

Margins and marginality in fifteenth-century London

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Declaration of authorship

I, Charlotte Emily Berry, hereby declare that the research presented in this thesis is entirely my own work carried out for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Institute of Historical Research and has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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Abstract

Geographic and social marginality were connected in the pre-modern city. Property values, economic topography and transportation combined to create marginal spaces as distinctive transition zones between city and countryside. This thesis explores the complex relationship between marginal space and social marginalisation in fifteenth-century London (1370-1540). It argues that extramural space produced communities which were particularly mobile, and that processes of social marginalisation were spatially informed. The thesis augments the secondary literature of late medieval London, which has often focussed on the city's institutions and the lives of its citizens, by instead concentrating upon urban life outside the framework of the city government and livery companies. Such an approach is made possible through a combination of digital and quantitative methodologies with in-depth qualitative analysis. Using wills, property records and legal and administrative sources, as full a picture as possible is developed of life on the fringes of the medieval city.

Chapter One introduces the themes of the thesis and provides an overview of the secondary literature. It discusses the existing understanding of the concept of 'marginality' within the thesis, and suggests a nuanced approach which views marginality as mutable and negotiated rather than being attached to fixed categories of individual. Chapter Two develops the concept of marginality further through close attention to key elements of London's fringe: its topography, the distribution of wealth around the city and the religious houses which were sited there. The chapter establishes a framework for the meaning of spatial marginality and considers the ambiguities resulting from the patchwork of liberties and precincts interrupting urban space.

Chapter Three is an analysis of society and economy on the fringes of the city. It focuses on four parishes: St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, All Hallows London Wall and St. Katharine Cree. Using wills and property records, the chapter argues that property values were generally lower outside the city walls but this did not simply mean that entirely poor suburbs developed. Instead, people were drawn to these neighbourhoods by the mixture of 'push' and 'pull' factors. In the later fifteenth century, significant landowners invested in the building of cheap rents, particularly outside Bishopsgate. However, other neighbourhoods were particularly attractive to prosperous artisans and aristocratic elites because of the availability of large properties.

Chapter Four analyses social networks and spatial connections. It does so primarily using wills. Social Network Analysis (SNA) is used to make comparisons between different cohorts of testators and suggest the complex of factors which could weaken and strengthen community at the margins. Visualisation of bequest patterns using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) suggests that testators had highly localised understandings of urban space, prioritising their own part of the city. Such visualisation also suggests that extramural neighbourhoods had close economic and social ties with the immediate hinterland along their approach road.

Chapter Five discusses the importance of mobility in extramural society. Consistory court records, an under-utilised source for the history of mobility, provide unique insights into the ways that people moved around city space and the degree of migration amongst London's population. It argues that mobility was an unstable period of life, especially for the poor, which was likely to endanger their reputations. Nonetheless, moving around was an important strategy for survival, as demonstrated by the experiences of women who suffered domestic abuse and others ostracised from neighbourhood communities.

Chapter Six focuses on processes of social marginalisation and policing. It argues that the neighbourhood was the key venue for the building and dissemination of reputation, and that it was not just the 'middling sort' who were engaged in doing so. Authority was exerted through informal and formal means by the householders who formed wardmote juries but also, at the margins of the city, by the leaders of religious houses. The spatial ambiguities of the fringes also created particular opportunities for people to avoid policing or damage to their reputations through tactical use of precinct space.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LMA Jor.	Journals of the Court of Common Council, LMA, COL/CC/01/01.
<i>P&M Rolls</i>	Thomas, A.H. (ed.), <i>Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London</i> (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926-61).
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
TNA	The National Archives

Chapter One: Introduction

To English contemporaries, fifteenth-century London was quite unlike anywhere else in the country. With around 50,000 inhabitants in 1400 reaching 60-75,000 by 1550, a significant population from overseas and trade surpassing all other English towns, new arrivals would likely have been overwhelmed by the sights, sounds and bustle of the city. What is more, London was only going to get bigger. By 1600 the population was perhaps as high as 200,000, and the increase had probably begun by the later fifteenth century before taking off in earnest after 1550.¹

New arrivals from all over the country made up a very significant proportion of the population of London. The city offered opportunities to learn a trade, work, form social ties and start a family. At first sight, the city-wide institutions of civic government and the livery companies seem the obvious structures for urban life, as they directly or indirectly enabled participants in all these pursuits.² They also produced voluminous records of their business and to a certain extent their members. It is thus primarily through the administrative records of political and economic institutions that historians have come to understand fifteenth-century London; the government and companies have created the historian's late medieval London in their own image.

However, the function of place and locality within the city's social and economic life is understood far less well. This is largely a result of the patchwork nature of sources relating to specific areas; parish and taxation records are not extensive and detailed before the sixteenth century. Thus, we know more about the ways that social bonds were created and managed through institutions than we do about the ways that individuals lived within their neighbourhoods and the role that place played in forming social connections and communities. Without such an understanding, it is in turn difficult to grasp the broader social topography of the city and the spatial differentiation between its neighbourhoods which can bring us closer to understanding the city in all its complexity.

Nonetheless it is evident that London neighbourhoods were varied places, and that individuals of different backgrounds and occupations were not evenly distributed

¹ Vanessa Harding, 'The Population of London, 1550–1700: A Review of the Published Evidence', *The London Journal*, 15.2 (1990), 111–28 (p. 112-17).

² Steve Rappaport's work on sixteenth-century London most clearly demonstrates the view of London's structural cohesion. See Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 176–81, 189–209. For discussion of the role of institutions in structuring city life and historiography see below section 1.1.2.

across the city. The alien subsidy rolls of the mid-fifteenth century show men and women from the continent choosing to congregate in particular areas. Justin Colson's study of the parishes at the north end of London Bridge has uncovered the ways in which the Fishmongers dominated those parishes, their social life and property market.³ As both Colson and Vanessa Harding have argued, localities were topographically and socially shaped by access, or lack of access, to prime commercial street frontage with high volumes of traffic.⁴ Craft clustering was weakening during the fifteenth century but factors like access to high status customers or fellow merchants still drove Londoners to settle in particular areas.⁵ This thesis contributes to an emergent historiography which is developing a more spatially nuanced picture of cities in the late medieval period. It analyses the relationship between the mural and extramural location of neighbourhoods and the social structures which developed there: did living at the periphery of the city suggest that one led a peripheral life? The interrelationship of topography, economy and society demonstrated by Colson and Harding's work in high-value commercial areas makes this question a pertinent one.

It has commonly been held that the marginal areas of medieval European cities were places where the poorer residents lived, lacking the social capital conferred to city centres and reinforced by the location of cathedrals, markets and civic buildings.⁶ Indeed, poorer suburbs were a feature of early modern London.⁷ The draw of alms from the religious houses which were usually located on town fringes, or the possibility of evading the authorities have been posited as attractions of such areas for those on the margins of urban society.⁸ Southwark, which lay on the south side of London Bridge,

³ Justin Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London: Craft, Parish and Neighbourhood' (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011); James L. Bolton, 'The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal', in *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1998), pp. 1–40 (pp. 11–15).

⁴ Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London'; Vanessa Harding, 'Houses and Households in Cheapside c.1500-1550', in *London and beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene.*, ed. by Matthew P. Davies, James A. Galloway, and Derek Keene (London: University of London. Institute of Historical Research, 2012), pp. 135–54.

⁵ Justin Colson, 'Commerce, Clusters, and Community: A Re-Evaluation of the Occupational Geography of London, c. 1400–c. 1550', *The Economic History Review*, 69.1 (2016), 104–30 (pp. 115–20).

⁶ Derek Keene, 'Introduction: Segregation, Zoning and Assimilation in Medieval Towns', in *Segregation -Integration - Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. by Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, and Katalin Szende (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 1–14 (pp. 5–10). For further discussion see below section 1.1.1.

⁷ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. 171–72.

⁸ Anne E. Lester, 'Crafting a Charitable Landscape: Urban Topographies in Charters and Testaments from Medieval Champagne', in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. by Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester,

was outside of the city's jurisdiction in this period. It thus attracted activities which could not operate within the city, like prostitution and polluting industries. Southwark was also popular with people practicing trades which, within London, were regulated by livery companies; their activity was seen by the city authorities as a threat.⁹ High rates of in-migration were required to sustain urban populations,¹⁰ which raises the possibility that marginal areas, as the first places encountered by migrants, acted as initial lodging places in the first few days or weeks of residency.

This thesis thus sets out to draw together these two strands, of the investigation of marginal neighbourhoods as distinctive topographical and social entities and of the geographical distribution of social marginality within London in the period 1370-1540. This 'long fifteenth century' between the Black Death and the Dissolution is a period for which there are sufficient documentary records to make such an investigation possible, but in comparison to the early modern city has a historiography which has tended to concentrate on the institutions of city life. By questioning the relationship between geographical and social marginality, the operation of place as a factor shaping medieval urban social relations can be better understood.

1.1 Definitions and contexts

Marginality is understood within this thesis as not so much a category intrinsic to certain people and places but as a relative and mutable quality. As Derek Duncan argues, historians of the fringes of society ought to be alert to 'the shifting parameters within which power operates and the provisional contingency of identity in a given situation'.¹¹ This is as true of spaces as it is of individuals and groups. Just as a drop in fortunes could turn a respected craftsman into a seeker of alms, so an economic decline might turn busy urban streets into overgrown lanes.¹²

and Carol Symes (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 125–48 (pp. 139–47); Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 83–87.

⁹ Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 119–21.

¹⁰ Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Medieval People in Town and Country: New Perspectives from Demography and Bioarchaeology', *Speculum*, 89.03 (2014), 573–600 (pp. 583–87).

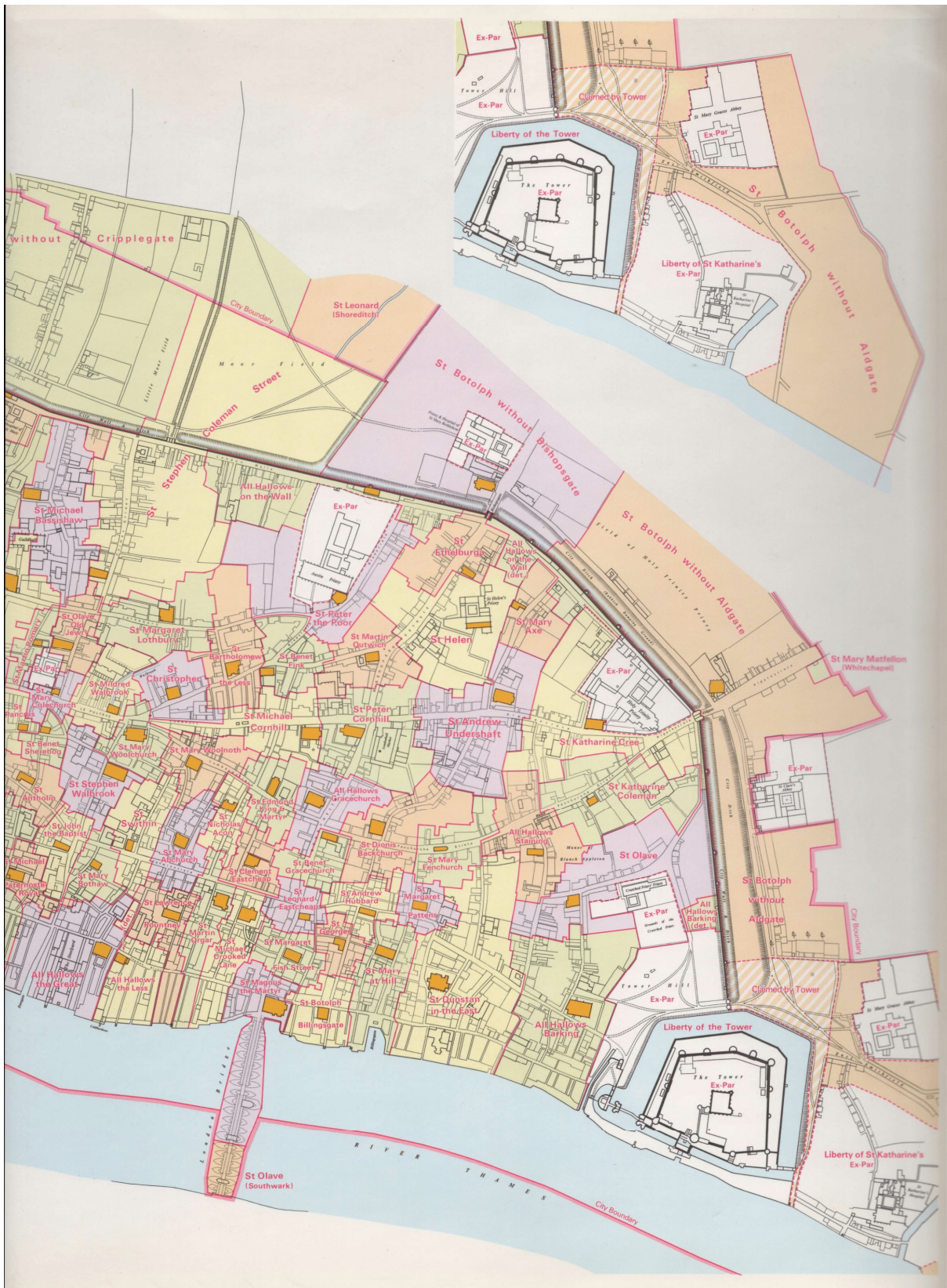
¹¹ Derek Duncan, 'Margins and Minorities: Contemporary Concerns?', in *At the Margins: Minority Groups in Premodern Italy*, ed. by Stephen J. Milner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 21–35 (p. 31).

¹² For example, the effect of the removal of royal courts from Winchester on the townscape was notable. See Derek Keene, 'The Medieval Urban Environment in Written Records', *Archives*, 16 (1983), 137–44 (pp. 138–39).



Figure 1.1 Parishes of the city of London c. 1520. Copyright Historic Towns Trust.¹³

¹³ Reproduced from Mary D. Lobel, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c.1520*, *The British Atlas of Historic Towns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), III.



Bronisław Geremek's *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris* saw marginality primarily in terms of poverty and criminality, which he viewed through the lens of Paris's court records.¹⁴ Similarly, Frank Rexroth's *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London* defined 'deviance' in line with the parameters set by London's civic elites.¹⁵ On the other hand, Barbara Hanawalt has convincingly argued that marginality ought to be thought of in broader terms as a multifaceted and flexible category.¹⁶ In a city such as London, where a majority of the population were not members of urban political and economic institutions, Hanawalt's argument that marginality is more than simply extreme poverty and involvement in crime seems apposite.

Responding to this literature, Erik Spindler's comparative thesis on 'Marginality and social relations in London and the Bruges area, 1370-1440' advanced a sophisticated conceptual framework for the understanding of marginality. He suggests that marginality is primarily defined by a coalescence of jeopardy, rather than terming broad social groups as marginal.¹⁷ Spindler's thesis is convincing in its argument that marginalisation was a possibility at virtually all levels of society. In medieval urban society, having social connections within the local community was vitally important. A lack of local connections served to marginalise both a poor apprentice whose master had died and the wealthy merchant who found himself imprisoned in a foreign city.¹⁸ By arguing for the pervasiveness of instability in urban society and the protective influence of social networks, Spindler accounts for experiences of marginalisation which the focus on institutionally-shaped categories of marginality in Geremek and Rexroth's work cannot. The latter studies defined their view of the marginalised through criminal categories applied by urban or royal authorities, an approach which excludes others who did not engage in crime but were nonetheless peripheral to the urban community. Nonetheless, in his rejection of any concept of 'mainstream' society as a useful category of analysis, Spindler perhaps underestimates the power of ideals in shaping social relations, even if reality itself was always more complex.¹⁹ For instance, as discussed below, the ideal of the ordered household with a master at its head did not reflect the

¹⁴ Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, pp. 3, 7–8, 39–40.

¹⁵ Frank Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 18–20, 51–67.

¹⁶ Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Introduction', in *Living Dangerously: On the Margins in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Anna A. Grotans (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 1–7 (p. 1).

¹⁷ Erik Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations in London and the Bruges Area, 1370-1440' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2008), pp. 13–16.

¹⁸ Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations', pp. 104–07.

¹⁹ Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations', p. 17.

living arrangements of many or even most Londoners, but it still had power in shaping treatment of others. Therefore, the approach to marginality taken here is very similar to Spindler's definition based on instability. It avoids the treatment of entire groups as intrinsically 'marginal', while also being alert to the role of perceived problematic behaviour in marginalisation. In Chapter Six, this framework is applied to explore how processes of marginalisation operated within city neighbourhoods.

The following sections address, in reference to current historiography, the concepts which underlie this thesis in greater detail: 'marginal' places, 'central' institutions and the meaning of neighbourhood.

1.1.1 Definitions and contexts: Places

Defining geographical margins seems at first glance an easy task. Medieval towns and cities including London often marked geographic boundaries visually with stone walls, initially at least for the purpose of defence. Creighton and Higham's survey of English town walls underlines some important commonalities amongst walled towns. Walls physically dominated their locale and profoundly influenced the morphology of development on the urban fringe, with street patterns and waste-disposal ditches developing around them.²⁰ Nonetheless, in spite of the appearance of a clear division, London's political and economic jurisdiction overspilled its walls and cut across sparsely populated extramural parishes. Initially open space was enclosed within the walled city, partly for defence and partly to minimise the amount that walls changed angle.²¹ Some continental cities even had multiple lines of defence which extended far into their hinterlands.²² Therefore, what appears initially to be a clear physical divide actually suggests complexity of meaning and something of a continuum between urban, suburban and rural. As Henri Lefebvre wrote:

Visible boundaries such as walls or enclosures in general give rise for their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity.²³

This study of 'marginal' places thus takes heed of the potential complexity in defining what marginality is.

²⁰ O. H. Creighton and Robert Higham, *Medieval Town Walls: An Archaeology and Social History of Urban Defence* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 129–31, 167–70.

²¹ Creighton and Higham, *Medieval Town Walls*, pp. 129–30.

²² Thomas Hill, 'Die Stadt Und Ihr Rand Im Mittelalter. Das Beispiel Bremen', in *Die Stadt Und Ihr Rand*, ed. by Peter Johanek (Cologne, 2008), pp. 167–90 (p. 188).

²³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 87.

Lefebvre's work *The Production of Space* has had a great influence on scholars of place and space across the humanities. For Lefebvre, the spatial meaning of a place is created by the constant interaction between its physicality, everyday human activity and representation in contemporary culture. Space thus becomes a means for the enactment of social power relations as well as a medium through which they are negotiated.²⁴ Utilising Lefebvre's framework, historians of medieval cities have drawn together diverse sources in their analyses. Using the architectural and archaeological alongside the documentary and literary has enabled better understanding of urban space. This is because:

Lefebvre's analysis helps to establish connections between 'the material' and 'the discursive,' the physical and the ideological, or the experienced and the imagined.²⁵

Taking this approach has been especially popular amongst those researching the household, particularly in relation to the ways in which notions of gender shaped the materiality of living space as well as its representation in conduct literature and poetry.²⁶

Most relevant for this thesis is scholarship which uses the 'production of space' as a model for understanding differentiation within the urban environment itself. For instance, historians have come to understand that the central economic role of markets for town life was part of a dialectic which also created them as politically and socially important centres. They were sites for the symbolic ostracism of criminals in front of the community and expressions of political power and protest.²⁷ Stuart Minson has argued

²⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, chaps 1, 2.

²⁵ Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Walter Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32.4 (2002), 515–48 (p. 522).

²⁶ For example, see: P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Space and Gender in the Later Medieval English House', *Viator*, 42.2 (2011), 205–32; Felicity Riddy, "'Burgeis" Domesticity in Late-Medieval England', in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England.*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg and Maryanne Kowaleski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 14–36; P.J.P. Goldberg, 'The Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity in Later Medieval England: A Material Culture Perspective', in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England.*, ed. by P.J.P. Goldberg and Maryanne Kowaleski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 124–44; Sarah Rees Jones, 'Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes', in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 190–211.

²⁷ Dave Postles, 'The Market Place as Space in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 29.1 (2004), 41–58; Arnade, Howell, and Simons, p. 531; Carol Symes, 'Out in the Open, in Arras: Sightlines, Soundscapes, and the Shaping of a Medieval Public Sphere', in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. by Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester, and Carol Symes (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 279–302; Stuart James Minson, 'Political Culture and Urban Space in Early Tudor London' (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 2013), pp. 35–59.

that, in early sixteenth-century London, the crown and civic authorities used their choice of marketplace proclamation sites in order to both project their own power and to reinforce their message. For instance, proclamations against market offences might take place at a far wider number of markets than other announcements.²⁸ Minson's work demonstrates the importance of markets in official conceptions of urban space, and argues their ideological importance, particularly Cheapside, was not simply a result of their economic function but actively promulgated their continued economic importance.²⁹ This argument recalls Lefebvre's insistence that spaces are both produced and a means of production in themselves.

The centrality of places like the market to conceptions of urban space thus has important implications for questions of marginality. The conjunction of the everyday, social and representational significance of markets suggests their presence or absence would have an effect on neighbourhoods not just in terms of footfall but also the relative social capital ascribed to residence. As Vanessa Harding has argued, the relationship between the desirability of a neighbourhood and the status or occupation of its residents was symbiotic and complex. 'Public uses and private values [of property] complemented and reinforced one another'.³⁰ Modern urban sociologists have analysed this kind of classification of the value of space, for example in the way modern authorities handle homelessness by moving homeless people along in 'high value' business districts and stations while leaving vagrants alone in 'low value' spaces such as alleyways.³¹

Therefore, spatial marginality needs to be understood not simply in relation to the physical limits of cities. Economic or topographical features like markets, walls or gates or institutional bounds like sanctuaries and liberties might also have effects on the social value of a space. Although markets had a central economic position, London's West and East Smithfield markets were both located outside the walls. Furthermore, Minson's analysis of the Midsummer processional routes which incorporated Aldgate, Holy Trinity Priory and Cheapside suggests that symbolic importance was not reserved exclusively for the commercial central areas of the city.³² The historiography of pre-modern European cities is somewhat divided on the extent to which the urban periphery

²⁸ Minson, 'Political Culture', pp. 35–52.

²⁹ Minson, 'Political Culture', pp. 88–9.

³⁰ Vanessa Harding, 'Space, Property and Propriety in Urban England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 549–69 (p. 562).

³¹ James Duncan, 'Men Without Property: The Tramp's Classification and Use of Urban Space', in *The Urban Sociology Reader*, ed. by Christopher Mele and Jan Lin (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 98–115 (pp. 168–72).

³² Minson, 'Political Culture', pp. 83–4.

was always poorer. It has been a common interpretation of urban development in a range of contexts. Paris in both the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, has been identified as having such a pattern which if anything had only become more polarised by the later period.³³ It has been argued that this pattern contributed to the conscious development of charitable ‘zones’ at the fringes of towns. Wealthy central inhabitants lived in the centre but augmented the property of charitable institutions at the fringes through testamentary bequests.³⁴ A pattern of poorer fringes has been suggested but not firmly established within late medieval London; evidence from the suburbs of Westminster and Southwark, which were politically independent of London, implies they were poorer.³⁵ Although James Bolton has suggested this may apply for the fringe areas under the city’s control the question has not been thoroughly addressed.³⁶ Hearth Tax evidence from the seventeenth century shows a stark centre/periphery divide in terms of wealth, which has been suggested as a continuity with the medieval city.³⁷

However, other scholars have suggested many exceptions to the stark divide between centre and margins. Work on Polish towns as well as on Bristol has found suburbs which, contrary to the expected pattern, became fashionable with urban or aristocratic elites.³⁸ Other historians have stressed that the fringes of the city provided economic functions and services essential for the survival of the town, calling into question their designation as peripheral.³⁹ Colin Arnaud has recently proposed that the

³³ Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, pp. 72–87; John M. Merriman, *The Margins of City Life: Explorations on the French Urban Frontier, 1815-1851* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

³⁴ Lester, ‘Crafting a Charitable Landscape’, pp. 129, 143.

³⁵ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 181–84; Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster: 1200-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), pp. 217–25.

³⁶ Bolton suggests fringe neighbourhoods were poorer based on the distribution of aliens in those areas as indicated in Alien Subsidy Rolls, which he believes indicates lower rents. James L. Bolton, ‘La Répartition Spatiale de La Population Étrangère à Londres Au XV^e Siècle’, in *Les Étrangers Dans La Ville: Minorités et Espace Urbain Du Bas Moyen Âge à l’époque Moderne*, ed. by Jacques Bottin and Donatella Calabi (Paris: Fondation Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1999), pp. 425–52 (pp. 432–33).

³⁷ Andrew Wareham, ‘The Unpopularity of the Hearth Tax and the Social Geography of London in 1666’, *The Economic History Review*, 70.2 (2017), 452–82 (pp. 474–76).

³⁸ Mark Casson, ‘The Economy of Medieval English Towns: Property Values and Rents in Bristol, 1200-1500’ (presented at the Economic and Social History of the Early Modern World seminar, Institute of Historical Research, 2015); Henryk Samsonowicz, ‘“Suburbium” in the Late Middle Ages: The Economic and Social Importance of Suburbs in East-Central Europe’, *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 1981, 311–324.

³⁹ Hill, ‘Die Stadt’, p. 178; Olha Kozubaska-Andrusiv, ‘Comparable Aspects in Urban Development: Kievan Rus and the European Middle Ages’, in *Medieval East-Central Europe in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (London: Routledge, 2016), para. 11; Eleonora Canepari, ‘An Unsettled Space. The Suburban Parish of San Giovanni in Laterano and Its Inhabitants (1630-1655)’, *Quaderni Storici*, 2016.1 (2016), 113–35 (p. 115).

spatial and social character of all kinds of neighbourhoods could vary drastically by city. Using the examples of Bologna and Strasbourg, he argued that the hierarchical structuring of space in the former, with services like bakeries, churches and bathhouses concentrated at the centre, led to far greater disparities of social character between neighbourhoods than in the latter.⁴⁰ As will be discussed further in Chapter Two, London's urban margins were diverse spaces with a number of influences on their development which distinguish them from areas within the walls. Therefore, the marginality of mural and extramural neighbourhoods chosen for study here has not been automatically assumed; the thesis will explore geographic marginality as merely one way in which, in the light of the historiography, a neighbourhood could be created as a marginalised space. The term extramural is also preferred here to the automatic use of suburban to describe areas of the city beyond the walls, since 'suburb' implies a settlement with a clear separation from the city in the manner of Southwark and Westminster.

1.1.2 Definitions and contexts: Institutions and economy

Marginality in London also ought to be understood in terms of relationship to the institutions which governed city life. Exclusion from their operations could be determined by where one lived or an aspect of one's social or economic identity. In this period the vast majority of admissions to the freedom of the city came through apprenticeship. Thus, craft and government were intimately connected. Membership of a London company was effectively a pre-requisite for most involvement in civic affairs.⁴¹ The freedom of the city brought both the right to trade in London and the ability to stand for civic office, gave access to the city courts and required freemen to pay taxes to the city. Institutional and economic power were difficult to extricate from one another. Institutions had the ability to define urban marginality through the power to exclude individuals or legislate against their activities. Institutions thus structured the city's social hierarchy. However, recent research has emphasised that social networks, often formed as an interaction between individuals and institutions, were the driving force of

⁴⁰ Colin Arnaud, 'Mapping Urban Communities: A Comparative Topography of Neighbourhoods in Bologna and Strasbourg in the Late Middle Ages', in *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. by Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 60–78 (pp. 66–75).

⁴¹ Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 205–33.

social relations.⁴² Gervase Rosser's work is an early example of the historiographical shift in emphasis from institutions to networks. Rather than seeing guilds as parts of a hierarchy which structured work in the town, Rosser argued that they were organisations through which individuals negotiated their position in society.⁴³

Urban historians have, since the 1970s, debated whether the fifteenth century can be considered a period of 'urban decline', characterised by decreasing interest in civic institutions alongside declining town populations and contracting economies.⁴⁴ On the whole, there was probably great regional variation in levels of decline and London appears to have done better than most. David Palliser argues that Derek Keene's evidence about Cheapside property values may indicate a longer slump in London than previously thought.⁴⁵ However, Gervase Rosser's work on Westminster suggests that perhaps cheap property at the fringes of the city was more in demand with tenants than expensive property in wealthy areas.⁴⁶ Institutionally, the fifteenth century has been characterised as 'the apogee of London's success' by Caroline Barron; this was a time when the civic government achieved its greatest ability to exert authority, at the same time as London came to control 75% of England's overseas trade.⁴⁷ By examining evidence about property and economy on the urban fringe, the present thesis contributes to the debate by addressing whether perhaps in the metropolis urban fortunes were differentiated across the city.

⁴² Eva Jullien, 'Netzwerkanalyse in Der Mediävistik. Probleme Und Perspektiven Im Umgang Mit Mittelalterlichen Quellen', *Vierteljahrschrift Für Sozial- Und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 100.2 (2013), 135–53 (pp. 143–46); Justin Colson, 'London's Forgotten Company? Fishmongers: Their Trade and Their Networks in Later Medieval London', in *The Medieval Merchant: Proceedings of the 2012 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Caroline Mary Barron and Anne F. Sutton (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 20–40.

⁴³ Gervase Rosser, 'Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town', *Past & Present*, 154.1 (1997), 3–31 (pp. 30–31).

⁴⁴ See for example Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979); Alan Dyer, 'Appendix: Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 747–70; Alan Dyer, "'Urban Decline" in England, 1377–1525', in *Towns in Decline, AD 100–1600*, ed. by T.R. Slater (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 266–88; Keith D. Lilley, 'Urban Planning after the Black Death: Townscape Transformation in Later Medieval England (1350–1530)', *Urban History*, 42.1 (2014), 1–21; R. B. Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (1977), 1–22. For a summary of the debate see David Michael Palliser, 'Urban Decay Revisited', in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by John A. F. Thomson (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 1–21.

⁴⁵ Palliser, pp. 9–10; Derek Keene, 'A New Study of London before the Great Fire', *Urban History*, 11 (1984), 11–21 (pp. 18–19).

⁴⁶ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 45–84.

⁴⁷ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 304–05. See Chapter Two section 2.2 for greater discussion of London's economic fortunes in this period and differentiation across the city.

The historiography of the government and companies of late medieval London is extensive, and a great deal of research has been done on the functions and operations of both. The most relevant elements of the debate for this thesis centre on the extent to which the city's institutions acted as stabilising and integrative frameworks for civic life. The view that urban government successfully responded to the needs of the population in order to maintain social stability can be seen in Caroline Barron's work,⁴⁸ but has been most forcefully argued for by Steve Rappaport. In his study of London in the sixteenth century Rappaport emphasises the extent to which the city and companies formed 'structures of life' in the city. They acted as city-wide cohesive entities from at least the early 1500s which contained tensions in spite of massive population growth in the latter half of the century.⁴⁹ London's *cursus honorum* extended from the ward and parish officers up to the mayor and aldermen, theoretically drawing localities into the 'centralised' administration and giving relatively humble individuals a stake in the city's stability.⁵⁰ Medievalists influenced by Rappaport have rightly examined the operations of government at the local level. The work of Justin Colson on the Fishmongers, for instance, suggests that while the Company acted as an integrative body enabling the economic advancement of members it also had a split structure reflecting two spatially and socially separate groups of fishmongers.⁵¹ Both Barron and Sarah Rees Jones have argued that the basic and most localised unit of government power, the ward, offered a flexible and immediate outlet for local tensions in the form of the wardmote.⁵²

However, another strand in the historiography emphasises that to a certain extent the ordered 'structure' of medieval urban life is something of an illusion created by the records of the companies and crafts themselves. Such arguments have greatest force for towns outside London, where numbers of freemen recorded in some crafts were so small that the power of guilds as integrative social bodies must in reality have been limited.⁵³ Even within London where the companies were large enough to begin dividing

⁴⁸ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, chaps 9, 10, 11.

⁴⁹ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. 83–86.

⁵⁰ Valerie Pearl, 'Change and Stability in 17th Century London.', *London Journal*, 5 (1979), 3–34 (pp. 16–18).

⁵¹ Colson, 'London's Forgotten Company?', pp. 29–40.

⁵² Sarah Rees Jones, 'The Regulation of "Nuisance": Civic Government and the Built Environment in the Medieval City', in *Evolução Da Paisagem Urbana: Sociedade e Economia*, ed. by Maria do Carmo Franco Ribeiro and Arnaldo Sousa Melo (Braga: CITCEM, 2012), pp. 283–94; Caroline M. Barron, 'Lay Solidarities: The Wards of Medieval London', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds.*, ed. by Jane Martindale, Pauline Stafford, and Janet Laughland Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 218–33.

⁵³ This argument has been put most forcefully by Heather Swanson and Gervase Rosser in Heather Swanson, 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English

'livery' from 'yeoman' in the fifteenth century and even to operate their own courts, historians have pointed out dichotomies between rhetoric and reality. For instance, the Merchant Taylors tolerated the role of non-freemen in the clothing trade in spite of their theoretical monopoly on all tailoring work in the city and liberties until the late fifteenth century.⁵⁴ Perhaps most fundamentally, historians of both the medieval and early modern periods have pointed out that apprenticeship, in theory the primary means by which the city's institutions integrated new arrivals, actually appears to have had very high dropout rates.⁵⁵ This undermines the potential for livery companies to have acted as integrative bodies. It also created, as Erik Spindler argues, a large group of individuals for whom mobility was the norm and social contacts were few who thus held a very tenuous position within urban society.⁵⁶ Therefore, the group that we might consider to be institutionally marginalised in London, or at least to have lived beyond the formal power structures of the city, is actually very large. While the government and companies could project themselves as embodiments of the whole urban community in pageantry at events like the Midsummer Watch or royal entries to the city,⁵⁷ perhaps only a quarter of the adult male population were actually enfranchised.⁵⁸

The ability of city institutions to define the ideal social 'centre' of life should not be underestimated, but care needs to be taken not to simply equate a lack of participation in civic institutions with marginality. Women, for example, were officially excluded from the civic body and yet could still have considerable wealth and status. Widows of freemen continued to enjoy their late husband's privileges with respect to property, trade and access to the courts, no doubt continuing activities they had carried

Towns', *Past & Present*, 1988, 29–48 (pp. 29–48); Rosser, 'Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town', pp. 3–10.

⁵⁴ Matthew Davies, 'Governors and Governed: The Practice of Power in the Merchant Taylors' Company', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800*, ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2001), pp. 67–83 (pp. 69, 74–5).

⁵⁵ Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Rules and Reality: Quantifying the Practice of Apprenticeship in Early Modern England', *The Economic History Review*, 65.2 (2012), 556–79 (pp. 556–70); Stephanie Ruth Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in the Records of the Goldsmiths' Company of London, 1444–1500', *Medieval Prosopography*, 22 (2001), 89–114 (pp. 100–03).

⁵⁶ Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations', pp. 93–96.

⁵⁷ Minson, 'Political Culture', pp. 61–82; Sheila Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch', in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Katherine L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171–88.

⁵⁸ Caroline M. Barron, 'London 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 600-1540*, ed. by David Michael Palliser, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), I, 395–440 (p. 400).

out under his name during his lifetime.⁵⁹ There were also a number of exceedingly wealthy continental merchants, notably the Hanse and the Italians, who were politically excluded within the city but still had considerable power through their relationship with the Crown and their business networks.⁶⁰ The aristocracy and gentry too were drawn to London as a commercial centre but did not participate in its companies or government.

However, for those who lacked a citizen husband or capital significant enough to make the freedom redundant, exclusion from it would have made improvement of one's social and economic status within the city very difficult indeed. Historians of medieval masculinity have often emphasised the close connections between mastery of a craft, mastery of the household and social standing in the neighbourhood; personal reputation was partially dependent on conduct of business, ideally as a citizen.⁶¹ Moreover, those outside the freedom did not have access to opportunities to build business and social networks which the livery companies offered.⁶² Participation in guilds fostered community and 'enabled forms and levels of collective agency denied to the singular person'.⁶³ Therefore, although political exclusion did not automatically make one powerless within the city, disenfranchisement ought to be understood as a factor in the creation of socially marginalised groups.

Frank Rexroth's work *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London* tackles many of the questions raised by the civic government's identification of its own members as the model of social acceptability. Rexroth's central thesis is that the London government from the 1330s onwards projected itself as an essential bastion against 'a

⁵⁹ Caroline M. Barron, 'The Widows' World in Later Medieval London', in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. xiii–xxxiv.

⁶⁰ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 86–87, 115–16. For greater detail on the Hanse's relationship with the crown see M. M. Postan, 'The Economic and Political Relations of England and the Hanse from 1400 to 1475', in *Medieval Trade and Finance*, ed. by M.M. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 232–304.

⁶¹ Sarah Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg, W. Mark Ormrod, and James Bothwell (York: York Medieval, 2000), pp. 133–53 (pp. 150–53); Shannon McSheffrey, 'Man and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture: Governance, Patriarchy and Reputation', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray, Garland Medieval Casebooks, 25; Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 2078 (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 243–78 (p. 245).

⁶² Informal social connections made through Companies offered significant opportunities for advancement- see Colson on the Fishmongers or Hanawalt on marriage to wealthy widows of fellow Company-men. Colson, 'London's Forgotten Company?'; Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 107–10.

⁶³ Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 34.

secret, immoral counter-society [that] was operating in the city'.⁶⁴ He argues that this rhetoric was institutionalised in the fifteenth century through the functions of the wardmote, parishes and companies and internalised by Londoners as individuals, who used it as a way to mark their own respectability in opposition to others.⁶⁵ Reactions to Rexroth's arguments have been somewhat mixed, with criticism centring on his attempts to pull all the civic evidence into the same interpretative framework and suggestion that belief in such an underworld went beyond rhetoric and into popular perception.⁶⁶ However, his argument that late medieval Londoners often grouped different kinds of deviance together is an important one for this thesis, and is borne out in wardmote depositions where individuals are often accused of multiple kinds of deviant behaviour. As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, communities could pick and choose who they ostracised and multiple indicators were used to judge reputation and determine marginalisation.

This raises the question of how far those who were institutionally marginalised, in particular unfree English inhabitants ('foreigns') and men and women from the continent, Ireland or Scotland ('aliens'), were also socially marginalised. James Bolton has argued that aliens were reasonably well integrated into London society, working in the same trades as their English neighbours and living spread across the city, albeit grouping in some areas.⁶⁷ Justin Colson has discussed how aliens also developed their own communal institutions which served as a buffer against discrimination.⁶⁸ 'Foreigns' are a less well understood group and without a different language or foreign name to mark English non-citizens out they likely blended in much more easily than aliens did in urban society.⁶⁹ Most citizens originated outside the capital anyway, so cultural differences for most must have been minimal. The term 'foreign' covered both those who

⁶⁴ Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, p. 305.

⁶⁵ Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, chaps 2, 4, 5, 8.

⁶⁶ Paul Griffiths, 'Reviewed Work: Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London', *Journal of British Studies*, 48.1 (2009), 189–91; Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Reviewed Work: Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95.1 (2009), 141–43; Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Reviewed Work: Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London', *Speculum*, 83.4 (2008), 1027–29.

⁶⁷ Bolton, 'The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal', pp. 26–36; Bolton, 'La Répartition Spatiale de La Population Étrangère à Londres Au XVe Siècle', pp. 429–32.

⁶⁸ Justin Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *The London Journal*, 35.2 (2010), 111–43.

⁶⁹ Although for discussion of 'foreigns' in relation to the guilds see Matthew Davies, 'Citizens and "Foreyns": Crafts, Guilds and Regulation in Late Medieval London', in *Between Regulation and Freedom: Work and Manufactures in European Cities, 14th-18th Centuries*, ed. by Andrea Caracausi, Luca Mocarrelli, and Matthew Davies (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2018), pp. 1–21.

lived in the city and traded or worked without the freedom and those who visited to sell goods, and thus civic records do not make fine distinctions between permanently resident and transient non-citizens.

There were periodic outbreaks of xenophobic violence against aliens, in particular during the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 and Evil May Day in 1517. However, both Bolton and Ian Archer have argued that violence was comparatively rare and well-contained by civic policy.⁷⁰ Craft complaints about competition from foreign and alien labour increased in the late fifteenth century and there was one attempt by the civic government to order all unfree craftsmen to move to the Blanchapleton estate, an intramural liberty.⁷¹ At the same time, the city government stepped up its efforts to close the sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand which was mainly populated by aliens.⁷² However, as Matthew Davies argues, economic necessity meant that responses to 'foreign' labour were more nuanced and accommodating than the letter of craft regulations and the rights of freemen might suggest.⁷³ Institutional marginalisation was therefore not straightforward or wholly characterised by violence and exclusion. Nonetheless, the occasional resorts to xenophobic violence and the requirement that foreigners trading as freemen were indicted at the wardmote meant that these 'outsider' statuses could be used against non-citizens by their neighbours and economic rivals when doing so was useful.

There were pockets within the city where civic power did not extend and thus where the rights of city institutions were difficult to enforce: the sanctuaries of St. Martin le Grand and the aforementioned Blanchapleton estate. These and other extra-jurisdictional pockets like the religious houses and Tower were all located bordering or close to the walls. Residents of the sanctuaries enjoyed freedom from litigation as well as control of their trade by the city companies. Originally developed from the church's ability to harbour criminals, they became increasingly popular places for citizen

⁷⁰ Ian W. Archer, 'Responses to Alien Immigrants in London, c. 1400 - 1650', in *Le Migrazioni in Europa Sec. XIII-XVIII: Atti Della Venticinquesima Settimana Di Studi, 3-8 Maggio 1993*, ed. by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, Atti Delle Settimane Di Studi e Altri Convegni, 25 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1994), pp. 755-74 (p. 774); Bolton, 'La Répartition Spatiale de La Population Étrangère á Londres Au XVe Siècle', pp. 430-32.

⁷¹ 'Folios 11-20: Sept 1462-', in *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: L, Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. by Reginald R Sharpe (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912), pp. 20-39, in *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-letter-books/voll/pp20-39>> [accessed 8 April 2015].

⁷² Shannon McSheffrey, 'Stranger Artisans and the London Sanctuary of St. Martin Le Grand in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43.3 (2013), 545-71.

⁷³ Davies, 'Citizens and "Foreyns"', pp. 8-15.

craftsmen with large debts and alien artisans to live in the fifteenth century.⁷⁴ Anthony House's work on the post-Reformation history of the liberties also suggests that the pre-existence of alien communities within these precincts may have been more important a factor in the choice to settle there than the evasion of legal or economic regulations.⁷⁵ Shannon McSheffrey has researched the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century legal battle between the Guildhall and the College of St. Martin le Grand. The dispute concerned the spatial extent of sanctuary. Depositions produced for the case in the 1530s suggest there was a strong community of residents. She cites the example of Peter Peterson, a Dutch immigrant who received letters of denization, achieved great rank within the Cordwainers' Company and yet lived for the whole of his life from age eleven in the sanctuary.⁷⁶ Thus while the sanctuaries represent an intersection of social, political and geographic marginality, they also suggest the complex ways in which institutional marginalisation could produce its own communities with their own patterns of inclusion and exclusion.

By dint of the admission payments and taxation required of citizens, poverty was a reason for political marginality but also a marginal category in its own right. In contemporary Christian teaching, 'the poor' were an ever-present group, there to be pitied and to act as the recipients of charity. Nonetheless, historians have shown that attitudes were complex. Increasingly in the wake of the Black Death, authorities drew a distinction between those that were genuinely afflicted and those who were capable of work but idle.⁷⁷ For instance, the establishment of almshouses for elderly company men became very common during the fifteenth century, providing charity to a distinct group of members in hardship rather than indiscriminately. Where companies did allow others to take places in their almshouses, it was usually stipulated that they be of good character.⁷⁸

Outward behaviour was thus a barrier to inclusion. The circumstances of poverty would very likely have made it difficult for the poor to live in the manner expected of respectable citizens. As mentioned above, male social status was intimately connected

⁷⁴ McSheffrey, 'Stranger Artisans and the London Sanctuary of St. Martin Le Grand in the Reign of Henry VIII', pp. 549–51.

⁷⁵ Anthony Paul House, 'The City of London and the Problem of the Liberties, C1540 - C1640' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2006), pp. 58–9.

⁷⁶ McSheffrey, 'Stranger Artisans and the London Sanctuary of St. Martin Le Grand in the Reign of Henry VIII', pp. 560–62.

⁷⁷ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 129–30; Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, pp. 223–45; Hanawalt, 'Introduction', pp. 2–3.

⁷⁸ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England*, pp. 116–19.

with standing in the household, particularly acting as a master to dependent children and servants.⁷⁹ The poor may have been engaged in any number of precarious occupations, taken on casual work or acted as journeymen or servants to others, all of which precluded them from mastery of their own household. Experiences of poverty were gendered as Sharon Farmer has pointed out, and the employment and charity available to poor women was likely even less.⁸⁰ For those even less fortunate, begging and collecting leftover food distributed by the religious houses were options for subsistence. Requests for licenses for legitimate beggars in 1518 were made for each ward of the city by its Alderman, with the highest numbers being requested in the peripheral areas.⁸¹ The complexity of attitudes and attempts to distinguish between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' recipients of charity suggest that poverty ought to be thought of as one part of an individual's social identity which interacted with others (institutional status, outward behaviour, location etc.) in the degree to which they were marginalised within London society. Social marginality was thus an interplay between economic circumstance, social status and interactions with local community.

1.1.3 Definitions and contexts: Neighbourhood and Community

In basing this thesis around a defined set of areas in the city, some consideration is needed of the meaning of neighbourhood and community and the ways in which individuals could be marginalised within them. There is a noticeable divide in the secondary literature on London society between the medieval and early modern periods. Partly because of the great population expansion in the sixteenth century and also because of the larger number of sixteenth century sources, there has been a tendency to identify social phenomena in sixteenth century London without consideration of their antecedents.⁸² There is a tacit assumption in the literature on the early modern period that population growth generated novel modes of living and social relations. While this is not necessarily false, this thesis considers whether some of the modes of living at the

⁷⁹ Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour'; McSheffrey, 'Man and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture'.

⁸⁰ Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 1–6.

⁸¹ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. 167–69.

⁸² This is particularly true with regard to literature on marginal lives. See for instance the claim that there was a 'new fluid economy' in Patricia Fumerton, 'London's Vagrant Economy: Making Space for "Low" Subjectivity', in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. by Lena Cowen Orlin, New Cultural Studies (Pittsburgh (PA): University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 206–25 (p. 212). See also regarding the novelty of lodging houses in L.C. Orlin, 'Temporary Lives in London Lodgings', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 219–42 (pp. 223–24).

edge of urban society were similar in the fifteenth century. In doing so, it follows work by Marjorie McIntosh and Martin Ingram which has broadened the scope of historical debates about poor relief and control of sexual behaviour in early modern England by bringing together material from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸³

Historians have argued that pre-modern urban societies consisted of a ‘matrix of overlapping communities’.⁸⁴ The city offered opportunities to join many ‘communities’, whether based on a shared craft, parish or locality. People developed multifaceted identities informed by their membership or exclusion from those groups.⁸⁵ Some urban sociologists have stressed that the distinctive quality of modern cities is their ability to support a variety of ‘subcultural’ communities within them, as individuals seek out others with similar interests.⁸⁶ Although the medieval city was obviously far smaller, the impulse to seek out smaller communities within the urban whole has been identified for this period too. In Coventry, for instance, Charles Phythian-Adams has suggested that the ward formed a genuine unit of neighbourhood community as the city was covered by one large parish.⁸⁷ It has also been suggested that religious fraternities were most likely to form where parishes were too large for a sense of community to be fostered.⁸⁸

Several studies of medieval London have taken either a discretely defined suburb or a parish as their basis.⁸⁹ Indeed, the historiography of medieval ‘community’ has often

⁸³ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England, 1350-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470-1600*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

⁸⁴ Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 61.

⁸⁵ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 58–61; Miri Rubin, ‘Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages’, in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Jennifer Kermode (Stroud, 1991), pp. 132–50 (pp. 133–36); Beat A. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400-1560*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 181.

⁸⁶ Herbert Gan, ‘Theories of Urbanism’, in *The Urban Sociology Reader*, ed. by Christopher Mele and Jan Lin (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 98–115.

⁸⁷ Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp. 58–59.

⁸⁸ Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community*, pp. 152–53.

⁸⁹ For suburban studies see: Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*; Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*. For those which take an individual parish or set of parishes see Philip Baker and Mark Merry, “‘The Poore Lost a Good Frend and the Parish a Good Neighbour’”: The Lives of the Poor and Their Supporters in London’s Eastern Suburb, c.1583 – c.1679’, in *London and beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene*, ed. by Derek Keene, James A. Galloway, and Matthew Davies (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012), pp. 155–80; Clive Burgess, ‘Shaping the Parish: St. Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century’, in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. by John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 246–85; Katherine L. French, ‘Rebuilding St. Margaret’s: Parish Involvement

singled out the parish as the basis of social relations. In part, this is based on the view that pre-Reformation Catholicism encouraged and formed the basis of strong communal bonds.⁹⁰ Parishes also intersected with other forms of institutional communities in the city. Fraternities in some parishes with a predominance of one craft became convenient means through which to manage collective business and so in turn formed one of the core elements of livery companies.⁹¹ Justin Colson's thesis on parishes at the north end of London Bridge very successfully demonstrates that parish and craft could coalesce to produce coherent and well defined communities within the city.⁹² However, the preoccupation with the parish is also a function of the surviving records and the ritual, symbolic and administrative functions of the parish should not be taken to mean that it represented or involved the totality of the local community.

