodcock, mercer, received 2,000 marks and the contents of their houses, as well as a quantity of silver plate, *HW*, ii, 398.

⁴⁸ 25% of all the wills enrolled in the Husting Court between 1271 and 1501 are those of women, most of whom were probably widows.

⁴⁹ For examples both of largesse and of post mortem control by widows see

the cases of Adeline Claidich, *CPMR 1437–57*, 125; Margaret Bate, *CPMR 1458–82*, 43; Dame Alice Wyche, *ibid.*, 101–4; at the end of the sixteenth century the ‘diffuseness’ (i.e. the recognition of distant kinship ties and the importance of friends, neighbours and servants) of the wills of London widows has been noted, Vivien Brodsky, ‘Widows in Late Elizabethan London: Remarriage, Economic Opportunity and Family Orientations’, in L. Bonfield, R. Smith and K. Wrightson (eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (Oxford, 1986), 148–52.

⁵⁰ 1309–12, *LBD*, 96–179; 1551–53, C. Welch, *Register of the Freemen of the City of London* (London, 1908).

⁵¹ Jean Imray, ‘“Les Bones Gentes de la Mercerye de Londres”: A Study of the Membership of the Medieval Mercers’ Company’, in A. E. J. Hollaender and William Kellaway (eds.), *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones* (London, 1969), 155–78, esp. 163.

⁵² CLRO Recognizance Rolls nos. 13–25; 25 June 1448 Agnes Hille, upholster, Roll 17 m.2d; 8 May 1451 Anne Boston, widow, mercer, Roll 19 m.4d; 19 April 1453 Elena Style, widow, vintner, Roll 21 m.4; 1309–12, of the hundreds of purchases of the freedom recorded in *LBD*, 35–96, only two of the purchases are made by women, see 51, 75. M. K. Dale suggested that women who had acquired the freedom before marriage had it suspended during *couverture* and then resurrected it when they became widows, ‘Women in the Textile industries and Trade in 15th–Century England’, unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1929, 35. But there is really no evidence that women took up and exercised the freedom before marriage.

⁵³ CLRO Journal 7 f. 89.

⁵⁴ *HW*, ii, 520; see also the case of Margaret, widow of John Salisbury, n. 28 above.

⁵⁵ That there may have been a register of such freedom entries (possibly simply entered alongside those of men) is also suggested by the fact that the mayor was able to certify, in response to a royal writ in 1389, that Margery, the widow of Hugh Bromhill, pinner, was a citizen of the city according to custom, *CPMR 1381–1412*, 151.

⁵⁶ In 1382 Margery at the Copped Hall (possibly an inn-keeper) claimed her rights as a freewoman, and two wills drawn up in 1387 and 1408 describe the testators simply as ‘citizen and freewoman’, *CPMR 1381–1412*, 19; *HW*, ii, 263, 381. Thomas Myrfyn, skinner, in his will made a bequest to six poor women, free of the craft of skimmers, which might imply that they were singlewomen or, more likely, the widows of skimmers actively engaged in the craft, E. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966), 100.

⁵⁷ Sharpe, *Calendar of Letters*, 170.

⁵⁸ In this case her oath helpers were six women, *CPMR 1381–1412*, 51. In 1454 Margery, widow of William Crowche, when sued for debt claimed her right to wage her law as a freewoman of the city, *CPMR 1437–57*, 149–50; see n. 27 above.

⁵⁹ Six wills of London widows and freewomen are enrolled in the Husting Court between 1477 and 1537, *HW*, ii, 589–90, 603, 604, 618–19, 641–2, 644. Joanna Fastolf was described as a freewoman of London in a case before the king’s

justices in 1420, but she is not so described in her will, *LBI*, 221; *HW*, ii, 419.

⁶⁰ 7 March 1429, since John Haccher had already served nine years of his apprenticeship, he was admitted to the freedom, *CPMR 1413–37*, 230–1. In a similar case William Skydmore, who had served fourteen years of an apprenticeship to Thomas Fauconer, mercer, but found that after his master's death his widow, Philippa, failed to provide for him or to teach him was released from his indentures, 9 November 1434, *ibid*, 280. See the suits brought against the widow by aggrieved apprentices in the Mayor's Court, CLRO, Mayor's Court bills 3/290, 3/295.

⁶¹ Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, 100; Welch, *Register of Freemen*. There are clear signs, however, that by the end of the sixteenth century London widows were much less commonly maintaining their husband's households and presenting apprentices for the freedom, Brodsky, 'Widows in Late Elizabethan London', 141–3.

⁶² Brodsky demonstrated that in late sixteenth-century London the very poor widows had little chance of remarrying and also that the social elite, the widows of the London aldermen, remarried comparatively infrequently, therefore it was women from the middling ranks, from craft and trade backgrounds, who remarried most frequently, *ibid*, 123–4, 128.

⁶³ Margaret Bishop of Sleaford in Sussex entered into indentures on her own behalf for seven years in 1378, Westminster Abbey Muniments, 5966; Elizabeth Eland from Lincolnshire was apprenticed by her father for seven years in 1454, PRO E210/1176; in 1447 Eleanor, the daughter of Simon Fincham was apprenticed to a London silktwister, Norfolk Record Office, Hare Mss. no.2091 (I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr Roger Virgoe.) Not all female apprentices came from outside London: in 1375 John Reyner, a London citizen, left 10 marks to pay for his daughter's apprenticeship, *LBH*, 3; parents from Southwark apprenticed their daughter to a London capper for nine years, CLRO Mayor's Court bills 2/3.

⁶⁴ The father of Katherine Lightfot who was less than fourteen years old, claimed that she had been apprenticed to a carpenter and his wife against her will and under age. The Mayor's court agreed and exonerated her from the apprenticeship, *CPMR 1413–37*, 229.

⁶⁵ P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Status and Marriage in Late Medieval York and Other English Towns', unpublished Cambridge PhD, 1987, Tables 2:1 and 2:2 and 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North', *Northern History*, xxii (1986), 18–38.

⁶⁶ Single women appear usually to have been poor and often lived together in 'spinster clusters' on the poorer fringes of towns, *ibid*, 20–21.

⁶⁷ The wills enrolled in the Husting court reveal at least thirty instances of the daughters, or nieces, of London citizens entering religious houses. The most popular houses were those around London, Halliwell, Clerkenwell, the house of Minoresses, St Helen's Bishopsgate, Kilburn, Stratford, Barking and Syon. Isabella, the orphan daughter of Robert Westmeline, a tailor, was handed over to the

Prioress of Halliwell, together with her share of her father's estate. On reaching the age of fourteen she was to be allowed to choose whether to stay in the house or not, *LBG*, 152.

⁶⁸ On prostitution in London see J. B. Post, 'A Fifteenth-Century Customary of the Southwark Stews', *Journal of the Soc. of Archivists*, v (1977) and Ruth Mazo Karras, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, xiv (1989), 399–433.

⁶⁹ For a survey of the economic activities of London women see Annie Abram, 'Women Traders in Medieval London', *Economic Journal*, xxvi (1916), 276–85, and see also her *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1913), 31–45, 291–6; K. E. Lacy, 'Women and Work', 51–6.

⁷⁰ See also the prevalence of hucksters in northern towns, Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage', 29–30.

⁷¹ H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London Life* (London, 1868), 435.

⁷² Guildhall Library, MS 5440 ff. 105–7; the Brewers' ordinances also envisaged that there would be female members of the craft and their almshouses provided for both sexes, R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt (eds.), *A Book of London English 1384–1425* (London 1931) 152, 175. See also Annie Abram, 'Women Traders', 279. The role of women in brewing may have declined as it became less a household craft and more a commercial business, and this in turn may have been due to the use of hops.

⁷³ *HW*, i, 576

⁷⁴ M. K. Dale, 'London Silkwomen in the Fifteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 4 (1933), 324–35, and see Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith M. Bennett, 'Crafts, Gilds and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale', *Signs* XIV (1989), 474–501; Annie Abram, 'Women Traders', 278; Anne F. Sutton, 'Alice Claver, Silkwoman of London and Maker of Mantle Laces for Richard III and Queen Anne', *The Ricardian*, v (1980), 243–47. For comparison, see Margaret Wensky, 'Women's Guilds in Cologne in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of European Economic History*, xi (1982), 631–50.

⁷⁵ Anne F. Sutton, 'Alice Claver', 246–47.

⁷⁶ Historians have recently questioned the existence of a 'golden age' for women in the medieval period and have pointed out the many disabilities under which women worked in this period; for an excellent survey of the issue see Judith M. Bennett, 'History That Stands Still: Women's Work in the European Past', *Feminist Studies*, xiv (1988), 269–83. But it is worth remembering that the working conditions were rarely golden for men in the middle ages and that, whatever the economic opportunities were for women in the later middle ages, the situation certainly deteriorated in the sixteenth century.

⁷⁷ Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage', 34–8.

⁷⁸ Guildhall Library, Drapers' Minute Books (1567–74), f. 97. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Mark Benbow.

⁷⁹ V. B. Elliott, 'Singlewomen in the London Marriage Market: Age, Status

and Mobility 1598–1619' in R. B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society* (London, 1981), 81–100, esp. 91.

⁸⁰ Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage', chapter 8; Merry E. Wiesner, 'Women's Defense of their Public Role', in Mary Beth Rose (ed.), *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Syracuse, 1986), 1–27; Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, 1986); Kathleen Casey, 'The Cheshire Cat: Reconstructing the Experience of Medieval Women', in Bernice Carroll (ed.), *Liberating Women's History* (Urbana, 1976), 224–49; Barbara A. Hanawalt (ed.), *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington, 1986); Judith M. Bennett, 'History That Stands Still'.

⁸¹ Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage', 35.

⁸² Kathleen Casey, 'The Cheshire Cat', 239, noted that in developing non-European economies, a rise in urban incomes has usually reduced the proportion of women active outside the 'marital-maternal' role.

⁸³ In 1291 Edward I wanted the aldermen of the city of London to appoint Jacobina la Lumbard, described as a citizen of London, to the office of keeper of the Small Beam, used for weighing silk. The king's request was refused on the grounds that the office had already been granted to someone else, H. T. Riley, *Memorials*, 25–6; in 1421 the jurors of Queenhythe ward complained that John of Ely, the oyster-meter, had let his office to farm to women who did not know how to do it 'nor is it worship to the city that women should have such things in governance', *CPMR 1413–37*, 138.

⁸⁴ See for example the Carpenters Company which had a tablet on which the names of the brothers and sisters of the craft were recorded, Bower Marsh (ed.), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters* (Oxford, 1914), ii, 70, 141; for the role of women in the Skinners' and Brewers' Companies, see notes 56 and 72 above.

⁸⁵ Caroline M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in C. M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill, *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (Woodbridge, 1985), 13–38, esp. 30–2. [*Reprinted as Chapter 6 in the present volume.*]

Chapter 13

Johanna Hill (d. 1441) and Johanna Sturdy (d. c. 1460), Bell Founders

THE TWO WOMEN WHO provide the focus for this essay ran bell-founding workshops in the extramural parish of St Botolph Aldgate in the middle years of the fifteenth century. St Botolph's parish, which pocketed the suburban cluster outside the city walls to the east of the city at Aldgate, had been associated with bell-making since the mid thirteenth century.¹ In the mid fourteenth century there emerged a prosperous bell-founder, William Burford, whose principal tenement, the Three Nuns (and presumably his foundry) lay immediately to the east of the church of St Botolph.² He described himself as a 'bell-maker' and acted as common councilman for Portsoken ward.³ When he died in 1390 he left a widow, Johanna, and a son Robert who acted as his executor and took over his father's business:⁴ he was to have the Three Nuns tenement in Aldgate 'et omnia instrumenta mea ad artem meam pertinent' (and all the equipment of my craft). Johanna his widow, on the other hand, was to have 'alia bona sive iocalia ad meum household pertinent' (all the goods and jewels pertaining to my household), together with silver dishes and cooking utensils. In fact Johanna may have been acting independently as a brewer, for she appears to have been left brewing utensils in her husband's will, and the Three Nuns was certainly a brewery by 1418.⁵

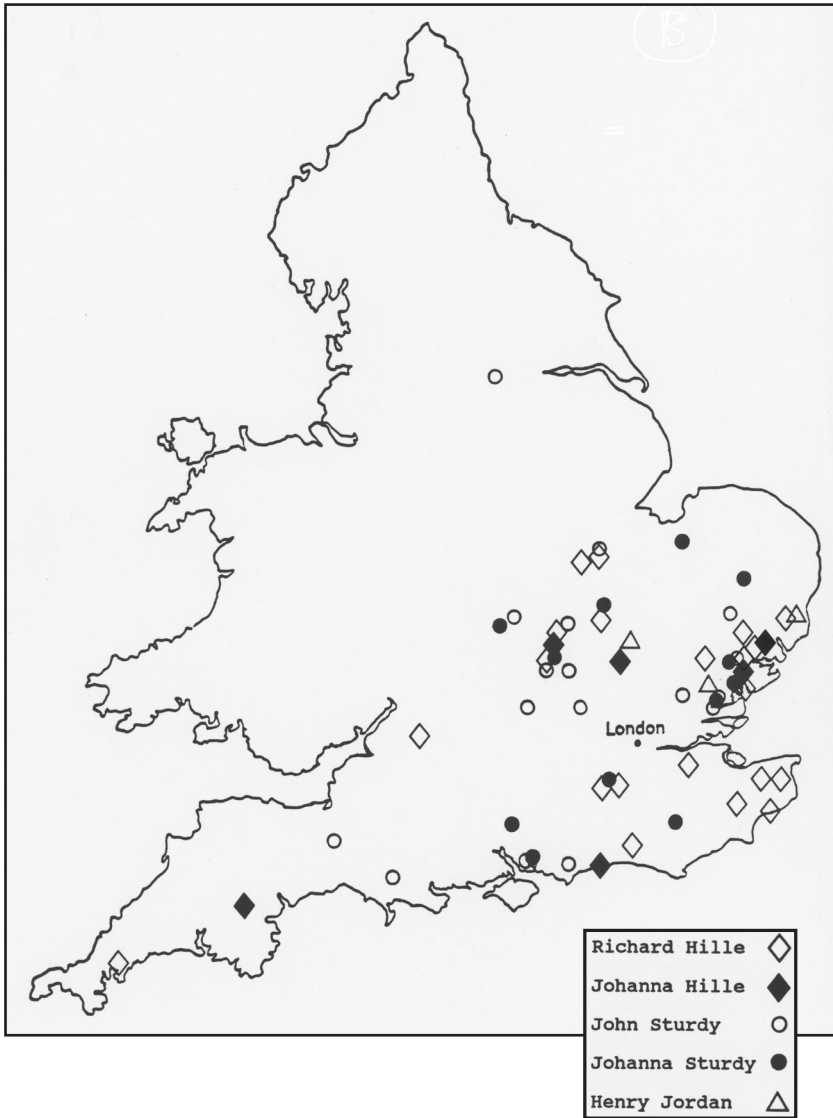
Bell-founding at this period was a profitable business, as enthusiastic parishioners rebuilt the belfries of their parish churches and installed rings of bells. The will of Robert Burford, who died in 1418, is rich in bequests. Like his father he wished to be buried in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin in St Botolph's church: appropriately, he left the considerable sum of £40 towards the cost of building a new 'campanil' (bell tower) at the church.⁶ Robert apparently had no children; his widow Margaret was to have £100 and the tenement in St Botolph's parish for life.⁷ She was not made one of his executors, which may be significant since widows in London were frequently appointed to act for their husbands.

It is not clear what happened to the Burford bell-founding business on Robert's death. Margaret remarried, to a man named John Dommer who is usually referred to in civic documents as a mercer.⁸ He was a substantial inhabitant of Portsoken ward and served as a common councilman.⁹ It is difficult to know whether Dommer and his new wife carried on with the bell founding business; it seems unlikely, although John Dommer is, occasionally, referred to as a bell-maker or bell-founder.¹⁰ What seems probable is that Dommer and Margaret leased the tenement next to St Botolph church which had been left to Margaret for life by her first husband, Robert Burford. John Dommer may therefore have been nominally a founder, but really a mercer living in part off foundry rents.

The foundry may have been leased to, or managed by, Richard Hill. This is suggested by the fact that Richard Hill witnessed a deed in which Dommer and his wife were beneficiaries.¹¹ He and Dommer also acted together as witnesses and executors of the will of Alexander Sprott, vintner, a St Botolph parishioner who had earlier been an executor of Robert Burford.¹² On this occasion, Dommer and Richard Hill were both described as founders. When Dommer died in 1439, there is no suggestion that either his widow or his son was expected to follow the bell-maker's craft.¹³

Richard Hill may well have taken over Robert Burford's business, but he was already a substantial bell-maker in his own right by the time of Burford's death in 1418; two years earlier he had served as a master of the founders craft.¹⁴ His first workshop was possibly in one of the intramural parishes of St Mary Axe or St Olave Jewry, for he later remembered both those parishes in his will,¹⁵ but when he died he was clearly a parishioner of St Botolph Aldgate.

Richard Hill is a comparatively obscure figure as far as London documentation goes. He acted as master of the Founders' Company (1416), as a trustee and executor; he was involved in establishing a chantry in St Botolph church for William and Robert Burford and their wives, *inter alios*, in 1439, and he was a common councilman, presumably for Portsoken ward.¹⁶ Yet if Richard Hill is not a very prominent London figure, he was certainly a prolific bellfounder. Twenty-three of his bells survive in counties stretching from Cornwall to Rutland, displaying his distinctive mark of a cross and ring in a shield (see Map 13.1 and Plate 13.2).¹⁷ Moreover, one of the three sets of capitals used by Hill on his bells had earlier been used by William and Robert Burford. He also marked his bells with a cross which had been used by the Burfords.¹⁸ Obviously,



Map 13.1. The distribution of the surviving bells of Richard and Johanna Hill, John and Johanna Sturdy and Henry Jordan.

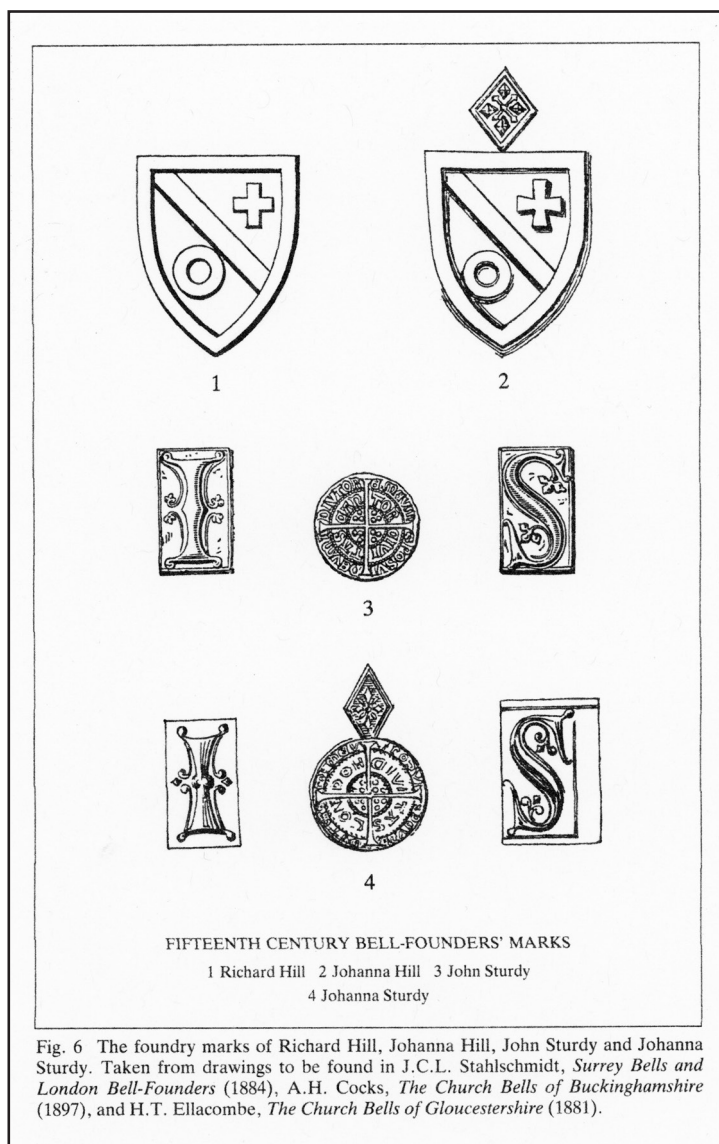


Fig. 6 The foundry marks of Richard Hill, Johanna Hill, John Sturdy and Johanna Sturdy. Taken from drawings to be found in J.C.L. Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders* (1884), A.H. Cocks, *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire* (1897), and H.T. Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire* (1881).

Plate 13.2. The foundry marks of Richard Hill, Johanna Hill, John Sturdy and Johanna Sturdy. Taken from drawings to be found in J .C. L. Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders* (1884), A. H. Cocks, *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire* (1897), and H. T. Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire* (1881).

sets of letters can move comparatively easily from foundry to foundry, but the fact that Richard Hill used some of the Burfords' foundry equipment lends credence to the suggestion that on Robert Burford's death in 1418, Richard Hill, already an established founder, moved from his smaller foundry in St Mary Axe into the Burford's substantial and well-equipped foundry in the parish of St Botolph.

Richard Hill may have come originally from Rutland. In his will he left 20s. to the fabric of the church of St Andrew in the Rutland village of Glaston, and one of his surviving bells is to be found at Tixover, less than ten miles from Glaston.¹⁹ As we shall see, Richard Hill may have initiated a Leicestershire/Rutland connection for the St Botolph foundry. His wife Johanna may have come from Surrey. In her will she left bequests to the parish churches at Merstham and Banstead. One of Robert Burford's surviving bells is to be found at Merstham. Perhaps young Richard Hill, the leading apprentice in Robert Burford's foundry, was sent to Merstham to hang the Burford bell and while there met Johanna and brought her back to London as his wife.²⁰

The substantial nature of Richard Hill's business may be gauged from his will, drawn up in May 1440, the month in which he died. His cash bequests totalled over £20, including 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) for daily masses in St Botolph's church for a year following his death. He asked to be buried in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin where the Burfords had been buried, and he (or perhaps his widow) gave a rich vestment of green branched damask to the parish church.²¹ But Richard's will is a brief one: he left bequests to the two London parishes of St Mary Axe and St Olave Jewry, as well as to the church at Glaston. These bequests were, however, small amounts ranging from half a mark to one pound. There are no strictly charitable bequests, but it is likely that he trusted his widow, whom he appointed as an executor, to make appropriate provision for his soul which, indeed, she appears to have done.²² Richard did remember some of the members of his household: each of his four male apprentices was released from the last year of his term and given a sum of money. Two female servants, Johanna Berdefeld and Agnes Heth, each received five marks (£3 6s. 8d.) for their marriages.²³ Richard's main bequest was a hundred marks (£66 13s. 4d.) to his daughter Johanna: all his remaining goods were to go to his wife. It seems clear that Richard Hill intended that his widow, Johanna, should run the St Botolph foundry and that, in due course, his daughter would inherit the foundry from her mother.

Richard Hill died in May 1440; his widow drew up her will in February 1441 and was dead by the end of May of that year, so the foundry was only under her direction for a year. But we know from several sources that she did indeed actively manage the foundry during the year of her widowhood. In the first place, on 28 March 1441, 'Johane Hille of London widewe' agreed with five parishioners of the church at Faversham, Kent, that if the five new 'belles of accorde' which she had made for them were not 'well sownyng and of good accorde' for a year and a day, then she would remake any defective bell which was brought to her workshop in London and transport it back to Faversham and rehang it at her own cost.²⁴ Unfortunately, the fifteenth-century bells at Faversham do not survive, but seven of Johanna Hill's bells do survive elsewhere in England. Her responsibility for these bells—two at Manaton in Devon, one at Castlethorpe in Buckinghamshire, one at Norton in Hertfordshire, one in the church (now demolished) of St Nicholas in Colchester, one at St Mary at Elms, Ipswich, and one at East Preston in Sussex—is suggested by their marks. All of them carry Richard Hill's distinctive cross and circle shield but now the shield is surmounted by a lozenge containing a floret (see Plate 13.2). A lozenge-shaped shield is the heraldic indication of womanhood and, by adding the lozenge to her husband's foundry stamp, Johanna was declaring her responsibility for the bells produced in that year 1440–41.

Johanna Hill's testament also indicates that she continued actively to run the bell-founding business.²⁵ Three of her husband's four apprentices had continued to work for her and she had acquired a new one, so new that she did not know his Christian name.²⁶ Johanna Berdefeld was still a member of her household and received a further contribution towards her marriage, while a further servant, Agnes Marshall, had been engaged. This Agnes was bequeathed five marks but, as this was not designated as a marriage portion, she may already have been married: a Thomas Marshall, servant, was bequeathed some goods from 'shope me de foundero' (from my foundry shop). Johanna also left a small bequest of half a mark (6s. 8d.) to Richard Marshall who may, perhaps, have been the son of Thomas and Agnes. Thomas Marshall was not the only male servant to have joined Johanna's household since her husband's death: there were five others who each received a bequest. Over and above these there were six further male members of the household who included John Bereveyre 'bellemaker' and Jacob Clerk, possibly the scrivener for the business. In all Johanna Hill's household comprised the four apprentices, two female servants and the

daughter of a fellow founder, six male servants, four other men whose tasks were not specified, a 'bellemaker' and a clerk. Apart from the three members of the Hill family, the household—that is the home, the foundry and the shop—numbered some twenty people, and Johanna's bequests to them amounted to some £30. It is possible that Johanna's household was enlarged on her husband's death, but it is also noticeable that women's wills are frequently more diffuse than those of men and this would certainly seem to be true of the testaments of Richard and Johanna Hill.

A large household contained within it smaller family groupings. We have already noted the presence of the Marshall family, and the Heths may have formed a similar family group. Richard Hill's leading apprentice was named Roger Heth and one of his two female servants was Agnes Heth who was left money for her marriage. Neither was still working for Johanna Hill a year later, but one of her new servants was a Richard Heth. Perhaps the three Heths were siblings.

Unlike her husband, Johanna did not leave the distribution of her charitable bequests to her executors but, instead, spelled out exactly how she wished her goods to be dispersed. She reiterated her husband's bequests to the two London parishes and to St Andrew's church at Glaston, but she enlarged the bequest to the parish of Glaston by the addition of 20s. to be distributed to the poor there. In London she remembered the prisoners in seven London gaols, the poor in Bethlem hospital, the poor women of Elsyngspittal and the lepers at the Lock hospital in Southwark. In all, these charitable bequests amounted to only about £4, but she left a further £20 for her executors to buy coal and faggots in winter for the poor of St Botolph's parish and the poor of the Founders' company.

In her testament Johanna was careful to specify exactly how her executors were to provide for her soul and that of her husband. Whereas Richard had simply left 10 marks for a year of daily masses in St Botolph's church, Johanna left seventy marks for masses for seven years. She also left £20 which her executors were to spend on a special requiem mass every year for twenty years, to be celebrated on 4 June, presumably the anniversary of Richard Hill's death. This was to be a sung mass 'by note' and the 20s. was to be spent on fees to the parish clergy,²⁷ and on two wax tapers to burn at Richard's tomb; the residue was to be distributed among the poor of the parish and the Founders' company, and among prisoners.

The St Botolph foundry not only made bells but also brass and latten goods. The two Surrey churches at Merstham and Banstead were given five marks each or, alternatively, goods for ornamenting the church to the

same value from 'my shop'. The London church of St Olave Jewry was given a pair of processional candle sticks made of latten and a holy water stoup also of latten. Some of the apprentices and servants employed by the Hills were probably turning out brassware of various kinds, but it is quite clear from the Faversham contract and from Johanna's testament that bells were also being made in her workshop. John Bereveyre 'bellemaker' was listed among her servants and apprentices and received one pound, and John Acres 'my servant' was given six marks (£4) on the condition that he remained as a servant with Henry Jordan, Johanna's new son-in-law, and continued to serve him well and faithfully in the art and occupation of 'belmakere'.

Between June 1440 when Richard died and February 1441 when his widow drew up her testament, their daughter, also Johanna, had married Henry Jordan, a member of the Fishmongers' Company. Henry's parents, Giles and Margaret, were fellow parishioners in St Botolph Aldgate so Johanna appears to have married the boy-next-door.²⁸ But there also seems to be a Leicestershire connection, for Giles and Margaret Jordan, Henry's father and mother, came originally from Loughborough and were commemorated there, so the family links may go back beyond the migrations of the Hills and Jordans to the London parish of St Botolph's.²⁹ It was clearly Johanna Hill's intention that her daughter and her new husband should continue to manage the Hill bellfoundry. Not only did she leave 'omnia bona mea tam domicilia quam arti mee de belmakere pertinent' (all my goods, both domestic and those belonging to the art of bellmaking) to Henry and Johanna, but she also attempted to secure John Acres as their foreman.

What were the domestic goods which Johanna left to her daughter and son-in-law? Compared with many of the widows of London merchants, Johanna's goods were comparatively modest. Her best red gown lined with fur went to Johanna, and her best black furred gown was to go to Isabelle Chamberlain, the wife of the founder, William Chamberlain, who acted as Johanna's executor.³⁰ All her silver plate, two beakers, four cups, two dozen silver gilt spoons and a salt cellar, together with her 'taps-erwerk' bed with sheets, mattress and quilt, went to Johanna. It is clear that the newly-weds were to be comfortably furnished, as well as provided with a flourishing business.

Johanna Hill was not concerned exclusively with her own family and the members of her household. Her testament suggest that she had business dealings with other founders whom she remembered charitably: John Bette, founder, was released from his debt to her and given one pound;

William Capper, another founder, was also give a pound and a pair of sheets. Johanna Hill was particularly concerned about the family of John Bailly, founder. He also was released from his debts and given bed-clothes and two large pots; his daughter Alice was provided with five marks (£3 6s. 8d.) for her marriage and, in a codicil to her will, Johanna instructed her executors to take particular care of John and Johanna Bailly and their children and to ensure that they were not in need, although she stipulated that if they fell into bad moral habits they would forfeit her bequests. This kind of ‘postmortem bossiness’ was not unique Johanna Hill and was frequently manifested in the wills of rich London widows. The effectiveness of such contingent bequests would, of course, depend upon the willingness of the executors to keep an eye on the recipients. Finally, Johanna wanted her executors to ensure that Johanna Payn ‘consanguinea mea’ was provided with woollen clothing, shoes and victuals for the rest of her life.

There is nothing particularly remarkable about Johanna Hill’s testament except, perhaps, its length, but it provides an insight into her world. Her thoughts were for her dead husband, her daughter and her new son-in-law, all the members of her diverse household, her home and her shop. She thought about the poor and the sick, and she remembered the parish in Surrey where she was born and the church of her baptism. As death approached, and it came perhaps more slowly than she expected since three months elapsed between the drafting of her testament and the codicil, she painstakingly unpicked the threads from which the fabric of her life had been woven.

What happened to the St Botolph foundry after Johanna Hill died in May 1441? There seems, in fact, to be very little evidence that Henry Jordan and his wife actually ran the foundry. There are no bells which can be certainly attributed to Jordan, and from his will it is clear that his loyalties and legacies were directed towards his own company, the Fishmongers.³¹ In documents, and in his will, he described himself as “citizen and fishmonger of London”.³² But he remained as a parishoner of St Botolph and desired burial in the chapel where his parents, his parents-in-law and his wife were buried.³³ He also served as a common councilman for Portsoken ward, but by 1468 when he drew up his will he does not refer to any property in the parish.³⁴ There is some evidence that Henry Jordan may, in the 1440s, have attempted to manage the bellfounding business, but it is very slight. In the late 1450s John Vyncent, described as a bell-maker, complained to the Chancellor that Henry Jordan had, in 1448/9, attempted to persuade him to break his indentures with John

Sturdy 'late of London, bell maker' and to work instead for Jordan. To persuade him to leave Sturdy's service, Jordan had lent him 44s. 8d. When Vyncent returned to work for Sturdy in the late 1450s, not surprisingly perhaps, Jordan sued him for debt.³⁵

Johanna Hill's foundry seems to have passed, perhaps by sale, to a man named John Sturdy, who is first recorded in London in 1440, the year when Johanna Hill was running the foundry.³⁶ It is possible that he, like Richard Hill and Henry Jordan, came from Leicestershire/Rutland, for he is described on one occasion as 'John Sturdy alias Leicester'.³⁷ In 1448–49 he was practising as a bell-maker in London and living in St Botolph's parish.³⁸ He was certainly dead by 1459, possibly by 1456.³⁹ About sixteen bells have been found bearing John Sturdy's mark, that is a half-groat flanked by the letters I and S (see Map 13.1 and Plate 13.2).⁴⁰ For his inscriptions he seems to have used Richard Hill's letters and one of his crosses had been used by both by Robert Burford and by Richard Hill.⁴¹

After John Sturdy's death his widow took over the running of the St Botolph foundry, just as Johanna Hill had done nearly twenty years before. Unfortunately, we have no extant wills for either John Sturdy or his widow, but we have evidence of Johanna Sturdy's management in the fourteen bells cast in her foundry, and in the survival of an indenture drawn up on 12 December 1459 between Johanna Sturdy of London 'wydewe' and the mayor of Faversham, the vicar of the parish church there and the three churchwardens.⁴² Johanna Sturdy had replaced Johanna Hill's tenor bell at a cost of £9 5s. 3d., and she guaranteed its workmanship and its 'good accorde' with 'the old meen bell' already in the church. If the new bell was found to be defective, especially where harmony with the old bells was concerned, then the churchwardens were to bring it to Johanna Sturdy's 'dwelling-place' in the parish of St Botolph without Aldgate in London. They would pay the costs but Johanna agreed to contribute 10s. towards the carriage every time the bell had to be brought to London for tuning.

Presumably Johanna Sturdy marked this bell (no longer extant) with the mark which we find on her other bells (ten extant and three recast);⁴³ namely, her husband's mark but with the half-groat surmounted by a lozenge (see Plate 13.2), the same mark of difference as that used by Johanna Hill, her female predecessor at the foundry.

It is not known when Johanna Sturdy died, but in the 1460s some of the Sturdy's crosses and letters had passed to a founder who used as his mark the shield of the Keble family.⁴⁴ The twenty or so surviving bells, marked with the distinctive signs of Johanna Hill and Johanna Sturdy bear

witness, both visually and aurally, to the entrepreneurial skill and managerial ability of artisan widows in fifteenth-century London.⁴⁵

NOTES

¹ See J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders* (London, 1884), p. 13 *et seq.*

² For details of William Burford's career, and the careers of other medieval inhabitants of the parish of St Botolph Aldgate, I am indebted to the extensive archive of the Centre for the Study of Metropolitan History (Director, Dr Derek Keene). Burford was a collector of the fifteenth in Portsoken ward in 1369, LBG, p. 252; in 1372 he was granted a tenement by Alice Perrers, CLRO, HR 100 (12); he witnessed deeds in 1373 and 1382, HR 100 (128), HR 111 (131), PRO, LR 14/347. For one of his tenements, the Crown, Burford paid a quit-rent to Holy Trinity Priory, PRO, Rental, E 164/18. Bell mould has been found in excavations at two sites which may well have been the sites of the foundry of Burford and his successors. Museum of London site code AL 74 (62–64 Aldgate High Street) and ER 991 (St Botolph's Churchyard).

³ 1384–86. *CPMR, 1381–1412*, pp. 88, 122; *LBH*, pp. 240, 271, 281.

⁴ For Burford's will, see calendar in *HW*, ii. p. 301, and for a transcript, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 38–41. Johanna and Robert were to act as joint executors. William had first been married to Elene for whom he provided prayers in his will.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40; CLRO, HR 146 (32). Johanna's will was drawn up in October 1397, GL, MS 9171/1, f. 411v.

⁶ Robert Burford's will is enrolled in the Commissary Court of London and is transcribed in Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 42–45.

⁷ At her death the tenement was used to support a chantry for Robert in St Botolph's church, *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸ E.g. in 1420, *CPMR, 1413–37*, p. 86; 1428, BL, Cotton MS App. XIX, f. 4v.; 1437, CLRO, HR 165 (41).

⁹ In 1421 and again in 1435–36, *CPMR, 1413–37*, pp. 119, 121; *LBK*, p. 197.

¹⁰ John Dommer 'founder' in 1439, CLRO, HR 167 (15). In 1456, nearly twenty years after his death, he was described as 'belle maker' in a property abutment, CLRO, HR 185 (11).

¹¹ 1 June 1437, CLRO, HR 165 (41).

¹² Sprott's will, dated 21 June 1438, is calendared in *HW*, ii. p. 485.

¹³ Margaret Dommer (ex. Burford) was dead by 1439, see BL, MS Cotton. App. XIX, ff. 10v11v. Dommer had re-married Margery before 1439. Dommer's will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PRO, 26 Luffenham, Probate 11/3 [*now TNA, PROB 11/3/459*]. By October 1441 Margery was

remarried to Robert Eldrebek. Dommer left £20 to his son who was, in due course (1455) apprenticed to a draper, Richard Brid, *LBK*, pp. 251–52, 367.

¹⁴ 1416, *LBJ*, p. 144.

¹⁵ Richard Hill's will is transcribed in Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 49–51.

¹⁶ 1422, Hill was a feoffee in St Bride's parish, Fleet Street, where one of the witnesses was described as John Hill 'junior', possibly a son who predeceased his father. CLRO, H R 152 (59); Hill witnessed deeds involving land in St Botolph's parish in 1437. PRO E 326/4406, CLRO, HR 165 (41); he was an executor of Alexander Sprott and was involved in establishing a chantry for him in St Botolph's church in 1438–39, CLRO, HR 167 (15) and BL, MS Cotton, App. XIX, ff. 6v–10v; and see C. J. Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate, 1548*, London Record Society, 16 (London, 1980), p. 43; 1435–36, Hill assessor, with Dommer, for the subsidy in Portsoken ward, *LBK*, p. 197; 1436, received gift of goods and chattels, *CPMR*, 1413–37, p. 289; 1438, surety for Thomas Morestede, surgeon, *LBK*, p. 223; 1439, common councilman, CLRO, Journal 3, f. 13.

¹⁷ Richard Hill's bells are found in the following counties: Bedfordshire (Staughton Parva); Buckinghamshire (Thornton); Cambridgeshire (two at Ufford); Cornwall (Penkivel, recast); Essex (Castle Headingham, St Nicholas Colchester, East Mersea); Gloucestershire (Shipton Mayne); Kent (St Mary Magdalene, Canterbury, Cheriton [recast], Great Chart [recast], Luddesdown, Staple); Northamptonshire (Horton); Rutland (Tixover); Suffolk (Higham, Great Glenham, Ringshall, Washbrook); Surrey (East Horsley, Headley); Sussex (Clayton). I am extremely grateful to Alex Bayliss, who is preparing a University of London PhD thesis on 'Medieval Bells in England', for providing me with this information.

¹⁸ See George Elphick, *Sussex Bells and Belfries* (Chichester, 1970), p. 43; and Cecil Deedes and H. B. Walters. *The Church Bells of Essex* (London, 1919), p. 16. The letters inherited from the Burfords are to be found at East Horsley in Surrey, see Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, figs 166 and 167. The cross is illustrated, *ibid.*, fig. 165.

¹⁹ Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, p. 50 and Thomas North *The Church Bells of Rutland* (Leicester, 1880), p. 155 and plates III and VI. The bells now at Glaston were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁰ Johanna Hill's will, drawn up 3 February 1441 and proved 30 May 1441, is to be found in the commissary register, GL, MS 9171/4, ff. 62v–63. Johanna's will also makes bequests to the leper hospital of the Lock 'in Kentstrete' outside Southwark, and she also remembered the prisoners in the two Southwark gaols of the King's Bench and Marshalsea. She would have to have passed the hospital and the prisons on her route to and from Surrey. Her maiden name may have been Payn: she remembered Johanna Payn 'consanguinea mea' in her will, but there are no other references to her family. For Robert Burford's bell at Merstham, see Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 81–83.

²¹ The vestment survived long enough to be sold off in 1549–50; see H. B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London 1939), p. 211.

²² Hill's executors were William Piggesworth (Pykworth) and John West, both founders. Piggesworth lived in the parish of St Mildred Poultry. By the time of his death in 1458 there is little sign that he was active as a founder; see his will, GL, Commissary Wills, MS 9171/5, f. 286. John West died soon after Hill: he drew up his will in October 1442. West was an active bell-founder in the parish of St Margaret Lothhury with two apprentices and a servant, GL, Commissary Wills, MS 9171/4, f. 111v.

²³ Hill's will is transcribed in Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 49–51. The apprentices were Roger Het, William Bolter, Richard Cresswell and John Wodewall.

²⁴ This indenture is now in the Maidstone Record Office, MS CCL P 14617/1. I am most grateful to Judy Ann Ford, who is currently completing a doctoral dissertation 'The Community of the Parish in Late Medieval Kent' at Fordham University, for transcribing this document for me. The contract is also transcribed in Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 51–52.

²⁵ Johanna Hill's will, drawn up 3 February 1441 and proved 30 Mary 1441, is to be found in the Commissary register, GL, MS 9171/4. ff. 62v–63. Stahlschmidt did not know of this will and so identified Johanna Hill with Johanna Sturdy (see below) and so made a mistake which has been copied by all subsequent writers on the subject. For Johanna Sturdy. see p. 396.

²⁶ William Bolter, John Wodewall and Richard Cresswell. Roger Het may have completed his term. The new apprentice's surname was Walbot.

