

# Medieval London

Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron

Edited by  
Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal



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RESEARCH IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

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MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Western Michigan University

*Kalamazoo*



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### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Barron, Caroline M., author. | Carlin, Martha, editor. | Rosenthal, Joel Thomas, 1934- editor.

Title: Medieval London : collected papers of Caroline M. Barron / edited by Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal.

Description: Kalamazoo : Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016052644 (print) | LCCN 2016059915 (ebook) | ISBN 9781580442565 (paperbound : alkaline paper) | ISBN 9781580442572

Subjects: LCSH: London (England)--History--To 1500. | City and town life--England--London--History--To 1500. | London (England)--Social life and customs. | London (England)--Social conditions.

Classification: LCC DA680 .B364 2017 (print) | LCC DA680 (ebook) | DDC 942.1/203--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016052644>

ISBN: 9781580442565

eISBN: 9781580442572

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Printed and bound in the United States of America.

## 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.<sup>1</sup> It was propagated by his most consequential supporters and, equally inevitably, by London chroniclers writing after Edward's accession.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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'.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> William Gregory records what followed:

Ande the mayre ordaynyd bothe brede and vytayle to be sende unto the queene, 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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 theyr hands in riche mens

coffres'.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> In December 1440 Henry VI granted the monopoly of the office of wine-drawer to William Styce and Thomas Quayne;

they were empowered to exercise the office through deputies and to draw the accustomed fees.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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'.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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'.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup> 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’.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

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.<sup>34</sup> 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 totaling £21,500 made by eighty-three individual Londoners. Moreover, the Staplers are known to have provided at least a further £24,000.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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'.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> This showed that the city was not immune from the general lawlessness and unrest which permeated the country at large.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> The other lords did not. On this occasion the Londoners successfully maintained the peace, and the king commended their efforts.<sup>50</sup>

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.<sup>51</sup> The city was to be defended in the king's name.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> On 16 October Common Council agreed to give the king £666 13s 4d 'to relieve his great expenses after the recent perturbations'.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> On Tuesday 1 July the deputation sent three days before returned, and the determination of the Londoners to resist crumbled.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> *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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> On 16 July the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London agreed under their common seal to accept the terms of the Lancastrian surrender.<sup>71</sup> 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 theire demerites in that

behalve'.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> A letter from the earl of Northumberland, likewise a supporter of the king, was also read to Common Council some days later.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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'.<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup> In spite of the bows, arms, and bowstrings supplied by the Londoners,<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup>

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'.<sup>86</sup>

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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup>

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.<sup>95</sup> First, for £1,923 9s 8d, the right to acquire lands in mortmain to the value of 200 marks a year;<sup>96</sup> 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;<sup>97</sup> and finally, for £9,000, the manor of Blancheapleton together with Stewards Inn, free of rent and in perpetuity.<sup>98</sup>

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.

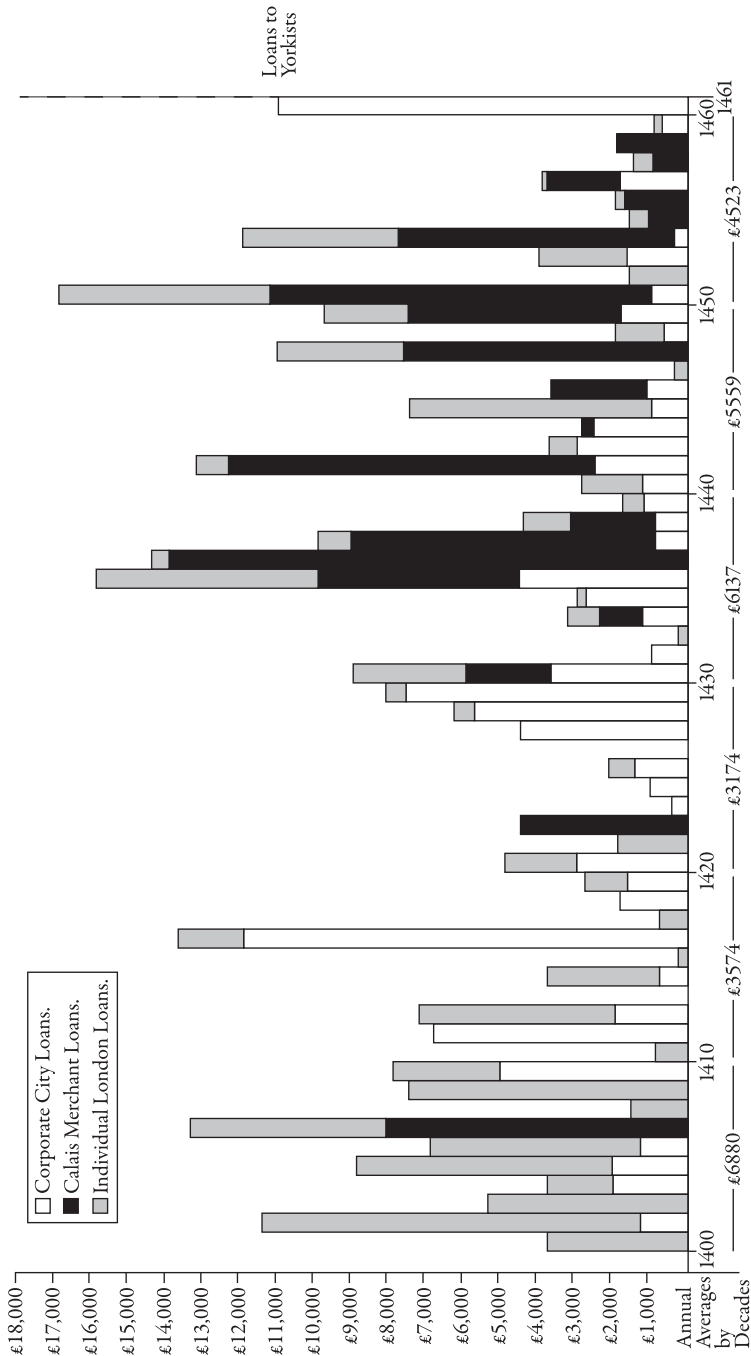
The commonalty of freemen who comprised the political community of London was not therefore indifferent to the fate of the Lancastrian regime, but, rather, continued to support it with loans and gifts until June 1460, only a few days before Warwick and Salisbury's army entered the city. The £30,000 which 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.<sup>99</sup> 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’.<sup>100</sup>