While parishes have been the site for romanticised views of medieval communal life, modern historians have tended to emphasise the heterogeneous functions of the parish and the difficulty in equating 'parish' and 'community'.⁹³ There are tensions in the historiography. On the one hand, some point out that parishes were more inclusive and less oligarchic than other civic institutions. Others, such as Clive Burgess, stress that formal involvement in the parish community was nonetheless largely restricted to the better-off who also held positions of status in other institutions.⁹⁴ Therefore, while acknowledging that the parish is often the smallest unit of community easily accessible in the records, care ought to be taken not to assume that its administrative boundaries completely shaped social relations. Indeed, as Erik Spindler's work on 'portable' communities of alien merchants suggests, social bonds could also be based on identities which had no spatial or institutional roots at all.⁹⁵

and Community Action in Late Medieval Westminster', *Journal of Social History*, 45.1 (2011), 148–71.

⁹⁰ Rubin, 'Small Groups', p. 135; Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), pp. 23–26.

⁹¹ Elspeth Veale identified this as part of the formation of the Goldsmiths, Fishmongers, Vintners and Pepperers. See Elspeth Mary Veale, 'The "Great Twelve": Mystery and Fraternity in Thirteenth-Century London', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), 237–63 (pp. 240–41, 243–45, 253–54).

⁹² Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London'.

⁹³ On the historiographical relationship between 'parish' and 'community' see Katherine L. French, Gary Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin, 'Introduction', in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. by Katherine L. French, Gary Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin (Manchester, 1997), pp. 3–14 (pp. 6–13).

⁹⁴ For the parish as an inclusive organisation see e.g. French, 'Rebuilding St. Margaret's', pp. 152–63. French sets her arguments against Burgess, 'Shaping the Parish: St. Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century'.

⁹⁵ Erik Spindler, 'Between Sea and City: Portable Communities in Late Medieval London and Bruges', in *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene*, ed. by Matthew P. Davies,

Jeremy Boulton's study of early modern Southwark, *Neighbourhood and Society: a London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, demonstrates the strengths of ties between neighbours through testamentary evidence, a methodology repeated by Colson.⁹⁶ The term 'neighbourhood' roots social relations within localities. For both Archer and Colson, the study of neighbourhood overcame the limitations imposed by sources which are bounded by the institutions of the parish or the ward. Charles Phythian-Adams described the neighbourhood as the unit within which the majority of social interactions took place.⁹⁷ As this suggests, social networks are shaped by space even if urban institutions provided alternative, city-wide opportunities for sociability. There may be multiple neighbourhoods within an administrative boundary like a parish; the street, the alley and even the arrangement of housing will also have played its part in shaping social relations. Unfortunately, the view of this level of social relations is often fragmentary in sources which, as section 1.2.3 discusses, are either informed by institutional priorities or limited by administrative boundaries.

However, it is in the work of historians examining processes of social marginalisation that we can most clearly see the operation of social relations at neighbourhood level. This is particularly true of those who have used evidence from the church courts across the medieval and early modern period. The morality cases brought there were the result of:

multiple networks of informing, gossip, rumor, talebearing and, on occasion, lies about neighbors' sex lives among community inhabitants which brought such cases to the attention of officials and courts⁹⁸

Owing to the nature of the cases, the church courts have been used in particular to demonstrate how those local networks served to police sexual behaviour. Historians have noted that the local reputation of an individual was crucial to whether they were indicted or not. Those who were already disapproved of amongst their neighbours were more likely to find themselves indicted for sexual transgressions or for defamation through gossip.⁹⁹ Marjorie McIntosh argues that the same happened in rural courts,

James A. Galloway, and Derek Keene (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012), pp. 181–200.

⁹⁶ Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chap. 9; Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London', chap. 8.

⁹⁷ Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp. 158–59.

⁹⁸ Lawrence Raymond Poos, 'Sex, Lies and the Church Courts of Pre-Reformation England.', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 25 (1995), 585–607 (p. 585).

⁹⁹ Poos, 'Sex, Lies and the Church Courts', pp. 600–01; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 21–24.

where pre-existing reputation in the locality informed who was presented.¹⁰⁰ This is very significant for understanding the process of marginalisation within the city, as it suggests that, just as status and office-holding in Archer's 'overlapping communities' of city life could bolster reputation, so too could lack of status and poor reputation in different spheres contribute to marginalisation.

Church courts were also venues where witnesses could announce their own virtues in the process of denigrating others, as Susan McDonough has argued.¹⁰¹ Through counter-witnesses, they could also face character assassination as a rival party attempted to discredit their version of events. Church court records thus suggest the complexity of marginalisation within a neighbourhood. They are also potentially problematic, as it is unclear how far the claims of witnesses or counter-witnesses against others' characters were based on points of canon law and how far they represented lay communal judgments. McDonough and Anna Boeles Rowland have demonstrated that lay witnesses often used forms of evidence which exceeded the requirements of canon law, suggesting the power of lay expectations in shaping testimony around the framework provided by the court itself.¹⁰²

In this light, the word 'community' is used within this thesis with regard to multiple and complex social groups. In Chapter Three, testamentary social networks reflect a community largely composed of the propertied and often extending across the city and its hinterland. In Chapter Six by contrast, community more commonly refers to the neighbourhood, the parish and the street, units which formed constituent parts of the urban whole and which in themselves had stratified social relations. Within all this complexity, community is nonetheless a useful term, as it encapsulates the concept of a social group in which individuals interact and relationships are created, encompassing friendship and neighbourliness as well as tensions and contests. This is the meaning of community used here rather than any romantic notion of a harmonious medieval society.

The secondary literature stresses that many features of the lives of the poor tarnished their reputation amongst better-off neighbours, serving to marginalise them. In particular the itineracy of the poor was problematic. Historians writing about poverty

¹⁰⁰ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England*, pp. 12, 24.

¹⁰¹ Susan Alice McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community in Late Medieval Marseille* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), pp. 31–32.

¹⁰² McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community*, pp. 52–58; Anna Boeles Rowland, 'Material Mnemonics and Social Relationships in the Diocese of London, 1467-1524' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), pp. 211–12.

on the continent as well as in Britain have stressed the rootless nature of life for the poor as well as the suspicion that itineracy attracted. Felicity Riddy has argued that English burgesses in part defined themselves against the itinerant lives of the poor.¹⁰³ Lena Orlin has argued, for the later sixteenth century, that this suspicion contributed to the civic government's view of overcrowding in the city. While they perceived temporary lodging houses for the poor as the root cause for lack of housing, the gentry's frequent lodging in London for business was not regarded as problematic.¹⁰⁴ One of the most frequent accusations at the wardmote was against those who keep 'strangers' in their houses or walked at night with 'diverse unknown men'. It was assumed that neighbours ought not just to know one another but that in order for peace to be maintained their guests and lodgers ought to be known too. Since, as Sarah Rees Jones has argued, the concept of frankpledge theoretically drew all resident men into a system of sworn responsibility for their dependents' actions, the reality of the poor's need to move frequently for work put them at odds with the ideals of household behaviour.¹⁰⁵

Other forms of behaviour could also prompt marginalisation within the urban community. As suggested already, the church courts handled moral offences including sexual behaviour as well as defamation. Historians looking at these records have uncovered rich evidence for the construction of female reputation based on sexual conduct across the medieval and early modern divide, and thus the way that ostracism of women was rooted in sexual language.¹⁰⁶ For men, reputation has been seen as rooted in sexual control of dependents and to a lesser degree control of personal desires.¹⁰⁷ The

¹⁰³ Riddy, "'Burgeis" Domesticity', pp. 29–31; Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, pp. 17–20; Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, pp. 256–62; James Davis, 'Men as March with Fote Packes': Pedlars and Freedom of Mobility in Late-Medieval England', in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Twentieth Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by P. Holden (Donington, 2007), pp. 137–56; Fumerton, pp. 212–15; Robert W. Scribner, 'Wie Wird Man Außenseiter? Ein- Und Ausgrenzung Im Frühneuzeitlichen Deutschland', in *Aussenseiter Zwischen Mittelalter Und Neuzeit: Festschrift Für Hans-Jürgen Goertz Zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Norbert Fischer and Marion Kobelt-Groch (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 21–46 (pp. 39–41).

¹⁰⁴ Orlin, 'Temporary Lives', pp. 232–36.

¹⁰⁵ Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour', pp. 143–44, 149–50, 151–52.

¹⁰⁶ See for example Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, pp. 1–8, 59–62, 72–78, 104–10; Poos, 'Sex, Lies and the Church Courts', pp. 599–600, 605–07; P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Fiction in the Archives: The York Cause Papers as a Source for Later Medieval Social History', *Continuity and Change*, 12.3 (1997), 425–45 (pp. 438–39); Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 30–32, 46–48; Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), chap. 3.

¹⁰⁷ P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Masters and Men in Later Medieval England', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (London, 1999), pp. 56–70 (pp. 63–64); McSheffrey, 'Man and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture', pp. 245–66; Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia:

fact that prostitution was prosecuted under ‘fornication’ charges in the church courts means that, as P.J.P. Goldberg and Ruth Mazo Karras have pointed out, it is difficult to extricate commercial sex from extramarital affairs.¹⁰⁸ This is fitting since it also seems that in England, unlike on the continent, resorting to prostitution was usually a temporary measure rather than a career in itself. Prostitution has therefore been seen alongside a raft of other kinds of opportunistic criminality as a means through which the poor were differentiated from their neighbours.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, criminality and socially undesirable behaviours were intimately connected with place. The alehouse in particular recurs in the secondary literature as a potentially troublesome space. They were often closed during the Midsummer Watch as a defence against disorder and, owing to this disorderly reputation, marriage contracts made in drinking houses were considered inappropriate for respectable girls.¹¹⁰ As Paul Griffiths’ has said of early modern London:

Senses of ‘otherness’ have geographies too. Suspects lurked in ‘secret corners’, dark passages, obscure, private, remote and ‘unknown places’, where light, regulation and citizens’ routes did not reach.¹¹¹

Griffiths highlights the interrelationship between spatial marginality and other kinds of marginalisation. It is those interrelationships between geographic, social and institutional boundaries which are at the heart of the subject of this thesis.

1.2 Methodology and sources

As we have seen, the nature of the relationship between spatial and social marginality is complex and symbiotic. It is also an issue which is itself marginal to the kinds of sources available for fifteenth-century London. In approaching the topic care needs to be taken to draw out the subtleties of the relationship at the same time as fitting together multiple sources of evidence.

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 137–57; Isabel Davis, *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 122–28.

¹⁰⁸ P.J.P. Goldberg, ‘Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective.’, in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. by Katherine J. Lewis, Noël Menuge, and Kim M. Philips (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 172–93 (pp. 175–76); Ruth Mazo Karras, ‘The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England’, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 14 (1988), 399–433 (pp. 406–07).

¹⁰⁹ Karras, ‘The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England’, pp. 422–23; Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, pp. 53–55.

¹¹⁰ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, p. 133.

¹¹¹ Paul Griffiths, ‘Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London, 1545–1645’, in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by Phil Withington and Alexandra Shephard, *Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 115–33 (p. 119).

1.2.1 Sample parishes

In order to achieve these aims, the thesis will use a set of sample parishes as the focus of study in the majority of the chapters. This approach has been popular and successful for historians examining the function of place within urban society. Jeremy Boulton's work *Neighbourhood and Society*, for example, took the suburb of Southwark as its subject in order to examine in microcosm the operation of social relations at the neighbourhood level. Like Boulton, historians of late medieval London have usually chosen single parishes or sets of neighbouring parishes when making local studies. Although, as discussed above, the parish does not totally represent local social relations, it is a pragmatic choice of unit owing to the fact that property, legal and administrative records were usually classified by parish.

Choosing sample areas for focus means that, while the study cannot be exhaustive, a wide range of types of marginal areas can be examined. As we saw in section 1.1.1 a variety of topographical and social factors can influence the character of an area. Thus, the challenge has been to choose sample areas which reflect a broad range of marginal urban space. So that such a range could be achieved, it has not been deemed necessary for the chosen areas to neighbour one another. However, where appropriate possible areas have been studied across parish boundaries to better reflect the whole neighbourhood. The influence of gates and the major thoroughfares which went through them, and naturally the absence of such features, is of particular interest for assessing the economy and society of an area in context. Therefore, it is important that the sample parishes contain areas with a variety of relationships to such features. One of the aims of the thesis is also to understand how extramural areas might have differed from those just inside the walls, so two of the chosen parishes lie just inside the walls and three are fully extramural. Chapters three and four used sources from a city centre parish, St. Lawrence Jewry, in order to provide a point of comparison for the sample areas.

Another factor determining the choice of parishes has been the influence of Westminster's proximity to the western end of the city. As the seat of the crown, the courts and government, Westminster was a populous and thriving urban centre distinct from London. The principal route between London and Westminster was a busy one with wealthy passers-by a commercial draw. Proximity to Westminster meant that the western suburb and Holborn were uniquely shaped by the development of the Inns of

Court and the Chancery.¹¹² Perhaps as a result of this proximity to courts and the Crown, the western end of the city developed more markets than other fringe areas of London and was also where a number of high status crafts including the goldsmiths were based. Although the aim is not to completely disregard the western end of the city, since the topic here is marginality it has been decided that the majority of focus will be on northern and eastern areas. As can be seen in Figure 1.1, open space came far closer to the walls on these sides than in the west, and work on the sixteenth and seventeenth century city suggests that these areas were generally poorer than parishes in the west.¹¹³

The selection was also made with feasibility of study in mind. One of the most important sets of sources for this thesis are property records. With the aid of Keene and Harding's survey of the sources for pre-1666 property holding it is relatively simple to identify parishes which have a reasonable amount of property records, as well as the nature of those records. Rental accounts are the most useful type of record since they can reveal the value of property as well as whether it was consistently occupied; where possible parishes have been chosen which have at least some accounts outstanding. Wardmote records provide a vital insight into communal life and fortunately the surviving examples for this period are all from mural or extramural wards. Therefore, a number of the chosen parishes lie within areas covered by wardmote returns. Although wills are far more likely to exist for wealthy individuals, and thus perhaps for wealthy parishes, testamentary evidence is also an important source for social history so most of the chosen parishes also had sufficient surviving wills.

A further consideration was how far the thesis ought to confine itself to places within the jurisdiction of the city. In most places, the limits of the city's franchise coincided with parish boundaries but this was not always the case. Urban development often extended outside the franchise; as will be discussed in Chapter Two, London had a considerable impact on the economy and development of its broader region. The city even claimed some rights well beyond its own borders, such as its ability to appoint the sheriffs of Middlesex.¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, sources are more numerous and varied for the extramural areas within the franchise enabling a more rounded picture of life on

¹¹² Caroline M. Barron, Penelope Hunting, and Jane Roscoe, *The Parish of St. Andrew, Holborn* (London: Diamond Trading, 1979), pp. 16–22.

¹¹³ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. 171–72; Wareham, 'The Unpopularity of the Hearth Tax', pp. 461–67.

¹¹⁴ Frank Rexroth, 'Grenzen Der Stadt, Grenzen Der Moral. Der Urbane Raum Im Imaginarium Einer Vormodernen Stadtgesellschaft', in *Die Stadt Und Ihr Rand*, ed. by Peter Johanek (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), pp. 147–65.

London's margins. As a result, the thesis takes a flexible approach. Some chapters focus closely on sample parishes where multiple sources which used the parish as a point of reference, such as wills and rentals, are needed to address a theme in depth. Others take in evidence from a wider range of areas when breadth rather than depth is required, such as in discussing mobility.

As a result of all these considerations the sample parishes are St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, All Hallows London Wall and St. Katharine Cree. Within this selection, a diversity of topographical, economic and social features are encompassed. The three St. Botolphs are all extramural parishes. At Aldersgate and Bishopsgate the parishes bounded ribbon development along major approach roads. By contrast, only a small part of Aldgate Street fell within the parish and its bounds encompassed a broad area outside the gate which in fact exceeded the city's jurisdiction. Those parts of St. Botolph Aldgate within the jurisdiction formed the ward of Portsoken. Portsoken had a large alien population by the late fifteenth century; indeed, the alien population here more than quadrupled between the 1441 and 1483 alien subsidies to make it the city ward with the highest alien population.¹¹⁵ St. Katharine Cree bordered St. Botolph at Aldgate and included the main road approaching the gate as well as streets to the north and south along the wall. Before the Reformation the shape of the parish was interrupted by the grounds of Holy Trinity Priory which it bordered on three sides. The final parish, All Hallows London Wall, is a long thin intramural parish running along a northern stretch of the wall in three interrupted sections. It did not encompass any major approach roads to gates, the parish being interrupted at Bishopsgate. All of the parishes bordered the precincts of religious houses and one, St. Botolph Aldgate, bordered a royal liberty in the shape of the Tower. While none contained any of the formal city markets, Smithfield and East Smithfield lay close to the boundaries of Aldersgate and Aldgate parishes. The location of most of the parishes at the points of entry for traders coming to the city may well have also encouraged the growth of informal market activity. All the parishes except All Hallows were calculated by Steve Rappaport to be net recipients of poor relief in 1598,¹¹⁶ and it will be interesting to see whether this pattern of poverty was echoed in the earlier period under consideration here.

In Chapters Five and Six, evidence will be drawn from across the city as well as these sample parishes in order to bolster the evidence. In other chapters, the sample

¹¹⁵ Bolton, 'The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal', p. 11.

¹¹⁶ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. 171–72.

parishes will form the main focus for discussion. It is important to note that these areas are not here assumed to be wholly representative of mural and extramural parishes. Rather, they are indicative of the processes which shaped peripheral neighbourhoods. An exhaustive study of all the evidence for life at the fringes of London is not the aim of the present thesis, but rather an investigation of the interaction between geography, economy, society and community at the edges of the city.

1.2.2 Digital methodologies

In addressing such a wide range of issues, this thesis will apply a number of digital methodologies to the sources. The application of digital tools will in some places enable quantitative analysis and in others visualisation of patterns otherwise hidden within detailed documentary sources. Another advantage of using digital methods, particularly databases, is the ability to make connections across different sets of records; for instance, to trace individuals mentioned in both wills and property records.

The approaches used include Access databases created from testamentary, property, assize of nuisance and wardmote court records. Having thus created digitised records of the data contained in documentary sources, further methodologies for social and spatial research can be applied. The Social Network Analysis (SNA) software package Gephi has been used to plot data drawn from testamentary records as graphs of relationships between the people named within wills. SNA is a social science methodology which has become increasingly popular in the humanities in recent years. Historians working on prosopographical studies have readily taken it up as a technique.¹¹⁷ When dealing with information in a range of sources with a spatial dimension, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software has been used. As with SNA, its use in historical studies has increased in recent years, both as a tool for individual research and as a means of presenting datasets online for scholarly inquiry and the interest of a wider public.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ See for example Christophe Verbruggen, 'Literary Strategy during Flanders' Golden Decades: Combining Social Network Analysis and Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications. A Handbook*, ed. by K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research (Linacre College), 2007), pp. 579–601; Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London'; Jullien.

¹¹⁸ As a tool for research dissemination see for example Catherine Clarke, 'Mapping Medieval Chester: Mapping Medieval Chester: Place and Identity in an English Borderland City c.1200-1500', *Mapping Medieval Chester* <<http://www.medievalchester.ac.uk/index.html>> [accessed 5 August 2016]. As a research methodology see for example Tim Bisschops, 'It Is All about Location: GIS, Property Records and the Role of Space in Shaping Late Medieval Urban Life. The Case of Antwerp around 1400', *Post Classical Archaeologies*, 2 (2012), 83–106; Colson, 'Commerce, Clusters, and Community'.

The intention in applying these methodologies within the thesis is to gain novel insights into the relationship between social interactions and space which lie at the heart of the nature of the urban periphery. By enabling the analysis of patterns in people's interaction with one another and with places within and beyond the city, digital tools are key to the thesis' approach to the question of what defines marginality in socio-spatial terms. In this sense, the thesis makes an original contribution by combining approaches influenced by the literature on social and cultural perceptions of urban space discussed above with digital tools often used for investigating more traditional questions about socio-economic structure.

1.2.3 Institutional records and marginal lives

One of the main challenges any medieval historian faces is that the sources we work from were usually created for purposes very different from our own. This challenge is particularly evident for the present thesis. Not only was much of the evidence base it draws upon created for different purposes, most was created in order to administer the institutional processes which defined the 'centre' of London life in the fifteenth century. As a result, those who were not citizens are peripheral to the records just as they were to the operations of government and craft. This applies not just to civic records, where a focus on citizens and their business is entirely expected, but also to others where it is the wealth of citizens which drives their predominance in the sources. Citizens predominate in the surviving wills of Londoners since they were more likely to have money and property to pass on. Complicated medieval structures of property tenure mean that, although we may have records of the parishes, companies and religious institutions which held stakes in London property, it is difficult to be certain about who was an inhabiting tenant. There are, therefore, some real methodological challenges involved in studying the socially marginal through the surviving records.

The approach taken here to overcome these hindrances is to employ multiple methodologies and sources, and to focus on methodologies which aggregate data from textual sources in ways which allow the presence of 'absent' marginal people to be inferred and patterns to be reconstructed. Furthermore, sources which are actively concerned with deviance and disruptive behaviour are less focussed on enfranchised male heads of households than others. The church court records, wardmotes and to a certain extent other civic court records are all concerned with the behaviour of London inhabitants regardless of their level of wealth or their political status.

1.2.4 Thesis structure and sources

The material in this thesis has been structured so that a range of themes relating to marginality are explored in turn. Each theme has been treated using different sets of sources and approaches; in doing so, the picture of marginality which is built up encompasses a broad range of facets of urban society. The next chapter expands upon this introduction by more fully considering what marginality meant in late medieval London: what spaces could be considered marginal to the city, and on what basis? It also articulates in depth the terms of discussion for the rest of the thesis and addresses the complexities of defining urban marginality. The sources used include archaeological investigations of late medieval London as well as civic and taxation records. However, it is primarily a theoretical discussion which extends the definitions outlined in this chapter. It thus aims to establish a conceptual framework for the more detailed discussion and analysis of sources in Chapters Three to Six.

The discussion then follows a broad arc from analysing marginal spaces to considering marginality in urban society. In Chapter Three, property and testamentary records are used to analyse the social structure and economy of the city's margins. Chapter Four takes the analysis of testamentary records further in discussing social networks in the city and the relationships between locality and networks. Chapters Five and Six turn instead to the records of the Bishop of London's consistory court and the wardmote to examine sociability. In Chapter Five, these sources are analysed with regard to mobility and the ways in which it both shaped marginal space and informed social marginality. Chapter Six builds on this to consider processes of marginalisation within neighbourhood society and how this related to social relations in fringe localities. As a result of this diversity of approaches, each chapter contains a detailed methodological discussion which relates the records consulted to the research questions considered.

Chapter Two: Problems, spaces, concepts

Marginality is interrogated in this thesis as a distinctive quality of urban space. As such, it is necessary to establish a conceptual framework for what is meant by marginality in the context of fifteenth-century London. Rather than a negative definition, as in everything which was not associated with the city centre, a careful examination of topography, urban development, economy and society yields a nuanced understanding of peripheral spaces. All these aspects of space are highly interlinked, activity in one sphere informing that in another. Lefebvre stressed that natural objects (for example cliffs or rivers) act as mediators in social space and so analysis of space ought to be alert to the interactions of its various levels.¹¹⁹ Space is both a product of its environment and socio-economic activity, and a means of production of social relations. Therefore:

[space] cannot be separated either from the productive forces, including technology and knowledge or from the social division of labour which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society.¹²⁰

Analysing the relationship between marginality and space thus requires a careful exploration of the various ‘mediators’ or actors involved in the production of space at the city’s fringes rather than a prescriptive definition of marginality.

2.1 Peripheral topography and urban development

The landscape in which London sat is especially important to understanding its fringe neighbourhoods. Natural and man-made features served to define the boundaries of the city and the marginal environment. These features can help us to understand how contemporaries might have defined and understood marginal space, as well as having a bearing on the economic activity which characterised fringe neighbourhoods.

2.1.1 Watercourses and ditches

Watercourses were important topographical actors in the extramural zone. London is sited on two low hills divided by the Walbrook stream, which in this period ran openly outside the walls but was covered over within and the boggy land around it infilled.¹²¹ To the north of the city wall, the Walbrook created a large area which seems

¹¹⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 77.

¹²⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 88.

¹²¹ Derek Keene, ‘Issues of Water in Medieval London to c.1300’, *Urban History*, 28.2 (2001), 161–79 (p. 162).

to have been too damp and prone to flooding to be much developed in this period. To the west of the stream Moorfields was pastureland completely free of building until the later sixteenth century.¹²² Development here was limited to a causeway from Moorgate constructed in 1511 and tentergrounds for the stretching of cloth to the west of Little Moorfields.¹²³ The effect of the Walbrook stream can also be seen to its east in the land owned by the Hospital of St. Mary around Bishopsgate Street. Although the road itself occupied higher ground,¹²⁴ archaeological excavation on the west side of the street has revealed that, up until c.1400, the Hospital kept much of the land open, there was a pond and the area still regularly flooded.¹²⁵ It was not until after 1450 that brick buildings appeared on the excavated site including one which covered the former pond, and yards, gardens and cesspits were in use here in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹²⁶ The character of the northern extramural zone was shaped by the Walbrook, encouraging the retention of open ground here and making its development uneconomical until there was sufficient demand in the late fifteenth century. To the east of the city too, the numerous streams and marshy ground were initial reasons why suburban development was sparser there than in the west.¹²⁷

The city ditch was a watercourse common to all the immediate peripheries of the city which encouraged a buffer zone of open ground, albeit one with little flowing water. Excavations of the city ditch by the wall at Newgate have suggested that it flooded in winter and although the banks dried out in summer, the base of the ditch remained damp with decaying organic matter all year round.¹²⁸ Such environments were considered noxious and unhealthy by contemporaries.¹²⁹ Although the city complained in the later sixteenth century of buildings constructed over the ditch, in the period

¹²² 'Historical introduction: Moorfields', in *Survey of London: Volume 8, Shoreditch*, ed. by James Bird (London: Survey of London, 1922), pp. 88-90, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol8/pp88-90>> [accessed 24 July 2017].

¹²³ John Stow, 'Gates in the wall of this Citie', in *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. by C L Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), pp. 27-44, in *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/pp27-44>> [accessed 14 December 2017]. For tenterfields see the map of London c. 1520 in Lobel, *The City of London from Pre-historic Times to c. 1520*.

¹²⁴ Keene, 'Issues of Water in Medieval London to c.1300', p. 164.

¹²⁵ Dan Swift, *Roman Burials, Medieval Tenements and Suburban Growth: 201 Bishopsgate, City of London* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2003), pp. 34–38.

¹²⁶ Swift, *Roman Burials*, pp. 40–41.

¹²⁷ Keene, 'Issues of Water in Medieval London to c.1300', p. 165.

¹²⁸ Jo Lyon, *Within These Walls: Roman and Medieval Defences North of Newgate at the Merrill Lynch Financial Centre, City of London*, MoLAS Monograph, 33 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), pp. 112–13.

¹²⁹ Carole Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 188–91.

considered here it seems to have been an unpleasant enough environment to deter such opportunistic construction.

The largest waterway in London was, of course, the River Thames. The Thames only had a direct impact on one of the areas under consideration here, the eastern zone outside Aldgate at its southern end. Here, the Thames filled the moat which surrounded the Tower of London. As with the city ditch, the moat of the Tower attracted 'accumulation of refuse, filth and other fetid matter on Tower Hill, whereby the air was foully corrupted and vitiated and the lives of those dwelling or passing there were endangered'.¹³⁰ Although the river itself was divided from the ward of Portsoken by the precinct of St. Katharine's Hospital, access to the river was evidently valued by inhabitants of the city's franchise in the east. Disputes over access to the river were recurrent features of Portsoken wardmote presentment from 1370 until the 1470s. Complaints were raised against the Constable of the Tower for charging Londoners for access to the river stairs and against the Master of St. Katharine's Hospital for similarly charging wharfage or for blocking the highway to the Hospital's water mill.¹³¹ On the riverside itself, St. Katharine's Wharf and Tower Wharf allowed ships to dock while stairs enabled everyday collection of water and washing. The commercial activity associated with the wharves provided lucrative income for St. Katharine's Hospital and the holder of the farm of Tower Wharf.¹³² The Portsoken wardmote complaints reflect the uneasy mixture of public and private space which the riverfront created, a situation which was even more acute at the heavily trafficked wharves in the central Bridgehead neighbourhood.¹³³ The gathering of laundresses around wells or conduits was considered to be a nuisance and consequently their activities were pushed to the fringes of the city, where these physically fit, ungoverned women became associated with 'dirt,

¹³⁰ 'Roll A 17: 1371-72', in *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381*, ed. by A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), pp. 132-149, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol2/pp132-149>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

¹³¹ 'Roll A 18: 1372-73', in *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381*, ed. by A. H. Thomas (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), pp. 150-162, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/plea-memoranda-rolls/vol2/pp150-162>> [accessed 15 August 2017].

¹³² For instance, see license for the farm of Tower Wharf in 'Close Rolls, Edward IV: 1464', in *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward IV: Volume 1, 1461-1468*, ed. by W. H. B. Bird and K. H. Ledward (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), pp. 263-264, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw4/vol1/pp263-264>> [accessed 15 August 2017].

¹³³ Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London', pp. 68-75.

prostitution, poverty and disorderly conduct'.¹³⁴ The accessibility of water at the periphery, and connected anxieties about the possibilities for environmental and moral pollution it brought, are suggestive of the links between imaginative constructions of peripheral space, its physical features and its society.

2.1.2 Walls and gates

The city wall is perhaps the most important physical feature in creating the periphery. By channelling traffic through the gates, it both influenced the road system and traffic flow through the extramural areas and formed a limit to development for those neighbourhoods just within the walls. London wall itself changed materially within the period considered here, apparently falling into decay before being substantially rebuilt in the late fifteenth century with an enlarged gate at Moorgate and the addition of supports to protect against cannon fire.¹³⁵ The defensive ditch which surrounded it had to be frequently re-cut owing to its use by Londoners as a rubbish dump, a practice attested by both documentary and archaeological evidence.¹³⁶

This environment would have been particularly dominant in the large northern and eastern extramural areas which lay away from the main gates and roadways. At Moorfields, along Houndsditch and in the area around the Minories and East Smithfield the wall prevented direct access to the city (other than through small postern gates, until the widening of Moorgate). By controlling the flow of traffic into particular areas the wall also influenced demand for property, since property values were strongly correlated with footfall on adjacent roadways.¹³⁷ In turn, property values influenced land use. The relatively large areas of open pasture land in the north and east, discussed further below, owed their continued existence to the city wall as well as the marshy terrain. Another outcome of the wall's impact was that development here responded to stimuli other than passing traffic. Here, religious houses or river traffic along the Thames could provide alternative focal points for development.

In the intramural parish of All Hallows London Wall, the defences similarly created the neighbourhood as a backwater. The parish lay on the inside of the wall from

¹³⁴ Carole Rawcliffe, 'A Marginal Occupation? The Medieval Laundress and Her Work', *Gender & History*, 21.1 (2009), 147–69 (pp. 155–56, 158, 163).

¹³⁵ Christopher Thomas, *The Archaeology of Medieval London* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2002), p. 127.

¹³⁶ Lyon, *Within These Walls*, p. 75. For example, at the Portsoken wardmote in 1467, Thomas Dyrwyn was indicted for 'casting out of straw and dung into the town ditch'. Christine L. Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments: An Analysis of a London Ward in the 15th Century', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeology Society*, 56 (2005), 97–162 (p. 112).

¹³⁷ Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London', pp. 109–10.

Moorfields. Unusually it was non-contiguous, the western and eastern halves being divided by the parish of St. Ethelburga which covered the intramural portion of Bishopsgate Street. Therefore, traffic was directed away from All Hallows meaning the neighbourhood would have lacked properties with valuable commercial street frontage. By contrast, at St. Katharine Cree, the parish included much of the approach to Aldgate along the street which ran from Poultry to the gate funnelling traffic past the houses of parishioners. Therefore, the city's walls and gates not only delimited the character of the large suburban parishes but were also of great significance within the bounded area of the city. Just as London Bridge was a powerful driver of development in the Bridgehead through its role funnelling traffic, so too did the walls and gates determine the shape of urban development.¹³⁸

The gates themselves, although not marking the extent of civic jurisdiction, were nonetheless used by the city government as sites to demonstrate their authority. The city appointed wardens to guard the gates and held them responsible for denying entry to those considered undesirable. In 1454, these men were sworn to prevent lepers and vagrants from entering the city; the list of those sworn suggests that at four gates (Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate and Newgate), in addition to a warden who in most cases was also a ward beadle, there was also an assistant warden (*custos valletus*).¹³⁹ These were presumably the gates where greater traffic necessitated an extra pair of eyes. The requirements for wardens to check traffic as it passed through the gates created jams which were to the advantage of extramural religious institutions looking to attract alms and also presumably to traders operating along the approach roads.¹⁴⁰ In addition to the everyday posting of vigilant wardens, civic authorities also protected the gates with watches at times of war or social unrest and closed the gates every night. Areas outside the gates might be seen as expendable under such circumstances; participants in both the Jack Cade and Warwick rebellions were only faced down at the gate on London Bridge and were able to camp at and even sack Southwark.¹⁴¹ It is perhaps indicative of the co-dependency of city and crown that military defence for Londoners never seems to have been taken all that seriously and the walls were allowed

¹³⁸ Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London', pp. 89–90.

¹³⁹ LMA Jor. 5, f. 208.

¹⁴⁰ Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Earthly and Spiritual Topography of Suburban Hospitals', in *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500*, ed. by Kate Giles and Christopher Dyer (Leeds: Maney, 2005), pp. 251–74 (p. 263).

¹⁴¹ Malcolm Mercer, 'A Forgotten Kentish Rebellion, September-October 1470.', *Archaeologia Cantiana: Being Contributions to the History and Archaeology of Kent*, 122 (2002), 143–51 (pp. 146–47); Alexander L. Kaufman, 'Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450 and the London Midsummer Watch', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 51 (2007), 143–66 (pp. 151–52).

to fall into disrepair several times;¹⁴² what point would there be in a rival for the crown sacking London, after all, when it was so important for the national economy and royal coffers?

Travellers to the city experienced the gates as architectural and legal barriers to the city which both slowed their progress to London and forced them to interact with civic authorities. Furthermore, in treating defence of the city as defence of the *walled* city, the civic government implicitly conferred an ambiguous status to the space between the gates and the bars.

2.1.3 Roads

As the importance of gates implies, roads and their traffic were key determinants of urban development and they made some parts of the periphery more ‘peripheral’ than others. For instance, the road to Aldgate would have become busier over the course of the fifteenth century as an important supply network developed in London’s north-eastern hinterland. The settlements of the River Lea valley increasingly developed to supply the city’s markets in the fifteenth century, both in terms of transport and crops. This process was driven in part by the investment of Londoners in pasture and crop-growing lands at Tottenham, Stratford and other locations in Essex and Hertfordshire.¹⁴³ Much of this produce was transported by river and then transferred onto carts at Stratford which then travelled west along the London road terminating at Aldgate.¹⁴⁴ The small part of the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate which directly fronted the approach road would thus have had a far busier character than the areas of Minories and Houndsditch just a few moments walk away. Such differentiation is evidenced in later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rental values when, despite the building over of much of the parish, rents along Minories declined as distance to the approach road increased.¹⁴⁵

In other extramural areas, whole neighbourhoods were effectively ribbon developments along approach roads. Such was the case at Bishopsgate where the built

¹⁴² The postern gate by the Tower subsided into a ditch and was never fully rebuilt. David Whipp, *The Medieval Postern Gate by the Tower of London*, MoLAS Monograph 29 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2006), p. 14. The repair of walls was ordered in response to immediate threats e.g. during Warwick’s rebellion. LMA Jor. 7, ff. 221-221v.

¹⁴³ Claire Anne Martin, ‘Transport for London 1250-1550’ (unpublished Ph.D., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008), pp. 37–38; Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, ‘Money Lending on the Periphery of London, 1300-1600’, *Albion*, 20 (1988), 557–71 (pp. 564–65).

¹⁴⁴ Martin, ‘Transport for London’, pp. 37–38.

¹⁴⁵ Based on calculations made for the ‘Life in the Suburbs’ project held at the Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research.

up area was initially limited to housing either side of the street. In the later fifteenth century, the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate began to use its lands near the city bars to build alleyways backwards from the main road, and archaeological evidence suggests that marshy ground to the west of the approach road began to be developed in the same period.¹⁴⁶ The roadway at Bishopsgate appears to have retained its status as the dominant draw for development well into the sixteenth century. The copperplate map (dated to c. 1560) still shows a neighbourhood where, aside from a few alleyways, the land behind the approach road was mainly gardens and tenteryards.¹⁴⁷ The parish of St. Botolph Aldersgate was similar in that its institutional boundaries followed the course of the approach road, and land behind houses to the east of the street was laid out as gardens. Unlike Bishopsgate, however, lanes to the west connected the parish to well-developed neighbourhoods around Smithfield and Clerkenwell.

Ribbon development drew urbanisation out along the approach roads in a manner which complicates our view of where London itself can be deemed to end. At Whitechapel and Norton Folgate, urban development extended past the bars marking the end of the city's jurisdiction, drawn by the importance of traffic to the gates. To the north-west it was Smithfield market, rather than a major entry to the city, which attracted development across jurisdictional boundaries.¹⁴⁸ The extramural bars were physical manifestations of civic conceptions of the city, attempting to demarcate the extramural extent of London as a legal entity. The tendency for urban development to exceed these boundaries is suggestive of the complications inherent in drawing such definitions which will be seen in many other aspects of life on the periphery. The city's continued use of the gates, rather than the bars, as check points and its failure, compared to Paris, to extend its walled area to encompass new development further highlights the ambiguous status of the extramural area.

2.2 Economic topography

There were thus some particular influences on society and economy which serve to differentiate the periphery from city centre. As discussed in Chapter One, debate is ongoing amongst historians as to how far the urban periphery was uniformly poorer.

¹⁴⁶ Swift, *Roman Burials*, pp. 36–41.

¹⁴⁷ 'Plan of London (circa 1560 to 1570)', in *Agas Map of London 1561*, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-map-agas/1561/map>> [accessed 10 August 2017].

¹⁴⁸ Development here extended into Middlesex at Clerkenwell Street and the liberty of St. John's Street, held by the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, its topography was diverse, suggesting that marginal neighbourhoods would not have been economically homogeneous. This section aims to establish a framework for understanding the broad economic differences between city centre and periphery, a discussion which will be expanded upon in Chapter Three.

There are some differences in the secondary literature as to the economic fortunes of fifteenth-century London. Keene and Harding's landmark study of Cheapside before the Great Fire identified the fifteenth century as a period when there was a stagnation in property prices. There was a particular period of collapse in the 1420s and little recovery until the middle of the sixteenth century. This was measured in terms of rents and the level of vacancy in tenements which had been much subdivided under demographic pressures in Cheapside in the pre-Black Death period. In the early sixteenth century they were gradually rearranged into large single tenements with lavish amenities intended to attract wealthy tenants.¹⁴⁹ As London's premier commercial area, Harding has suggested that if decay was evident in fifteenth-century Cheapside 'it seems likely to be even more the case elsewhere'.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, this was a period when London came to dominate the English economy, apparently taking advantage of urban decline elsewhere in the country.¹⁵¹ At the same time the religious houses on London's fringes and at Westminster began to invest in property in their precincts and surrounding areas, a development which will be discussed further in the next section. In the Bridgehead neighbourhood, rental values seem to have remained fairly constant throughout the fifteenth century.¹⁵²

Particularly significant for the fringes of the city is contemporary economic expansion in the city's wider region. Thomas Hill has argued, with regard to Bremen, that the immediate area around the town was a transitional zone within its broader territory where a more urban character became apparent.¹⁵³ Already by 1300 London was drawing on a grain supply region of up to sixty miles where water transport was available. Its demand prompted intensive cultivation of north-western Kent. The city's bakers and cornmongers were involved in networks of credit throughout the

¹⁴⁹ Harding, 'Houses and Households in Cheapside c.1500-1550', pp. 135-40.

¹⁵⁰ Harding, 'Houses and Households in Cheapside c.1500-1550', p. 142.

¹⁵¹ Derek Keene, 'Metropolitan Values: Migration, Mobility and Cultural Norms, 1300-1700', in *The Development of Standard English 1300-1800*, ed. by Laura Wright, 2000, pp. 93-114 (pp. 97, 100-01).

¹⁵² Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London', p. 106.

¹⁵³ Hill, 'Die Stadt', pp. 188-89.

hinterland.¹⁵⁴ The neighbourhoods considered in this thesis sat within this transitional area during a period when London was causing significant changes in its region. K.G.T McDonnell's study of London's eastern hinterland demonstrated that the period after the Black Death was a time when 'local people began to exploit their proximity to London' and the parishes east of the River Lea commercialised.¹⁵⁵ From the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries elements of the rural manorial economy disappeared. Mills and limekilns fell out of use, the land market shifted towards cash rents and service industries developed to facilitate the carriage of produce to London markets.¹⁵⁶

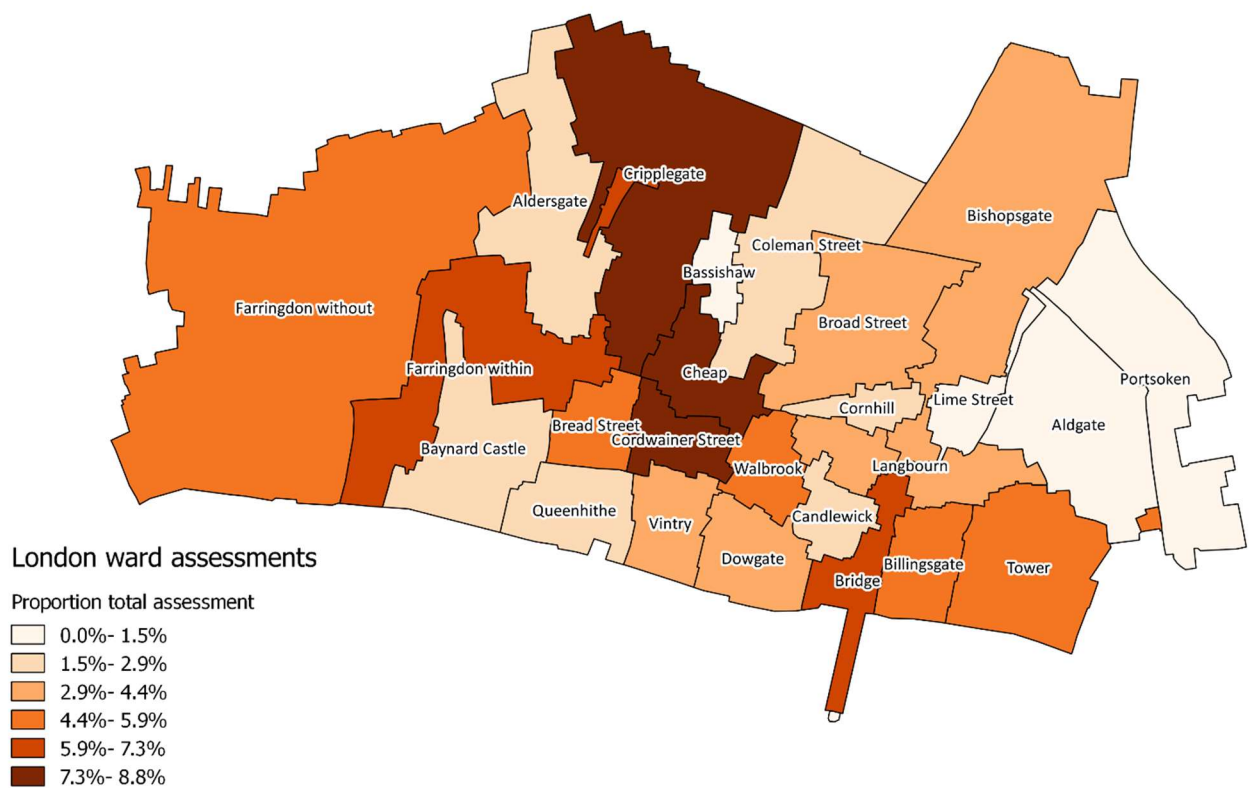


Figure 2.1 Average ward assessments mapped

¹⁵⁴ B. M. S. Campbell and others, *A Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region, c.1300*, Institute of British Geographers, Research Papers, 30 (Cheltenham: Institute of British Geographers, 1993), pp. 99–101, 172–73, 179.

¹⁵⁵ K. G. T. McDonnell, *Medieval London Suburbs* (London: Phillimore, 1978), p. 34.

¹⁵⁶ McDonnell, *Medieval London Suburbs*, pp. 39–40, 72–73.

	Assessment proportions						Reductions			
	1441	1449	1453	1462	1507	<i>Average</i>	1441	1449	1453	<i>Average</i>
Aldersgate	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	1.9%	3.4%	<i>1.6%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Aldgate	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	1.5%	3.0%	<i>1.4%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Bishopsgate	3.0%	2.4%	3.0%	3.0%	3.7%	<i>3.0%</i>	18.2%	50.0%	36.4%	<i>34.8%</i>
Portsoken	1.2%	1.2%	1.1%	1.2%	0.6%	<i>1.1%</i>	33.3%	50.0%	37.5%	<i>40.3%</i>
Bassingshaw	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	1.2%	0.8%	<i>1.0%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Billingsgate	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	5.9%	4.1%	<i>4.6%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Bread Street	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	4.6%	4.6%	<i>4.8%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Bridge	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	6.8%	5.8%	<i>6.6%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Broad Street	3.6%	3.6%	3.6%	3.8%	6.2%	<i>4.2%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Candlewick Street	2.2%	2.2%	2.1%	3.1%	3.7%	<i>2.7%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Castle Baynard	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%	2.3%	2.6%	<i>1.9%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Cheap	9.8%	9.8%	9.8%	8.0%	6.6%	<i>8.8%</i>	6.6%	27.5%	27.5%	<i>20.5%</i>
Coleman Street	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	3.3%	1.7%	<i>2.5%</i>	10.5%	15.8%	16.6%	<i>14.3%</i>
Cordwainer Street	9.8%	9.8%	9.8%	5.8%	5.7%	<i>8.2%</i>	24.7%	27.5%	27.5%	<i>26.6%</i>
Cornhill	2.2%	2.2%	2.1%	2.8%	3.5%	<i>2.6%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Cripplegate	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	9.7%	7.0%	<i>7.4%</i>	4.0%	1.7%	20.0%	<i>8.6%</i>
Dowgate	4.8%	4.9%	4.8%	2.5%	2.3%	<i>3.9%</i>	22.2%	27.8%	0.0%	<i>16.7%</i>
Farringdon Within	7.3%	7.3%	7.3%	5.6%	7.4%	<i>7.0%</i>	9.3%	2.8%	7.4%	<i>6.5%</i>
Farringdon Without	4.7%	4.7%	4.7%	5.1%	6.6%	<i>5.2%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Langbourne	2.8%	2.8%	2.8%	4.4%	5.6%	<i>3.7%</i>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>0.0%</i>
Lime Street	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	1.0%	1.5%	<i>0.7%</i>	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	<i>0.1%</i>
Queenhithe	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	3.2%	2.1%	<i>2.7%</i>	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	<i>3.3%</i>
Tower	5.9%	6.2%	6.2%	5.8%	4.7%	<i>5.7%</i>	23.0%	39.1%	43.5%	<i>35.2%</i>
Vintry	4.8%	4.9%	4.8%	2.9%	3.0%	<i>4.1%</i>	30.6%	41.7%	46.3%	<i>39.5%</i>
Wallbrook	5.4%	5.4%	5.4%	4.4%	3.8%	<i>4.9%</i>	11.3%	33.3%	21.7%	<i>22.1%</i>

Table 2.1 Proportions and reductions of city fifteenth and tenth assessments and loans to the King by ward¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Calculations based on assessments recorded in journals. LMA Jor. 3, f. 115v; LMA Jor. 5, f. 18v, 95v; LMA Jor. 7, f. 9; LMA Jor. 11, f. 5.

This sets an interesting economic context for the city fringes, sitting as they did between a commercialising region developing to serve London and a city centre where any rising wealth was very slow to effect increased demand for property. Assessments carried out for taxation add more complexity to the picture. Tax records have been used elsewhere in the country in this way, with Mark Forrest utilising fifteenth and tenth returns for the south west to track economic decline.¹⁵⁸ Forrest paid attention to the reductions allowed to settlements, arguing that commissioners used local knowledge of changes in wealth to determine where allowances would be made.¹⁵⁹ In London assessment and collection was made by ward and the full details periodically recorded in the city Journals. Evidently reductions were also made by ward and are recorded as such several times. However, the practice of charging prominent citizens with the deficit left by ward reductions may explain why later assessments lack detail about reductions.¹⁶⁰ The aim here is to use taxation to understand something of the general pattern of wealth and poverty in London, following Forrest in the assumption that rather than reflecting ‘actual’ wealth local assessments were based on collectors’ knowledge of the city’s economic topography. Thus, the main interest lies in the proportions of a tax allotted to each ward and the areas where reductions were applied.