²⁷ The parish chaplain was to receive 6d. and the stipendiary chaplains and parish clerks 4d. each. In 1379–81 the church had one parochial chaplain and a clerk; in 1548 there were three, or perhaps four, stipendiary priests, see A. K. McHardy, *The Church in London, 1375–1392*, London Record Society (London, 1977), p. 6; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, p. 43.

²⁸ Henry Jordan in his will drawn up in 1468, mentions his parents, Giles and Margaret, and their burial in St Botolph's church. The will is transcribed in Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 60–70, see especially pp. 63, 67.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–59. A much-damaged brass remains in Loughborough church, probably commemorating Giles and Margaret Jordan and referring to their 'sonne Harry late fischmonger of London', Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (1926–38, London; repr. 1964), p. 276.

³⁰ For Isabelle and William Chamberlain, see below note 45. Johanna's other executors were John West, founder, and her son-in-law Henry Jordan.

³¹ Most nineteenth-century writers mistakenly attributed a large group of over a hundred bells to Jordan, see Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 57–59, 87–88 and figs 186 and 188. A. O. Tyssen, *The Church Bells of Sussex* (Lewes, 1915), pp. 28–38, however, argued against this and attributed these bells to William Chamberlain (see note 45 below). The only possible Jordan bells are Cambridgeshire (Tadlow); Essex (Sturmer); and Suffolk (two at Saxmundham); information from Alex Bayliss, see note 17 above.

³² For Jordan's will, see Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 60–70. But, as Tyssen

pointed out, this will cannot cover the complete disposition of Jordan's estate, but is a devise of certain tenements; primarily those given to the Fishmongers' Company with whom the will is now lodged, Tyssen, *The Church Bells of Sussex*, p. 27. Jordan's will was enrolled in the Court of Husting, *HW*, ii. pp. 543–44.

³³ Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, p. 60. Jordan also gave '3 copes of redde Badkyns with lions and flowers' to the church, H. B. Walters, *London Churches*, p. 210.

³⁴ CLRO, Portsoken Ward Presentments, ref. 242A, rolls for 5 and 6 Edward IV, 1456–57.

³⁵ Tyssen prints this early chancery petition, PRO, ECP, bundle 26, no. 567, *The Church Bells of Sussex*, pp. 94–95.

³⁶ *CPMR*, 1437–57, p. 164.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180, in 1454.

³⁸ Tyssen, *The Church Bells of Sussex*, pp. 94–95; J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *The Church Bells of Kent* (London, 1887), p. 37; CLRO, HR 179 (21), deed dated 5 February 1451. John Sturdy may have been brought from Leicester by Jordan to manage and work the foundry which he had inherited from his mother-in-law. The relations between Jordan, the sleeping partner, and Sturdy, the active bell-founder, seem to have deteriorated by the late 1440s (see note 35 above) and Sturdy may have bought Jordan out and then made bells marked with his own initials. One of the bells at St John the Baptist, Margate was inscribed 'Daudeleon || x S Trinitate Sacra sit hec campana Beata'. Daundeleon died in 1445, so if this is John Sturdy's bell, he was already active as a bell-founder by that date; information from Alex Bayliss, see note 17 above.

³⁹ Tyssen, *The Church Bells of Sussex*, p. 95; Johanna Sturdy, widow, sealed an indenture, 12 December 1459, Maidstone Record Office, MS CCL P 14617/2.

⁴⁰ John Sturdy's bells are found in Buckinghamshire (Adstock, Chesham, Stoke Hammond); Dorset (Piddlehinton); Essex (Good Easter, Great Totham [recast], Little Totham, Maldon); Lincolnshire (Tallington); Northamptonshire (Grcndon); Oxfordshire (Holton); Somerset (Curry Mallet); Suffolk (Norton [recast]); Sussex (Heathfield [recast], Rumboldswyke—from St Martin Chichester); Warwickshire (Wolfhamcote); information from Alex Bayliss, see note 17 above.

⁴¹ Elphick, *Sussex Bells and Belfries*, p. 45; A. H. Cocks, *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1897), p. 25. The cross which Sturdy inherited from the Burfords and Hills is illustrated in Stahlschmidt, *The Church Bells of Kent* (London, 1887), fig. 5a.

⁴² Maidstone Record Office, MS CCL P 14617/2. I am most grateful to Judy Ann Ford for making a transcript of this for me. There is a precis of the indenture in Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells*, pp. 52–53.

⁴³ Johanna Sturdy's bells are to be found in Buckinghamshire (Beachampton); Cambridgeshire (Long Stow); Essex (Langford [recast], Layer de la Haye, Wormingford); Hampshire (Southwick, St John the Baptist Winchester); Norfolk (Kenninghall, two at Watlington); Surrey (Stoke d'Abernon); Sussex (Rotherfield

[recast]); Warwickshire (Ladbroke [recast]; information from Alex Bayliss, see note 17 above.

⁴⁴ Walters, *Bells of Essex*, pp. 20–21.

⁴⁵ Elphick noted five female bell-founders (in fact six because he elided Johanna Hill and Johanna Sturdy): Agnes le Belyetere of Worcester, 1274–75; Christina la Belyetere of Gloucester, 1303–4; Elinor Bartlet, 1632; and Julia Bagley, 1716–19, Elphick, *Sussex Bells and Belfries*, p. 113. Heather Swanson noted the case of Margaret Sowreby of York who took over her husband's workshop, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 74. Another possible bell-foundress is Agnes Powdrell, wife of William. His initials appear on a bell at Stowting in Kent, Stahlschmidt, *Church Bells of Kent*, fig. 184; hers on the treble at Little Totham, Essex, see Walters, *Church Bells of Essex*, pp. 18–19, 424. It might be appropriate to add Isabella Chamberlain to this list. She was the wife of William Chamberlain who made over a hundred bells between 1426 and 1456, see Elphick, *Sussex Bells and Belfries*, pp. 55–56. By 1440 Chamberlain was married to Isabella, who received bequests in the wills of both Richard and Johanna Hill (see notes 23 and 25 above). Chamberlain acted as executor for Johanna Hill and also for her son-in-law, Henry Jordan (see note 32 above) and he did not himself die until 1474, see his will proved in the commissary court, GL, MS 9171/6, f. 180. His workshop was in the parish of St Margaret Lothbury, and he may have taken over the foundry of John West, a founder of that parish who died in 1442, see his will proved in the commissary court, GL, MS 9171/4, f. 111v. When Chamberlain died in 1474 he left his foundry to his wife Isabella and his son Richard and his apprentices were left 3s. 4d. each on condition that they continued to serve with Isabella and Richard. All William's unpaid debts were assigned to Isabella and she was also appointed as her husband's sole executor. Isabella was charged with giving a dozen silver spoons, or a jewel, at her discretion, to the fellowship of William's craft. The value of the gift was to be 20s. We know that Isabella carried out her husband's request, for in 1497 the Founders' Company recorded that they possessed eight silver spoons 'the gifte of William Chamberleyn thelder', Guy Parsloe, *The Wardens' Accounts of the Founders' Company, 1497–1681* (London, 1964), p. 412. Chamberlain also left a bequest to the fraternity of St Clement in the church of St Margaret, which carries the history of the founders' fraternity back at least to 1474, *ibid.*, pp. xiii–xiv. Isabella must have been a notable woman, active as a wife for over thirty years and, in the end, appointed to oversee her husband's will and perhaps to run the bell-making business with, and for, her son who died in 1510 (PRO, PCC wills, 37 Bennett).

The Child in Medieval London: The Legal Evidence¹

THAT MEDIEVAL CHILDREN HAD a childhood is no longer a matter for debate.² The evidence—incomplete and anecdotal—which is assembled here reinforces the arguments of those—like de Mause, Hanawalt and Orme—who have detected a real childhood, between infancy and adolescence, in the medieval centuries.³ In medieval London there are three particular groups of legal evidence that throw light on attitudes to, and experiences of, medieval childhood. The surviving coroners' rolls for London (intermittent coverage 1275–1378) can be used to reveal something of the life styles of children up to the age of sixteen who died accidentally in those years.⁴ None of these children who died unnatural deaths appears to have been the child of a citizen, so they all came from the poorer strata of London society.

The second collection of material relates to London orphans, that is the under-age children of dead citizen fathers. This material appears largely in the Letter Books of the city, but cases concerning orphans appear also in the rolls of the mayor's court.⁵ These children, compared with those who appear in the coroners' rolls, were relatively prosperous or 'comfortable'. Attention will be focussed particularly on the cohort—some 300 children—who were orphaned in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Finally it is possible to examine the practice of apprenticeship in London as it is revealed in the few surviving apprentice indentures (some nineteen are known to me), in the adjudications recorded in city company records, and in the records of the mayor's court.⁶ Apprenticeship extended beyond the citizen class and included quite poor children as well as those who had glowing financial prospects.

Almost all these records record crises in the childhood experience: death, the loss of a parent, a dispute about an inheritance or about the practice of apprenticeship. Both boys and girls appear in all three categories of evidence, but there is, as it were, a darkness to this London material that cannot be avoided.

The evidence which the coroners' records provide about child-rearing has already been exploited by Barbara Hanawalt in her imaginative and seminal article. Her methodology will be followed here but the focus will be exclusively on the London urban experience, and the range of London material has been somewhat expanded. Hanawalt looked at coroners' rolls from Northamptonshire (the bulk of her material), Bedfordshire, Oxford and London. She noted that in the two towns, children comprised a much smaller percentage of accidental deaths (London 6%, Oxford 9%) than they did in the rural areas of Northamptonshire (17%) and Bedfordshire (18%).⁷ This discrepancy between the urban and rural environments may arise from the fact that there were, proportionally, fewer children in towns, where the death rate seems to have been particularly high. In towns, also, there may have been more people around to watch out for children who were straying into danger.

The deaths by misadventure of thirty-nine children who died in London between 1227 and 1338 have been tabulated (Table 14.1). The information from the coroners' rolls has been augmented by including the other accidental deaths recorded in the London Eyres of 1244 and 1276. Of these thirty-nine accidental deaths, we know the age of only twenty-five of the children. The sample is too small to be used statistically, but the details may, in an impressionistic way, provide an insight into the lives of children in the medieval city. The four stages of childhood (birth to 1; 2–3; 4–8; 9–16) are those adopted by Hanawalt following Erik Erikson in *Childhood and Society* (1973). The types of fatal accidents to which children were exposed changed as the child grew; deaths in the cradle gave way to accidents caused by the child's increasing mobility as it reached out to respond to external stimuli and ceased to be in swaddling clothes; these accidents were then superseded by those which occurred while children played or, increasingly, while they helped adults with their work.

In all, we know something of the accidental deaths of thirty-seven children (two of the thirty-nine deaths were deemed to have been 'rightful'). Eleven (nearly a third) died from drowning and seven were scalded by falling into pans of boiling water. Three fell out of windows or down steps (two of these were killed by a collapsed solar) and three died while playing. Two died in street accidents. Among these hazards the dangers of street life, tall buildings and industrial activity, would be unlikely to occur in the more rural areas. It is clear that home-based industry posed a considerable danger for urban children.

In twenty-eight of these cases either a parent or a parental home is mentioned, and in sixteen of these it was a parent who discovered the dead child. In some cases it was clear that the accident happened in a house which was not that of the parent. On five occasions it was the mother who found the dying child, and twice it was the father. The records (and in particular the Eyres) had no particular reason to record the parental role and it would be hard to argue that London parents were neglectful or unconcerned because they may appear comparatively infrequently. On the other hand, most of the accidents (except the fires) occurred because the children were inadequately supervised; babies were left unattended in cradles; children played in the streets; girls and boys went to bathe or fetch water (few medieval men or women were able to swim)⁸ on their own or were frequently alone in houses where there were dangerous stoves or pans of boiling water. The economic pressures on adults often compelled them to leave their children unattended, but a pattern of neglect—by our standards—does not exclude parental concern and affection. Hanawalt has argued that ‘the emotional climate within the lower-class household continues to be elusive’,⁹ and certainly it does. But there are cases which suggest that parents loved their children. When Margaret de Irlaunde returned to her shop and found that her one-month-old baby Johanna had been bitten in her cradle by a stray sow, ‘she raised the cry and snatched up the said Johanna and kept her alive until midnight the next day, when the baby died’.¹⁰ In these bald words of the coroner’s record is it not possible to discern a mother’s frantic grief?

In turning to look at city orphans we shall be considering the fate of children who were considerably higher up the social scale than most of the children who died by misadventure in the coroners’ records. Moreover, whereas the coroners’ rolls, in which the ‘accidental death’ cases are recorded, survive in London only from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, we know most about city orphans of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These city orphans were not all the orphaned children in London; they were exclusively the children of London citizens who had died (that is, the father had died, but not necessarily the mother). Citizens probably comprised about one third of the adult male population of medieval London. In 1420 the city of London claimed that it was the ‘immemorial custom’ of the city that on the death of a freeman or freewoman of the city, leaving heirs under age, then the

TABLE 14.1: CHILDREN'S DEATHS BY MISADVENTURE IN LONDON 1227–13 (Sources: see note 4)

Date	Boy	Girl	Parents	Accident	Source
Birth–1 year	Infant		Both	drowned in a pit	Eyre 1224, p. 10
1235/6	Richard			fell from wooden step	Eyre 1244, p. 42
1237/8		Girl (20 weeks)	Father	killed by man	Eyre 1244, p. 50
1254		Amiece (1 yr)	Both	bitten by sow	Eyre 1276, p. 14
1254/5	Infant			drowned in Thames (murdered?)	Eyre 1276, p. 18
1316/17		Alice (4 mths)	Mother	drowned when washed	JUST 2/94A
1322		Johanna (1 mth)	Both	bitten by sow	Cor. p. 56
1337		Margery (1 mth)	Mother	burnt in fire	Cor. p. 183
1339		Dyonisia (1 yr)	Father	rightful death	Cor. p. 222
1340		Johanna (7 days)	Father	rightful death	Cor. p. 254
2–3 years		Girl (2)		fell into pan of hot water	Eyre 1244, p. 34
1301		Petronilla (3)	father's house	kicked by horse while playing	Cor. p. 30
1338/9		Margery (3)	Father	fell into vessel of hot water	Cor. p. 207
1231		Girl (8)		dead in churchyard	Eyre 1244, p. 29
1239		Alice (5)		playing on a bench	Eyre 1244, p. 53
1301	Richard (8)		Father	playing on London Bridge	Cor. p. 25
1322	Robert (7)		Both	playing in street	Cor. p. 63
1324	John (5)		Both	stealing wool, then hit	Cor. p. 83
1339	John de Stolare (7)		(pauper)	hit by cart-wheel	Cor. p. 220
1340	Thomas (8)		Mother	fell into 'treye' hot water	Cor. p. 258

9-16 years	1278		Katherine (9)	Father	drowned while washing	LBB p. 279
	1337	John (16)		Father	drowned while bathing	Cor. p. 190
	1337	John de Kent (12)		(pauper)	drowned	Cor. p. 194
	1340		Juliana (11)	Father	fell from solar	Cor. p. 250
	1340		Mary (9)	Mother	drowned collecting water	Cor. p. 252
No ages given	1252/3	John			beaten to death	Eyre 1276, p. 5
	1254/5	Stephen	Agnes	Father	crushed by solar	Eyre 1276, p. 16
	1256	John		Father	fell into bowl hot water	Eyre 1276, p. 19
	1256	John		Father	trampled in crowd	Eyre 1276, p. 20
	1258/9	John		Both	fell into tin hot mash	Eyre 1276, p. 27
	1269/70	Michael			scalded in brass pot	Eyre 1276, p. 57
	1269/70		Isabel	Father	fell into lead vessel of hot water	Eyre 1276, p. 58
	1269/70		Isabel	Father	drowned collecting water	Eyre 1276, p. 59
	1273/4	Bartholomew			fell from boat into Thames	Eyre 1276, p. 70
	1322	William		Both	burnt in fire	Cor. p. 51
	1324		Johanna	Father	fell down stairs	Cor. p. 92
	1324		Elena	Father	drowned collecting water	Cor. p. 100
	1338	Richard		Father	drowned in Thames	Cor. p. 201

TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS:	39
CAUSES OF DEATH:	
Drowning:	11
Scalded:	7
Street accidents	5
Falling (from houses/stairs):	6
Burnt:	2
Bitten by sow:	2
Hit/murdered:	4
Rightful death:	2

mayor, aldermen, chamberlain, citizens and commonalty had 'the marriage and guardianship of such heir to their own use immediately after the decease of the ancestor, although his father or mother might still be living, as well as the lands etc., to hold in trust until the said heir should come of full age'.¹¹ Moreover, it was customary to grant the guardianship of such persons and their property to their nearest friends or others, on their finding suitable security. In effect, the city corporately claimed those rights in and over orphaned children which the king claimed for the 'orphaned' children of his tenants-in-chief.

The way in which the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of London exercised this right or duty has been thoroughly investigated and discussed by Elaine Clark.¹² The city's Letter Books and Journals, and the records of the mayor's court, provide rich evidence of the practice of 'orphan custody' in medieval London, but they reveal little about the attitudes of the aldermen to these children who passed into and then out of their charge. To what extent did the court of aldermen display a more than minimal concern for these orphan children? It is clear from the records that the aldermen appointed guardians (usually the mother in the first instance or, where the mother had remarried, her new husband), handed over orphan goods, took securities from the guardian, prosecuted cases on behalf of orphans, approved (or not) of their proposed marriages and apprenticeships, and audited the guardians' accounts at the end of their terms. The stewardship of the aldermen might last for many years: orphans remained under civic control until they were twenty-one, or married, or until the end of the apprenticeship if it ran over the age of twenty-one, as many did.

But were the aldermen, or the citizens at large, concerned about the *welfare* of orphan children, about their health, their education, their

training, their happiness? The responsibility for orphan children rested not simply on the shoulders of the aldermen and civic bureaucracy. The orphan children of freemen were a responsibility held by the citizens in common, and this is reflected in the surviving wardmote returns of 1422 and 1423.¹³ Substantial householders in the wards drew the attention of the court of aldermen to those who were concealing orphans' goods, or to orphans themselves who were in need of guardians. In January 1422 the men of Bridge Ward 'present the orphans within the ward, to wit, four children of Adam Broun and five children of William Flete'.¹⁴ The citizenry at large kept an eye out for orphans and reported problems to the court. The well being of these children was considered to be a communal responsibility.

But what of health? A study of the orphans who appeared in the city's Letter Book H (i.e. 1375–99) provides details of 152 families (i.e. families where the citizen father had died) with 301 orphan children distributed among the families: 159 boys and 142 girls.¹⁵ Of these 301 children, we know the fates of 240: 68 died before coming of age, and 172 reached maturity: i.e. of the sample of 301 children, 23% died, 57% survived, and the fate of 20% is unknown. Of those children whose fate is known, 28% died and 72% survived.¹⁶ On the basis of these figures it seems reasonable to argue that two thirds of orphan children survived to maturity (that is, to claim their inheritance). The work of Sylvia Thrupp, largely based upon a study of London wills, had suggested that a much smaller proportion of London children survived.¹⁷ It seems that the orphan children of citizens were as likely to grow to maturity as their non-orphaned peers. In spite of plague, the standard of living was rising, and the quality and availability of food was improving. Additionally, the shortage of labour made orphans valuable rather than expendable. It was a living orphan whose labour and prospects were marketable, who was of value to a guardian.

Were orphans treated cruelly, and would the court have been informed if they were? There is no evidence on this point: there are no cases of cruelty reported and when the common serjeant took up cases on behalf of orphans they all related to land and goods, not to child care! On the other hand, the consent of the court, which was required before an orphan could be apprenticed or married, was by no means a mere formality. For example, in 1425 Dionysia Beaumont was refused permission to marry the mercer Hugh Wyche, who later became mayor; and her sister Margaret

was fined for marrying John Everard without seeking the permission of the court.¹⁸ The approval of the court of aldermen, whether to a marriage or an apprenticeship, was not simply automatic. It was not the custom to keep orphan siblings together: it seems to have been unusual for more than two children to go to the same guardian. When John Derham, a chandler, died in 1359 he left a widow Cecilia and four children; two daughters (Johanna and Juliana) went to another chandler, the son to a fishmonger, and five-year-old Agnes to John de Wyrehale. Three years later Johanna was dead, and Juliana, now aged eight, was handed back to her mother.¹⁹ This instability of family life seems to us troubling and insensitive; but all urban families were unstable, since few children grew to adulthood without experiencing the death of one parent and several siblings. Step-parents came and went, as did apprentices; the household was extremely fluid. But at least it was a household: orphan children in medieval London were not consigned to institutions, be they schools or orphanages. The orphaned children of citizens in medieval London grew up, therefore, in households where their life style would have differed little from that of the other children in the household, whether apprentices or blood relatives of the master and mistress. Very often, indeed, they would move with their mother into a new household formed through her remarriage. The custom of London expected that citizen children, whether orphans or not, would be nurtured and trained to a common, if not clearly defined, standard and, in the case of orphans, the court of aldermen (sometimes but not always acting through the chamberlain) was expected to ensure that this was done.

Some insight into the care of orphan children is provided by the chance survival of two accounts rendered by guardians before the Aldermen at the end of their guardianship. The accounts survive because the guardianships had been contentious. Robert Brynkeley, a mercer, had looked after Thomas atte Boure, the son and heir of a fellow mercer, for thirteen years. When his father died in 1361, Thomas had originally been committed to the guardianship of his uncle, a vintner. His inheritance, however, had been entrusted to two mercers. One of them, Robert Brynkeley, seems to have taken over both Thomas and the whole of his inheritance (£300), and in 1374 he rendered his account. Young Thomas had spent some time at the schools in Oxford, but then he became Robert Brynkeley's apprentice. Since this had happened without the permission of the court, Robert was imprisoned. It is clear from the account that Robert had been a shrewd businessman: the £300 had been fruitful and multi-

plied to produce a profit of £780. Brynkeley claimed £390 for his trouble and nearly £120 for various expenses in educating (at schools in Oxford), clothing and feeding Thomas for thirteen years. In the end, he handed the boy just over £500 (this shows, incidentally, that there were great gains to be made in trade in the 1360s and 1370s).²⁰ From the account it is not clear whether Thomas became a cleric at Oxford or a mercer in London: he does not appear in London records after 1374.

The second account concerns the goods of Alice, an orphan who was the bastard daughter of a London corn dealer, John Reyner, who died in 1375. Her mother Margaret was John Reyner's servant and to his daughter and her mother he left money, household goods including eighteen silver spoons, and 100 marks for the girl's marriage and ten marks for her apprenticeship. John Reyner also left money to his 'god son' John Brian and to Brian's four children. The court appointed Brian as Alice's guardian, together with her patrimony; whether they could have entrusted her to her mother, an unmarried woman, is not clear. Margaret petitioned the mayor's court (one of the few surviving original bills) protesting that John Brian was planning to marry her daughter off to Richard Fraunceys, his apprentice, without the consent of the mayor and aldermen. Perhaps as a result of Margaret's petition, we find recorded John Brian's request to the court for permission for Alice to marry; since he had to pay a fine of twenty shillings to gain permission it looks as if he may have acted first without it. The new husband was indeed his apprentice, Richard Fraunceys, who four months later demanded that his erstwhile master render account for the 100 marks which Alice had been left by her father. In the five years, John had made 100 marks profit, of which he kept fifty. His expenses in Alice's keep cost £20, so he ended up handing over nearly £80 (having received £66 13s. 4d.).²¹ At this point we lose sight of Alice's mother Margaret. Was she reconciled to the marriage? Richard Fraunceys died in 1398 and Alice four years later. Alice seems not to have suffered in any way from her illegitimate birth, but her mother, while she could inherit goods left to her under John Reyner's will, could not become her daughter's guardian. What happened to her?

The accounts for these two children, rendered by their guardians, make it clear that more was spent on Thomas atte Boure than on Alice Reyner, but then his inheritance was more than four times greater than hers. Thomas's board and lodging cost 24*d.* a week, Alice's 8*d.* Thomas's clothes and shoes cost 40*s.* a year; Alice's 13*s.* 4*d.* Thomas's education cost two marks a year, and Alice's (including medical attention and other

small necessities) came to one mark a year. Although more was spent on Thomas absolutely, yet, in proportion to her inheritance, more was spent on Alice. Although both these guardians had to render detailed accounts because they got into trouble with the court, it looks as if, in fact, they executed the trusteeship competently, but simply failed to keep the court informed of what they were doing. It is clear that there were many people keeping an eagle eye on the activities of the guardians.

The third collection of legal records which throws some light on the experience of childhood in medieval London is that relating to the practice of apprenticeship. City custom, regulated by the mayor and aldermen, laid down the parameters of the operation of apprenticeship—the minimum age (12–14 years), the minimum length of term (seven years) and the minimum ‘quality’ of potential apprentices, namely that they should not be the children of villeins or serfs. Much of the day-to-day regulation of apprenticeship came, in the course of the fourteenth century, to be delegated by the mayor and aldermen to the city crafts and companies. But, of course, only the larger and more organised crafts and companies were able to exercise this control, and in practice, the mayor and aldermen continued to have more immediate control over apprenticeship in the lesser and less organised crafts such as poulterers, bowyers and butchers.

Apprenticeship was initiated by an indenture: a few of these survive, and either party could sue the other for failing to fulfill the contract laid down in the indenture. Cases arising out of a broken indenture were dealt with in the mayor’s court or, probably in the first instance, by the wardens of the craft concerned. Apprentice indentures were by no means identical: each represented an individual contract where the length of term, premium and mutual obligations might vary considerably. Nineteen original London apprentice indentures are known to have survived, ranging in date from the 1250s to the 1530s. Seven of these are the indentures of girl apprentices.²² In the indentures, the apprentice promised to serve his master faithfully, keep his secrets, not to waste his goods, not to commit fornication whether within or without the house, not to marry, nor commit ‘amicitiam’, not to frequent taverns except on business, not to gamble, not to merchandise (i.e., trade goods) except with his master’s permission, not to absent himself, and to stay for the full term. In return the master promised to teach the apprentice his craft or science, to provide him with summer and winter clothing, bedding and shoes, and board and lodging. Interestingly, by the mid-fifteenth century, the indentures sometimes specify that the master will, in addition, have the apprentice taught to read and

write. Earlier there seems to have been an assumption, at least among the mercantile crafts, that the apprentice would already have acquired these skills.²³

The terms of such indentures certainly do not suggest that the apprentices were considered to be adults, as Ariès had suggested. Indeed they are quite clearly *not* adults and their period of 'adolescence' is extended from twelve years, on occasion, to twenty-four and, sometimes, even longer. Throughout this time, the youth was expected to remain not only celibate, but chaste, and to be under the complete control of his master and denied access to taverns or to dicing, although there was no prohibition on sport. It is clear that the master or mistress was a surrogate parent and the apprentice not only joined the workforce but also became a member of the household with obligations to all those within it. The master and his apprentice had a moral as well as an economic obligation to each other.

The master did not apparently own his apprentice as a chattel, although he did own the term of apprenticeship. The master could make over the unfulfilled part of his apprentice's term to someone else, but only with the consent of the apprentice. When John Bakton in 1375 objected to being assigned by his master to another mercer, he said he did not wish to serve the new master and brought his case to the mayor's court. His old master claimed that his apprentice was his chattel and he could dispose of him by gift or sale. The court thought otherwise and declared that Bakton was not bound to serve anyone other than his original master against his will.²⁴ When a master died, he often bequeathed the remaining portion of an apprenticeship term, either to his widow, or to someone else, presumably of the same craft. Again, consent was necessary, and some wills contain bequests to apprentices (for example, remission of part of the term) provided that they continued to serve with the widow and did not take the secrets of the business elsewhere.

Obviously the cases which came before the mayor's court tell us about apprenticeships that went wrong: masters who neglected their apprentices, or set them to menial tasks, or simply gave up their households and abandoned their obligations. Likewise apprentices stole goods, or traded unwisely, or lost their master's money or—on one occasion—attempted to strangle the mistress of the house, which was punished with a public beating at Goldsmiths' Hall.²⁵

It is likely that conditions for apprentices would be harsh and many doubtless suffered without bringing their masters to court. But it is clear

that when boys and girls had been inveigled under age (fourteen) to enter into apprenticeship indentures without parental consent, the court would usually cancel the indentures.²⁶ In a case in 1417, a quarrel arose over the apprenticeship of a young girl, Agnes: her father, William Tikhyl, a London saddler, claimed that she had been taken away and apprenticed to a wire-drawer and his wife for fourteen years without his knowledge or consent. Her mistress, Joan, claimed that the girl had been apprenticed and that she was teaching her the art of a cardmaker. The record states:

thereupon Joan and Agnes were separately examined at the request of the parties, when it was found that the indentures were made . . . [while] the girl was still under age, and the girl herself declared that she had sealed the indentures under threats of a beating and that she would rather go back to her father.²⁷

As a result of this examination, Agnes was released from her indentures and returned to her father. In another case, the mayor and aldermen again took the views of the young person into account. A thirteen-year-old orphan boy, who had been with his guardian for three years, was 'forcibly abducted' and married to Agnes, the daughter of the famous master mason, William Ramsey. The guardian complained to the mayor and aldermen who decided that they could not annul the marriage since the 'infants' had assented, but they took the boy into the custody of the chamberlain for six months and required the guardian to render an account of his guardianship. The boy was asked whether he would prefer to remain in the custody of William Ramsey, his new father-in-law, or of his guardian. He chose to remain with William Ramsey and his wife.²⁸

Apprentice indentures allowed the master or mistress to chastise the apprentice when necessary, and a certain amount of beating seems to have been a regular part of children's upbringing. But there was clearly legitimate and illegitimate beating. In 1371 the two sons of a man from Canterbury were exonerated from their apprenticeship because their master was in Newgate and their mistress had starved and beaten them so viciously that one of the boys was partially blind. The court examined the boys' 'corporally' and concluded that they had been cruelly beaten.²⁹ There was a similar case in 1416, when Joan, the daughter of a London tailor, apprenticed to Joan Herford a purser, had been 'unduly castigated and governed' by her mistress and master (who had also not enrolled her), and was therefore exonerated.³⁰ It is likely that chastisement would have to have been pretty extreme for the court to take notice of it, but there

was an understanding of what was fair and proper, and if a master and mistress failed to observe this common understanding they were in danger of losing the apprentice. In the same way, the court condemned a woman, Alison Bostoun, to the pillory because she had hired out her ‘innocent young apprentice’ as a prostitute.³¹

But not all London apprentices suffered at the hands of their masters or mistresses. Wills, both of masters who left personal bequests to named apprentices, and erstwhile apprentices who remembered their masters and mistresses in their wills and sought prayers for them, testify to the success of this surrogate parenthood.³²

So the court intervened to alleviate the hardships which apprentices might suffer, through youth, or physical or sexual abuse. How easy it was for a friendless country-born young apprentice to secure the attention and sympathy of the court of aldermen, or even the masters of his own company, must be open to doubt. Yet there was clearly a recognition that apprentices were not adults and that the court of aldermen had a duty to protect them until they *were* fully-fledged adults and able to look after themselves.

A careful reading of the legal records of medieval London would suggest that the mayor and aldermen did indeed recognise the distinctiveness of childhood and moreover that Londoners could become emotionally attached to very young children. In 1398 the court of aldermen decided that apprentices, journeymen and young children were not to be sent down by their masters—huriers or cappers—to scour caps on the Thames, not only because they got embroiled in fights with pages from the nearby noble households, but also because it was scandalous that they should be compelled to do this work in ‘horrible tempests, frosts and snows’. In future, this work was to be done in the cappers’ houses.³³ Similarly, a young boy (age not specified, but a servant, not an apprentice) who was in the employ of a cook stuffed a goose with feathers as well as parsley (treating the goose thereby more as a pillow perhaps than as a roast); the mayor’s court considered that he was too young to be punished, and his master was instead sent to Newgate for eight days.³⁴

Finally, there is a remarkable passage in the middle of Andrew Horn’s chronicle. Andrew Horn, the author of the *Liber Horn*, was a fishmonger and the city chamberlain. In the middle of his account of the sessions of the royal judicial commission of enquiry that came to the city in 1305, he wrote:

in that same year, on the feast day of St John the Baptist (June 24), John, the son of Andrew Horn was born and baptised, and lived for 12 weeks, and lies at Coleman Church near Aldgate.³⁵

Andrew Horn was a remarkable man, a fishmonger by craft association, but a scholar and civil servant by profession. He was active in the city courts from the beginning of the fourteenth century and was compiling chronicles and custumals long before he was elected to office as the city's chamberlain in 1320.³⁶ It is clear that he cared about his young son who had died at only three months old.³⁷ It was the particular responsibility of the chamberlain to care for the city's orphans: very soon after his election as chamberlain Andrew Horn took over responsibility for Walter, son of Richard the cook, 'a vagrant orphan' who was still with him when Andrew died in 1328.³⁸ Perhaps young Walter took the place of the son who had died fifteen years earlier. In his will, drawn up in 1328, Andrew Horn mentions neither wife nor children, but he frees his two apprentices from serving the remainder of their terms.³⁹ Here, in the career of a busy city official, a man of letters and a successful businessman, we can discern a continuing interest in babies and children: his unconscious testimony bears witness to the reality of childhood in medieval London.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to Dr De Lloyd Guth who originally provoked me into thinking about childhood in medieval London, and to Stephanie R. Hovland, whose thesis, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London, c.1300–c.1530' (PhD, University of London, 2006), illuminates many aspects of this topic. The work of Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford, 1993), and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London, 2001), have demonstrated the rich possibilities of the approach to medieval society through its children. This study aims to look more closely at some of the London material. For bibliographies, see Hanawalt, *op. cit.*, and Pierre Riché and Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, *L'Enfance au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1994). See also Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood* (Studies in Church History, vol. 31, 1994).

² See Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Introduction', and Louis Haas and Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Historiographical Reflections and the Revolt of the Medievalists', in Joel T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Childhood: Responses to Recent Debates* (Donnington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2007), 1–28.

³ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (Paris, 1960, London, 1962); Lloyd de Mause (ed.), *The History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child Abuse* (1974), Barbara Hanawalt, 'Childrearing among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8 (1977), 1–22; *eadem*, *The Ties that Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (New York, 1986).

⁴ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Coroners' Rolls of the City of London 1300–1378* (London, 1913); Helena M. Chew and Martin Weinbaum (eds), *The London Eyre of 1244*, London Record Society, 6 (1970); and Martin Weinbaum (ed.), *The London Eyre of 1276*, London Record Society, 12 (1976). Three coroners' rolls, for 1275–6, 1276 and 1278 were copied into the city's Letter Book B, see R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book B* (London, 1900), 256–79. One London coroner's roll from the medieval period for 1316–17 survives in the National Archives, JUST2/94A.

⁵ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendars of Letter Books of the City of London A–L*, 11 vols (London, 1899–1912); A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Early Mayors' Court Rolls 1298–1307* (Cambridge, 1924); A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones (eds), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1324–1482*, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1926–61).

⁶ See note 5 above. There are also five files of original bills for the mayor's court from the medieval period, see London Metropolitan Archives. See also Jennifer T. Ryan, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London 1200–1500' (Royal Holloway, University of London, MA thesis 1992); and Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London'.

⁷ Hanawalt, 'Childrearing among the Lower Classes', 4.

⁸ See Nicholas Orme, *Early British Swimming, 55 BC–AD 1719: with the First Swimming Treatise in English, 1595* (Exeter, 1983).

⁹ Hanawalt, 'Childrearing among the Lower Classes', 22.

¹⁰ *Coroners' Rolls*, 56–7.

¹¹ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book I* (London, 1909), 221.

¹² 'City Orphans and Custody Law in Medieval England', *American Journal of Legal History*, 34 (1990), 168–87. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London*, chapter 6.

¹³ A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413–37* (Cambridge, 1943), 115–41. For the operation of wardmoots in medieval London, see Caroline M. Barron, 'Lay Solidarities: The Wards of Medieval London', in Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson and Jane Martindale (eds), *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds* (Manchester, 2001), 218–33, esp. pp. 223–34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 140. Adam Broun was a stockfishmonger who had died in 1421, see M. Fitch, *Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London 1374–1488* (HMSO, 1969), 30; William Flete, whose will does not survive, was also a fishmonger and in 1428 the guardianship of his daughter Johanna was committed by the mayor and aldermen to Thomas Bernewell a fishmonger who had married Johanna's mother Alice. R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book K* (London, 1911), 85.

¹⁵ For this research I am indebted to Barbara Megson; see her article 'Life Expectations of the Widows and Orphans of Freemen in London 1375–99', *Local Population Studies*, 57 (1996), 18–29.

¹⁶ Compare these figures with those of Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London*, 223.

¹⁷ Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300–1500* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1948), 199–204.

¹⁸ June 1424, 23 August 1425, Corporation of London Record Office, Journal 2 fos, 19v, 51.

¹⁹ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book G* (London, 1905), 120, 157.

²⁰ H. T. Riley (ed.), *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London, 1868), 378–9; A. H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364–1381* (Cambridge, 1929), 175.

²¹ Riley (ed.), *Memorials*, 446–7, R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book H* (London, 1907), 3, 10, 11, 28, 103; London Metropolitan Archives, Mayor's Court Bills, file 1: 62.

²² For a discussion of female apprenticeship in London, see Caroline M. Barron, 'The Education and Training of Girls in Fifteenth-Century London', in Diana Dunn (ed.), *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, Glos., 1996), and Stephanie R. Hovland, 'Girls as Apprentices in Later Medieval London', in M. Davies and A. Prescott (eds), *London and the Kingdom*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies (Donington, 2008), 179–94.

²³ See Caroline M. Barron, 'The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London', in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds), *The Cloister and the World: Essays Presented to Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), 219–45, esp. 223–4. [Reprinted as Chapter 18 in the present volume.]

²⁴ *Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1364–81*, 202.

²⁵ Ryan, 'Apprenticeship in London', chapter 3; T. F. Reddaway and Lorna E. M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327–1509* (London, 1975), 81–4, 147.

²⁶ Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda 1381–1412*, 14–16; Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413–37*, 28–9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁸ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book E* (London, 1903), 229, 266–7; for the careers of the Ramsey family, see John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1984), 241–5.

²⁹ Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364–81*, 128–9.

³⁰ Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413–37*, 42–3.

³¹ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book K*, 17; R. W. Chambers and Marjorie Daunt, *A Book of London English 1384–1425* (Oxford, 1931), 103.

³² See, for example, *History of the Goldsmiths' Company*, 44, 147, 180, 306.

³³ Riley (ed.), *Memorials*, 549.

³⁴ Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364–81*, 227.

³⁵ *Annales Londonienses*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and II*, vol. i, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1882), 137. See also Jeremy Catto, 'Andrew Horn: Law and History in Fourteenth-Century England', in R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R. W. Southern* (Oxford, 1981), 367–91.

³⁶ See Betty R. Masters, *The Chamberlain of the City of London 1237–1987* (London, 1988), 23–5.

³⁷ He also recorded the birth of twins, Elias and Julia, to his neighbour, William the Cooper, in April of the same year, *Annales*, 134.

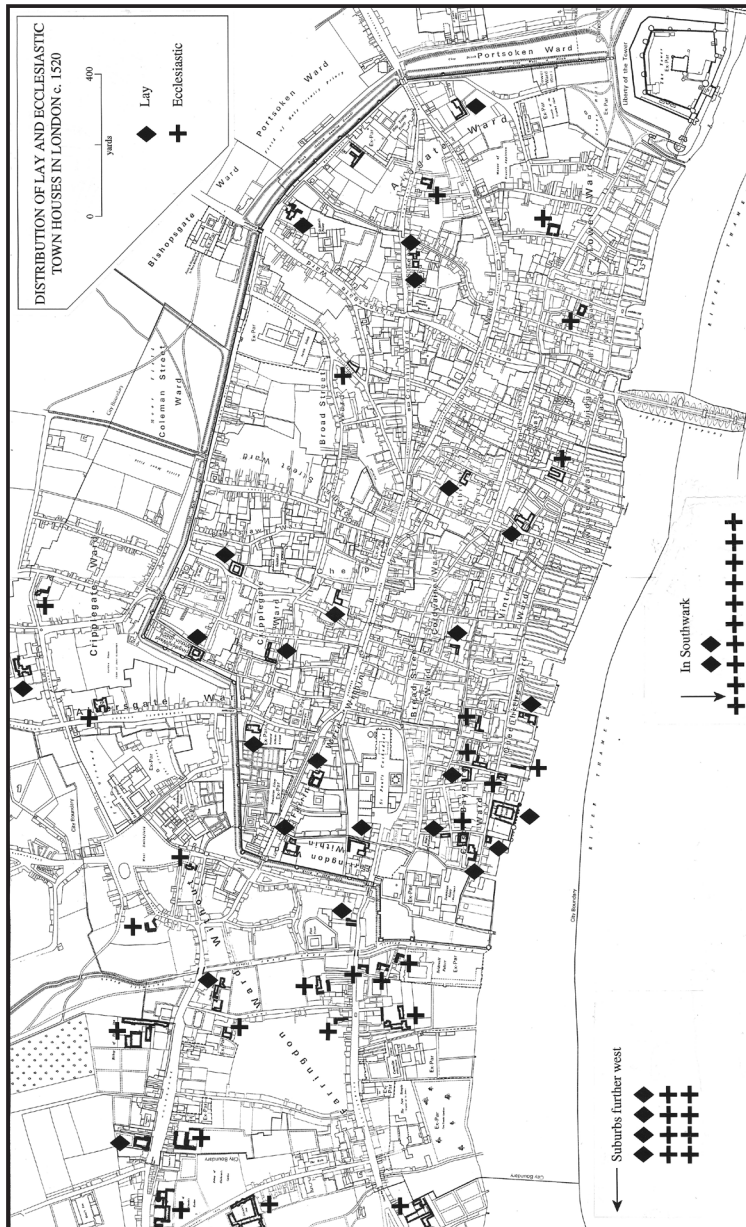
³⁸ Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Book E*, 135, 217.