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 <sup>v</sup> . 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 <sup>v</sup> . 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 <sup>v</sup> .
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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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*.

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.]

<sup>7</sup> 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.

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

<sup>9</sup> Gregory, *op.cit.*, pp. 214-15.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

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

<sup>12</sup> 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.]

<sup>13</sup> *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.

<sup>14</sup> *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.

<sup>15</sup> *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.

<sup>16</sup> *C.L.B.L.*, H, p. 424

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441–46, p. 128.

<sup>19</sup> *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.

<sup>20</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fos. 109v, 114v.

<sup>21</sup> 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.

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

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

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

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

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 3, fo. 9v.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

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

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> See above, Table 3.1, note 3.

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

<sup>37</sup> 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.

<sup>38</sup> 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 resceivynge to the behove of the kinge'. C.L.R.O. Journal 4, fos. 35, 39; Journal 5, fos. 227v-228.

<sup>39</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fos. 43, 43v, 49, 57.

<sup>40</sup> *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.

<sup>41</sup> 20 November 1453, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 132v.

<sup>42</sup> 20 February 1454, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 150.

<sup>43</sup> 20 May 1455, C.L.R.O. Journal 5, fo. 243v.

<sup>44</sup> 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.

<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> 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.

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

<sup>48</sup> *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies, *op.cit.* p. 77.

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

<sup>50</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 193, 193v.

<sup>51</sup> 26 September 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 138.

<sup>52</sup> 6 October 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 143v.

<sup>53</sup> 11 October 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 145.

<sup>54</sup> 13 October 1459, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 163.

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

<sup>56</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fos. 224v, 225v, 227.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> 28 February 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 204.

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

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

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

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 238v.

<sup>64</sup> 1 July 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 239v.

<sup>65</sup> See Table 3.2.

<sup>66</sup> 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*.

<sup>67</sup> 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).

<sup>68</sup> 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).

<sup>69</sup> 6 July 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 251.

<sup>70</sup> 10 July 1460, *ibid.*, fo. 250v.

<sup>71</sup> 16 July 1460, *ibid.*, 10 256.

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

<sup>73</sup> 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.

<sup>74</sup> 10 October 1460, C.L.R.O., fo. 271.

<sup>75</sup> 2 December 1460, *ibid.*, fo. 279.

<sup>76</sup> 18, 19 December 1460, *ibid.*, fo. 284.

<sup>77</sup> 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 uncorteous 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.

<sup>78</sup> 5 January 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 285.

<sup>79</sup> 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).

<sup>80</sup> 11 February 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 4v.

<sup>81</sup> 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.

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

<sup>83</sup> 26 February 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 13.

<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 37v.

<sup>86</sup> 7 April 1461, *ibid.*, fo. 55.

<sup>87</sup> 22 April, 20 June 1461, *ibid.*, fos. 56, 50.

<sup>88</sup> 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.

<sup>89</sup> 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.

<sup>90</sup> 6 July 1461, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 44.

<sup>91</sup> 30 July 1401, *ibid.*, fo. 45v.

<sup>92</sup> 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.

<sup>93</sup> Edward also, on the day after his Coronation, granted the Londoners the manor of Blancheapleton, see n. 98 below.

<sup>94</sup> 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).

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

<sup>96</sup> 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.

<sup>97</sup> 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.

<sup>98</sup> Blancheapleton 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 Blancheapleton 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.

<sup>99</sup> C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p. 378.

<sup>100</sup> 6 July 1460, C.L.R.O. Journal 6, fo. 251.