Table 2.1 show proportionate assessments for fifteenths and tenths (or parts of fifteenths and tenths) made in 1441, 1449, 1453, 1462 and 1507. Information about reductions is only available for the three earlier assessments. Figure 2.1 also plots the average proportion of assessments borne by each ward. In general, there is a disparity between wards within and without the walls as well as between the west and east of the city. Thus, Farringdon Without and Cripplegate in the west appear as the most heavily assessed extramural wards while both Aldgate and Portsoken wards were amongst the most lightly assessed in the city. The commercial centres of the city around Cheapside and London Bridge were where a greater proportion of assessed wealth lay. A more interesting pattern is suggested by the reductions applied to the assessments in the 1440s and 1453. Although Portsoken and Aldersgate were given very similar levels of assessment, Portsoken each time received a reduction to its contribution ranging

¹⁵⁸ Mark Forrest, ‘Patterns of Economic Change in the South-West during the Fifteenth Century: Evidence from the Reductions to the Fifteenths and Tenths’, *The Economic History Review*, 70.2 (2017), 423–51.

¹⁵⁹ Forrest, ‘Patterns of Economic Change’, pp. 445–47.

¹⁶⁰ For instance, notes after the 1441 fifteenth and tenth assessment indicate that Nicholas Blome, the mayor Robert Clopton and John Houghton paid the deficit of Tower, Langbourn and Aldgate wards respectively. LMA Jor. 3, f. 115v.

between a third and a half. By the time of the 1507 assessment, it was the lowest rated ward in the city contributing just 0.6% of the city's tax burden. Another suggestive aspect of the data is the greater equity of assessment in 1507 compared to earlier records, a trend also apparent in 1462. Thus the ward of Cheap reduced its overall burden from 9.8% of the 1441 assessment to 6.6% in 1507, and unlike earlier assessments no single ward was assessed at more than 7.4% of the total. This could suggest lessening disparities of wealth across the city in the later fifteenth century, perhaps driven by the weakening of craft clustering which was in progress during this period.¹⁶¹ However, given that Forrest emphasised the ability of wealthy and well-connected communities to successfully lobby for reductions to their tax burden, it may instead be evidence of wealthy central residents exerting political clout.¹⁶² Any diffusion of wealth around the city appears not to have affected Portsoken or Bishopsgate, whose assessments were quite stable across the period, although Aldersgate and Aldgate moderately increased their level of tax burden. London's traditional commercial districts and the attraction of wealthy customers around the Inns of Court and routes to Westminster seem to have determined where the assessed wealth resided. The neighbourhoods focussed on in this study all had a lesser share of those eligible for tax, or at least a population better at evading such responsibilities. Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Portsoken and Aldersgate wards, where the sample parishes lay, were in the lower half of wards for all the assessments studied. Their combined assessments only contributed between 5.4 and 10.7% of London's total. The pattern indicated in Figure 2.1 shows a striking similarity to the spread of Hearth Tax assessments in the city in 1666, suggesting the broad distribution of wealth in the city was resilient even as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrought great changes to London.¹⁶³

However, ward level assessments are very crude measures of patterns of economic topography. As the issue of prominent citizens paying deficits suggests, assessment levels could be dependent on a very small number of wealthy local residents contributing. Another obvious disadvantage, shown by Figure 2.1, is the inability to distinguish between different areas of a ward. This is a particular problem in Bishopsgate and Cripplegate which extended from busy intramural shopping streets to comparatively sparsely populated extramural areas. As discussed above, there was a great deal of variety in parishes or wards. Within the marginal areas, differences in

¹⁶¹ Colson, 'Commerce, Clusters, and Community', pp. 121–29.

¹⁶² Forrest, 'Patterns of Economic Change', pp. 443–45.

¹⁶³ Wareham, 'The Unpopularity of the Hearth Tax', pp. 461–64.

terms of how land was used are suggestive of both lesser demand for housing and distinctive aspects of the extramural economy. Wards or parishes might contain pockets responding to very different economic stimuli. The evidence from assessments can only ever be indicative, and the differences which could exist even within an administrative unit like the ward or parish require consideration.

Open space, for instance, was common in areas to the north and east of the city wall. Distinctions in the degree of ‘openness’ here reveal economic disparities between parts of the periphery. As discussed above, the marshy area around Moorfields was largely unused until the Hospital of St. Mary began to build housing along the west of Bishopsgate Street in the late fifteenth century. The neighbourhood outside Aldgate too had accessible open areas. John Stow remembered it from his childhood as a semi-rural idyll where people would go for leisurely walks and shooting practice and where he was sent to buy milk.¹⁶⁴ There was a large area of pasture land to the south east of Portsoken ward. However, along Houndsditch, the Minories and at Tower Hill land mainly owned by local religious houses was used as gardens. This mixture was also present at Bishopsgate.¹⁶⁵ At Aldersgate, gardens were the main form of open ground available. These could be in the form of leased out garden plots or the great gardens of the houses themselves which might be very extensive, such as the garden of Holy Trinity Priory which occupied a large expanse of land east of Houndsditch between Aldgate and Bishopsgate. This was open land in the sense of not actually being used for building. However, given the payments recorded for locks and keys, hedging and repairs to fences for gardens, it seems that while it was not open in the sense of being accessible to Londoners.¹⁶⁶

Thus, while undeveloped land was common in the area between city and hinterland, the uses to which it was put served the needs of the city. Pastureland was used by city butchers and drovers; gardens provided food for Londoners whose own properties lacked the space required to grow crops; tentergrounds served the city’s cloth industry. Spatial differentiation existed within the periphery itself, as economic and topographical factors determined the intensity of development and the uses to which

¹⁶⁴ John Stow, ‘Portsoken warde’, in *A Survey of London*, ed. by C.L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), pp. 120-129, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/pp120-129>> [accessed 8 June 2016].

¹⁶⁵ See below section 3.3 for discussion of the gardens owned by the Hospital of St. Mary at Bishopsgate

¹⁶⁶ See for example in 1510 ‘Paid for a lock and key for the little garden and to a key to fore gate next the street - 12d.’, St. Mary at Hill Churchwardens’ Accounts, LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/002.

land was put. Large extramural parishes like St. Botolph Aldgate and St. Botolph Bishopsgate were therefore unevenly developed, ranging from areas around the gates which could be very built up to gated gardens and, at the edges of the parish, pastureland or other semi-rural forms of land use.

In sum, there was a complex relationship between space and wealth in London. Economic peripherality was multi-layered, since the areas on the edge of London were heterogeneous, transitional spaces which performed a great variety of functions for the city. In the context of a commercialising hinterland, we might expect to see increased wealth in the east of the city, but this is not apparent in the evidence of ward assessments. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the transitional nature of the periphery; the kinds of activity generated by increased traffic into and out of the city would not necessarily attract wealthy merchants with high value movable goods. For instance, the use of land as pasture does not just suggest that land was less valuable as housing but also that it was in demand by butchers and drovers. Although the periphery did not attract as much lucrative mercantile activity as the city centre, the economic activity there was also important for the vitality of the city. Furthermore, the areas outside the walls were varied places with a range of topographical influences on their development. 'Marginality' in economic terms is thus problematic when applied to the spatial periphery, as it inherently privileges particular sorts of economic activity over others as well as eliding nuances of topography. However, it still has use as a concept in suggesting a distinctive quality to the economy of the edges of the city which was strongly related to their location. This is an important frame of reference for the analysis in Chapter Three of the occupational structure and property market in the sample parishes.

2.3 Religious houses and liberties

A distinctive element of the margins of the city was the presence of precincts owned by religious orders. London's religious houses lay mainly outside or at the edges of the walled city. Extramural houses, as well as some mural houses like Holy Trinity Aldgate, could dominate their localities through ownership of much surrounding land. These precincts had important effects on the society and economy of their surroundings which have great relevance for this study. This section will set the context for their development and impact on lay neighbourhoods, an important background to the discussion in Chapters Three and Six.

Most of London's religious houses and hospitals began with small parcels of land, sometimes just a single tenement plot, gifted to religious orders. Successive priors would then expand the house or hospital precinct and estate. They acquired surrounding plots and also accrued property elsewhere within and outside the city which provided rental income to support the religious community and its activities.¹⁶⁷ The foundation of the houses appears to have had a varied relationship with surrounding urban development. The foundation of Holy Trinity Priory in the thirteenth century seems to have expanded the inhabited portion of the city within the walls eastwards, acting as a nucleus for surrounding lay development.¹⁶⁸ This is similar to St. Giles Hospital to the north-west of London which formed the centre-point for late medieval settlement.¹⁶⁹ This accords with evidence from Bremen, where extramural religious houses acted as the nucleus around which settlement formed, later being connected to the city through ribbon development.¹⁷⁰ At Bishopsgate the Hospital of St. Mary was founded on the eastern part of Norton Folgate, a small sub-manor of Stepney, where the Hospital instigated much local development in the later fifteenth century.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ For greater detail on this process see Nick Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London: From Foundation to Dissolution*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 46 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

¹⁶⁸ John Schofield and Richard Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: An Archaeological Reconstruction and History*, MoLAS Monograph, 24 (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2005), pp. 155–56.

¹⁶⁹ Sian Anthony, *Medieval Settlement to 18th-/19th-Century Rookery: Excavations at Central Saint Giles, London Borough of Camden, 2006-8* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2011), p. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Hill, 'Die Stadt', pp. 178–79.

¹⁷¹ Christopher Thomas, Barney Sloane, and Christopher Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital, London*, MoLAS Monograph (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 1997), pp. 14–15.

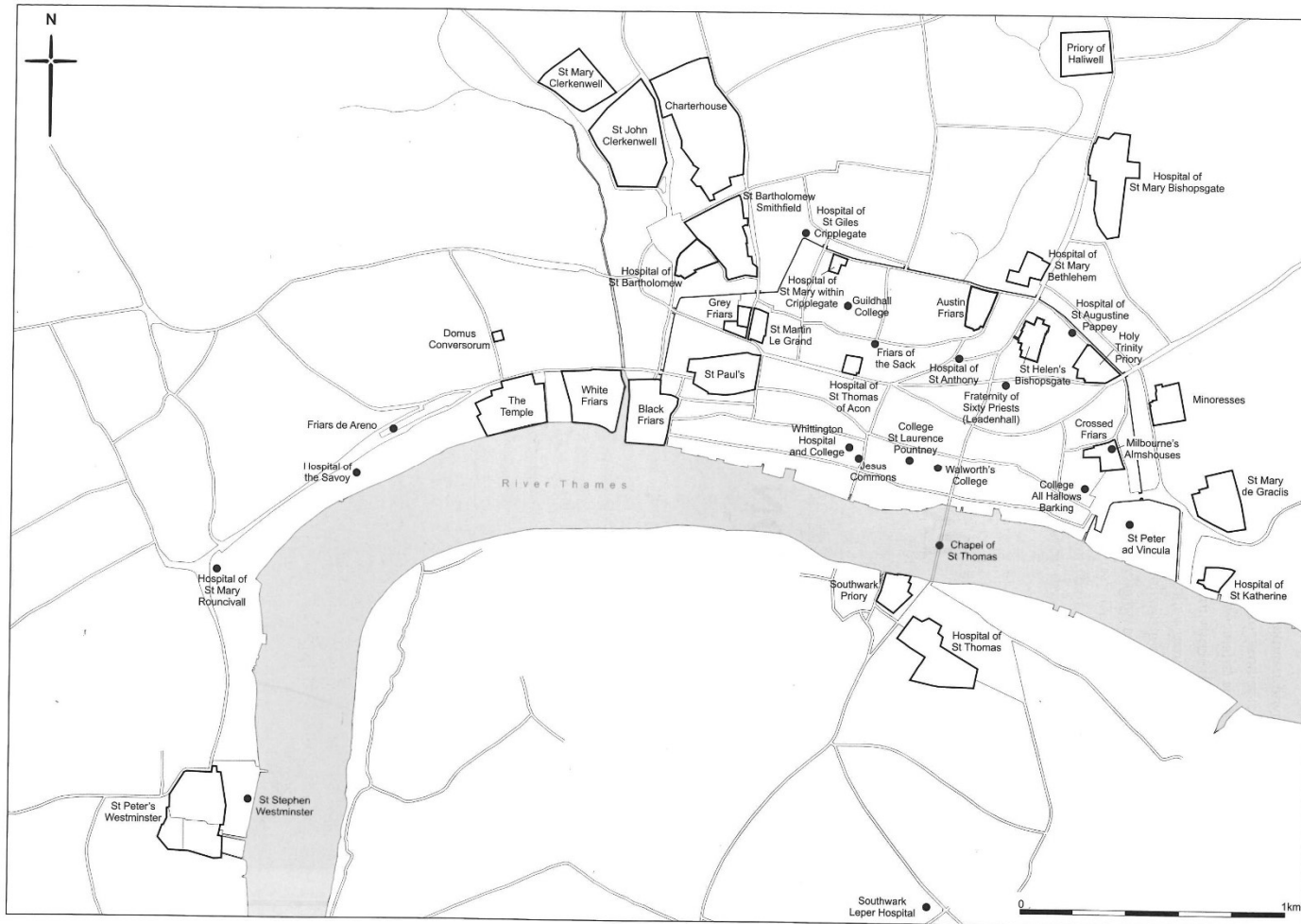


Figure 2.2 Religious house precincts of London and its environs. Copyright Museum of London Archaeology Service.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Reproduced from *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, ed. by Caroline Mary Barron and Matthew Davies (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007).

As a result of gifts and acquisitions, London's houses and hospitals became significant landholders in their immediate neighbourhoods as well as the wider city and hinterland. Their role in urban development was thus active, a fact demonstrated well in Gervase Rosser's study of Westminster, where changes in the estate management strategy of the Abbey significantly impacted the social and economic character of the town.¹⁷³ In the fifteenth century, many houses and hospitals increasingly looked to lay tenants as a source of income. Within the precincts, this resulted in a proliferation of tenements built or re-purposed for the use of lay tenants. At the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate, areas of the outer precinct which had previously been used for crops and grazing animals were instead built on and leased out.¹⁷⁴ The Cistercian abbey of St. Mary Graces, East Smithfield, was built between 1361 and 1391, more than a century later and perhaps tellingly the precinct contained few buildings for ancillary activities (such as food processing) but by at least 1425 had lay tenements.¹⁷⁵ Scholars of London's religious houses have noted the high status of tenants they initially attracted, attracted by large tenements close to their churches which had special access to services there.¹⁷⁶

In the later fifteenth century, London houses turned increasingly to urban property within and without their precincts as means of raising funds. Lay tenements became common in almost all houses and hospitals and by the early sixteenth century had become a lucrative income stream.¹⁷⁷ In this later period, low status housing seems to have been common in institutions' wider estates. The Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate used its lands in the parish of St. Botolph Bishopsgate to build alleyways back from the main approach road, containing up to ten dwellings in each, all letting for modest rents of four shillings per annum.¹⁷⁸ It also built a set of almshouses between the precinct wall and Bishopsgate Street called Crown Rents.¹⁷⁹ At Austin Friars, parts of

¹⁷³ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 77–80.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas, Sloane, and Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital*, pp. 85–87, 99.

¹⁷⁵ Ian Grainger and Christopher Phillpotts, *The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces, East Smithfield, London*, MoLA Monograph, 44 (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2011), pp. 35–38, 113.

¹⁷⁶ Euan C. Roger, 'Blakberd's Treasure: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Administration at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London', in *Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed. by Linda Clark, The Fifteenth Century, 13 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 81–107 (pp. 88–89, 97–98); Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London*, pp. 299–302; Caroline M. Barron, 'A Virtual London Parish: The Precinct of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the Fifteenth Century' (presented at the Harlaxton Medieval Symposium: Church and City in the Middle Ages, Harlaxton Manor, 2017).

¹⁷⁷ Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London*, p. 300.

¹⁷⁸ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1497-98, TNA SC 11/975.

¹⁷⁹ Thomas, Sloane, and Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital*, p. 78.

the outer precinct were developed into small tenements in the later fifteenth century.¹⁸⁰ On a similarly cramped intramural plot, Holy Trinity Priory also added lay housing to the fringes of its precinct by 1500.¹⁸¹ In parishes like St. Botolph Bishopsgate and St. Katharine Cree, where a single local institution also owned much of the land, there was great potential for the priorities of a house or hospital to shape the character of a neighbourhood through its building programme and the kinds of tenants it chose to attract. Simultaneously, parts of the precincts became integrated with the surrounding secular space as profitable tenements became the norm. As has been said of the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate, ‘despite the surrounding walls, the precinct must have been a publically accessible and secular place in the fifteenth century’.¹⁸² Religious institutions were not just architectural landmarks on London’s margins but key actors in local urban development and the creation of social character.

This role was not confined to estate management, but also legal jurisdiction. In some cases, religious authorities held formal responsibility for their surrounding neighbourhood. The Prior of St. Mary Graces held a court leet with view of frankpledge within East Smithfield, and the Prior of St. John’s, Clerkenwell had a peculiar jurisdiction within St. John’s Street just outside the Smithfield bar.¹⁸³ Outside Bishopsgate bar, the liberty of Norton Folgate was an unusual case. Although it derived its status as a liberty from the presence of the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate, its court leet was held by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral.¹⁸⁴ The precincts themselves held something of an ambiguous status. All lay outside parochial jurisdiction, and were sometimes treated like parishes in and of themselves. St. Bartholomew’s Hospital and Priory precincts were listed in a 1523 tax assessment as if they were parishes forming part of the ward of Farringdon Without.¹⁸⁵ Additionally, some precincts held formal rights of sanctuary and other privileges which exempted their residents from royal and civic jurisdictions. The Hospital of St. Katharine by the Tower was one such institution; in 1441, its precinct was granted freedom from all

¹⁸⁰ Nick Holder, ‘The Medieval Friaries of London: A Topographic and Archaeological History, before and after the Dissolution’ (University of London, 2011), pp. 155–56.

¹⁸¹ Schofield and Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory*, p. 141.

¹⁸² Thomas, Sloane, and Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital*, p. 79.

¹⁸³ Grainger and Phillpotts, *The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces*, p. 90; Shannon McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary: Crime, Mercy, and Politics in English Courts, 1400-1550* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 100.

¹⁸⁴ Thomas, Sloane, and Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital*, pp. 14–15.

¹⁸⁵ Assessment of London wards for a forced loan to the crown, 1523, TNA E 179/251/15B, ff. 29v, 61v.

jurisdictions save the Lord Chancellor's and from payment of all aids and subsidies. The Master of the Hospital was also granted wide ranging powers within the precinct including court leet, view of frankpledge, punishment of all disturbances of the peace and assizes of bread, ale, weights and measures.¹⁸⁶ From an earlier date, the College of St. Martin le Grand operated as a sanctuary free of civic and royal jurisdiction, deriving its privileges from its status as a royal free chapel.¹⁸⁷ The sanctuary here was well-established by at least the late fourteenth century. It seems to have spread from the walled precinct out into the surrounding houses over the course of the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁸ St. Martin le Grand was the most problematic religious liberty for the civic authorities but Shannon McSheffrey notes that it was by no means unique. Even where privileges were less formalised, precincts were used by lay Londoners like places exempt from civic jurisdiction.¹⁸⁹ After their dissolution, some precincts like the Whitefriars which had previously held no formal special status were used by their lay population as if they were free of the city's jurisdiction.¹⁹⁰ In popular perception then, religious house precincts were often understood as liberties in ways which sometimes overstepped their actual legal privileges.

The city's response to the presence of spatial exemptions from its jurisdiction is highly suggestive of the effects precincts and other liberties had on the margins. The self-confident and well organised civic government of the fifteenth century challenged exempt jurisdictions and had some success. The manor of Blanchapleton, which lay in Aldgate ward, was subject to a long running campaign to bring it into the city's control, which was finally achieved in the 1470s.¹⁹¹ The city had complained in 1439 of 'many thieves secreted there as if that place was privileged, the which place was never privileged'.¹⁹² In 1445, the Common Council requested punishment of inhabitants of Blanchapleton and other places within the city without the freedom holding open

¹⁸⁶ 'Hospitals: St. Katharine by the Tower', in *A History of the County of London: Volume 1, London Within the Bars, Westminster and Southwark*, ed. by William Page (London: Victoria County History, 1909), pp. 525-530, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/london/vol1/pp525-530>> [accessed 7 August 2017].

¹⁸⁷ 'Colleges: St. Martin le Grand,' in *A History of the County of London*, pp. 555-566, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/london/vol1/pp555-566>> [accessed 7 August 2017]. Shannon McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', *Law and History Review*, 27.3 (2009), 483-514 (pp. 483-86).

¹⁸⁸ McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', pp. 496-98.

¹⁸⁹ McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', pp. 487-88.

¹⁹⁰ Nigel Stirk, 'Arresting Ambiguity: The Shifting Geographies of a London Debtors' Sanctuary in the Eighteenth Century', *Social History*, 25.3 (2000), 316-29.

¹⁹¹ McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', p. 487.

¹⁹² LMA Jor. 3, f. 30v.

shops.¹⁹³ These two strands were common to civic complaints about ‘privileged places’; that they encouraged gatherings of thieves, murderers and other criminals, and that they attracted ‘foreign’ Londoners to keep shop there and thus avoid the costs and oversight of the city and its guilds. Such complaints appealed to notions of the ‘common wele’. They held more rhetorical weight than other inconveniences associated with the precincts, such as the inability of London merchants to pursue debtors in residence there.¹⁹⁴

There was evidently something of a fine balance to be struck in challenging liberties. The Mayor and Aldermen conceded in 1454 that ‘those men [who] enter the places because of poverty and need and afterwards leave... to enter the liberty of London and remain there’ should retain their freedom.¹⁹⁵ This is a rare acknowledgement of the necessity of liberties as a coping mechanism for changing economic fortunes, perhaps reflecting their popularity. As McSheffrey has argued, the city used its campaign against St. Martin le Grand as a proxy for dealing with the economic problems caused by aliens infringing the city’s franchise. The issue of sanctuary was a legal framing device for this more pressing issue and St. Martin le Grand was the focus because it had the greatest density of aliens.¹⁹⁶ Until the mid-fifteenth century, proclamations were usually directed against citizens who lived in places outside the city’s liberty. In one revealing example from 1455, a proclamation was made regarding all citizens who evaded lot and scot by

living in Southwark, the street of Bermondsey Street, the town of Westminster and from there up to the bars of the New Temple, the street extending from the hospital of St. Giles in the Fields up to Holborn bars, in the street called St. John Street, in the houses by the suburbs without Cripplegate, from the bars without Bishopsgate to Shoreditch church, from the bars without Aldgate up to the White Chapel¹⁹⁷

The offenders were to be fined five shillings. What is notable about the list is its lack of distinction between privileged precinct space and places in Middlesex in secular jurisdiction but outside the city’s control. The area from Bishopsgate bars to Shoreditch included both the liberty of Norton Folgate and the precinct of St. Mary Bishopsgate and St. John Street was a peculiar of the Prior of St. John Clerkenwell. However, these are listed alongside areas which were ‘normal’ parts of Middlesex like Whitechapel and the

¹⁹³ LMA Jor. 4, f. 96.

¹⁹⁴ McSheffrey, ‘Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London’, pp. 494–95.

¹⁹⁵ LMA Jor. 5, f. 153.

¹⁹⁶ McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary*, pp. 124–27.

¹⁹⁷ LMA Jor. 5, f. 260.

Strand. In this explication of the problem, the extramural precincts and their particular circumstances were not named by the city despite growing lay communities within them.

In the later fifteenth century, anxiety about those trading without the freedom seems to have increased. At the same time, English religious houses began to more actively acquire privileges for their precincts.¹⁹⁸ The tensions which built up are evident in the increasing complaints about foreign workers in guild ordinances of the later fifteenth century and the complaints about non-English immigrants which resulted in both the Evil May Day riots of 1517 and the city's dogged legal challenge of St. Martin le Grand's sanctuary in the 1530s.¹⁹⁹ The sanctuary at St. Katharine's and liberty at the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate were also drawn in to civic complaints from the mid-fifteenth century.²⁰⁰ This hardening of attitudes does not seem to have produced specific complaints against all the other extramural houses and their lay populations. It may be that, as the proclamation above suggests, residents infringing the franchise here may have been seen as part of a wider problem with those living in the ribbon development which led up to the city bars. Indeed, from the 1480s the city claimed rights to regulate all craft production within two miles, a claim it sporadically enforced.²⁰¹

In spite of well documented campaigns against large sanctuaries, there are thus a number of potential layers of nuance to the city's attitude towards liberties. It is probably no coincidence that the main targets of civic complaint, Blanchappleton and St. Martin le Grand, lay within the walled city. There was perhaps more urgency to concerns about exemptions to the city's authority a stone's throw from prime commercial streets and markets. For instance, the city's recurrent anxieties about Southwark ran in parallel with its size and economic success from the thirteenth century onwards. The eventual payment of almost £1000 in 1549 for the city to have rights and privileges there suggests the centuries-long legal battle was driven by perceived economic benefits.²⁰² Without such a prize, challenging every religious house which developed a gated lay community was unlikely to have been worthwhile. Moreover, these institutions were popular with, and in some cases even founded by, Londoners.²⁰³ As

¹⁹⁸ McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary*, pp. 11, 94–96, 190.

¹⁹⁹ McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary*, chap. 5.; Davies, 'Citizens and "Foreyns"', pp. 19–20.

²⁰⁰ McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary*, pp. 61–62.

²⁰¹ McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary*, p. 125.

²⁰² Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 119–26.

²⁰³ 'Hospitals: St. Mary without Bishopsgate', in *A History of the County of London*, ed. by William Page (London, 1909), pp. 530–535, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/london/vol1/pp530-535>> [accessed 12 October 2017].

Chapter Four will show, religious houses were very popular recipients of charity and places of burial, and leading citizens may have recognised the usefulness of spaces where citizens and non-citizens could evade responsibility when times were difficult. A final strand to civic attitudes to liberties is suggested in the proclamation cited above, which fails to differentiate between precinct and secular space. The list of places elides differences of jurisdiction and blends precinct space into the fabric of extramural neighbourhoods. As we have seen, religious houses exerted influence and authority both within the precinct and in its wider surroundings. This has important implications for how we think about extramural space and the ability for the social character of lay neighbourhoods and precincts to interpenetrate.

2.4 Marginal space and marginal behaviour

Topographically, economically and legally, the margins of the city were therefore diverse areas. In conceptual terms too, urban space was understood to be differentiated in ways which overlapped with the former distinctions. Conceptions of space informed how the civic authorities treated the fringes of the city as well as the kinds of behaviour which were permitted to take place there.

This study is primarily concerned with social practice as it shaped marginal space, rather than representational space which uses the centre-margins dynamic as a metaphor for, as an example, order and disorder.²⁰⁴ However, the relationship between imagined and experienced space can be difficult to pin down in the distant past. This is especially the case where the space under consideration is at the periphery of the concerns of those who create the archive. Methodologies like sociological survey of residents, which are designed to move beyond the limited perspective of archives created by authorities and establish subjective experience, are of course impossible for all but the most contemporary topics.²⁰⁵ A survey of the German literature on medieval marginality and spatial semantics noted a tension between rhetoric and social practice. Although the urban fringe was socially mixed, the relationship between urban margins and deviant groups is nonetheless palpable in contemporary imaginative and rhetorical constructions of urban space.²⁰⁶ Certainly, choices made by the civic authorities often reinforced the prestige of the city within the walls. Cheapside served as the ceremonial heart of the city

²⁰⁴ Derek Duncan, 'Margins and Minorities', pp. 25–26.

²⁰⁵ Harriet Evans, 'Neglect of a Neighbourhood: Oral Accounts of Life in "Old Beijing" since the Eve of the People's Republic', *Urban History*, 41.4 (2014), 686–704 (p. 689).

²⁰⁶ Moritz Wedell, 'Marginalität und Raumsemantik. Zur Einleitung', *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, 16.2 (2011), 8–16 (pp. 9–12).

around which processional routes looped, and Aldgate was often an eastern end point for pageantry.²⁰⁷ Processions and pageantry was mainly confined within the walls. An exception was the Lord Mayor's procession, which encompassed the extramural route to Westminster in acknowledgment of the source of the Mayor's power in royal authority.²⁰⁸ The major civic building projects of the fifteenth century, the Guildhall and the Leadenhall market and granary, were within the walls. Ceremonial London was thus concentrated within the walls.

Other forms of civic activity can be seen as emphasising differences between margins and centre. Noting the symbolic uses of the gates as sites for the expulsion of criminals, Frank Rexroth has argued that the city walls formed the moral boundary of the city in the minds of its ruling class.²⁰⁹ He argued that the building project of the walls helped form civic identity and greater moral qualities came to be associated with citizens resident within the walls, the extramural zone providing an 'other' against which to define good citizenship by the siting of prostitution and punishment of criminals there.²¹⁰ However, this is where the difficulty of differentiating rhetorical construction and lived experience becomes apparent. Rexroth uses examples of crimes committed by those living in the extramural zone. However, it is not clear what relationship he draws between these incidents and the ways that civic identity formed around that space.²¹¹ Perhaps more fundamentally, civic understandings of space are only one construction of the meaning of marginal space. Citizens could perfectly legitimately live outside the walls and those who did participated in civic structures of hierarchy through the ward and common council. They expressed attachment to and embeddedness in their neighbourhoods through participation in parish activities and fraternities. Even amongst the proportion of Londoners who were enfranchised, then, experiences of marginal space were nuanced. Scholarship of Mediterranean cities has developed the concept of *citadinité*, viewing the city in its entirety as a body constantly in flux. This is in contrast to older scholarship, which took literally civic ordinances treating marginal neighbourhoods as holding sites for migrants prior to their integration.²¹² Eleanora Canepari's study of a fringe parish of Rome in the seventeenth century takes this approach to show how the economic and social connections between

²⁰⁷ Minson, 'Political Culture', pp. 84, 87–89.

²⁰⁸ Minson, 'Political Culture', pp. 66–69, 83–85.

²⁰⁹ Rexroth, 'Grenzen Der Stadt, Grenzen Der Moral', p. 163.

²¹⁰ Rexroth, 'Grenzen Der Stadt, Grenzen Der Moral', pp. 158–60.

²¹¹ Rexroth, 'Grenzen Der Stadt, Grenzen Der Moral', pp. 160–63.

²¹² Canepari, 'An Unsettled Space', pp. 114–15.

centre and margins created an ‘unsettled space’ of urban/rural transition.²¹³ Taking into account the nuances and contradictions in use of urban space thus tends to suggest that a subtler approach, rather than a totalising centre/periphery dichotomy, is required. As a result of looking at social practice, distinctions which seem clear in the ideological uses of space by civic authorities are complicated and undermined. For instance, butchery is an example of a trade which was associated with unhealthy pollution and understood as best placed at the fringes of the city where it would be less dangerous to city dwellers.²¹⁴ Nonetheless, the Shambles meat market remained within the western wall of the city and butchers formed a prosperous community within the city, investing in pasture the city’s hinterland as well as using their houses and markets in the city and suburbs to carry out their trade.²¹⁵ Social praxis can thus complicate the sense of space given in imaginative or rhetorical constructions.

The resulting ambiguous status of marginal space was also caused by the presence of the precincts of religious houses, which carved out space from the extramural parishes and, as we have seen, had an ambiguous legal status. Multiple jurisdictions were commonplace in medieval cities. Tom Johnson’s thesis on law and spatial knowledge demonstrates how late medieval Hereford was a patchwork of jurisdictions with overlapping and competing claims on spaces within a city. He argues this was not perceived as being problematic, but was part of a dialectic which responded ‘to the continuous subtle alteration of “the city”’.²¹⁶ The duality of claims on urban space were thus familiar to contemporaries. The patchwork nature of medieval urbanism has inspired theorists of modern cities. Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSayyad argued that medieval ethnic quarters and religious precincts are analogous to modern gated communities and special economic zones where normal law is suspended. Roy and Alsayyad described both as ‘zones of exception’ which serve to highlight the spatiality and contingency of citizenship. Both were also othered spaces against which to define the centre of the urban community.²¹⁷

The concept of zones of exception is very useful for understanding precinct space, suggesting as it does that Londoners might understand precincts as places in which

²¹³ Canepari, ‘An Unsettled Space’.

²¹⁴ Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies*, pp. 147–48.

²¹⁵ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *A Community Transformed: The Manor and Liberty of Havering, 1500-1620*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 124–25.

²¹⁶ Tom Johnson, ‘Law, Space, and Local Knowledge in Late-Medieval England’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2014), pp. 55, 64–66, 87–88.

²¹⁷ Nezar Alsayyad and Ananya Roy, ‘Medieval Modernity: On Citizenship and Urbanism in a Global Era’, *Space & Polity*, 10.1 (2006), 1–20 (pp. 10–16).

normal standards of behaviour and legal requirements of citizenship could be suspended. The ambiguity in the status of houses and precincts largely comes from a detachment between public perception of their status and the formal definition of their privileges. Roy and AlSayyad's definition of the zone of exception is rooted in modernity, when a centralised state is responsible for setting and policing boundaries between, say, a special economic area and the surrounding 'normal' urban space. As Tom Johnson suggests, however, the multiplicity of medieval urban jurisdictions was part of a more dynamic process whereby individuals and competing authorities negotiated social relationships.²¹⁸ Boundaries of sanctuary space were determined 'through social practice, its observation and its recognition'.²¹⁹ In a pre-modern context, then, the zone of exception can be understood as a space created through both formal legal definitions and popular understanding of those definitions. The fact that some precincts had legal exemptions led to popular treatment of many precincts as zones of exception, a practice which continued into the early modern period.²²⁰ This qualification to the concept of zones of exception has two important consequences for the discussion here. The first is that all religious houses and hospitals could be treated as exceptional zones where normal standards of behaviour and requirements of residence could be suspended. The second is that the boundaries of exceptional space are not necessarily fixed at the precinct wall. They could be expanded by social practice or even by the audacious actions of religious authorities. The latter was the case at St. Martin le Grand, where the sanctuary was extended outwards by breaking shop windows into walls facing the common highway.²²¹ Neighbourhoods which bordered a precinct, especially where a religious house owned significant local property, might have had elements of exceptional space which did not remain within formal boundaries.

The jurisdictional and socio-economic ambiguity of the margins has implications for the kinds of activity which would take place there. Some of these activities and behaviours could be related to definitions of undesirable behaviour as set out by the civic authorities. Those trading without the freedom of the city could take advantage of spaces exempt from civic jurisdiction to set up shop. As discussed in section 1.1.2, this kind of labour was tolerated within the fifteenth-century craft system. Nonetheless, companies were important engines for sociability and the accrual of social capital. Company and

²¹⁸ Johnson, 'Law, Space, and Local Knowledge in Late-Medieval England', pp. 42–44.

²¹⁹ McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', p. 488.

²²⁰ They were finally suppressed after a 1697 act of Parliament against 'pretended privileged places'. Stirk, 'Arresting Ambiguity', pp. 318, 321.

²²¹ McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', p. 489.

civic offices formed part of a *cursus honorum* from which non-citizens were excluded. This probably limited the ability of artisans without the freedom to grow their businesses; for instance, the citizen's ability to take apprentices allowed masters to expand production with cheap labour.²²² Thus, even if trading without citizenship was neither as stigmatised nor economically peripheral as civic records sometimes suggest, it can be expected that foreigners would wield limited social power and influence in the city.

Other activities which might be attracted to spaces where there was either less civic oversight or the Mayor had no authority are those which were considered criminal or immoral. Thieves, murderers and other criminals could seek sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand, St. Katharine's Hospital or St. Bartholomew's Priory. Debtors looking to escape prosecution by their creditors in either civic or royal courts could resort to the same places.²²³ Prostitution, the keeping of brothels and the ill-defined practice of 'bawdry' were repeatedly outlawed by the Mayor. These activities are often used as an example of the connection between the geographical and moral margins of the city.²²⁴ The brothels at Southwark were notorious and, as will be seen in Chapter Six, considered by Londoners as the 'appropriate' place for sexual immorality. When civic authorities conceded that not all prostitution could be kept south of the river, it was to the suburbs that they looked as the appropriate space for a limited area of tolerated brothels (Cock Lane in St. Sepulchre parish).²²⁵ However, as Martin Ingram has recently argued, London's suburban zone was home to middling householders who objected to and prosecuted those whose sexual behaviour was considered transgressive.²²⁶

Other types of behaviour were problematic, sometimes occupying a grey area between the merely socially suspicious and the actively outlawed. Vagrancy and temporary residence can be considered just such a category. In the post-Black Death period, attitudes to the wandering poor hardened and royal statutes attempted to limit mobility and curb begging.²²⁷ After the 1380s concern apparently waned only to be renewed again in the 1460s. This continued through the late fifteenth and into the sixteenth century; a 1495 statute which limited the poor to only seeking aid within the

²²² On the connections between the urban *cursus* and taking on apprentices see Dana Durkee, 'A Cursus for Craftsmen? Career Cycles of the Worsted Weavers of Late Medieval Norwich', in *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. by Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 151–68 (pp. 159–60).

²²³ McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London', pp. 483–86.

²²⁴ Rexroth, 'Grenzen Der Stadt, Grenzen Der Moral', p. 162.

²²⁵ Karras, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England', pp. 408–10.

²²⁶ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chap. 5.

²²⁷ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*, p. 43.

place where they lived, were 'best known' or born was renewed in 1504, 1505 and 1511.²²⁸ In 1530, an even harsher proclamation demanded that beggars outside their hundred of birth were beaten or scourged before being sent home.²²⁹ Marjorie McIntosh has identified the 1530s as a transition period when this new harshness was still contested by some who held to older values of charity.²³⁰ In tandem with renewed royal interest in vagrancy, London's civic government also showed an increased concern with punishing vagrancy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. In 1473, ward juries were ordered to make special enquiry into 'all nightwalkers, vagabonds, faytors and mighty beggars as well men as women the which may get their living by labour and will not labour, coming or repairing into your said wards'.²³¹ Sometimes vagrancy was associated with prostitution and sexual immorality. On 14 April 1482, the city issued two proclamations referring to vagrancy; one complained of 'strumpets, misguided and idle women daily vagrant and walking about by the streets and lanes' inducing people to lechery, the other of 'vagabonds, idle persons and great beggars daily vagrant and going about within the city of London being of might and power for to get their living by the labour of their bodies or other lawful occupation'.²³² In 1516, the city rounded up thirteen men described as vagabonds. They were made an example of. Yellow patches in the shape of a letter V were stitched onto their clothes and they were sent 'unto their country where they were born or to other places in the country where they may get their living in harvest or making hay'.²³³ The following year, the city responded to a royal proclamation by devising a system of badges to be issued to 1000 settled paupers so as to distinguish them from 'mighty beggars'; three citizens were also appointed to survey the beggars in the city and report on those entering the city to the Aldermen.²³⁴ Nonetheless, this criminalisation of vagrancy disguises the fact that mobility was necessary to the demography and economy of London. As will be further explored in Chapter Five, mobility was deeply problematic for a society which prized stability and judged character through *fama*. Placed at the edge of the city, mobility can be expected as a particular characteristic of the urban margins.

Amongst the settled population, failures of personal and household governance like drunkenness, quarrelling and scolding signalled failures to conform to proper

²²⁸ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*, pp. 43–44.

²²⁹ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*, p. 121.

²³⁰ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*, pp. 121–23.

²³¹ LMA Jor. 8, ff. 49-49v.

²³² LMA Jor. 9, ff. 14-14v.

²³³ LMA Jor. 11, f. 305.

²³⁴ LMA Jor. 11, ff. 337-338v.

notions of behaviour and orderly community.²³⁵ These activities might sometimes be indicted through the wardmote, but informal complaints about them were all part of the negotiation of social order and hierarchy which was a constant within the neighbourhood. Although less likely attached to specific kinds of space in the city, socio-economic differences between neighbourhoods could inform how or whether such activities were policed and the culprits marginalised.

Contemporary understandings and uses of marginal space thus have important implications for social practices in those spaces. Issues of jurisdiction, civic actions and popular perception of exceptional space ought to be taken into account in understanding the character of marginal neighbourhoods.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has established a framework for the meaning of marginality in fifteenth-century London. While a flexible concept, some defining features of marginal space emerge which have important implications for discussion in this study. Chapter Three draws directly on the framework of topographical marginality established in 2.2 and 2.3 to consider in more detail the distinctive nature of the peripheral economy, in particular its built environment and socio-economic make up. This is extended in Chapter Four by consideration of how this marginal society was structured through the analysis of social networks. The influence of three separate socio-spatial spheres is established (the neighbourhood, the city and the region), drawing on the close interlinking between understandings of space and social practice which has been discussed in this chapter. The motivating factors in creating marginal society which have been suggested here are crucial to the analysis in Chapter Four as well as Chapter Five, which considers mobility and its particular relationship to these areas. Finally, Chapter Six draws on the connections between space and problematic behaviour discussed in 2.4, especially the concept of zones of exception, in establishing how communities determined inclusion and marginalisation.

²³⁵ On definitions of disruptive behaviour see Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England*, pp. 9–11.

Chapter Three: Socio-economic topography

Beyond a simple binary of wealth at the centre and poverty at the periphery, London's margins were heterogeneous neighbourhoods meeting a variety of needs in the urban economy. This chapter addresses questions regarding the economy and social structure of marginal neighbourhoods. Other studies of city neighbourhoods, such as Keene and Harding on Cheapside and Colson on the Bridgehead, have identified the crafts and types of trades which predominated, as well as the kinds of households which were formed by their residents and a comparable study is needed of the city's periphery. Similarly, the extent to which the spatial and environmental influences, outlined in the previous chapter, had an impact on the economy of these neighbourhoods requires examination. This chapter will address how wealth and poverty was distributed around London before going on to consider how marginality was expressed in the built environment, household and occupational structure.

These are all important questions for the development of London as a whole, particularly from the perspective of the transition from the late medieval to the early modern city. The city's northern and eastern peripheries were to become extremely populous and challenged by high levels of poverty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Until the end of the period considered here, demographic pressures were not a major factor in peripheral development, and yet in the economic topography of the fifteenth-century city may lie the structures of inequality which produced early modern London.

3.1 Sources and methodologies

The key sources drawn upon in the discussion will be those which relate to property and the wills and testaments left by Londoners. In both cases, fifteenth-century London is well represented in the archival record, although documents become more numerous in the latter half of the period.

The methodologies used in collecting and analysing documents have focussed upon recovering the maximum amount of information about residents of marginal parishes. In the case of testamentary records this has led to the use of a focussed sample of wills from parishes which had the greatest number of surviving records. With property records this meant a focus on particular kinds of document. Records of property transactions in fifteenth-century London fall into three main categories: leases

(agreements made between the property owner and tenant),²³⁶ rentals or accounts (records of estate management recording ‘firm’ rental income and expenditures on quit rent and repairs)²³⁷ and deeds (agreements made between old and new owners of a property at the point where ownership passed between the two).²³⁸ Since the principal aim here is to investigate properties as homes and workplaces within the neighbourhood, leases and rentals are the focus for analysis. It is only in leases and rentals that the tenants of properties themselves, rather than simply their owners, come to the fore. However, widespread sub-tenancies make it difficult to ever be certain who actually inhabited a property. Many people, especially those who were poor, probably held tenancies at will rather than drawing up a formal lease with their landlord and had few formal rights in their property.²³⁹ This serves to make leases quite uncommon, as well as undermining further any attempt to work out exactly who lived in a house.

The leases, rentals, wills and testaments used related to individuals and properties mainly in the eastern and northern extramural areas of the city. The testamentary records have been drawn from four of the sample parishes (St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Bishopsgate and St. Katharine Cree). Additionally, St. Lawrence Jewry has been used to provide a city centre comparison. Unfortunately, All Hallows London Wall did not have enough surviving wills to be included within the testamentary sample. The marginal sample parishes (that is, excluding St. Lawrence Jewry but including All Hallows) formed the primary focus for selection of leases and rentals as well as a small number of properties in the area

²³⁶ Structures of property ownership were highly complex in the late medieval period: for simplicity’s sake, ‘property owner’ is used here to mean the freehold owner of the tenement plot who had the right to grant leases for the property and transfer or sell leasehold to another party, but may themselves have owed a number of quit-rents and other duties association with the tenement. For discussion of the complexities of the system, see Derek Keene, ‘Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England’, in *Power, Profit and Urban Land: Landownership in Medieval and Early Modern Northern European Towns*, ed. by Finn-Einar Eliassen and Geir Atle Erslund (Aldershot, Surrey: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 93–109.

²³⁷ Firm rent was that owed by a tenant, usually paid quarterly or annually at an amount specified in the lease. Quit rent was an annual charge attached to a property, usually although not always paid by the property owner to a third party, originally as a payment in lieu of services owed which were attached to the tenement.

²³⁸ Other kinds of record which are less common within the period include the valor, an overview of an institution’s estate, and the ground plan, which was usually drawn up to support a lease or deed and of which only a few surviving examples are known for London before the later sixteenth century. See John Hooper Harvey, ‘Four 15th Century London Plans.’, *London Topographical Record*, 20 (1952), 1–8.

²³⁹ Sarah Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 272–73.

outside Cripplegate.²⁴⁰ Properties in adjoining parishes have also been considered and analysis has been carried out on the basis of ‘zones’ rather than down traditional parish lines. Zoning the properties allows the analysis to encompass properties which were described by neighbourhoods or streets rather than parish. The areas covered by each zone are shown in table 3.1. Testamentary records, by contrast, were always identified by parish since the complex system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over wills was partly defined by parish.

Zone name	Parishes and other neighbourhoods included
East Without	St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Mary Whitechapel, East Smithfield
East Within	St. Katharine Cree
North Without	Barbican, St. Giles Cripplegate
North East Without	St. Botolph Bishopsgate, Norton Folgate, St. Leonard Shoreditch
North East Within	All Hallows London Wall, Bevis Marks
North West Without	St. Botolph Aldersgate, West Smithfield

Table 3.1 Neighbourhoods included in zones

The records of 14 different estates which held property in these areas have been used: six were religious houses, four were parish churches and the remainder consisted of a craft guild, a cathedral, a chantry and a civic endowment. It is important to acknowledge that this may well be an unrepresentative sample of landlords, properties and, indeed, tenants: since the records of properties held by individuals have rarely survived, institutional estates are far better represented. It could be that institutions charged higher or lower rents than individuals, were more or less active in maintaining property or attracted tenants of greater or lesser status. It may also be that the types of properties held by institutions were unrepresentative of their neighbourhoods as a whole, although given that many properties came to institutions via testamentary bequests from a range of individuals it seems unlikely that this was wholly the case. For instance, the properties at Black Horse Alley which came to be owned by the churchwardens of St. Botolph Aldersgate had been in private hands. Deeds from the 1430s copied into the records of the parish estate confirm that the subdivision of the alley into multiple properties complete with communal privy and well was an arrangement long in place before the churchwardens took ownership in the 1480s. The deeds also set out that the Alley, hitherto managed by an individual as one sub-let property, was to be divided in two between two owners, although it was later reunited

²⁴⁰ All Hallows London Wall has only a small number of surviving testamentary records, mainly made by clergy associated with the Chapel of St. Augustine Papey which lay in the parish.

when given to the churchwardens.²⁴¹ This example suggests some of the possible differences and similarities between private and institutional management of property. Larger properties may have presented more of a burden for individuals to maintain, and yet some continuity was prompted by the fact that the basic requirements of tenants still had to be met through provision of amenities. The physical structure of property might have dictated that a certain degree of subdivision was most economical to maintain. In the early sixteenth century the churchwardens made an ill-fated attempt to farm the Alley out to one individual, Gilbert Alanson, who was to collect rent and pay the full annual rent regardless of vacancies. This attempt to reduce the burden of administration chasing poor tenants in fact proved an expensive mistake when the churchwardens had to take Alanson to court to recover some of the money.²⁴² Evidently chasing numerous tenants for rent was time consuming for either an individual or an institution. Since the churchwardens retained responsibility for repairs throughout this time, it may be that this aspect of property management was the least attractive for individuals whereas the churchwardens could simply use the same labourers who worked on the church and their other properties.

The property records considered here consist of the majority of the available rentals and leases available for the parishes under consideration, although this chapter does not aim to be a total study of local property-holding in the mould of Keene and Harding's Cheapside project or Justin Colson's investigation into the Bridgehead.²⁴³

Just as institutional circumstances shape the sample of property records, so the administrative arrangements of the late medieval ecclesiastical courts shape the sample of wills. Testamentary data used here is drawn from two of the higher ecclesiastical courts which handled probate administration in the period, the Bishop of London's Commissary Court and the Archbishop of Canterbury's Prerogative Court. The Commissary Court handled wills from most London parishes, although some fell under the jurisdiction of the lower Archdeacon's Court. The Prerogative Court of Canterbury handled wills from estates with property in more than one diocese, or with wealth above £10. Unfortunately, the records of wills enrolled in the archdeacon's court only survive patchily for the fifteenth century and have therefore not been used here. This court dealt

²⁴¹ Evidence Book, St. Botolph Aldersgate charities and estates, 1771-1835, LMA P69/BOT1/D/002/MS06641.

²⁴² St. Botolph Aldersgate churchwardens' accounts, 1510/11-1516/17, LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/031-036.

²⁴³ *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire*, ed. by Derek John Keene and Vanessa Harding (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1987); Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London', chap. 4.

with wills relating to estates with property in one archdeaconry, and thus estates which were probably of a lower value. As with all analyses based on testamentary bequests the results will be representative of a small section of society wealthier than the broad population. Nonetheless, this is not felt to be too great a hindrance to the purpose of drawing a broad outline of local social structure. While a raft of lower status occupations and individuals are likely to be under-represented in the results, the variety demonstrated in Table 3.8 suggests both the broad range of will-makers in the sample as well as the possibilities for using testamentary data to establish patterns of residence and make wider comparisons.