³⁹ *Husting Wills*, i, 344–5.

Part IV
THE INTELLECTUAL
AND CULTURAL WORLD

Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Townhouse in London, 1200–1550

IN A JUSTLY FAMOUS paper read to the Royal Historical Society in 1948, the late F. J. Fisher brilliantly delineated the way in which London developed, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, into a centre of conspicuous consumption.¹ Fisher began his paper by analysing—and applauding—the treatise written by the Italian, Botero and published in 1606 on ‘the causes of the magnificence and greatness of cities’. Botero had noted that ‘the residence of noblemen in cities makes them to be more glorious and more populous’, because they attract people to the city, and because they ‘spend largely’.² Fisher, in developing his argument, was less concerned with the aristocracy in London, than with the influx of gentry into the city: the rising gentry to spend their burgeoning wealth and the falling gentry to live more cheaply and obscurely. Gentry families, for example the Pastons and the Stonors, had certainly made their contribution to the economy of London in the fifteenth century, but the focus of this essay will be the aristocracy during the period 1200–1550; within that term are included both the lay and the ecclesiastical members of the aristocracy. By 1520, on the eve of the dissolution of the religious houses, there were some 75 aristocratic town houses in London (see Map 15.1): about thirty of these were in lay ownership and forty-five or so belonged to abbots, priors or bishops.³ Although the survey of ecclesiastical houses is likely to be reasonably complete, the lay inns are very much harder to trace: failure of heirs, descent through daughters, which led to a change of name for the inn, and forfeiture for treason all play their part in frustrating the possibility of locating lay inns. Moreover the estate records and receivers’ accounts are much less likely to survive from the medieval period for lay estates than for ecclesiastical ones. Laymen, for example (with a few notable exceptions) rarely seem to have compiled cartularies, and yet it is in those that it is often possible to trace the purchase, and location, of an ecclesiastical inn in London.⁴ The lay inns are therefore likely to be under-represented in this calculation. Moreover, lay lords often owned a London



Map 15.1. Distribution of lay and ecclesiastic town houses in London c.1520 (based on the map in M. D. Lobel ed., *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c.1520* (Oxford, 1989))

house only for a short time: they bought and sold property much more easily than ecclesiastical lords. Sometimes they appear to have preferred to rent accommodation in London rather than to go to the expense of owning and maintaining a London inn.

Insofar as it is possible to locate these London inns, this is usually done by studying the surviving deeds. Household accounts, which survive in increasing numbers from the thirteenth century onwards, can contribute a good deal towards an understanding of the uses which a lord made of his London inn (for example, purchases made there, and repairs to the fabric), but those same accounts can often be infuriatingly vague about location (for example, 'paid for repairs to Lord's inn at London . . .').⁵ On occasion there have survived inventories of the contents of London houses, sometimes of those who had died condemned as traitors or as royal debtors (for example, Sir Simon Burley d. 1388; Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester d. 1397; Sir Henry Scrope, d. 1415).⁶ Sometimes a chronicle will provide a vignette of a dinner party in a 'great house' in London, or the record of a legal dispute will reveal the holding of meetings, or arbitrations, in London houses. What we lack almost entirely are any surviving medieval London houses: parts of the fifteenth-century Baynard's Castle have been found by archaeologists and Ely chapel, part of the fourteenth-century palace of the bishops of Ely, survives in Ely Place, Holborn; but the tally is minute (see Plate 15.2). Some houses can be identified on Wyngaerde's drawings or on Hollar's engravings; and a few were mapped by Ralph Treswell in the early seventeenth century.⁷ A small number of the medieval town houses survived to be engraved in the eighteenth century, in their last stages of decay before their final quietus (for example the Savoy palace).⁸ Since there is so little visual material, it is possible to say rather more about function than about form.

The geographical spread of the London town houses is suggestive of their function and purpose. Of the thirty known lay inns, 66 per cent were located within the city walls and 33 per cent in the suburbs. The ecclesiastical inns revealed a different pattern: only 25 per cent within the walls and 75 per cent in the suburbs. This difference may not be significant, but it perhaps reflects the monastic, and even episcopal, choice of a rural, or semi-rural environment, in preference to the noisy, even dangerous, environment of the built-up city. The spread of the extra-mural inns is also suggestive; none of these 'suburban' inns was located to the east or north-east of the city; only three to the north and twelve in Southwark to the south, but there were however twenty-nine inns to be found in the

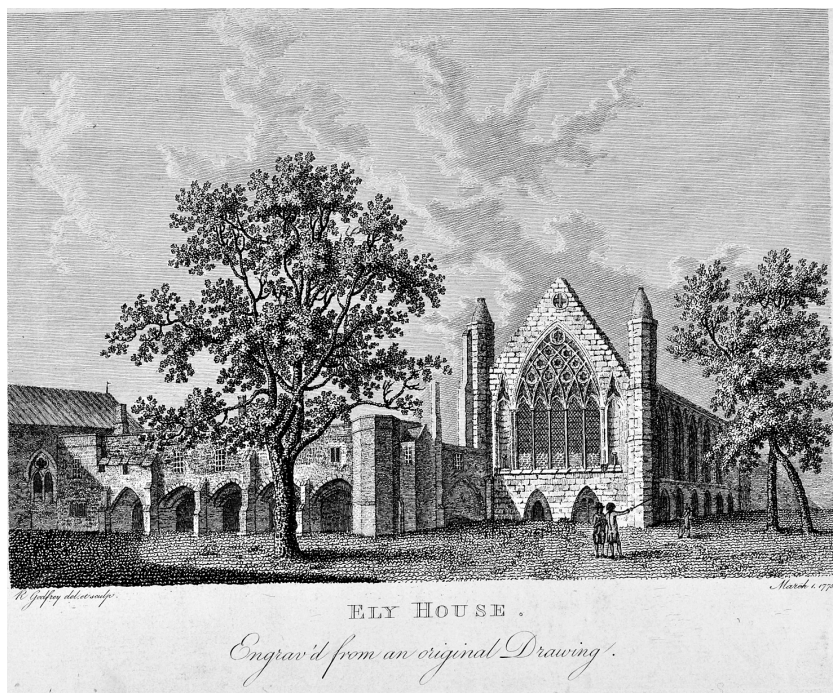


Plate 15.2. The remains of the great thirteenth-century inn of the bishop of Ely, drawn by John Carter in 1776. The buildings are seen from the north-east and show, from left to right, the great hall, the outside of the cloister and the chapel. All, except the chapel which is now the church of St Etheldreda, were pulled down in the late eighteenth century. Reproduced by permission of the Museum of London.

western suburbs, strategically placed for access both to Westminster and to the city of London itself. The proliferation of inns in these western suburbs suggests that the need for a London 'town house' was provoked, in part, by the demand of the monarch for counsel from his great tenants-in-chief. London was founded upon two hills, Ludgate Hill in the West and Cornhill in the East, and between these two hills ran the Walbrook stream, flowing from Moorgate fields through the city to Dowgate on the Thames. The western hill was the most intensively developed in the early medieval period. Here, in the area between St Paul's and the river Thames, King Alfred established settlements in the late ninth century, when he 'refounded' the Saxon 'wic' of London within the city walls to provide

a fortified 'burgh' against Viking attacks. It is interesting that this area contained a notable concentration of lay and ecclesiastical inns (eleven in the comparatively small area) throughout the medieval period. The eastern hill of the city, by contrast, remained comparatively undeveloped until the fifteenth century, but then it became the fashionable area in which Londoners (for example Sir John Crosby) chose to live. It is not immediately apparent why this should have happened. The building of the new Custom House just west of the Tower in the later fourteenth century, the development of Billingsgate as the quay for the larger ships (for example, the Italian galleys) which could not get through London Bridge, and the desire for more space, more gardens and more privacy, may all have played a part. By this date most of the aristocracy, both lay and ecclesiastical, were already in possession of London properties, and so they saw no reason to drift into the eastern part of the city, which was largely occupied by the 'newly rich' London merchants of the fifteenth century.

The earliest aristocratic town houses in London were, strictly speaking, castles. If we discount the burgh in which King Alfred's son-in-law—Alderman Ethelred of Mercia—lived in the north-west of the city (Aldermanbury), the earliest known castles in the city were the Tower of London (which was built as a palace as well as a fortress) and the twin castles of Baynard and Montfitchet, which were also constructed in the last years of the eleventh century as the London 'homes' of the Baynard and Montfitchet families who had followed William the Conqueror to fame and fortune in England.⁹ This pair of castles was situated in the south-west of the city and in the early years of the Norman settlement of England they had an important role to play in holding Londoners true to their Norman kings. But gradually private castles came to be seen not as a prop to the Norman and Angevin monarchy, but rather as a threat. It was Eustace de Vesci, the lord of Baynard's Castle, who was an important ringleader in the Baronial opposition to King John. After the civil wars of the mid-thirteenth century, when the Londoners had sided with de Montfort against the Crown, Edward I deliberately reinforced and strengthened the Tower of London (as a means of controlling the city) and saw to the final razing and demolition of Baynard's and Montfitchet castles. Their sites were given to the new order of Dominicans for their Priory, in the area now known as Blackfriars. This episode provides an interesting example of the Crown using the Church to neutralize the power of the overmighty aristocracy. But in the place of the fortified castle came the unfortified (but by no means open access) town house. The earliest houses can be traced back

to the mid-twelfth century. As early as 1114–30, the abbot of Ramsey had acquired a stone house ‘super Walebroc’ which he used as his own, and his example was soon followed by the abbots of Cirencester, Faversham, Bury St Edmonds and Waltham, as well as by the bishop of Lincoln.¹⁰ By 1300, a further thirty-eight abbots and bishops had invested in London inns, either in London or its suburbs of Westminster and Southwark. Only a half dozen or so acquired inns in the next 200 years. On the other hand, almost all the lay inns which we can trace seem to have been acquired after 1250, and the majority in the fourteenth century. The rapid development of Parliament, and the king’s preference for summoning his lords and commons to Westminster, may well have provoked laymen to purchase town houses in or near London. Moreover, Edward I’s great statutes encouraged a brisk business in ‘land law’: the lawyers’ profession burgeoned as legal expertise became increasingly important to lay landowners who found it necessary, from the late fourteenth century onwards, to seek legal advice in London and Westminster. The need for access to this skilled advice may also have influenced the decision to acquire a London hospice.

By good fortune we have an account of the process whereby Abbot Walter de Gaunt of Waltham Abbey (1174–1201) acquired a site in London for an inn, and his reasons for doing so.¹¹ Abbot Walter discussed the matter with William Sperleng, his clerk and the son of a Londoner, and Sperleng described how Abbot Walter had often discussed with him the need for a London ‘hospicium’ for ‘suis’ (that is, the canons of the Augustinian house at Waltham) and their servants, and also for his ‘care-tis’ or carts which frequently came to London for food and other supplies. Sperleng found a suitable site for the abbot in the parish of St Mary at Hill, just north of Billingsgate, and here Abbot Walter built a stone house where Sperleng installed himself comfortably as a permanent lodger. This house remained the Abbey’s London inn until the Dissolution, i.e., for nearly 350 years. So Abbot Walter perceived his need (or that of his Abbey) for a London house as primarily economic: a place for the canons and their servants to stay when they were in London, and as a depot for supplies for the house. On the other hand, Bishop Henry of Blois of Winchester, in the mid-twelfth century described the ‘many inconveniences and losses that I and my predecessors have sustained through the lack of a house of our own to use when called to London on royal or other business’; so he purchased land belonging to Orgar the rich, together with the soke of Bermondsey (a large manor lying on the west of Southwark High Street).¹² So Bishop Henry perceived his need for a London house to

arise from his political obligation to counsel the king. These two examples provide a significant contrast between the different roles played by abbots and bishops.

Over 100 years later in 1311, Richard Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, leased his inn, located in St Mary Mounthaw parish (between St Paul's and the Thames), which had been in the possession of the bishops of Hereford since 1234, to the London fishmonger Hamo de Chigwell.¹³ The lease to Chigwell demonstrates how the episcopal London inns had developed more diverse functions since the early days of Bishop Henry of Winchester. Hamo was to be allowed to live in the inn and to store his wine there, but he was not permitted to sub-let the property. Moreover, the bishop was to be allowed the use of the house when he came to London 'for convocation or for parliaments'. This lease throws an interesting light on the role which Parliament had come to play in political life by this comparatively early date. Moreover the lease stipulated that if the bishop's steward, or another member of his household, should need to come to London on the bishop's business or to buy cloth or other supplies ('necessaria') for the household, or to bring letters, then they were to be allowed a room with stabling during their stay in London. Not only was Hamo committed to a 'time-share' arrangement with the bishop and his household, but he was also responsible for keeping the building in good repair, and on top of all this he paid the bishop £10 annually in rent. Twenty-five years later it appears that Ralph's successor as bishop, Thomas Charlton, used his London inn for the storage of wool grown on the episcopal estates. In the course of the unpopular royal wool monopoly scheme of 1337, the bishop's wool was exempted from compulsory purchase, but he offered the privileged and protected status of his London house as a 'safe haven' for the non-exempt wool of two Herefordshire merchants. The incident suggests that wool—and doubtless other products also—was stored prior to sale in London inns.¹⁴

So, although in the twelfth century Abbot Walter of Waltham had envisaged simply that a London inn would be useful as a place where he and his canons might stay and, presumably, bring produce for sale and buy supplies, by the early fourteenth century, the bishop of Hereford was conscious of wider needs: as a 'hospitium' for use when he was summoned to convocation or to Parliament, and as a 'branch office' of his diocese where letters and supplies might be received and despatched. Fifty years later, in 1364, the abbot of Malmesbury—perhaps rather late in the day—purchased a London inn on the south side of Holborn. His purpose was not

only to provide a guest house and London office for his abbey but also to provide an income from London rents (£13 per annum) to fund the lights in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin, at Malmesbury Abbey, and to support the office of the Infirmary.¹⁵ So the abbot saw an additional use for a London inn—namely as a source of income. But the good terms on which the abbot of Waltham and the bishop of Hereford had been able to lease their London inns to London merchants, shows that the profit-motive was not absent from the minds of those who acquired inns earlier. But it is likely that the abbot of Malmesbury generated income by renting out shops along the Holborn frontage. In fact, however, by 1525 the abbot was leasing out the whole property and for the much reduced sum of £4, but he reserved the right—with fifteen days' warning—to use the hall (with its furnishings), the chapel, four chambers, the kitchen and stabling for his horses and those of his servants. The abbot also reserved to himself and his household the right to use the garden of the inn and the adjacent pasture and to walk in the garden 'as often as they should happen to come to the city of London.'¹⁶ It is interesting that both the leases, that of the bishop of Hereford in 1311 and of the abbot of Malmesbury in 1525, reserved the right to stable their horses. Stabling in medieval London was quite as much a problem as car-parking is today; Bishop Swinfield of Hereford brought fifty horses to London with him in 1289.¹⁷ It was not possible simply to leave a horse tied up in the street—not least because of its value—and good stabling, pasture and fodder were as essential to the mobility of great lords in the medieval period as a garage and petrol are to 'top people' today. Much of the transport within London was by water. Some nobles owned their own barges: Edmund Mortimer Earl of March had a grand twelve-oared barge, but the bishop of Ely simply hired a barge when he needed one. He paid 20s for the use of a barge during the 1383 session of Parliament.¹⁸

These documents, ranging in date from the mid-twelfth century to the early sixteenth, suggest that the medieval town house served four inter-related purposes: it was an office—the London branch of the lord's business; not only the purchasing, storage and supply depot, but also the sales office for goods produced on far-flung rural estates.¹⁹ Secondly, it was the London hostel of the lord (and his lady if he had one), and his household: here he and his household stayed when coming to London on business, for legal matters or to advise the Crown in Council or in Parliament. Thirdly, the London house was used as a social centre: a place of entertainment and perhaps even a cultural or intellectual centre. Finally, the town house,

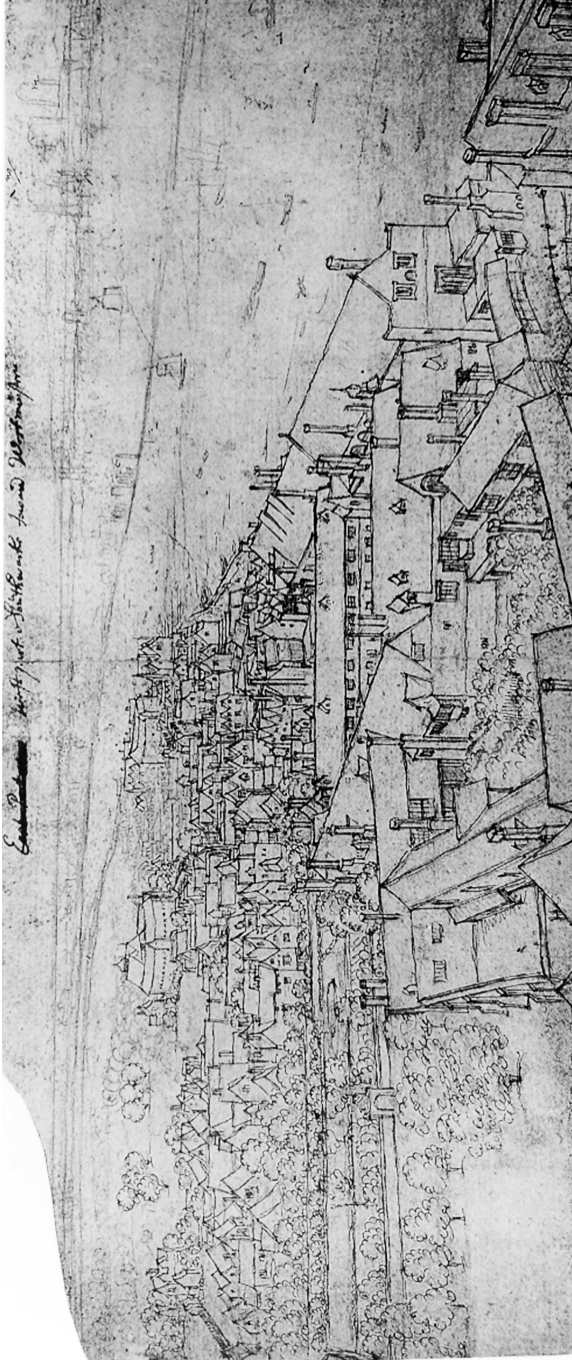


Plate 15.3. The inn of the bishop of Winchester in Southwark, drawn by Wenceslaus Hollar c. 1638. The great hall, par four and kitchen lay almost parallel with the Thames, on the right of the picture; the gardens and orchards further south to the left. Reproduced by permission of Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

or town estate, might itself generate income from sales of produce grown there (produce from the gardens and pastures of the London estates of the bishops of Winchester and Ely was sold in London markets), from rents of shops on its fringes, or simply by leasing the whole property.²⁰ (See Plate 15.3.) The carts for which Abbot Walter wished to make provision in the twelfth century probably brought supplies to London from the abbey's manors to provision the lord's household while he was in London. When Simon Eye, abbot of Ramsey, stayed in London from December 1337 to March 1338, supplies of 'scaldings', hens, fodder, roebucks, rabbits and grain were sent up to his house outside Cripplegate by cart from the Ramsey manors of Cranfield, Barton, Shitlington and Ramsey itself.²¹ The Londoners, anxious to encourage the visits of great lords to their London houses, in 1380 excepted 'carts brought in by lords for their own use' from paying the tolls to be exacted from carts passing through the city's gates to pay for paving the streets.²² When these carts arrived in London, stabling had to be secured for the horses and parking space for the carts, and all London inns provided such space. The Londoners, moreover, encouraged the advent of these lumbering carts through the city's streets because they knew that these same carts went back again to the countryside laden with goods bought in the warehouses, shops and stalls of London: cloth, spices, furs, mercery, armour, shoes, goldware, jewellery, cooking pots, wine and leather goods were all bought in London. The crucial importance of the wealth and purchasing power of the aristocracy to the economic well-being of London is a point worth developing.

The aristocracy, and indeed the gentry of medieval England were extremely wealthy: they had a great deal of spending money and even if, as Christopher Dyer has pointed out, the boom time for aristocratic income had been the thirteenth century and their incomes had levelled out later, yet they were still very wealthy.²³ The monarch was, of course, the greatest spender, with a peacetime income, in 1300, of some £30,000; but it may well be that the aristocracy, with their admittedly smaller incomes, had greater freedom in disposing of them. Around 1300 there were six earls with incomes over £3,000 p. a.; Thomas of Lancaster had £11,000 to spend in 1311, and his successor to the earldom (later dukedom), John of Gaunt, in the late fourteenth century netted some £12,000 every year. A further six earls had incomes of £500–£3,000 p. a. Then there were about a hundred baronies with incomes ranging from £200 to £500 p. a. One thousand one hundred knights each had a minimum income of £40 p. a. In addition to these laymen, the seventeen archbishops and bishops com-

manded annual incomes ranging from £400 to £3,500 p.a. The bishop of London had about £1,000 p.a. The aristocracy and knights of England were a small but wealthy class whose joint incomes totalled well over £100,000 p.a. These men (and women) were the 'big spenders' and it was vital to the economy of London that they should spend as much time, and money, as possible in the city.

This can be seen even more clearly if we follow Dyer's analysis of the expenditure of noble and non-noble households.²⁴ In almost all of them, Dyer found that 50 per cent of their income was spent on food. The remaining 50 per cent was divided between four major categories of expenditure: horses and transport, cloth and luxury goods for the household, building works and, finally, wages and fees for servants, lawyers and others. It would seem that regardless of where the lord and his household were actually located, the livery cloth and luxury goods will have been purchased in London. Conversely, major aristocratic expenditure on building was likely to take place away from London. Ralph Cromwell's building of Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire or Edward Stafford's refurbishment of Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire, would have put very little into the economy of London. The 50 per cent expenditure on food, and the 25 per cent spent on horses and transport and wages (on the assumption that these will have been largely spent where they were received) will have benefitted the London economy only if the lord and his household were actually resident in the city. It was vitally important to all Londoners, whether merchants or artisan craftsmen, or hucksters and small-scale purveyors of food, that the aristocracy and gentry should spend time in their London inns. A skeleton staff spent very little: it was the lord and his lady, their family, the household, and in particular the steward and wardrobe, who put money into London pockets. This economic fact of life was perfectly clear to the Londoners themselves. In September 1378, Parliament was summoned to meet at Gloucester: this was the first time for over fifty years that Parliament had not met at Westminster. The choice of a meeting place away from London was quite deliberate: it was intended to administer a sharp shock to the city's rulers. In the summer of 1378, a gang of Londoners, led by John Maynard, had assaulted some members of the household of Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham (later Duke of Gloucester), and had chased them back to the earl's house where, to cite the wording of the complaint made later in Parliament, they

broke and hewed down the door with axes and other arms, the said earl being there within and lying in his bed and, by reason thereof, no little alarmed.²⁵

The current mayor of London, Nicholas Brembre, had not made sufficient haste either to come to Gloucester's aid, or to control the rioters. He was later summoned to the Gloucester parliament to explain his sloth. Although the city's own letter book loyally declared that Brembre cleared himself 'wonderfully well', the earl, and his brothers (the king's uncles) remained angry, and it was necessary for Brembre to placate Buckingham with a gift of a hundred marks.²⁶ But even this conciliatory gesture was insufficient: the citizens were forced to take further steps to win back the confidence, good will and presence of the aristocracy. On 1 November 1379, the city letter book recorded that

a great noise [rumour] was raised in the Parliament at Gloucester against the City by royal persons and others, charging the City with many crimes against the great lords of the realm, and causing them to withdraw themselves from the City, to the great damage of the city, and especially to the victuallers and hostellers.²⁷

The citizens held a series of meetings to see what could be done to remedy this situation, and a voluntary levy paid by 166 Londoners produced nearly £600 which was spent on the purchase of gold and silver plate which was then given to the disaffected lords:

By which expenditure, and by the diligence and work of certain good folk of the City, a good accord was effected between the lords of the realm and the City, thanks be to God.²⁸

£600 was a lot of money, but it was an investment worth making. The rulers of London were well aware that it was important not to make life difficult for noble households in the city. Frequent exceptions from civic regulations were made which would benefit noble establishments in the city and encourage them to reside for long periods of time in their London inns.²⁹ Almost every aristocratic town house, whether lay or ecclesiastical, was a focus of conspicuous consumption.

The rulers of London knew this well and tried to act accordingly. Some of their household accounts provide a good indication of the level of aristocratic spending in London. When Walter, bishop of Coventry, visited London in 1297, his daily expenses jumped from 15s per day to 26s,

and when Richard Swinfield, bishop of Hereford brought his household to London in 1291, he spent nearly three times as much on his household every day as he spent in the country; instead of £1, his expenditure rose to £3 per day.³⁰ But it was not only Londoners who lined their pockets with aristocratic wealth: the hosting records of the 1440s reveal that three Luccese merchants sold their imported goods directly not only to London mercers, as one would expect, but also to the King's Wardrobe, to Richard Duke of York, William de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, six other lords and the abbot of Leicester.³¹ The Londoners made every effort to interpose themselves between the Italian importers and the aristocratic purchasers, but they were by no means always successful.

Many lords came to town to purchase goods for use in the countryside and, like the bishop of Hereford, they used their London house as a purchasing base and as a store house. Indeed, a room within the house might be designated as a garderobe or wardrobe for storage of valuables and bulky goods. But super-rich lords at the end of the thirteenth century established wardrobes separate from their town houses.³² Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln had a London house, Holborn manor, lying immediately to the west of the Fleet river, near Holborn Bridge. In the 1290s the Holborn manor served both as a residence and as a store house or wardrobe, but in 1302–4 Henry bought a store house near Cheapside (just north of St Thomas of Acre hospital) for use as his wardrobe, and his accounts for 1304–5 show that his receiver was buying spices, wax, harness and dishes, and storing them at the wardrobe.³³ The house which Lacy bought had belonged to an expelled Jewish family, so it was stone-built and secure, and it was near to the Cheapside where luxury goods were largely sold. By the 1340s, it had become the storehouse of Edward the Black Prince and was known as the Prince's Wardrobe.³⁴ Other great nobles had wardrobes separated from their town houses; for example Bogo de Clare, the brother of the Earl of Gloucester, whose town house was in the eastern part of the city near the Priory of Holy Trinity. By 1286 Bogo had bought a wardrobe in Lombard Street; a strongly-built house which had belonged to Florentine merchants.³⁵ Of course, the king himself had a city wardrobe from 1311 in Lombard Street, and in 1361 Edward III purchased the great house of Sir John Beauchamp (d. 1359), in the parish of St Andrew 'by the wardrobe' near Blackfriars, to serve as his Great Wardrobe.³⁶ These wardrobes, which began as store houses and workshops, sometimes developed—particularly in the case of the royal wardrobes—into inner-city houses for the royal family. Unlike the aristocracy, the king and his imme-

diate family did not have town houses, apart from the Tower. Edward III, Queen Philippa and the Black Prince all had wardrobes in the city which not only had storehouses and workshops (for example, for tailors, embroiderers and other craftsmen) but also a great hall, chambers, a tower, chapel, kitchens and bath-house, and of course stables.³⁷ On occasion the king, or his family, might find it convenient to stay overnight in one of the royal wardrobes: on the traumatic nights of June 14 and 15, 1381, Richard II stayed in the Queen's Wardrobe, known as La Riolo, after confronting the rebels at Mile End and Smithfield (and after the sack of the Tower of London).³⁸ The household accounts of Thomas of Clarence (the brother of Henry V, who was killed at Baugé in 1421) reveal that his daughters stayed at La Riolo (the Queen's wardrobe which had come to him by inheritance) for the coronation of Queen Katherine in 1421, and his council seem also to have met there on occasion.³⁹ But, on the whole, by the end of the fourteenth century it was only the super-rich or super-royal who maintained wardrobes separate from their town houses in London; for example John of Gaunt (after 1381), his son Henry of Derby, or his son, Thomas of Clarence.⁴⁰ The need for wardrobes may have been linked to the great fairs: in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the lord's bailiff or steward would travel to Lincoln or Stourbridge or St Giles at Winchester to buy the cloth or wine for the lord's household, and these would need to be stored centrally. But in the course of the fourteenth century merchants ceased to travel to fairs; instead, they bought large permanent shops and warehouses where they kept a range of goods and where stewards and bailiffs could make their purchases when they needed them. The lords, therefore, had less need for large secure storehouses.

But while the need for a wardrobe may have declined, the need for a town house remained, indeed it may have become more necessary and the lord may have visited it more frequently. Whereas the abbot of Waltham or the bishop of Hereford envisaged comparatively rare visits to London (and visits which were not such as seriously to inconvenience their business tenants), the comings and goings of the aristocracy in the fifteenth century (at least of those with any pretensions to a political role) were positively exhausting. John Howard, the Duke of Norfolk who died fighting for Richard III at Bosworth, was an energetic servant of the House of York and his surviving household accounts make it clear that he was constantly moving between his country house—Tendring Hall at Stoke by Nayland in Suffolk—and his London house—which, in his case, was at Stepney, convenient for Suffolk and for his shipping interests on the Thames.⁴¹

Edward Stafford, the Duke of Buckingham in the early sixteenth century, apparently visited London fifteen times between 16 April and 28 August 1506.⁴² Perhaps this is indicative of the deliberate policy of the Tudors, in drawing the aristocracy to the centre rather than leaving them to foment trouble in more distant parts.

The King's business, whether in Parliament or in the Royal Council, would bring the aristocracy, among others, to London. When Henry de Lacy was summoned by Edward I to the November meeting of Parliament in 1295, the earl established himself in his newly acquired inn in Holborn and had forty head of cattle driven from Cheshire to feed his household.⁴³ By chance we have two accounts of separate households covering the meeting of Parliament which was held at Westminster from February 3 to February 14, 1338. Simon Eye, abbot of Ramsay, arrived on February 6 (three days late) and remained in London until March 2.⁴⁴ Ralph, bishop of Bath and Wells, seems to have been in London at least by 13 February (probably earlier but the account is fragmentary) and left on March 7.⁴⁵ The bishop's household spent an average of £15 a week while in London (compared with £10 a week in the country), whereas the abbot's household lived more modestly on £4 12s 8d and made their purchases 'for store'. Later in the fourteenth century, the magnificent Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, spent 40s a day, or £14 a week, when he was living quietly on his manor at Downham, but when he came to London for the sessions of Parliament held between November 1381 and May 1382, his daily expenditure jumped to 65s a day or £23 a week. In fact, Richard, of the Lord's Chamber, was sent back to Ely on 23 November 1381, 'pro moneta ibidem quaerenda'.⁴⁶

Meetings of the King's Council obviously brought fewer nobles to London than a meeting of Parliament, but it is interesting to observe that sometimes the Royal Council would meet not in the king's palace but in an aristocratic town house. In the summer of 1410, when Henry IV was perambulating in the midlands, his council continued to meet in London: sometimes at Westminster but also at the Coldharbour (the London house of his son Henry Prince of Wales), at the Blackfriars' Convent, at the inn of the bishop of Hereford located in Old Fish Street Hill and at the house of Robert Lovell, also in Old Fish Street.⁴⁷

The nobility and gentry came also to London to attend to their personal business; to negotiate conflicting claims with other members of the aristocracy, to consult their lawyers, to buy clothes, and to settle tradesmen's bills. An interesting vignette of life in a London inn is provided by the celebrated dispute in the later fourteenth century between Reynold,

second Lord Grey of Ruthin and John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.⁴⁸ Pembroke departed in the 1360s to fight for Edward III in France: his heir was Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthin. Reynold, having learned that Pembroke had died in France, rather too eagerly entered into his inheritance and went hunting on the Pembroke lands in Northamptonshire. When Pembroke returned, the rumour of his death having been false, he was furious. Later, when Pembroke was staying at a town house in the parish of St Mary at Hill (the hostel is not identified), Reynold came to him there and, in the presence of the earls of March, Salisbury and Hereford, Sir Lewis Clifford and the bishop of St David's, asked his pardon. In front of this distinguished gathering, Pembroke refused Lord Grey's proffered apology, disinherited him, and appointed Grey's cousin, Sir William Beauchamp, as his heir. The case rumbled on: Sir William did his best to establish his claim. In 1389 he summoned a group of four lawyers to 'his' London inn in Paternoster Row: this must, in fact, have been Pembroke's inn, i.e., the London town house of the earls of Pembroke, the title to which Beauchamp was now laying a claim.⁴⁹ Here in Pembroke inn, Beauchamp sat the four lawyers down to dinner and while they were eating he went to the private chapel and returned with a noble as a fee for each lawyer: he placed a noble in front of each of the four men and demanded that they should give him their opinion on his claim to the Pembroke earldom. They ate his food, took his nobles and told him that they did not think much of his claim. A London town house therefore was a place of discussion, arbitration and dispute.

Nor was the use of the London inns exclusively confined to the male aristocracy. Alice de Briene in the 1390s frequently used the London inn in the parish of Holy Trinity the Less given to her by her father-in-law, Lord Briene: she would spend a week at a time in the London house accompanied by a large retinue and twenty horses. In London she sought medical advice, bought livery cloth and transacted legal business.⁵⁰ In a similar fashion, if on a grander scale, Elizabeth Berkeley, the wife of Richard Beauchamp and Countess of Warwick, came to London on her own for a month in the summer of 1421. She stayed at the Berkeley inn (which she had inherited from her father) at Paul's Wharf. Here she entertained friends and travelled to Westminster to expedite her case against the Crown for possession of the Berkeley lands.⁵¹ In 1387–8, Mary de Bohun, the wife of Henry of Derby, accompanied her husband to London for the meeting of the famous Parliament—known as the Merciless Parliament—in which many of Richard II's closest advisors were accused

of treason by five Appellants and executed. Derby played an active role as one of the Appellants. At this time, the young Earl of Derby had no permanent London inn (after the burning of the Savoy in 1381, John of Gaunt had rented La Neyte from the abbot of Westminster, to use as his London base), although his wardrobe was set up near Baynard's castle. On this occasion the earl and his countess stayed at the inn of the bishop of St David's (Bishop Adam Houghton may not have attended the Parliament: he died the next year), conveniently placed on the west bank of the Fleet, just south of Fleet Bridge. Derby's household accounts reveal that his wife Mary took the opportunity to go shopping in Bread Street with her sister Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, the wife of another Appellant. Mary took a boat down river to visit St Katherine's Hospital and also visited her mother, the dowager Countess of Hereford, who was staying in London. While she was in London, Mary gave birth to her second son Thomas (later Duke of Clarence), and Henry rewarded the obstetrix (obstetrician), a London woman called Johanna, with a gift of 40s (£2).⁵²

The London inns were, clearly, important social centres: business, as in the case of the Grey and Hastings dispute, was done over dinner. But sometimes the feasting was very much more elaborate. At the end of September 1397, Henry of Derby, who was again probably using the bishop of St David's inn, entertained Richard II to a great feast: the various expenses for this occasion rumble through the Derby household accounts. For the feast, Henry borrowed the hall of the Carmelite friars (a little further west along Fleet Street) and spent £30 on a canopy to hang over the king at dinner (was the Carmelite friary a little too austere perhaps?).⁵³ Some of the food was bought in: Isabelle Mercer supplied twelve dozen 'compotes' and Agnes 'at Pauls gate' supplied a further thirty-two. Thomas Fulham was paid over £6 for twenty-six dozen pewter dishes and twelve dozen saucers—which suggests a feast for, perhaps, 150 people. A great deal of effort was spent on the 'subtleties'—table decorations of curlews, doves and popinjays painted in silver and gold—at least eight men were employed in this task for four days.⁵⁴ A royal feast was, presumably, particularly grand and expensive (and Henry had just been raised to the dukedom of Hereford on 29 September 1397), but feasting, in a variety of ways, would have been a feature of the life style of all the London town houses, lay and clerical. In the evenings, the town houses would be enlivened with the sounds of music, provided by household musicians or, more often, hired performers. Henry of Derby gave his livery to seven household minstrels, including a luter, harper, trumpeter, clarioner and a man

who played the zither.⁵⁵ Among the goods taken from the London house of Thomas of Gloucester in 1397, and forfeited to the king, was an organ, valued at 40s. Perhaps these London inns served also as ‘intellectual centres’? But an intellectual centre is hard to delineate. Does the presence of books create an intellectual ferment? Our experience would perhaps militate against such an assumption. Among Thomas of Gloucester’s goods in London was a quite considerable library: religious books, a Golden Legend, bibles in Latin and French, a copy of Godfrey de ‘Bailon’ and, of course, missals.⁵⁶ In Sir Simon Burley’s house in London there was also a large stock of books in Latin, French and English.⁵⁷

The form of these medieval town houses is elusive, and this may suggest that they were not particularly striking in appearance; at least not from the outside. Household accounts contain frequent references to repairs to ‘the lord’s inn at London’, but these are usually of a fairly humdrum kind—broken windows, new doorways, glazing renewed. Unlike town houses in the later period, the medieval aristocratic town house in London was a skeleton, or a shell, into which the lord emptied his treasures and then displayed them. The structure—the architectural style—of the town house did not express the lord’s taste or respond very markedly to fashion. We have few instances of inns built *de novo*. In 1404, however, the abbot of Peterborough moved out of the town house which his abbey had owned in London since the early thirteenth century in Carter Lane, lying between St Paul’s and the river, and moved westwards across the Fleet river to Fleet Street. The old inn became a hostelry generating an annual income, by 1414, of £6 10s. The carpentry of the new inn cost 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) and included three shops along the Fleet Street frontage.⁵⁸ The bishop of Ely’s inn in Holborn also had shops along the street and this seems increasingly to have been the common pattern. The town houses therefore impressed less by their outward appearance than by their contents, and the inventories of the medieval houses bear witness to their opulence: beds, hangings, tapestries, cupboards groaning under their weight of plate, chapel goods, kitchen utensils, armour and harness. Much of this domestic finery moved around with the lord from his country castles to his London house and back again. It would seem that if the lord wanted to build in order to impress the world, and to express his taste in architecture, then he did this in the countryside, in the fiefdom where he held sway. So Ralph Cromwell built at Tattershall and John Howard at Tendring in Stoke-by-Nayland, but in London they made do with what they had inherited. This may have begun to change in the early Tudor period: as the aristocracy

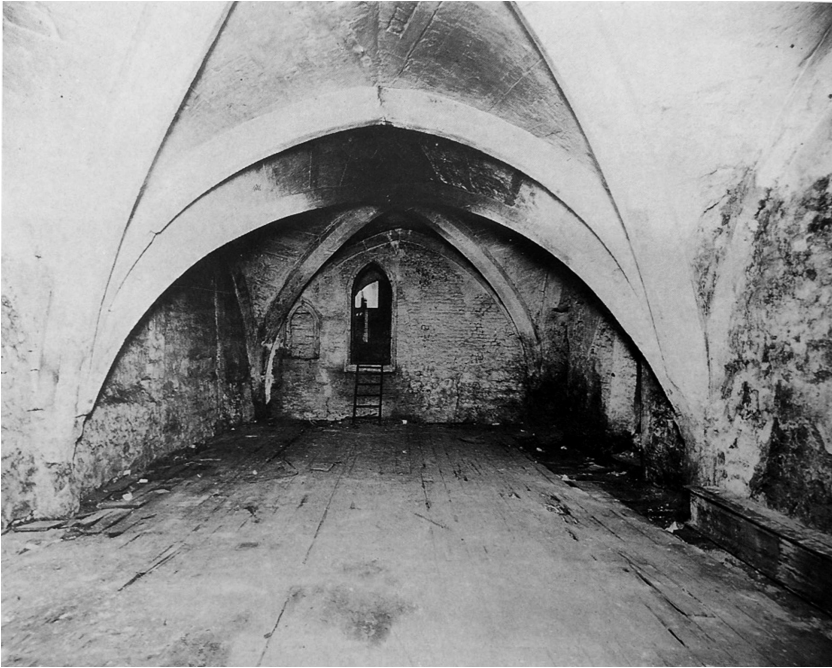


Plate 15.4. Pountney's (or Pulteney's) Inn, otherwise known as the Manor of the Rose, photographed c.1890 before its destruction. This undercroft was probably built in the early fourteenth century beneath the great hall. Reproduced by permission of the Museum of London.

spent more time in London, so they began to spend more money on the structure of their London homes. Edward Stafford, the third Duke of Buckingham (1478–1521), who came to London so often, spent money in restoring and renovating his London house, the former Pountney's Inn, but called in Stafford's time 'The Manor of the Rose'. (See Plate. 15.4.) A developing taste for outward glamour may be seen in Stafford's payments to a Westminster stonemason for carving 'two great roses and two portcullises' over the gates of the manor.⁵⁹ Without doubt it was the lord and his household who brought grandeur and life to the town house.