Likewise there are some important limitations to the property records used. A disadvantage of using rentals in particular is that it is often difficult to make a connection between the charge of rent to a tenant and a specific tenement with a physical location. Most rentals simply record the parish, tenants' names and the amounts charged, occasionally with details of repairs made. This is further complicated by the fact that many tenants paying smaller sums of rent are almost certainly letting a unit which is just part of a tenement plot, therefore leaving the definition of what one means by a single property unclear. These units would have been periodically knocked together to be let as larger properties, or the whole plot would be let out to a tenant who may or may not have sublet the smaller units. While often left obscure, it is occasionally possible to follow this process through the records by the traces left in repairs accounts or where record-keeping was unusually meticulous. Leases, which give a far clearer indication of exactly what property a tenant was paying for, are rarer than rentals. Therefore, there remains quite a high level of uncertainty around the exact nature of the properties under consideration. Nonetheless, rentals allow exceptional insight into the cost of the property to the tenant him or herself, the range of rents charged within different areas and vacancies. To an extent, they also indicate the type of people who lived in the neighbourhood in a period which lacks surviving geographically-specific lists of inhabitants such as the seventeenth-century Hearth Tax.

The data considered spans the full period of the thesis. The earliest dated property record used is from 1374 and the last are in the 1530s. The royal confiscation of much ecclesiastical property in the 1530s prompted the survival of many of these records within national collections. Therefore, the bulk of the material lies in the later part of the period with most dating from the late 1460s onwards. The testamentary records used consist of around 450 wills selected in moving samples between 1390 and

1540. In order to keep the sample sizes both comparable and adequate for analysis, the time span of the samples varies between twenty, twenty-five and thirty years.

Both sets of sources have been studied with the use of databases to compile information about each record and perform quantitative analysis. The database of property records maps each instance of a rent charge or lease to a single record of a property. In most cases, a single property record links all the incidences of annual rent, details of leases and repairs to one tenement or unit of property over a number of years for which records are available. In the tables below where 'incidences of annual rent' are referred to, one incidence of rent will either be one value recorded in a rental for one year or an annual rent value attached to a single lease. Where rents are described as paid for a period less than a whole year in the original document, the values have been calculated upwards to the full annual value assuming equal payment across all quarters, so as to ensure comparability between records.

Owing to the complications discussed above, there are a number of property records which are tagged as 'multiple properties' in the database since they record a rented property which the rentals are explicit in noting contain a number of units. For some estates it was also difficult to trace how rental amounts related to specific rental units, with rent levels and even the total number of properties rented varying by year: in these cases, new property records were created for each new rental unit which could not be connected to any other previous property, thus causing a certain amount of over-counting in terms of the number of properties held by the estate. This issue is avoided in the analysis presented here by the use of annual rent instances rather than average rents per property in most analyses.

The database of testamentary records includes data taken from documents in four sample periods (1390-1410, 1430-1450, 1465-1495, 1515-1540) where the will is noted either within the document itself or in the margin of the register in which it was enrolled as originating in one of the parishes specified above. The database contains details about the testator (e.g. occupation, sex, parish of residence and burial, status as a widow or citizen, tithe amount) as well as mapping instances of bequests to individuals and institutions in separate tables. Information about testators, their executors, witnesses and beneficiaries can be frustratingly incomplete: in a sizeable number of wills, the testator gives no indication of their occupation and citizenship is almost certainly underreported.²⁴⁴ The same is true of other individuals named, where it

²⁴⁴ For example, the 1440 will of William Curle from St. Katharine Creechurch makes no reference to his occupation nor to his being a citizen, and yet he very likely was since he left the

is common to find people who appear in multiple wills as witnesses or executors but their occupation is only detailed in one. Where possible, such information has been gathered from other wills, although given the c.3,800 names in the resulting database and variable late medieval spelling this has not been possible in all cases.

In addition to the sample from extramural and mural parishes, a smaller set of wills has been collected for the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry for the period 1465-1495 and 1515-1540. The purpose in so doing is to provide a point of comparison for the other data. St. Lawrence Jewry lay close to the symbolic and commercial heart of the city: within its boundaries lay parts of the Guildhall, and several of the streets and lanes emerging from Cheapside. It is not assumed that St. Lawrence Jewry was in any sense a 'typical' central parish or that its wills form a neutral 'control group': the factors which influenced the development of any neighbourhood will be diverse. Nonetheless, in assessing the effect of peripheral location on society and economy, the comparison with a central location will assist in developing a sense of the distinctiveness of such neighbourhoods and provide a reference point for the analysis of differences between them.

3.2 Wealth and poverty

This section builds on the discussion in 2.2 about patterns of wealth and poverty across the city. Moving on from the taxation evidence used there, this analysis uses property and testamentary sources to develop a more nuanced understanding of the differences between the sample areas and the variety within each neighbourhood.

Rent levels have been used by historians as a way to measure the relative levels of demand for property in a late medieval urban context, for instance in Bristol as evidence that the extramural neighbourhood of Redcliffe was popular with burgesses.²⁴⁵ The analysis of 'firm' rents, which were the amounts actually owed by tenants as opposed to quit rents and other duties associated with property, has the advantage of suggesting the demand for property not as an investment for the owner but as a place of residence. Even though subletting was very common, and it is likely that some of the tenants recorded were not actually resident, the amount of firm rent owed on a property will bear relation to the ability of tenants to pay and thus to the wealth of those who could afford to live in a given area.

custody of his underage children's inheritance to the Guildhall. London Commissary Court Register of Wills, LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, ff. 57-57v.

²⁴⁵ Casson, 'The Economy of Medieval English Towns'.

Zone	1370-1420		1421-1470		1471-1520		1521-1540	
	Avg. (d)	N	Avg. (d)	N	Avg. (d)	N	Avg. (d)	N
East Without	702.9	7	871.7	28	115.5	212	269.0	478
North	384.0	16	247.4	64	165.5	60	232.0	3
North-East Within	138.7	6	224.3	66	87.6	316	no data	no data
North-East	96.0	1	156.8	65	119.4	350	no data	no data
North-West	no data	no data	613.3	9	126.8	336	344.6	13
East Within	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	265.6	88

Table 3.2 Average rents by period in all zones

In the following discussion, most of the analysis will refer to rents across the whole period for which data were collected, 1370 to 1540. This is a very long period over which to consider a cost like rent, but there are some justifications for doing so. Uneven distribution of records across the time period would hinder any attempt to consider rent in time series which could be adjusted for inflation, as demonstrated by the erratic averages from rentals produced in Table 3.2. Moreover, this was a period of relative stability: Keene and Harding's study of Cheapside rents showed little change from about 1400 until the mid-sixteenth century, and national price and wage series suggest similar stability.²⁴⁶

In Figure 3.1 the total incidences of annual rental amounts for all properties in the database are shown in 3s. 4d. increments up to £2 across the whole period. By far the largest number of rents lie at lower end of the scale, below ten shillings. per year. The values in Table 3.3 broken down by zone suggest that in London, rental values were on the whole lower in extramural areas than parishes within the walls: the greatest obvious disparity being between St. Katharine Cree and its extramural neighbour St. Botolph Aldgate. Living within the walls here cost almost twelve shillings more than living without. Some caution ought to be used when approaching the overall mean figures. They are drawn from records of surviving rentals so there are disparities in the types of property within the samples and sample sizes which may well skew the results. The Bishopsgate neighbourhood is, for example, unusually well represented owing to the survival of rentals for the estate of St. Mary's Hospital which owned stretches of land along Bishopsgate Street. The estate owned a large number of smaller tenements which are either unfortunately lost in records elsewhere or may have been a particular feature of Bishopsgate. Furthermore, as comparison of Figure 3.2 and Table 3.3 indicate, a

²⁴⁶ Harding, 'Houses and Households in Cheapside c.1500-1550', pp. 138-39; Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 75.2 (2015), 405-47 (pp. 417-18).

small number of high value properties in each area serve to create higher mean rent levels than the actual spread of rental costs would suggest.

Zone	Mean	Equivalent (£sd)	No. of Rent Records
East Without- St. Botolph Aldgate, Whitechapel, East Smithfield	231.05	19s. 1d.	607
East Within- St. Kat Cree	333.94	£1 7s. 10d.	94
North Without- Barbican, St. Giles	226.18	18s. 10d.	145
North-East Without- Bishopsgate, Shoreditch	133.70	11s. 3d.	444
North-East Within - All Hallows	171.92	13s. 10s.	450
North-West Without- Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, Smithfield	197.93	16s. 6d.	269

Table 3.3 Mean annual rent costs in all parishes

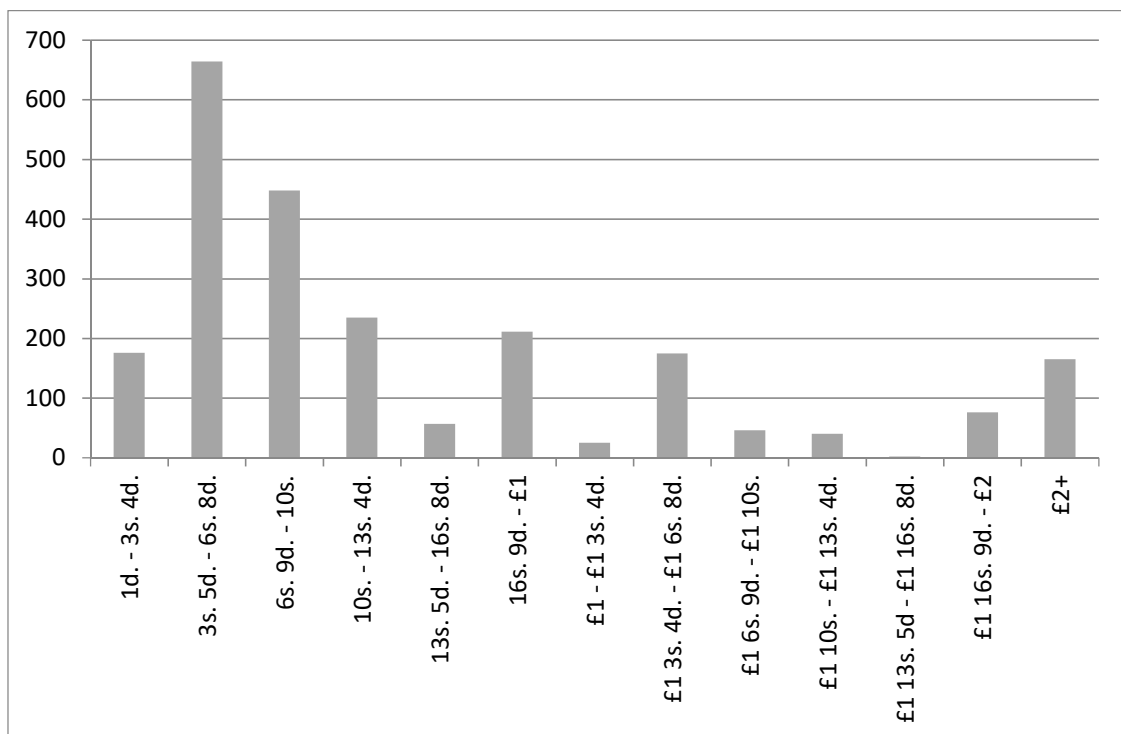


Figure 3.1 Annual incidences of rent in all parishes

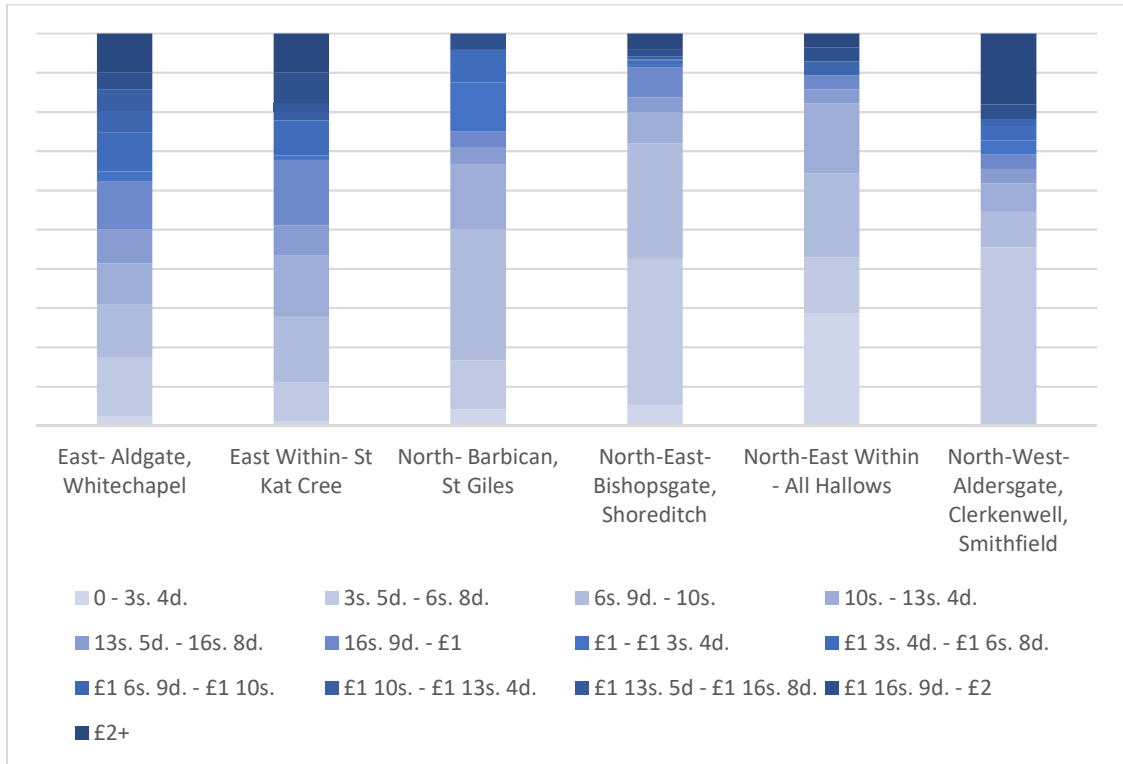


Figure 3.2 Proportion of properties by band of average annual rental cost²⁴⁷

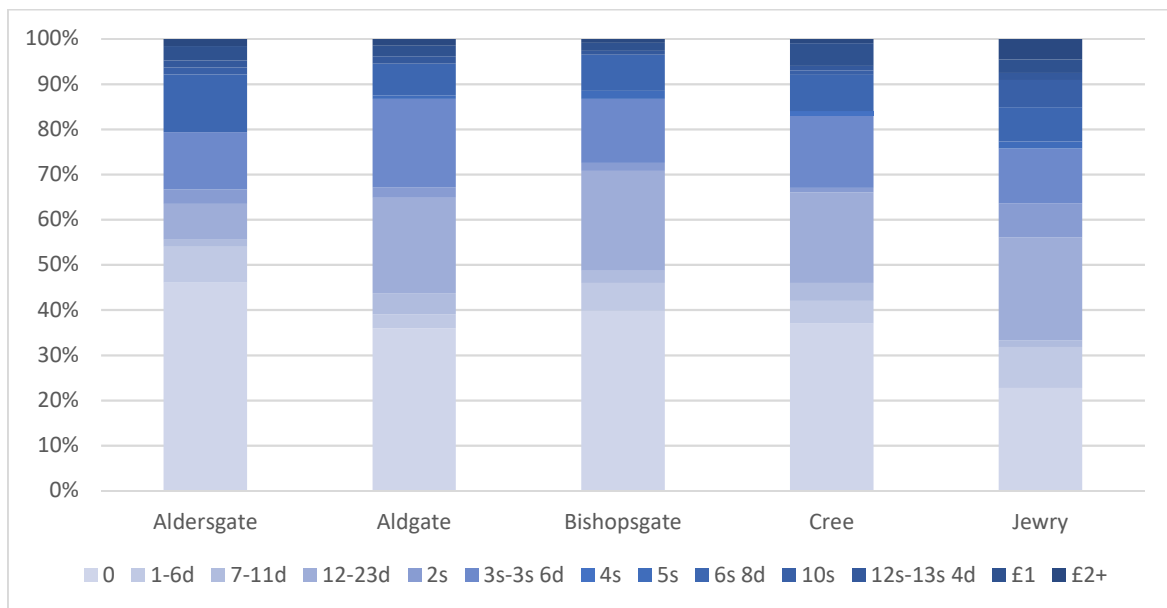


Figure 3.3 Sums for forgotten tithes in sampled wills by parish²⁴⁸

Taking into account that the mean values are inflated by small numbers of high rental value property, Figure 3.2 indicates the spread of average rental values for

²⁴⁷ Sample sizes of property: East Without (162); East Within (90); North Without (24); North-East Without (360); North-East Within (28); North-West Without (55).

²⁴⁸ Will sample sizes: Aldersgate (63); Aldgate (128); Bishopsgate (113); Cree (100); Jewry (66).

properties broken down by zone and 'bands' of value. Here, while a similar pattern emerges to that seen in the mean values, it is possible to see a more nuanced picture of how rental values clustered within the property records taken from areas across the city. Values for the majority of properties cluster in the lower bands for most zones, although the broad outline of differences between zones indicated by the mean rent values is visible. The East Within, East Without and North-West Without zones have the highest number of properties in the most expensive band, although the eastern zones are markedly less stratified with a much more even spread of property values through all rental bands. The northern and north-western zones contain quite large proportions (25-31%) of properties costing more than £1 per year. This is a marked contrast to Bishopsgate, where just 9% were greater than £1 and 72% cost less than ten shillings. Property west of Moorfields also seems generally more expensive than to its east. The comparison between the area outside Aldgate and its neighbouring zone inside the gate is repeated in this more detailed analysis. It may be suggestive of broader patterns in the difference between properties within and without the walls which contained major thoroughfares.

Mean rent is higher within than without the eastern wall of the city. Although rent is distributed quite equally through bands in both eastern zones, the lowest two bands (up to 6s. 8d. per year) occupy 17% without compared to 11% within. The zone outside Aldgate shows far more equal distribution of properties through the rental bands when compared to Bishopsgate and Aldersgate, the former being more uniformly in the lowest bands and the latter being divided between the highest and lowest bands. Both eastern zones were crossed by Aldgate Street, a major route for the carting of goods,²⁴⁹ and yet the wall still made something of a difference in the cost of housing. The North-East zones echo this in terms of overall mean rents, although the concentration of low value properties surrounding the Carpenters' Hall suggests that a mural locality which did not straddle a major thoroughfare like All Hallows London Wall might still offer low cost housing. In general, the evidence of property suggests that the extramural areas offered accommodation at lower prices, although there was still demand for higher value buildings. This is in contrast to Cheapside, where most properties were maintained as 'substantial multi-room dwellings', even through drops in demand, which attracted richer mercantile tenants.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Martin, 'Transport for London', pp. 37–38.

²⁵⁰ Harding, 'Houses and Households in Cheapside c.1500-1550', pp. 139–40, 143.

This general picture of patterns of wealth is supported by the impression given from testamentary records. Clive Burgess has convincingly argued that the use of wills as a simple proxy for wealth is highly problematic, since there was a well-established practice of making verbal arrangements for bequests which are not reflected in wills.²⁵¹ Nonetheless, some historians have made relative analysis of the wealth of testators based on sums left as a tithe to their parish church.²⁵² Most testators in the sample (64%) specified an amount for unpaid tithes, usually described as ‘tithes forgotten or negligently withheld’. Although Robert Wood assumed that a lack of a bequest for tithes indicated extreme poverty,²⁵³ the wills of a number of the 165 testators who left no tithe suggests there may have been many other reason for their omission. For instance, the esquire John Newport left no tithe to his parish church of St. Botolph Aldersgate, but his request to be buried in Sir Roger Walden’s chapel at the Hospital of St. Bartholomew and his bequests of land at Calais and Chrishall Magna in Essex as well as Golding Lane outside Aldersgate suggest both a degree of wealth and that his ties to St. Botolph’s were relatively weak.²⁵⁴ However, the overall pattern of amounts for those who did leave tithes is suggestive of the ability of residents in a parish to pay: Robert Dinn’s analysis of Bury St. Edmunds testators found a high degree of correlation between forgotten tithe bequests and personal subsidy assessments.²⁵⁵ While the amount left may not have borne a precise relationship to income, as one of the few types of bequest common to the majority of testators it is a useful point of comparison between a large number of wills.

Figure 3.3 shows the spread of amounts left for tithes by testators in the sampled wills. The pattern is similar to the relative levels of wealth indicated by rent values. For instance, in St. Botolph Bishopsgate over 70% of testators left a sum of tithes smaller than two shillings, a greater proportion than in any other parish. The parish also had the lowest proportion of tithes valued twelve shillings or above at 12%. This echoes the low rent levels in the locality and reinforces the sense that those of

²⁵¹ Clive Burgess, ‘Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered’, in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. by M.A. Hicks (Gloucester: Sutton Publishing, 1990), pp. 14–33 (pp. 15–17, 27–30).

²⁵² Robert Bowen Dinn, ‘Popular Religion in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds’ (unpublished Ph.D., The University of Manchester, 1990), pp. 62–69.

²⁵³ Robert A. Wood, ‘Poor Widows, c.1393-1415’, in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London; Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 55–70 (p. 34). Since Wood’s sample is drawn entirely from wills proved in the lower Archdeacon’s Court it may well be that such an assumption only holds true for the very smallest estates.

²⁵⁴ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 370.

²⁵⁵ Dinn ‘Popular Religion’, pp. 63–66.

smaller means predominated. Aldersgate once again appears wealthier than the other extramural parishes, with 22% leaving 6s. 8d. or above. This is similar to St. Lawrence Jewry, where 26% of tithes were 6s. 8d. or more, and 5% were the exceptionally high sum of £2. The differences between St. Katharine Cree and St. Botolph Aldgate are less marked than in rent costs, with each parish showing a similar distribution of tithe amounts. As will be discussed below, this difference may reflect a pattern outside Aldgate where lower land values served to attract prosperous artisans who required the greater space available in an extramural location. The increasing population of alien craftsmen in Portsoken ward in the fifteenth century may also bear an influence. Many aliens were young men and women who probably only stayed for a few years rather than remaining long enough to die in the parish.²⁵⁶ Therefore, they would be underrepresented in the testamentary sample but may have lived within the cheaper properties and particularly congregated in the East Smithfield liberty. Of ninety-seven East Smithfield inhabitants assessed for the 1524 subsidy, sixty-four were classed as ‘strangers’.²⁵⁷

Across both sets of evidence then, a pattern of peripheral areas which were generally less wealthy than parishes within the walls emerges. However, there is a good deal of nuance to the picture. Aldersgate appears to have been home to some of the wealthiest residents, whilst still containing property affordable to far humbler Londoners. Bishopsgate, at the other end of the spectrum, was on the whole the least wealthy of the three extramural areas. This suggests the problems inherent in the evidence of ward assessments used in 2.2, as there Bishopsgate ward (which had a significant proportion within the walls) was assessed quite highly in comparison to other extramural wards. Lack of access to a major thoroughfare at All Hallows on the Wall meant that it remained less desirable than other locations within the walls, although still commanded greater rents than its extramural neighbour without Bishopsgate. The East Without area was somewhere in the middle of the other extramural zones in terms of wealth, although the contrast in property values with its intramural neighbour in St. Katharine Cree suggests residence within the walls commanded a greater social cachet. This is a contrast to the very low ward assessment proportion borne by Portsoken, a fact which perhaps highlights the weaknesses of testamentary data with regard to the composition of the population here. The comparison provided by St. Lawrence Jewry suggests that it was wealthier than any of the mural or extramural parishes considered

²⁵⁶ Bolton, ‘The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal’, pp. 26–28.

²⁵⁷ Ossulstone Hundred (Middlesex) subsidy assessment, 1523, TNA E 179/141/113, m. 8.

here. No single parish was homogenously poor or wealthy, but there were real differences in relative wealth which will have underpinned many of the social and economic characteristics of the neighbourhoods.

3.3 Built environment

Responding partly to such patterns of wealth and poverty, the built environment of the peripheral areas also forms an important background to its social and economic structure. The information about buildings found in property records sets some context for the rents that those properties commanded, and to the status of their inhabitants. Other sources concerned with the management of the built environment, in particular the surviving wardmote and assize of nuisance presentments, suggest further the urban environmental issues and surroundings which shaped the character of the neighbourhood.

3.3.1 Routes of transport

Of primary importance to the shaping of the built environment in the extramural areas was the presence of principal routes of transit into the city; their importance for topography and urban development has already been outlined in the previous chapter. The maintenance of these well-used road surfaces was a constant difficulty, owing to the lack of central organisation of paving. Instead the city relied on householders or tenants to repair the section of road lying outside their own house. This system was particularly difficult to enforce on wide extramural approach roads, where the demand on individuals to repair heavily trafficked highways to a point several feet before their front door was unworkable.²⁵⁸ The consequent failure of the system is apparent in complaints about the state of the roadway in the 1421-23 wardmote returns. Such complaints were far more common in extramural than in central areas, as demonstrated by Figure 3.4. Jetties or pentices hanging low over the street were the second most numerous cause for complaint in marginal wards in 1421-3. This further emphasises that ease of transit through fringe neighbourhoods for carts was the primary environmental concern of jurors in these areas. By contrast, in central areas the most common physical nuisance raised at the wardmotes in the 1420s were obstructions in the highway, usually lanes stopped up with unspecified filth or barrels, fishboards or tuns left blocking the street (Figure 3.5). This reflects the intense commercial activity of the central wards, particularly in areas near the river where the unloading of goods from ships and

²⁵⁸ Martin, 'Transport for London', pp. 93-133.

activities of fishmongers accounted for much of the disruption, as well as demand for access to the river from ordinary people which would have funnelled much traffic through narrow lanes.²⁵⁹ The absence of such indictments at the peripheries indicates that the fringes of the city were primarily places of transit, rather than forming commercial hubs in their own right. While the stopping of carts at Bishopsgate for tolls provided opportunity for the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate to collect donations from travellers,²⁶⁰ it does not seem to have prompted informal market activity and the street furniture which came with it.

If routes of transit dominated the priorities of wardmote jurors, they also determined property types. For instance, several large, named tenements in the property record sample evidently featured facilities for keeping horses. The Axe without Aldgate had a stable, as did a number of other large properties with multiple functions such as The Hert's Horn, which was on the same street, and a tenement owned by St. Paul's in Barbican which also had its own mill. The nature of the records means that it is difficult to tell whether stables were solely used by the tenants or if they served as livery stables. Nonetheless, stables were also rented as standalone properties in George Alley outside Bishopsgate and within London Wall in the parish of All Hallows.²⁶¹ Stabling was clearly a necessity, and the location of these facilities at the fringes of the city would have taken advantage of travellers entering and leaving the city.

A timber yard on Aldgate Street, owned by the Minoresses, also took advantage of its location at the endpoint for timber transport from the wider region. The property had two storehouses as well, perhaps for other kinds of goods traded along the same route.²⁶² At a rent of just five shillings per year in 1540, this kind of land use would perhaps only have been profitable in an extramural area with less intensive development. At Aldgate in particular, the commercialising hinterland discussed in section 2.1 would have required this kind of facility to house its products as they were transported to the city.

²⁵⁹ e.g. In Dowgate, 1421/2: 'the lane called Ebbegate is a common way to all people of the city to get water there and do other necessary things in the Thames, which lane is abominably stopped up with filth and privies to the great nuisance of the whole commonality'. *P&M Rolls*, vol. 4, p.133.

²⁶⁰ Rawcliffe, 'The Earthly and Spiritual Topography of Suburban Hospitals', p. 263.

²⁶¹ Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate Rental 1496-97, TNA SC 11/975; Bridge House Estate Rental LMA CLA/007/FN/02/003.

²⁶² Minoresses' rental of possessions, 1539-40, TNA SC 11/955.

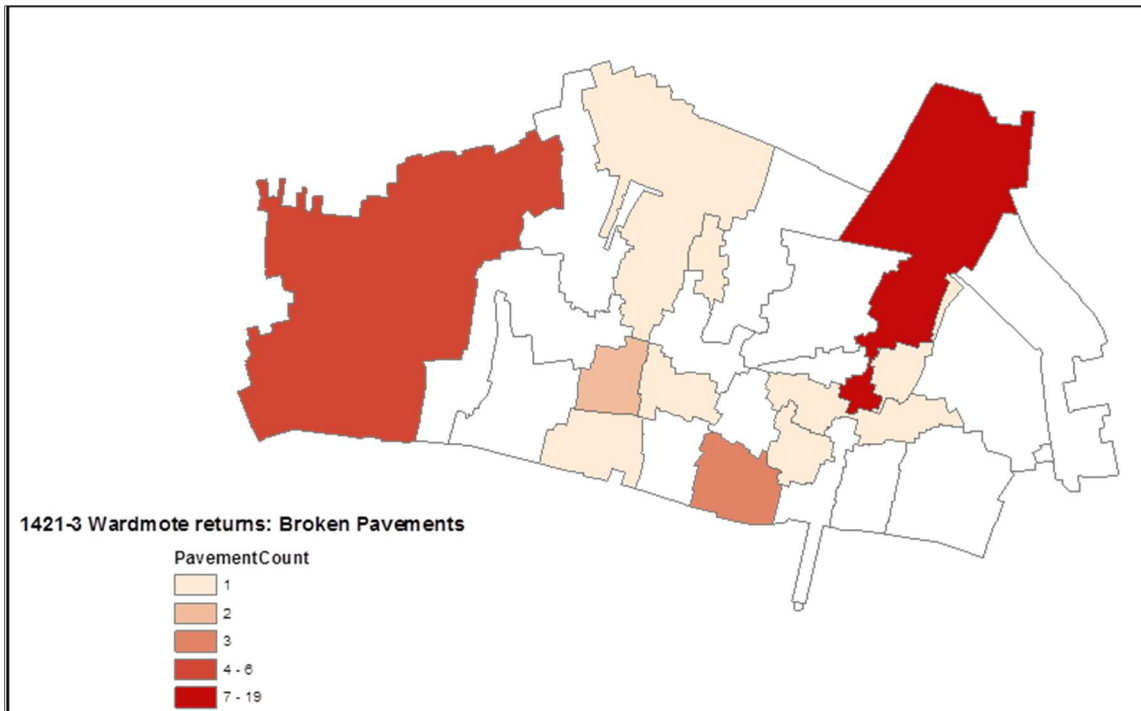


Figure 3.4 Complaints about broken pavements at the 1421-23 wardmotes



Figure 3.5 Complaints about obstructions in the highway at the 1421-23 wardmotes

3.3.2 Open space

Access to open space was another important aspect of topography at the fringes of the city which shaped its environment. It is difficult to measure the changing status of completely open country, but the impact of development upon semi-private spaces like gardens are more readily traceable as property owners defended their rights over boundaries. Evidence from the Assize of Nuisance cases heard by the city at the start and end of the period suggests that this may have become a more distinctive aspect of the extramural areas across the fifteenth century. Gardens mentioned in Assize cases were usually located in parishes adjoining or outside the walls; of forty-four mentions of gardens, twenty-eight of them are in such areas. Overall, nineteen gardens lay beyond the walls and their distribution inside the walls gravitates towards the edges and away from busier streets; however, as the differences between Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7 show, this pattern was far more stark in the early sixteenth century records than in the period 1370-1430. Southwark's 1381 Poll Tax return numbers a small but significant proportion of gardeners amongst residents, and gardens were a feature of that neighbourhood until their development in the sixteenth century.²⁶³ Gardens and gardening, then, were activities which naturally occupied more peripheral spaces in the city; it was not until the seventeenth century that the ring of public open spaces and semi-public gardens around the city was seriously encroached upon.²⁶⁴ Of the gardens mentioned in the Viewers' Certificates only three lay within the walls and only one more than a very short distance to the wall, which suggests that by the latter part of the period development in the city centre, as in Southwark, may already have resulted in the loss of gardens.²⁶⁵ This may in turn have encouraged the popularity of renting small garden plots at the peripheries. Gardens on Tower Hill owned by the churchwardens of St. Mary at Hill show a certain flexibility in their size and use over time which could well be a response to market demands. Initially a mixture of cottages with gardens, small gardens, a tennis court and a 'great garden', in 1515 after years of vacancy in the great garden it was divided into five small garden plots letting for four shillings each.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 58–60, 172, 180.

²⁶⁴ David John Edward Marsh, 'The Gardens and Gardeners of Later Stuart London' (unpublished Ph.D., Birkbeck, University of London, 2005), pp. 173–75, 185–99.

²⁶⁵ The central garden is mentioned in a dispute in St. Bartholomew the Little parish, which is not far from the city wall at its northern end. 'File of Viewers' Reports 1509-46 [B]: 1521-29 (nos 47-86)', in *London Viewers and their Certificates, 1508-1558*, ed. by Janet Senderowitz Loengard (London: London Record Society, 1989), pp. 21-37, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol26/pp21-37>> [accessed 15 April 2015].

²⁶⁶ St. Mary at Hill Churchwardens' Accounts, 1422-1505, LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/001.

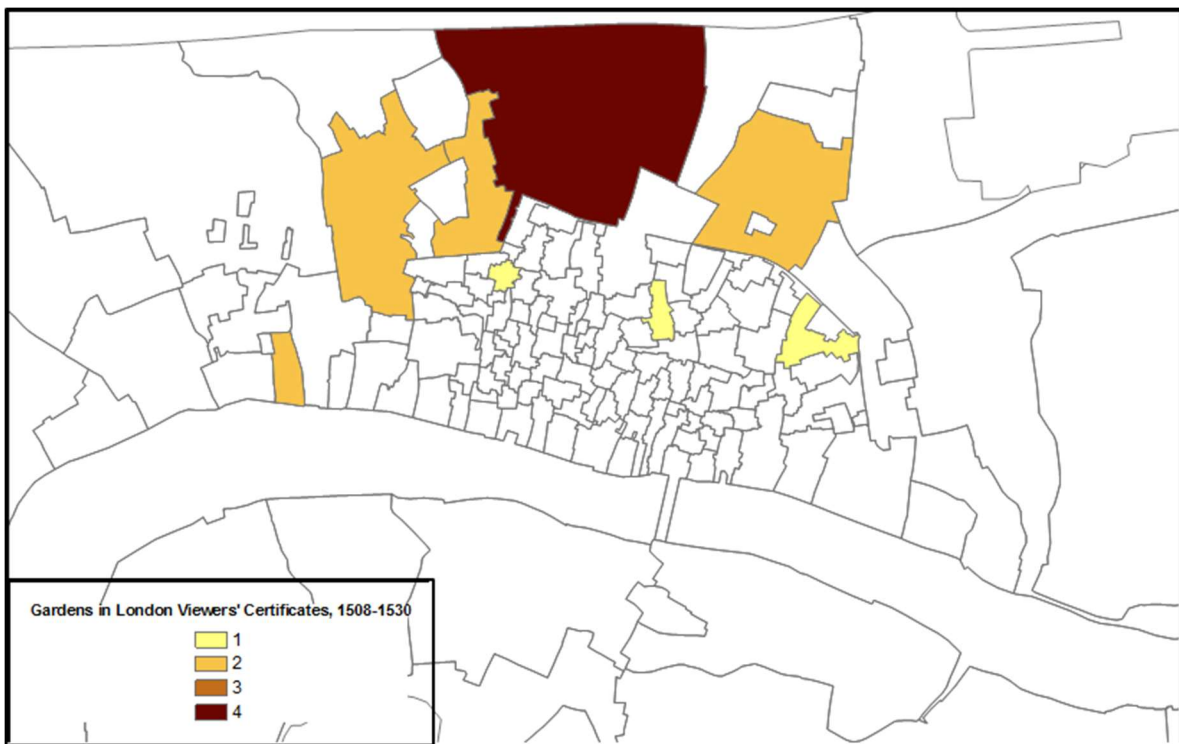
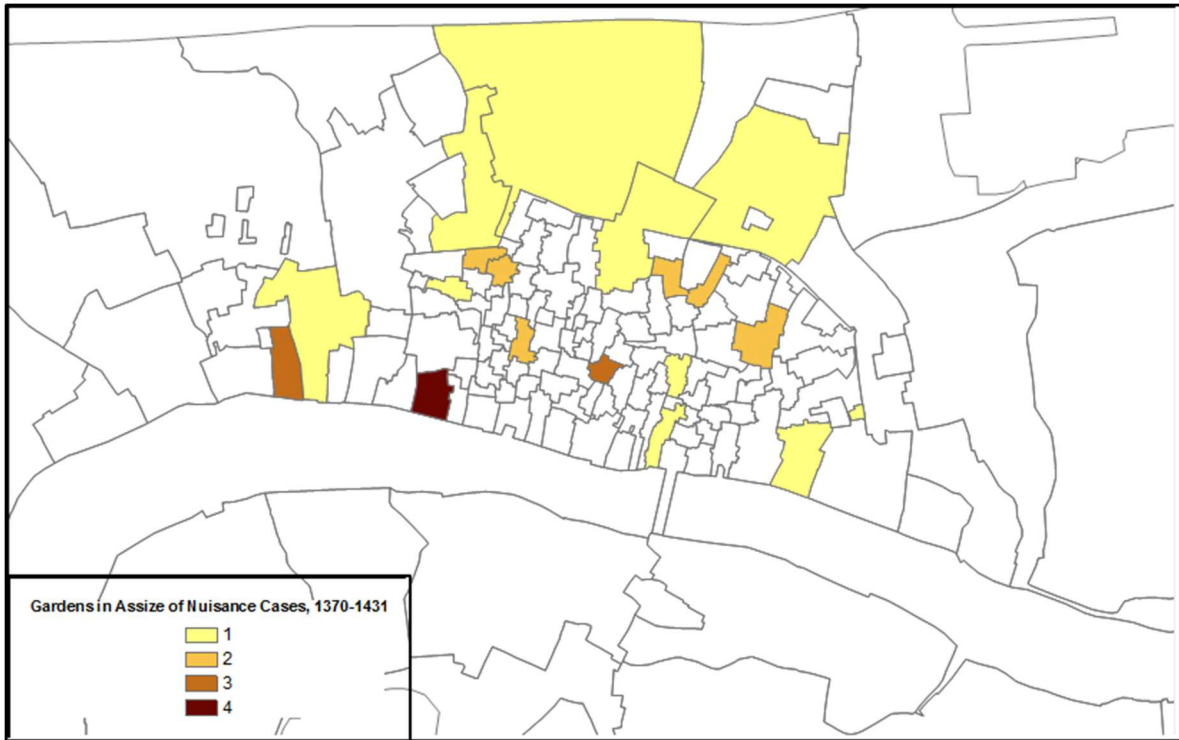


Figure 3.6 Mentions of gardens in Assize of Nuisance cases 1370-1431

Figure 3.7 Mentions of gardens in London Viewers' Certificates 1508-30

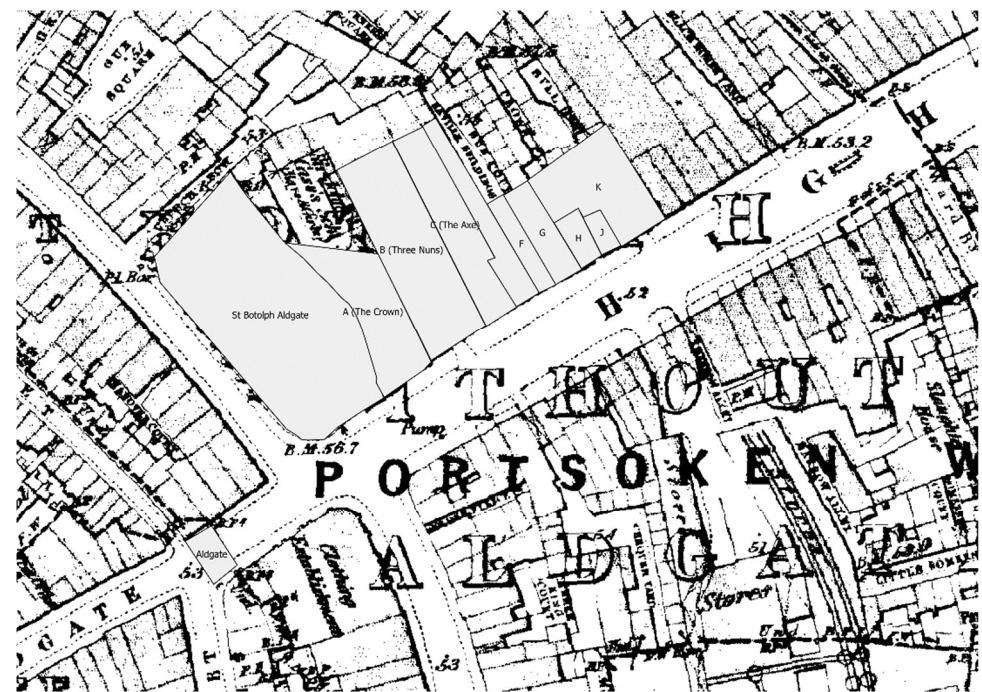
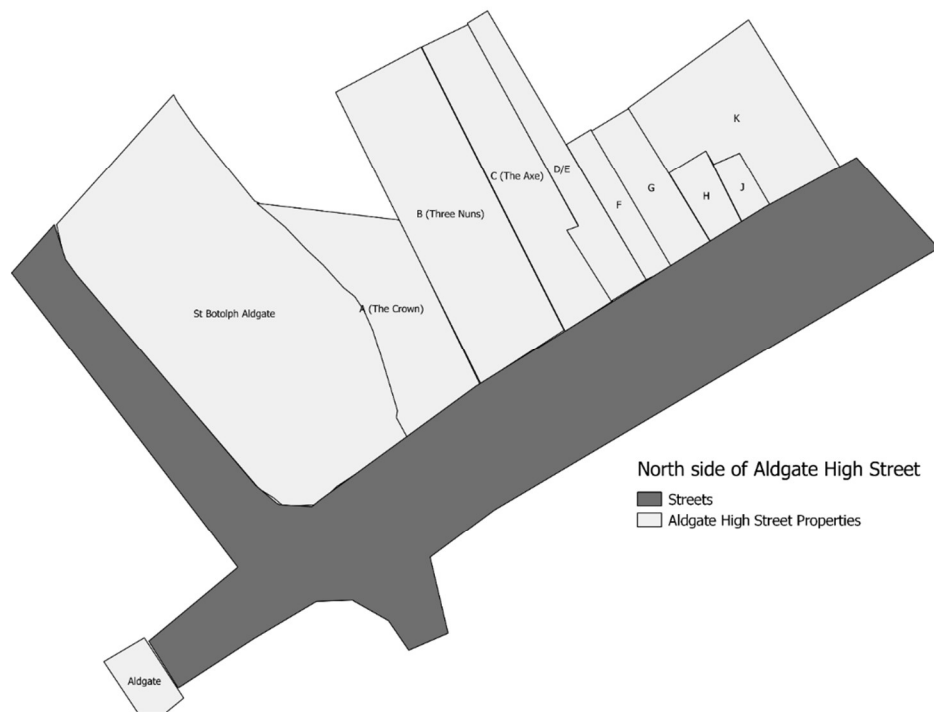


Figure 3.8 Properties on north side of Aldgate High Street²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ This map is based on research by Martha Carlin for the Gazetteer of St. Botolph Aldgate, held at the Centre for Metropolitan History. The map on the right is superimposed on Ordnance Survey 1:2500 County Series 1st Edition [TIFF geospatial data], Scale 1:2500, Tile: lond-03600-1, Updated: 30 November 2010, Historic, Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, <<http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>>, [Downloaded: 2016-04-15 11:48:25.582].

The open character of the margins influenced choices of building materials as well as the size of properties. In Portsoken, by far the most numerous wardmote charges in the late fifteenth century were against sheds covered with reeds and wooden chimneys, which Christine Winter argues evidences a preoccupation with risk from fire.²⁶⁸ However, given the sparse population of Portsoken it also suggests the persistence of construction materials which were better suited to rural areas in spite of building regulations against such practices being long established in London by the fifteenth century.²⁶⁹ Perhaps, although jurors were aware that the wardmote precepts bound them to report roofs of thatch and wooden chimneys,²⁷⁰ the inhabitants of Portsoken did not perceive their neighbourhood as a dense urban space in need of protection from fire. This would explain why the very large number of charges, 449 across the Portsoken presentments which equates to 19% of all charges of any type for the period 1373-1528, continued year after year with seemingly little change.

As will be discussed, the neighbourhood outside Aldgate was notable for the numbers of brewers found as tenants, and some of the properties they inhabited were evidently large and operating on quite some commercial scale. For example, The Axe, a tenement on Aldgate Street just outside the gate, was a brewhouse and bakehouse which details of repairs indicate retained these functions across decades. Shown on Figure 3.8, The Axe was one of a string of properties known by their signs on Aldgate Street near the parish church, all of which owed quit rents to nearby Holy Trinity Priory. The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral owned the property as part of John of Gaunt's chantry, and their workmen were responsible for maintaining the fabric of the building as well as the fittings such as vats, barrels, taps and the oven which enabled the tenants to carry on their business. First recorded in surviving rentals in 1414, the property remained in the Dean and Chapter's possession even after the confiscation of chantry property by Edward VI, being noted as such in an undated letter to Elizabeth I.²⁷¹ At least as late as the 1460s and 1470s the property remained a

²⁶⁸ Christine L. Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments', p. 106.

²⁶⁹ For the sparse population of Portsoken in this period see Martha Carlin, *St. Botolph Aldgate Gazetteer* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1987), pp. i–ii. On the use of thatch in extramural areas and roof coverings more generally, see John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 96–98.

²⁷⁰ John Carpenter, *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London: R. Griffin, 1861), pp. 288–89.

²⁷¹ Documents relating to St. Paul's Cathedral chantry properties, LMA CLC/313/O/030/MS25136.

brewhouse and bakehouse, as repairs note the vats and ovens.²⁷² Four of The Axe's fifteenth-century tenants are noted as being brewers although John Brice, who leased the property in the 1470s and 1480s, was a butcher. Given that repairs in 1456 note fourteen shillings paid to three carpenters for 'repairs and amendments of diverse of the houses and chambers in the same place', it is most likely that even the brewers did not occupy the whole of The Axe and sublet a number of other domestic units on the property to tenants of whom we have no record.²⁷³ Some large extramural properties could be very fine houses; an early sixteenth century house excavated on the west side of Bishopsgate Street was well built with a mixture of cream Flemish and red London bricks and backed onto gardens and yards.²⁷⁴ Approach roads were the site of grand dwellings as well as large scale artisan premises.

Between these large properties, greater space could also promote the development of back alleys leading away from major thoroughfares. Small alleyway houses, as noted above, were often cheap, and suggest varied patterns of wealth and poverty within the neighbourhood itself. Such alleyways were to become a dominant feature of London's development as population pressure prompted subdivision across the city in the sixteenth century.²⁷⁵ An interesting distinction between the three extramural St. Botolph parishes is that the Aldersgate and Bishopsgate rentals both featured alleyway properties by the mid to late fifteenth centuries. This is in contrast to St. Botolph Aldgate, where the Centre for Metropolitan History's 1980s study first found evidence for alleyways in the 1540s.²⁷⁶ In Aldersgate and Bishopsgate, rentals demonstrate that alleyway properties were cheaper than those along the major thoroughfares. The properties at Black Horse Alley, Aldersgate owned by the local churchwardens were arranged in the 1490s into fourteen rents within the alley which were let for four shillings per annum each and three properties along Aldersgate Street at higher annual rents of ten shillings to 13s. 4d., which according to earlier deeds were arranged across the entrance to the alley.²⁷⁷ This is similar to the amounts recorded for

²⁷² See for instance 'Baryngton for his fixed rent owing at le Axe Bakhous', Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral Rental Accounts, 1470-71 CLC/313/L/D/001/MS25125/090. Payment for new millstone and tap hose, solder for the great iron in the furnace in Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral Rental Accounts, 1465-66 CLC/313/L/D/001/MS25125/087.

²⁷³ Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral Rental Accounts, 1455-56, LMA CLC/313/L/D/001/MS25125/81.

²⁷⁴ Swift, *Roman Burials*, p. 40.

²⁷⁵ Orlin, 'Temporary Lives', pp. 219-24; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 81-82.

²⁷⁶ Carlin, *St. Botolph Aldgate Gazeteer*, pp. 36-38.

²⁷⁷ St. Botolph Aldersgate churchwardens' accounts, 1498-99, LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/018; St. Botolph Aldersgate charities and estates evidence book P69/BOT1/D/002/MS06641 ff. 155-91.

alley properties in Bishopsgate around the same time.²⁷⁸ There were a number of alleyways running off Bishopsgate Street whose rents were uniformly four or five shillings compared to rents ranging from five shillings to £3 for properties described as along Bishopsgate Street and ‘outside’ the alleys. A number of these alleys evidently led to garden plots which were also leased by the hospital costing between three shillings and three pounds per year.²⁷⁹ Both sets of records have periods where detailed note was made of tenants and vacancies for these properties.²⁸⁰ Table 3.4 shows a comparison of vacancy levels in the period 1490-1506 for properties in the North-east and North-west without zones. Interestingly, vacancies were 10% more common amongst thoroughfare properties than those in alleyways. This would tend to suggest that, as population rose in the later fifteenth century, it was smaller properties which were more in demand, although without sufficient comparable data earlier in the century it is difficult to be certain. This would explain the pattern Harding observed at Cheapside, where in the same period demand rose but rents remained stable; as Harding observed, property owners here preferred to maintain large tenements rather than subdivide into small houses so demand for such properties would likely have had less impact on Cheapside than the city’s margins.²⁸¹

Location Type	Total	Vacant		Occupied	
Thoroughfare	161	47	29.2%	114	70.8%
Alley	237	47	19.8%	190	80.2%

Table 3.4 Instances of vacancy for properties in North-East and North-West Without zones, 1490-1506²⁸²

The existence of alleyways in Bishopsgate and Aldersgate rather than the neighbourhood outside Aldgate suggest that these areas were in higher demand among tenants. At certain points in time it proved profitable to landlords to subdivide tenements and create back streets in these areas, while in the east such pressure did not occur until the later sixteenth century. This may be an interesting indication of how the peripheral neighbourhoods developed differently over time in response to increasing population. While both areas may have contained alleyways, the higher overall mean rent in Aldersgate is indicative of the fact that the lower rents in Bishopsgate were more prominent within the sample. As will be seen in discussion of the occupational structure of Aldersgate, this is reflective of the kinds of individuals attracted to residence here.

²⁷⁸ These alleyways feature in rentals dated in the 1490s and 1500s, so are contemporary with the Black Horse Alley evidence.

²⁷⁹ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1497-98, TNA SC 11/975.

²⁸⁰ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1504-05, TNA SC 11/971.

²⁸¹ Harding, ‘Houses and Households in Cheapside c.1500-1550’, pp. 136–40.

²⁸² Includes all properties which had at least one quarter of vacancy in the period.

Extramural parishes had a distinctive built environment, shaped by their unique position in relation to the urban whole. What defined them as 'urban' was their relationship to the city through the major routes of transit which traversed them to London's gates. However, their liminal nature, on the borders of the rural hinterland, was evident in their access to open space afforded by the lesser pressure on development. This allowed a flexibility in the kinds of properties which were built. Landlords might build alleyways back from the street to meet demand for cheap properties where necessary, just as they did at the centre of the city. Alternatively, buildings could become large to meet the spatial needs of craftsmen to carry out manufacturing or processing trades on their premises. The mutual relationship between the opportunities of topography and the demands of residents cannot fully be separated, as each reinforced the other. Its results can be seen in the kinds of household and occupations which characterised peripheral neighbourhoods.

3.4 Household and family

Patterns of residence were thus influenced by a number of factors at the peripheries of the city. In this section, the evidence for the kinds of households which inhabitants formed will be discussed, before the next section moves on to focus upon residents' economic lives. An assumption has been made that where a tenant was identified in a rental or lease, they were the head of the household, notwithstanding the limitations on how far inhabiting tenants can be identified discussed above. Once again, the patchy extant testamentary and property records mean that the focus here is upon the establishment of some general patterns of difference between the neighbourhoods, since it is very likely that the poorest households are absent or underrepresented in the documents.

Analysing the tenants found in property records reveals some interesting patterns in the gender and status of householders. 12.2% of tenants were women and 86.7% were men, with the remainder unable to be identified. On the whole, women were named tenants for properties with substantially lower annual rents. The mean annual rent where a woman was named as tenant was 104 pence (8s. 9d.) against 210 pence (17s. 6d.) for men. Of course, in most properties the named tenant, even where they were resident, was likely just one inhabitant of several members of a household. However, women's tenancy in their own name suggests households which did not have a male head, most likely widows who had not remarried but also women choosing to remain single. Lower rents could here suggest smaller household size, probably as a

result of smaller means of support. This pattern is seen throughout the sampled zones, as demonstrated in Figure 3.9. Women’s rent levels were lower than those paid by men in all zones, but the difference between them is smallest in North East Without where women paid 93% of the cost paid by men on average. The largest difference was in East Within, where the average rent paid by a female tenant was just 36% that paid by her male neighbour, with women paying 65% the rent of men or less in all other zones. The example of tenants in All Hallows on the Wall is suggestive of the reasons for such a disparity. 92% of the women found here rented properties from the Carpenters’ Company, all but three of which were part of the Company’s cheap ‘rents within the Hall’ costing less than six shillings per year.²⁸³ These properties also had male tenants, but the average rent for men in the area as a whole is raised by the amounts paid for other properties in the parish including a house with a garden and stable and a number of cottages with gardens.²⁸⁴ While both men and women of small means rented small, cheap properties, men on the whole had access to greater resources and therefore were more likely to find themselves in a position to occupy larger houses with greater amenities and the potential to house more servants or provide the space necessary for the practise of some occupations.

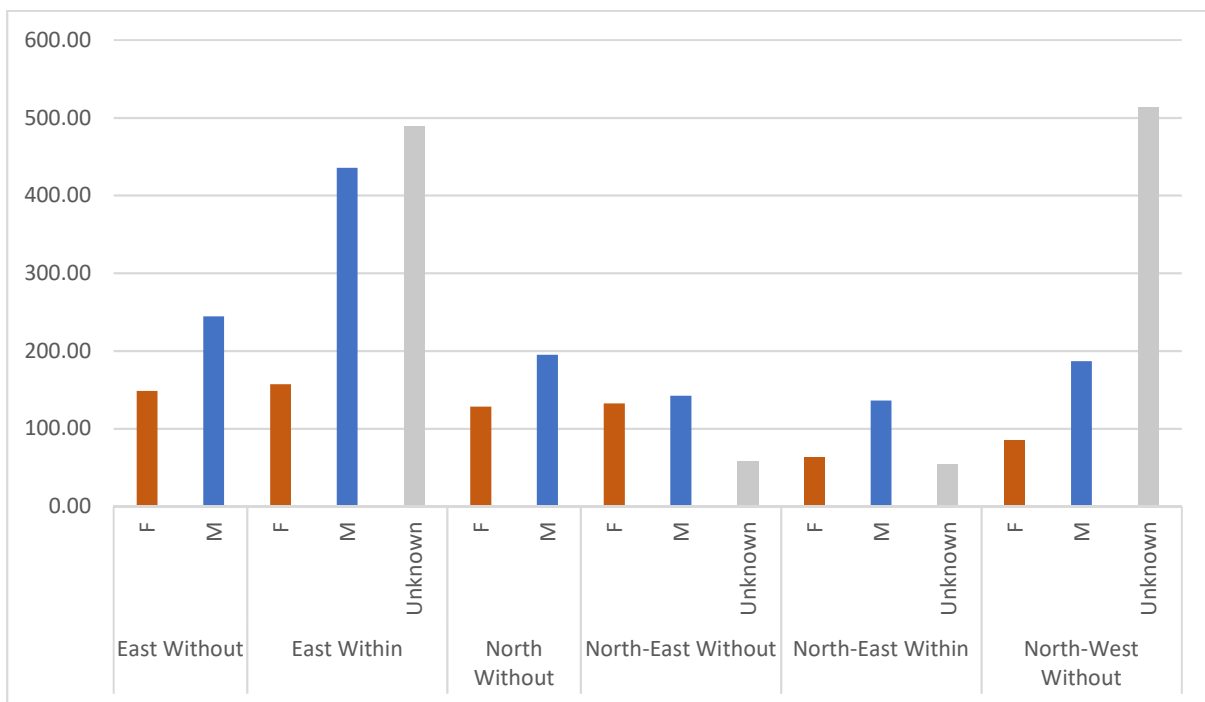


Figure 3.9 Average rent by sex of named tenant²⁸⁵

²⁸³ The potential charitable nature of these properties is discussed below in section 3.5.

²⁸⁴ Bridge House Estate Rental, LMA CLA/007/FN/02/003.

²⁸⁵ Numbers of tenants in each sample: East Without 24 (F), 274 (M); East Within 5 (F), 81 (M), 2 (Unknown); North Without 10 (F), 48 (M); North East Without 46 (F), 254 (M), 7 (Unknown);

Only forty-five of the 162 female tenants are explicitly described as widows; while single women keeping their own households were not unknown, it is probable that widows are under-reported due to the sporadic nature of details about tenants' status.²⁸⁶ A third of the widows listed amongst tenants are found within the Bishopsgate neighbourhood. This is consistent with the testamentary evidence, as indicated in Table 3.6, since 22% of testators from St. Botolph Bishopsgate were women and 14% explicitly stated they were widows. This was the joint highest proportion of widows of any parish. As noted above, the property records for Bishopsgate are especially good owing to the survival of rentals for the estate of the Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate. These rentals were more detailed than many others in more consistently recording the status and occupation of tenants as well as providing locative information about the properties rented. Therefore, it is possible to examine in some detail the situation of the households of a cluster of widows and other female tenants. Once again, women seem to have congregated in the cheaper rents to a greater extent than men. Table 3.5 shows the spread of rents by band within this group of tenants outside Bishopsgate: while both men and women were most likely to pay rent between 3s. 5d. and 6s. 8d. per annum, men were more evenly spread through the higher bands of rent with the consequence that male tenants paid a mean annual rent of around 11s. 4d. per year compared to 10s. 7d. for women. Sometimes the widows of Bishopsgate can be seen clustered in the alleys which ran away from the main street: for instance, in Stuard Alley in 1505 four of the six occupied houses had female tenants (Margaret Brown, Elene Thorpe, Margaret Luffdale and Joan Nutte), all paying an annual rent of four shillings.²⁸⁷ Alley properties would have lacked access to valuable street frontage and thus more limited opportunities for engagement in retail trade, although these women may well have been engaged in occupations which did not require such prominent placement. At York, these small properties has been described as 'a form of dormitory style housing provided for people who were expected to sell their labour to others' and also had a higher than usual number of female-headed households.²⁸⁸ Sarah Rees Jones argued that these tenants were excluded from the late medieval urban polity and were denied the status of

North East Within 35 (F), 156 (M), 7 (Unknown); North West Without 41 (F), 137 (M), 5 (Unknown).

²⁸⁶ On the prevalence of single women in late medieval London, see Judith M. Bennett and Christopher Whittick, 'Philippa Russell and the Wills of London's Late Medieval Singlewomen', *London Journal*, 32.3 (2007), 251–69.

²⁸⁷ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1504-05, TNA SC 11/971.

²⁸⁸ Rees Jones, *York*, pp. 272–73; Goldberg, 'Space and Gender in the Later Medieval English House', p. 224.

householder, making a clear connection between access to domestic and urban social status.²⁸⁹ For the women who lived here, however, their residency could be viewed more positively as enabling them to live in a city which was often hostile to female labour as well as giving them a sense of safety and community in the enclosed space of the alleyway.

There were, of course, exceptions and some intriguing cases of women who rented valuable properties. In 1469 Avice Shrewsbury rented a tenement on Bishopsgate Street for £1 per year and Agnes Buckby leased an inn called The George on the same street for five shillings; the pair are also listed as paying 13s. 4d. between them for a third tenement on the street.²⁹⁰ By 1473, Agnes was no longer mentioned but Avice is listed as paying 33s. 4d. 'for her rent'.²⁹¹ Avice's tenement was probably the 'shop with all its instruments and necessaries pertinent to it' left to her by her husband John, who was a blacksmith. Avice's will of 1489 mentions a 'John Bokby and Joan his spouse' in the list of souls to be prayed for in masses after her death.²⁹² Agnes may thus have been the widow or some other relation of a family friend, perhaps less wealthy than Avice. Given Agnes' inn-holding and the terms of John Shrewsbury's will, which allowed Avice to retain his shop and tools 'from which to sustain her and her children' only until any future remarriage, we seem to encounter here two women with their own separate trades engaging in a commercial partnership, a rare kind of relationship to find evidence of in this period. While the omission of Agnes' name from the list of tenants in 1473 leaves the length of the partnership unclear, the amount paid by Avice that year suggests the 13s. 4d. tenement they shared was still let by her.²⁹³ We thus find in Bishopsgate a number of widows who exemplify different kinds of female-led households: while many were probably women of reduced means in their widowhood, Avice Shrewsbury may well have made an active choice in using the resources left to her by her husband to remain unmarried, continue the business and support the household, in a manner similar to that described in Caroline Barron's study of Joan Hill, bellmaker and widow of St. Botolph Aldgate.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ Rees Jones, *York*, p. 273.

²⁹⁰ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1468-69, TNA SC 11/972.

²⁹¹ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1472-73, TNA SC 11/973.

²⁹² Will of John Shrovesbury, TNA PROB 11/4/388; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 291v.

²⁹³ There is no specific mention of The George Inn that year, although this is not unusual given the inconsistency in descriptions of property between rentals.

²⁹⁴ Caroline M. Barron, 'Johanna Hill (d. 1441) and Johanna Sturdy (d. c. 1460), Bell-Founders', in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 99-112.

	F		M	
0 - 3s. 4d.	1	2%	7	2%
3s. 5d. - 6s. 8d.	28	56%	135	47%
6s. 9d. - 10s.	10	20%	76	26%
10s. - 13s. 4d.	5	10%	16	6%
13s. 5d. - 16s. 8d.	2	4%	11	4%
16s. 9d. - £1	0	0%	20	7%
£1 - £1 3s. 4d.	0	0%	0	0%
£1 3s. 4d. - £1 6s. 8d.	0	0%	3	1%
£1 6s. 9d. - £1 10s.	0	0%	0	0%
£1 10s. - £1 13s. 4d.	1	2%	2	1%
£1 13s. 5d - £1 16s. 8d.	0	0%	0	0%
£1 16s. 9d. - £2	0	0%	5	2%
£2+	3	6%	12	4%
Total tenants	50		287	

Table 3.5 Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate tenants in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate (rentals dated 1424, 1469, 1473, 1497, 1505, 1515, 1521)

	Total testators	Male Testators	Living wife	% men married	Female testators	Named widow	% women widows
St. Botolph Aldersgate	61	50	36	72%	11	7	64%
St. Botolph Aldgate	123	104	81	78%	19	12	63%
St. Botolph Bishopsgate	111	87	70	80%	24	16	67%
St. Katharine Cree	100	76	58	76%	24	14	58%
St. Lawrence Jewry	66	61	47	77%	5	4	80%

Table 3.6 Male and female testators with marital status

Attention will now be turned to households headed by men, which formed by far the majority represented both in the property and testamentary evidence. Amongst those men who made wills, most named living wives, with no clear differences between parishes as indicated in Table 3.6. This will naturally reflect the fact that the pool of testators is weighted towards both those with the resources to marry and those at or beyond the age of marriage. The ‘model’ late medieval household, headed by a married couple engaged in a trade and also perhaps containing children, servants, apprentices and journeymen, required at least a modest amount of capital or stable occupation (or mix of occupations) in order to support its members.²⁹⁵ Analysis of the occupations of tenants suggests that there were very few who formed their own household without a trade to support them. Of 168 tenants with a named occupation, only five had a job which relied on acting as assistants to others; four were labourers and one was a retired porter. All lived in the area outside Bishopsgate and the most expensive property between them was rented by labourer John Bramsgrove outside George Alley for ten

²⁹⁵ On the model artisan household structure of the late medieval period, see Riddy, “‘Burgeis’ Domesticity”; Rees Jones, ‘Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour’; Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg, ‘Introduction’, in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. by Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1–13.

shillings a year. As with the cluster of poor widows noted earlier, it may be that the suburb without Bishopsgate offered accommodation cheap enough to suit the incomes of such men, acting as the dormitory housing identified by Rees Jones. It can be suggested, then, that lower property values in Bishopsgate enabled the existence of more precarious forms of small household based on perhaps just a single individual.

While property records are limited by only naming one member of a household as tenant, wills can offer somewhat greater insight into the households formed by testators. However, there is not always a clear indication of whether even kin beneficiaries are resident in the same house. In the case of under age children the common practice of apprenticeship or employment in service outside the home means few assumptions can be made about the co-residence of kin named in wills, with perhaps the exception of spouses. Nonetheless, some wills give greater detail about living arrangements. For instance, Nicholas Long, a butcher from St. Botolph Aldgate, left the house in which they dwelled to his wife for the term of her life, and described it as lying between the highway in the south and ‘the tenement brewhouse that John Raulyn and Anne my daughter hold on the west side’.²⁹⁶ It seems likely that with his daughter and son-in-law so close by, the boundaries between their properties may have been legal formalities. Kin made up 33% of those left bequests by men and 25% of those by women, the difference probably reflecting the fact that high urban mortality would likely have left widows with few surviving relatives, as well as the requirement that men provide for their family.

Resident adult children are rarely identified in wills and it is far more common to find dependents such as servants and apprentices. Those stated as being in such relationships of service to testators received 7% of bequests. Looking at the wills of those who left money to servants, some differentiation can be seen in the kind of households which such testaments represent. William Boste, a glover from Aldgate with a large estate, left money to a maid and two apprentices; since he also named a living wife, Boste’s household probably numbered at least five individuals.²⁹⁷ From the 105 testators who named servants and apprentices, eight named more than five, including the alderman of Bishopsgate ward William Marow. His household must have been exceptionally large given the eleven servants, including a cook, named in his will.²⁹⁸ More typically, thirty-eight (36%) named between two and four servants. Many of the

²⁹⁶ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001 ff. 319v-320.

²⁹⁷ Boste’s will was later subject to a consistory court case when one of the apprentices sued his widow. See below section 5.4.1. Will of William Boste, TNA PROB 11/8/380.

²⁹⁸ Will of William Marow, TNA PROB 11/5/139.

testators in this band were craftsmen, such as the grey tawyer James Richardson of St. Botolph Bishopsgate who left money to both his apprentice and his servant. The remaining fifty-eight testators (55%) left bequests to a single servant. While most of these wills have little to set them apart from others, in some unusual cases, this appears to indicate a very strong relationship. For instance, the will of Margaret Brere left an exceptionally large amount of household goods to her servant Agnes Fulk including the bed she slept in, soft furnishings and kitchenware; Margaret's will is also unusual in that she names her occupation as a weaver, and she leaves 'Agnes two instruments together of my craft called the looms with all their apparatus'.²⁹⁹ Margaret and Agnes may well have been close friends and partners in business rather than having a strictly hierarchical relationship, perhaps a kind of support similar to that amongst the women living in alleyways. Where a single servant is named this also sometimes seems to indicate an employed carer: for instance, Richard Ely left twenty shillings to Jane Penyngton 'for her diligent labour in my sickness' and Katharine Searl left a cloak to 'the woman looking after me at the end of my life'.³⁰⁰ Servants hired specifically to help during an illness appear in a number of church court cases. In some instances women were called to attend sick or dying people, sometimes apparently as a neighbourly act but often with the implication of a paid position, whilst in others a sick person or pregnant woman was lodged in another household to be cared for there.³⁰¹ Households with servants thus came from a range of backgrounds, from the wealthy households of civic political elites which may have required a staff to maintain the business and entertaining duties of the master, to the workshop-based household of the artisan, to the smallest households where service relationships were perhaps based on caregiving or even friendship. The presence of servants might also have been temporary, during periods of ill health.

Although there is little distinction to be drawn between different areas of London in the evidence presented here about household, some features echo the findings of other scholars about early modern London. Jeremy Boulton, in his study of seventeenth century Southwark, also found greater poverty amongst female headed households.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 517v.

³⁰⁰ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010 ff. 85-85v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 333.

³⁰¹ In *Crowne c. Woodward & Malyn*, two women testified to attending a dying priest 'continually with him until the time of his death'. In *Stocker c. Roydon* a sick priest lodged with a woman's family and a grocer's apprentice visited the house to bring him medicine. In *Rogers c. Whytyngdon*, a neighbour testified that Agnes Rogers brought him lunch 'to comfort this witness who was then weak and sick'. See Appendix 3 for references.

³⁰² Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp. 127-28.

Boulton noted that keeping servants was far less prevalent in poorer Southwark than north of the river, a pattern which is echoed here in the differences between wealthier and poorer parishes.³⁰³ St. Lawrence Jewry testators left 8% of their bequests to a person identified as a servant or apprentice, higher than in any of the sample parishes. Some of the trends evident in wills may thus be long-standing aspects of London society which connect the medieval and early modern periods.

As the thesis moves on to consider the occupational structure of peripheral parishes, this discussion offers an important reminder that occupations shaped not just the neighbourhood economy but also the form of inhabitants' households. While lower property values in extramural parishes could enable some of London's poorer householders to establish a home, larger premises and open space also attracted those whose occupation required more workers within the household unit.

3.5 Economy and occupations

Bound closely with the built environment, relative wealth and household structure of the peripheral parishes is their occupational structure. As has been shown, the relationship between each is complex: just as property values might have a bearing on the sizes of households, so could the circumstances of inhabitants shape the form of the built environment. Occupational structure should likewise be seen as both a product of all these factors as well as a factor in shaping them. In this section, property and testamentary records are used together to consider the evidence for the existence of a distinctive economic structure in the peripheries, taking into account both the occupations of inhabitants and the influence of institutions on their surrounding locality.

Drawing on the occupations of testators and tenants gives some sense of the economic structure of marginal areas. Table 3.8 and 3.9 demonstrate the occupational information drawn from these sources, where occupations have been grouped into categories for ease of comparison. It is clear that testamentary evidence, despite its limitations in coverage of society, gives a far clearer picture of occupational structure. A total of 81% of tenants did not have an identifiable occupation listed in the records, compared to 48% of testators. Following the 1413 Statute of Additions, which required suitors at law to declare their occupation and status, it became more common for individuals to declare such details in other official documents. Impetus to give such details was also reinforced by the custom of stating one's identity as a citizen and guild member

³⁰³ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp. 134–35.

in the formula ‘citizen and [occupation] of London’. As documents made by the testator (in however mediated a manner), wills are thus quite likely to contain statements of identity. By contrast, rentals were drawn up by a third party with perhaps little need to identify tenants beyond a name in most cases.

Testator declared as citizen?					
	<i>Total</i>	Yes		No	
St. Botolph Aldersgate	<i>55</i>	17	31%	38	69%
St. Botolph Aldgate	<i>110</i>	36	33%	74	67%
St. Botolph Bishopsgate	<i>106</i>	45	42%	61	58%
St. Katharine Cree	<i>97</i>	36	37%	61	63%
St. Lawrence Jewry	<i>64</i>	35	55%	29	45%
<i>Totals</i>	<i>432</i>	<i>169</i>		<i>263</i>	

Table 3.7 Citizenship declared by testators, 1390-1540

Therefore, within the testamentary record it could be that a tendency not to state an occupation indicates fewer ties to the formalised structures of occupation in the form of the guilds. In the central parish of St. Lawrence Jewry, only 25% of testators failed to state an occupation in comparison to 43-58% in peripheral parishes. This is echoed in whether testators state that they are citizens, shown in Table 3.7, with 55% doing so in St. Lawrence compared with an average of just 36% in other parishes. Craft and citizenship were evidently an important aspect of self-image for testators in St. Lawrence. It may be that a failure to state a craft correlated with lower levels of participation in the economic institutions of the city.

This has often been cited as a reason for the popularity of extramural areas. The argument goes that, at the fringes of the jurisdiction of the pre-modern city, marginal neighbourhoods provided a haven for those attempting to circumvent the financial responsibilities of citizenship and the economic controls exerted by craft guilds.³⁰⁴ The evidence presented here suggests that this was true to an extent. Alongside lower levels of citizenship and statement of occupations, there were also a number of wills, particularly from Aldgate parish, of those who were aliens. This is commensurate with the large and growing German population of this area in the period described by James Bolton and evident in the 1524 subsidy discussed above.³⁰⁵ A number of testators in marginal parishes also cited occupations which did not at the time have an associated London guild, some of which must have operated outside the household-based model of artisan crafts. These include two minstrels and a gardener in Bishopsgate and a ‘corser’ (probably a horse dealer)³⁰⁶ and a mariner in Aldgate parish. At the precinct of St. Katharine’s

³⁰⁴ See Chapter One above for discussion and citations of this literature.

³⁰⁵ Bolton, ‘The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal’, p. 11.

³⁰⁶ ‘corser | courser, n.’, *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <<http://www.oed.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/Entry/42062?redirectedFrom=corser>> [accessed 15 November 2017].

Hospital, a community of mariners clustered around the port whose wives were left to head their own households most of the time, a situation which transgressed the ideal model on a number of levels.³⁰⁷ One can speculate that many of the testators of unknown occupation practised more than one trade to get by or combined them within their households; consistory court cases featured men who described their occupations as carpenter or wheelwright but deposed to events taking place in alehouses within their homes.³⁰⁸ High status occupations connected to royal and aristocratic patronage and landed wealth also featured in the sample in peripheral areas, particularly in Aldersgate and St. Katharine. These included esquires and gentlemen in both parishes as well as Robert Biggerstaff, clerk of the Earl of Northumberland's kitchen in Aldersgate. The picture is therefore more complicated than simply that the extramural areas contained those actively avoiding the city's jurisdiction. Lower property values, access to major roads and larger properties encouraged those whose occupations were either precarious or unincorporated into the civic hierarchy to live there. Citizens, many of them prosperous, still formed a sizable portion of the resident population. The remainder were a diverse group many of whom were not so much driven to the extramural areas by economic controls as either lacking the resources to participate in a craft or earning their living in ways which meant civic and craft institutions were of limited relevance.

Nonetheless, prosperous artisans form a distinctive part of the testamentary sample. An identifiable trend is the concentration of trades associated with food production outside the walls. In both St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Katharine Cree, bakers, brewers, butchers, cooks and similar workers formed 3% or less of testators while in the all the extramural parishes they formed 15% or more of the total. This is almost entirely accounted for by the number of brewers in the sample from St. Botolph Aldersgate (10), St. Botolph Aldgate (13) and St. Botolph Bishopsgate (14). From the early part of the fifteenth-century, brewing moved away from being a primarily domestic activity to one of commercial scale, as beer overtook ale in popularity.³⁰⁹ The preponderance of brewers in extramural areas thus probably reflects their ability to lease largescale premises, such as The Axe outside Aldgate, in such areas and produce beer in profitable quantities. Dutch and Flemish immigrants also brought significant brewing expertise, and no doubt made

³⁰⁷ This community featured in a consistory court case regarding a disputed marriage. None of the men who had witnessed the contract appeared as witnesses and the groom had moved downriver by the time of the case. The case is discussed further below in sections 5.3 and 6.6. See Sutton c. Jervys in Appendix 3.

³⁰⁸ LMA DL/C/207 f. 96; LMA DL/C/208, f. 14v.

³⁰⁹ Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), chap. 5.

up much of the workforce in this industry.³¹⁰ This is an example where the topography, society and built environment of the locality attracted an occupation. Butchers were the second largest group within the St. Botolph Aldgate sample. They may have been motivated partly by property size in their residence but also by the flesh market at nearby East Smithfield. Evidence drawn from the bequests they made also suggests that the trade in livestock coming from Essex and Hertfordshire via the Lea and the major road running from Aldgate to Colchester was also a draw. As discussed in Chapter Four, a number of these butchers indicated ties to the east of London, suggesting that extramural residence may have been attractive owing to the ease of transport outwards.

The next most important category of occupation in the testamentary evidence was textile work: 10% of all testators worked in trades associated with the manufacture, processing and sale of cloth and clothing. They were found in all parishes. The largest proportions were found within the walls, with 16% of testators in St. Lawrence and 17% in St. Katharine associated with such trades. The largest single group were tailors, three at St. Lawrence and four at St. Katharine, but the highly specialised forms of such work means that there were many other occupations with one or two practitioners in the sample. These included artisans like shearmen, fullers, weavers and girdlers as well as merchants like drapers. The diverse nature of such work makes it difficult to generalise, but the tendency for such occupations to be more prominent within the walls perhaps reflects that the majority did not require the larger premises available in the peripheries and benefited from living close to markets and networks of knowledge about potential customers.³¹¹ Interestingly, the sample of testators from St. Botolph Bishopsgate contained the largest extramural concentration of textile workers, the greatest single group being three drapers, all of whom were citizens and left tithes of one shilling or more. This serves as an important reminder that open space might have acted as an attraction for those who wanted larger accommodation for reasons of status rather than practicality. As Table 3.10 suggests, those involved in capital-intensive distributive trades and with high social status could make significant savings when they chose to lease property without the city walls. As London within the walls became more crowded and gardens, as we have seen, became a more distinctively peripheral amenity, a neighbourhood like Bishopsgate was attractive to those of comfortable means as well as the poor.

³¹⁰ Bolton, 'The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal', pp. 18–19; Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, pp. 79–84.

³¹¹ Colson, 'Commerce, Clusters, and Community', p. 108.

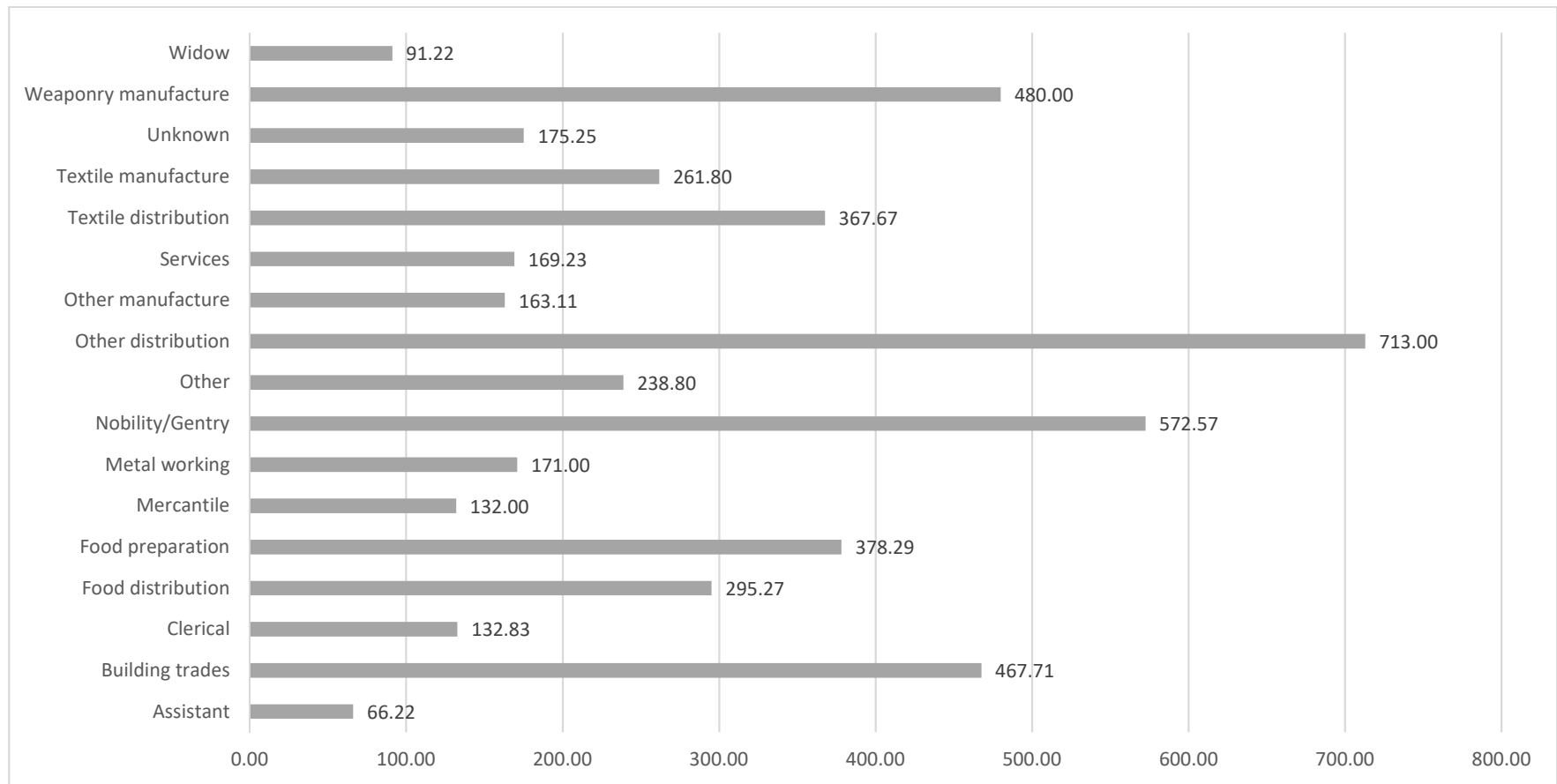


Figure 3.10 Mean annual rent (d) by occupation group of tenant

Occupation Type	Total for all testators		Aldersgate		Aldgate		Bishopsgate		Cree		Jewry	
Assistant	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Building trades	19	4%	4	7%	3	2%	1	1%	11	11%	-	0%
Clerical	10	2%	2	3%	1	1%	1	1%	-	0%	5	8%
Food distribution	11	2%	-	0%	1	1%	3	3%	3	3%	4	6%
Food preparation	54	12%	12	20%	21	17%	17	15%	3	3%	1	2%
Mercantile	11	2%	0	0%	-	0%	1	1%	1	1%	9	14%
Metal working	18	4%	1	2%	6	5%	1	1%	1	1%	9	14%
Nobility/Gentry	4	1%	1	2%	-	0%	-	0%	3	3%	-	0%
Other	13	3%	2	3%	1	1%	3	3%	4	4%	3	5%
Other distribution	1	0%	-	0%	1	1%	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%
Other manufacture	22	5%	1	2%	9	7%	5	5%	5	5%	2	3%
Services	22	5%	-	0%	2	2%	7	6%	8	8%	5	8%
Textile distribution	16	3%	1	2%	1	1%	5	5%	7	7%	2	3%
Textile manufacture	32	7%	4	7%	4	3%	6	5%	10	10%	8	13%
Unknown	220	48%	32	53%	71	58%	58	52%	43	43%	16	25%
Weaponry manufacture	5	1%		0%	2	2%	3	3%	-	0%	-	0%
<i>Totals</i>	<i>458</i>		<i>60</i>		<i>123</i>		<i>111</i>		<i>99</i>		<i>64</i>	

Table 3.8 Proportions of testator with different occupation types by parish

Occupation Type	Total tenants with occupation		East Without		East Within		North Without		North-East Without		North-East Within		North-West Without	
Assistant	9	4%		0%		0%		0%	5	2%		0%	4	2%
Building trades	14	7%	5	2%	2	2%		0%	3	1%		0%	4	2%
Clerical	12	6%		0%	1	1%	1	2%		0%	7	4%	3	2%
Food distribution	11	5%	2	1%		0%		0%	7	2%	2	1%		0%
Food preparation	27	13%	12	4%	1	1%	1	2%	7	2%	5	3%	1	1%
Mercantile	2	1%		0%		0%		0%	2	1%		0%		0%
Metal working	12	6%	4	1%		0%		0%	6	2%		0%	2	1%
Nobility/Gentry	14	7%	7	2%	1	1%	1	2%	2	1%		0%	3	2%
Other	10	5%	10	3%		0%		0%		0%		0%		0%
Other distribution	2	1%	1	0%		0%		0%		0%		0%	1	1%
Other manufacture	8	4%	3	1%		0%	1	2%	1	0%	2	1%	1	1%
Services	13	6%	5	2%		0%	1	2%	4	1%	2	1%	1	1%
Textile distribution	5	2%		0%		0%		0%	3	1%	2	1%		0%
Textile manufacture	30	14%	6	2%	1	1%	2	3%	17	6%		0%	4	2%
Unknown	917	81%	240	81%	82	93%	48	83%	235	77%	171	86%	141	77%
Weaponry manufacture	1	0%		0%		0%	1	2%		0%		0%		0%
Widow	45	21%	3	1%		0%	2	3%	15	5%	7	4%	18	10%
Total	215		298		88		58		307		198		183	

Table 3.9 Proportion of tenants with different occupation types by property zones

OccupationType	Within walls	Sample size	Without walls	Sample size	Difference (extramural vs. intramural)
Assistant	-	0	64.4	9	-
Building trades	2160.0	2	189.1	12	-1970.9
Clerical	100.7	8	222.7	4	122.0
Food distribution	380.0	2	224.9	9	-155.1
Food preparation	1110.0	6	215.6	21	-894.4
Mercantile	-	0	132.0	2	-
Metal working	-	0	148.7	12	-
Nobility/Gentry	3040.0	1	354.6	13	-2685.4
Other	-	0	238.8	10	-
Other distribution	-	0	713.0	2	-
Other manufacture	120.0	2	178.3	6	58.3
Services	36.0	2	208.0	11	172.0
Textile distribution	308.0	2	266.0	3	-42.0
Textile manufacture	2160.0	1	261.7	29	-1898.3
Unknown	215.6	253	173.2	664	-42.4
Weaponry manufacture	-	0	480.0	1	-
Widow	33.1	7	120.0	38	86.9

Table 3.10 Average instance rent costs (d) within and without the walls by occupation group of tenant

This point is, to an extent, underlined by the examination of rent costs paid by different types of workers. There was a complex series of factors which both pushed and pulled certain occupations to the peripheries of the city. The average paid by different types of occupation is broken down in Figure 3.10 and in Table 3.10 this is further clarified by zone of residence. Those working in food preparation (brewers, bakers, butchers, cooks etc.) paid on average ten shillings per year more than those who produced clothing and textiles (dyers, weavers, cappers, shearmen etc.). As noted above, those working as assistants to other had the lowest average rent and all were found in Bishopsgate. This reflects both a lesser need for space as well as perhaps the fact that such workers, with a small and probably unstable income, could not afford rental costs in more central locations. Therefore, residential patterns at the margins were created by a localised balance of push and pull factors. Metal workers, textile manufacturers and food producers without Aldgate all rented properties worth over nineteen shillings on average, while the same groups outside Bishopsgate paid an average of less than twelve shillings a year. The marginal qualities of land outside Aldgate made it attractive, pulling in artisans with sizable premises and clustering those with shared occupations. Bishopsgate, as we have seen, held the same attraction to those who could afford to live comfortably but seems to have been on the whole the less desirable of the two. The overall differences within and

without the walls, whilst based on small sample sizes, suggest that those who chose to pay more to live outside the walls generally had an occupational motivation for doing so. It is particularly noticeable that those engaged in a variety of miscellaneous manufacturing trades, such as chandlers, tawyers and saddlers, as well as those providing services paid on average more to live beyond the city walls. The former may have sought large properties and distance from the centre due to their noxious activities. The latter perhaps took advantage of the constant flow of people into and out of the city.

Beyond the motivations of individuals and the environmental features of peripheral neighbourhoods, institutions also had the potential to shape local economic structure. The example of the Carpenters' Company in the mural parish of All Hallows London Wall is here very suggestive of the routes through which institutions as landlords could affect residential patterns. The Carpenters leased a number of street-facing shops outside their Hall in All Hallows parish. They also had smaller rents and chambers within the Hall complex itself. These chambers had very low annual rents, and cross-referencing the 106 tenants 1440-1500 within the Company accounts reveals that 30% were mentioned receiving or making payments in various other roles such as enrolling apprentices, receiving alms, paying for their freedom or contributing towards the cost of procuring a royal charter for the Company from Edward IV. This is almost certainly an under-estimate of the number of Carpenters who were tenants as the accounts do not contain complete membership lists. Many tenants were widows who, if they had a connection to the Company through their husbands, would be unlikely to feature in the records before their widowhood.³¹²

Given that these widows leased the chambers, it seems reasonable to identify these chambers with the almshouse which in the 1458 accounts are listed as distinct from the 'rents by the street'.³¹³ After the 1450s the chambers are called 'the rents within the gate' rather than being referred to as an almshouse, but the records reveal the Carpenters acting as extremely lenient landlords: many tenants are recorded as paying rent 'old and new' at the same time, giving sums in part payment, or even having their rent paid for them by other tenants and in at least one case paying with household goods in lieu of cash.³¹⁴ Therefore, while the Carpenters' rents and chambers at their Hall may not have

³¹² See Appendix 1 for details.

³¹³ Bower Marsh (ed.), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters. Vol. 2 Wardens' Account Book 1438-1516* (Oxford, 1914), p.27.

³¹⁴ See for example 1506 'Received of Maud Gervys of rent old and new – 4s.; Received of Harry Brayne of old rent – 4s.; Received of Elizabeth Creyke in party of payment – 19d.'. 1486 'Item received of Margery Albryght for rent by the hands of Steven Scales – 5s. 10d.'. 1501 'Received of Guy Birchfeld for Mother Sage – 16d.'. 1508 'Item received of William Pudsey for certain stuff of

been a formal almshouse, they suggest that the Company used its property to provide housing for fellow craft members who were known to be in need of low-cost housing and who could be trusted to pay eventually. The dating of individuals' tenancies compared to other records of payments to the Carpenters occasionally suggest a 'life-cycle' reason for their need of low-cost housing. John Cobbe was a tenant from 1472 to 1475, and in 1477 a payment is recorded for his 'keeping and burial', indicating John may have been in ill-health and perhaps elderly during his tenancy. Similarly, Robert Odisdale was recorded as a tenant in 1499, 1500 and 1502, and in 1500 the Company paid him one shilling in alms 'at the request of the Fellowship'. John Clerk was a tenant in 1493, the year after he was presented as a journeyman by Roger Ovenall and the year before he himself paid twelve pence to present his own first journeyman; Clerk was probably a tenant in the year just before he established his own household, and evidently went on to be successful as he presented six apprentices between 1495 and 1503. Effectively, the presence of the Hall served to maintain a community of carpenters in the parish, albeit one based more on a need for cheap housing than on the agglomeration benefits of more conventional craft clustering.

However, Carpenters' Hall was the only company hall in the peripheral areas studied here. By far the most common institutions at the fringes of the city were religious houses, many of which held significant estates in their immediate neighbourhood. The records of the Abbey of St. Clare (Minoreesses), St. Mary Graces, Charterhouse, Holy Trinity Priory and the Hospitals of St. Mary Bishopsgate and St. Mary Cripplegate (Elsing Spital) were all used as part of the sample of properties considered here. As discussed in Chapter Two, most were significant owners of property in their immediate surroundings. This had practical consequences for the relationship between them and their local communities. Indeed, the rent collector of Holy Trinity Priory, John Fulbourne, acted as executor or witness to the wills of four residents of St. Katharine Cree between 1442 and 1450, mainly widows and men in low-status occupations.³¹⁵ As a result of such practical ties and the lay communities within precincts, certain religious houses must have been ever-present in the lives of local people. The resulting spiritual relationships expressed by local testators are discussed in the next chapter.

Furthermore, it seems likely that the role of religious houses as significant local landowners outside the walls created important socio-economic ties. At Westminster,

household priced for rent 16d.'. Carpenters Company Accounts, vol. 1 1438-1516, LMA CLC/L/CC/D/002/MS04326/001.

³¹⁵ Fulbourne was cited by Emmota Brown, Isabel Pack, Widow, Marion Malton, Widow, Baldwin Clays, Mason, Margaret Pettow, Singlewoman, Eleanor Ireland and Thomas Aldrich, Tiler.

Barbara Harvey notes the importance of wealthy tenants as significant donors to the Abbey as well as useful contacts.³¹⁶ At the other end of the social scale, one example is indicative of the potentially mutually beneficial nature of relations between religious houses and their lay neighbours. In a 1473 rental for the Hospital of St. Mary there is a tenant called Deonisia (Denise?) who is described as a former porter or gatekeeper of the Hospital (*nuper servientem ianitorem hospitalis*) paying four shillings per annum for a property in St. Botolph Bishopsgate parish.³¹⁷ Although an exceptional case, this one instance of the Hospital using its local property to house a former employee who was perhaps elderly is suggestive of the charitable uses to which property could be put, as well as the potential for other tenants with connections of employment to the houses to be hidden within the records. Further, it provides an intriguing parallel with the case of the Carpenters' rents. In sixteenth-century Venice, the charitable use of property by landlords is well documented and endowments for the provision of housing to poor people was a relatively common bequest amongst the city elites.³¹⁸ In the absence of a study of property management practices across London, it is difficult to tell from such isolated examples and the sparse details of the records just how far institutions used their estates to house those known to them or for whom they felt a particular duty of care. In the absence of the information networks which developed through print culture in the early modern period, finding property to rent must have relied on word of mouth and thus pre-existing connections to an institution seem a likely means through which to find accommodation. As will be discussed further in Chapter Six, the religious houses and hospitals could exert considerable social influence within their neighbourhoods. What the examples here suggest is that charitable letting was an option open to landlords: the extent to which it was practiced is an intriguing question for another study.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to establish on the basis of the evidence here other kinds of economic ties between the houses and their locality. The houses would have consumed considerable provisions and other resources, but without systematic study of their accounts it is not possible to say how far the immediate locality provided for their needs. In Harvey's analysis of Westminster Abbey and its economic relationship with the laity, she notes that the monks generally preferred to buy in the central London markets

³¹⁶ Barbara F. Harvey, 'Westminster Abbey and Londoners, 1440-1540', in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Matthew P. Davies and Andrew Prescott, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 16 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp. 12-37 (pp. 20-21).

³¹⁷ Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate Rental, 1472-73, TNA SC 11/973.

³¹⁸ Patricia Fortini Brown, 'Not One but Many Cities: Housing Diversity in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World*, ed. by Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), pp. 13-44 (pp. 25-33).

rather than rely on local middlemen in Westminster. A notable exception was meat, where the Abbey made use of local butchers, and it seems likely that this pattern may have been repeated in neighbourhoods like those outside Aldgate and Aldersgate with suburban butchers' markets.³¹⁹ Furthermore, even if the Abbey preferred to buy wholesale in London, Rosser argues that it was a significant local employer, especially the monks' cellarer who employed Westminster men and women as millers, janitors, stable hands and servants.³²⁰ Westminster presents a slightly different case due to its distance from the city and jurisdictional independence, but it seems reasonable to infer that, for religious houses with even greater proximity to London markets, this picture of houses as significant local employers but less economically reliant on the immediate neighbourhood for provisions is plausible. Certainly, archaeological excavations suggest that by the middle of the fifteenth century London religious houses prioritised building lay accommodation for let within their precincts over more traditional ancillary buildings for food processing or agricultural land use.³²¹ Leasing property and buying wholesale from London markets, as well as using produce from their estates around the south east, was probably more economical.

The occupational and economic structure of London's peripheries was distinctive. A combination of 'push' and 'pull' factors created neighbourhoods where clusters of prosperous brewers operating commercial-scale premises existed alongside those whose existence was precarious. The extent to which those of multiple or no fixed occupation lived in the cheaper properties which lower land values made available at the margins is almost certainly underestimated by the testamentary record. On the other hand, those who could afford the space and had less need to live close to the commercial networks of the city might choose residence in the extramural areas. The role of institutions in shaping their surrounding economy is less clear, although it seems likely that the lower land values of the periphery enabled them to use local property as a form of benefit to those who had provided them with service. On the whole, as with patterns of wealth, each parish was varied but the occupational structure of peripheral neighbourhoods suggests that they were loosely bound in to the economic basis of civic structure, the guilds. In the next

³¹⁹ Barbara F. Harvey, 'Westminster Abbey', pp. 27–32.

³²⁰ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 158–59.

³²¹ St. Mary Bishopsgate built on former food growing and grazing spaces in its outer precinct in the fifteenth century and St. Mary Graces, built in the late fourteenth century, never developed such facilities. Thomas, Sloane, and Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital*, p. 99; Grainger and Phillpotts, *The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces*, p. 113.

chapter, this issue will be further examined with relation to the engagement of testators with such networks.

3.6 Conclusions: desirability vs. necessity

Throughout this analysis of the socio-economic topography and structure of London's peripheries, a tension has emerged between the push and pull factors at work in producing the society and economy of each area considered. Marginal neighbourhoods were for many a resort of necessity. Lower average rents meant that the poor could establish a home while remaining close to the markets and social networks offered by the city. However, residence outside the walls was also desirable. The availability of open space afforded flexibility in land use which produced both cheap alley rents as well as gardens and larger houses. Larger houses were desirable both for those who could afford to invest in practising their craft on a large scale, like brewers and founders, and those who wanted an impressive home for reasons of status. Institutions, particularly religious houses, were important in the economy of extramural areas as they invested in local property and probably provided much employment. The differences between localities at the periphery were caused by the weighting of the balance of desirability and necessity; while nowhere was homogenous, that balance influenced the overall character of the neighbourhood.

In the large and sparsely populated parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, availability of open space produced sizeable premises and gardens alongside humbler dwellings. As a result, it was characterised by occupations and land uses which required space or took advantage of its outward connections via Aldgate Street. Its neighbour within the walls, St. Katharine Cree, was relatively wealthier and had higher property values. Although it shared some characteristics with the more central St. Lawrence Jewry, particularly in the incidence of testators working with textiles and its overall wealth, St. Katharine also demonstrates some peripheral traits such as a concentration of workers in building trades who would likely have needed larger premises for storage. The small parish of All Hallows London Wall provides a useful contrast here; despite its mural location, the fact that it contained no major thoroughfare produced something of a peripheral built environment and lower property values. Its extramural neighbour St. Botolph Bishopsgate contained pockets of poorer residents alongside those who lived more comfortably, albeit that even the middling residents here were less wealthy than their counterparts in the other parishes. At St. Botolph Aldersgate there was a neighbourhood of even more dramatic contrasts. A significant minority of testators were exceptionally wealthy, while property

evidence reveals at least one alleyway of poorer residents. Such a pattern of social polarisation without the walls echoes the findings of Henryk Samsonowicz on extramural neighbourhoods in medieval Poland, where larger cities tended to create suburbs mixing elites with labourers and poorer artisans.³²²

The overriding similarity between all the peripheral parishes lies in the apparent lesser connection between testators and the institutions of citizenship by contrast to St. Lawrence Jewry. Whether through necessity created by poverty or a more positive choice, residents at the peripheries were more likely to be those outside such institutions. In the next chapter, this theme of inclusion and connectedness will be explored further through analysis of social networks.