Gardens were an important feature of the London town houses and many of the household accounts make this very clear. In some of the gardens—particularly those of the more expansive inns in the western suburbs—fruit and vegetables were grown commercially. Robert, the gardener

of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, cultivated at his Holborn manor, vines, vegetables, hemp, roses, green beans and leeks.⁶⁰ The accounts of the bishops of Ely and of Winchester likewise reveal the presence of hedged and profitable gardens—whose produce was sold in the markets of London.⁶¹ What is somewhat more surprising is to find that in the last household account of Henry of Derby, Duke of Hereford, before he was banished following the abortive Coventry duel, he was in the process of creating a pleasure garden in the London town house which he was renting (probably on long term lease) from the Prioress of St Helen's in Bishopsgate. Cartloads of osiers were brought to construct those wicker rails which can be seen in numerous medieval manuscripts, where the osiers are woven into fences to enclose the private, and usually romantic space.⁶² London after 1350 was not a crowded city, tenements were amalgamated and property fell into decay. In these circumstances, it was comparatively easy for town houses to have gardens of some sort. It is worth noting that when the abbot of Malmesbury leased out his Holborn inn in the 1520s he reserved to himself not only the use of some rooms and the stables, but also the right to walk in the garden.⁶³

The aristocratic town house first appeared in London in the twelfth century: it fulfilled many functions: a place for the lord and his household to stay when they came to London, a store house, a purchasing depot, and a source of income. Not all lords, however, owned their own inns: many rented them. Even John of Gaunt and his son Henry of Derby chose to rent London inns after the destruction of the Savoy, rather than restore their palace, or purchase another. The Courtenay earls of Devon never owned a London hostel: when they came to the City in the late fourteenth century, the household seems to have been divided, some staying in one place, and others at 'Rickets hostel', which may have been the home of Sir William Rickhill, a justice.⁶⁴ In the 1340s Sir John Stonor had acquired a London inn in the parish of St Peter the Less. Forty years later, Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, wrote to ask if his brother Henry might borrow Stonor's London hostel, because Henry's own inn in Thames Street was not yet ready for occupation. But by 1431 the Stonors had sold their London inn.⁶⁵ Similarly, by 1428 Alice de Briene was renting out her inn to London tenants.⁶⁶ What is the explanation for this change?

Although the greatest and wealthiest members of the aristocracy continued to own town houses in London, many of the lesser aristocracy, or the gentry, found it more convenient either to rent an inn when they needed it, or, more often, simply to stay in a London hostelry. The earliest

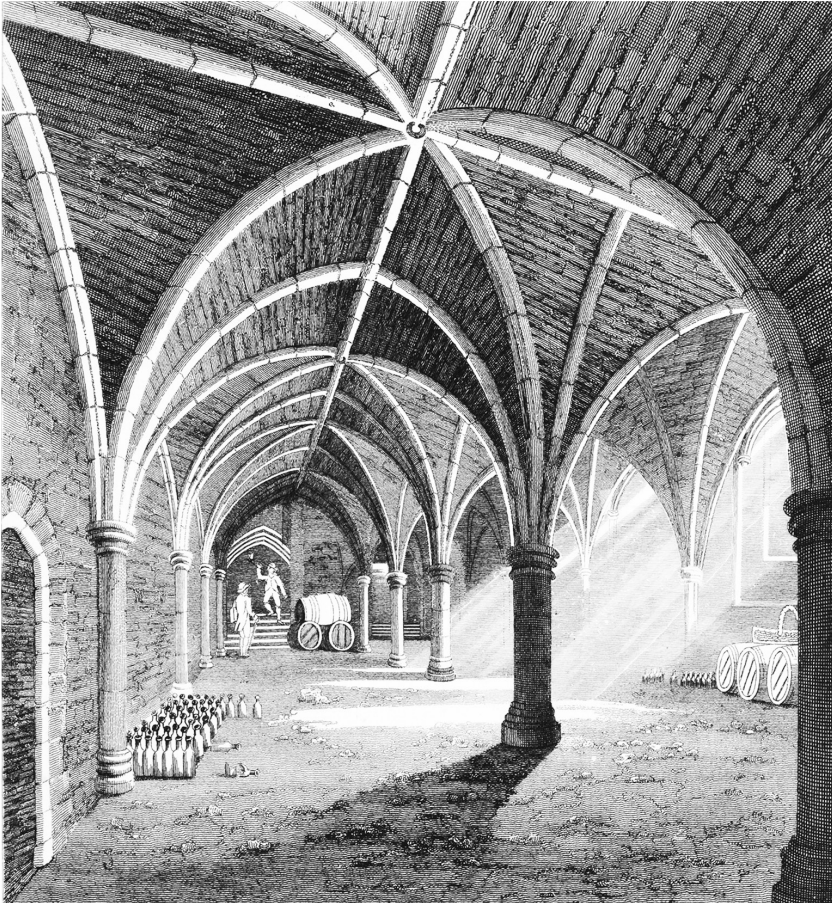


Plate 15.5. Gerard's Hall undercroft, engraved c.1850. The inn was originally built for John Gisors in the late thirteenth century and had become a public hostelry by the fifteenth century. The rows of bottles suggest that it was still used as an inn in the nineteenth century. Reproduced by permission of the Museum of London.

commercial inns appear in London in the fourteenth century, such as the George Inn in Lombard Street and the Bell in Holborn.⁶⁷ Several early commercial inns are to be found in the western suburbs where lawyers were forming inns of their own. The Stonors, having sold their London house, used public inns—the Woolsack and the Sword in Fleet Street.⁶⁸ The Pastons in the 1470s favoured the George at Paul's Wharf where

Thomas Green and his wife took in, and forwarded, letters for Sir John Paston, collected parcels and even, apparently, lent him books. A good London hostelry could serve many of the same needs as a town house and was a cheaper alternative. There were drawbacks: Sir John Paston wrote to his mother in 1479 that he had returned from Calais earlier 'and also fownde my chambre and stuffe not so clene as I demyd'.⁶⁹

So alongside the continuous presence of great aristocratic town houses in London, there grew up in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a plethora of commercial inns, very often erstwhile aristocratic inns which had, as it were, come down in the world: for example, Gerard's Hall, the London home of the Gisors family, was an inn by the mid-fifteenth century.⁷⁰ (See Plate 15.5) The 'inner city' inn of the abbot of Peterborough in Carter Lane became a public hostelry known as the Bell, and it was here that Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, lodged his servants in 1525.⁷¹ This process of 'degeneration' or commercialization was a continuous feature of the aristocratic town house throughout this period and, indeed, beyond.

The dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s had a dramatic impact upon London, an impact which was made more noticeable because it coincided with an accelerating rise in population. The fate of the religious houses has received considerable attention: in London itself most of the houses came to be divided up into insalubrious tenements, although a few of the more rural ones became 'town houses' for the new Tudor meritocracy.⁷² Many of the town houses of the ecclesiastical aristocracy also passed into secular hands: those belonging to the abbots and priors of the dissolved monasteries passed into the king's hands and were sold in parcels like the other monastic lands. In Southwark for example, the inns of the abbots of Hyde and Battle, and that of the prior of Lewes, were sold and became public hostelries.⁷³ The town houses of the bishops were not confiscated as the monastic ones had been, but they were squeezed. In the new Protestant order, the bishops found themselves under pressure to surrender or, at best, exchange some, or all, of their London estates. By a complicated series of exchanges in 1536, the bishop of Norwich's house at Charing Cross was given to the Duke of Suffolk; the bishop of Ely had to surrender part of his great Holborn estate to Sir Christopher Hatton for the new 'Hatton House'. The bishop of Bath and Wells had to accept part of the convent buildings of the Minoreesses (the Minories) in place of his mansion in the Strand which was to become famous as Arundel House.⁷⁴ In this way, the role of the ecclesiastical aristocracy in London

was reduced: their political role was challenged and their landed estates were appropriated.

But conversely the town houses of the lay aristocracy became ever more important as the nobility were drawn to London by an insistent monarchy. In this way, the 'London season' which F. J. Fisher analysed, emerged in the sixteenth century. Few members of the aristocracy continued to maintain town houses within the city proper: instead, they moved (as they had been inclined to do earlier) into the western suburbs, where there was space to build a country house in the town—*rus in urbe*. At the same time, in the course of the sixteenth century, 'classical' ideas about architecture, filtering northwards via Flanders to England, may have suggested to the English nobleman that the form of his house might be quite as important a statement about his power and influence, as the contents. The mobile grandeur of the medieval nobleman was to give way to the settled magnificence of the Tudor aristocracy.

Since the twelfth century, and probably earlier, the prosperity of London had depended to a large extent upon the frequent and/or lengthy sojourns of the aristocracy in their London houses, or later in the public hostelries. Only in this way could the Londoners ensure that a large slice of aristocratic wealth from agricultural estates was spent in their warehouses and shops. In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the throbbing economy of London, at the heart of a sea-borne Empire, became diversified. Londoners generated wealth by themselves, and by trading abroad, and other English towns began to stock some of the rich imported goods which the aristocracy needed to buy. In this way the physical presence of the aristocracy became less crucial to the prosperity of London. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when a king threatened to move himself, his civil service, his court or his Parliament away from London, he was seriously threatening the economic life blood of the city: it was not an empty threat. By the seventeenth century, the 'magnificence and greatness' of London were less dependent upon the residence of noblemen than they had been two centuries earlier. The decline in the extreme economic importance of the aristocratic town house, it may be argued, freed the Londoners when the time came to side with the Parliamentarians. The aristocratic town house continued to be a centre of conspicuous consumption, but it was no longer unique.

NOTES

¹ F. J. Fisher, 'The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XXX (1948), 37–50, reprinted in F. J. Fisher, *London and the English Economy 1500–1700*, P. J. Corfield and N. B. Harte eds. (1990), 105–118.

² G. Botero, *A Treatise concerning the Causes of Magnificence and Greatness in Cities*, translated by R. Peterson (1606), Book 2, chapter X, 63.

³ This calculation is derived from information to be found in M. D. Lobel ed., *The British Atlas of Historic Towns: The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (Oxford, 1989).

⁴ The surviving lay cartularies are listed in G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (1958), 140–156.

⁵ See C. M. Woolgar, *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, Parts 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1992, 1993).

⁶ For Thomas of Gloucester, see *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1392–1399* (1963), 223–225; for Henry le Scrope, see C. L. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', *Archaeologia*, LXX (1920), 71–100; for Simon Burley, see M. V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, L. S. Sutherland and May McKisack eds. (Oxford, 1937, reprinted 1969), 115–145, esp. 116–123; for the inventory of Winchester House in Southwark, taken on the death of the bishop, John Sandale in 1319, see Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (1995), chapter 2, section 2.

⁷ John Schofield ed., *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London Topographical Society, 1987), 14.

⁸ Some of these remnants of medieval town houses are illustrated in John Schofield, *The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire* (1984).

⁹ Lobel, *City of London*, 59–62, 65, 81, 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 68, 69, 73, 79, 84, 97.

¹¹ Rosalind Ransford ed., *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex 1062–1230* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989), nos. 555–560.

¹² Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, chapter 2, section 1f.

¹³ John Webb ed., *A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford 1289–1290* (Camden Society, 1854 and 1855), 209–210.

¹⁴ 10 September 1337, *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–38*, 573; 24 September 1337, *Calendar of Close Rolls 1337–39*, 184.

¹⁵ E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927), ii, 1134.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1157.

¹⁷ *Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield*, 128.

¹⁸ Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', 73; the Bishop of Ely's account for November 1383 is Public Record Office, E101/400/28, see under the heading 'forinseca'.

¹⁹ John of Gaunt spent much of his time in and around London, and all his senior administrators found it necessary to buy homes in London (e.g. Sir William

Croyser, Sir William Finchdean, William Burghbrigg, Sir John de Ypres). John of Gaunt and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, were dining with Sir John de Ypres at his London house in February 1377 when a London mob attempted to storm the house, Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990), 38; E. M. Thompson ed., *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series, 1874), 123.

²⁰ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, chapter 2, sections 1c, 1f, 2; Williams, *Early Holborn*, i, 423. The Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, whose inn was located in Southwark, sold produce from his garden there and rented out shops along Tooley Street, outside his gate.

²¹ Supplies sent to London between 7 and 22 February 1338 are listed on the dorse of the account roll, PRO E101/507/17.

²² Reginald R. Sharpe ed., *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H* (1907), 145.

²³ Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989), chapter 2. I am indebted to Professor Dyer's work for much of the information to be found in this and the succeeding paragraph.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, chapter 3.

²⁵ H. T. Riley ed., *Memorials of London and London Life, 1276–1419* (1868), 427.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 424, 427–428; *Letter Book H*, 104.

²⁷ *Letter Book H*, 123.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁹ In 1376 a general prohibition on carrying arms in the City allowed 'valets' of great lords to carry their masters' swords in their presence, A. H. Thomas ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364–1381* (1929), 218–219; in 1384 it was reaffirmed that no-one except a citizen was to buy or sell retail in the City, but lords were to be allowed to buy freely all manner of merchandise for their own use, *Letter Book H*, 242.

³⁰ Account of Walter, bishop of Coventry 25 Edward I, PRO C47/3/27; *Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield*, 39. When Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, lived on his country manors his household spent about £80 a week, but in November 1381 when the bishop was in London, the household expenditure rose to £109 a week, Cambridge University Library, EDR D5/4.

³¹ PRO E101/128/31 ff. 1,2,4,7,24: unpublished information kindly supplied by Dr Helen Bradley.

³² For much helpful advice about aristocratic wardrobes in the City of London, I am grateful to Dr Derek Keene; see his unpublished paper, 'Managing Conspicuous Consumption: Wardrobes in the City in the Late Thirteenth Century', read at the Institute of Historical Research, 20 January 1990.

³³ Accounts of the Receiver General of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln from 1295–6 and 1304–5, PRO, DL29/1/1 and 2; see J. A. F. Baldwin, 'The Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster', *English Historical Review*, XLII (1927), 180–200.

³⁴ Lobel, *City of London*, 84.

³⁵ M. S. Giuseppi, 'The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Bogo de Clare 1284–1286', *Archaeologia*, LXX (1920), 1–56 esp. 22, 25.

³⁶ Lobel, *City of London*, 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 78, 84.

³⁸ See Froissart's account of the rising of 1381 printed in R. B. Dobson ed., *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (2nd edn 1983), 191, 193, 198.

³⁹ Wardrobe account of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence c.1418–21, Westminster Abbey Muniment 12163, printed in Woolgar, *Household Accounts* part 2, 604–687, esp. 673.

⁴⁰ Margaret Sharpe, 'A Fragmentary Household Account of John of Gaunt', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XIII (1935–6), 154–162. Henry of Derby seems to have had a Wardrobe in Coleman Street in 1381–2; at Baynard's Castle in 1387–8 and in Fleet Street in 1397–8, see his Wardrobe accounts, PRO DL28/1/1–6.

⁴¹ Anne Crawford ed., *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk 1462–1471, 1481–1483* (1992).

⁴² Journal of purchases and provisions of Edward Stafford. Duke of Buckingham 1 April 1506 to 31 March 1507, Longleat House, Ms Misc.XII. I am grateful to Dr Carole Rawcliffe for lending me her transcript of this account.

⁴³ Baldwin, 'Henry Lacy', 188.

⁴⁴ PRO EI01/507/17.

⁴⁵ A. Hamilton Thompson ed., 'The Household Roll of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury 1337–1338' in T. F. Palmer ed., *Collectanea i* (Somerset Record Society, XXXIX, 1924), 72–174.

⁴⁶ Diet Account of Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely 1 November–30 November 1381, Cambridge University Library, EDR D5/4.

⁴⁷ Sir Harris Nicolas ed., *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 6 vols. (1834–7), i, 329, 332, 338, 351.

⁴⁸ R. Ian Jack, 'Entail and Descent: The Hastings Inheritance 1370 to 1436', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXVIII (1965), 1–19.

⁴⁹ Lobel, *City of London*, 83 and map 2.

⁵⁰ Alice de Briene's London inn has been identified by ffiona Swabey with Ormond's inn, see the Inquisition Post Mortem on Alice de Briene, PRO CI39/70/34. Robert Lovell was the son-in-law of Alice de Briene and it may have been at her inn in Old Fish Street that Lovell entertained the king's council, see note 47 above. I am grateful to ffiona Swabey for help in identifying the London property of Alice de Briene which will be dealt with more fully in her forthcoming book on Alice de Briene.

⁵¹ C. Ross, 'The Household Accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick 1420–21', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, LXX (1951), 81–105.

⁵² Wardrobe Account of Henry of Derby 30 September 1387 to 30 September 1388, PRO DL28/1/2.

- ⁵³ For details of this feast, see Henry of Derby Wardrobe Account 1 February 1397 to 1 November 1398, PRO DL28/1/6.
- ⁵⁴ Cash Journal of the Household of Henry of Derby, 1 October 1386 to 30 September 1397, PRO DL28/1/9 ff. 18v. 19.
- ⁵⁵ Henry of Derby Wardrobe Accounts, PRO DL28/1/3 f. 20v; DL41/10/43 no.8.
- ⁵⁶ *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1392–1399* (1963), 223–225.
- ⁵⁷ Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, 120–121.
- ⁵⁸ Joan Greatrex ed., *Account Rolls of the Obedientiaries of Peterborough*, Northamptonshire Record Society, XXXIII (1984), 126, 137.
- ⁵⁹ Lobel, *City of London*, 85; Account of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 28 March 1506 to March 1507, Staffordshire Record Office, D641/1/3/6 ff. 2,3. I am grateful to Dr Carole Rawcliffe for lending me her transcript of this account.
- ⁶⁰ Account of the Receiver General of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln 1295–6, PRO DL29/1/1 f. 11v; account for 1304–5, PRO DL29/1/2 f. 15v.
- ⁶¹ Williams, *Early Holborn*, i, 423; Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, chapter 2.
- ⁶² Wardrobe Account of Henry of Derby 1 February 1397 to 1 November 1398, PRO DL28/1/6 ff. 27v–28v.
- ⁶³ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii, 1157.
- ⁶⁴ Account of the expenses of the household of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and his sons Hugh and Edward, July 1393 to February 1400, Devon Record Office, CR 1466.
- ⁶⁵ C. L. Kingsford ed., *The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290–1483*, Camden Society, XXIX (1919), xv.
- ⁶⁶ Receivers' Accounts of Alice de Briene, 1428, 1431, PRO SC6/1245/16 and 17. I am grateful to Fiona Swabey for this information.
- ⁶⁷ Lobel, *City of London*, 66, 75.
- ⁶⁸ Kingsford, *Stonor Letters*, the Woolsack in the 1460s and the Sword in the 1470s and 1480s, i, 66, 110; ii, 12, 98.
- ⁶⁹ Norman Davis ed., *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, part i (Oxford, 1971), 515; see also 477, 481, 483, 493, 517.
- ⁷⁰ Lobel, *City of London*, 75.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 66; Daily account of Henry, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, 2 June 1525 to c. 24 November 1525, PRO E36/225 f. 19.
- ⁷² John Schofield, *The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire* (1984), chapter 6; *idem*, *Medieval London Houses* (1995), chapter 6.
- ⁷³ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, chapter 2, section 5.
- ⁷⁴ Phyllis Hembry, 'Episcopal Palaces 1535–1660' in E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht and J. J. Scarisbrick eds., *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Studies Presented to S. T. Bindoff* (1978), 146–166; E. Jeffries Davies, 'The Transformation of London', in R. W. Seton-Watson ed., *Tudor Studies Presented to A. F. Pollard* (1924), 306–311.

The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London

ABOUT A HUNDRED YEARS ago the historian A. F. Leach waged a one-man battle against the prevailing view, as he perceived it, that the education of children in England had been dealt a devastating blow by the dissolution of the monasteries, from which it was saved only by the scholarly enthusiasm of Edward VI and a host of conscientious Protestant benefactors. Leach argued that, in fact, most of the education of the young in medieval England had taken place in elementary and grammar schools attached to cathedrals and other churches throughout the length and breadth of the land. The real blow to the education of children came with the dissolution of the chantries: the government of Edward VI was, therefore, the spoiler rather than the founder of schools.¹ The case was overstated, but Leach's researches produced a vast amount of new evidence about the schools of medieval England, even though it was still difficult to demonstrate that more than a very few had enjoyed a continuous existence. When Jordan came to study the practice of philanthropy in England in the period 1480 to 1660, he was not impressed by the concern for education to be found in the wills of Englishmen drawn up before the Reformation: in his view Leach had grossly exaggerated the number of grammar schools which were actually functioning in the early Tudor period.² In her magisterial study, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (first published in 1964), Joan Simon argued for a middle position: Leach had been unduly sanguine and Jordan too dismissive. Simon rightly emphasized the variety of schools and opportunities to be found in England in the fifteenth century, both in ecclesiastical and lay environments.³ The purpose of this essay is not to reopen an exhausted debate but rather to look more closely at the remarkable range of educational opportunities open to children of both sexes in London. The emphasis will be upon teachers rather than schools and thus perhaps a not inappropriate offering to a notable *magistra scholarum*.

Leach, in his determination to illustrate the ubiquitous role played by the cathedral and other grammar schools, largely ignored the contributions to education made by the monastic orders and the friars. But the recent work of Barbara Harvey herself on the Benedictine community at Westminster has reminded us of the existence of a grammar school hidden at the heart of the monastery. From the fourteenth century there was, in fact, both a song school and a grammar school at the abbey, and both were housed in the Almonry. But in 1461 the grammar school moved to new quarters in the cellarer's range of buildings and by the 1530s there were six boys in the song school and about thirty in the grammar school.⁴ What might seem even more surprising is that from the late fourteenth century, as Dr Rosser has demonstrated, the schoolmasters at Westminster appear to have been married men.⁵ So, at the heart of a monastic community, we find a married couple in charge of thirty or so boys, by no means all of whom were destined for the monastic life. Were the records and the scholars to hand, the existence of schools in other religious houses in London might well be revealed.

The development of the schools at Westminster Abbey was not an isolated phenomenon: developments were taking place all over London and, doubtless, elsewhere in England also.

In the course of the fifteenth century there was an increasing demand for elementary teaching of the English vernacular and grammar-school teaching of Latin; there were more books written and made, more use of paper rather than parchment and, by the end of the century, there were available cheap printed pamphlets as well as expensive printed books. There is evidence that lay men and women were themselves writing, for their pleasure and information and convenience: inventories, chronicles, wills, letters, commonplace books, inscriptions, prayers, and accounts were written by ordinary men and women as well as by professional scribes. Reading and writing were no longer the preserve solely of the clerk and the courtier: townspeople also, both merchants and craftsmen, needed these skills. In the city of London it was becoming increasingly possible to acquire them and pursue them to different levels of attainment. These changes were not formal or structural: they only rarely attracted the attention of the Crown, or Parliament, or the mayor and aldermen. Our perception of them is tangential and the result of chance: casual references to books and schoolmasters in wills or in legal cases, or property deeds or company accounts, or inscriptions in surviving manuscripts. These refer-

ences testify to an unselfconscious and largely unregulated provision of 'learning skills' for boys and girls in the metropolis.

Learning requires time and time costs money, but after the Black Death there were fewer people and a notable rise in *per capita* wealth. Many of those whose grandparents could barely find enough food to live, now had some extra money to spend on consumables, and these included education. Old Clement Paston who 'rodd to mylle on the bar horsback wyth hys corn under hym . . . had a sone William qwhych he sett to scole, and oftyen he borowyd mony to fynd hym to scole'. But the investment paid off, for young William became a royal justice 'and a ryght connyng mane in ye lawe'.⁶

But this pressure from below also contributed to the increasing use of English as a literary, legal, business, and government language. The last quarter of the fourteenth century has been characterized as the period which saw 'the triumph of English'.⁷ Because the skills of reading and writing were moving lower down the social scale and into the levels where English was the only known language, so English came to be used more widely as the medium for written communication. During the Peasants' Revolt, the insurgents circulated millenarian, possibly subversive, letters in English: letters which were a point of intersection between the preaching English of the clergy (mostly friars) and the spoken English of the mass of the English people.⁸ Not surprisingly, perhaps, London led the way in the formal use of written English: the first mayoral proclamation written in English was posted in the city in 1383, and the first surviving English will was drawn up in 1389.⁹

When the Cambridge Parliament of 1388 ordered all guilds and fraternities to respond to various questions about their organization, purpose, and resources, thirty-six London guilds responded: thirteen replies were in Latin, fifteen in French, and ten in English. By 1422 the *nouveau riche* and successful craft of brewers decided to keep their records in English because

there are many of our craft of Brewers who have the knowledge of writing and reading in the same English idiom, but in others, to wit the Latin and French, before these times used, they do not in any wise understand.¹⁰

The need to be able to read and write English, alongside French and Latin, created a demand for teachers, not simply the grammar-school masters who taught Latin and the scribes who taught the skills of drafting

documents in French and Latin, but teachers simply of English, a skill more accessible to ordinary men and women, and of course of more use to them. Teachers—and schools—became more necessary, visible, and numerous. In 1391 the commons—meaning the lesser landlords—had sought to prevent bondsmen and villeins from sending their sons to school in order to ‘advance them into the clergy,’ for this aggravated the shortage of labour.¹¹ But the king did not assent to the petition and by 1406 the mood of the commons had changed: they were anxious to restrict apprenticeship to the children of those with lands or rents to the value of 20 shillings, but, notwithstanding, parents were to be free to send their sons and daughters ‘d’apprendre Lettereure, a quelconq escole que leur plest.’¹²

So, at the beginning of the fifteenth century there was a rising demand for education of all kinds for boys and girls. Literacy skills were becoming increasingly desirable. There were, however, two factors which may have made education particularly desirable in London. The proximity of the royal court at Westminster, and the importance of London to successful royal government, made the city a place where bill posting was frequent. There were more who could read in London and there was a greater need to read. Anonymous bill posting in support of the Lollards or to defend common soil near the Tower of London,¹³ or official bill posting by the mayor, or the king, or Henry, Duke of Lancaster,¹⁴ demanded a literate response. Those who offended against civic ordinances had their names displayed on boards hung in Guildhall.¹⁵ Such measures would only be effective if Londoners could read.

But there was a particular demand for reading and writing in London: access to apprenticeship, particularly in the more prestigious crafts, was made dependent upon the ability to read and write, not necessarily in French or Latin, but in English. In 1402 Sir John Depeden in Yorkshire left £20 for the son of one of his tenants: when the boy was of a sufficient age to understand and to write, he was to be sent to London to learn the craft of fishmonger, grocer, or mercer.¹⁶ Sometimes the skills of reading and writing were acquired during the course of the apprenticeship. In 1415, John Holand from Walsoken in Norfolk complained to the Mayor of London that the barber to whom he had been apprenticed was so poor that he could not feed and clothe him properly, nor keep him at school till he could read and write, as had been agreed in his indentures.¹⁷ In the middle of the fifteenth century a London haberdasher agreed by indenture that his apprentice should learn to read and write while he served his apprenticeship with him.¹⁸ The Goldsmiths noted in 1469 that

members of the Company had been taking on apprentices who could neither read nor write:

which is a practice damaging not only to the fellowship, but also to the master taking such apprentices and to the apprentice himself, because it is unreasonable to expect an illiterate child or man to have as much understanding by wit and observation alone as a child or man who has both practical experience and can read. Moreover the lack of literacy causes members of the fellowship to have recourse daily to lettered men outside the fellowship, or else to take on strange servants to do their written work for them, with the result that the secrets of the fellowship are imparted to such men and strangers to the danger of the Company. Also, for want of such literacy, members of this fellowship are not held in esteem by merchants of the city of London or favoured by lords and gentlefolk as are literate men of other fellowships of the city to the great discredit of this fellowship.¹⁹

Moreover, references to city orphans (the fatherless children of citizens) make it clear that the guardian was expected in the case of girls as well as boys to spend money on the child's education.²⁰

It was, then, expected by the fifteenth century that the sons and daughters of London citizens (perhaps one in three of adult males in London) and those who came to London from elsewhere to be apprenticed would either be proficient in reading and writing before they arrived or would acquire those skills in the course of a London apprenticeship. Where did they acquire those skills? Whereas most aristocratic children were educated at home²¹ and, during their adolescence, probably in another aristocratic household, most London children would have gone to a school for their education. As early as 1301, eight-year-old Richard Le Mazon, returning to school after his mid-day dinner, swung from one of the beams of London Bridge and was drowned in the Thames.²² Where was Richard going to school? Possibly to a formal grammar school where Latin was taught, but more likely, at the age of eight, to a song school. Here a boy would receive some education in English and in Latin, sufficient to be able to sing the services and to maintain church ceremonial by reading the lessons. Such schools were attached to the Abbey at Westminster, to St Mary Overy Priory and to St Paul's Cathedral.²³ In the course of the fifteenth century several new song schools were founded: at St Anthony's Hospital in 1441,²⁴ at Guildhall chapel by 1479,²⁵ at St Mary Woolnoth church in 1492,²⁶ at St Mary at Hill and at St Dunstan in the East,²⁷ and

in 1515 the accounts of Holy Trinity Priory included payments for coats, hats, and shoes for the ‘children of the chapel’ and wages for ‘the master of the children.’²⁸

But most London children would have been taught to read and write not in established song schools, still less in the grammar schools, but in informal elementary schools of the kind later known as ‘dame’ schools. Chantry priests or parish clerks might earn extra money by doing some elementary teaching; scribes could teach boys and girls to read and write English before moving on to the more sophisticated aspects of their craft. A twelve-year-old boy who had attended the school run by William Kingsmill, a London scrivener, was able ‘to write, endite and count’, and also to speak some French.²⁹ Some of these schools were indeed dame schools: William Cressewyk, a London grocer, left 20 shillings in his will to ‘E Scolemaysteresse.’³⁰ Such schools and teachers were informal and not subject to licensing by either the secular or ecclesiastical authorities; hence they are rarely visible. But the casual references suggest that they were ubiquitous: there was a demand for elementary schooling and there were those ready and able to meet that demand, and to earn their living in this way. Education was neither exclusively religious nor necessarily charitable at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the course of the century, however, the educational opportunities available to London children multiplied, and there were also significant developments in the kind of education that was available.

We have already noted the growth in the numbers of song schools in the city. The attempt to expand the number of grammar schools was more problematic. London had had several grammar schools in which Latin was, almost exclusively, the only subject on the curriculum and the clientele entirely male. FitzStephen, writing in the late twelfth century, noted that the three chief churches of the city (which he did not name) had ‘well frequented schools’ of ancient privilege and dignity.³¹ It seems likely that by the fourteenth century, and perhaps earlier when FitzStephen wrote, the three churches, and hence the location of the three schools, were St Paul’s, St Mary Arches, and St Martin le Grand.³² There is evidence—admittedly intermittent—of the existence of grammar masters and schools at all these three churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the references to the school at St Paul’s are certainly the most numerous.³³

But by the later fourteenth century, it is clear that this monopoly of grammar school teaching in London was being challenged. By 1391 the masters of the three schools of St Paul’s, St Mary Arches, and St Martin’s

had found it necessary to pursue 'strange and unqualified masters of grammar' who were holding 'general schools of grammar' in London to the 'deceit and illusion' of children.³⁴ Although the unqualified masters were not named, some possible offenders occur in the city's records. At about this time, Richard Exton was keeping a grammar school near the house of the Crutched Friars in the south-east corner of the city,³⁵ and in 1393 Henry Draper 'scholemaister' was owed 3 shillings by a bankrupt grocer.³⁶ It is not clear whether the ecclesiastical authorities were successful in securing the support of the king in their battle to maintain their monopoly, but it would appear that rival grammar schools continued to flourish, responding to a rising demand for grammar-school education.³⁷ William Yonge, a London merchant who died in 1389, wanted his sons to be trained in grammar and good morals: the elder was then to study law for seven years and the younger could choose to go to Oxford or learn the business of a merchant: but a foolish marriage or time-wasting would lead to the loss of the legacy.³⁸ So Young saw a Latin grammar-school education as providing access to the law, to the university, or to the business world.

Perhaps the most interesting scholar of those who responded to the rising demand for grammar-school education was 'John Sewarde scolemayster', who was already living and working in the parish of St Peter Cornhill by 1404, and who remained there as a distinguished schoolmaster until his death in 1435.³⁹ Nor was Sewarde the only grammar schoolmaster in Cornhill: in 1419 Roger Keston was described as master of the *scolarum gramaticarum* at Cornhill⁴⁰ and one of Seward's friends and correspondents was William Relyk who in about 1410 was keeping a school at the Cardinal's Hat in Lombard Street at the bottom of Cornhill.⁴¹ Relyk and Sewarde conducted a friendly rivalry in Latin verses and gathered around them a group of like-minded scholars who enjoyed the cut and thrust of Latinate wit. It would appear that the Cornhill grammar schools continued to flourish even after Sewarde and Relyk had died, for there are later references to schoolmasters in Cornhill.⁴²

Not only was Sewarde's school important in challenging the ecclesiastical monopoly, but it was also of significance in other ways. In the first place Sewarde was married, to Mathilda the daughter of a London grocer, John Broke, and by her he had a daughter, Sibyl.⁴³ Hence Sewarde's school in Cornhill not only breached the monopoly of the three 'old' schools in London but also challenged the clerical hold on Latin learning: here was a layman reading and composing in Latin, writing letters and verses to a group of learned scholars both lay and clerical, all men who were breaking

out of the carapace of the Latin of the schoolmen and inching towards humanism, albeit without the aid of Greek.⁴⁴ The existence not of a single Latin scholar but of a group of lay scholars, based in London and teaching and writing Latin there in the early years of the fifteenth century, suggests that learning in London was both lively and innovative.⁴⁵

It may have been Seward's death in 1435 which provoked William Byngham, the rector of the London parish of St John Zachary, to ask Henry VI in 1439 for permission to establish at Cambridge a college consisting of a master and twenty-four scholars to train grammar-school masters who would then go forth to teach in schools all over England. Byngham argued that a knowledge of Latin was necessary, not only to study sacred scripture but also for the pursuit of law, the conduct of the business of the kingdom, and to enable Englishmen to communicate with foreigners.⁴⁶ Associated with William Byngham in his project to establish a training college for grammar masters at Cambridge was a group of London rectors who were all Cambridge graduates, William Litchfield, the rector of All Hallows the Great, Gilbert Worthington of St Andrews Holborn, and John Coote of St Peter Cornhill. All three of these men had died before William Byngham formally secured the foundation charter of Godshouse (later Christ's College) in April 1448.⁴⁷ These Cambridge men were concerned about the provision of grammar schools in London and about the supply of grammar-school masters. But the initiative for providing grammar school education did not come exclusively from Cambridge. Since 1433 John Carpenter, an Oxford Doctor of Theology and Provost of Oriel College, had also been master of St Anthony's Hospital in London.⁴⁸ This hospital was, in effect, an alien priory attached to the mother house of St Anthony in Vienne but, like other alien priories, it had fallen on hard times during the Hundred Years' War. In 1441 Carpenter devised the scheme of appropriating the nearby church of St Benet Fink to the hospital and using the revenue thus generated to provide a salary (16 marks annually) for a master or fit 'informer' to teach grammar *gratis* in the hospital precinct, or nearby to all boys or others who might wish to learn and to become scholars.⁴⁹ From the beginning, Carpenter seems to have intended that there should be a song school attached to the new grammar school and John Benet, clerk, received an annual salary of 8 marks and four yards of cloth for teaching singing to the boys.⁵⁰ Even after Benet's death in 1458 the reputation of the singing boys there continued to be high, as did the academic standing of the grammar school.⁵¹ Thomas More's lawyer father chose to send his son there to learn Latin and, in the schoolboy

disputations of John Stow's youth, the boys of St Anthony's 'commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.'⁵²

St Anthony's school, perhaps because it was founded and promoted by a man of considerable influence, was a success. But its success may have provoked the masters at the three old grammar schools into a counterattack. In March 1446, Robert Gilbert, the same bishop who had assisted Carpenter in the foundation of St Anthony's school, reminded all the rectors and vicars and chaplains in his diocese that the only grammar schools allowed in the city were those at St Paul's, St Martin le Grand, St Mary Arches, St Anthony's Hospital, and St Dunstan in the East.⁵³ In the following year, four distinguished city rectors, Litchfield at All Hallows the Great, Worthington at St Andrew's Holborn, and Coote at St Peter Cornhill, who had already been involved in the foundation of Godshouse in Cambridge, together with John Neel, rector of St Mary Colechurch and also master of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre, petitioned the Commons in Parliament that they might be allowed to establish grammar schools in their parishes. They pointed out that the city of London was 'the common concourse of this land, wherein is great multitude of young people, not only born and brought forth in the same city, but also of many other parts of this land'. Young people flocked to London 'for the lake of scolemaistres in their own country' and 'for the great almesse' of lords, merchants, and others in London. If so many come to London to learn, 'where there is great number of learners and few teachers, and all the learners are compelled to go to the same few teachers, and to no other, the masters wax rich in money, and the learners poor in cunning'.⁵⁴ The response of Henry VI was equivocal: in effect he said that he had no objection but he left the decision to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which presumably doomed the petition to failure.

One reason for the failure of the petition may have been the fact that both Worthington and Coote died very soon afterwards. Worthington had a considerable library and he left a book to his friend William Byngnam, the rector of St John Zachary and founder of Godshouse.⁵⁵ The death of both men was noted in a contemporary London chronicle: Coote as 'a worthy clerke and a grete prechoure' and Worthington as 'a notable clerke and a worthy prechour'.⁵⁶ Litchfield died in 1448 and John Neel much later in 1463. Although there is no evidence for the existence of schools at St Andrew Holborn or at All Hallows the Great, there may well have been grammar-school masters at the other two churches. At St Thomas Acre, five years after the petition, a house opposite the hospi-

tal was described as 'lately in the occupation of William Shipton citizen and grammar master'.⁵⁷ Henry Frowyk, in his will drawn up in 1453, left money to maintain and educate two choristers in the hospital, and by the early sixteenth century a grammar school was certainly held on the hospital precincts, sponsored by the Mercers' Company.⁵⁸ As we have seen, there had been grammar schools in the parish of St Peter Cornhill since the beginning of the fifteenth century, even if they had not been officially recognized. John Coote, the rector, had obviously been an enthusiastic supporter of grammar-school teachers, and he was succeeded at St Peter's in 1448 by Hugh Damlett, yet another learned Cambridge man, who had a large personal library.⁵⁹ It may have been Damlett who was responsible for the creation, at St Peter's, of the parish library later repaired by the executors of Sir John Crosby, who died in 1476.⁶⁰

There is good evidence that neither the Bishop of London nor the Chancellor of St Paul's was able to prevent the teaching of grammar in 'unlicensed' schools. Apart from the grammar masters in Cornhill, there was also an 'unlicensed' school at St Bartholomew's Hospital. From the thirteenth century it had been customary for the hospital to care for orphaned children and, in particular, for babies born to mothers in Newgate prison. The teaching of children may have developed from this original concern for foundlings.⁶¹ In 1444 John Stafford endowed a chantry in the hospital, where the priest was to be paid extra to educate boys in grammar and singing.⁶² John Reynold may have been the first schoolmaster: in his will, drawn up in February 1459, he described himself as 'magister scholarum hospitalis Sancte Crucis et Sancti Bartholomei' in west Smithfield. His will was not that of a poor man: he left a widow and a 'natural son' William to whom he bequeathed 'octo optimos libros meos de libris meis'.⁶³ By the 1470s John Barkeby was teaching grammar at St Bartholomew's and also kept a stationer's shop in St Sepulchre's parish.⁶⁴

The school at St Bartholomew's appears to have flourished in spite of the attempts of the Bishop of London and the grammar masters of the licensed schools to maintain a restrictive monopoly, and it is clear that there were other unauthorized grammar schools in London throughout the fifteenth century. But one important educational initiative, perhaps the single most interesting initiative of the fifteenth century, does appear to have foundered. By the middle of the fifteenth century Simon Eyre had become a fabulously wealthy London draper. He came originally from Brandon in Suffolk and was apprenticed to an upholster, but as early as 1419 saw the advantages of belonging to the more prestigious Company

of Drapers.⁶⁵ His wealth seems to have developed through his dealings with Italians in the 1430s and 1440s: he sold large quantities of cloth ('westerns') and bought dyes and spices.⁶⁶ In July 1439, following a dearth of corn, the Common Council decided to build a granary at Leadenhall. Simon Eyre, not yet an alderman, became involved with the project, indeed he appears to have taken it over. He was rapidly (October 1444) elected an alderman and, in a meteoric rise, was elected mayor in the following year. He continued to attend the Court of Aldermen reasonably regularly until the last two years of his life (1457–9). He attended the Court for the last time on 30 November 1457 and drew up his will the following December: in September 1458 he drafted two codicils and died on 18 September.⁶⁷ From reading Eyre's will it is apparent that the building enterprise at Leadenhall in the 1440s and 1450s had developed far beyond the simple provision of a granary, and the recent work of archaeologists has confirmed the magnitude of Eyre's project.⁶⁸

During his lifetime Eyre had seen to the construction at Leadenhall of a large quadrangular building built around a courtyard and with a chapel protruding from the eastern side (see Plates 16.1 and 16.2). Clearly this was a building intended for a purpose over and beyond that of a simple granary. In his will and its codicils Eyre never refers to a granary, but he does refer to the 'chapel and scoles' at Leadenhall 'late edified by me'. There was also a vestry, some void ground, and a garden. At the Leadenhall he had already, by 1458, established a college of five priests, six clerks and two choristers, and three schoolmasters, one to teach grammar, one writing, and the third to teach song. The grammar-school master was to be provided with an usher to assist him. It seems clear from Eyre's will and codicil that the building was completed and the college and schools may already have been in operation, but he left 3,000 marks to his executors to see to the establishment of the 'chapel and scoles'.

Eyre provided his executors with two codicils, in effect with two different strategies for putting his great scheme into operation. His hope was that the college and the three schools would be administered by his company, the Drapers, or, failing them, the prior and convent of Holy Trinity Aldgate. If neither of these communities was willing or able to use the 3,000 marks to establish the schools, then the money was to be used for a chantry college to be set up in Eyre's parish church of St Mary Woolnoth. In the event, none of this came to pass, and the codicil which gave the executors freedom to spend the 3,000 marks as they thought best was the one which was finally proved in 1473, fifteen years after Eyre's death.

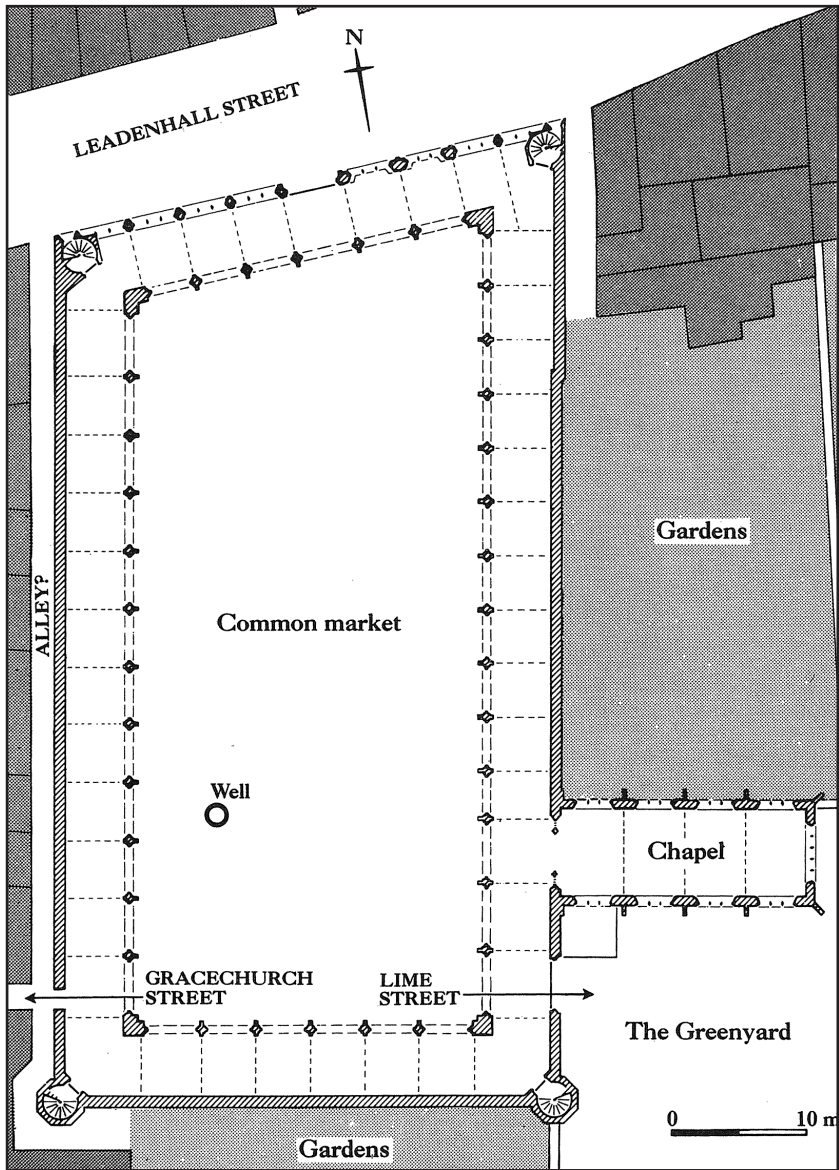


Plate 16.1. Leadenhall: reconstructed plan (Museum of London)

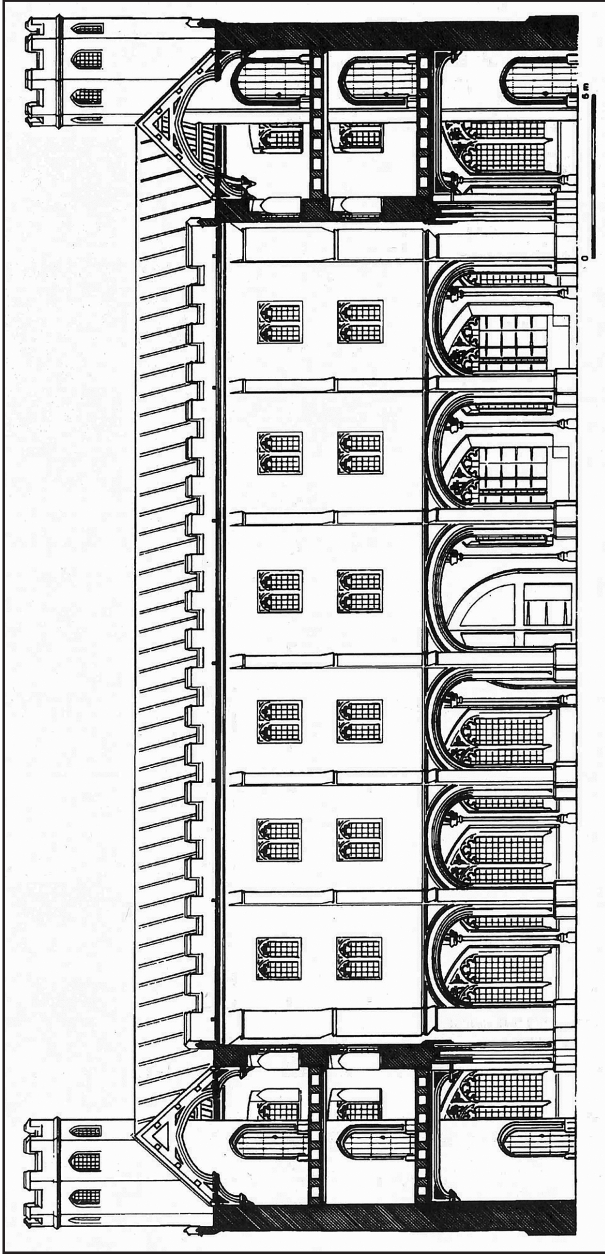


Plate 16.2. Leadenhall: reconstructed section from east to west (Museum of London)

What went wrong? Why were Eyre's executors unable to establish his great educational scheme on a permanent basis? Eyre's will makes it clear that the clergy of the college and the schoolmasters were already in place, 'there being and occupying the said place of Leadenhall', when Eyre drew up his will in September 1458. It may have been that Eyre was not as wealthy as he thought he was and there was simply not enough money to buy the necessary land for the endowment of the project. But it is worth comparing the failure of Eyre's scheme with the success of Richard Whittington's college and almshouses set up nearly forty years earlier. Both men intended their companies to administer their endowments and run their great charitable enterprise.⁶⁹ But there were differences. Whittington had no heirs, whereas Simon Eyre left two sons and a daughter, who may have made insistent demands upon their father's estate. Secondly, Whittington appears not to have drawn up such detailed schemes for the execution of his designs or, if he did, these were not incorporated into his will. The result was that his executors had much greater freedom of action and so could respond effectively to different challenges and could alter their strategies to achieve the testator's objectives. Thirdly, Whittington may have chosen more effective executors: he limited himself to four, a fellow mercer, a cleric, a scrivener, and the famous John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the city and a man with a vision of his own. Eyre, by contrast, chose his personal chaplain and three members of his household—important men in that context but not, perhaps, sufficiently important in the city. There were six supervisors, the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, three lawyers, and two gentlemen. The executors were too insignificant and the supervisors too numerous, and there may well have been opposition to the scheme, not only from the Bishop of London, ever anxious to protect the monopoly of the established city grammar schools, but also, perhaps, from the illicit grammar-school teachers, the masters of the song schools, and the scrivener teachers of writing, who would see their livelihoods challenged by the establishment of a 'super-school' at the heart of the city. The recent reconstruction drawings of Eyre's Leadenhall schools demonstrate the extent of his generosity and the breadth of his scheme.⁷⁰ Had his executors succeeded, London would have had an educational establishment as fine as any of the colleges then being built at Oxford and Cambridge.

In several respects Eyre's scheme was ahead of its time. The formal establishment or endowment of a schoolmaster to teach 'writing' would have been an innovation. In fact, the first formal appointment of a writing master in England seems to have been at Alcaster in Yorkshire in the

1460s.⁷¹ Writing had of course been taught, for example, by William Kingsmill, but *ad hoc* and informally. The second novel aspect of Eyre's scheme was his decision to entrust the administration of his college and the three schools to his Company of Drapers. Since acquiring charters of incorporation from the end of the fourteenth century, city companies had increasingly taken on long-term charitable bequests (for example, Mercers, Merchant Taylors), and the Drapers would have been well able to administer Eyre's project. But this would have been the first school in London to have been run in this way.

Other wealthy London merchants, before Simon Eyre, had conceived the idea of founding schools, not in London but in the country areas from which they came and where, as the petitioners of 1447 pointed out, there was a 'lake of scole maistres'. In his will drawn up in 1432, William Sevenoaks, grocer and alderman, endowed a free grammar school in his home town of Sevenoaks, to be run by the vicar and churchwardens.⁷² Eleven years later a mercer, John Abbot, endowed a free elementary school at Farthingoe in Northamptonshire, and gave the control of the endowments to his company.⁷³ Abbot's arrangement may have provided the model for Simon Eyre's attempt to place his new Leadenhall schools under the control of the Drapers. But in spite of Eyre's failure, or rather the failure of his executors, 'company schools' continued to be founded outside London. Sir Edmund Shaa's free grammar school, set up in 1487 in his home town of Stockport, was (and still is) run by the Company of Goldsmiths.⁷⁴ The grammar school at Macclesfield was endowed under the 1503 will of Sir John Percival, the first merchant taylor to become mayor of London. Here again the new school was to be run by the London company.⁷⁵ Another wealthy goldsmith, Sir Bartholomew Rede, founded a free grammar school in his home town of Cromer in Norfolk, and entrusted its management to his company.⁷⁶ So John Colet at St Paul's, and his numerous Protestant successors, who founded schools throughout the length and breadth of England, had many models which they could copy and much experience on which to draw.⁷⁷

In the course of the fifteenth century, London was increasingly well supplied with song schools, formal grammar schools, informal grammar schools run by laymen, and writing schools. For those with the necessary leisure and to a lesser extent means (for there were free schools like St Anthony's), there were ample opportunities to acquire practical literary skills. But what of the man—or woman—who wished to continue to learn? Was there any provision for what we would now call higher or con-

tinuing education? It is customary to think of adult scholars living and working in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but it has recently been pointed out that many of the notable theologians of the early fourteenth century, such as Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, and Thomas Bradwardine, Chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral (1337–49) until his translation to Canterbury, lived and worked in London, either attached to the cathedral, or as members of, or visitors to, the conventual houses of the friars in the city; or simply because all the bishops and the mitred abbots had town houses in London where scholars and administrators gathered.⁷⁸ There was a strong intellectual presence in London which was, naturally enough, focused on theology. The Chancellor of St Paul's was expected to conduct a theological school, presumably intended for the clergy attached to the cathedral, and he used a room under the chapter house.⁷⁹ By the 1460s the Chancellor seems to have appointed a deputy to give his lectures and his choice fell on the formidable Dr William Ive, an Oxford graduate who was, at the time, Master of Whittington College. Dr Ive gave public lectures at St Paul's in response to a dispute provoked by a young Carmelite friar, Henry Parker, himself the son of a London skinner, who argued the case for the absolute poverty of Christ. This inflammatory dispute was conducted in a series of combative sermons both at St Paul's and at the Carmelite house in Fleet Street. The debate, which was recorded in some detail by a London chronicler, clearly attracted the attention of London citizens in some numbers, and provides a good example of the kind of spectator education available now on television, but found then by listening to sermons and lectures.⁸⁰

Again, it is customary to think of a predilection for sermons and lectures as a particularly Protestant craving. But several Londoners in the fifteenth century left bequests to bring in more highly qualified theologians from Oxford and Cambridge to preach in the city: the book-loving John Carpenter left money for an unbeneficed Oxford or Cambridge scholar to come to preach at St Paul's,⁸¹ and William Jarden, a tailor, bequeathed the Catherine Wheel, an inn in Tothill Street, Westminster, to Queen's College Oxford in return for prayers and an annual visit by a university trained priest to deliver a sermon in St Margaret's Westminster.⁸² There was an open-air pulpit at St Paul's Cross in the cathedral precinct where sermons were frequently preached⁸³ and the mayor and aldermen sponsored sermons at the hospital of St Mary Bishopsgate on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday following Easter. The names of some of those who were selected are recorded in the 1440s and 1450s; the men chosen

were eminent Oxford and Cambridge graduates; some were the notable rectors of city churches like William Litchfield, John Coote, and Gilbert Worthington, who were supporters of Godshouse at Cambridge and the promoters of further grammar schools in London. Also chosen to preach were the distinguished Thomas Ebrale, rector of All Hallows Honey Lane, and the opponent of Reginald Peacock; John Pynchebeck, the rector of St Mary Abchurch, who became first a Carthusian, then a brother at Syon, and finally a Mendicant friar. William Godard, a Franciscan friar, and Thomas Henry, an Augustinian, were also among those who gave sermons.⁸⁴ Whittington's college, founded by his executors in the 1420s and administered by the Mercers' Company, also seems to have been a centre of learning and debate. It flourished under a succession of distinguished doctors of theology and in 1490 Edward Underwood, the master, founded a fraternity there dedicated to the Holy Wisdom, to encourage the reading and discussion of a lecture on theology.⁸⁵ Moreover, the legal Inns of Court provided an alternative non-clerical higher education for country gentlemen and, to a lesser extent, for the sons of London citizens. Divided from the city by the Fleet river, the lawyers were a constant source of rowdy troublemakers, yet the existence of the legal inns provided London with its own distinctive 'university'.⁸⁶

But further learning may be dependent not only upon listening but also upon reading. There were certainly libraries in London, most notably, but not exclusively, in the religious houses. St Paul's, of course, had a very substantial library, as did the abbey at Westminster. All the six houses of friars had libraries and there is evidence for the existence of libraries at a further seven religious houses near London.⁸⁷ In the early fourteenth century Andrew Horn, the learned city chamberlain, was able to borrow books from the library of the Cluniac house at Bermondsey, and he is unlikely to have been the only Londoner to borrow books from a religious house.⁸⁸ A collection of books was stolen from the library of the Crutched Friars in 1359, and the poverty of the royal foundation of St Mary Graces (Eastminster) forced the abbot to pledge nine volumes valued at 44 shillings.⁸⁹ The civic importance of the libraries of the religious houses is perhaps suggested by Richard Whittington's very substantial contribution of £400 to the building of the new library at Greyfriars early in the fifteenth century.⁹⁰

New libraries were established in the fifteenth century which reflected the new lay demand for and interest in education. After Whittington's death in 1423 his chief executor, John Carpenter, used

some of his considerable wealth to establish the first ‘public library’, adjacent to the Guildhall. The library was housed in a substantial, purpose-built building, in which the books were chained, but accessible to all who wished to read them. The main users may well have been the priests of nearby Guildhall College or the boys of the song school—‘Carpenter’s children’—but it was deliberately set up in such a way that the books would be available to all. The library attracted numerous benefactors in the course of the fifteenth century, but its close connection with the Guildhall College of chantry priests spelled its doom in the 1540s.⁹¹ But there was another initiative which may have involved lay people, both as donors and as readers. There is evidence for the existence of parish libraries in several London churches and the practice may well have been more widespread than the surviving evidence. It is not surprising, perhaps, that there was a library at St Peter Cornhill, a parish in which there was a succession of grammar masters; but the existence at St James Garlickhythe, for example, of a considerable library which included two chained books written in French, a Bible, and a ‘boke of Holy Wryte’, is perhaps less expected.⁹²

Having access to a library is one thing, but owning a book is another. Sylvia Thrupp noted with some disapproval that only 20 per cent of the fifteenth-century London testaments mention books and at least half of these were liturgical or devotional works. But books that were singled out for mention were obviously those that were the most valuable and books could vary greatly in value. Among the records of the mayor’s court may be found books worth as much as £10 (a ‘Corpus Legis Canoni’ and ‘a “Book of Romaunce of King Alexander” in verse, well and curiously illuminated’), and as little as the two psalters and a gradual among the possessions of an ironmonger, which were valued at 3*d.*⁹³ Then, as now, the greatest readers may not have been those with the largest and most valuable private libraries.

The reorganization and development of the ‘book-making’ crafts in the late fourteenth or fifteenth centuries suggests the burgeoning demand for their products. In the fourteenth century there were separate guilds of limners (illustrators), text writers, court writers, bookbinders, and scribes who, nominally at least, wrote documents and letters rather than books. In 1403 the text writers, limners, bookbinders, and booksellers united into one guild, but they were still called by many names, although by the 1440s this guild was known by the name of Stationers.⁹⁴ Many stationers and scribes lived in or near Paternoster Row, lying to the north of St Paul’s Cathedral,⁹⁵ and another cluster of these bookmakers was to be

found in Smithfield where John Shirley, John Cok, and John Pye, among others, lived in the middle of the century.⁹⁶ The advent of printed books, at first imported in large quantities from northern Europe in the 1470s and 1480s, and then followed gradually by indigenous works from the presses of William Caxton, Wynken de Worde, and other printers settled in the western suburbs of London, suggests that readers were to be found in London itself as well as at the royal court.

It is not easy to know what books Londoners chose to read. The culture of the merchant class was inevitably eclectic, for the families which comprised the mercantile elite absorbed newcomers from different parts of England who made their fortunes in London, but also had matrimonial links with the gentry and aristocracy. By the mid-fifteenth century, it is likely that most members of this mercantile class spoke, read, and wrote English. A diminishing number would have had some command of French and a few would have read and understood Latin, in particular, the liturgy of the Church and the phraseology of the legal document. But once English became the dominant written as well as spoken language, so London merchants and artisans could play their part in developing and refining the uses and forms of their mother tongue. And it is clear that in the course of the fifteenth century, English—not exclusively in London, but certainly there—was developing into a strong and supple medium, not only for business transactions, accounts, ordinances, and record-keeping, but also for poetry, for religious treatises, and for private letters. Most Londoners were immigrants and they brought to their adopted city the richness of their own dialects. Geoffrey Chaucer wrote in London; Thomas Usk, the author of *The Testament of Love*, acted as the secretary for the radical mayor, John of Northampton, in the 1370s and eighties; William Langland lived in Cornhill and travelled around the city reciting and reworking his great poem.⁹⁷ As early as 1400 a copy of *Piers Plowman* was in the possession of the rector of the London church of St Alphege.⁹⁸ Nor was Langland the only Londoner to write alliterative verse: John Tickhill, a rent collector for St Paul's Cathedral, wrote a wistful alliterative poem while on a spring jaunt to Bishopswood in Stepney.⁹⁹ John Gower moved in court circles but his home was in Southwark. Thomas Hoccleve, a chancery clerk who lived in London but worked in Westminster in the early fifteenth century, dedicated his poems to members of the aristocracy, but also to Thomas Marleburgh, a London stationer, and to John Carpenter, the famous common clerk of London.¹⁰⁰

John Carpenter, who acted as the executor for Richard Whittington, and used his money to build the public library at Guildhall, also endowed a song school at Guildhall College to which he bequeathed his notable private library. Whittington himself was a benefactor of the library at Greyfriars, and one of his apprentices, Thomas Rous, at his death in 1434 left a considerable collection of books to his son Guy, including *The Book of Conscience* and *Piers Plowman*.¹⁰¹ Surviving manuscripts also, by their inscriptions, bear witness to a world of book-using Londoners that is not apparent in wills. John Killum, a London citizen who died in 1416, had commissioned a copy of Hilton's works *The Scale of Perfection* and *The Treatise on the Mixed Life*. At his death these were to be given to his friend Richard Colop. Robert Holland, a draper who died in 1441, also commissioned a copy of Hilton's works 'for a comyn profite'. The owners of the book were in succession to pray for Holland as the book 'was delivered and committed from person to person, man or woman, as long as the book endureth'.¹⁰²

Just as it is possible, in the first half of the fifteenth century, to discern a network of book lovers and users (Whittington, Carpenter, Rous), so in the later part of the century Dr Julia Boffey and Dr Carol Meale have found networks of book owners focused on the Warner and Frowyk families.¹⁰³ The Warners were friendly with the goldsmith Bartholomew Rede, who had served his apprenticeship with Hugh Bryce. It was to Bryce that Simon Eyre had entrusted the London property known as the Cardinal's Hat, an inn in Cornhill, where Master William Relyk—John Seward's opponent—had once held his grammar school, and Bryce, in turn, used this property to endow a song school at St Mary Woolnoth.¹⁰⁴ As well as being concerned about schooling, Bryce was also one of Caxton's patrons. Professor Doyle has demonstrated that, although Caxton may have sought wealthy and influential patrons like Sir Hugh Bryce or Margaret of York, his printed books were sold to and presumably read by ordinary people, London citizens, parish clergy, and country gentlemen. At an early date, copies of Caxton's works (e.g. the *Recueil of the Histories of Troy*, or *Godfrey of Boloyne*) were owned by comparatively modest Londoners like the mercer Roger Thorney and the draper Thomas Shukburgh, who acted as churchwarden for All Hallows London Wall.¹⁰⁵ The widespread use of printed books is suggested by customs accounts for 1480–1 when 900 printed books of 'diverse histories' were imported into London, together with thirty gross of spectacles, presumably to assist long-sighted readers.¹⁰⁶

It is not easy to assess how widespread were the skills of reading and writing among the population of London at large. In the ecclesiastical courts by the middle of the fifteenth century, it was customary to describe witnesses as *literates* or not: this seems to have meant simply the ability to read (if not to construe) Latin. Between 1467 and 1476, 116 male witnesses appeared before the London consistory court: forty-eight (i.e. 40 per cent) were described as *literate*. As Sylvia Thrupp has pointed out, if 40 per cent of the male Londoners of this period could read Latin, then it is a fair guess that rather more could read English.¹⁰⁷ They acquired these skills in elementary schools, song schools, and grammar schools in the city, and they were nurtured by the availability of manuscripts and books in libraries, in stationers' shops, in parish churches, and in the homes of prosperous London merchants.

Many of these educational opportunities were also available to girls and to women; the ability of women to read and to write is frequently assumed and is not considered remarkable. It was assumed that city orphans, whether boys or girls, would receive some schooling; and William Rous, a mercer who died in 1486, left the same amount of money for each of his children, specifying that the girls were to go to school as the boys did.¹⁰⁸ The Statute of 1406 specified that 'every man or woman, of whatever estate or condition he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any manner school that pleaseth them'.¹⁰⁹ Obviously, the chances of girls going to school were better in London where there were more schools. Moreover, not all of the school teachers were men: William Cressewyk, a London grocer, left 20 shillings to 'E. Scholemaysteresse' in his remarkably 'feminist' will of 1406 and the same, or a different woman, appears again in a will of 1441.¹¹⁰ From these women, and doubtless from male schoolmasters also, women learnt the skills necessary for them to run businesses, keep accounts, act as executors, check bills of sale, and cope with correspondence; skills which they needed in order to work alongside their husbands, or to run businesses on their own when they chose to trade as *femmes soles* during marriage or as widows.¹¹¹

But the skills thus acquired were not solely utilitarian and for business purposes. A woman (or man) educated in this way could read letters and books. John Paston III intended to conduct a courtship correspondence with the daughter of a London draper and it was for this reason he declared to her that he was proud that she could read English.¹¹² Women were often designated as the recipients of books in wills: William Palmer left his copy of *Piers Plowman* to an otherwise unknown woman, Agnes

Essexfield; William Cressewyk stipulated that his wife was to have his copy of the *Legend of Saints* for her life and it was then to go to Holy Trinity Priory. This suggests, surely, that he expected her to use and enjoy the book: otherwise why delay the bequest to Holy Trinity? In the same spirit perhaps, John Brunton, a London mercer, left a copy of the *Legend of Saints* in English to his daughter, who was a nun at Halliwell.¹¹³ Robert Holland, who commissioned a copy of Hilton's works which was to be passed from person to person 'as long as it endureth', presumed that the recipients might be men or women. The unselfconscious way in which women were included in literate activities suggests that their abilities and skills were largely taken for granted.

When John Colet in the early sixteenth century reorganized and reformed the old grammar school at St Paul's, and placed it under the administrative control of the London company of Mercers, he was working within a well-established tradition: grammar masters and informal schools were ubiquitous in London by the end of the fifteenth century; free schooling was also available,¹¹⁴ and there was an expectation that boys and girls would have mastered reading and writing before embarking upon their training as apprentices. City companies were already running schools outside London and administering numerous chantries and almshouses within the city. The teaching of Greek in Colet's school was indeed new, but there was in London a climate of intellectual enquiry and a concern for education in its broadest aspects. Perhaps we should not be surprised that Erasmus wrote to Colet from Paris in 1506, albeit in a flattering vein, 'there is no entire country which has bred me so many friends, so sincere, so learned, so devoted, so brilliant, so distinguished by every kind of virtue, as the single City of London.'¹¹⁵

NOTES

¹ A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation 1546–1548* (London, 1896); *Educational Charters and Documents 598–1909* (Cambridge, 1911); *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915). For a recent study of Leach's work see John N. Miner, *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England: Leach in Historical Perspective* (Montreal, 1990).

² W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480–1660* (London, 1959), and *The Charities of London 1480–1660: The Aspirations and Achievements of the Urban Society* (London, 1960).

³ J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1964; 2nd edn., 1979); see esp. the judicious introduction, 'The Fifteenth-Century Background'. N. Orme has written an excellent up-to-date survey of the subject, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), which has produced a great deal of new evidence and steers a careful course between Leach and his critics. J. P. Anglin, *The Third University: A Survey of Schools and Schoolmasters in the Elizabethan Diocese of London* (Norwood, Pennsylvania, 1985), provides in his first chapter 'Pre-Elizabethan Foundations' a useful survey of educational facilities available not only in London but throughout the diocese (i.e. including Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex); but this account assumes rather than proves his hypothesis that the schools of London in 1485 were 'decadent'.

⁴ B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), esp. 74 n., 214–5.

⁵ G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200–1540* (Oxford, 1989), 207–9.

⁶ N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1971), i. p. xlii.

⁷ B. Cottle, *The Triumph of English 1350–1400* (London, 1969).

⁸ The letters were copied into their chronicles by Thomas Walsingham and Henry Knighton and are most easily available in R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, 1970; 2nd edn., 1983), 380–3. For recent discussion of these letters, see the articles by R. F. Green and S. Crane in B. A. Hanawalt (ed.), *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context* (Minneapolis, 1992).

⁹ The proclamation is printed in H. T. Riley (ed.), *Memorials of London and London Life . . . AD 1276–1419* (London, 1868), 480–1; the will is printed in R.W. Chambers and M. Daunt (eds.), *A Book of London English 1384–1425* (Oxford, 1931), 209–10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 139.

¹¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 vols., London, 1832), iii. 294, printed in Dobson, *Peasants' Revolt*, 346.

¹² *Statutes of the Realm*, 7 Henry IV, c. 17; printed in Leach, *Charters*, 386.

¹³ In January 1412, a 'cumpanye of trewe men' had affixed a paper written in English to the door of a garden in the parish of All Hallows Barking, *Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London 1381–1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1932), 313.

¹⁴ C. M. Barron, 'The Deposition of Richard II', in John Taylor and Wendy Childs (eds.), *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England* (Gloucester, 1990), 140–2. [*Reprinted as Chapter 4 in the present volume.*]

¹⁵ Riley, *Memorials*, 390.

¹⁶ Cited by M. G. Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry* (York, 1976), 27. The tenant was John FitzRichard and a London grocer with that name is recorded in 1430; A. H. Thomas, *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413–1437* (Cambridge, 1943), 242.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 41.

¹⁸ Westminster Abbey Muniments, original indenture no. 5962. Cf. the case of Thomas Bodyn, an apprentice haberdasher, who complained to the Lord Chancellor because his master had failed to allow him to have two years to learn grammar and writing as he had been promised in his indentures, PRO, ECP C1/r9/491; cited by Orme, *English Schools*, 48. The Skinners allowed two apprentices from the country to have three months in which to learn to read and write; S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor, Mich., paperback, 1962), 158.

¹⁹ Printed from the Goldsmiths' Book of Ordinances in T. F. Reddaway and Lorna Walker (eds.), *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327–1509* (London, 1975), 261–2.

²⁰ Riley, *Memorials*, 378–9, 446–7.

²¹ Orme, *English Schools*, 29–36.

²² R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Coroners Rolls of the City of London 1300–1378* (London, 1913), 25.

²³ For Westminster see Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 32, 214–5 and Leach, *Charters*, 307–15; for St Paul's see A. F. Leach, 'St Paul's School before Colet', *Archaeologia*, lxii (1910), 191–238; E. Rickert, 'Chaucer at School', *Modern Philology*, xxix (1932), 257–74; K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), 313–24; John Campynet, master of the boys, was a member of the confraternity at St Mary Overy in the fifteenth century, BL, Add. MS 62105, ex. inf. Dr Martha Carlin.

²⁴ See below, n. 49.

²⁵ P. E. Jones (ed.), *Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda Rolls 1458–1482* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. ix–xiii, xix–xxi, 127–31.

²⁶ See the will of Sir Hugh Bryce, Alderman, in R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Enrolled in the Court of Husting of London* (London, 1890), ii. 600–1.

²⁷ C. J. Kitching (ed.), *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate, 1548*, London Record Soc., 16, (1980), 5–6, 14; Henry Littlehales, *The Medieval Records of a London City Church: St Mary at Hill 1420–1559* (EETS, 1905), pp. xx, xxiv.

²⁸ J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii. part I (London, 1864), 38–9.

²⁹ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 159 and n. 9.

³⁰ Guildhall Library, Commissary Wills, MS 9171/2 f. 88. For other English schoolmistresses in this period see Orme, *English Schools*, 54–5.

³¹ A. F. Leach was the first to point out the variations in the different manuscripts of FitzStephen's account; see 'The Ancient Schools in the City of London', in Sir Walter Besant, *London: City* (London, 1910), 385–429, esp. 387. These manuscripts are also discussed in John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), ii. 387, and C. N. L. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), 88 n. 3. The text of FitzStephen's account has been frequently printed, most recently in S. Reynolds, W. de Boer, and G.

MacNiocaill (eds.), *Elenchus Fontium Historiae Urbanae* (Leiden, 1988), 76–83. Some of the manuscripts do not name the schools, but Bodley MS Marshall 75 (13th century) and the version in the *Liber Custumarum* (early 14th century) gloss the text and state that the three churches were St Paul's, Holy Trinity, and St Martin's. Although Stow printed his text of FitzStephen using the Marshall and *Liber Custumarum* manuscripts (Stow, ii. 218–29), yet in his gloss upon FitzStephen's work earlier in the book, Stow states that the three churches were St Paul's, the monastery of St Peter's at Westminster, and the school at the Cluniac house of St Saviour's at Bermondsey (Stow, i. 72–3).

³² Orme, *English Schools*, 168–70, 210–11. These three schools were associated together in a petition to Parliament in 1393–4 in defence of their monopoly of the teaching of grammar in the city of London; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii. 324, discussed in J. E. G. de Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education* (Cambridge, 1902), 41–2.

³³ For St Mary le Bow see M. Gibbs, *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London* (Camden Soc., 3rd ser. lviii, 1939), no. 275; *Cal. Close Rolls 1385–89*, 237; Leach, *Charters*, 238–41. For St Martin the Grand see Gibbs, *Early Charters*, and R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book B* (London, 1900), 73. For St Paul's see Leach, 'St Paul's' and *London: City*, 389–93.

³⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii. 324.

³⁵ 1392, *Cal. Select Pleas and Memoranda 1381–1412*, 182.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 214.

³⁷ New grammar schools which challenged established monopolies appeared elsewhere in England, e.g. at Beverley and at York; see H. M. Jewell, "The bringing up of children in good learning and manners": A Survey of Secular Educational Provision in the North of England c.1350–1550', *Northern History*, xviii (1982), 1–25, esp. 10.

³⁸ Will cited by Rickert, 'Chaucer at School', 272.

³⁹ See V. H. Galbraith, 'John Seward and his Circle: Some London Scholars of the Early Fifteenth Century', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, i (1941–3), 85–104. In addition to his work as a schoolmaster and Latin correspondent, Seward also played a large part in compiling the cartulary of the parish church of St Peter Cornhill dated 1 February 1425, now Guildhall Library MS 4158. There are several references in the cartulary to Seward's activities as a parishioner, ranging in date from 1411 to 1423; see ff. 211, 234, 242. The provision of a grammar-school education in the parish may go back to the early thirteenth century: in about 1225 a Franciscan friar 'taught letters' in the church of St Peter; see A. G. Little's review of Leach, *Schools*, in *English Historical Review*, xxx (1915), 529.

⁴⁰ Leach, *Charters*, 396–7. From 1417 onwards the accounts of the Merchant Taylors' Company record that one of the company's tenements in Cornhill was leased to 'le scolemaister'. In 1437–8 the accounts record separate repairs to the 'scolemaister's place' and the schoolhouse. By 1454 the schoolmaster was

Robert Killingholme and by 1472 he had been succeeded by 'Master Stephen'. I am extremely grateful to Dr Matthew Davies for providing me with this information.

⁴¹ Galbraith, 'John Seward', 89–91, 104. For the later history of the Cardinal's Hat, see below, n. 104.

⁴² See n. 40 above. In 1439–41 there is a reference to 'Morton, the schoolmaster's son in Cornhill'; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 156 n. 2. Robert Driffeld 'scolemaister', who had lived as a married man in the parish of St Peter Cornhill, died in 1445; Guildhall Library, Commissary Wills MS 9171/4 f. 172v. Both Morton and Driffeld may have been tenants of the Taylors' Company.

⁴³ Seward's will is printed in Galbraith, 'John Seward', 98–9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 85–6, 96–7.

⁴⁵ Moreover, at the same time that Seward and Relyk were exchanging verses, another layman, Thomas Alanby, was 'magister scholarum gramaticarum' in Bassishaw. He was twice married and left 'omnes libros meos', together with 'duas mappas', to his son Thomas when he died in 1438, Guildhall Library, Commissary Wills MS 9171/4 f. 1.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436–41*, 295; A. H. Lloyd, *The Early History of Christ's College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1934), 356–7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 14–98.

⁴⁸ For Carpenter see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (3 vols., Oxford, 1957–9), i. 360–1; R. M. Harries, 'Aspects of the Episcopate of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester 1447–76', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xix (1968), 11–40.

⁴⁹ Robert Gilbert, Bishop of London, agreed to this appropriation, 28 January 1441, see his Register, Guildhall Library MS 9531/6, ff. 205–205v. This appropriation was also confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's; Guildhall Library MS 25513 ff. 186–188v. I am grateful to Irene Zadnik of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for providing me with these references. The later history of St Anthony's Hospital and School is provided by Leach in *London: City*, 408–29.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 411. Benet drew up his will in December 1458, in which he was described as 'of the parish of St Benet Fink'; but he wished to be buried in the church of St Olave, Southwark. The administration of his goods was committed to his wife, Elene, and to John Weston: it is a modest will; Guildhall Library, Commissary wills 9171/5 f. 263v.

⁵¹ In 1475 John Symmes, bowyer, left money for placebo and dirige to be sung by the children of the school: the Master and the Usher of the school were to accompany the children to the church: the Master was to receive 4*d.* and the Usher and the children 2*d.* each, Guildhall Library, Commissary wills 9171/6 f. 18rv. I am very grateful to Miss Barbara Megson for this reference. A school book, probably compiled by a boy at St Anthony's (possibly John Claveryng) which refers to the making of garlands on St Anthony's day (f. 191), survives as BL Add. MS 37075; see David Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle*

English Grammatical Texts (New York and London, 1979), 219–32.

⁵² R. W. Chambers (ed.), *Harfsfield's Life of More* (EETS, 1932), 10; Stow, i. 74.

⁵³ Guildhall Library, Register of Bishop Gilbert, Guildhall Library MS 9531/6, f. 214v; the episcopal prohibition was confirmed by the king, 3 May 1446, *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441–46*, 432; Leach, *Charters*, 416–8. The reference to St Dunstan's in the East is puzzling since there is no other indication that there was a grammar school there in the fifteenth century, although in 1547 there was a 'master of the singing children'; Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 14.

⁵⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, v. 137; Leach, *Charters*, 418–20.

⁵⁵ Lloyd, *Christ's College Cambridge*, 83.

⁵⁶ C. L. Kingsford, 'An Historical Collection of the Fifteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, xxix (1914), 505–15, esp. 514.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1437–57*, 120. By 1465 William Shipton had moved to Tower Royal, or La Riolo (Queen Philippa's wardrobe) in the parish of St Thomas Apostle, just north of the Vintry, *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452–61*, 285.

⁵⁸ *Husting Wills*, ii. 542; in 1536 the children and schoolmaster of the school at St Thomas of Acre took part in a procession alongside the boys of St Paul's and St Anthony's; C. L. Kingsford, 'Two London Chronicles', *Camden Miscellany*, 3rd ser. xviii (1910), 11.

⁵⁹ See n. 40 above. Damlett remained at St Peter's until his death in 1476. He left books to Pembroke College Cambridge, the Cambridge University Library, Guildhall Library, St Paul's Cathedral, and Syon Abbey, A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963).

⁶⁰ R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londonense* (2 vols., London, 1708–10), i. 523; Stow, i. 194; Neil Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (Royal Historical Society, 1964), 221.

⁶¹ In 1260 two boys were educated in the Hospital and they are unlikely to have been the only ones; N. J. Kerling (ed.), *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital* (London, 1973), 107.

⁶² *Husting Wills*, ii. 508; Kerling, *Cartulary*, 9.

⁶³ Reynold left several bequests to the Master, brothers, sisters and the poor of the Hospital, Guildhall Library, Commissary wills MS 9171/5 f. 270v.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls 1476–85*, 28; C. P. Christianson, *Memorials of the Book Trade in Medieval London* (Woodbridge, 1987), 52. Barkeby was not the only scrivener to live in the vicinity of St Bartholomew's: John Shirley (d. 1456), John Cok, the scribe of the St Bartholomew's cartulary, Edward Norys, scrivener, and John Pye, stationer, also lived in the area; see A. I. Doyle, 'More Light on John Shirley', *Medium Ævum*, xxx (1961), 93–101.

⁶⁵ *Calendar of Letter Book I*, 215. The definitive biography of Simon Eyre remains to be written. There are numerous references to him in the records of the City of London; and see Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 339; A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* (2 vols., London, 1913), ii. 9.

⁶⁶ For Eyre's dealings with Italians see *Cal. Plea and Memoranda Rolls*

1413–37, 226, 292; *ibid.*, 1437–57, 41–2; PRO Exchequer 101/128/30 and 31. I am grateful to Dr Helen Bradley for these unpublished references.

⁶⁷ Eyre's will was enrolled in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PRO Probate 11/4 ff. 100v–106. There is also a copy of Eyre's will preserved at Drapers' Hall, ref. A III 135.

⁶⁸ Mark Samuel, 'The Fifteenth-Century Garner at Leadenhall', *Antiquaries Journal*, lxi (1989), part I, 119–53.

⁶⁹ For an account of Whittington's will and the work of his executors see J. Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London, 1968).

⁷⁰ Samuel, 'The Fifteenth-Century Garner'.

⁷¹ Miner, *Grammar Schools*, 220; cf. Orme, *English Schools*, 63.

⁷² Unusually, Sevenoaks stipulated that the master of his school was not to be a priest, but a layman (i.e. like John Sewarde); Leach, *Schools*, 244, 279; Orme, *English Schools*, 315. For the wills of Sevenoaks and of one of his trustees, William Burton, see *Husting Wills*, ii. 462, 466, 467, 484; Stow, ii. 172.

⁷³ Leach, *Schools*, 244; Orme, *English Schools*, 203, 206, 303. Since the schoolmaster was also the chantry priest, the school shared his fate in 1547, *VCH Northamptonshire*, ii. 280–1.

⁷⁴ Leach, *Schools*, 245; Orme, *English Schools*, 317; B. Varley, *The History of Stockport Grammar School* (Manchester, 1946).

⁷⁵ Leach, *Schools*, 245–6; Orme, *English Schools*, 310; C. S. Davies, *A History of Macclesfield* (Manchester, 1961), 211–12; C. Richmond, 'The English Gentry and Religion c.1500', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), 126–7; M. Davies, 'Dame Thomasine Percyvale', in Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (eds.), *Medieval London Widows 1350–1500* (London, 1994), 185–207.

⁷⁶ Leach, *Schools*, 246; Orme, *English Schools*, 301; Reddaway and Walker, *Goldsmiths' Company*, esp. 177–80.

⁷⁷ On the founding of free schools before the Reformation see Simon, *Education and Society*, 31–2; Jewell, 'Educational Provision in the North of England', *Northern History*, xviii (1982), 1–25, esp. 16–7; Jordan, *Charities of London*, 211–50.

⁷⁸ D. W. Robertson, *Chaucer's London* (New York, 1968), ch. 5; W. J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), 91–106.

⁷⁹ Leach, 'St Paul's', 219, 226, 228; Orme, *English Schools*, 80–1.

⁸⁰ For the account in the London Chronicle, usually attributed to William Gregory, see J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Soc., NS xvii, 1876), 228–32. The best modern account of this dispute is provided by F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite Friars and the Secular Clergy of London 1464–1468', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vi (1955), 156–74. The Carmelite House (Whitefriars) seems to have played a particularly vigorous intellectual role in London; see Robertson, *Chaucer's London*, 198; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1992), 244, 377.

⁸¹ *Cal. Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1458–82*, 129–30.

⁸² Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, 383.

⁸³ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St Paul's* (London, 1881), 152. Philip Malpas, in his will drawn up in 1469, left money to fund a preacher at St Paul's Cross for ten years; E. A. Ashby, 'Some Aspects of Parish Life in London' (unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1950), 141–2.