The character of extramural neighbourhoods defies any easy categorisation as marginal 'slums'. On the other hand, many of the economic and developmental influences which were to create the poor suburbs of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be traced in the fifteenth. Already in this period these were not completely civic-controlled spaces, in the sense that the great majority of their inhabitants were not citizens and were thus not represented within London's government. Additionally, property owners like the religious houses had seen the profitable potential of developing small extramural dwellings to serve the city's poor. The landlords who acquired extramural estates after the dissolution were to create suburbs characterised by small, low-rent houses in alleyways and courts.³²³ The industrial potential of the area outside Aldgate was already being exploited by fifteenth-century brewers and metal workers. Spatial patterns of society and economy are evident in the late medieval period which were to be exacerbated and intensified by the population boom of the mid- to late-sixteenth century.

³²² Samsonowicz, "Suburbium", pp. 315–17.

³²³ Baker and Merry, "The poore lost a good friend", pp. 156–59.

Chapter Four: Socio-spatial interactions

In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre argued that space was both a product of and a producer of interactions between people, writing '[social relations] project themselves into space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself'.³²⁴ It is this interrelationship between society and space which lies at the heart of the concept of the neighbourhood, not simply as a point on a map but as a unit of society rooted in a particular place. As discussed in section 1.1.2, pre-modern cities also contained a number of institutions which invited social interaction outside the immediate locality and integrated individuals into the urban *cursus honorum*. The institutional forums for such connections can be conceived as part of a medieval 'civil society', as Gervase Rosser has argued, in which individuals might act collectively to negotiate their position in wider society.³²⁵ Although Jürgen Habermas' classic conceptualisation of civil society defined it as an essentially modern phenomenon,³²⁶ the need to find a foothold within the city when in-migration was the driver of stable population created collective activities like craft and fraternity organisations. This chapter explores the extent to which these different foci of social relations affected and produced neighbourhoods at the peripheries. The analysis considers what 'marginality' meant in a socio-spatial sense; that is, how spatial peripherality impacted upon social relations.

4.1 Methodology

The main source used for analysis here will be testamentary data drawn from the parishes of St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Bishopsgate and St. Katharine Cree, with a sample from St. Lawrence Jewry for the purposes of comparison. The methodology used in the creation of a testamentary database was discussed in the last chapter.³²⁷ The interpretation of the data in this chapter is primarily based on the use of two digital methodologies: Social Network Analysis (SNA) and Geographic Information Systems (GIS). SNA is a quantitative methodology for the analysis of interactions between a set of 'nodes' (points within the network) which enables both the

³²⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 129.

³²⁵ Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages*, chap. 1.

³²⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 5–17.

³²⁷ Section 3.1 above.

visualisation of those interactions as a network graph and the statistical expression of a network's characteristics.

Testamentary data lends itself well to the use of SNA since wills describe a range of interactions between a testator and their social group, whether individuals acted as beneficiaries to wills, executors or supervisors of the testator's estate or as witnesses to the act of making a will itself. Wills are, however, not a complete document of a testator's social network. As Clive Burgess notes, many or even most wills are only a partial representation of a testator's final wishes.³²⁸ The great disparity between levels of detail in different wills has the potential to render statistical comparison of networks based solely on beneficiaries meaningless. Therefore, the analysis here primarily uses testators and their witnesses, supervisors and executors as the nodes to be analysed, since even the shortest will named at least an executor to ensure its contents were carried out. The drawback in taking this approach is that witnesses, supervisors and executors (hereafter referred to as testamentary officials) were more likely to have been drawn from the better-off, respectable sections of society. This was due to the fact that executors and supervisors were expected to be trustworthy and, ideally, to have experience in handling money. Witnesses also ought to be respectable people so that in the event of the will being disputed their testimony would be accepted in court.³²⁹ The effect of this can be seen in figures 4.4 to 4.8, where testator's networks are coloured in darker shades by the sum left for forgotten tithes; where an official in one will also featured as a testator within the sample, usually they left sums equal to or greater than those bequeathed by the neighbours who named them as officials. It can be argued, therefore, that testators usually wanted to select officials of wealth and social standing comparable to or greater than themselves. This serves to exaggerate the tendency of testamentary evidence to represent the better-off by excluding those who may have been socially close to a testator but not considered 'respectable' enough to act as an official. However, the great advantage of the approach is that it provides a sense of who the 'central' individuals were who could be relied upon to act as officials in any parish. We can thus approach the question of whether, when testators came to make a choice about who would best represent their interests after death, they relied upon their respectable neighbours or on relationships formed through other means.

³²⁸ Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', pp. 15–17.

³²⁹ Katherine L. French, 'Loving Friends: Surviving Widowhood in Late Medieval Westminster', *Gender & History*, 22.1 (2010), 21–37 (pp. 24–27).

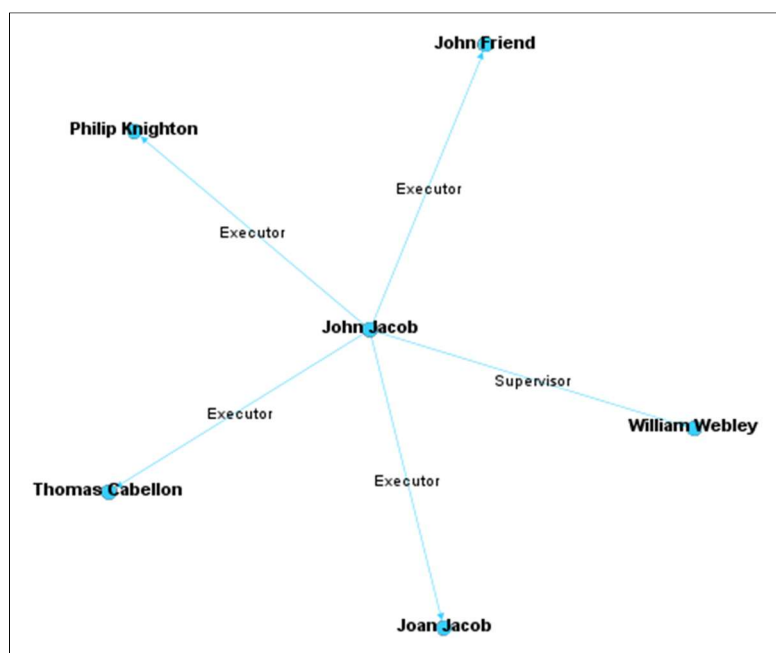


Figure 4.1 Network graph of the will of John Jacob

In answering this question, the analysis makes reference to the modularity score of different parishes as a means of comparison. Modularity is the measurement of the extent to which nodes in a graph can be divided into connected communities known as modules. A lower modularity score indicates that the nodes in a graph are more strongly connected to the network as a whole, while a higher score will mean nodes fall into modular groups which are weakly connected in to the whole network.³³⁰ Scores fall on a range between -1 (least modular) and 1 (most modular). Modularity has been calculated within the Gephi SNA software, using an algorithm which calculates ‘up to a multiplicative constant, the number of edges falling within groups minus the expected number in an equivalent network with edges placed at random’ and aims for the fastest possible calculation time by placing nodes into communities with the greatest number of inward connections.³³¹ This means that scores are comparable between networks of different sizes and that statistical communities of highest modularity (represented in each graph by assigned colours) show testators and officials who are strongly connected beyond individual wills. While the algorithm takes weight (frequency of citation) into account, officials are only named once by each testator and thus all edges in a testamentary network have a weight of one. Testamentary networks are naturally

³³⁰ M. E. J. Newman, ‘Modularity and Community Structure in Networks’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 103.23 (2006), 8577–82.

³³¹ Newman, p. 8578. The method used is set out in Vincent D. Blondel and others, ‘Fast Unfolding of Communities in Large Networks’, *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment*, 2008.10 (2008), P10008. See Appendix 4 for the full algorithm.

modular, since testators named as their officials people with a personal connection to them, some of whom were unlikely to feature in the wills of others, particularly surviving widows and other family members. Similarly, even samples taken at twenty year intervals cannot fully account for the fact that many of the officials named may have died early in the sample period or only reached their majority or moved to the parish late within it. Thus, the circumstances of will making and the sampling process make it highly unlikely that any neighbourhood would have equal connections between all testators and officials and thus a modularity score close to -1.

Nonetheless, modularity is highly relevant for the analysis of wills, since it essentially expresses the degree of overlap between the communities found in each will within a parish. See, for example, Figure 4.1 showing a graph of the will of John Jacob, brewer, from St. Botolph Aldersgate.³³² He named his wife Joan and three men as his executors and William Webley as their supervisor, and together they form a community within the graph. Taking a sample of wills together to make a graph results in a network formed of these 'will communities' which interconnect through a number of recurrent individuals who feature in official relationships to more than one testator. Thus, see Figure 4.2 again showing Jacob's will, but now in a network containing other wills from the same sample. We now see that he is connected to Thomas White, another brewer of the same parish, through John Friend who acted as executor to Jacob and witness to White. Jacob is also directly connected to John Boston, a carpenter of the same parish, since Boston named him as executor. This network has a modularity score of 0.423. To set this figure in context, Figure 4.3 shows Jacob's will again, but this time in a graph with two other wills with no interconnections; this graph has a higher modularity score of 0.645, indicating that the communities in this graph are more weakly connected to one another. Therefore, what appear to be small differences in modularity score can actually express large differences between networks.

There are some other elements of these graphs which visually represent important information about the testamentary network. The edges (connections) between each node have an arrow indicating the direction of the relationship from testator to official. The number of connections inwards (i.e. the number of times an individual is cited as an official) is expressed as the in-degree of the node representing that individual. In Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 nodes have been sized relative to their in-degree, thereby highlighting the individuals who figure most prominently in the wills of others. For

³³² TNA PROB 11/8/34.

instance, in Figure 4.2 the goldsmith John Friend has an in-degree of 2. His prominent position in the network of testators for Aldersgate invites further analysis of his position in local society; by reference to the register of the parish fraternity, we see that he, Thomas White and John Jacob were all members of the local Fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, Jacob and Friend acting as wardens together in 1482-3.³³³ As this demonstrates, SNA ‘does not provide an *explanum* but an *interim explanandum*’,³³⁴ enabling the visualisation of social relationships as a tool for formulating questions about the deeper processes at work in producing those relationships.

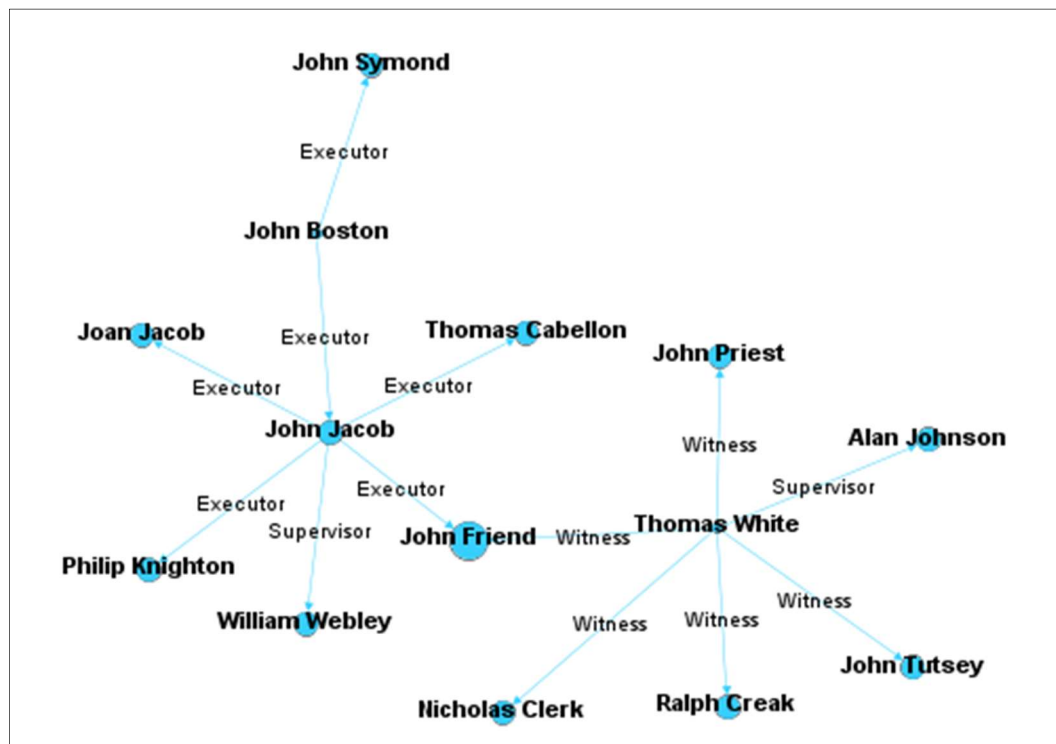


Figure 4.2 Network graph of the wills of John Jacob, John Boston and Thomas White

³³³ ‘Appendix: Membership and office-holding (141-3),’ in *Parish Fraternity Register Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and SS. Fabian and Sebastian (Parish of St. Botolph Without Aldersgate)*, ed. by Patricia Basing (London: London Record Society, 1982), pp. 82-86, in *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol18/pp82-86>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

³³⁴ Verbruggen, ‘Literary strategy’, p. 599.

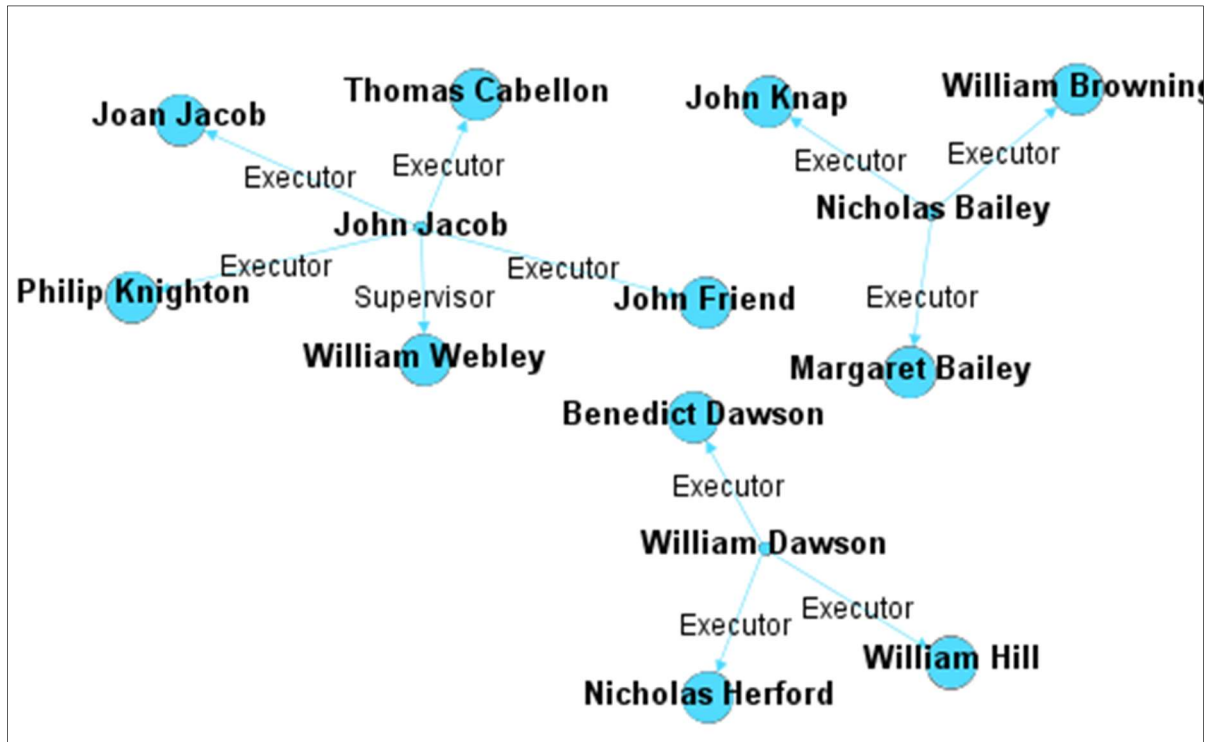


Figure 4.3 Network graph of the wills of John Jacob, Nicholas Bailey and William Dawson

The other methodology used to visualise testamentary data here is GIS software. The primary purpose of the use of GIS here is to present information about bequests in a way which enables their spatial aspect to be considered. The data has been drawn from the same database of sampled wills as that used in the previous chapter and in the network analysis. Co-ordinates for locations which were the objects of bequests outside London have been drawn from the Gazetteer of British Place Names or Open Domesday for hamlets unlisted in the Gazetteer.³³⁵ Locations for bequests within London have been approximated from the Historic Towns Atlas Gazetteer of London in 1520, with all bequests to a parish outside the testator's own (including for its church, poor and parishioners) represented by single point. The approach roads to the gates which run through the three extramural parishes in the sample have been mapped with the aid of the highway routes set out in John Ogilby's 1675 atlas *Britannia*.³³⁶

An assumption has been made in analysing spatial data that testators selected locations with which they had a particular connection as a focus for bequests. Scholars have sometimes assumed, in the absence of other information about testators' lives, that

³³⁵ The Association of British Counties, *Gazetteer of British Place Names* <<http://www.gazetteer.org.uk/>> [accessed 11 May 2016]; Anna Powell-Smith and J.J.N. Palmer, *Open Domesday* <<http://opendomesday.org/>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

³³⁶ Plates available at *John Ogilby's Britannia Part One Entire 1675* <<https://www.fulltable.com/vts/m/map/ogilby/mna.htm>> [accessed 2 June 2016].

bequests located outside the testator's place of residence indicate prior residence or places of origin.³³⁷ However, analyses of spiritual bequests to religious foundations have revealed more complex patterns of giving, based both on proximity to the testator's residence as well as to their conceptions of space, such as Sheila Sweetinburgh's work on bequests to medieval English hospitals and Anne Lester's on testators in Champagne.³³⁸ Lester writes that a testator's 'description reflects her own frame of reference, her experience of the urban environment'.³³⁹ In the light of Burgess' insight into the problematic nature of the relationship between wills and the full extent of a testator's estate, testamentary records cannot be read as unproblematic documents of an individual's situation. However, even if not complete, wills are one of few documents which do partially express a 'frame of reference' for ordinary medieval people, even if greater wealth meant greater freedom for that expression. For example, not all bequests to St. Paul's Cathedral can be directly assumed to suggest regular attendance at masses there but such gifts could be aspirational statements about how and where the testator wished to be remembered after their death, related to both the perceived status of the object of the bequest, its location and the testator's own self-image.³⁴⁰ The discussion here follows this conception of the will by reading it as a partial record of a testator's spatial 'frame of reference'. In this interpretation, gifts left outside the parish of residence express connections which may well indicate prior residence and migration but also other kinds of personal connection and indications of the prominence of institutions as elements of the urban landscape. As with all data drawn from wills, the picture established is likely to be partial and not fully representative of all of the places with which a testator had a connection. However, by analysing the spatial extent of bequests left by inhabitants of each locality a broad overview of the 'footprint' of bequests by a cohort will be built up.

4.2 Between networks: neighbourhood, city, region

Sociologists looking at modern cities have emphasised the extent to which 'urbanism' can be defined through the multiplicity of social groups.³⁴¹ This notion offers

³³⁷ Robert A. Wood, 'Life and Death: A Study of the Wills and Testaments of Men and Women in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries' (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2013), pp. 125–26.

³³⁸ Sheila Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-Giving and the Spiritual Economy* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), pp. 118–19; Lester.

³³⁹ Lester, 'Crafting a Charitable Landscape', p. 136.

³⁴⁰ A similar approach, with a prosopographical aim, is taken in Bennett and Whittick, 'Philippa Russell', pp. 251–52.

³⁴¹ Gan, 'Theories of Urbanism', pp. 53–58.

a useful conceptual framework for the networks formed by testators and their officials in late medieval London. There were multiple forums for the formation of networks in the city, both formal and informal. Social networks of all kinds were, moreover, no trivial matter in the late medieval city. Gervase Rosser argues that

In the exceptionally unstable world of late-medieval Europe, in which the support networks of family and neighbours were repeatedly strained to breaking point, the survival of the individual depended upon the creation of relationships of trust.³⁴²

Trusting relationships were essential for a whole range of socio-economic purposes; to gain access to monetary credit, to enable collaborative production of goods, to provide stability in a society reliant on immigration for maintenance of the population and to avoid the pariah status attached to the marginalised ‘stranger’.³⁴³ To build a social network and establish a ‘creditworthy’ reputation was thus highly important to insulate oneself against the vicissitudes of medieval life.

Perhaps the most obvious opportunity for social networks were those based on locality, the neighbourhood and the parish. As discussed in chapter one, scholars have argued that the concept of the parish community in London was a relatively restricted one, the term ‘parishioners’ referring to a group of householders of some standing in the local area and office holders being drawn from a small select group.³⁴⁴ Therefore, while the sample wills are grouped based on parish, it is important to make a distinction here between the parish as a local institution and the neighbourhood as a community based on spatial proximity. The bias in the will-making section of the population towards the better-off means that those considered senior parishioners are more likely to be represented within the sample, and therefore that some networks are likely to have been formed through common involvement in parish institutions. However, simply the act of being neighbours will have formed yet other connections, and in some cases may make the artificially designated bounds of the parish meaningless in terms of social networks. In some extramural parishes, bounded by the city walls on one side and sparsely populated areas at their fringes, this complication may be less applicable. While only a minority of officials are identified by parish of residence, of the 339 (out of a total 1649 officials) whose residence was identified, 276 (81%) were identified as residing within the parish of the testator. Locality is thus one of the axes around which the social networks of testators formed.

³⁴² Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages*, p. 149.

³⁴³ Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages*, chap. 5; Spindler, ‘Marginality and Social Relations’, p. 249; Scribner, ‘Wie Wird Man Außenseiter?’, pp. 30–32.

³⁴⁴ See Chapter One section 1.1.2

However, the fact that almost one in five of the officials with identifiable residences were explicitly stated as living outside the testator's parish requires explanation. There were evidently other influences which could shape the social networks of testators. The craft guilds (known as companies by the later part of the period) firmly established their central role in controlling access to and supporting the political power of the civic government in the fourteenth century.³⁴⁵ The majority of citizens gained their entrance to the freedom of the city through apprenticeship in one or other craft; on successful completion of their term of service they became both a freeman of the city and a member of a company. As stressed by Gervase Rosser, companies and guilds actively fostered social and economic bonds between members through both the institutions of apprenticeship and office holding and in communal activities such as feasting and the attendance of one another's funerals.³⁴⁶ It can be expected, then, that craft acted as an axis for strong social networks which provided access to the kind of 'respectable' men likely to act as testamentary officials. While there were some small craft clusters within the marginal parishes, none was dominated by a single trade, and so craft guilds were on the whole 'central' London institutions to which individuals belonged rather than being rooted in locality, as for instance the fishmongers were.³⁴⁷ The small clusters of occupations suggest the potential overlap between local and central social networks. In such cases, where the same group of 'respectable' men occupied office holding positions in both craft and parish, social capital could be transferred between networks. Nonetheless, company-based connections represent an important means through which residents of the margins could be part of social networks which extended across London.

If ties could be drawn in by central institutions of the city, social connections might also be maintained into London's hinterland and beyond. The high levels of in-migration London experienced and its widespread economic connections are reflected in the testamentary evidence. 18% of bequests to institutions were to those which lay outside London, some of which are explicitly directed towards the church of the parish where the testator was born, such as the forty shillings left for works to the nave of Holy Mary

³⁴⁵ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 232–34.

³⁴⁶ Gervase Rosser, 'Finding Oneself in a Medieval Fraternity: Individual and Collective Identities in the English Guilds', in *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in Europäischen Städten: Funktionen, Formen, Akteure*, ed. by Monika Escher-Apsner, Inklusion/Exklusion, 12 (Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 29–46 (pp. 34–38); Gervase Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England.', *Journal of British Studies*, 33.4 (1994), 430–46.

³⁴⁷ Colson, 'London's Forgotten Company?', pp. 29–34; Colson, 'Commerce, Clusters, and Community', pp. 117–19.

church at Allingbourne, Sussex by the widow Sibyl Bret.³⁴⁸ Such specificity in the reason for a bequest is unusual, however, and the possibility that not all extramural bequests denote places of birth ought to be borne in mind. Returning to the will of John Jacob the brewer from Aldersgate, he wished that ‘five marks are spent on the church of the parish of St. Hilary, Cornwall where I was born’, but also makes bequests of land at West Ham, Essex and a house at Stanbridge, Bedfordshire and left twenty shillings worth of charcoal to the poor of the parish of Tottenham, Middlesex.³⁴⁹ This example is a clear reminder that connections outside London might reflect business interests and connections built up over the testator’s lifetime as well as their place of birth. London’s central role in the economy of England prompted both migration and the building of long-distance business networks.³⁵⁰ These connections, whilst more difficult to ascribe to a single source, suggest that in addition to local and city-wide networks, the hinterland also might exert an influence on the sociability of residents at the margins. This theme is then dealt with in greater depth in the next chapter using church court depositions where individuals and their experience of migration and mobility can be more closely traced.

These three tiers of sociability provide the basis for the analysis presented here. The following discussion explores the light that testamentary evidence can shed on each. Since testators represent a wealthier section of the population, the ‘marginality’ of parishes to city-wide networks can only be suggested here, to be bolstered by evidence presented in other chapters.

4.3 Neighbourhood interactions

The first kind of interactions to be examined are those at the level of the neighbourhood. Table 4.1 shows the modularity scores for each graph produced from the will samples, indicating the relative density of connections between wills in each. The parish with the least modular (i.e. most connected) networks on average was St. Botolph Bishopsgate, and the most modular was St. Botolph Aldgate. St. Lawrence Jewry showed greater modularity than all other parishes except Aldgate. In St. Botolph Aldersgate, there is a distinct change over time from greater to lesser modularity between the beginning and

³⁴⁸ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 ff. 382-382v.

³⁴⁹ TNA PROB 11/8/34.

³⁵⁰ See for instance the connections between the West Midlands and London demonstrated in Christopher Dyer, *A Country Merchant, 1495-1520: Trading and Farming at the End of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 11–12.

end of the period. St. Katharine Cree appears relatively stable across the period, falling in the middle of most sample sets.

	1390-1410		1430-1450		1465-1495		1515-1540		Avg.
	No. of edges	Modularity	Edges	Mod.	Edges	Mod.	Edges	Mod.	
St. Botolph Aldersgate	50	0.906	50	0.930	61	0.811	59	0.772	0.855
St. Botolph Aldgate	73	0.916	70	0.917	123	0.856	133	0.933	0.906
St. Botolph Bishopsgate	89	0.805	57	0.923	86	0.822	170	0.793	0.836
St. Lawrence Jewry	-	-	-	-	163	0.873	97	0.89	0.882
St. Katharine Cree	31	0.864	105	0.844	93	0.862	124	0.873	0.861

Table 4.1 Modularity of testamentary network graphs by sample and parish

Sample 2 is an anomaly in most parishes, with generally higher modularity scores despite an increase in the sample sizes of testators from sample 1. Evidence from both chronicles and bonds of debt suggests the 1430s was a period of persistent epidemic disease in London, exacerbated by food shortages.³⁵¹ Higher modularity scores in this period are accounted for by testators naming smaller numbers of officials, thus reducing the opportunities for overlap with other wills: in Aldersgate the number of connections per testator fell from 3.8 in sample 1 to 2.6, in Aldgate parish from 2.8 to 2.4 and in Bishopsgate from 3.9 to 1.8. Only in St. Katharine, where modularity decreased, did the number remain stable at 3.1 to 3. Therefore, it can be conjectured that the shortened time span to arrange a testator's affairs and uncertainty caused by conditions of epidemic disease made finding normal numbers of officials impractical and thus reduces the reliability of testamentary evidence as a source for social networks. While there were notable periods of epidemic disease during other samples, in particular the 1460s and the first sweating sickness of 1485,³⁵² the longer time span of the later samples will serve to even out the effects to an extent.

The relative modularity scores of parishes suggest some important differences in terms of the strength of neighbourhood ties. In Bishopsgate, the dense connections between wills were relatively evenly distributed through the sample. Figure 4.4 shows the network graph for Bishopsgate in 1465-95. Seven individuals with an in-degree of two or more form important nodes in the network, including a parish chaplain William Nolath, a public notary William Chant and a prominent brewer (later serjeant of the king's larder) Henry Rycroft. However, also important to the linkages through the

³⁵¹ Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Frank Cass, 1965), I, pp. 223, 227–29; Pamela Nightingale, 'Some New Evidence of Crises and Trends of Mortality in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 2005, 33–68 (pp. 48, 53).

³⁵² Creighton, *A History of Epidemics*, pp. 230, 239; Nightingale, 'Some New Evidence of Crises', pp. 48–49.

sample are a number of testators who were named by others as officials (and thus have an in-degree of one) such as two more brewers, John Wilcox and Robert Broad, and the minstrel John Ingham. This suggests a community in Bishopsgate with social relationships which were quite closely tied to the neighbourhood. Such a pattern is repeated in samples one and four; as Figure 4.5 demonstrates only five wills out of a sample of thirty-two in the latest cohort of testators did not connect in to the giant component of the parish network. The strength of social ties within the neighbourhood at Bishopsgate thus seems to be a longstanding feature of the neighbourhood in the period under discussion here.

An exception which proves the rule is provided by William Marow, grocer and alderman of Bishopsgate ward, whose will names no fewer than ten officials, none of whom appear in the wills of his fellow parishioners.³⁵³ In fact, Marow's will shows greater overlap with the contemporary sample from St. Lawrence Jewry, since he names as one of his executors the city recorder Thomas Urswick who was named twice as an official by testators of that parish. Marow's estate was large and, in addition to bequests to the church and clergy of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, he left money for forgotten tithes to the parish of St. Mary at Hill, indicating prior residence there, as well as bequests to the poor of Essex, Kent and Stepney. As a prominent man in city politics and a successful merchant, Marow's social connections extended well beyond Bishopsgate. While perhaps an extreme example, it serves to illustrate the point that the wealthier an individual was the less reliant they were likely to be on local networks. Since Bishopsgate was, as discussed in the previous chapter, the poorest parish in the sample it can be argued that the relatively densely connected testators of the parish came as a result of their generally somewhat lower social status. As will be seen in Aldersgate, a similar pattern of a lack of local connections is seen amongst the group of residents with aristocratic or gentry status and is perhaps typical of the most wealthy and well-connected individuals.

³⁵³ TNA PROB 11/5/139. Marow's will is represented in Figure 4.4 as the bright blue group on the upper left hand side.

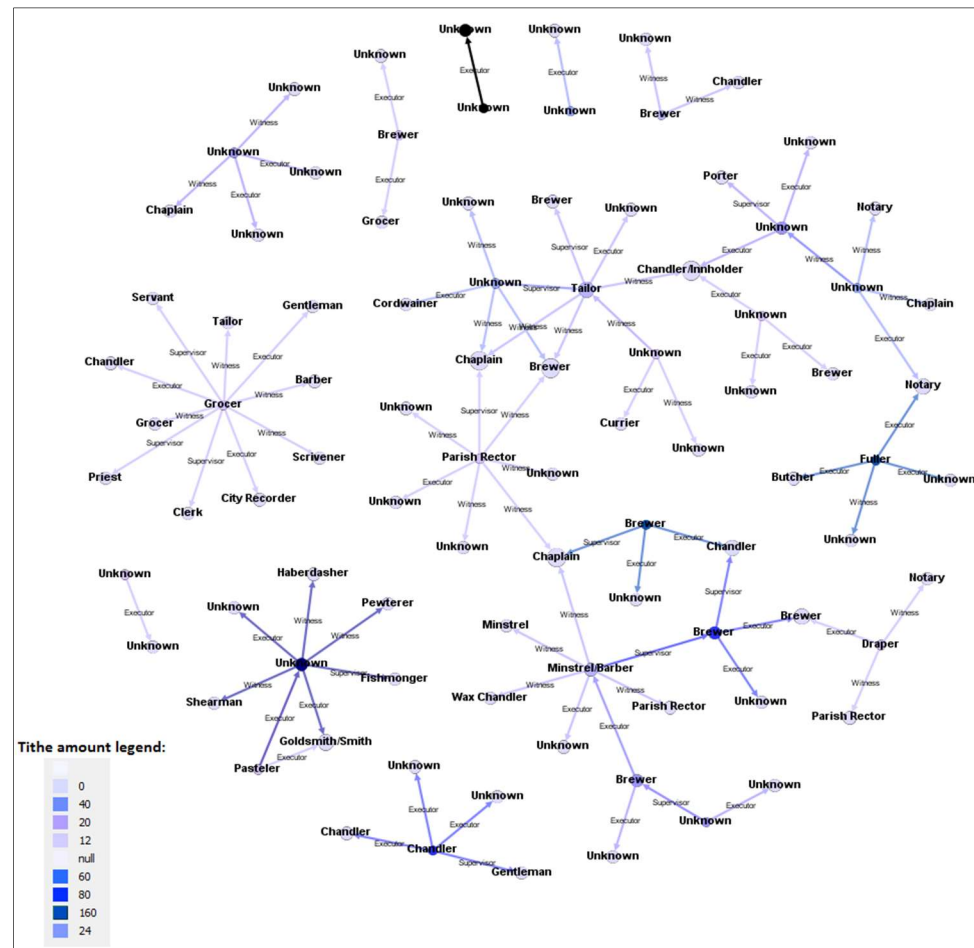
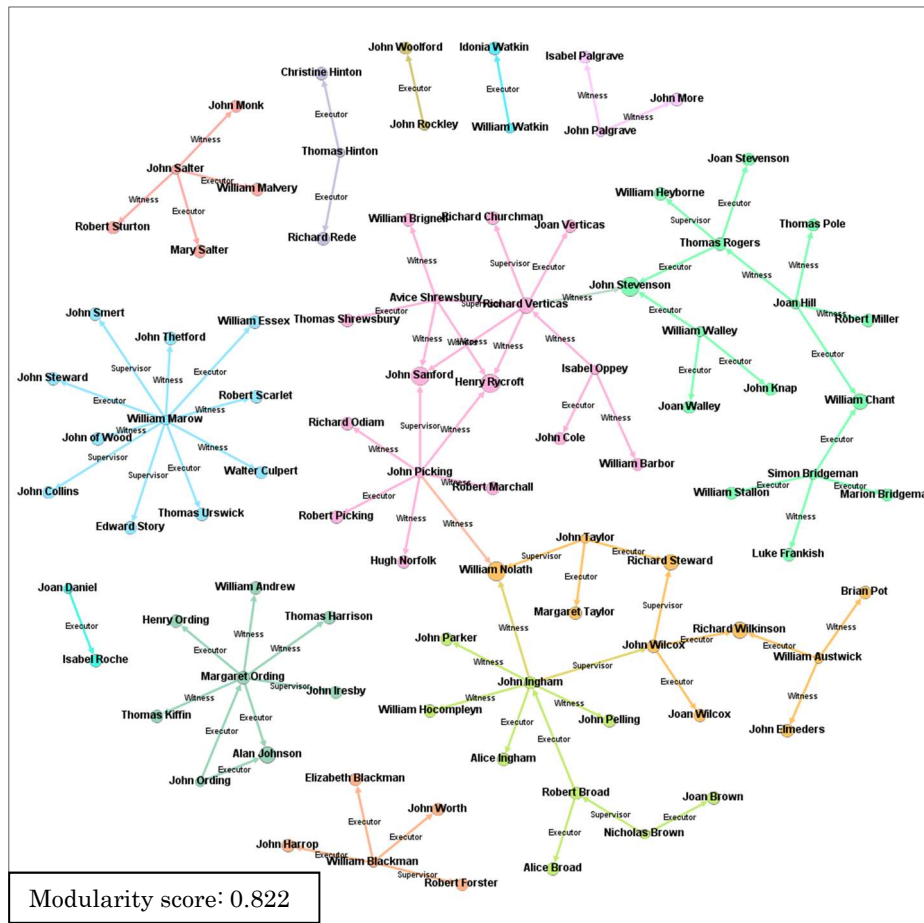


Figure 4.4 Network graph for St. Botolph Bishopsgate testators sample 3 (1465-95) with individual names (left) and occupations/tithe amounts (right)

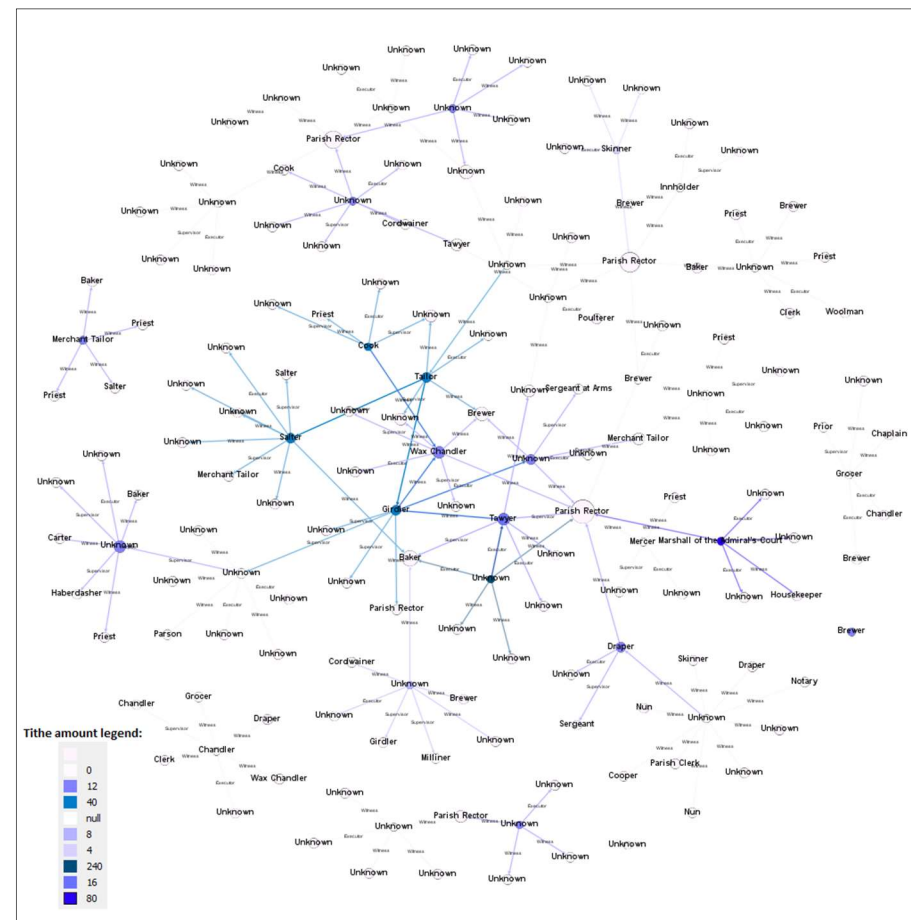
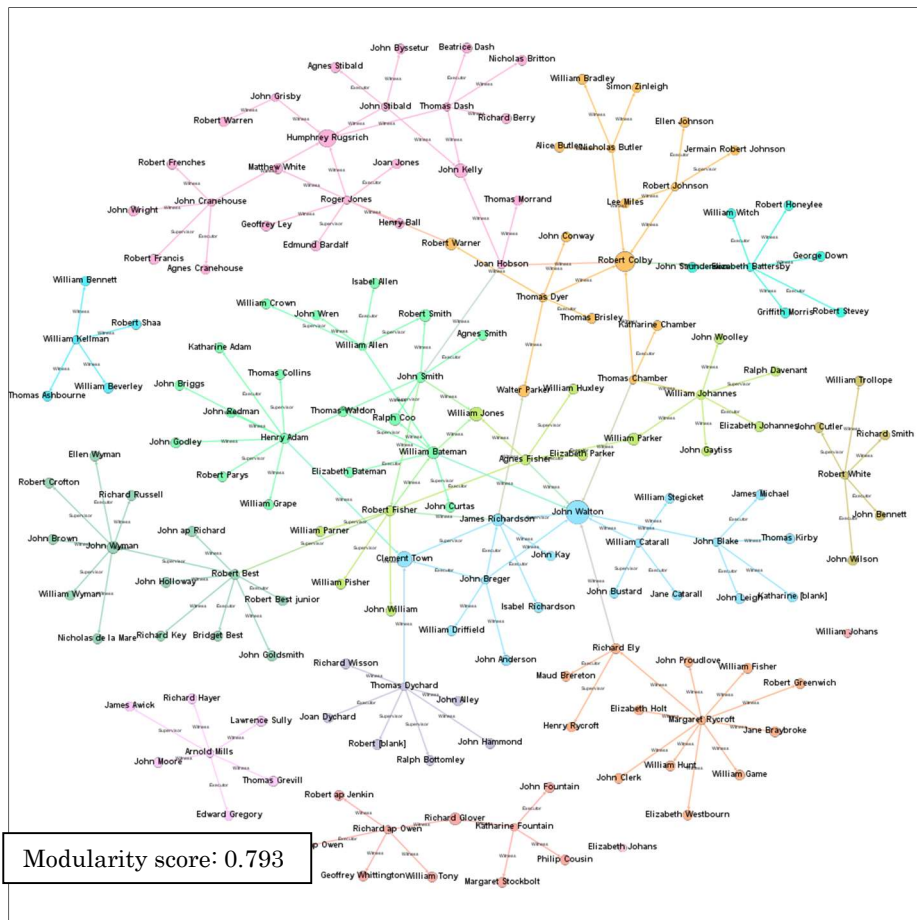


Figure 4.5 Network graph of St. Botolph Bishopsgate testators sample 4 (1515-1540) with individual names (left) and occupations/tithe amounts (right)

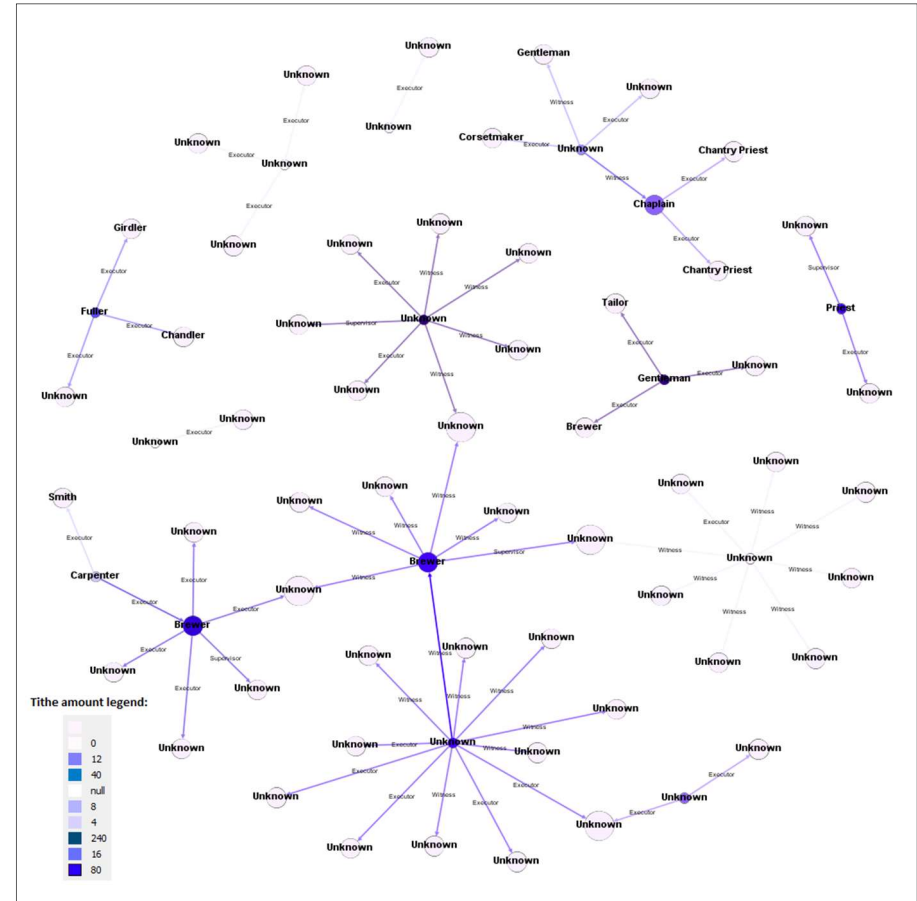
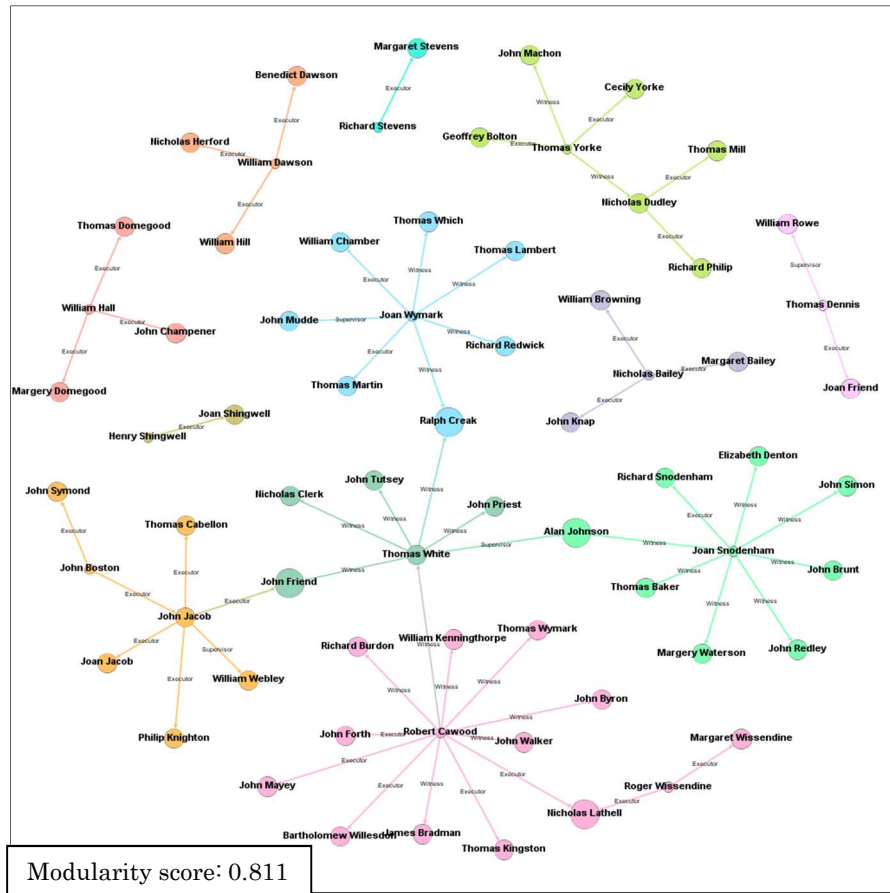


Figure 4.6 Network for St. Botolph Aldersgate testators sample 3 (1465-95) with individual names (left) and occupations/tithe amounts (right)

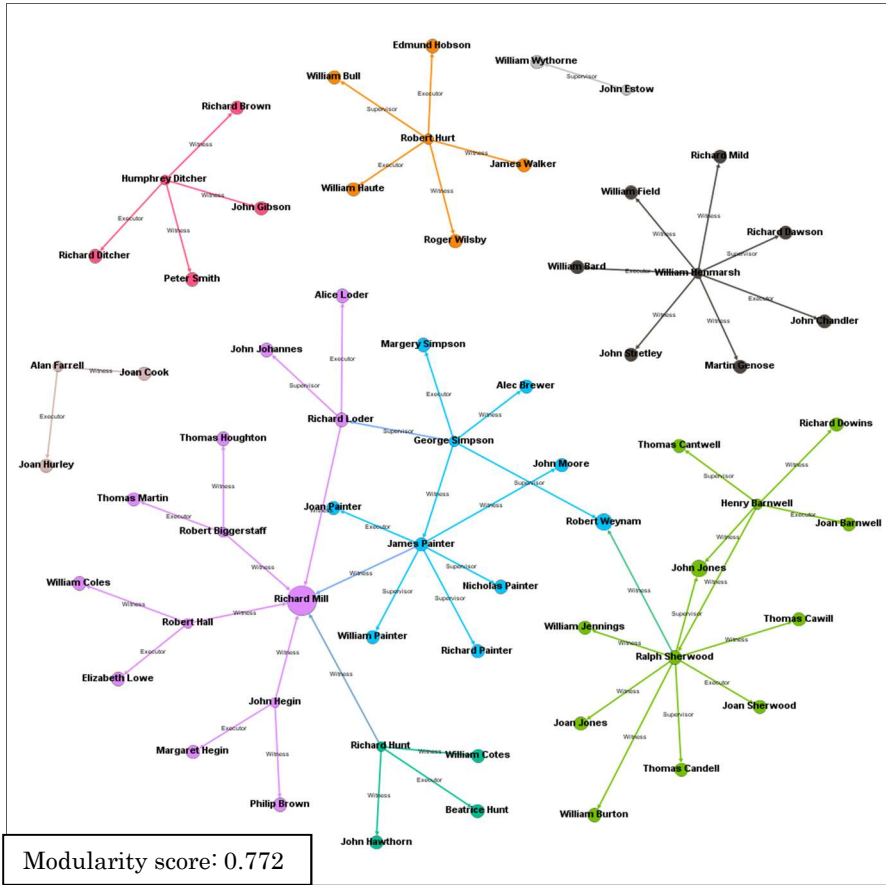


Figure 4.7 Network graph of St. Botolph Aldersgate testators sample 4 (1515-1540) with individual names (left) and occupations/tithe amounts (right)