⁸⁴ For the names of the preachers chosen in November/December 1441, 1446, 1452, 1454, see Corporation of London Record Office, Journal 3 f. 105v; 4 f. 110v; 5 ff. 93, 212v. The biographies of all these men are to be found in Emden, *Biographical Register*. In 1447 William Estfeld, the notable London mayor, left money for a sermon to be preached from the pulpit of the Hospital of St Mary Bishopsgate, *Husting Wills*, ii. 510.

⁸⁵ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 491–2. Dr Gilbert Haydock (d. 1481) left money to pay each of the four fellows of the college 13s. 4d. to preach two additional sermons each year in the city of London or elsewhere; *ibid.* 492.

⁸⁶ Simon, *Education and Society*, 53–6.

⁸⁷ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 120–7, 195–7; Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 101–2; Rickert discusses the possible impact of the libraries at St Paul's upon the young Chaucer in *Modern Philology*, xxix (1932), 257–74. R. W. Chambers discusses the influence of the libraries at Sheen, St Bartholomew's Smithfield, and Charterhouse upon young Thomas More in Harpesfield's *Life of More*, pp. cxxvi–cxxx.

⁸⁸ N. Denholm Young, 'Catalogue of the Bermondsey Priory', *English Historical Review*, xlviii (1933), 431–43.

⁸⁹ Riley, *Memorials*, 303–4; *Cal. Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413–1437*, 248.

⁹⁰ C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (London, 1915), 170.

⁹¹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 126–7; C. M. Barron, *The Medieval Guildhall of London* (London, 1974), 33–5.

⁹² For parish libraries at St Peter Cornhill and St James Garlickhythe see Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 162; and see n. 60 above. The inventory of St James Garlickhythe, which was written by the parson, William Huntingdon, in 1449, is now among the muniments of Westminster Abbey, WAM 6644. For the existence of libraries at St Michael Crooked Lane, All Hallows London Wall, and St Mary Aldermanbury see Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 126, 221, 324. John Croke, skinner, who died in 1481, left 40 marks for mending the books in his parish church of All Hallows, Barking, and to buy more books; information from Kay Lacey; see her essay on Margaret Croke in Barron and Sutton (eds.), *Medieval London Widows*, 143–64.

⁹³ *Cal. Select Pleas and Memoranda 1381–1412*, 11, 19; Riley, *Memorials*, 283.

⁹⁴ 1403, *ibid.* 557; Christianson, *Memorials of the Book Trade*, 50.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 49–53.

⁹⁶ See n. 64 above.

⁹⁷ C. M. Barron, 'William Langland: A London Poet', in Hanawalt, *Chaucer's England*, 91–109.

⁹⁸ R. A. Wood, 'A Fourteenth-Century Owner of *Piers Plowman*', *Medium Ævum*, liii (1984), 83–90.

⁹⁹ R. Kennedy, 'A Bird in Bishopswood: Some Newly Discovered Lines of Alliterative Verse from the Late Fourteenth Century', in M. Stokes and T. L. Burton (eds.), *Medieval Literature and Antiquities* (Woodbridge, 1987), 71–87.

¹⁰⁰ J. A. Burrow, 'Autobiographical Poetry in the Middle Ages: The Case of Thomas Hoccleve', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1983, 389–412; A. I. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), 162–81, esp. 172. For Marleburgh see C. P. Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300–1500* (New York, 1990), 131–2.

¹⁰¹ S. H. Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300–1450' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 749–50.

¹⁰² Chambers, *Harpesfield's Life of More*, pp. cviii–cxxxiii. A John Killom appears once in London records in 1387, *Cal. Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1381–1412*, 128. Richard Colop does not appear at all.

¹⁰³ J. Boffey and C. M. Meale, 'Selecting the Text: Rawlinson C 86 and Some Other Books for London Readers', in F. Riddy (ed.), *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), 143–69, esp. 158.

¹⁰⁴ See above, n. 41. Eyre may have intended to move the 'Cardinal's Hat' grammar school into his new school buildings at Leadenhall. Bryce was not one of Eyre's executors, but he was entrusted with some of Eyre's property and this was used by Bryce to endow the brotherhood dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the church of St Mary Woolnoth, where both men were buried; Stow, i. 205, ii. 309. For Bryce see Reddaway and Walker, *Goldsmiths' Company*, 285–8.

¹⁰⁵ Doyle, 'English Books', 180 and n. 53. For Thomas Shukburgh as churchwarden see Charles Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows London Wall . . . 1455–1536* (London, 1912). It may have been Shukburgh who was responsible for the parish library at All Hallows; see n. 92 above.

¹⁰⁶ H. S. Cobb (ed.), *The Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1* (London Record Soc., 1990), p. xxxvi.

¹⁰⁷ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 158; cf. Ashby, thesis, appendix 4c, 486.

¹⁰⁸ William Rous left nine children, four sons and five daughters; Guildhall Library, Commissary wills, MS 9171/7 ff. 62–62v.

¹⁰⁹ Leach, *Charters*, 387.

¹¹⁰ Cressewyk's will is in Guildhall Library, Commissary wills, MS 9171/2 f. 88.

¹¹¹ For a selection of women trading as *femmes soles* in medieval London see Barron and Sutton (eds.), *Medieval London Widows*.

¹¹² Davis, *Paston Letters*, i. 590–1.

¹¹³ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 277.

¹¹⁴ In 1536 the parishioners of St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark complained that the master and brothers of the hospital had discontinued the free school there and appropriated its endowment of £4 p.a. for other purposes; James

Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII* (London, 1888), xi. 73–4.

¹¹⁵ Francis Morgan Nichols (ed.), *The Epistles of Erasmus* (3 vols., London, 1901), i. 412.

Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London*

CHIVALRY HAS BEEN DEFINED as 'the code and culture of a martial estate which regarded war as its hereditary profession'.¹ The development, from the twelfth century onwards, of secular courts as centres of clerical and lay culture, provided the context in which chivalry developed from the code of individual warriors into 'a sophisticated secular ethic' with its own mythology, erudition and rituals which gave tangible expression to its 'ideology of honour'.²

If, therefore, chivalry was predominantly martial and aristocratic, as well as Christian, then we would not, perhaps, expect to find it flourishing in the peace-loving, mercantile urban communities of medieval Europe. Indeed it has been shown how, in late medieval Germany, it was the lesser nobility who formed knightly leagues in order to protect their interests in the face of the growing strength of the towns. At tournaments these knightly societies met 'to set themselves off against the townsfolk'.³ Yet, in the towns of Flanders and north-eastern France, in Ghent, Lille, Douai, Bruges, Tournai and elsewhere, the urban patriciate and the rural nobility joined together to promote, and to participate in, *festes* and tournaments in the fourteenth century. Dr Juliet Vale has argued that in the annual *feste de l'epinette* at Lille, and in the famous *feste du roy Gallehault* held at Tournai in 1331, for example, there is nothing to suggest that there was antipathy between the nobility and the urban elite. Not only did the towns provide and pay for the heralds, but they also erected the scaffolding and enclosed the market place for the occasion. The local burghers joined with the nobility in the battles. Dr Vale has argued that the urban patriciate knew enough of Arthurian romance and armorial traditions to be able to understand the framework of the tournaments, and to give and receive challenges. At Tournai it was the heralds who allocated arms and provided a link between the urban elite and the seigneurial rural society. It would seem that in this urban society of northern Europe the bourgeois inhabitants of towns considered

themselves to be men of honour: they assumed a noble life-style and they bore arms.⁴ Prevenier has argued that in the Low Countries the well-to-do burghers imitated the behavioural patterns of the nobility, and could be found reading courtly literature.⁵ Chivalry, therefore, was as much a determinant of the code and culture of these northern townsmen as it was of the castle-bound rural nobility. John Lerner has observed a similar pattern in Italy where the lords of the contado were happy to become citizens of the towns, and there was no clear distinction, at least in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, between bourgeois and knightly culture, rather they both shared the chivalric ethic.⁶

But when we cross the channel to England the picture appears to be quite different. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries London was influenced in many ways by the economy and culture of Flanders,⁷ and yet the mayor and aldermen of London never, so far as we can tell, organised civic jousts or tournaments, nor did the City pay the salary of a herald. Although tournaments, in the fourteenth century, took place quite frequently within the City, yet they were not of the City. London citizens do not appear to have taken part in these tournaments which were organised by the Crown for the delectation of the court. It is significant that, in this period, no Londoner ever became a member of the Order of the Garter.⁸

The heart or well-spring of chivalry in fourteenth-century England, and indeed throughout the medieval period, was the royal household. It was the household officers who organised the tournaments, and the Royal Wardrobe that equipped and clothed them. In the fourteenth century the royal household moved around the country much less frequently than it had done in the Angevin period. Moreover the radius of its activity had narrowed so that London was rarely more than a day's ride away. The most favoured royal residences were Windsor, Eltham and Sheen.⁹ Dr Vale has listed fifty-five tournaments (jousts and *hastiluda*) that took place at the court of Edward III between 1327 and 1357: many of these took place near London, at Stepney, Windsor, Dartford or Dunstable, and five took place within the City itself.¹⁰ The first of Edward III's London tournaments, and perhaps the most famous, was held in Cheapside in September 1331, only three months after the elaborate tournament held in Stepney to celebrate the first birthday of the king's eldest son. The Cheapside tournament has been particularly remembered because the stand erected to

accommodate the ladies of the royal household collapsed. In spite of this mishap, it was a spectacular occasion. A solemn procession on the Sunday, in which noble ladies dressed in red velvet tunics and white hoods were led on silver chains through the City by knights dressed as tartars, was followed by three days of tourneying.¹¹ In what was probably the last tournament of Edward III's reign in 1375, Alice Perrers, dressed as the 'lady of the Sunne', rode in procession from the Tower, through Cheapside, to Smithfield. She was accompanied by a host of lords and ladies 'every lady leading a lord by his horse bridle'. At Smithfield the jousting lasted for three days.¹² It is clear from these examples that the Londoners cannot have been unaware of the tournaments which were taking place in their midst: many of them would have been spectators along the route of the processions and at the subsequent jousting. The aldermen may well have expected to entertain the knightly challengers to dinner, but there is no evidence that the Londoners themselves took part in the jousting.¹³ It is perhaps significant that at the three-day tournament held in London in May 1359 to celebrate the marriage of John of Gaunt with Blanche of Lancaster, the king, his four sons and nineteen other knights josted disguised as the mayor and aldermen of London, which would suggest that they were not expected to joust on their own account.¹⁴ The king and the household knights josted for the Londoners as a mark of respect and as a compliment, but the event tends to emphasise the fact that the London merchants did not themselves take part in tournaments. In England, tournaments were royal, household, events and, insofar as the Londoners played a part in them, it was as honoured guests, spectators and, no doubt, also as suppliers.

It is possible that there was some reluctance on the part of the Londoners to play host to these royal extravaganzas. After the 1331 Cheapside tournament, all the later London jousts were held at Smithfield. It may be that the citizens had objected to the closure of the City's busiest market thoroughfare for three days while the jousting took place. Doubtless the Londoners welcomed the increased trade which an influx of image-conscious young aristocrats brought to the City, but it was clearly more convenient if the jousting itself took place outside the City walls. It appears that the sheriffs of London were responsible in this period for erecting the bars and stands at Smithfield in preparation for these festivities. With the memory of the debacle in Cheapside in 1331 still green, the sheriffs may have undertaken this task with some reluctance.¹⁵ Such jousts sometimes provoked civic violence and lawless-

ness. When Richard II organised the famous jousts at Smithfield in 1390 to which several foreign knights were invited who jousted with English knights displaying the royal badge of the white hart, the mayor found it necessary to instruct the aldermen to ensure that a proper watch was kept in the City during the time of the 'revels and jousts' so that the City might not incur 'danger or disgrace'.¹⁶ These royal tournaments held in, or near, London have been seen as socially divisive, deliberately making a divide between 'the nobility on the one hand and the merchant class of the city on the other'.¹⁷ Sheila Lindenbaum has noted the difference between these London tournaments, where the citizens were merely spectators, and the communal and participatory tournaments at Valenciennes. It is true that the Londoners were 'merely spectators watching the world of chivalry pass through their city and superimpose a foreign identity on the landscape', but the issue is whether they wished to be included or not.¹⁸ It may well be that they chose to be excluded and were perfectly content with their own, distinct, urban culture.

But these great spectacle tournaments of the fourteenth century were to become obsolete in the next century. The last of the 'old style' tournaments probably took place in 1409. On this occasion a great eight-day play at Skinners Well (Clerkenwell) north of the city was followed by royal jousting at Smithfield when English nobles, led by John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, met French knights in battle.¹⁹ But after this there seem to have been no large scale royal jousts held at Smithfield for several decades. This may have been due to the absence of Henry V, the minority and personality of his son and the shortage of money. It is true that Sir John Astley in January 1442 jousted with some knights of Aragon in the presence of Henry VI at Smithfield. Indeed Astley was sufficiently pleased with his performance on this occasion (and others) to commission a drawing of this encounter to illustrate his own chivalric common-place book.²⁰ But, on the whole, tournaments were not a distinctive feature of the reign of Henry VI. The grand royal jousts at Smithfield held in 1467, therefore, have been characterised as part of a 'chivalric revival'.²¹ Throughout Europe, in the middle decades of the fifteenth century the large-scale, extravagant tournament was once more in fashion, spreading from Burgundy and France into Italy and Spain.²² The Smithfield tournament, in which Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, the queen's brother, challenged Anthoine, count of La Roche, one of the illegitimate sons of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (known as 'The Great Bastard of Burgundy'), was as much a diplomatic as a chivalric

event. It was the Yorkist court, influenced by the culture of Burgundy and anxious for a Burgundian alliance, which promoted the Woodville challenge, organised the tournament and ensured that no one was hurt during the jousting. The sheriffs of London found six thrifty carpenters to erect the lists, and the mayor and aldermen were allocated seats for the spectacle alongside the Burgundians who had come to cheer on their champion.²³ This was not a London occasion although it suited the participants that the jousts should take place in the City.

The attitude of the governors of London to the tournaments that took place within the mayor's jurisdiction seems to have been at worst grudging and anxious and at best tolerant and amused. There is little evidence that they were involved in this chivalric activity which was instigated by the king and members of his household.²⁴ The amused detachment of a fifteenth-century London chronicler who advised his readers who wished to have an account of the great tournament of 1467 that they should 'ax of em that felde the strokys, they can tell you best' may well reflect the nonchalant attitude of the London citizens.²⁵

If we may judge anything from the books bequeathed by London citizens in their wills, it would appear that here also their tastes were religious rather than chivalric. On the whole we are well-supplied with London wills and testaments for the years 1300 to 1500. There are, of course, problems in using the evidence of book bequests, or the lack of them, in wills since, by their nature, wills are likely to place greater emphasis on liturgical books. Moreover a testator might not list all his books in his will and the most popular texts might well have become old and worn, and so were not bequeathed.²⁶ But these eventualities would affect all will makers, not simply Londoners. Dr Susan Cavanaugh analysed hundreds of wills in which books are bequeathed, drawn up by men and women from all ranks of society in the period 1300 to 1450.²⁷ Many of these books contain bequests of books of a chivalric nature: Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick who died in 1315 bequeathed thirty-nine manuscripts to the Cistercian Abbey of Bordsley in Worcestershire: of these twenty-one might be described as chivalric and included manuscripts such as 'The Romance of William Longsword', 'The Romance of Troy', 'The Romance of the Brut', 'A Romance of Alexander with pictures' and a volume dealing with the death of Arthur and Mordred.²⁸ Many of the wills of aristocratic and knightly testators record bequests of this kind, if not on the same scale. There are sixty-one wills noted by Dr Cavanaugh which may be broadly characterised as those of Londoners. Almost all the books listed

in these wills are religious: primers, missals, Bibles, Legends of Saints. Only three of these London testators mention chivalric books in their wills. Henry Graspays, a fishmonger who died in the Black Death in 1348 left his 'books of romanse' to his son, and William Kyng, a draper who had been an alderman, left his 'cronicles' in French to St Osyth's Priory in Essex, but all his other books, which he left to London parish churches, were religious.²⁹ In the next century, John Brinchele, a London tailor, left 'librum meum vocatum Talys of Caunterbury' to William Holgrave, his executor, but he also listed three copies of Boethius which were to go to other London friends.³⁰ The evidence of these wills would suggest only a luke-warm interest among the Londoners in the chivalric tales which were so popular with the gentry and aristocracy.³¹

Other samples of the wills of Londoners reveal the same picture. Sylvia Thrupp considered the twenty books mentioned in a group of sixteen London wills drawn up between 1403 and 1483. Here again the majority of books were religious ones, and those that were not were broadly 'useful': a dictionary, a group of grammar books, two copies of Higden's *Polychronicon* and a copy of the *Brut*.³² Only seventy-five, or 6%, of the 1300 or so testaments proved before the Archdeacon of London between 1395 and 1416 mention books and, of these, only two bequeath books of a chivalric nature.³³ Moreover one of the testators was Nicholas Hotot, an esquire (and not really a Londoner) who owned a copy of the *Brut* as well as religious works in English and Latin.³⁴ The other testator was William Ragenhall, the rector of St Mary Woolnoth, who owned a very considerable library which contained a history of the Trojan war and a Latin chronicle about the history of England. But Ragenhall was a cleric, not a citizen of London. John Carpenter, the influential common clerk of London who died in 1442, was an exceptional bibliophile, but he was certainly a Londoner. His extensive library contained a book on architecture, religious works, advice on letter-writing, legal treatises and classical authors: it did not contain romances or other chivalric literature.³⁵ As might be expected, chivalrous books and other chivalric objects passed through the hands of London merchants. In 1382 William Walworth, the adversary of Wat Tyler, recovered a debt from a merchant of Bruges by taking possession of 'a book of Romance of King Alexander in verse, well and curiously illuminated', which was valued at £10, and a very large cloth of Arras work representing the coronation of King Arthur valued at £6.³⁶ But when Walworth drew up his will three years later he bequeathed

twenty-one books which were all carefully named, but the 'Romance of King Alexander in verse' was not among them. Walworth left his religious books to various monastic houses around London and his considerable collection of law books to his brother, Master Thomas Walworth.³⁷ Clearly he was not sufficiently attracted by the Romance, or by the King Arthur tapestry, to keep them among his own possessions.

As the example of William Walworth well demonstrates, Londoners were not ignorant of chivalry: it is simply that they do not appear, in this period, to have adopted its codes and practices for themselves. It is possible that the London merchants may have been unfamiliar with the French language in which much, but by no means all, of the chivalric literature was written. But, in fact, many of the books bequeathed in London wills were written in French, the mayor and other civic officials took their oaths in French and many of the London returns to the guild enquiry of 1388 were written in French.³⁸ It is clear that Londoners were present as spectators at the great tournament processions of the fourteenth and later fifteenth centuries, and that the mayor and aldermen, together with their ladies, were honoured guests at joustings. Many of the splendid aristocratic and knightly jousting houses had town houses in London where they stayed with their households and entertained on a lavish scale.³⁹ Among the founder members of the Order of the Garter, Henry Grosmont, earl of Lancaster, had a grand house at the Savoy, and the Beauchamp earls of Warwick lived near Newgate in what was later to be known as Warwick Lane.⁴⁰ Moreover, when these flowers of chivalry died, they were often buried in the Friary churches of London: Sir Thomas Malory himself was buried in the Greyfriars church in March 1471. Above all, of course, the Londoners were most aware of chivalric practices as the suppliers of the trappings of the chivalric way of life. Many romance tales must have been written in London workshops, lances, spears, swords and axes made by armourers, gold and silver chains, tokens and rings fashioned in the goldsmiths' shops, velvet gowns, hoods and tartan costumes sewn by London tailors, pavilions and canopies made by tentmakers, elaborate saddles and horse furnishings by the saddlers, the silk tassels, fringes and tokens worked by London silkwomen, and all the feasts supplied by the London victuallers.⁴¹ Chivalry was as important to the economic well-being of the City as it was to the cultural self-satisfaction of the nobility: the two worlds were interdependent, but separate.

While it may have been the case that the Londoners were largely indifferent to chivalry, they were not uninterested in military matters

and, in particular, they were concerned with the defence of the City. By tradition the men of London were led into battle by the City's banneret, an office claimed in the thirteenth century, and perhaps earlier, by the Fitzwalter family who held the private fortress of Baynard's Castle lying to the west of St Paul's.⁴² In time of war the Fitzwalter banneret was expected to come to St Paul's bringing with him nineteen knights. There he was to be met by the mayor and aldermen who would hand over to him the City's banner bearing the image of St Paul in gold on a red ground, together with a well-caparisoned horse and twenty pounds in money. Thus authorised the banneret would muster the Londoners by ringing the great bell of St Paul's. The assembled host would then ride out of the City and the banneret would discuss with the mayor how the City might be best defended in the absence of the host.⁴³ This account, written into a City custumal in the early fourteenth century, seems, perhaps, to be both fanciful and archaic. In the middle of the century the mayor and aldermen firmly denied Sir John Fitzwalter the privileges which had been his due in return for his military service which suggests that, by that date, these services were no longer of any value to the Londoners.⁴⁴ But the description of the role to be played by the Fitzwalters does suggest that, at the date when it was compiled, there was a clear distinction between the traditional knightly banneret and the non-fighting mayor and aldermen. It was the duty of the City's rulers to organise the defence of the City, and to pay for it, but not necessarily to carry it out themselves.

This account, however, seems to be in conflict with a custumal dating from the reign of King John in which it was laid down that every parish should have its own *penuncellum* and every alderman was to have his own *baneriam*, and the men of the parish, grouped around their *penuncellum*, were to follow the alderman's banner 'to the place appointed for the City's defence'.⁴⁵ Here the role of the alderman is seen to be more active and military, as it is again in 1377 when the City lay under the threat of a French invasion. On this occasion the aldermen were instructed to muster the men of their wards under their own pennon which was to bear the arms of the alderman in relief: he was then to lead the men of his ward 'whithersoever commanded for the defence of the City'.⁴⁶ The role of the alderman is here perceived to be much more military: he is the leader of his troops and is expected to have a banner bearing his arms. What these arms might be will be explored later. But the military role of the mayor and aldermen is, clearly, ambivalent. On the one hand, in times of crisis, as in 1377, the

aldermen were made responsible not only for keeping the peace within their wards, but also for mustering troops for the City's defence. Yet, ten years later, Nicholas Exton, the mayor, refused Richard II's request for military help against the Appellants on the grounds that 'the inhabitants of the City were in the main craftsmen and merchants (*artifices et mercatores*) with no great military experience, and it was not permissible (*nec licuit eis*) for them to devote themselves to warfare, save for the defence of the City alone'.⁴⁷ Clearly this was an ambivalence that could be politically useful.

The men of London were able, doubtless, to fight: indeed a contingent of them was mown down at Lewes fighting for Simon de Montfort against the Lord Edward, but on this occasion they were a comparatively amateur army, a medieval version of the Home Guard, and not of the standard of the professional army of mounted knights who were trained to practise this specifically military function. In the fifteenth century, when the City was required to provide troops to fight in France, as in 1436, 1449 and 1451, the fighting force was raised by a levy on the city companies who procured, equipped and paid the soldiers.⁴⁸ In 1436, for example, the Goldsmiths provided two spearmen and twelve archers at a cost of £34 19s.⁴⁹ On these occasions the City appointed a captain to lead the London contingent: in 1449 they chose Sir John Astley (who had jousting at Smithfield with the knights from Aragon eight years earlier) and Sir Thomas Fyndern, a veteran French campaigner, in 1451.⁵⁰ In these instances the mayor and aldermen organised the fighting force, and raised the money to pay for it, but appointed professional military captains to lead it: they did not themselves fight. On the other hand, when the City itself was attacked, the aldermen were, inevitably, involved more directly. In July 1451 Jack Cade and his followers had to be driven by force out of the City, and fierce fighting took place on London Bridge. Among the Londoners killed were a draper, Roger Heysaunt, Matthew Gough a veteran of the French wars, and the alderman and goldsmith John Sutton, who must have been over fifty when this battle took place.⁵¹ (Plate 17.7) Ten years later a contingent of Londoners marched north under the leadership of a mercer, John Harowe, to fight, unsuccessfully, for Richard duke of York at Wakefield.⁵² So not all Londoners were devoid of military experience and one alderman, at least, died in the defence of the City.

What seems to have happened, however, is that the Londoners developed their own brand of chivalric spectacle which, while being influenced by chivalric tournaments and romances, yet had a distinct, possibly bourgeois, character of its own. This may be seen in the emergence of

the city ceremonial of the Marching Watch at midsummer. Midsummer watches were recorded in the City from the early thirteenth century, but it appears that in the later fourteenth century the ritual of these occasions was enhanced, and a marching watch though the centre of the City was introduced to supplement the standing watches in the wards. In 1378 the aldermen and the good men of the ward were instructed to be 'arrayed in red and white, particoloured, over your armour'.⁵³ In the later sixteenth century, when the Midsummer Watch had been abolished for fifty years, John Stow wrote nostalgically of the communal festivities around the feasts of St John the Baptist (24 June) and SS Peter and Paul (29 June) when houses were decorated with greenery and every ward provided standing watches 'all in bright harnes'.⁵⁴ About two thousand men took part in the Marching Watch itself: some were old soldiers, some musicians, some archers and some pikemen. The City companies provided a mass of torches and cressets, some nine hundred in all, and the marchers were accompanied by pageants and Morris dancers. The 240 ward constables marched with the Watch and, at the climax of the procession, rode the mayor, the City's king.

... the waytes of the City, the mayor's officers, for his guard before him, all in a livery of wolsted or say iacquets party coloured, the mayor himself well mounted on horseback, the sword bearer before him in fayre armour well mounted also, the mayor's footmen, and the like torch bearers about him, hench men twaine upon great stirring horses following him. The sheriffs watches came one after the other in like order, but not so large in number as the mayor's, for where the mayor had beside his Giant, three Pageants, each of the sheriffs had beside their Giants but two pageants, ech their Morris dance, and one hench man their officers in iacquets of wolsted, or say party coloured, differing from the mayors, and each from other, but having harnised men a great many ...⁵⁵

The addition of pageants to the Midsummer Watch seems to have taken place in the course of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ What is clear is that by the time that Stow remembered in the 1520s, the Londoners had created their own 'chivalric ritual', less elitist than the chivalry of the Court, but yet displaying its own blend of glamour, spectacle and excitement.

At about the same time the City was developing another civic ceremony, the 'riding' of the new mayor from London to Westminster to take his oath to the sovereign. This took place every year on October 28th.

Here, as in the Midsummer Watch, the mayor was the focus of the procession. What had originally been a straightforward business occasion had developed by the fifteenth century into a journey of considerable civic pageantry.⁵⁷ The mayor was now escorted as he rode by members of the different city companies dressed in their liveries and accompanied by minstrels. For the occasion the aldermen wore new liveries and, when they returned to the City, the new mayor gave a banquet at his home or at his company hall or (after the new kitchens were built in 1501–5) at Guildhall itself. Clearly the ‘pantomime’ additions to the riding were thought to be getting out of hand for in 1481 it was decided that ‘there shall no disguysing nor pageoun be used or hadde’.⁵⁸ This pageantry that had come to surround the mayor’s riding to Westminster reflects the increasing ceremony which had come to be attached to the office of mayor. Indeed it would appear that a sort of ‘gentrification’ was overtaking the mayor’s office. The emergence of the mayor’s swordbearer well illustrates this development. In the early fourteenth century the mayor’s household was composed simply of a corps of sergeants,⁵⁹ but by 1381, when William Walworth rode out with Richard II to meet Wat Tyler at Smithfield, he was accompanied by John Blyton ‘that bore the Mayor’s sword of London’, and it was Blyton who seems to have provoked the struggle in which Tyler was mortally wounded.⁶⁰ When, in June 1425, the duke of Gloucester and other lords visited the City, the clerk who compiled the City’s Journals noted that, on this occasion, the mayor and his swordbearer took precedence over the duke and his swordbearer.⁶¹ In 1441 the mayor’s swordbearer again led the duke of Gloucester and other lords into Guildhall for a special judicial session, and when the mayor welcomed the French ambassadors at London Bridge in July 1445 he had his gilt sword borne ceremoniously before him.⁶² The City, in transforming one of the mayor’s sergeants into a swordbearer (and raising his salary), was acknowledging his important role in civic ceremony, and in adding dignity and honour to the mayor’s office.⁶³

The accretions to the Midsummer Watch and to the Mayor’s Riding were clearly influenced to some degree by the chivalric practices and spectacles of the royal court. But there is a significant difference between the chivalric tournament processions in Cheapside in 1331, or the progress of the ‘lady of the Sun’ through the London streets in 1375, and the London Midsummer Watch or Mayor’s Riding. All these processions included men on horseback, fine costumes, spectacular lighting, music and pageantry but, whereas the courtly processions gave a prominent role to the ladies of the court, the civic processions were entirely male. There was no

part allocated to the mayor's consort, nor to the wives of the aldermen: the civic processions expressed the need to defend the City and to rule it, and women had no role to play in either task. So, although the City adopted and adapted some of the ingredients of a chivalric culture from the royal tournaments and processions, this never extended to adopting in public the chivalric attitude to women. It might well have been considered that the women of London were too busy at work in the City to have time to cavort through the streets of London as chivalric playthings: they had a real role to play in the economy of the City and the spectacle of the mayor's wife riding through the streets of London dressed as Guinevere would have seemed inappropriate, if not absurd. In this respect the Londoners appear to have eschewed chivalric attitudes and substituted their own more sober values.

The culture of the Court met London culture directly in the various elaborate ceremonials devised to welcome the sovereign, or his consort, to the City. Here, if anywhere, one would expect the Londoners to adopt chivalric or romantic themes. But this appears not to have been the case. In 1392 the four 'reconciliation pageants' with which the City greeted Richard II were religious in theme and closely modelled on the liturgy used for Advent.⁶⁴ The welcome put on by the City for Henry V after his victory at Agincourt in 1415 was dominated by religious pageants in which choirs sang psalms and hymns.⁶⁵ In 1432 the City staged a reception for the young Henry VI on his return from his coronation in Paris. On this occasion the theme was less religious: instead the king was treated to a series of didactic pageants, many of them classical in inspiration. There was nothing light-hearted or chivalric: rather the king received numerous messages of instruction and good will.⁶⁶ When Margaret of Anjou arrived as Henry's bride in 1445 the civic welcome was inspired once again by religion: there were pageants of St Margaret, the wise and foolish virgins, and the Assumption of the Virgin.⁶⁷ Again the Londoners did not choose to refer to knights or Arthurian romance or courtly love: the focus was not on castles and courtly ladies, but rather the heavenly city inhabited by angels.

Although these London 'joyeuses entrees' were predominantly religious, and didactic, in theme and eschewed chivalric imagery, yet they frequently employed heraldic motifs of all kinds. In 1415 the conduit in Cornhill was converted into a tent bearing 'in four prominent places, the arms of St George, St Edward and St Edmund and of England encircled the middle of the tower, with, in between them, escutcheons of the royal arms

...⁶⁸ So too, the Mayor's Riding came increasingly to use the language of heraldry. An account of the Riding in 1419 makes no reference to heraldic arms but by the sixteenth century the mayor was accompanied by two standard bearers, one carrying the arms of the City and the other the arms of the company to which the mayor belonged. The mayor was then followed by seventy or eighty poor men, each carrying a pike and target bearing the arms of all the past mayors who had belonged to the same company as the present mayor, and, bringing up the rear, were two men bearing the royal arms and the personal arms of the mayor.⁶⁹ But although this public use of heraldry by the Londoners seems to have developed in the fifteenth century, yet it is clear from a study of their seals that some Londoners had been using armorial escutcheons since the fourteenth century.⁷⁰ An analysis of a group of the personal seals used by Londoners (almost all fourteenth-century) shows that over half used an armorial seal: those who did not chose religious imagery, a merchant's mark or some flora or fauna.⁷¹ Sometimes, when the Londoner came from knightly stock, as in the case of Richard Whittington, these arms were inherited. Whittington's seal, the silver spoons which once belonged to him and are now in the possession of the Mercers' Company, and the ordinances for his almshouses, all display the arms of the Whittingtons of Pauntley in Gloucestershire with the anulet as a mark of difference.⁷² (Plates 17.1–17.3) But in the fourteenth century it seems likely that most Londoners who wanted a heraldic device for use on their seals, or to stamp their works of charity, simply assumed a coat of arms which they designed themselves along conventional and acceptable lines.⁷³ Sometimes the shield did not conform to developing heraldic practice. Several Londoners chose to use puns on their names: John Pyke's shield bore two pike, and John Wells displayed two wells on his shield.⁷⁴ On occasion the arms strayed yet further from what was to become acceptable heraldic practice: the shield might fail to be divided symmetrically, or the owner's initials might form the charges.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that by the end of the fourteenth century the use of arms was widespread among London citizens and when the mayor's seal was redesigned in 1381 it incorporated a neat blend of religious and heraldic imagery:

In which new Seal, besides the figures of Peter and Paul, which in the old one were rudely made, beneath the feet of the said figures a shield of the arms of the said city is perfectly graven, with two lions guardant; two serjeants-at-arms being above [one] on either

side, and two pavilions (*tabernacula*), in which there are two angels standing above; and between the two figures of Peter and Paul the figure of the Glorious Virgin is seated.⁷⁶ (Plates 17.4 and 17.5)

This seal is definitely more heraldic than the City's common seal which had been designed in the previous century and employed exclusively religious and civic imagery. (Plate 17.6)

The easygoing attitude of the Londoners towards their coats of arms began to change in the fifteenth century as the heralds came to take control of such matters. William Bruges, the first King at Arms, was appointed in 1415. In fact some of the earliest formal grants of arms were made to city companies: the Drapers (1448), Tallow Chandlers (1456), Cooks (1461 and 1467) and the Confraternity in Guildhall Chapel in 1482.⁷⁷ In 1446–49 Robert Leigh, Clarenceux Herald, seems to have made a visitation of the City of London, and it may have been in response to this visit that a remarkable series of full-length painted figures of the mayor and aldermen were devised. (Plate 17.7) They are clearly closely modelled on the drawings in the Garter Book of William Bruges painted a decade earlier.⁷⁸ All but five of the aldermen bear their own personal arms, and six have crests. Each alderman supports a frame of blank shields which were clearly intended to be painted subsequently with the arms of succeeding aldermen in the ward. Some of these have been filled in. In the case of the five aldermen who do not display their personal arms, this may be the result of the arms having been disallowed by Clarenceux. Stephen Forster, for example, used a non-armorial seal which bore his merchant's mark of a broad arrow head, and in the Leigh drawing no arms are ascribed to him.⁷⁹ In the early 1530s the heralds again visited the City in order to inspect funeral monuments in city churches. The purpose of the heralds' visitation was twofold: to record ancient tombs and coats of arms and, also, to remove or deface escutcheons which were wrongfully used or 'markys of marchands and other put into scochyns as tokyns of oner'.⁸⁰ But, in spite of the increasingly interventionist approach of the heralds, it is clear that the Londoners had, for a long time, been using heraldic shields and coats of arms, as it suited them, not as a means of advancement up the social ladder but as a convenient method of self-identification.

It may be enlightening to consider the ways in which London merchants chose to represent themselves on their funeral brasses. As a result of the Great Fire of 1666 very few tombs survive from medieval London, and several of these are of nobles or knights (e.g. in the church of St Peter



Plate 17.1. Seal of Richard Whittington, 1409 (BL, Add. MS 14820 [H]). Reproduced by permission of the British Library.



Plate 17.2. Four Whittington spoons, silver, maker unknown, 1410–20. Photograph by Louis Sinclair; reproduced by courtesy of the Mercers' Company.

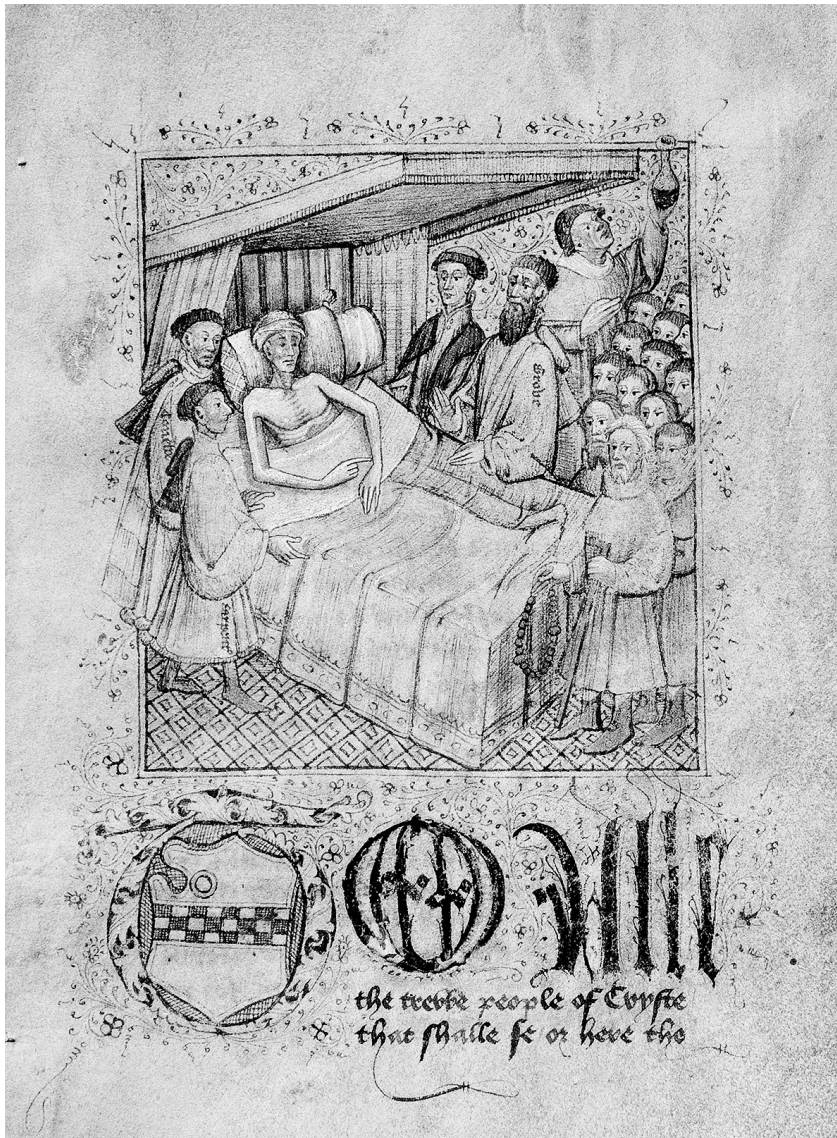


Plate 17.3. Richard Whittington on his deathbed, March 1423 (Whittington College Ordinances 1442), attributed to William Abell, pen and ink on vellum. Photograph by Louis Sinclair; reproduced by courtesy of the Mercers' Company.



Plate 17.4. (left) First Mayoralty Seal of the City of London, from Llewellyn Jewitt and W. H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895), 121.



Plate 17.5. Second Mayoralty Seal of the City of London, made in 1381, from Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895), 122.



Plate 17.6. The thirteenth-century Common Seal of London, from Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St. John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895), 119.



Plate 17.7. Alderman John Sutton from the Leigh Book, London Metropolitan Archives (formerly Guildhall Library). Photograph supplied by Jeremy Butler. Reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

ad Vincula in the Tower) rather than of London citizens.⁸¹ John Stow, however, describes in detail the brass of the notorious merchant, vintner and alderman, Richard Lyons who was murdered in 1381

his picture on his grave stone verie faire and large, is with his haire rounded by his eares, and curled, a little beard forked, a gowne girt to him downe to his feete, of branched Damaske wrought with the likenes of flowers, a large purse on his right side, hanging in a belt from his left shoulder, a plaine whoode about his necke, covering his shoulders, and hanging backe behinde him⁸²

It is clear, from this remarkable and unusual description from the pen of John Stow, that Richard Lyons, who was closely associated with the Court in the closing years of Edward III, was represented on his tomb, not as a knight but as a prosperous merchant. In the same decade, the London stockfishmonger, William Frith died and chose to be buried alongside his brother John Frith, a priest in Shottesbrook in Berkshire. William Frith may have been at the start of his London career: he had served as common councilman for the ward of Dowgate, two years before he drew up his will.⁸³ At Shottesbrook there is a joint brass for William and his brother John who may have been the warden of the college at Shottesbrook. William's brass depicts him very much as Lyons had chosen to be portrayed, except that William's gown is short rather than long, and he bears a sword rather than a purse. (Plate 17.8) But he is definitely not represented as a knight.⁸⁴ Simon Seman, another vintner, who was alderman of Bishopsgate ward from 1422 to 1433, and sheriff in 1424–5, was buried at Barton on Humber in north Lincolnshire. On his brass he is dressed as a civilian, standing on wine casks surrounded by an inscription and his merchant mark. In his case, he bears neither a sword, nor a purse, and his gown comes almost to his feet.⁸⁵ (Plate 17.9) None of these brasses suggests that the men commemorated were aspiring to knightly status: rather they were happy to be presented as prosperous civilians, garbed for peace rather than war.

It is worth observing that very few Londoners were knighted in this period. Richard de Refham was knighted c. 1312 and, twenty-five years later, the famous mayor, and builder of Penshurst Place in Kent, John Pulteney, was knighted.⁸⁶ But, during the rest of Edward III's reign, when Englishmen were winning knighthoods from their sovereign for service in the French wars, the Londoners appear to have eschewed, or avoided, such elevation. It was Wat Tyler who provoked Richard II into knighting five



Plate 17.8. Brass of John Frith, priest, and his brother William, fishmonger of London, at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire, c. 1386



Plate 17.9. Brass of the London vintner Simon Seman at St Mary's church, Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, c. 1433

Londoners on a squalid English battlefield: the mayor William Walworth, and four aldermen, Nicholas Brembre, John Philpot, Nicholas Twyford and Robert Launde.⁸⁷ In the sixteenth century the story of the knighting of the five Londoners was embellished in a significant way. When the king told Walworth of his intention to make him a knight, 'the Maior answered, that hee was neither worthie nor able to take such estate upon him, for he was but a Marchant, and had to live by his Marchandise only'. But the will of the king prevailed and he 'strongly stroke him on the necke' and to support their knighthoods, Richard gave the five men lands to provide the requisite unearned income.⁸⁸ In fact most London aldermen in the fourteenth century had more than enough manors to support a knighthood, but they were disinclined to seek such an honour: men like the mercers Adam Fraunceys and Richard Whittington, the draper John Hende and the goldsmith Drew Barantyn to name only a few examples. These Londoners were, without doubt, sufficiently wealthy to support a knighthood, and close enough to the Crown to have bought one had they so wished. It was to be sixty years before another Londoner was knighted: in 1439 William Estfield became Sir William, five years before his death. He was, without doubt, the outstanding Londoner of his generation: born in Yorkshire, he was apprenticed as a mercer, alderman in 1423, twice mayor (1429–30 and 1437–8), four times master of his company and three times an MP for the city. His seals, however, were not armorial, and on one of them he displayed his merchant's mark.⁸⁹ No other Londoner followed Estfield into the knightly class until the accession of Edward IV, but then the situation changed dramatically. At his own coronation Edward knighted the mercer, William Cantelowe, and at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465 he knighted the mayor, Ralph Josselyn and three other aldermen, Thomas Cook, Hugh Wyche and John Plomer.⁹⁰ After the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 Edward knighted the six aldermen who had already served as mayor, and six who had not and so, at a stroke, half the court of aldermen had become knights. After this it became customary for the mayor of London to be knighted, either during his mayoralty or soon afterwards. This change must reflect not only the Yorkists' anxious search for support, but also the increased desire of London merchants to become knights.

The reign of Edward IV saw not only a revival of chivalry but also a change in the nature of chivalric practice. Under the influence of Burgundy the king encouraged a rapid development in the outward and visible aspects of royalty in which chivalric protocol had an important role

to play.⁹¹ It was in Edward's reign that William Caxton, apprenticed to the London mercer Robert Large in 1438, began to print the books which were to play so important a part in the 'Indian summer' of English chivalry: *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* (1475), *History of Jason* (1477), *Chronicles of England* (1480), *Godfrey of Boloynne* (1481), *Troilus and Criseyde* (1483), *Order of Chivalry* (1484) and *Morte d'Arthur* (1485).⁹² Caxton was not responsible for this revival of interest in chivalry but, rather, he responded to it. At the great Smithfield tournament in 1467 the mayor and aldermen were honoured guests rather than participants yet, in 1482 the king invited the leading citizens to hunt with him at Waltham, to dine with him at his hunting lodge on venison and Gascon wine, and take home with them to the City some of the day's spoils. Moreover, to round off the chivalric courtesy of the occasion, the king despatched two harts, six bucks and a tun of Gascon wine to the 'mayeresse and unto the aldyrmennys wyfys' so that they might also enjoy a feast in Drapers' Hall.⁹³ Doubtless Edward's motives were as much financial as chivalric, but it is clear that it was no longer unthinkable that the London merchants should participate in the festivities of the Court. Henry VII invited the mayor, aldermen and other Londoners to the Epiphany celebrations in 1494 when there were elaborate pageants, 'disguisings' and dancing. The king chose this occasion to dub the mayor a knight, and the feasting continued all night until at day break the king and queen returned to Westminster Palace and the mayor and his brethren took their barges back to London.⁹⁴ The knightships which were increasingly conferred on the London aldermen, and their participation in courtly festivities, symbolise the way in which the chivalric world of the Court and the mercantile world of the London citizens were moving closer together. Although, a hundred years earlier, it was rare to find Londoners in possession of chivalric manuscripts, by contrast many of Caxton's printed books found their way into London hands. For example the Huntington Library copy of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* probably belonged at one time to Thomas Shukburghe the younger, a modest London draper, and the Philadelphia copy of *Godfrey of Boloynne* was in the possession of the mercer, Roger Thorney.⁹⁵

But what, of course, had also changed was the nature of medieval warfare. Caxton, in his introduction to the *Order of Chivalry*, urged Richard III to hold jousts twice a year 'to the end that every knight should have horse and harness and also the use and craft of a knight, and also to tourney one against one or two against two and the best to have a prize,

a diamond or a jewel . . . that the noble order of chivalry be hereafter better used and honoured than it hath been in late days past'.⁹⁶ But Caxton was crying for a lost world. The increasing use of infantry in large-scale battles, and the devastating and indiscriminate fire power of guns, rendered the customs of chivalrous combat either irrelevant or suicidal. It has been pointed out that, although war was glamorised in the sixteenth century with elaborate armour and books of military instruction, yet in fact 'it was clear that war was in hard fact becoming more impersonal, brutal and squalid'. Gunpowder destroyed 'the dignity of knighthood by allowing a common soldier to kill a gentleman from afar'.⁹⁷ Moreover this new kind of warfare was not only squalid: it was also expensive. Maurice Keen has pointed out that 'It was one thing, in accordance with ancient ways, to expect a man at arms to come to the host equipped with his own horses and armour, but no one, in the new conditions of war, expected a master of artillery to provide his own cannon'.⁹⁸ Only princes could finance artillery warfare. But the chivalric code lingered on, tempered by the new humanism, as a set of values which lingers still, more readily felt than defined.⁹⁹ As the heroic deeds of English knighthood moved further away from the battlefield and onto the printed page, so it became increasingly possible for the merchants of London to become knights themselves. In this new wistful, and make-believe, world, they too could play a part.

NOTES

* I am very grateful to Maurice Keen for his generous discussions of the matters reviewed in this paper over a number of years.

¹ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), 239, cf. 16–17.

² *Ibid.*, 253.

³ William Jackson, 'The Tournament and Chivalry in the German Tournament Books of the Sixteenth Century and in the Literary Works of the Emperor Maximilian I', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* (Woodbridge, 1986), 49–73, esp. 56–7.

⁴ Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270–1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), esp. ch. 2.

⁵ W. Prevenier, 'Court and Culture in the Low Countries 1100–1530', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context* (Cambridge, 1994), 11–29.

⁶ John Lerner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch 1216–1380* (London, 1980), chs 5 and 9.

⁷ See Caroline Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries 1327–1477', in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (eds), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), 1–28, esp. 15–19.

⁸ Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348–1461: Chivalry and Policy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 39–44, 83–5, 288–95.

⁹ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London, 1986), 28–9.

¹⁰ Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, Appendix 12, 172–4.

¹¹ *Annales Paulini* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1882–83), i, 354–5; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1863–64), i, 193 who adds the detail that the jousts were held between the Cheapside Cross and Soper Lane.

¹² John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), ii, 29–30.

¹³ Vale suggests that the Londoners may have been amongst the 'all comers' against whom royal teams made a stand in London locations, but there is no evidence for this, and it is likely that a chronicler with a London focus, such as the author of the *Annales Paulini*, would have mentioned London participation in such a challenge, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 63.

¹⁴ *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, ed. James Tait (Manchester, 1914), 131–2, 275.

¹⁵ Such sheriffs' accounts are found scattered among the Exchequer classes at the PRO; see Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1960), 183–95, esp. 185–7, 193–4.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Letter Books: Letter Book H*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1907), 353; *Memorials of London and London Life in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1868), 521–2; see *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. L. C. Hector and B. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), 433, 436, 450.

¹⁷ Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1–20, esp. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11; although we do not entirely agree in our interpretations of the tournament of 1390, I am extremely grateful to Dr Lindenbaum for her generous references and for many very helpful discussions.

¹⁹ J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, 4 vols (London, 1884–98), iv, 213; Stow, *Survey*, i, 93, and ii, 31, 171; it appears that a number of those who came to take part in the jousts, took the opportunity to join the fraternity dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the nearby parish church of St Botolph outside Aldersgate, see P. Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register: Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and SS Fabian and Sebastian in the Parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate* (London Record Society, 1982), xxiv.

²⁰ Now Pierpont Morgan Library MS 775, esp. fo. 277v. The manuscript was compiled about 1470 and Sir John died in 1486. This famous manuscript has been most recently described in Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, 2 vols (London, 1996), i, 385, 386, ii, 289–93; see also, Anglo, ‘Financial and Heraldic Records’, 191.

²¹ Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham, North Carolina, 1960), 18–19, 21.

²² See Sydney Anglo, ‘Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield June 1467’, *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1965), 271–83, esp. 272–3.

²³ *Ibid.*, 277; *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London, 1938), 203–4.

²⁴ For an opposing view, see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 62–3.

²⁵ *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876), 236.

²⁶ These problems are well analysed in Kate Harris, ‘Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade’, in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (Cambridge, 1989), 163–99.

²⁷ Susan H. Cavanaugh, ‘A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300–1450’ (unpublished University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation, 1980).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 76–9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 381, 485–6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 139.

³¹ A strong case for the role of the gentry (as opposed to the aristocracy or an urban middle class) in the diffusion of romances, has been put by Peter Coss, ‘Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: The Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood’, *Past and Present*, 108 (1985), 35–79.

³² Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300–1500* (University of Michigan, 1948), 162–3, and cf. her discussion of the rather different reading favoured by the gentry, 248.

³³ *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London (1363)–1649*, ed. M. Fitch (British Record Society, 1979). I am very grateful to Robert Wood for allowing me to cite material which he derived from reading these wills.

³⁴ Corporation of London Records Office, MS 9051/1 fo. 127. Nicholas had married Alice Albon, daughter of John Albon, woodmonger, and owned some property in the city, *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 387, 422.

³⁵ Cavanaugh, ‘Books Privately Owned’, 167–70.

³⁶ *Calendar of Select Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London 1381–1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1932), 10–11.

³⁷ Cavanaugh, ‘Books Privately Owned’, 904–6.

³⁸ See, for example, the books bequeathed in the will of John Carpenter. For the civic oaths, see *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1859–60), vol. i, 306–19;

for the guild returns, see Caroline M. Barron and Laura Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388–9', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 108–45, esp. 110. The Goldsmiths' Company kept its records in French until the middle of the fifteenth century.

³⁹ Caroline M. Barron, 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200–1550', *London Journal*, 20 (1995), 1–16. [Reprinted as Chapter 15 in the present volume].

⁴⁰ See M. D. Lobel, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (Oxford, 1989), 93, 97.

⁴¹ Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records', 184–5.

⁴² Lobel, *City of London*, 59–62, 65.

⁴³ Copied into *Liber Custumarum* drawn up by Andrew Horn in the early fourteenth century, see *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, vol. ii, part I, 147–51; see also Stow, *Survey*, i, 62–5, ii, 278–9.

⁴⁴ *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 236–7.

⁴⁵ M. Bateson, 'A London Municipal Collection of the Reign of King John', *English Historical Review*, 17 (1902), 480–511, 707–30, esp. 727–8.

⁴⁶ *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 65; this precept to the aldermen was repeated in September 1386, *ibid.*, 286.

⁴⁷ Hector and Harvey, *Westminster Chronicle*, 217.

⁴⁸ Caroline M. Barron, 'The Government of London and its Relations with the Crown 1400–1450' (unpublished University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1970), 457–63.

⁴⁹ Goldsmiths' Hall, MS 1518, Account Book A 1332–1442, fo. 166; MS 1520, Account Book A 1444–1516, fos 32–3. 128 goldsmiths contributed to these costs.

⁵⁰ For Astley, see above p. 484; he was paid a total of £30 in wages for acting as Captain of the City's contingent, Corporation of London Record Office, Journal 5 fo. 12v; for Fyndern, see CLRO, Journal 5, fos 58v, 59. For a biography of Fyndern, see J. S. Roskell, Linda Clark and Carole Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386–1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1992), iii, 152–4.

⁵¹ Barron, 'Government of London', 523–4; I. M. W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991), 96. Sutton completed his apprenticeship by 1417, and was warden of the Company in 1426, alderman in 1436, see T. F. Reddaway and E. M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327–1509* (London, 1975), 310.

⁵² The battle took place 30 December 1469. John Harowe was probably born c. 1406, so he would also have been over fifty at the time of the battle, see Caroline M. Barron, 'London and the Crown 1451–61', in J. R. L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs (eds), *The Crown and the Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1981), 88–109, esp. 108. [Reprinted as Chapter 3 in the present volume.]

⁵³ Sheila Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer

Watch' in Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), 171–88, esp. 184; *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 420–1.

⁵⁴ Stow, *Survey*, i, 101–3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 102–3.

⁵⁶ Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy', 184 n. 10.

⁵⁷ On the development of the Lord Mayor's Show, see Sheila Williams, 'The Lord Mayor's Show in Tudor and Stuart Times', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 10 (1959), 3–18; Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), 15–27.

⁵⁸ *Letter Book L*, ed. Sharpe, 187.

⁵⁹ Betty R. Masters, 'The Mayor's Household before 1600', in W. Kellaway and A. Hollaender (eds), *Studies in London History* (London, 1969), 95–114.

⁶⁰ *Chronicle of London*, ed. H. N. Nicolas (London, 1827), 74; in 1395, John Blyton 'late the Mayor's Esquire', was granted the mansion over Aldersgate, *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 433.

⁶¹ 5 June 1425, CLRO, Journal 2, fo. 15v.

⁶² CLRO, Journal 3, fo. 78; *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1861–64), i, 101–2, 156–7.

⁶³ John Medford, who described himself as 'esquire' and had a modest landed estate in Surrey, was the City's swordbearer from 1467 to 1485. He was given an annual salary of 20s and a reward of 40s, as well as a house over the gate at Guildhall. Medford was MP for Guildford in 1453. I am very grateful to Dr Matthew Davies and the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see the biography of Medford in advance of publication.

⁶⁴ Richard of Maidstone's poem describing the reception is printed in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1859–61), i, 282–300; partially translated in E. Rickert, *Chaucer's World* (Oxford, 1948), 35–9; for the liturgical aspects of the reception, see Gordon Kipling, 'Richard II's "Sumptuous Pageants" and the Idea of the Civic Triumph', in David M. Bergeron (ed.), *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater* (Athens, Georgia, 1985), 83–103.

⁶⁵ The best account is to be found in *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. F. Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), xxxvii, 101–13. Lydgate's poem describing the pageants is printed in *ibid.*, 191–2.

⁶⁶ The best accounts are to be found in the City's Letter Book (most probably written by the Common Clerk, John Carpenter) and in Lydgate's poem which was closely based on Carpenter's letter, of which he must have had a copy, see *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 138–9; *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, vol. iii, 457–64; Lydgate's poem is printed in *Great Chronicle*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 156–70.

⁶⁷ Gordon Kipling, 'The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou', *Medieval English Theatre* (1982), 5–27; *idem*, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998), 188–201.

⁶⁸ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Taylor and Roskell, 107.

⁶⁹ Rickert, *Chaucer's World*, 39–40; William Smyth, 'Description of London

c. 1588', printed in Sir E. Brydges, *The British Bibliographer* (1810), i, 540–2; John Goodall, 'The Use of Armorial Bearings by London Aldermen in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1961), 17–21.

⁷⁰ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 250–1.

⁷¹ R. H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals* (London, 1978, 1981), 2 vols. I am grateful to Dr Elizabeth New for this analysis of the London seals. There were fifty-four seals catalogued (all but six were of the fourteenth century): 56% were armorial, 24% were miscellaneous—largely naturalistic, 14% religious, and 6% used merchants' marks.

⁷² Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth', in Hollaender and Kellaway (eds), *Studies in London History*, 197–248, esp. pl. VIc. [reprinted as Chapter 10 and Plate 10.1 in the present volume]; Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London, 1968), pl. 1; Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds), *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, exhib. cat., Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1987), 283.

⁷³ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 252–3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 252, 273.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁷⁶ *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 447–8.

⁷⁷ Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1956), ch. 8.

⁷⁸ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, ii, 245–7, plates, 330–3; Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), Plate XI.

⁷⁹ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 341.

⁸⁰ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, Appendix D, 141.

⁸¹ Christian Steer is currently working on tombs of Londoners in the late medieval period for a University of London Ph.D.

⁸² Stow, *Survey*, i, 249; Nicholas Rogers, 'The Lost Brass of Richard Lyons', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 13 (1982), 232–6.

⁸³ *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258 – A.D. 1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 2 vols (London, 1889–90), ii, 259–60; *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 238; *Select Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1381–1412*, ed. Thomas, 87.

⁸⁴ Discussed in N. E. Saul, 'Shottesbrooke Church: A Study in Knightly Patronage', in *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, ed. Lawrence Keen and Eileen Scarff (British Archaeological Association, 2002), [264–81].

⁸⁵ Illustrated in M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 179.

⁸⁶ A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1908–13), i, 255.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Stow, *Survey*, i, 220.

⁸⁹ Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, ii, 6; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 338.

⁹⁰ It has been suggested that Cantelowe rendered Edward significant help before his accession, see J. L. Bolton, 'The City and the Crown, 1456–61', *The London Journal*, 12 (1986), 11–24; Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, i, 256.

⁹¹ Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977).

⁹² George D. Painter, *William Caxton* (London, 1976), 211–13.

⁹³ *Great Chronicle*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 229; the mayor and aldermen, and other citizens, appear to have gone hunting together, particularly by the fifteenth century, in Essex. From the late fourteenth century the City paid an officer 'the Common Hunt' to organise their hunts and to look after the City's hounds which were kept in kennels at Moorgate, see Masters, 'The Mayor's Household', 99–103.

⁹⁴ *Great Chronicle*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 251–2; Robert Fabyan's account of this great party is so detailed that it seems likely that he was one of the Londoners who accompanied the mayor to Westminster.

⁹⁵ A. I. Doyle, 'English Books in and out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), 163–81, esp. 180.

⁹⁶ Painter, *William Caxton*, 142.

⁹⁷ John Hale, 'War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Past and Present*, 22 (1962), 18–33, esp. 23, 28.

⁹⁸ Keen, *Chivalry*, 241.

⁹⁹ See Steven Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court', in Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry and the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), 107–28.

The Political Culture of Medieval London

RECENT HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP HAS contributed greatly to an understanding of the political culture of later medieval England; this work has emphasised the vertical loyalties that bound the men in the shires to their lords (sometimes several lords) and which also criss-crossed county boundaries.¹ John Watts has focused attention on the particular, indeed the supreme, importance of the king, and has developed the idea, first propounded by K. B. McFarlane, about the problems posed for late medieval government when the king was ‘under-mighty’—that is, when he failed to exercise his will. As a result, the royal will was fractured, or diffused, through nobles or counsellors who, however altruistic, could not speak for the whole body politic as the king could. Watts’s important study has thrown much light on the workings of fifteenth-century government and on the ideas that motivated rulers and ruled.² He has examined the prevailing ideas, to be found, for example, in the *Mirrors for Princes*, which influenced men in their attitudes to the ruler. Watts also looked at the political ideas held by the nobility, and he studied the ways in which local government worked.³ But his study concentrated on local government at the level of the shires and analysed the different, and sometimes competing, roles played by the nobility and the gentry. Watts did not consider the local government of the towns, nor the political ideas of fifteenth-century townsmen, and there is no particular reason why he should have done so. His use of certain kinds of evidence has, however, proved suggestive in elucidating the political ideas of medieval English townsmen.

In his analysis of the political ideas of the nobility Watts made use of two particular sources: the books that the nobility and gentry were known to have commissioned or owned and may be assumed to have read, and the language they used in political situations, specifically in parliament.⁴ It is possible to say something about the books owned by Londoners, and we know something also about the books that they compiled or commissioned. These volumes may tell us something about

the priorities and concerns of townsmen and also about those writings, whether ancient or contemporary, which influenced their actions. Some of these books were 'privately owned', others were 'public books', the customals and collections of law codes and charters, and miscellanies of various kinds put together at the behest of the mayor, or bailiff or aldermen, by a town's paid employee, the secretary or common clerk: men such as John Carpenter in London, or Robert Ricart in Bristol. Such books can tell us quite a bit about the way people thought about civic government, albeit more about the way the governors thought about it than about the ideas of those who were governed.

It is hard to know what townsmen said when they sat in the Commons in parliament and their petitions are couched in the standard formulae.⁵ It is particularly difficult to discern the political ideas of those citizens who were not rulers or, indeed, the ideas of the town-dweller who was not a citizen. Here we have to rely on accounts of what they were said to have said, usually in the written records of hearings in the city courts. Although it is rare for earlier civic records to include accounts of what defendants said, yet such records of reported speech are quite frequently found in the London journals of the court of common council which survive from 1416. But it is only rarely possible to catch the talk of the tavern or brew house, or the discussions in local leet or ward meeting, or arguments among groups of craftsmen gathered in a London house, or the ideas and opinions shouted in narrow streets and borne away on the wind. And, even when it is possible to grasp the stray political opinion, it is never clear whether it is the product of oral discussion, or derived from the ideas of others, written perhaps in books and reflecting older traditions of political thought.

It may be because this evidence is particularly exiguous that the political culture of English medieval towns has rarely attracted historians. There are some notable exceptions. Susan Reynolds wrote an important article about the political thought of English medieval towns which was published in *Urban History Yearbook* in 1982, and, more recently, Steve Rigby has three suggestive pages on 'Urban Political Theory' in the first volume of the new *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* published in 2000.⁶ Although there is not a great deal of written evidence about what townsmen thought about politics or more specifically, about the ways in which their towns should be governed, yet there is a range of material, other than that used so effectively by John Watts, that can be pressed

into service. It is hoped that this study of London may open up questions which can be answered by using evidence from other English towns.

In the first place there is the visual, or material, evidence. What did townsmen choose to have engraved on their communal seals? This may provide an indication of their priorities when thinking about their city. Another possible route into urban political culture may be provided by the study of civic ceremonial: again it has been customary to see civic ceremonial as predominantly religious (which much of it was), but there were also more secular ceremonies and more secular themes. Religious ideas, of course, permeated society at all levels but that does not mean that all medieval men and women interpreted all civic actions in terms of divine intervention. It may also be useful to ask how townsmen chose to decorate their guildhalls and their city gates. What motifs or symbols or figures did they choose? The evidence is not extensive but these images were not always religious or mythical: someone made a choice which can again suggest political concerns and priorities.

I

One of the earliest expressions of 'political thought' perhaps to be found in London occurs in the choice of imagery for the first communal seal (Plate 18.1). Whereas royal seals may well have projected an image simply of the personal authority of the king who is represented, rather than an image of the state, civic seals may be more helpful here for they could not simply show a single person to represent the civic community.⁷ Long before we have any surviving civic customary or other corporate written documentation, London appears to have had a common seal which was kept safely together with copies of the city's important charters.⁸ Heslop has pointed out that the design of this seal is influenced both by the seal of the bishop of London and also by Henry III's first great seal, and yet the choice of imagery and wording must have depended upon the Londoners themselves.⁹ The obverse shows St. Paul, rising up from within the walled city and bearing a sword and a banner with the arms of England. The inscription reads *Sigillum baronum Londoniarum* (as early as the twelfth century the Londoners had claimed to be barons). The original reverse (destroyed at the Reformation) showed St. Thomas Becket dressed as an archbishop seated on an arch raised over the city. On either side of him there were kneeling figures, lay on one side and clerical on the other. The inscription read *Me que te peperit ne cesses Thoma, tueri* (Cease not, Thomas, to



Plate 18.1. The thirteenth-century Common Seal of London, reproduced from Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St. John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (1895), 119.

protect me who brought you forth). So, here, the city chose to represent itself through its patron saints: in place of the monarch wielding a sword, there was St. Paul holding aloft both a sword and the banner of England and on the reverse the city's second saintly patron. But the city is not solely represented by its saints: twice the engraver displayed the physical reality of the walled city with towers, gates and churches. In addition the seal depicts the citizens of London, both lay and ecclesiastical, and although the citizens are shown as suppliants they are not, as was usual in such representations, separated from the saint by an arch and thus clearly placed below him; rather, the Londoners are placed alongside Becket.¹⁰ It may be worth remarking that the inhabitants of England are not represented anywhere on the royal great seal which appears to be entirely concerned to promote the royal image. So, from the early thirteenth century, the Londoners singled out the patron saints, the citizens and the walled city as the threefold representation of the commonalty. The absence of a single 'ruling' figure is notable.

About fifty years later a second, separate, seal was also engraved for the use of the mayor of London; this showed St. Paul and St. Thomas beneath elaborate gabled arches, with the three leopards of England crawling around their two tabernacles.¹¹ The inscription reads simply '*Sigillum Maioratus London.*' It is interesting that this inscription makes it

clear that this is the seal not of the mayor (a person) but of the mayoralty (an institution). In this case the engraver has chosen to emphasise the two patron saints of the city and the royal leopards. The topography and the inhabitants of the city are omitted. But in April 1381 the mayor, William Walworth, had a new mayoral seal made because the old one was '*nimis parvum, rude et antiquum*' and not suitable for the honour of the city. In fact it was not crudely engraved, nor particularly old, so there was probably some other reason why it was thought desirable to have a new seal.¹² This new seal was, in fact, rather larger and included the same visual elements as the old one but placed in a more elaborate setting. The design included two serjeants-at-arms in two characteristic Gothic tabernacles and above them two angels and the Blessed Virgin in the loftiest tabernacle. The new 1381 seal however incorporated an innovation: it showed Saints Thomas and Paul seated above the city arms supported by lions. This appears to be the first time that the city of London adopted its own armorial shield (which, as now, displayed a cross charged with the sword of St. Paul in its first quarter) and here the arms are clearly used to represent, or stand for, the city.¹³ Although the arms on the seal are not, of course, coloured, it is likely that the familiar blazon of red for the cross and the sword, and silver (or white) for the ground was adopted at this time. At exactly this time, the city specified that men were to come to the 'Midsummer Watch' dressed in red and white and that the aldermen who accompanied the mayor on his riding to Westminster were also to wear scarlet and white.¹⁴ There are more secular elements in the new seal than there had been in the earlier seal, but they have not taken over completely by any means. Most unusually a full account of the decrepit old seal and the fine new one was written into the city's Letter Book, perhaps to legitimise Mayor Walworth's rather high-handed action in commissioning a new seal.¹⁵

The fact that seals were important as expressions of a common identity (which is an aspect of political thought) can be seen not only in the refashioning, and recording, of the imagery on the mayoralty seal, but also in the decision taken by the mayor, the recorder, eleven (out of twenty-four) aldermen and 'an immense commonalty' in August 1376 that a '*signum vocatum Molet*' (a star) should be added to the city's common seal, in the middle of the city river gate beneath the feet of the image of St. Paul.¹⁶ The significance of this addition is not explained, but it seems likely that it was added to represent a 'new order', following the Good Parliament of 1376 and far-reaching changes in the way in which the city was governed.¹⁷ The men of London had met several times in

large and noisy assemblies to discuss and to reform the ways in which the city was governed (in effect to draft a new constitution for the city), and the star added to the common seal represented the new order that they had hammered out. The addition to the common seal in 1376 and the replacement of the mayoralty seal in 1381, together with the careful recording of these changes, is indicative of the important communal face that these seals presented to the world at large. Their designs were carefully chosen and they may, therefore, be seriously read as statements about the political priorities of the urban community. The city relied upon the saintly protection of Paul and Thomas (and ultimately that of the Blessed Virgin also), and it aimed to uphold the authority of the crown. The topography of the city was important, as were its citizens, and, in the course of the fourteenth century, they came to adopt a civic coat of arms to express their corporate identity. But no individual Londoner represented the city (as individual kings may have represented the realm on their seals): the political ideal of the Londoners as expressed on their civic seals was that it was the whole, and not the individual, which made up the body politic.

II

The form of the various ceremonies in which the elected mayor, the aldermen and the citizens played a role may also reveal something of their political priorities and preoccupations. It has been customary to see civic rituals as primarily the adaptation of religious ceremonial for political purposes: the Corpus Christi procession, it is argued, was pressed into service by civic rulers to symbolise the unified body of citizens and to harness to the cause of social order the passion and panoply of religious ceremonial.¹⁸ Of course the religious procession and the civic procession had much in common but it is striking how, in London at least, the citizens were capable of devising ceremonies which expressed urban, secular values and not religious ones. The annual riding of the mayor of London to take his oath before the barons of the exchequer at Westminster on 29 October developed, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, into an occasion of considerable civic pageantry, enlivened by minstrels and 'disguising and pageants'. But in 1481 these were deemed to have got out of hand and were banned as not suitable to the solemnity of the occasion.¹⁹ This 'riding' was, at least for the city's rulers, the most important day in the civic calendar and they did not intend that carnivalesque accretions

should be allowed to detract from the solemnity. On this day the mayor, supported by all the aldermen and by the men of the city companies dressed in their liveries, rode to Westminster to assert the city's right to choose its own mayor while, at the same time, acknowledging that the mayor had a responsibility also to the king. There was no ecclesiastical dimension to this 'riding' (the city clergy did not join in the procession) and it was not a 'show'. On this day the city's rulers and the substantial citizens took themselves and their tasks very seriously.

Likewise, the other civic ceremony, the 'Midsummer Watch', although it took place on the feasts of St. John and Saints Peter and Paul (June 24 and June 29), was not a religious ceremony. Again there is no record that the clergy took part in this procession either. The 'Midsummer Watch', before it was abolished in the 1540s, had developed into a massive 'Notting Hill Festival' type of occasion when old soldiers, musicians, archers, torch bearers, morris dancers and pageants (on religious, mythical, classical and historical themes) paraded through the streets with the mayor and sheriffs at the climax of the procession. John Stow remembered nostalgically the marching processions of his youth when houses were decorated with greenery and householders entertained each other in a spirit of the modern 'neighbourhood party.'²⁰ In this more populist event, the mayor rode as the city's king (and upon him depended the well-being of the city every bit as much as the well-being of the realm as a whole depended upon the effective exercise of the royal will), and he was preceded by his sword-bearer, wearing a cap of maintenance and carrying aloft the city's sword, the symbol of the mayor's authority, flanked by horsemen and footmen.²¹ These were significant visible symbols which expressed the common consensus about the importance and the power which the mayor exercised. These symbols do not tell us about the source of that authority (whether descending or ascending), but they do express the tacit acceptance that the mayor had such authority and was expected to exercise it. There is no symbolism, however, to suggest that the temporal power of the mayor (or of the sheriffs who processed with him) came from God: it is not a power sanctioned by religious authority although it does not challenge that authority.

Whereas the mayor's 'Riding' and the 'Midsummer Watch' contained messages for the inhabitants of London, the processions devised for monarchs spoke to a wider world. There was a marked change in the form of these in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Records of these royal welcomes or celebrations are thin at the beginning

of the period and such accounts as we have tell us largely of tapestries and flowing wine and elaborate pageants such as the shoal of large silver-gilt fishes that swam down Cheapside to celebrate Edward I's victory over the Scots in 1298.²² The first civic royal ceremony of which we have a detailed account (indeed two) is the pageantry devised for the reconciliation between Richard II and the city of London in 1392. Here there is no doubt, as Kipling has amply demonstrated, that the themes chosen were religious and derived from the liturgy for Advent.²³ These pageants were most likely devised under the influence of the court, indeed of Richard himself: the Londoners are the intercessors, and the king is given a quasi-divine role, with absolute power to judge, and to forgive, the citizens.²⁴ There is no doubt at all that there is a political message here, and that the message was disseminated beyond the circle of those who were present in August 1392, probably by a newsletter and by the commissioning of a long Latin poem which described the ceremonies and the pageants in great detail. The tone of the political message can be seen in the speech of the warden (for London had been deprived of its right to choose its own mayor) as he greeted the king at London Bridge:

Hail king, whose power is no less to be loved and worshipped than it is to be feared. Hail! Your humble citizens, prostrated at your feet, surrender to you atonce themselves and all that they have. With these keys and this sword, the city freely now yields and comes ready to submit to your will. She earnestly begs, amid her tears, that the merciful king will deign to enter his chamber. Let not the most beautiful walls of the realm be torn down and destroyed...²⁵

It is difficult to know what was passing through the minds of the London aldermen who accompanied the warden as he delivered this speech, but the description of London as the royal chamber, implying both a special relationship between the king and the city and also a financial responsibility, was invoked in the discourse between the crown and London during this period to call to mind the intimacy of that relationship, whether in good times or in bad. The choice of this metaphor was deliberate, as Christian Liddy has shown, and the word was charged with political meaning.²⁶ It seems clear that the pageants, the speeches and the poem were designed to present a particular, 'royalist' view of the relations between the sovereign and the city. The message was that it was the duty of the Londoners to show humility and loyalty to their magnificent and magnanimous sovereign.

The welcome offered to Henry V by the city after Agincourt took the form of a protracted religious service with the singing of psalms and anthems at each of the pageant stages along the route.²⁷ It was surprisingly untriumphalist and very much in the spirit of ‘*Non nobis Domine*’. Whether this very religious form of victory procession was the choice of the Londoners or of the king himself is not clear. But the message was that it was God who had given to Henry and the English success in a just cause. It is, however, in the welcome for Henry VI after his coronation in Paris in 1432 that we can see most clearly the way in which the civic royal pageant was developing its own political timbre. It seems most probable that this welcoming procession (for which the city had ample time to prepare, unlike the welcome after Agincourt) was devised by the city’s common clerk, John Carpenter, who wrote a Latin account of the procession which has been copied into the city’s Letter Book, and it seems clear that this account was sent to John Lydgate who then wrote up the event in English verse.²⁸ The pageants are patently didactic: they instruct the young king in how he is to rule: the Virtues offer him gifts of wisdom and fortitude and these classical virtues are linked to Christian ones. At St. Peter Cornhill church (one of the intellectual centres of fifteenth-century London),²⁹ Dame Sapientia commends to the king the seven liberal arts, and the written text records *Et nunc reges, intelligite: erudimini, qui iudicatis terram* (Be wise now, therefore, kings: be instructed ye judges of the earth).³⁰ Although this injunction comes from the Book of Psalms (chapter 2, verse 10), a very similar topos taken from the apocryphal Book of Wisdom—*Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram*—is to be found ‘throughout the pre-humanist literature on civic government’.³¹ In fact it is inscribed on scrolls in the Maestà paintings of the early fourteenth century in the civic council chambers of both Siena and San Gimignano.³² At the next pageant, placed on the conduit in Cheapside, a young man dressed as a king had Dame Misericordia on his right and Dame Clemencia on his left, to teach him. Near the king stood two old men as judges, and eight men skilled in law *iudicium et justiciam corporis politici representantes*.³³ In fact the political instruction embedded in Carpenter’s text is somewhat obscured by the poetry of Lydgate and it is instructive to read Carpenter’s own account of his pageants. Of course there were also religious pageants such as the Garden of Eden with wells—a pun on the name of the mayor, John Wells—and the Trinity pageant at the west end of Cheap. Moreover the celebrations ended with a service in St. Paul’s cathedral. The political ideas expressed in such pageants may not be startlingly original, but they are the ideas about the duties and responsibility of kings to uphold

the law and administer justice which must have been current in urban contexts.³⁴ The change of emphasis between the 'liturgical' receptions of 1392 and 1415 and the much more humanist, or secular, reception for Henry VI in 1432 may be, in part, a consequence of the youth of the king (where, even at this early age the absence of a strong royal will left the Londoners free to devise their own reception themes), but it may also owe something to the learning and enterprise of the city's common clerk, John Carpenter. Although it might be argued that ceremonial receptions are but visual images, subject to fleeting and varying interpretations, it is clear that increasing care was taken both to write the message in bold letters on the pageants themselves (Lydgate records that the 'scriptures' could be read 'withoute a spectacle'),³⁵ and also to make a written record of the event (whether in Latin prose or English verse). This suggests that the political messages were perceived to be important.

III

Carpenter's influence may also, perhaps, be detected in the decorative schemes carried out in the city during his tenure of office (1417–38). Such schemes chosen for civic buildings provided a permanent record of civic concerns and priorities. Robert Tittler has drawn attention to the significance of the rash of new, or refurbished, town halls in the post-Reformation period.³⁶ Very few medieval halls remain and even fewer are left with any of their medieval furnishings or imagery. Clearly many of these buildings were decorated with religious imagery since in many towns (particularly smaller ones) the religious guild was responsible also for several aspects of secular government (for example in Boston or Westminster).³⁷ In London, however, the city was not governed by a religious guild but by a completely secular group of men, the court of aldermen, supported, from the late thirteenth century, by a large court of common council. The London Guildhall, therefore, from its beginnings in the late twelfth century, was a secular building (with an adjacent chapel).³⁸ When the great new Guildhall was finally completed in about 1430, the citizens chose for the highly decorated façade that faced onto Guildhall yard, a hierarchical series of carved statues in canopied niches (Plate 18.2). In the late eighteenth century this medieval façade was demolished and the statues dispersed. Although four of the statues have been recovered, we depend for our understanding of their significance upon a sixteenth-century poem, together with drawings made by John Carter just before



Plate 18.2. Drawing of Guildhall Porch by Jacob Schnebbelie (1760–1792), executed after the fire in the Controller's Office, 1785, reproduced from Caroline M. Barron, *The Medieval Guildhall of London* (1974), Plate 7.

the façade was dismantled.³⁹ At the apex stood Christ in majesty, below him figures representing Law and Learning and, at the lowest level, four statues representing the four cardinal virtues of Discipline (Prudence), Justice, Fortitude and Temperance each trampling on a conquered vice (Plate 18.3).⁴⁰ The significance of these four virtues was widely understood in fifteenth-century England and John Watts has drawn attention to their important role in developing contemporary ideas about the duties imposed upon, and qualities required of, kings.⁴¹ They were an extremely popular motif not only in ‘mirrors for princes’ literature, but also in painting and sculpture.⁴² There may not, therefore, be any particular significance in the choice of these reasonably common representational figures for the London Guildhall but someone had to choose which figures should decorate the prominent new face of the magnificent new centre for civic government. It seems not unlikely that the industrious and learned John Carpenter, the city’s common clerk since 1417 and so in post at exactly the time when the design of the porch would have been executed, played a leading role in suggesting the theme. Carpenter’s involvement in the new Guildhall complex is further suggested by his active role as the leading executor of the wealthy mercer Richard Whittington (d. 1423) whose wealth Carpenter deployed to fund the new Guildhall library and to pay for paving the great hall and glazing the windows of the mayor’s court.⁴³

What we know of Carpenter’s personal library lends support to the suggestion that he may have helped to choose the themes for the Guildhall porch. When he drew up his will in 1442 Carpenter owned a remarkably extensive collection of books which included two copies of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a French book entitled *De Corpore Pollecie* and a treatise on the Four Cardinal Virtues, attributed to Seneca.⁴⁴ The fact that Carpenter distributed these books (and others) among the men who had worked for him in the common clerk’s office suggests that such books were read and discussed among the civil servants of fifteenth-century London. So the design of the Guildhall porch may well have been inspired by ideas derived from a reading of classical texts and suggests a clear understanding of the source of political authority. It is a descending theory of power which derives from God (in the person of Jesus Christ) who gives to men Learning and Law so that they may know how to govern rightly. And in order that men may govern themselves they have to call to their aid the four cardinal virtues of Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude. A similar theme is to be found, worked out in much greater detail and complexity, in Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s famous representation of good government to

be found in the Palazzo Publico in Siena.⁴⁵ There is nothing particularly unusual about the source and implementation of authority but it may be worth noting the absence of the Virgin Mary and the saints.⁴⁶

If the London Guildhall carried a message about the priorities of civic or political culture, then what about the city's gates? Again the decorative schemes, such as they were, of London's medieval gates have been destroyed with the gates themselves in the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ In 1261 Henry III ordered his master mason, Robert of Beverley, to give to the man in charge of the work on Ludgate, thirteen pieces of stone '*ad sculptendum ex eis quasdam ymagines*'.⁴⁸ According to Stow the Londoners at this time rebuilt Ludgate 'with images of Lud and other kings'.⁴⁹ The choice of kings, whether real or mythical, seems to have been considered appropriate for civic gates. It was surely for a political reason that Richard II demanded that, as part of the 'reconciliation package' in 1392, the citizens of London should place statues of himself and Anne, his queen, above the stone gate on London Bridge. The canopies above the statues were to display the arms of the king and queen together with those of Edward the Confessor, and all the carved work was to be painted. It cost the city more than £30 to provide this royalist statement.⁵⁰ When Bishopsgate was rebuilt at the expense of the Hanse merchants in 1479 it was decorated with three statues on its north side: in the centre Bishop William, the Norman bishop who was seen to have been instrumental in securing King William's confirmation of the liberties of London, and, on either side of him, King Alfred and the ealdorman Aethelraed of Mercia, between them responsible for the restoration of London after the Viking attacks of the ninth century. On the inner face stood the saintly Anglo-Saxon bishop of London, Erkenwald.⁵¹ The presence of William and Erkenwald is to be explained by the fact that the bishops of London accepted some financial responsibility for the maintenance of the gate that bore their title, but the choice of the two Wessex heroes is a little harder to explain. The absence of saints (whether St. Paul or St. Thomas) is notable. Twelve years later Cripplegate was also rebuilt at the cost of the executors of the wealthy goldsmith, Edmund Shaa, who stipulated that the rebuilt gate was to bear his arms and those of his company.⁵² In the same way, when Ludgate was again rebuilt in the 1460s at the expense of Stephen Forster it was decorated with his arms.⁵³ So, insofar as the city gates carried political messages they were about secular power and secular largesse.