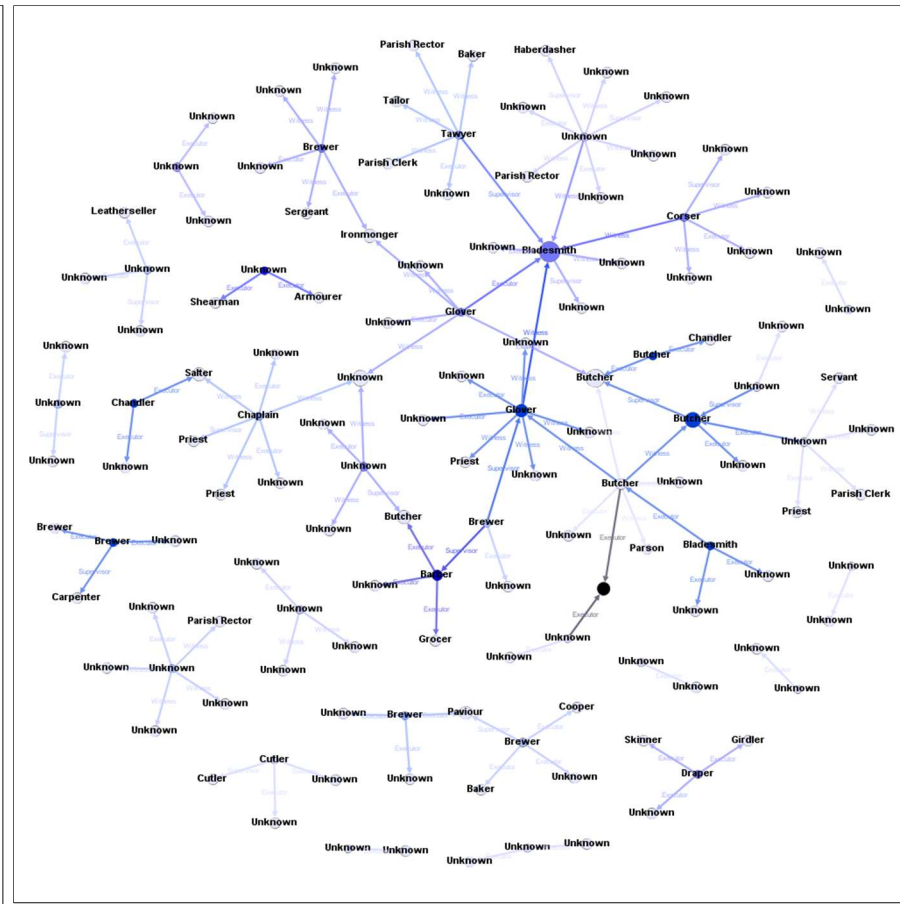
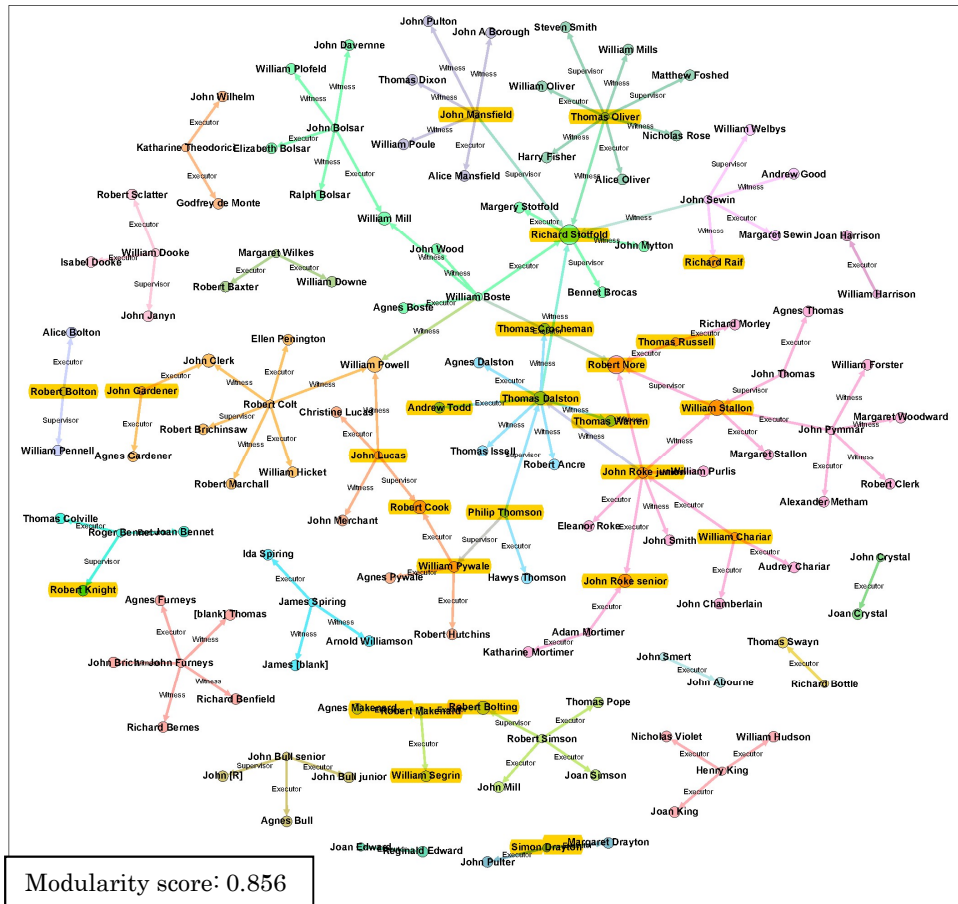


Figure 4.8 Network graph of St. Botolph Aldgate testators sample 3 (1465-1495), with ward officials and jurors highlighted (left) and with occupations and tithes sums (right)

At Bishopsgate a lack of surviving parish records before the 1550s means that it is difficult to corroborate the role that the hierarchy of the parish might have played in contributing to such a pattern. At Aldersgate, however, the existence of not just churchwardens accounts but also wardmote inquest returns and a parish fraternity register can shed considerable light on how these institutions influenced the sociability that testator networks imply. The example used above of the will of John Jacob is drawn from sample 3 of wills from St. Botolph Aldersgate. The full network graph for this sample is shown in Figure 4.6. In addition to White, Jacob and Friend, a number of other individuals in the network had leading roles within local institutions. Alan Johnson and Nicholas Lathell, both of whom were named twice by fellow parishioners, feature in the churchwardens' accounts for the parish: Johnson was churchwarden many times between 1468 and his death whilst in the post in 1497-8 and Lathell was fined for absence from the presentation of the accounts in 1487-8. Lathell and Johnson were also both sometime wardens of the parish fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian. Other men named as officials who also feature as parishioners, churchwardens or fraternity wardens include Thomas Wymark, John Symond and William Keningthorpe.³⁵⁴

While this suggests that respectable men of the parish were likely to be called on as testamentary officials, this practice seems to have been far less common in Aldersgate in the earlier part of the period. In sample 1, there were no shared officials at all between wills and in sample 2 the only connections were executors shared between a husband and wife, where all were evidently brewers, and John Clement, tailor, who appears both as a testator and as executor to the widow Margaret Morris. The decreased modularity of the later samples could be interpreted as evidence that the parish's population began to change in the later period, perhaps developing a stronger 'middling sort' of the kind that features in testamentary evidence. This is supported to an extent by the ward assessment evidence from Chapter Two, where Aldersgate was paying a greater share of the city's tax in 1507 than it had been in the mid-fifteenth century. This 'middling sort' is very much in evidence in the parish's institutions, the connections between which are discussed in Chapter Six.

This explanation is not fully satisfactory however, as the final sample of wills presents a different profile. Tithe levels amongst testators in this sample were notably lower, with an average of around 2s. 4d. amongst those who left a bequest for forgotten obligations. However, rather than a diffused network similar to Bishopsgate, the sample

³⁵⁴ St. Botolph Aldersgate churchwardens' accounts, LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/001-024.

is largely connected through the parish rector Richard Mill who has an in-degree of five, as shown in Figure 4.7. If testators were less connected to one another and relied more on the parish rector to act as official to their wills, this might suggest smaller social and economic networks within the locality. It could be that Aldersgate experienced changing fortunes as London's population began to grow in the later fifteenth- and early sixteenth centuries, perhaps initially developing a greater middling sort before becoming somewhat poorer. Throughout, it appears to have maintained a stable attraction to the gentry and those employed by the aristocracy.³⁵⁵

Institutional records outside Aldgate can also illuminate the effects of locality on testamentary networks. Wardmote presentments for the ward of Portsoken, which lay within the boundaries of the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, survive in a run with interruptions from the 1460s to the first decade of the sixteenth century. The names of many testators and officials can be found amongst the jurors of the wardmote; since jurors were supposed to be drawn from the *probi homines* of the ward, this is fully to be expected and echoes the pattern seen in Aldersgate. In all, twenty-eight jurors can be identified in the testamentary network for 1465-95, and their names are highlighted in the network graph in Figure 4.8. What is most interesting, however, is that the majority of jurors fall within the 'giant component' of the network; that is, the largest set of connected nodes within the graph. Only seven lie outside the giant component and three of those are part of another, smaller network. These networks will be discussed further in Chapter Six, as part of discussion of how the exercise of local policing served to define the 'respectable' portion of the neighbourhood. Corroboration with institutional sources reveals that, for many men, officiating a neighbours' will was often the endpoint of associations which had lasted throughout their adult lives.

Therefore, in each parish locality served as an integrative force within testamentary networks. Fostered by the kinds of institutional involvement recorded by parish, ward and fraternity records as well the less thoroughly recorded, although no less important, sociability born of proximity to neighbours. The institutions of parish, fraternity and ward were common to all London neighbourhoods, as were respectable clerical figures like the parish rector. Locality was therefore a factor in social relations which lowered modularity within testamentary network graphs, albeit that the strength of local ties varied from place to place.

³⁵⁵ See above section 3.5.

St. Botolph Aldgate's network graphs show the highest average modularity score of any parish and several of the neighbourhood's circumstances suggest that here the integrative function of locality had a weaker impact on testamentary networks. Firstly, it was a large and relatively sparsely populated parish. By the calculation of the chantry certificates of 1548 it contained 1,100 communicants, just 200 more than nearby intramural St. Dunstan in the East and yet more than twice St. Dunstan's size.³⁵⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter, even its houses seem to have been built in something of a rural style. It may well be that, with a more diffused population, sociability outside the formal structures of the parish and ward was weaker. The roads of Aldgate Street, Minories and Houndsditch may have formed their own neighbourhoods, as may also have been the case with the area around East Smithfield within the Abbot of St. Mary Grace's liberty. In such a potentially multi-centred neighbourhood, parish-level sources have real limitations. The overall modularity score is also closest to the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry where, as will be discussed in the next section, craft and trade connections appear to have played a greater role in the formation of testamentary networks. If craft ties were stronger outside Aldgate, this may have served to reinforce the effects of a less concentrated population. The population of continental immigrants also served to weaken neighbourly ties. The final sample of wills contains six testators who were aliens with few connections within the parish.³⁵⁷ Migrant identity and background, then, could be a fault line through local society which served to create what can be termed cultural disconnection within the neighbourhood, in turn acting to increase the modularity of local social networks. There were other outlying wills in the sample, but this was the only group of outlying testators with a clear trait in common. The impact of cultural disconnection in terms of the experience of sociability will be further explored in Chapter Five. The potential for locality to act as a fulcrum of social networks outside Aldgate may have been lessened by the presence of individuals with close ties to other communities as well as divisions into spatially distinct neighbourhoods.

At St. Katharine Cree, there is a lack of corroborating records for the ward or parish against which to confirm the identities of officials and the role that parish networks might have played in forming local ties here. Undoubtedly, however, such

³⁵⁶ 'Chantry Certificate, 1548: City of London', in *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, ed. by C. J. Kitching (London: London Record Society, 1980), pp. 1-60, in *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol16/pp1-60>> [accessed 20 January 2017].

³⁵⁷ This is discussed further below in section 4.5

networks would have existed. St. Katharine had an unusual arrangement in that its parish church lay in the grounds of Holy Trinity Priory which, as we have seen, was also a major landowner in the parish. The connections forged between the clergy and laity are suggested in part in the testamentary networks: the Priory's rent collector John Fulbourne was named as an official seven times by parishioners and a Prior, Thomas Pomeroy, was named twice as well as a canon of the Priory, John Upton, who was named once. Clergy formed 12% of all officials named in St. Katharine Cree. While this was within the range of 9-18% in other parishes, it is notable that the role of parish rector was less important here than in other parishes. Whilst in St. Botolph Bishopsgate 41% of all clerical officials named were the contemporary rector, this figure was just 19% at St. Katharine. It seems likely that many of the clerks and clergy of unidentified station who formed 49% of the religious officials named in St. Katharine were attached to the Priory in some way. Ties to the Priory were also expressed by testators in their choice of burial location, with 13% choosing to be buried within the Priory; as a result, burial in the parish church or its churchyard was less popular than in any other parish at 69% of testators against 75-88% in other parishes. The lack of surviving evidence for parish activities ought not to be interpreted as implying their absence in St. Katharine. While it does seem that the presence of the Priory influenced the nature of relationships between laity and clergy, it did not mean the clergy dominated the choice of testamentary officials more than elsewhere. The average modularity score which lay in the middle of all the parishes suggests that, as elsewhere, locality exerted some influence in the creation of social networks alongside other factors.

Moving from officials to the wider group of individuals named in wills, the importance of locality is underlined once again. As Table 4.2 indicates, of more than 400 individuals (beneficiaries and officials) who were stated to live within London, the majority lived within the parish of the testator. This was most apparent in Aldgate and Bishopsgate parishes, where 79% and 82% respectively were drawn from the same parish and lowest at Aldersgate with 69%. Many were members of the testator's own household as spouses or apprentices, but other local connections are also apparent. Amongst the most popular local figures to receive bequests or act as officials were clergy associated with the parish church. While this might be a formulaic bequest, some testators specifically named the local clergy in receipt of bequests, often with a request to remember them in their prayers. For instance, the butcher Richard Hartlepool left twenty pence to Sir Henry Markham, chaplain of the parish of St. Botolph Aldersgate, to

pray for his soul.³⁵⁸ Other recipients were apparently lay friends and neighbours, such as Joan Capper who was left twelve pence in the will of her fellow parishioner at Aldersgate, the widow Margaret Morris. Maurice Clerk, a wax chandler was left sixteen pence by his neighbour Walter Spencer in 1477.³⁵⁹ While intriguing, there is usually little detail given about the association between a testator and recipients from outside their own family or household. A notable exception is a bequest by Constance Gates of St. Lawrence Jewry to an unnamed woman who was her pewfellow.³⁶⁰ At St. Katharine and St. Lawrence, a considerable minority of individuals were simply described as being ‘of London’, usually as part of a designation of their citizenship and company membership. This may well indicate the greater importance of citizenship and craft in the parishes within the walls, a factor which is explored more thoroughly in the next section.

In summary, local circumstances produced social networks of different characters, evident in the divergent modularity scores of the sample parishes. Within this diversity, certain themes can be seen in the factors which affected the modularity of each network to a greater or lesser degree. The effect of locality or neighbourly integration served to lower modularity by fostering connections through formal and informal social interaction within the parish. This effect might be lessened where the geography of a parish made smaller neighbourhoods a more natural venue for sociability. Cultural disconnection could also balance the impact of local integration as social groups with a differing identity to their neighbours sought out other networks. As will be seen in the next section, occupational interest groups similarly sought connections outside the neighbourhood which served to increase network modularity.

4.4 Occupational ties

Ties based on craft are one of the more easily identifiable kinds of network displayed within the testamentary sample, since occupation is one of the few pieces of information given about many officials and legatees. Building on the discussion of occupational structure in the previous chapter, this section aims to develop a picture of how economic activity affected social relations in the peripheral neighbourhoods.

³⁵⁸ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, ff. 270-270v.

³⁵⁹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 495v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 201v.

³⁶⁰ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 154.

Named location of residence	Aldersgate	Aldgate	Bishopsgate	Cree	Jewry
St. Botolph without Aldersgate	47	1			
St. Botolph without Aldgate		85	1		
St. Botolph without Bishopsgate			83	2	
St. Katharine Cree (Christ Church)				73	
St. Lawrence Jewry					57
"London"	8	8	8	17	16
London religious houses	3	6	1	8	2
Other London locations (Inns, lanes etc.)	3		3		
St. Benet Fink			2		
St. Gabriel		1		1	
St. Giles Cripplegate	1				1
St. Katherine by the Tower		2			
St. Peter Cornhill		1		1	
St. Sepulchre		1			1
St. Alphage			1		
St. Andrew Castle Baynard		1			
St. Andrew Cornhill				1	
St. Antonin	1				
St. Benet Gracechurch	1				
St. Helen (Bishopsgate)	1				
St. Katharine (unspecified)				1	
St. Leonard Shoreditch			1		
St. Magnus (Bridge, the Martyr)	1				
St. Margaret Bridge Street			1		
St. Mary Aldermanbury	1				
St. Mary Matfellow (Whitechapel)		1			
St. Swithin	1				
<i>Total</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>77</i>

Table 4.2 Parishes of residence for all London individuals named in sampled wills

Table 4.3 indicates the proportion of officials with each occupation type for testators falling into each occupation category. While for testators with all occupation types, a large proportion of officials were either of unknown occupation or clergy, there was also a clear tendency to name officials with a similar or shared craft. Amongst the laity, this was most dramatic amongst the mercantile testators, for whom 31% of their officials were drawn from those with the same kind of occupation. As will be discussed below, these testators were mainly drawn from St. Lawrence Jewry, and the citation of individuals with shared occupation here seems to be a result of craft clustering. Amongst metal workers too there was common citation of those with similar occupations, and here the effect of co-operation between allied trades appears to have been important in the formation of social networks. For instance, the bellfounder William Powtrell named a brazier, Geoffrey Bride, as an executor and John Robertson, a

coppersmith, named Richard Hill, founder, also as an executor.³⁶¹ Such trades must have required similar equipment and, especially in the case of bellfounding, a staff of founders and braziers to shape the metal and stoke the furnaces. Social networks here could have formed as much through working together in the same workshops as well as through the formal organisation of a company.

Most other crafts exhibited some degree of citation of similar or connected trades. For instance, the draper Henry King named two fellow textile workers, skinner Nicholas Violet and girdler William Hudson, as his executors.³⁶² The exceptions were amongst those classed as nobility or gentry and those providing services (such as gardeners, innkeepers, scribes and barbers). Perhaps surprisingly, the former elite group cited more textile manufacturers (tailors, shearmen etc.) as officials than they did those of their own rank, perhaps reflecting the importance of London as a centre for the production of the clothing for the wealthy and fashionable. When the gentleman Nicholas Bailey named William Browning, tailor, as his executor and left him a gown and doublet in 1486, it was perhaps because he had been a frequent patron of Browning in life.³⁶³ In the case of those providing services, it is probably in the nature of such a broad category to reflect wide connections gathered during the testator's lifetime. The barber William at Hill was evidently a wealthy and well-connected man, as he left more than £1 in forgotten tithes and had a girdler and two drapers amongst the officials to his will. At the more modest end of the scale, John Ingham the minstrel (who left twenty pence in tithes) named a brewer as supervisor to his will, a lute player as one of his witnesses and two barbers amongst his friends receiving bequests, one of whom was given a small lute.³⁶⁴ In general, outside of these exceptions, the evidence suggests that shared and similar occupations played an important role in the formation of social networks.

The social connections of occupation could also serve to reinforce the strength of ties within the parish, where similar occupations clustered together. In several of the parishes under discussion here, smaller clusters within the networks can be seen formed by those with shared occupations, both in central St. Lawrence Jewry and in extramural parishes. For instance, in the third Aldgate sample the butchers William Stallon, Robert Nore, John Roke junior and Thomas Russell are all closely connected as demonstrated in Figure 4.8. Roke's will was witnessed by both Nore and Stallon and Nore acted as

³⁶¹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f.379; DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 32.

³⁶² LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 285.

³⁶³ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, ff. 49-49v.

³⁶⁴ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 7.

supervisor for Stallon's will and executor for Russell's. Stallon and Nore appear to have been men of some personal standing in the parish outside of the community of butchers. Their nodes have two of the highest in-degree scores in the sample and they were cited as officials by those of other and unknown occupations. Likewise, at St. Lawrence Jewry the significant group of mercers often cited those who shared their occupation and occasionally they also seem to have shared a connection to the parish. Mercers Geoffrey Fielding and Philip Agmondesham both cited Richard Fielding, Geoffrey's son and a fellow company member, as an official.

However, while in some cases shared occupation strengthened local ties, on the whole it appears that it served to create social networks which extended outside the neighbourhood. Fielding and Agmondesham were unusual in sharing a testamentary official, in spite of the fact that mercers formed the largest occupational grouping amongst the Jewry testators. While 31% of the officials chosen by mercers and other mercantile occupations shared their occupation, only two of the fifteen fellow mercers they chose were also cited by another resident of the same parish. Sociability thus appears to have been directed through the Mercers Company rather than the parish, the company hall being located a short distance away on Poultry. In St. Lawrence Jewry, then, the modularity of the network is increased by the existence of a sizable minority who had close occupational ties which caused their testamentary network to face outwards from the parish.

Official Occupation Type	Testator Occupation Type															
	Assistant	Building trades	Clerical	Food distribution	Food preparation	Mercantile	Metal working	Nobility/Gentry	Other	Other distribution	Other manufacture	Services	Textile distribution	Textile manufacture	Unknown	Weaponry manufacture
Assistant	0%	2%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	1%	3%	1%	1%	0%
Building trades	0%	9%	0%	0%	2%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%
Clerical	0%	9%	42%	12%	8%	16%	11%	19%	13%	0%	10%	8%	15%	12%	14%	0%
Food distribution	0%	3%	0%	9%	2%	0%	3%	6%	2%	0%	4%	5%	5%	1%	1%	8%
Food preparation	0%	6%	3%	7%	9%	0%	0%	6%	2%	0%	5%	8%	9%	5%	5%	8%
Mercantile	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	31%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	3%	5%	0%	1%	0%
Metal working	0%	2%	3%	0%	2%	4%	15%	0%	2%	50%	1%	4%	0%	3%	2%	0%
Nobility/Gentry	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	2%	1%	6%	2%	0%	2%	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%
Other	0%	3%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Other distribution	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Other manufacture	0%	2%	3%	3%	3%	2%	1%	6%	2%	0%	10%	4%	2%	7%	2%	0%
Services	0%	0%	8%	7%	3%	4%	6%	0%	2%	0%	4%	5%	5%	3%	1%	0%
Textile distribution	0%	3%	0%	7%	2%	0%	0%	6%	3%	0%	4%	4%	6%	4%	2%	8%
Textile manufacture	0%	2%	5%	7%	4%	4%	1%	13%	3%	0%	4%	3%	5%	8%	3%	0%
Unknown	0%	59%	37%	39%	60%	37%	58%	38%	54%	50%	54%	52%	45%	53%	65%	67%
Weaponry manufacture	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	2%	0%	8%
Total of named officials		66	38	67	212	51	71	16	63	2	83	75	65	118	749	12

Table 4.3 Proportions of officials with each category of occupation by occupation category of testator

Parish	Total officials named	Average in-degree	% officials named by frequency		
			1	2	3+
Aldersgate	176	1.07	94.9%	4.5%	0.6%
Aldgate	281	1.12	92.2%	5.3%	2.5%
Bishopsgate	277	1.20	89.5%	5.8%	4.7%
Cree	254	1.13	87.4%	5.5%	2.8%
Jewry	200	1.12	90.5%	8.5%	1.0%

Table 4.4 In-degree of officials in all samples (excluding widows of the testator)

Unfortunately, the low proportion of testators and officials named alongside their occupation in other parishes makes it difficult to definitely identify the extent to which this effect impacted upon networks at the margins with craftsmen of humbler status. A comparison of the number of times individuals are cited as officials reveals some slight differences which may be suggestive of the spread of this effect in each parish. The higher the in-degree of named officials, the more times they feature in the wills of neighbours and thus the higher the likelihood that those ties were based on locality rather than craft or some other factor peculiar to the circumstances of individual testators. Table 4.4 shows average in-degree of officials across all the samples in each parish, with widows of the testator excluded so as to focus more clearly on relationships outside the household. In line with the evidence of mercers citing fellow mercers who do not feature in the wills of their neighbours, average in-degree is low at Jewry in spite of a relatively high number of officials named twice. While the differences between most parishes are slight, the pattern in St. Botolph Aldgate looks similar to that at St. Lawrence while Bishopsgate looks most dissimilar with the highest average in-degree. Looking specifically at officials engaged in food preparation for the Aldgate parish sample, the largest occupational category amongst testators there, reveals that although butchers had an average in-degree of 1.6 all other occupations found in the sample for this category (brewers and bakers) had an average of 1. Therefore, while for butchers like Stallon and Nore a densely connected local occupational community existed, other important food trades apparently involved connections which were less likely to be shared with neighbours. The effects of occupation on local testamentary networks were thus complex and varied from trade to trade. The evidence presented here is suggestive of patterns which may well have been replicated across the city wherever parishes were not so dominated by one trade as to become the social centre for that occupation in themselves. Occupational connections were a factor influencing the structure of parish testamentary networks which seem, in general, to have increased modularity. It is likely that the structure and nature of different trades (e.g. agglomeration benefits, division of labour) and the presence of local infrastructure (e.g. markets, company halls) determined the degree to which this was the case.

In some cases, the occupation of a testator can be inferred to have marginalised them from local networks. Thomas Kent of St. Botolph Aldgate, for instance, is described in his 1432 will as a mariner and neither his two witnesses and nor his executors feature in any of the wills of his neighbours.³⁶⁵ While proximity to the Thames may have determined his residence at the time of his death, the practicalities of his occupation presumably necessitated long periods of absence and thus a lack of participation in neighbourhood life. The esquires John Newport and John Aystow and the gentlemen John Rous, Nicholas Bailey and John Taverham were likewise unconnected to other testators in their respective parish networks. Although high-status men still cited artisans (probably Londoners) such as tailors, shearmen, a pinner and a brewer as their officials, their networks rarely overlapped with fellow parishioners. In these cases, it can be argued that their elevated social status, as well as their probable mobility between London and other residences, meant that the social circle and networks formed by these men were largely external to their final parishes of residence. These cases are similar to that of William Marow, alderman of Bishopsgate, whose will was discussed above; while for Marow his success in city politics meant his circle of testamentary officials was disconnected from locality, it was their position in a national elite which divided them from neighbours. The greater presence of such individuals at St. Botolph Aldersgate and St. Katharine, as discussed in the previous chapter, may well be a determining factor in the apparently greater modularity of testamentary network in those parishes and the reason for a low average in-degree amongst officials in Aldersgate. Despite the gulf in social status between the mariner Kent and the esquire Newport, both held positions which made them part of groups similar to the ‘portable communities’ described by Erik Spindler who did not depend on a fixed locality for their sociability and networks.³⁶⁶ Therefore, their impact on modularity can be considered similar to that seen amongst the aliens of Aldgate parish as a factor of cultural disconnection from their neighbours.

What emerges from the analysis of the testamentary networks through occupational data, then, is that economic connections were an important element of the creation of social networks in fifteenth century London, both at the margins and elsewhere. However, unlike amongst the highly clustered fishmongers, the structures of neighbourhood, parish and craft did not always serve to reinforce one another where occupations were more spread across the city. It can be argued that, as discussed above

³⁶⁵ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, ff. 311-311v.

³⁶⁶ Spindler, ‘Between Sea and City: Portable Communities in Late Medieval London and Bruges’, pp. 181–83.

in relation to the status of those chosen as officials, those with access to wider economic networks might prefer to use such connections when choosing men of status to carry out or bear witness to their final will. Given that access to financial credit and social status were heavily intertwined, the most respectable executors were also likely to be those with the greatest resources and experience in handling money. These networks would for some at least provide access to men of greater social standing than they might meet as neighbours and fellow parishioners. This raises an important question for the peripheral areas of the city which, as discussed in the previous chapter, were generally poorer and whose populations had fewer ties to the structures of craft and citizenship which might drive such economic ties. If such economic networks can be seen as ‘central’ to the city itself, in that they formed London-wide connections between individuals, then exclusion from them is a form of social marginalisation. In Chapters Five and Six, other kinds of informal sociability by people who are underrepresented in the testamentary data presented here will be considered further. Section 4.6 below also discusses alternative networks which might be formed through mobility.

4.5 London-wide ties

While craft connections represent one kind of ‘centralising’ network in the fifteenth-century city, this section will address the issue further by making use of evidence drawn from bequests made to institutions. As discussed above, such bequests are analysed here as markers of testators’ own sense of urban space. By grouping such bequests together, this section aims to analyse the ‘footprint’ of each parish cohort of testators’ understanding of city space. This will shed light both on the role of centralising networks as well as building a more nuanced understanding of the meaning of locality beyond the parish.

Even if they did not leave bequests which were tied to particular places, most testators at least stated a preference over their place of burial. In Figure 4.13, the choices made by testators in each parish are set out. The parish church or churchyard was the most common choice, with 75% or more making this choice in most samples.³⁶⁷ St. Lawrence Jewry testators were the most likely to ask for burial there; in fact, of those who made a request over their burial place, only one chose to be buried at any distance from the parish (in Waltham, Essex) while another asked for burial at the Guildhall Chapel which lay very close to the northern boundary of the parish. However,

³⁶⁷ I have not distinguished between requests for burial in the body of the church and the churchyard.

only 69% of testators at St. Katharine Cree chose burial in the parish church or churchyard, with sites at neighbouring Holy Trinity Priory being requested by 13% of testators. While the proportion is not equalled in other parishes, a more general trend to express attachment primarily to religious institutions within or close to the parish is seen in all the extramural parishes. At St. Botolph Aldgate, after the parish church, the Abbey of St. Mary Graces at Tower Hill was the most popular location for burial and at Bishopsgate 6% of testators chose the Hospital of St. Mary. At Aldersgate, St. Pauls' Cathedral was the next most popular, and the cathedral was also a significant target for bequests. Neighbouring parishes and other close institutions also garnered a handful of burial requests, such as the Minoreesses and St. Mary Matfellow at Aldgate, St. Bartholomew's Hospital and St. Giles Cripplegate at Aldersgate and the Austin Friars at St. Katharine.

The pattern indicates that testators' burial locations expressed attachment mainly to places within their neighbourhood, perhaps reinforcing connections with those institutions built in life or expressing ambitions of status through the prestige of being so permanently associated with high profile religious institutions. Some demonstrate a detailed knowledge of their places of burial which suggest they had visited and perhaps had long-standing connections, such as the widow Margaret Butler, of St. Katharine Cree parish, who asked to be buried 'in the church of [the Priory of] Holy Trinity London in front of the cross between the high altar and the chapel of Holy Mary'.³⁶⁸ The religious houses and hospitals of London would have been especially visible to the inhabitants of London's margins in their daily lives, acting as physical reminders of Christian duties of piety and charity, and perhaps it was this constant presence which inspired testators here to request burial within their grounds.

The popularity of local religious houses as recipients of bequests as well as burial locations may also reflect familiarity built in part through their role as landlords. For instance, amongst the Bishopsgate testators the Hospital of St. Mary was far more popular than St. Mary Bethlehem, both of which lay along Bishopsgate Street.³⁶⁹ Perhaps the extensive landholdings of the former in the parish meant it was more familiar to local residents. At a broader level, the proximity of many burial requests to the resident parish of the testator indicates the importance of locality and community in

³⁶⁸ DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 117v.

³⁶⁹ Nine testators left bequests to the Hospital of St. Mary compared to three to the Hospital of St. Mary Bethlehem.

their lives; even when choosing burial in apparently more prestigious locations, testators still made a choice based on their own experience of urban space.

This effect can also be seen within the bequests made by individuals to institutions and parishes outside of their own. Figures 4.9 to 4.12 represent such bequests made by testators in each sample parish as a heatmap overlaid onto the parish map of London. Although bequests to the parish church itself have been excluded, it can be seen that in each parish institutions located in the immediate environs still dominated the largesse of testators. These included parish fraternities, particularly popular in the extramural parishes, and local religious houses such as the Hospital of St. Mary at Bishopsgate and the Minoreesses at Aldgate. There were several institutions which garnered bequests from all parishes, in particular the friaries, prisons and St. Paul's Cathedral, especially in the earlier part of the period, as is more clearly shown in Figure 4.14. However, even here proximity in part determined the significance of these institutions in the sample. The White (Carmelite), Black (Dominican) and Grey (Franciscan) Friars were all located in the West of the City, as well as St. Pauls', and at Aldersgate these institutions were all prominent recipients of bequests. By contrast at Bishopsgate, the Crossed Friars, located in the East near Tower Hill, and the Augustinian Friars, located within the walls close to Bishopsgate itself, were each equally as popular as the Grey Friars. Since the friaries, prisons and cathedral were popular in all parishes, including St. Lawrence Jewry, they can be thought of as institutions which were 'central' for London testators, as common touchpoints for testamentary charity. Figure 4.14 demonstrates the 'central' position of particular types of institution amongst all institutional bequests by testators from all parishes. Each node represents either a group of parishioners or an institution which was a recipient of bequests and nodes are sized by the number of bequests. The more central a node is to the graph, the more parishes it received bequests from: at the very centre are the London friaries and St. Paul's. Proximity is also a meaningful motivator in this graph, since the groups of testators with the most shared institutions are St. Katharine Cree and St. Botolph Aldgate. Testators who left money to 'central' institutions typically left larger than average sums for forgotten tithes to their own parish churches; amongst this group, the mean tithe left was 108 pence, well above the normal range discussed in the previous chapter. Such bequests may thus have been aspiration expressions of identity by association with high status targets for pious giving.



Figure 4.9 Heatmap of bequests to fraternities, institutions and parishes (excluding the testator's parish church), St. Katharine Cree



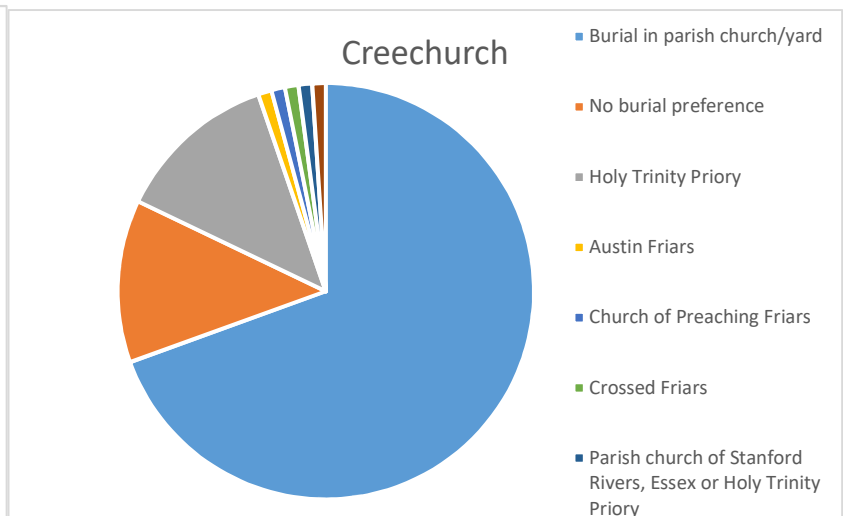
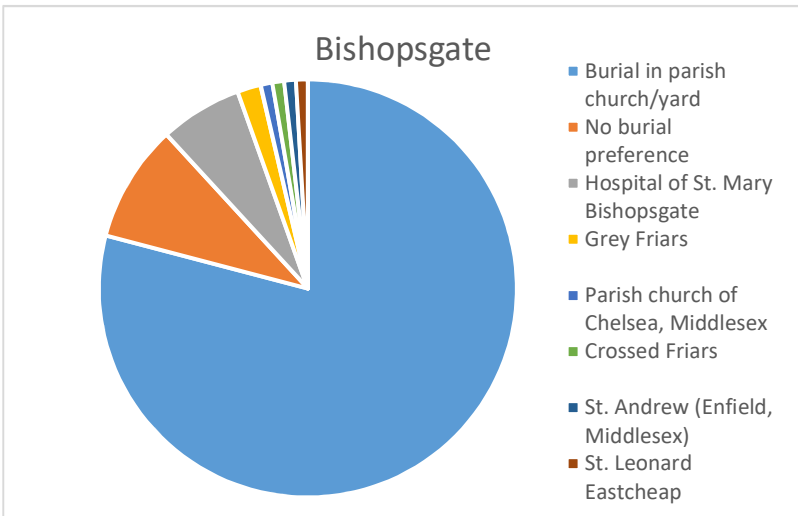
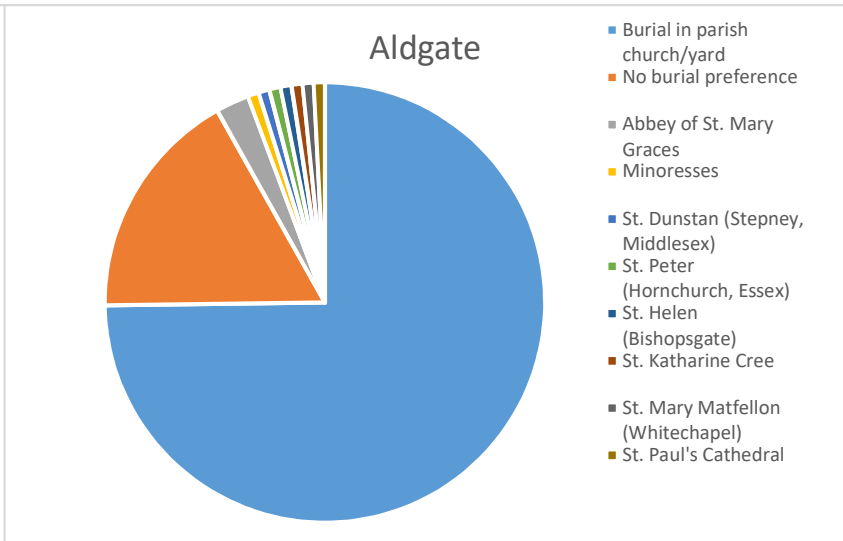
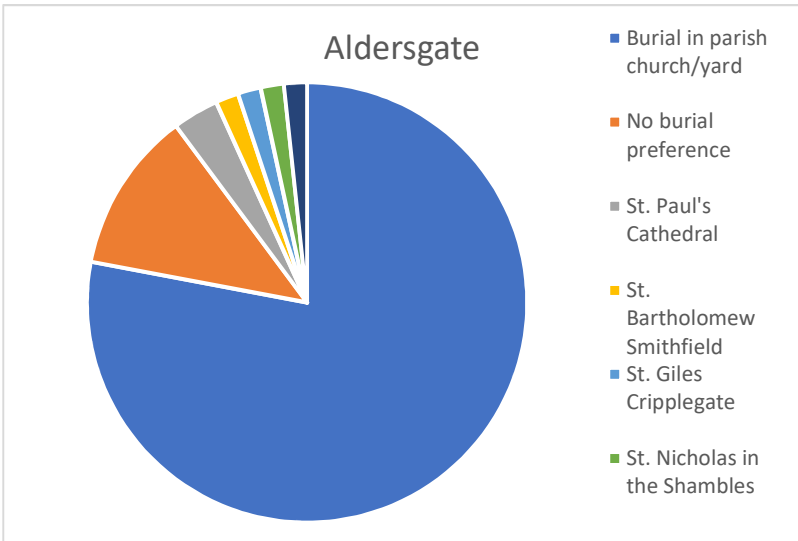
Figure 4.10 Heatmap of bequests to fraternities, institutions and parishes (excluding the testator's parish church), St. Botolph Bishopsgate



Figure 4.11 Heatmap of bequests to fraternities, institutions and parishes (excluding the testator's parish church), St. Botolph Aldgate



Figure 4.12 Heatmap of bequests to fraternities, institutions and parishes (excluding the testator's parish church), St. Botolph Aldersgate



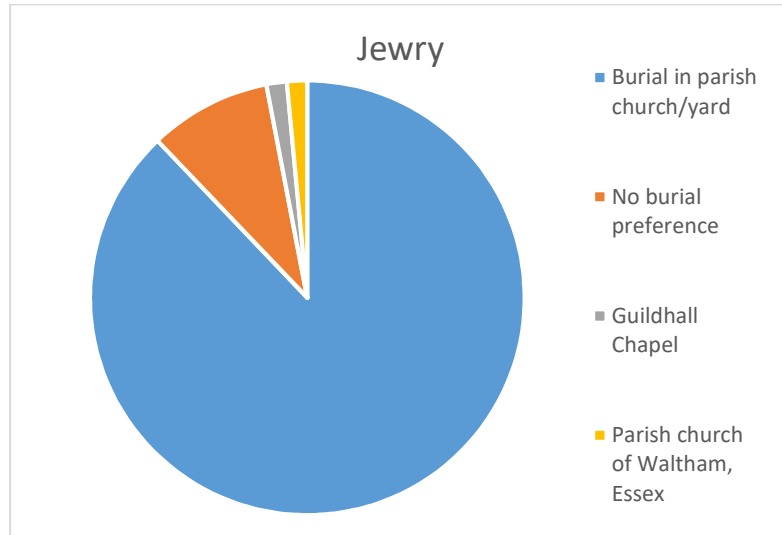


Figure 4.13 Locations of burial by parish

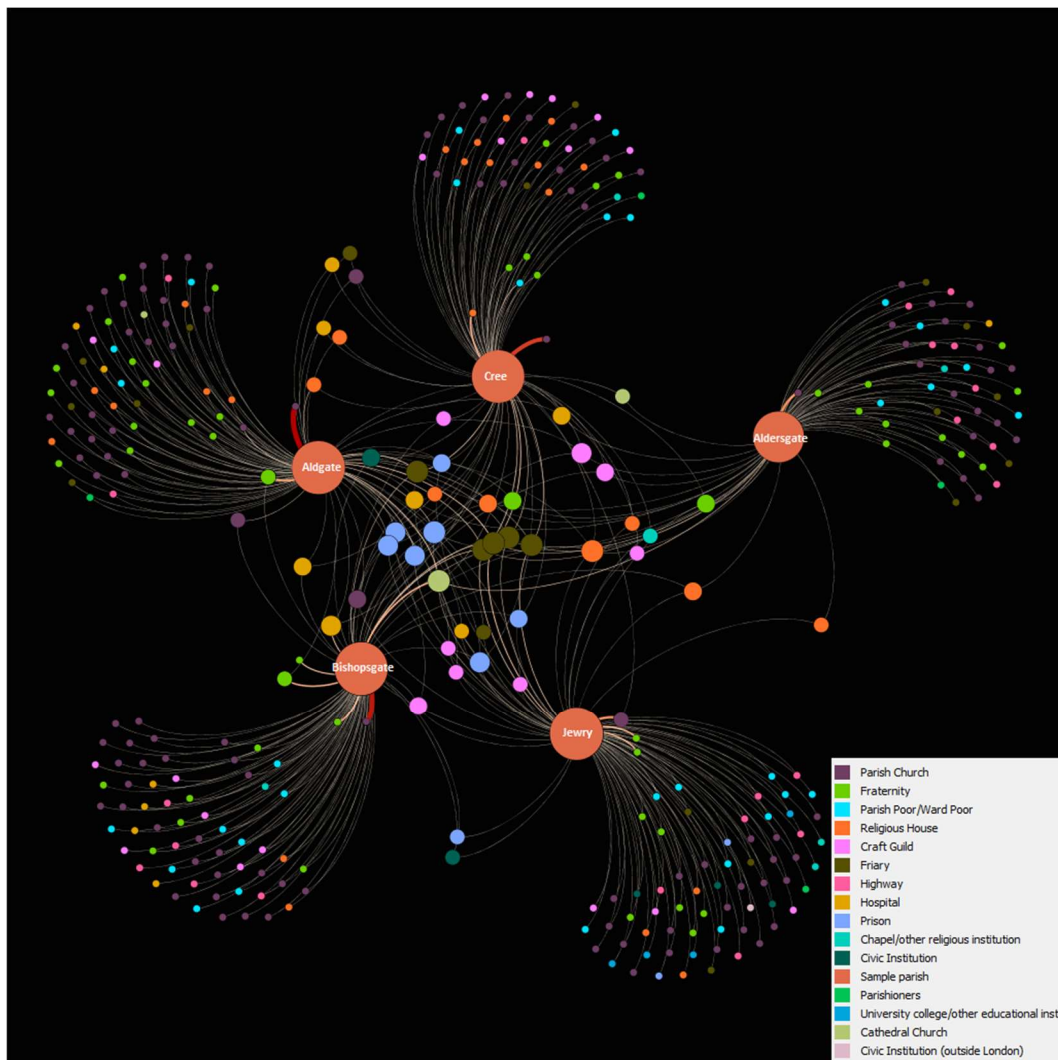


Figure 4.14 Network diagram of all institutional bequests, 1390-1540. Bequests grouped by resident parish of testator.

Notably in the Aldgate sample the heatmap suggests that these ‘central’ locations for charity were somewhat more important and the effects of locality somewhat weaker in determining which institutions received bequests. The Grey Friars, St. Paul’s and the prisons of Ludgate and Newgate were relatively popular amongst testators despite their distance from the parish. Considering the discussion above of the relative strength of ties outside the parish, it could be that some testators at Aldgate showed a preference in their charity towards those institutions which identified them more clearly with London as a whole than with their immediate neighbourhood. The picture is somewhat complicated, however, since bequests within the parish were still very popular with the Aldgate group as a whole, at 46% of the total bequests to institutions. The reason may lie in the significant minority of testators who left money, goods or property to institutions outside the city. 40% (eleven out of twenty-seven) of those who left extra-urban bequests also left money to London’s prisons (as bequests for the maintenance of prisoners), friaries or cathedral compared to 8% (eight out of ninety-six) of those who left no bequests to institutions outside the city. Such individuals would have been wealthy in order to be able afford to be so widely charitable: the average tithe paid by testators leaving extra-urban bequests was 155 pence, compared to sixty-seven pence for those making bequests only within the parish. Some of these testators, such as the widow Elizabeth Wells, left large bequests to extramural and London institutions while ignoring the parish completely. Wells bequeathed money for prayers and masses for her soul at three religious houses outside London as well as the five London houses of friars. She did not mention the parish church.³⁷⁰ Another widow, Joan Nore, showed closer connections to the parish with bequests both to the church and the parish Fraternity of Jesus. Nore also demonstrated extra-urban connections, with a torch to St. Mary Matfellow and 6s. 8d. to the repairs of St. Dunstan, Stepney. He also left a torch to the Grey Friars and twelve pence in bread to prisoners incarcerated in four city gaols.³⁷¹ It seems that the minority who could afford charity outside the city were more likely to also leave bequests which expressed an urban identity encompassing more than their immediate neighbourhood. Their charity thus projected a self-image as Londoners served by a common set of urban institutions but also attached to the city’s wider region.

³⁷⁰ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 175-175v. Elizabeth Wells’s will suggests she may have been a lay resident of the Minoresses precinct, explaining her apparent lack of connections to the parish. She requested to be buried in the church of Minoresses ‘in the little chapel before the middle of the altar there by my pew wherein I was wont to kneel and hear divine service’.

³⁷¹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 32.

Fraternities in receipt of bequests were by and large those within the parish itself or in parishes close by. It seems safe to assume that those leaving bequests to fraternities had been members in life, some bequests giving details which suggest as much. For example, John de Bee of St. Katharine left to the parish fraternity a hood of their livery and John Jacob left ten marks ‘for the payment of my debts’ to the Fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, of which he had been a warden.³⁷² In the Aldgate sample, the largest number of bequests (21) went to the Jesus Fraternity based in the parish church, although three testators left money to the Corpus Christi Fraternity in the neighbouring St. Mary Matfellow. At Aldersgate fourteen testators left money to a variety of fraternities based in the parish (the number of which appears to have changed over time) and four to fraternities based nearby, the Fraternity of Holy Mary at St. Bride, St. Giles at St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Lucy at St. Nicholas Shambles and Holy Mary of Graces at St. Paul’s Cathedral. In Bishopsgate, thirty-eight testators left money to one of the several parish fraternities, one to St. Botolph Aldgate’s Jesus Fraternity and one to the Guild of Our Lady at St. Leonard Eastcheap. Even more so than with other kinds of bequests, then, locality appears to have been of primary importance. While some fraternities, such as Holy Mary of Graces at St. Paul’s, may have attracted more status to their membership, it seems that testators primarily chose those which lay within or close to their own ‘patch’ of the city. Fraternities of varying levels of status may indeed have been available within the testator’s locality. This was evidently the case at St. Lawrence Jewry, where a Penny Brotherhood was recipient of a number of bequests alongside the other parish fraternities dedicated to St. Ursula and the Holy Cross. The pattern of fraternity giving thus reinforces the point that a conception of urban space was apparent amongst each cohort of testators which closely focussed upon the area of London in the vicinity of their residence.