IV

It has been suggested here that the city's common clerk, John Carpenter, with his extensive library of legal and political texts may have played a prominent role in fashioning the political culture of London in the first half of the fifteenth century. Doubtless he was exceptionally well read for a layman at that time. Yet there were other Londoners also with private collections of books, and others had access to books in a growing number of small 'public' libraries.⁵⁴ Carpenter, moreover, had a learned predecessor in the civic secretariat, Andrew Horn, a fishmonger, and the city chamberlain in the years 1320–28 who was probably born in London in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ One of his brothers was, like Andrew himself, a fishmonger and another was a cleric. By 1307 he was a warden of the fishmongers and it may have been this experience that drew him into London government.⁵⁶ He never became an alderman but it seems likely that he was engaged in some way with the administration of the city for several years before he was formally elected as the city's chamberlain in 1320, and he was closely associated with another fishmonger, Hamo de Chigwell, who occupied the mayoralty almost continuously from 1319 to 1328. Horn appears to have been fluent in Latin, French and English and he compiled and wrote a number of books which he left to the chamber of the Guildhall, some of which are still there. He was interested in ancient law and custom, and rediscovered for his contemporaries the *Leges Anglorum*, a text compiled in London in the early thirteenth century and incorporating Old English laws. For Horn customary law was still important (whether the law of the land or of London) in the face of creeping legal bureaucracy.⁵⁷ Horn owned the only known copy of *The Mirror of Justices*, an appeal to fundamental law and to the sound legal practice of King Alfred.⁵⁸ It was from a knowledge of history and of past law and custom, that Horn derived his views on how the city (and the realm) should be governed. These concerns and beliefs came together in another of Horn's compilations, his 'Great Book', known in the fifteenth century as the *Liber Legum Regum Antiquorum*.⁵⁹ Among its extensive contents were two documents which throw particular light on Horn's concern for good government.

In the first place he includes two sets of statutes relating to the London fraternity of the Puy which appears to have been based at Guildhall chapel and was closely associated with the powerful Henry le Waleys (mayor in 1273–4, 1281–4 and 1298–9). Horn may even have

been a member of the fraternity. It has been argued that ‘the statutes upheld a vision of a harmonious, loyal, loving city, preaching the “good love” and neighbourliness essential to a peaceful urban and mercantile co existence.’⁶⁰ It may be that Horn became disillusioned with the potential of song and good fellowship to achieve civic harmony amid the economic rivalries and political storms of the early fourteenth century. In his ‘Great Book’ Horn also included selections from a work on civic government, the *Li Livres dou Trésor*, a treatise on the right government of a city state, written by the Florentine, Brunetto Latini. The *Trésor* was an extremely popular work (there are ninety known manuscripts in European libraries),⁶¹ which Latini wrote in the years 1260–6 while he was in France in exile from Florence, either at Bar-sur-Aube in eastern Champagne or in Arras further north.⁶² The work, in three books, with a total of 436 chapters, is a compendium of civic wisdom aimed at achieving the common good, the absence of strife, and the supremacy of the republican form of government, and providing an analysis of the qualities required of elected rulers. Copies of Latini’s work seem to have been known in England in the thirteenth century although it is not clear how Horn acquired his copy.⁶³ If Horn had access to the whole of Latini’s work, then he used it very sparingly, selecting only eight of the 436 chapters.⁶⁴ Some of these chapters Horn adopts wholesale (for example, chapter 74, ‘On the Pillars of the State’; chapter 96, ‘On the Causes of Civic Discord’; chapter 97, ‘On the Conduct of Rulers’; and chapter 104, ‘On How the Retiring Ruler should Leave Office’). Other chapters he adapted (for example, chapter 102, ‘On How a New Ruler should be Chosen’). Not only has Horn selected and adapted Latini’s work, he has also changed the order of his chosen chapters.⁶⁵ Thus Horn is by no means a blind copyist: he has clearly read most (if not all) of Latini’s *Trésor*, reflected on it and adapted it to the situation in London. For example Horn’s advice on how the ruler should relinquish office is quite different from Latini’s and, in a revealing addition, he inserts a sentence advising the departing mayor ‘to pray to the Chamberlain, and others of the most worthy, that all suits and all pleas that have been moved before him during all his time be by them delivered according to righteous judgement.’⁶⁶ Here Horn has clearly designated the city chamberlain as the senior and most responsible member among the ‘most worthy’ to see to the completion of cases that had been heard before the departing mayor. Jeremy Catto has analysed the various ways in which Horn ‘adapted his material to relate it to the government of London and to contemporary national politics, and concluded that ‘where [Horn] altered or omitted

passages, it was to establish a detailed, practical procedure. The precepts which he took over from Brunetto, therefore, must have been intended to be taken seriously as a guide to practice.⁶⁷ The 'Great Book' in which Horn wrote out his version of *Latini* was left to the chamber of the Guildhall, presumably for the use of his successors.⁶⁸ Catto however, ends his article questioning 'whether Horn's successors made anything of it'.⁶⁹

Contemporary with Andrew Horn, another Londoner was putting together a collection of useful material (Latin and French) similar in many ways to Horn's compilations; it included royal letters to London, material relating to the Jews, regulations about civic assizes and historical material including a chronicle which ended in 1315.⁷⁰ There is nothing in this collection comparable to Horn's adaptation of the *Trésor*, but it is clearly the work of an educated Londoner. His name eludes us. Not so the compilation put together by Thomas Carleton, a London embroiderer in the 1380s. His volume includes items concerned with the government of England and a selection of material, probably taken from city customals, relating to the government of London itself. Carleton includes, as Andrew Horn did in his 'Great Book', a shortened version of William FitzStephen's famous description of London but, significantly, Carleton adds some details (omitted by FitzStephen) about the way in which the city was governed.⁷¹ Carleton, a supporter of John Northampton in the political struggles of the 1380s in London, found it useful, or interesting, to have a compilation—in Latin—about the government of the city. There is a similar compilation, using Latin, French and English, which belonged in the 1390s to a London fishmonger, who seems to have had access to some of the city's memoranda books kept at the Guildhall.⁷² What is particularly striking about this volume is that it contains an English translation of the Latin *inspeximus* charter granted to the Londoners by Richard II in November 1383. Since no English translation of this charter survives among the city's records it may be that Nicholas Brembre, the mayor, had English copies made for distribution when the charter was proclaimed in December of that year.⁷³ If we move forward a hundred years we may consider the book put together by John Vale for his master Sir Thomas Cook: this is a remarkable collection of political documents, broadsheets, royal writs and letter formularies. But the volume also contains Sir John Fortescue's tract on the *Governance of England* and Lydgate's prose work, his *Serpent of Division*.⁷⁴ These two texts may surely be classified as 'works of political theory' and demonstrate, if that were necessary, that men in London were interested in the government of the realm, as well as that of

the city. Indeed the career of Sir Thomas Cook bears telling witness to the interplay of national and civic politics.⁷⁵ A generation later, Sir Thomas More, a Londoner by birth and upbringing and the city's under-sheriff, may have had the civic government (and problems) in mind when he wrote his *Utopia* in 1516.⁷⁶

The volumes that have been considered here are examples of manuscripts which were, so far as we can tell, privately owned: they were compiled for the use and interest of particular individuals who, in all these cases, can be demonstrated to have been Londoners. Andrew Horn put together 'personal' compilations which he made public, or communal, by later bequeathing them to the chamber of the Guildhall for the use of his successors in the urban civil service.⁷⁷ It is clear that Horn compiled these volumes in his own time and that they belonged to him to dispose of as he wished. There were other public volumes which Horn worked on in his official capacity when he was the city's chamberlain and which were always in the possession of the city.⁷⁸ As we have seen, the compiling by Londoners of private memoranda books, or custumals, or commonplace books containing useful information about the history and government of their city, continued throughout the later medieval period. After the burst of activity associated with Andrew Horn, there seem to have been few 'civic' compilations until the early fifteenth century when John Carpenter, in his capacity as the city's common clerk, in 1419 compiled the *Liber Albus* with the encouragement of the then mayor, Richard Whittington.⁷⁹ This was not a private project on Carpenter's part (unlike Horn's compilations a century earlier), but a public task undertaken for public use. Carpenter's purpose in compiling the *Liber Albus* was to preserve the knowledge of how things were done in the city because, in the past, in the absence of written information there had arisen '*controversia*' and '*perplexitas*'. He intended also to provide a 'finding aid' to the existing city records since the task of copying out all those items which were important would have been overwhelming, and he would have had to neglect the other business of the city to accomplish it.⁸⁰ In fact Carpenter was not simply the '*compilator*' that he ingenuously calls himself. He admits that he is also writing down matters where there is no written record and 'those observances which, though not written, have been usually followed and approved in the said city'. He claimed that the writing down of these laudable customs has been approved *tam superioribus quam subditis dictae civitatis* and that he has done this so that *tam superiores quam subditi dictae civitatis* shall know in the future what to do.⁸¹ In fact, behind this verbiage Carpenter is engaged in

writing an account of how he believes the city should be governed: how mayors, aldermen and sheriffs should be elected, and their oaths (which in medieval times constituted a kind of job description), and their duties. He described how wardmotes should be held (really the only direct evidence for this), and similar material, almost all of it in the first part of the first of the four books that make up the *Liber Albus*.⁸² The remaining books are, for the most part, compilations of material extracted from other city records, but the first book is not: it is a clear piece of ‘constitution drafting’, not created entirely out of Carpenter’s head, but selective and the product of a clear and largely authoritarian viewpoint.⁸³ In this sense Carpenter is much closer to Fortescue than he is to Andrew Horn. It is worth noting, also, that John Carpenter wrote his *Repertorium* in Latin, which suggests that the transparency of government was not intended to include many of the ‘*subditi*’: this was a book to be used by the rulers of London, not a book to be used by the ruled in order to check up on their rulers.

Although he does not say so, Carpenter may have been reacting to an earlier attempt at ‘constitution making’ in London, namely the compilation of the ‘Jubilee Book’, a new civic customary so named because it was compiled in the jubilee year of Edward III in 1377.⁸⁴ This volume, associated with the reforms of the London ‘radicals’ in the wake of the Good Parliament (reforms which, it was argued earlier, ushered in a new order which found expression in the addition of the mullet to the city’s common seal), was finally compiled, after much committee work, a year later. It was resented and disliked by certain elements in the city and when the ‘conservatives’ led by the grocer Nicholas Brembre regained control of the city government the Jubilee Book was first revised and then, in March 1387, publicly burnt: an extremely unusual occurrence, especially before the advent of popular heresy.⁸⁵

Although the Jubilee Book was burnt, a version of it seems to have been copied into a private manuscript compendium of civic law, custom and practice of the kind already described. This particular manuscript appears to have come from the circle of Sir Thomas Cook and his secretary-factotum John Vale.⁸⁶ The preamble states that it is ‘the new book of the ancient customs and usages in the city of London compiled and affirmed by the mayor, aldermen and commons of the same city the year of King Richard the second the first year [1377–8]’.⁸⁷ The compiler goes on to write that

the perfection of all policy and the ground of good government dwell and abide upon two things which may not be dissevered or departed but always together to be held and kept. First that the sage and righteous governors of the common people in their governance, in their 'reddure' [harshness] and favour after this so the time requireth so be it demanded and modified. Secondly, that the common people be tractable and of one accord and be deserving [and] love they their governors and sovereigns, and that they of them have dread, and they obey. The which two things aforesaid well and steadfastly kept on that one part and on the other, every city shall be set [...] and tranquillity.⁸⁸

The first page of the document has been deliberately torn so that the text is incomplete, yet it is clear that the preamble was followed by a list of the aldermen who were present together with the names of the crafts that assented to the new regulations. The names of only thirty or so crafts have survived but the list includes such lowly trades as the pouchmakers, tallowchandlers, fusters, pinners and paternosterers,

which persons aforesaid, considering many good articles touching the principal governance of the said city and the good customs and ancient usages of the same to be in diverse great books of the same city comprised and that great labour and diligence was to search and seek in times covenable, and of which the commons of the said city may not be at a very certainty without right great costages to officers ordained, and of one accord they have assented that all the articles ensuing to the honour of God [...] profit, rest and tranquillity of the said city [...] realm shall be compiled in the form ...⁸⁹

Clearly the purposes of this earlier compilation were rather different from those of Carpenter forty years later. The former compilation appealed also to ancient custom, but the purpose was to make the government of the city more accessible, so that it would be easier for the commons (the *subditi*) to know how the city was governed. Significantly, whereas Carpenter began his book with an account of the history, election and duties of the mayor, followed by an account of the aldermen, then the wardmotes and the common council and finally the sheriffs and the other members of the civic bureaucracy, the Jubilee Book by contrast, begins with an account of the common council, then moves on to the mayor and to the offices of the chamberlain, common serjeant and common clerk who are all to be chosen by the common council, as laid down in

the charter of 1319.⁹⁰ But the most striking difference between the two volumes is that the earlier volume, the Jubilee Book, is written in English whereas Carpenter wrote in Latin. Perhaps the earlier volume was burnt for exactly that reason—as heretical books were to be burnt later—namely to try to prevent the discussion and questioning that rises from easy access to controversial texts. Between the Jubilee Book of 1377 and Carpenter’s *Liber Albus* in 1419 there had occurred the disquieting events of the Revolt of 1381 which had demonstrated not only that ‘peasants’ were capable of co-ordinating a mass uprising using the clerkly tools of writing and reading, but also that the rebels believed that servitude could be eradicated by burning the written texts which recorded it. During the damaging and, ultimately, expensive civic disputes of the 1380s rivals for office and power posted up inflammatory bills in the city and presented petitions in English to parliament. Indeed the translation into English of Richard II’s charter early in the mayoralty of Nicholas Brembre in November 1383 may be seen as part of this new-style propaganda war.⁹¹ At the same time the rise of popular heresy based on translations of parts of the Bible was challenging the authority of the church. In these circumstances it is possible to see why the common council, led by the fishmonger-mayor Nicholas Exton in March 1387, decided that the Jubilee Book should be burnt.⁹² It is not, perhaps, surprising that Carpenter (possibly encouraged by the mayor Richard Whittington) later took refuge in the security of Latin so that the ‘*superiores*’ might be able to govern the city in tranquillity without too much informed intervention from those they governed.

But Latin did not protect the rulers of London in the fifteenth century from criticism and, indeed, attempts at armed resistance. The cause of the artisan tailors, led by the wealthy tailor-alderman Ralph Holland, has been described in detail elsewhere.⁹³ At base it was one of the many craft disputes that fractured London government in the medieval period. But it is different because we know more about it and, in particular, in the city journals of the fifteenth century there are recorded not only the deeds of those who fell foul of the city’s governors, but also what they said or, in some cases, what they were said to have said. The tailors were supported in their protests against the decisions of the court of aldermen (composed of merchants) by the artisan skinnners and other artisans who identified common interests in opposition to the policies of the merchant aldermen. In the first place they protested at the restriction of the mayor’s election to those who were summoned individually by writ: in the past, they argued, all the freemen were entitled to take part in the election of the mayor. And

they were right, although from the early fourteenth century the mayor and aldermen had, on occasion, sought royal writs authorising the restriction of those present at the mayoral election to those who were summoned. But the protesters in the early 1440s claimed that in accordance with the city's 'Great Charter' of 1319 those who had not been present at the election of the mayor were not bound to obey him: he was not the mayor of those who had not elected him. In fact the 'Great Charter' of 1319 did not specify that all citizens could attend the election of the mayor: indeed no charter did. But the 1319 charter did lay down that the mayor was to be elected annually.⁹⁴ The protesters also argued that a writ from the king could not override the authority of a charter which had been confirmed in parliament. In fact the new charter of 1327, which Andrew Horn had helped to obtain from the new king, and which he explained to a mass meeting of the citizens, had, indeed, been confirmed *per regem et totum consilium parlamenti*.⁹⁵

The other issue which provoked the '*subditi*' of London in the 1440s was the new charter which the mayor and aldermen sought from the crown in 1443. In accordance with this charter the mayor, and those aldermen who had already served as mayor, were to become not simply guardians of the peace, but justices of the peace with power to hear and determine cases. Such charters were being granted to towns (in lieu of royal commissions) from the 1390s and London was, in fact, one of the last towns to seek such a charter; but it is easy to see why such a new charter, following on from the artisan protests about the bias and prejudice of the court of the mayor and aldermen, provoked further protest.⁹⁶ Ralph Holland declared that the new charter was a commission not of peace, but of war. A dyer named William Haylyn was sent to prison for protesting at the city's spending 2,000 marks on purchasing a new charter 'which was contrary to the liberties and franchises of the city and would destroy freedom'.⁹⁷

What is of interest here is the quite sophisticated political awareness displayed by tailors and skimmers and other artisans, about the way in which their urban community should be governed. They were not in the John Carpenter class, and doubtless owned few books and probably could not read Latin, but they knew that all men should be equal before the law and that the successful government of communities depends upon the consent of those governed. They also displayed an unexpected—perhaps—sense of the written and historical basis of such claims. These men knew about the city's 'Great Charter' of 1319 and the charter of 1327 which had been confirmed in parliament. Ralph Holland (admittedly an alderman)

argued that there had been no royal writs restricting access to the mayor's election in the past and that none could be found recorded in any of the city's books. In fact Holland was incorrect on this point, but this appeal to the historic, and recorded, past was an important aspect of the artisan protest. In a seditious sermon preached at Paul's Cross, the preacher had asserted in October 1442 that the first and best mayor of London had been a cordwainer named Walsh.⁹⁸ This is not historically accurate since no one named Walsh had been mayor; indeed, no cordwainer had ever served as mayor. On the other hand, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries there were a number of cordwainers who had been able to serve as aldermen in the 'good old days' before civic office was monopolised by merchants and overseas traders.⁹⁹

The 'Great Charter' of 1319 had laid down that certain civic officers, namely the common clerk, the chamberlain and the common serjeant, were to be chosen by the commonalty of the city.¹⁰⁰ In fact the chamberlain, who was in charge of the city's common funds, was elected each year (often re-elected) at the same time as the sheriffs and the bridge-wardens. This annual election provided the 'radicals' in 1443 with an opportunity to flex their muscles and in September they refused to re-elect John Chichele, a grocer who had been the city chamberlain for nine years, and chose instead William Cottesbroke, another but more radical grocer, and a common councilman who had been elected as one of the city's MPs the previous year.¹⁰¹ Although the mayor and aldermen overruled Cottesbroke's election, and restored Chichele to the post, Cottesbroke continued to support the artisan rebels and it was he who displayed the city's 'Great Charter' to the other artisans and helped them to bring the force of ancient custom to bear upon their claims.¹⁰² So, a sense of history, of precedent and of custom appears to have been a powerful ingredient in the political thinking of fifteenth-century Londoners.

V

It is not surprising that political debate was particularly vigorous in medieval towns, peopled by immigrants from elsewhere in England and abroad, and governed according to procedures which were constantly reviewed and challenged. In London the debates were also fuelled by the political concerns of men involved in the government of the realm. Much of the debate is obscured and the political issues degenerate into economic and personal conflicts, but some changes may, perhaps, be detected. It is

clear that the sharp personal conflicts of the thirteenth century chronicled so vividly, if not always transparently, by Arnald FitzThedmar give way to the more measured debate about issues to be found in the pages of Robert Fabyan or Thomas More writing at the end of the period. It may have been the achievement of Andrew Horn to initiate this change. By providing the citizens with a written, as opposed to an oral, record of royal charters and communal decisions, it became possible to begin debates from an agreed starting point. And a knowledge of the history and governing practices of the city was not confined simply to the city's bureaucrats who had access to civic records: increasing numbers of Londoners owned their own copies of 'civic' books, obtained copies of important documents and read and discussed these with other Londoners. It was from among such literate communities that a knowledge of past struggles and governing practices was disseminated and used, as in the 1430s, to challenge those who exercised power.

From at least as early as the late thirteenth century there had evolved an awareness that it was the office that mattered and not the officer. The seal was of the office of the mayoralty, not the mayor: just as those opposed to Edward II asserted that their loyalty was to the crown not to the person of the king, so had the Londoners earlier made that same distinction in the course of the thirteenth century. Whereas the earlier common seal was inscribed as the seal of the barons of London the later seal of about 1275 was that of the mayoralty, not the mayor. To express the new concept of the city corporately, an entity greater than its barons and other 'parts', the Londoners developed by the later fourteenth century a civic coat of arms to stand for, and represent, that greater whole. It would appear that over the centuries the Londoners were also developing their own secular, perhaps humanist, motifs. Whereas the earliest common seal was influenced by the seal of the bishop of London, as well as by the royal great seal, the later mayor's seal was secular in form. In the thirteenth century it was the saints Paul and Thomas who were chosen to represent the city, but in the new mayor's seal of 1381, the two saints are joined by a number of other more secular images including the city's arms. Moreover civic ceremonial was becoming increasingly secular. The mayor's riding never included a religious element and the royal welcomes developed classical or humanist messages. The façade of the fifteenth-century Guildhall confirmed the overriding divine authority but emphasised the classical virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Justice and Fortitude and the importance of Law and Learning. This secularisation of London's political

culture was epitomised when, in 1539 the city, in response to a royal injunction, removed St. Thomas from the city seal, and replaced him with the city's arms.

The city's political culture was also changing in other ways. Men like FitzThedmar and Andrew Horn understood that the peace and prosperity of the city depended upon the particular qualities of those elected to hold office. Horn selects from the work of Brunetto Latini those passages which deal with the qualities to be sought in rulers and the standards of public behaviour required of them once chosen. The task of the electors is to search for the right man and to obey him. And these same ideas can be detected in the Jubilee Book, where the rulers are to be 'sage' and 'righteous' and the common people 'tractable' and 'obedient'. But the compilers of the Jubilee Book also realised the importance of systems and accepted procedures for choosing officials and bringing them to account. And in his *Liber Albus*, John Carpenter is more concerned to describe the right working of structures than to rely upon the morality of individuals. It is not that morality is irrelevant, but that the well-being of the city is now acknowledged to depend upon the creation and observation of effective systems for delegating and exercising power. A political culture which had focused on the search for the right man has now given way to the search for the right constitution.

But a town as large as London never spoke with a single voice. The old common seal which showed groups of Londoners gathered around St. Thomas acknowledged the plurality of the political community. This plurality was the source both of the city's economic strength and its political instability. The written records tend to suggest a more uniform political culture than can ever have been the case. But Horn's necessary exposition of the 1327 charter, the tensions which gave birth to the Jubilee Book, the overt elitism of Carpenter's *Liber Albus*, and the recorded protests of the artisan tailors and skimmers in the 1430s remind us that the London ship of state sailed always on a choppy sea.

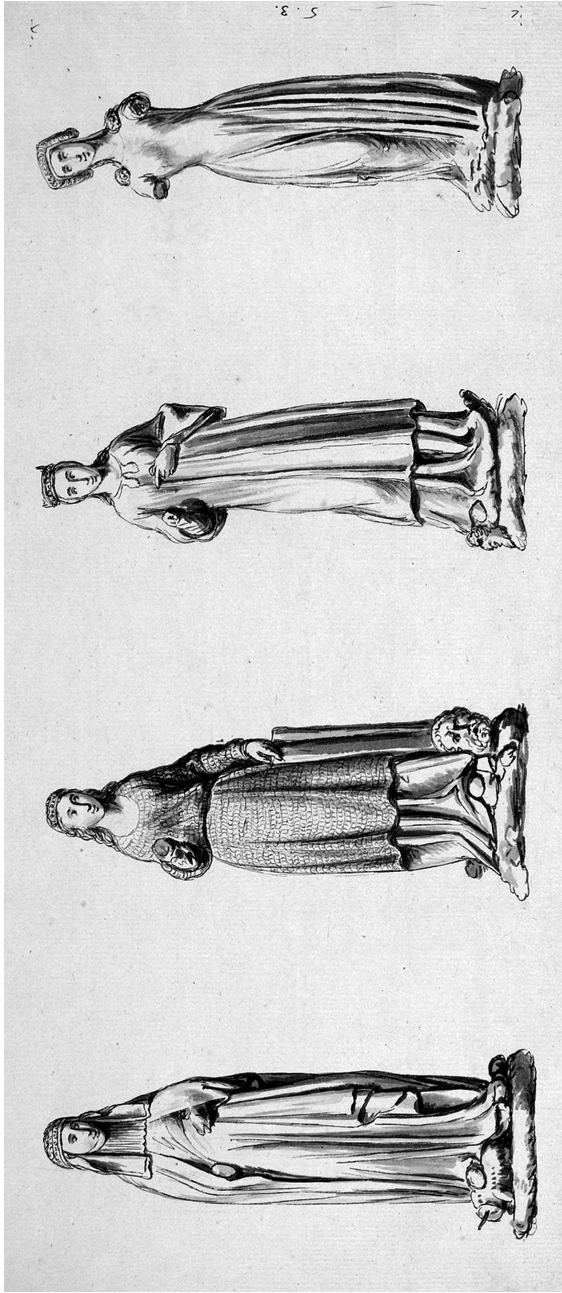


Plate 18.3. The four statues of Discipline, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance from Guildhall Porch, drawn by John Carter in 1783, reproduced from Caroline M. Barron, *The Medieval Guildhall of London* (1974), plate 9.

NOTES

¹ See, e.g., Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401–1499* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. chap. 9.

² John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996); for a study of the political consciousness of the yeomanry and peasantry, see I. M. W. Harvey, 'Was There Popular Politics in Fifteenth-Century England?', in *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics*, ed. R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (Stroud, 1995), 155–74.

³ Watts, *Henry VI*, 99–101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51–6.

⁵ See Caroline Barron, 'London and Parliament in the Lancastrian Period', *Parliamentary History*, ix (1990), 343–67.

⁶ Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval Urban History and the History of Political Thought', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1982, 14–23; S. H. Rigby and Elizabeth Ewen, 'Government, Power and Authority, 1300–1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), 291–312, esp. 304–6.

⁷ John Watts, 'Looking for the State in Later Medieval England', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), 243–67, esp. 264–5.

⁸ This common seal is referred to in a collection of London material to be dated to c.1215: see Martin Weinbaum, *London unter Eduard I. und II.* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1933), i. 45; Mary Bateson, 'A London Municipal Collection of the Reign of John', *EHR*, xvii (1902), 480–511, 707–30; *CPR, 1216–25*, p. 211.

⁹ For discussion and illustration, see T. A. Heslop, 'The Seal of the Barons of London', in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (1987), 273 and photograph showing the obverse of the seal. See also confirmation in 1324 by the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of London of ordinances relating to the Stocks Market [Betty Masters], *To God and the Bridge: The Story of the City's Bridges* (exhibition catalogue, Guildhall Art Gallery, 1972), no. 15 and plate II which shows the reverse of the seal, by this date (after 100 years of use), much worn. On civic seals more generally, see James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936), 235–9, 256–9.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Dr Elizabeth New for this observation.

¹¹ The earliest surviving impression of the seal is found on a deed dated 1277–8, now at Durham; see *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 274, where the impression of the seal that is illustrated comes from Westminster Abbey Muni-ments, 41.

¹² Heslop, in *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 32. The real reason may have been a desire to have a new seal to express the new order of civic government which had been created by the constitutional changes of 1376–8; see below, n. 85.

¹³ *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 274.

¹⁴ Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge, 2002), 51, 53, 195–6; the year was 1378.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1907), 164–5; *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries* (1868), ed. H. T. Riley, 446–7. In this description of the old and new seals the scribe records the two saints as Peter and Paul. On the old seal their initials were engraved on the face of the seal (SS Th and SS P) so the scribe had no excuse for the confusion unless, of course, the seal was so worn after a hundred years of use that the wording had been obliterated.

¹⁶ *Letter Book H*, 36; *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 400.

¹⁷ See below, n. 85.

¹⁸ Mervyn James, 'Ritual Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval Town', *Past and Present*, xcvi (1983), 3–29; Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450–1550', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Peter Clark and Paul Slack (1972), 57–85.

¹⁹ *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book L*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1912), 187; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 52–3, 180–1.

²⁰ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (2 vols., Oxford, 1971), i. 101–3.

²¹ On the development of the 'Midsummer Watch' and for discussion of the reasons for its abolition in the 1540s, see Sheila Williams, 'The Lord Mayor's Show in Tudor and Stuart Times', *Guildhall Miscellany*, x (1959), 3–18; Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1986, 15–27; Sheila Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch', in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis, 1994), 171–88; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 50–2 and chap. 9.

²² Stow, *Survey*, i. 95–6; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 42–4, 48–9.

²³ Gordon Kipling, 'Richard II's "Sumptuous Pageants" and the Idea of the Civic Triumph', in *Pageantry and the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. D. M. Bergeron (Athens, Ga., 1985), 83–103; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 45.

²⁴ C. M. Barron, 'Richard II and London', in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. Anthony Goodman and J. L. Gillespie (Oxford, 1999), 129–54, esp. 152–4. [Reprinted as Chapter 5 in the present volume.]

²⁵ Latin poem in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Thomas Wright (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1859–61), i. 82–300; English translation by Edith Rickert in *Chaucer's World* (Oxford, 1948), 35–9, esp. 36–37. See also Richard Maidstone, *Concordia*, trans. A. G. Rigg and ed. D. R. Carlson (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2003), esp. p. 57.

²⁶ C. D. Liddy, 'The Rhetoric of the Royal Chamber in Late Medieval London, York and Coventry', *Urban History*, xxix (2002), 323–49.

²⁷ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Frank Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), pp. xxxvii, 101–13. Lydgate's poem on the same event is printed, *ibid.*, 191–2.

²⁸ *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book K*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1911), 137; *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley (3 vols, Rolls Series, 1859–62), iii. appendix 3; see H. N. MacCracken, ‘King Henry’s Triumphal Entry into London: Lydgate’s Poem and Carpenter’s Letter’, *Archiv für das Studium des neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, cxxvi (1911), 75–102. Lydgate’s English poem is printed in *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), 156–70; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 188.

²⁹ C. M. Barron, ‘The Expansion of Education of Fifteenth-Century London’, in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford, 1996), 219–45, esp. 227. [Reprinted as Chapter 16 and p. 455 in the present volume.] It may be worth noting that St. Peter Cornhill was the parish of John Carpenter.

³⁰ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, ed. Riley, iii. 461.

³¹ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, (2 vols., Cambridge, 2002), ii. 51.

³² *Ibid.*, 51.

³³ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, ed. Riley, iii. 461.

³⁴ See Watts, ‘Looking for the State in Later Medieval England’, 243–67, esp. 255.

³⁵ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 163.

³⁶ Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c. 1500–1640* (Oxford, 1991); *idem*, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Culture c. 1540–1640 c.* (Oxford, 1998), esp. chap. 12.

³⁷ Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, 13.

³⁸ C. M. Barron, *The Medieval Guildhall of London* (1974).

³⁹ For the sixteenth-century poem by William Elderton, said by Stow to be an attorney in the sheriffs’ court at Guildhall, see Stow, *Survey*, i. 272; ii. 333. The author of these verses may be the ‘Master Elderton’ who sat as a judge in a coining case in the Guildhall in 1562, see *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, old series, xlii, 1848), 290. He is less likely to be the William Elderton, ‘ballad-writer and notorious tippler’, who died in c. 1590, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, 591–2. For the drawings by John Carter, dated 1788, see Barron, *Guildhall*, 27 and plates 8a and b, 9a and b, and 10.

⁴⁰ Carter named the Law and Learning statues as Aaron and Moses, see J. E. Price, *A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall of the City of London* (1896), plate facing p. 71.

⁴¹ Watts, *Henry VI*, 23–5; *Hoccleve’s Works. III. The Regement of Princes*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS, extra series, no. lxxii, 1897), lines 4754–60; *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. R. R. Steele (EETS, extra series, no. lxxiv, 1898), 146–97.

⁴² For English illuminated manuscripts, see the copy of Brunetto Latini, *Livre du Trésor* (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 571); L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385* (2 vols., Oxford and London, 1986), ii. 103; Thomas

Chandler's *Liber Apologeticus* (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.14.5), in K. L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490* (2 vols., 1996), ii. 285.

⁴³ Barron, *Guildhall*, 32–3.

⁴⁴ Thomas Brewer, *A Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (1856), 97–99, 121–30; for 'Seneca' see Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, ii. 43, 65–7.

⁴⁵ For a detailed reinterpretation of this famous painting, see Quentin Skinner, 'Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as Political Philosopher', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, lxxii (1986), 1–56; *idem*, *Visions of Politics*, ii. chaps. 3 and 4.

⁴⁶ We know very little about the interior decorative scheme of the new Guildhall. None of the medieval glass remains, although Stow records that various aldermen of the time paid for the glazing of the windows of the hall 'as appeareth by their arms in each window'. The executors of Richard Whittington paid for the glazing of the windows in the mayor's court, all of which bore his arms. Stow, *Survey*, i. 272. The only decorations of the mayor's court still to be seen when the rooms were about to be pulled down in 1882 were angels in niches bearing the city's arms: Barron, *Guildhall*, plate 29 b. The surviving bosses in the east crypt are largely decorative and do not appear to represent any consistent theme or idea, see Price, *Account of the Guildhall*, 88–9.

⁴⁷ John Strype, *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (2 vols., 1720), i. 14–21.

⁴⁸ *CPR*, 1259–61, p. 434.

⁴⁹ Stow, *Survey*, i. 38. Stow also notes that the heads were struck off the kings in the reign of Edward VI 'by such as iuged every image to be an idoll', and then restored under Mary and rebuilt in Elizabeth's reign. The other kings may have been Lud's two sons: Strype, *Survey*, i. 21.

⁵⁰ J. H. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych: a Re-examination', *Archaeologia*, xxviii (1961), 1–28, esp. 5 n.7: the mason, Thomas Wrenk, was paid a total of £10, the painter was paid £20, and two gilt latten sceptres for the images cost £1.

⁵¹ Strype, *Survey*, i. 17.

⁵² T. F. Reddaway and L. E. M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1327–1509* (1975), 176–7.

⁵³ Stow, *Survey*, i. 40.

⁵⁴ On libraries, see Barron, 'Expansion of Education', 219–45, esp. 239–41 [reprinted as Chapter 16 and pp. 467–68 in the present volume]; Fiona Kisby, 'Books in London Parish Churches before 1603: Some Preliminary Observations', in *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society: Studies in Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson*, ed. Caroline Barron and Jenny Stratford (Donington, 2002), 305–26. Most of the recorded books in parish churches were liturgical or broadly religious, although Carpenter's parish church of St. Peter Cornhill owned a copy of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon: ibid.*, 311.

⁵⁵ Jeremy Catto, 'Andrew Horn: Law and History in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davies and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981),

367–91. This account of Andrew Horn is much indebted to Catto's work.

⁵⁶ During the years 1307–12 Horn appears to have been writing a contemporary account of political events, now known as the *Annales Londonienses*, see Catto, 'Andrew Horn', 375.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 386–7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 387; see F. W. Maitland's introduction to *The Mirror of Justices*, ed. W. J. Whittaker (Selden Society, vii, 1895), pp. ix–lv.

⁵⁹ Catto, 'Andrew Horn', 376; see Debbie Cannon, 'London Pride: Citizenship and the Fourteenth Century Customals of the City of London', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Turnout, Belgium, 2003), 179–98, esp. 186–90.

⁶⁰ A. F. Sutton, 'Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: the London Puy and its French and London Contexts, circa 1300', *The London Journal*, xvii (1992), 1–17, esp. 12.

⁶¹ I am grateful to Dr. Jennifer Marshall for this information, and for other helpful suggestions about Latini.

⁶² Julia Bolton Holloway, 'Brunetto Latini and England', *Manuscripta*, xxxi (1987), 11–21.

⁶³ Bodleian Library, Douce 319 is a late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century copy, possibly written in Arras in Bolognan script; Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1509, of the same date, was copied from the Douce MS in England, see Holloway, 'Brunetto Latini', 11–21.

⁶⁴ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, ed. Riley, ii (1), 15–25 (French text); ii (2), 517–28 (English translation). For Latini's complete French text, see *Li Livres Dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini*, ed. F. J. Carmody (California, 1948). For an excellent discussion of the sources and context of Latini's political thought, see Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, ii, chaps. 2 and 3.

⁶⁵ Horn's order of Latini's chapters is: 74, 75, 102, 104, 105, 97, 98, 96.

⁶⁶ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, ed. Riley, ii (2), p. 522.

⁶⁷ Catto, 'Andrew Horn', 388–91, esp. 390; see also Reynolds, 'Medieval Urban History', 22–3.

⁶⁸ That Horn had his successors in mind is suggested by a note in 'Liber Horn' (Corpus Christi Cambridge MS 70, f. 96), that he intended to put together a *magnum codicem for posteris*: Catto, 'Andrew Horn', 373, n. 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁷⁰ BL, Add. MS 62534. Cannon draws attention to Bodleian Library Rawlinson B 356, a private customal which may have been copied direct from 'Liber Horn' c. 1314, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 476, which is another London compilation to be dated to 1312/13, see Cannon, 'London Pride', 190–2. Cannon makes the point that, at this date, there was no clear distinction made between a private and a public compilation: Horn's two private compilations became public customals when he bequeathed them to the city chamber and, once there, they influenced the style of later civic customals.

⁷¹ BL, Add. MS 38131: see Hannes Kleineke, 'Carleton's Book: William FitzStephen's "Description of London" in a Late Fourteenth-Century Common-Place Book', *Historical Research*, lxxiv (2001), 117–26.

⁷² BL, Egerton MS 2885: see *Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum MDCCCCVI–MDCCCCX* (1912), 270–2.

⁷³ *Letter Book H*, 222–3; BL, Egerton MS 2885, ff. 50–1.

⁷⁴ BL, Add. MS 48031A. This has now been studied and edited, see *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, ed. M. L. Kekewich, Colin Richmond, A. F. Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs and J. L. Watts (Stroud, 1995).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 74–97.

⁷⁶ For a fuller discussion of this interesting idea, see Sarah Rees Jones, 'Thomas More's "Utopia" and Medieval London', in *Pragmatic Utopias: Ideals and Communities 1200–1630*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and Sarah Rees Jones (Cambridge, 2001), 117–35.

⁷⁷ Cannon, 'London Pride', 198.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 190; Catto, 'Andrew Horn', 375–81.

⁷⁹ It appears that there was another civic custom known as 'Darcy's Customal' which was used extensively by John Carpenter and was borrowed by Robert Ricart of Bristol in the 1480s, but is now lost. Henry Darcy was mayor of London in 1337–9, see *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls 1298–1307*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1921), pp. xxv–xxvii.

⁸⁰ *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*, ed. and trans. H. T. Riley (1861), 3–4, 452. For an interesting discussion of Carpenter's methods and purpose in compiling the *Liber Albus*, see Helen Martin, 'John Carpenter's *Liber Albus*: The Civic Context' (York University M.A. thesis, 2003), esp. 15–22.

⁸¹ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, ed. Riley, i. 3–4.

⁸² See C. M. Barron, 'Lay Solidarities: the Wards of Medieval London', in *Law, Laities and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. Pauline Stafford, J. L. Nelson and Jane Martindale (Manchester, 2001), 218–33.

⁸³ On Carpenter's use of material in the older civic customals, see William Kellaway, 'John Carpenter's *Liber Albus*', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, iii (1978), 67–84; Martin, 'John Carpenter's *Liber Albus*', 79–83.

⁸⁴ W. M. Ormrod, "'Fifty Glorious Years': Edward III and the First English Royal Jubilee", *Medieval History*, new series, i (2002), 13–20.

⁸⁵ *Letter Book H*, 234–5, 303.

⁸⁶ See above, n. 74; the Cooke/Vale manuscript is Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.3.11, which I hope to edit for the London Record Society in the near future.

⁸⁷ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.3.11, f. 133: the text given here has been modernised in spelling and syntax.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Note that the bottom right-hand corner of the page has been torn out, and so the introductory text is incomplete.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 133v.

⁹⁰ Walter de Gray Birch, *Historical Charters of the City of London* (1887), 49, where

the electing body is described as the commonalty rather than the common council.

⁹¹ See above, n. 73.

⁹² *Letter Book H*, 303.

⁹³ C. M. Barron, 'Ralph Holland and the London Radicals 1438–1444', in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200–1540*, ed. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (1990), 160–83. [Reprinted as Chapter 11 in the present volume.]

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 177 [p. 348 in the present volume]; Birch, *Historical Charters*, 44–50, esp. 45–6. William Cottesbroke, a supporter of the radicals in spite of being a grocer, had obtained a copy of this 'Great Charter' which he displayed to his colleagues. It is interesting to speculate whether he displayed a Latin or a translated version.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 59–60; *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327–1341*, p. 7; Catto, 'Andrew Horn', 370.

⁹⁶ E. G. Kimball, 'Commissions of the Peace for Urban Jurisdictions in England 1327–1485', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxxi (1977), 448–74.

⁹⁷ Barron, 'Ralph Holland', 181 [p. 352 in the present volume].

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 171 [p. 344 in the present volume].

⁹⁹ E.g. John Poyntel, cordwainer, was alderman of Bishopsgate 1319–30: A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* (2 vols., 1908, 1913), i. 33.

¹⁰⁰ Birch, *Historical Charters*, 99.

¹⁰¹ A biography of Cottesbroke, written by Matthew Davies, will appear in the forthcoming volumes of the *History of Parliament*, covering 1422–1504.

¹⁰² Perhaps some 'folk memory' recalled that in 1311, at the height of a popular protest movement, a David Cotesbroke had been elected to act as a controller (or check) on the then city chamberlain: *Calendar of Letter Book D*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1902), 79, 275–6. David Cotesbroke also served the city in parliament in 1312, but had died by April 1313: *ibid.*, 186, 289. His craft is unknown, but he must have been acquainted with Andrew Horn.

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