Parish Name	Yes	No	Yes %
St. Botolph without Aldersgate	9	60	15%
St. Botolph without Aldgate	7	123	6%
St. Botolph without Bishopsgate	16	110	15%
St. Katharine Cree (Christ Church)	4	93	4%
St. Lawrence Jewry	2	66	3%

Table 4.5 Proportion of testators making bequests to London parish churches aside from their own

In several cases, there is evidence that bequests outside the testator’s immediate neighbourhood suggest movement around the city. This is especially apparent where sums are left for forgotten tithes and obligations outside the parish testators resided in at the point of making their will. For instance, Margaret Waldern, a widow, left tithes

³⁷² LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 267; TNA PROB 11/8/34.

both to St. Katharine Cree and to St. Andrew Baynard's Castle 'where I was formerly a parishioner'.³⁷³ Likewise, John Ordning, Citizen and Pasteler of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, left 'to the high altar of St. Leonard in Eastcheap for my tithes when I was a parishioner there twenty pence'. Ordning appears to have maintained his connections at St. Leonard despite moving, as he also left twenty pence to the Fraternity of Our Lady there for prayers for his soul.³⁷⁴ It seems likely that many other bequests to parish churches around the city also indicate prior residence of the testator. The butcher Richard Hartlepool of St. Botolph Aldersgate who wished to be buried within the church of St. Nicholas Shambles, also left torches for the church and money to the Fraternity of St. Lucy there.³⁷⁵ Given that St. Nicholas was the centre of the city's main cluster of butchers, it is very likely that Hartlepool was a former parishioner.

Such bequests were notably more popular in the extramural parishes, as demonstrated in Table 4.5 which shows that one in six testators chose to leave money to London parishes churches aside from their own at Aldersgate and Bishopsgate, compared to a handful of similar bequests within the walls. Evidence of movement around the city like this is most common in the wills of widows; of the forty-one wills that include bequests to city parishes outside the testator's own, 34% were made by women (29% were explicitly by widows). The circumstances of those who did so were apparently quite diverse, and thus a number of different motivations for their movement can be inferred. In some cases, such as the widow Margery Boyden, it appears that reduced circumstances in widowhood may have driven the move; Margery wished to be buried next to her husband Robert in St. Leonard Eastcheap and although she left sums to clergy and the church fabric in her parish of residence St. Botolph Bishopsgate, she left no sum for forgotten tithes at Bishopsgate, and her bequests to St. Leonard's were of similar value.³⁷⁶ It can be implied that the move to Bishopsgate had come after Robert's death, perhaps to take advantage of the lower cost of housing here. We ought to be cautious in ascribing poverty to this group of testators, however. The average tithe left by those who made such bequests is high, at seventy-two pence for men and forty-eight pence for women; Margery herself left forty pence to the Rector of St. Botolph. More properly, we ought to think of them as perhaps a better-off sort looking to maintain their standard of living by a move outwards. This suggests a level of strategy in moving to the

³⁷³ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, ff. 59v-60.

³⁷⁴ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 291v.

³⁷⁵ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, ff. 270-270v.

³⁷⁶ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 47v.

extramural neighbourhoods which draws parallels with the artisans who moved there seeking commercial premises.

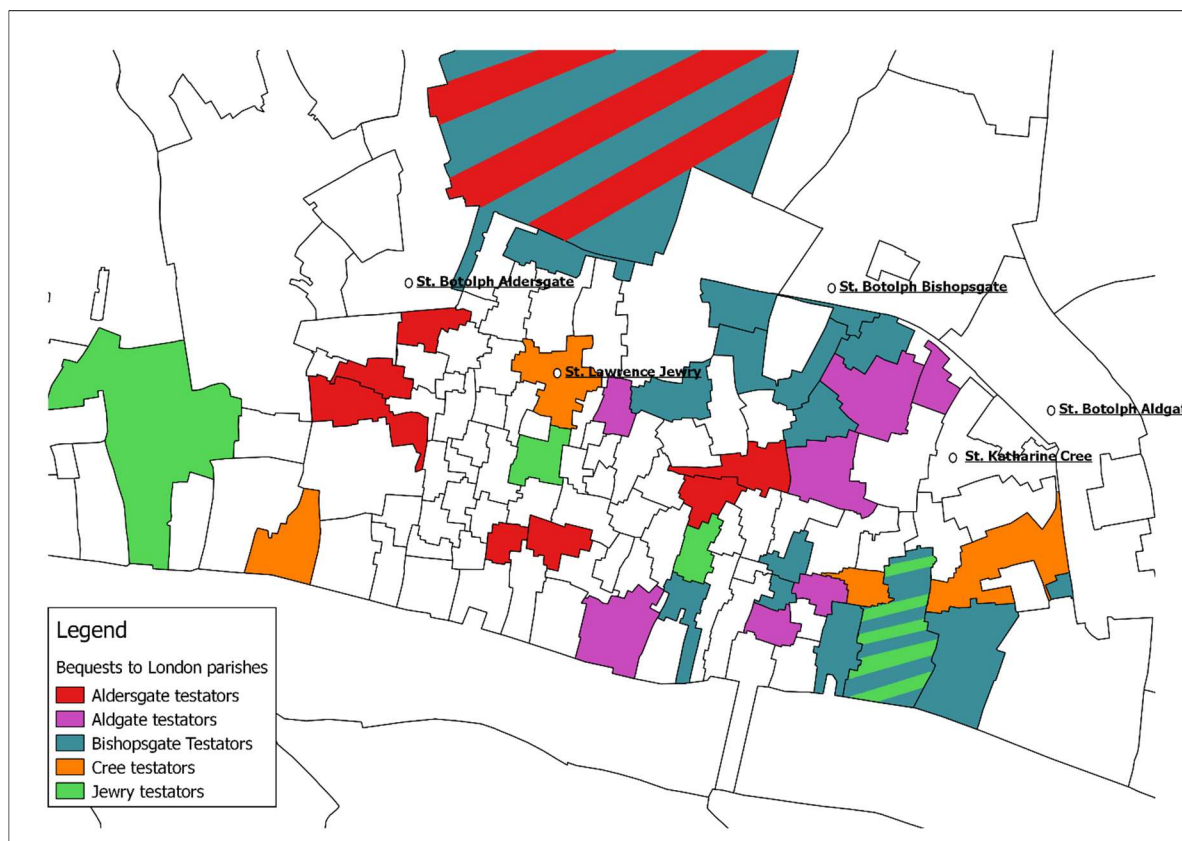


Figure 4.15 London parishes receiving bequests from testators in each sample (excluding home parish)

In other cases, widows making this move really ought to be thought of as part of this artisan group, as the move explicitly seems to have suited the needs of their business. For example, the widow Joan Wymark of St. Botolph Aldersgate left a brass pot to the parish church of Holy Trinity the Less in her will. She also passed on two cows and a bullock as well as land in Islington which lay a couple of miles out along the main approach road to Aldersgate. For her, easy access to her extramural property, which may have been used for agricultural purposes, may have made Aldersgate a good option.³⁷⁷ In the case of the bellmaker Joan Hill, her bequest to St. Mary Axe can be quite closely tied to her craft since this parish lay very close to Founders Hall and there is archaeological evidence of metalworking in the area in this period.³⁷⁸ Although a widow, it seems likely that Hill's move had come during the lifetime of her husband

³⁷⁷ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f.340

³⁷⁸ Elizabeth Howe, *Roman Defences and Medieval Industry: Excavations at Baltic House, City of London*, MoLAS Monograph, 7 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2002), pp. 51–52.

Richard, since they operated a large foundry, many of whose staff received bequests.³⁷⁹ A move outside the walls for the Hills would probably have enabled them to run a larger premises and expand their business. There were thus a variety of life-cycle and economic reasons for moves to the extramural areas which are reflected in bequests.

The pattern of parish bequests varied with each cohort of testators. Figure 4.15 maps the bequests to other parishes in wills. The map shows a general pattern of proximity to the testator's parish of residence at the time of making a will (presumably their final London residence). Bishopsgate residents were the most likely to leave bequests to parishes outside their own, with bequests to 14 London parishes. The parishes close to the walls inside Bishopsgate were well represented, although parishes close to the river also feature. Two Bishopsgate chandlers, William Bateman and William Blackman, left bequests to the church of St. Ethelburga just within the gate; Blackman was explicit that he was a former parishioner, since he left 3s. 4d. for tithes there.³⁸⁰ Aldersgate exhibits a similarly localised pattern. The Aldersgate widow Sibyl Bret left bequests to both mural St. Anne Aldersgate and St. Thomas the Apostle on Knightrider Street between Cheapside and the Thames.³⁸¹ In both the Aldgate and Bishopsgate parishes, most of the parishes bequeathed to lay in the eastern half of the city, while in the Aldersgate sample they all lay west of the bridge. In general, the spatial pattern is similar to that demonstrated in the heatmaps reflecting bequests across all London institutions.

The movement of Londoners around the city has been little considered, and it is difficult to generalise based on the apparently diverse circumstances of testators who left such bequests. What is definite, however, is the degree to which such bequests were more frequent in extramural parishes. It can perhaps be inferred that since movement outwards was likely motivated by the practicalities of living costs in one way or another, the new parish did not wholly provide a substitute for the friendships and spiritual community of the old. At Aldgate parish, the popularity of institutions in nearby Whitechapel and Stepney reflects connections in the immediate area of London which crossed the city's line of jurisdiction into its commercialising hinterland. The theme of mobility around London will be developed further in Chapter Five using material from the church courts.

³⁷⁹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 62; Barron, 'Johanna Hill (d. 1441) and Johanna Sturdy (d. c. 1460), Bell-Founders'.

³⁸⁰ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 77v; TNA PROB 11/6/404.

³⁸¹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, ff. 382-382v.

Examining evidence from London-wide bequests indicates that, in general, testators' expressed the greatest attachment to institutions which had a physical presence in their neighbourhood. Burial patterns too suggest a close attachment to the parish church and its churchyard. Testators' experience of the city as expressed in their bequests appears to have consisted primarily of their immediate environment and their bequests usually reinforced commitments to their local community. 'Central' institutions which were symbolic of London, such as the Guildhall, the friaries or St. Paul's, or civic targets for charity like the prisons and London Bridge, were popular with a wealthier minority whose wills suggest a broader identification with London as a whole.

By contrast, the wills and sociability of alien communities appears directed towards London-wide ties to the detriment of their local area. As was mentioned in section 4.3, the presence of aliens in the final sample of Aldgate wills seems to have increased the modularity of the network. There were six testators whom circumstantial evidence suggests were Dutch or German immigrants: Jacob Johannes, Tuse Bolybrand, Gerard Sleipen, Henry Johnson, Martin Danswick and John Nicholas.³⁸² Aside from the parish priest Richard Bostock who acted as witness to Bolybrand's will, none of these men's circle of officials overlaps with other testators in the parish (or indeed with one another's). This cultural disconnection to the parish was compensated for by aliens developing social connections across London with those from their country of origin. This can be seen in cases from the consistory court, where both informal and formal alien sociability was directed outside the parish. For instance, a 1514 marriage contract between two Normans made in French at a house in St. Martin le Grand was witnessed by a man born at Saint-Lô who had come from Southwark to see the contract made.³⁸³

³⁸² All have been identified as aliens on the basis of their names, as well as those of their officials and the fact that all left a will in Latin in a period where virtually all English wills were in the vernacular. Only Nicholas identified his place of origin, Brabant, in his will. The wills of Johnson, Nicholas and Danswick were all witnessed by members of the order of Crossed Friars, who were particularly popular with Germanic and Dutch immigrants and around whom confraternities for immigrants grew up. See Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London'.

³⁸³ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 269-69v.

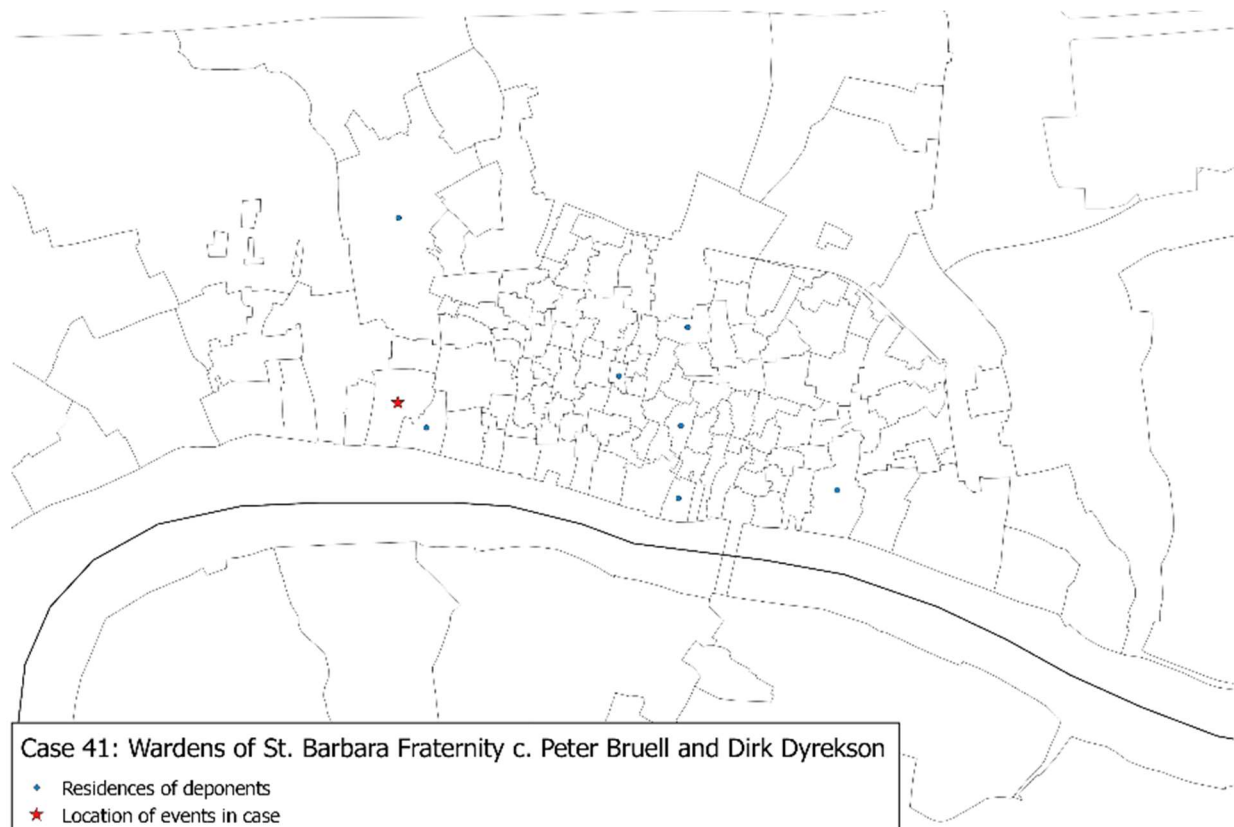


Figure 4.16 Residence locations of witnesses to consistory court case 41

St Martin's was home to a large community of alien craftsmen, and other well-known locations served as 'hubs' to draw together immigrants resident across the city. Figure 4.16 maps the residences of witnesses in a consistory case concerning the alien fraternity of St. Barbara, based at the Black Friars. The case was brought by the fraternity wardens, who sued two former members apparently for refusing to pay their fraternity dues.³⁸⁴ Six of the witnesses were members of the Fraternity, while one was an English man who appeared on behalf of a defendant, Peter Bruell. The parishes of residence given by the witnesses are spread across the city with no two witnesses originating in the same parish. The event disputed was the acceptance of the two defendants into the fraternity at the Black Friars Church several years before. The map indicates that Black Friars did not form a geographic centre point for witnesses; it is more likely that it was chosen as a venue because of the long-standing association between aliens and the friaries, where in the fifteenth century they often founded confraternities. Once again, sociability for London's alien population appears centred on sites which carried meaning for the whole community rather than being related closely to a sense of neighbourhood. This fits with the testamentary evidence showing aliens to

³⁸⁴ See below in Chapter Five for in depth discussion of this methodology.

be less reliant on their neighbours than others. It is also notable that the English man who spoke in Bruell's defence was the barber surgeon who treated his wife's chronic illness, suggesting that when a rupture occurred within the alien community Bruell had to rely on a man he knew in a professional capacity rather than a neighbour. Aliens thus had distinctive patterns of sociability which were directed across the city.

4.6 Extra-urban ties

In addition to connections across London, testamentary evidence is also suggestive of the connections people had outside of the city. As discussed at the start of this chapter, these were formed both by migration and London's central role in the economy of England in the fifteenth century. The importance of roads and routes of transport in marginal neighbourhoods was discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Figures 4.17 to 4.19 map the bequests to individuals and institutions outside the city in each sample of wills, along with any extra-urban land bequeathed by testators. Bequests to parishes, religious foundations and other causes outside London formed 12-23% of all institutional bequests in each parish, and there were some striking differences in the geographical spread of the destinations in each.

Of all the samples under discussion, St. Botolph Bishopsgate showed the most distinctive and well-defined geographical spread of extra-urban connections, as indicated in Figure 4.19. The spread of landholding, bequests to institutions and individuals is mainly to the north-east of London, within the Lea Valley on the border between Essex and Hertfordshire and along Ermine Street, the main approach road to the city at Bishopsgate (marked in purple on the map). The bequests to these areas cover the full chronological span of the sample of testators, from John Shoreditch senior, who left a missal book and other goods to the parish church of Hackney in 1410, to Henry Adam, salter, who left money to the churches of Bengoe and Cheshunt in Hertfordshire in 1522.³⁸⁵ Three testators expressly bequeathed money for the repair of sections of the highway at settlements on or near Ermine Street; the same Henry Adam left a similar bequest, also at Cheshunt, as did John Wilcox, brewer, at Stamford Hill and John Mortimer, another brewer, for two sections of road near Stanbridge and Enfield. The familiarity with the route and its present condition which these gifts imply are strongly suggestive of individuals who made frequent use of Ermine Street. No testators explicitly identified having been born in the area, although considering such

³⁸⁵ TNA PROB 11/21/72.

mentions of place of birth are so rare in wills this is not necessarily significant. John Mortimer requested burial at Enfield ‘where my father and mother are buried’ and one of his executors, John Bristow, was from that town.³⁸⁶ Mortimer’s family had evidently lived along the immediate route to Bishopsgate. However, the fact that he named an executor from Enfield and that he and other Bishopsgate testators showed knowledge of the present state of the roadway indicated that testators did not simply remember old family ties in the locations of their bequests but affirmed connections which had been maintained or created in their adult lives. Thus, business and migration apparently complemented one another in Bishopsgate.

At St. Botolph Aldgate too, the extra-urban bequests left by testators show attachments to particular areas of London’s hinterland. In this case, it is specifically to parts of the county of Essex and eastern Middlesex. Some of these were very close to the Aldgate neighbourhood itself, with six testators leaving bequests in Whitechapel and three in Stepney. The role of Londoners, discussed in Chapter Two, in developing the city’s eastern hinterland is suggested by their bequests. Butchers certainly indicated connections to the east in their wills. One, Nicholas Long, requested burial at St. Peter’s church, Hornchurch in Essex and John Roke, junior, was to be buried at St. Mary Matfellow in Whitechapel.³⁸⁷ Others, John Edward and Thomas Russell, left torches or cash to parish churches east of Aldgate in Middlesex and Essex.³⁸⁸ This suggests that extra-urban giving was indeed motivated by links forged through business concerns rather than migration alone, particularly in a trade which relied on Essex pastureland.³⁸⁹

Other Aldgate parishioners also made bequests in the immediate hinterland which suggest connections maintained or built in adulthood. Four testators left sums to the parish fraternities of St. Mary Matfellow in Whitechapel and John Vardon left money for the repair of the highway at Stratford. These were all within five miles of the parish, lying along the old Roman route from Aldgate to Colchester (again marked in purple on the map). The remaining bequests in Essex spread along the south of the county close to the Thames at West and East Ham, the marshy areas around Tilbury and in the areas between the rivers Lea and Roding in the west, suggesting the importance of river as well as road transport in London’s eastern region. Once again, it is only occasionally that an explicit familial link can be identified. John Gardener, tallow chandler,

³⁸⁶ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 101v.

³⁸⁷ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, ff. 319v-320; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 172.

³⁸⁸ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, ff. 104-104v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 118.

³⁸⁹ See above section 3.5.

pardoned his brother (also named John) who lived at East Ham all the debts he was owed and left to his brother, niece and nephew lands around East Ham and Rainham described as formerly belonging to John's grandfather Roger Gardener.³⁹⁰ Gardener was evidently a migrant to London with ongoing familial connections in southern Essex, as well as landholding concerns which likely drew him to travel home at least occasionally. In interpreting Gardener's situation, it becomes apparent that any attempt to impose hard and fast boundaries between bequests indicative of migration and of business ties is impossible. The economic connections which Londoners cultivated with the hinterland, including landholding, debt and purchase of raw materials, must often have relied on kinship networks or, as in Gardener's case, on inherited family property.

By contrast, in the remaining parishes there is no clear geographical pattern to the distribution of their extra-urban bequests and landholding. St. Katharine Cree shows quite a large number of bequests and landholding in Essex, closer to the main Colchester road, but also concentrations in northern Kent and Lincolnshire. This pattern is similar to the major routes for trade and migration for London as a whole discussed by Derek Keene.³⁹¹ The testators at Aldersgate left a few bequests attached to locations near the major road running northwest from the gate, but the general pattern is quite widely spread through south-east England. St. Lawrence Jewry testators left bequests and lands widely across England, with no clear identifiable pattern other than that the general predominance of the south east is undercut slightly by a significant minority of bequests in the west midlands and Yorkshire. Single wealthy individuals might demonstrate a widespread range of connections, such as the mercer Philip Agmondesham from St. Lawrence parish who left sums to eight churches outside London, four in Buckinghamshire (including the parish from which his surname originates, Amersham) and four in Surrey.³⁹² John Geryn, a minor royal official, from St. Botolph Aldersgate demonstrated an even wider reach in his bequests, leaving seven bequests for highway repairs, the poor of the parish and repairs to the church at Ashford in Kent as well as bequests to each order of friars at Chester as well as Canterbury.³⁹³ It seems that testators from these areas had connections to a diverse range of areas across England, which generally reflected the strong connections between city and the country

³⁹⁰ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 225.

³⁹¹ Keene, 'Metropolitan Values', pp. 103-06.

³⁹² TNA PROB 11/8/340.

³⁹³ TNA PROB 11/3/426. Geryn was an auditor of Chester for the Crown, explaining his bequests to the friaries and chaplain of the castle here. See Tim Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State 1480-1560*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 87-88.

as a whole. As demonstrated within testamentary social networks, exceptionally wealthy figures as Agmondesham and Geryn developed wide ranging social connections during their lifetimes which extended far beyond their neighbourhood.

That both Bishopsgate and Aldgate parishioners displayed close links to particular areas suggests that these parishes provided the kinds of personal and economic connections which have been observed to structure apprenticeship migration.³⁹⁴ The patterns raise the possibility that these parishes may have been deliberately sought destinations by new migrants from those hinterlands. The contrast to other parish samples suggests that this was somewhat unusual within London, and perhaps not general to all extramural parishes given the lack of such a strong pattern within the Aldersgate sample. Justin Colson has noted the importance of Fishmongers' trade links with east and south coast ports in driving migration to parishes where that craft dominated.³⁹⁵ Similarly, studies of London's migration field have tended to view its size in relation to the status of different crafts. In general, the more prestigious companies appear to have had the widest migration fields while lesser crafts were more reliant on the south east for new apprentices.³⁹⁶ The fact that these artisan crafts are more prevalent in the Aldgate and Bishopsgate sample of testators suggests a complex relationship between locality, craft and migration in which the connection between certain trades and the extramural areas may have been reinforced by the economic bonds between a neighbourhood and its hinterland.

Testamentary evidence suggests that at Aldgate and Bishopsgate parishes, the immediate hinterland of the parish and its routes of transit were more dominant in the lives of inhabitants than elsewhere. When testators in these parishes remembered people and institutions outside the city, they demonstrated a field of activity and connections which focussed closely on the immediate territory. The strength of those connections and the potential for them to form routes of migration will be considered further in Chapter Five. As with bequests to 'central' London institutions, the wealthiest testators had the widest horizons, but the close focus of bequests from the Aldgate and Bishopsgate samples suggests not poverty but parishes with a defined hinterland in which residents conducted their business, held property and most likely migrated.

³⁹⁴ Stephanie Ruth Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London, (c. 1300 - c. 1530)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2006), pp. 48–50.

³⁹⁵ Colson, 'London's Forgotten Company?', pp. 25, 27.

³⁹⁶ John Wareing, 'Changes in the Geographical Distribution of the Recruitment of Apprentices to the London Companies 1486-1750', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6.3 (1980), 241–249 (p. 247); Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London, (c. 1300 - c. 1530)', pp. 62–64.

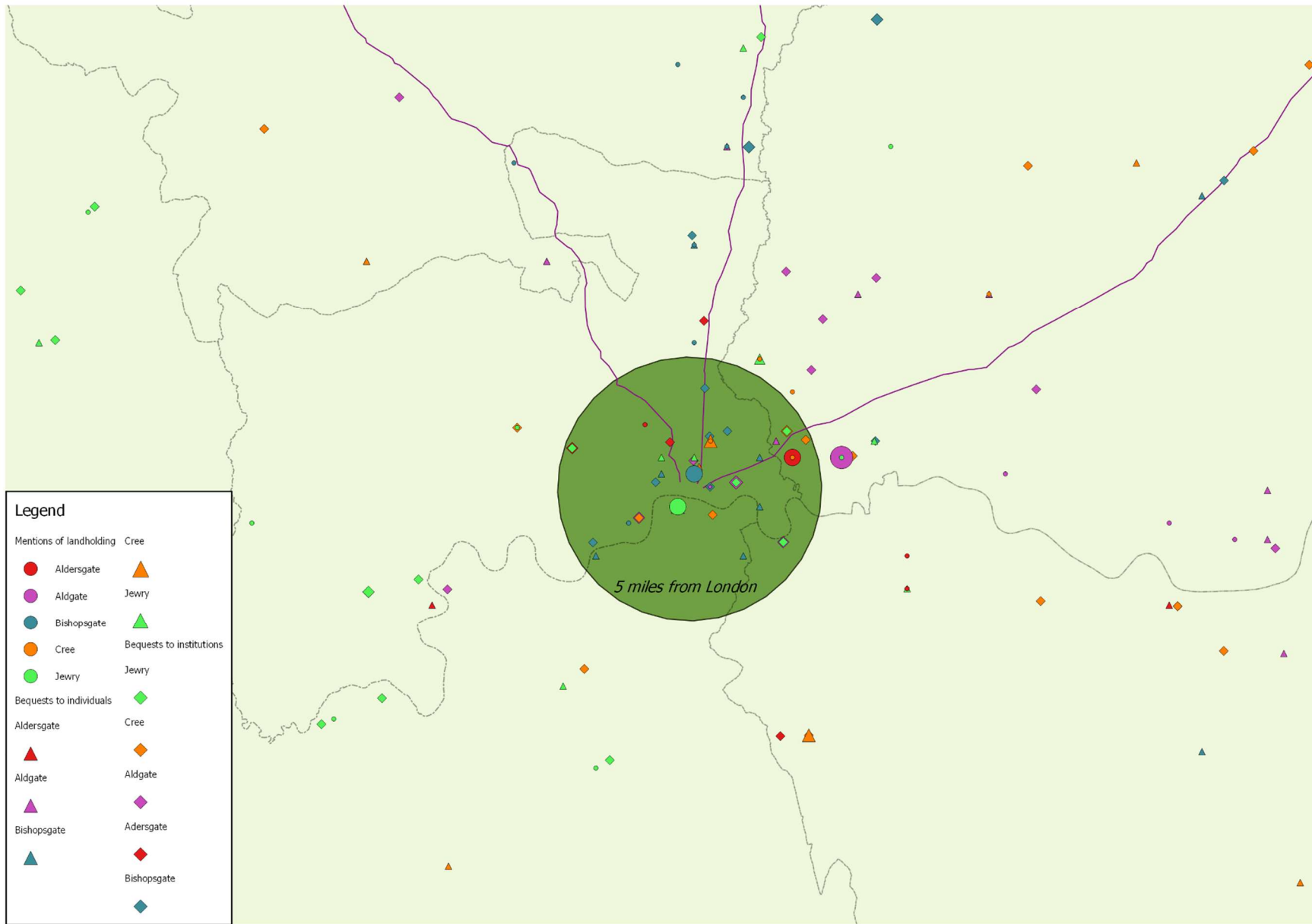


Figure 4.17 Bequests in the immediate environs of London

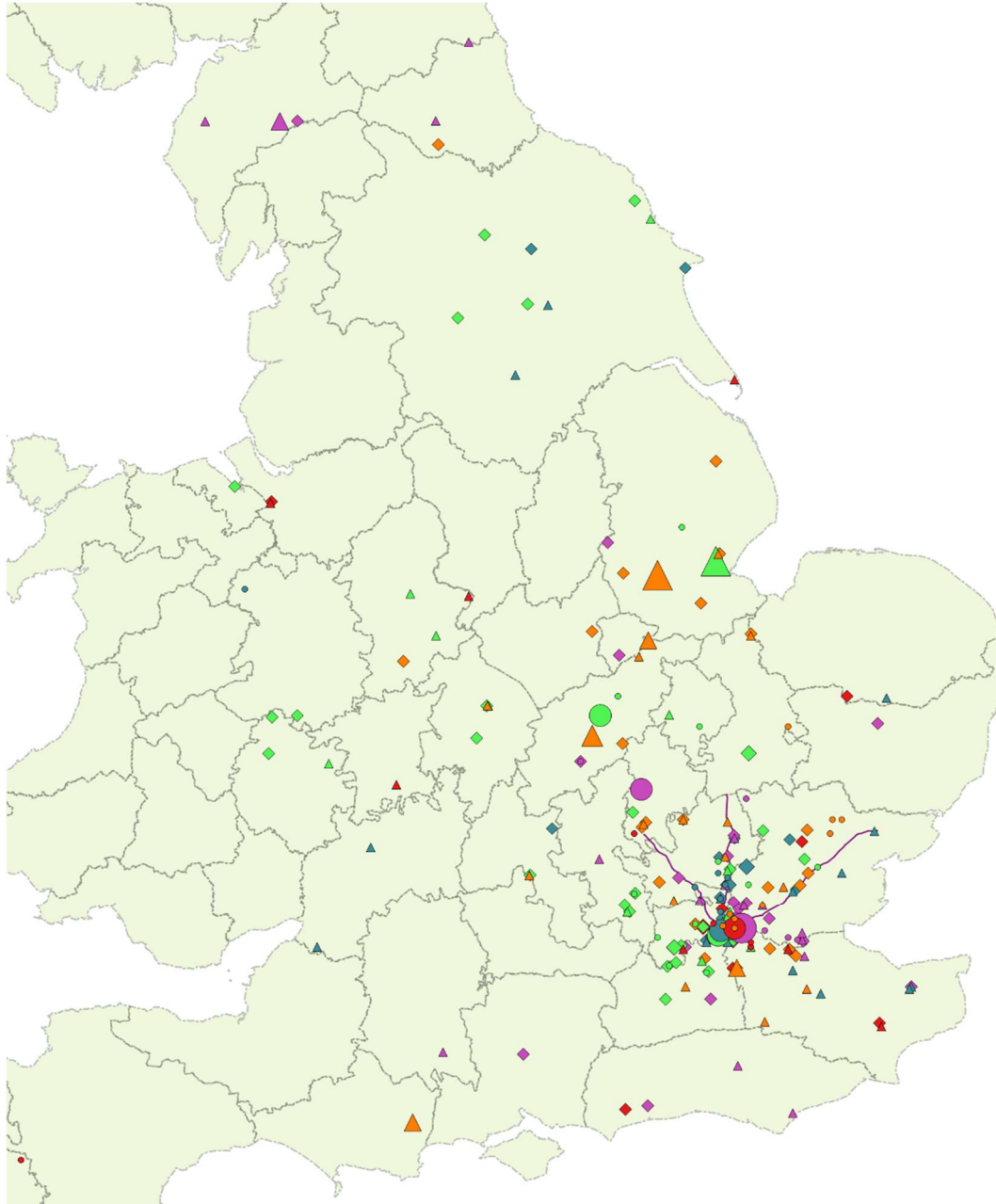
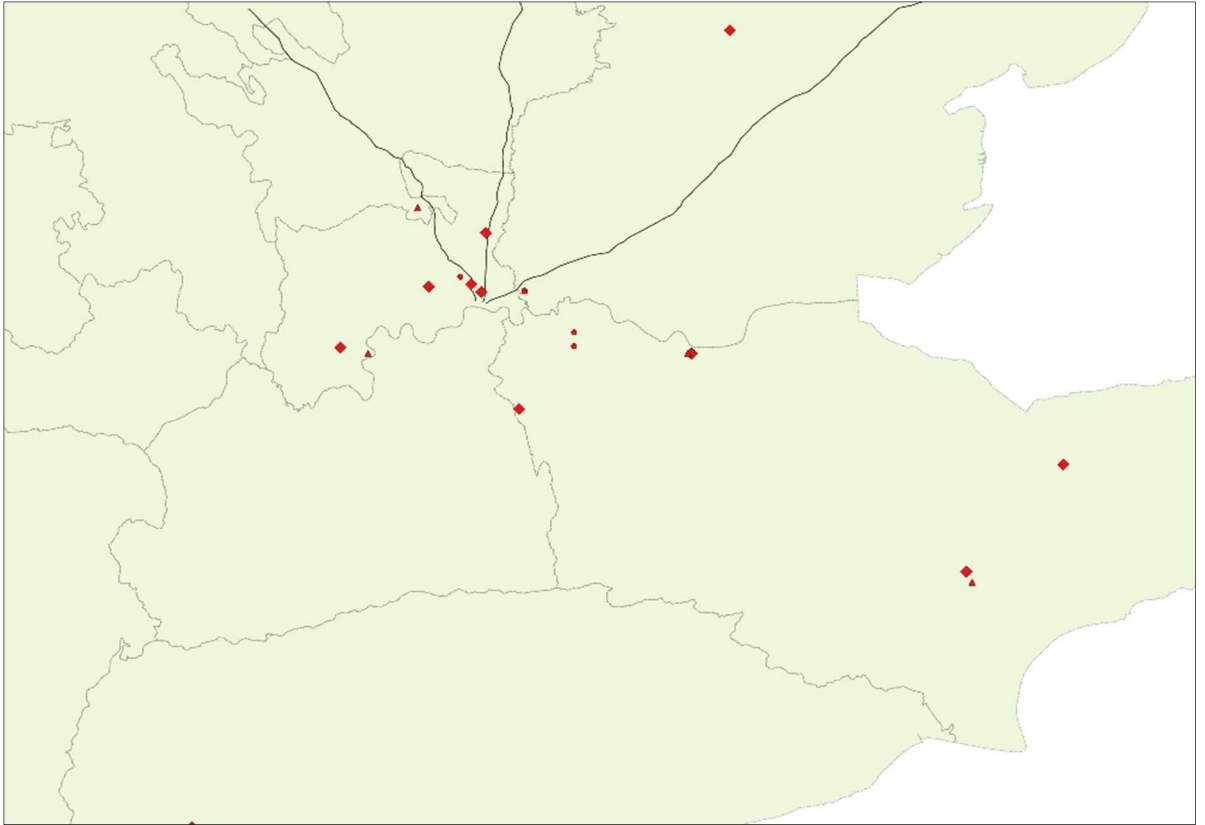
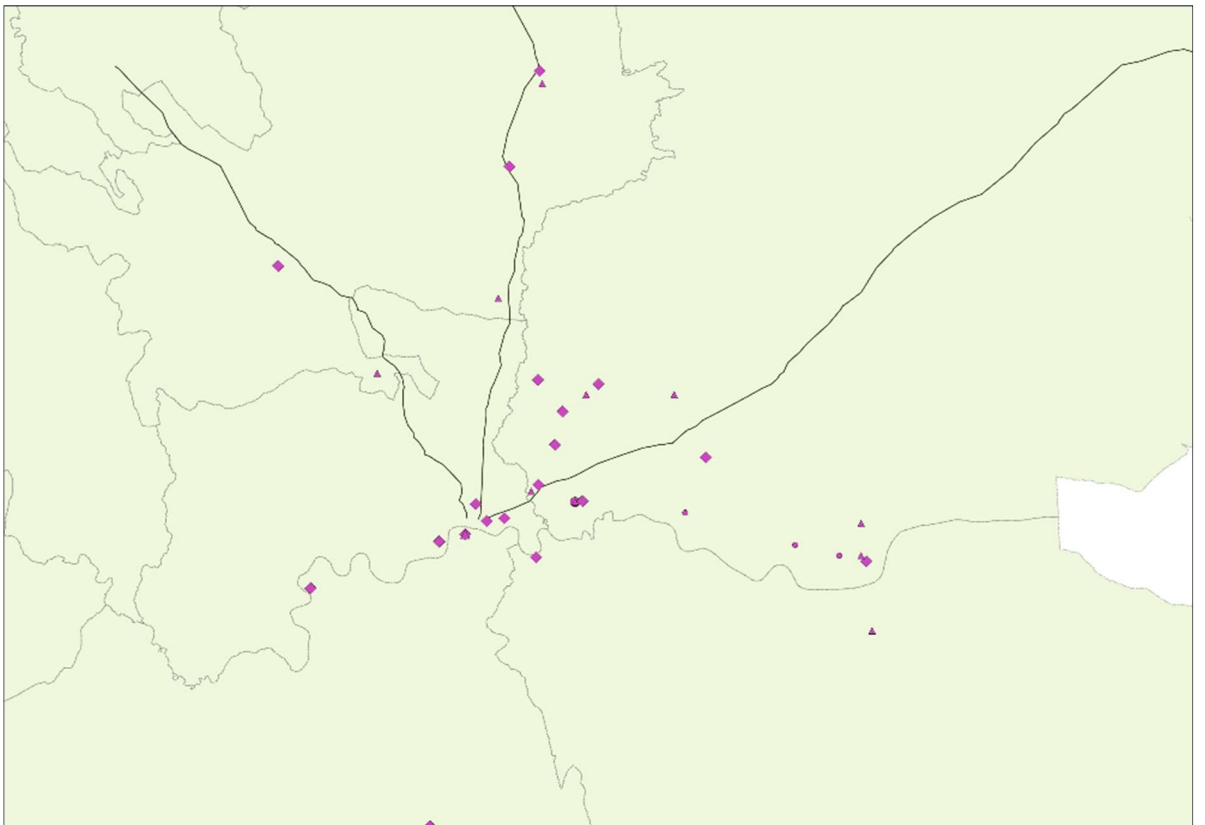


Figure 4.18 Bequests and landholding in England as a whole



a)



b)

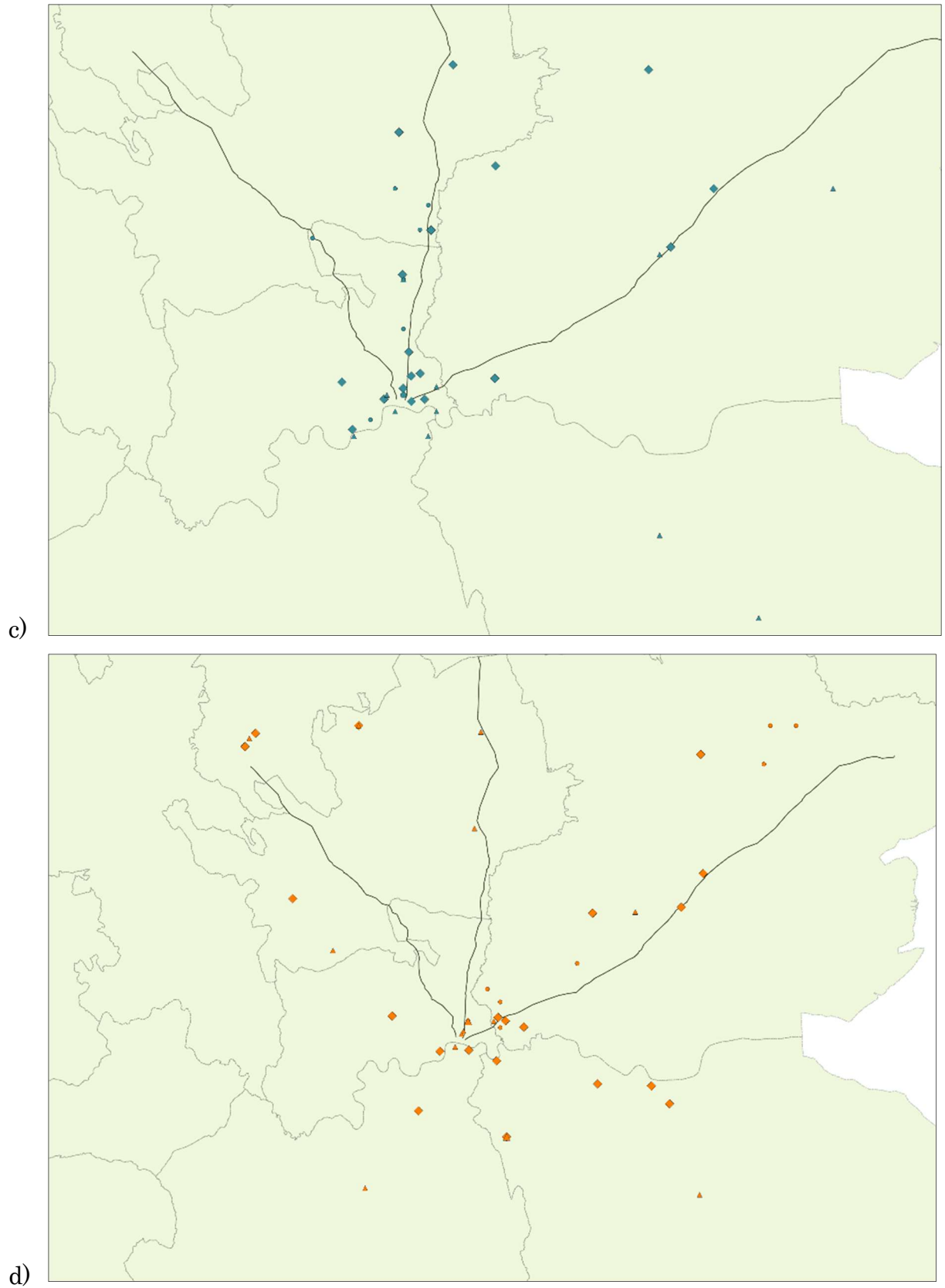


Figure 4.19 Extramural bequests in each sample parish (South-eastern England): a) St. Katharine Cree b) St. Botolph Aldgate c) St. Botolph Bishopsgate d) St. Botolph Aldersgate

4.7 Conclusion

The evidence presented here on socio-spatial networks at the level of the neighbourhood, city and region offers a complex picture of marginal parishes in London. The kind of marginality described here is not, owing to the sources used, much related to the classic groups of social ‘marginals’ but instead illustrates the factors which influenced the creation of networks in London parishes and explores the means through which the spatial marginality of a neighbourhood mediated those factors in the formation of local community.

A number of these factors have been set out in terms of the types of social interaction which had a bearing on modularity as a measure of cohesiveness within local testamentary networks. These can be divided into three broad categories:

1. Neighbourly integration: the effect of informal sociability prompted by proximity and formal local institutions like parish and ward in creating a basic cohesiveness in local social networks.
2. Cultural connections/disconnections: the influence of social and cultural differences in creating modularity in local networks. These differences might centre on differences of language, such as the German immigrants at St. Botolph Aldgate, or status, as in the socially elite residents of Aldersgate. In some cases, cultural differences may be closely related to the third category of occupational connections, particularly where trades which required a high degree of mobility mitigated against neighbourly integration.
3. Occupational connections/disconnections: craft and trade ties around which social networks were formed and thus impacted upon the effect of neighbourly integration. Although usually in the evidence presented here occupation appears to have competed against locality as a focus for ties, the presence of a trade cluster might in some instances decrease local modularity where elements of a trade’s infrastructure were present.

In establishing a firm framework for the understanding of local sociability, this chapter sets the context for marginality as it pertained to both ‘belonging’ within the neighbourhood and the city as a whole. Some themes have been drawn out here which are important to the discussion in the following chapters, where the focus will turn to greater qualitative analysis of sources which give more detail about personal experience of marginality in the city. The methodology used enabled comparisons to be made across

the city and the divergences between neighbourhoods to be drawn out, and so shows the possibilities for the use of SNA as a tool for understanding urban neighbourhoods.

Institutions

Institutional ties exerted a complex relationship at the level of the neighbourhood. Where small clusters of occupations existed within a parish this might sometimes serve to strengthen connections within the neighbourhood, without precluding prominent individuals from that occupational group from engagement with other neighbours. Other forms of institutional tie, such as those of the parish and fraternities, reinforced local networks and patterns of giving to these institutions and suggest that sociability was directed to the immediate neighbourhood for many testators. At St. Katharine Cree, the exceptional situation of its parish church within a religious house forged unusual ties between the laity and Holy Trinity Priory's clergy and administrators. In Chapter Six, there will be greater discussion of the impact of institutions at the margins, in particular how institutions and their participants could exert authority in the neighbourhood.

However, for most categories of occupation it appears that economic networks which craft institutions promoted directed testamentary networks outwards from the parish. This effect was felt most strongly in parishes which either contained a population of prosperous London craftsmen and artisans or those whose social status set them within social circles removed from those of their neighbours.

While this probably occurred throughout late medieval London, the spatial marginality of the extramural parishes acted to produce particular effects at Aldersgate, Aldgate and Bishopsgate. In Bishopsgate, the lesser wealth of the area produced more tightly knit testamentary networks as the influence of institutional networks was reduced in spite of the presence of a range of trades. At Aldersgate, proximity to the inns of both court and aristocracy ensured a stable constituency of elite testators whose lack of connection to the neighbourhood counterbalanced a parish which evidently had a strong community of middling parishioners in the later fifteenth century. The neighbourhood outside Aldgate, whilst also featuring networks of ward, parish and craft clusters, appears to have had weaker testamentary networks. This was in part due to the prosperous artisan population with good connections to others of their occupation.

This would tend to suggest a degree of competition between institutional and local sociability, and thus between these two routes to the accrual of social capital in the city. Nonetheless, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, capital accrued in one area was

transferable to another and company men played a prominent role in local governance. Only a large-scale prosopography of company men could fully address the degree to which they chose between the different kinds of urban social networks or combined the two.

Social networks and marginality

While testamentary evidence is not the ideal source for the sociability of 'marginals', some evidence is suggestive of patterns which will be more thoroughly explored in the next two chapters. The Bishopsgate pattern of a tightly knit community where craft ties were not so important has interesting implications for those who worked without the franchise of the city or in trades where citizenship was not a practical option; it could be that, in a parish like Bishopsgate, such individuals might find it easier to fit in to local community. Nonetheless, the networks of the few identifiable alien will makers suggest some such groups had their own parallel connections which were not based in locality and may, for the householders who could afford to make wills at least, have been more focussed on fraternities. Notably, the evidence presented here suggests that marginality in terms of local social networks could be as much a sign of privilege as it was a status forced upon some by circumstance. For instance, wealthy testators from political or noble elites exhibited few local sociable ties in their wills.

Frequent co-appearance in testamentary networks of the respectable men who formed wardmote juries and took on the administrative responsibilities of the parish underlines the point that individuals who found themselves censured by the local community faced judgement by a closely-knit social group of local 'insiders'. Through discussion of court records in Chapter Six, these implications will be considered in the light of what can be reconstructed of 'marginal' sociability.

Neighbourhood sociability

In spite of the influence of institutional networks, locality was still highly important to testators. At Bishopsgate especially, the considerable overlap in testamentary officials between testators speaks to the coherence of locality as a forum for sociability. Comparison in other parishes of testamentary networks with records of participation in local institutions suggests that the *probi homines* of the parish served alongside one another in both capacities. Even if locality was often superseded by occupational and status ties in testamentary networks, in their bequests to London

institutions most testators expressed a wish to give charity within the part of the city which formed the backdrop to their daily life. Even bequests which expressed aspirations of status, such as to prestigious religious houses, civic causes or fraternities, show a preoccupation with individual experience of urban space. This process emerged in marginal neighbourhoods in distinctively marginal ways. Testators here were more likely to request burial in one of the religious houses they encountered in their daily lives as well as to remember the churches of the other London parishes in which they had, presumably, lived and worked during their lives. Testamentary giving expressed an experience of urban space which was not limited to a final parish of residence.

Mobility and travel

Bequests reflect some distinctively marginal patterns that suggest the fundamental importance of regional ties at the fringes of the city. Particularly at St. Botolph Aldgate and Bishopsgate, and to an extent at St. Katharine Cree, the easy access to transportation out from the city seems to have meant testators had ties to a geographically specific hinterland. The reasons for this are likely to be manifold; economic ties may have reinforced routes of migration and settlement in the city and the economic interests of particular crafts may have fuelled investment in easily accessible rural areas. This aspect of the marginal identity of several of the parishes emphasises the 'pull' factor of peripheral parishes as desirable destinations in themselves. It also suggests that for many of the testators considered here, while London was their primary residence, business drew them beyond the city with frequency and kin ties in the countryside might yet be significant in their social circle. Londoners might thus be participants in networks of varying spatial extents. In some marginal parishes the 'neighbourhood' seen in bequests within the city extends also into the hinterlands from which they came and conducted their business.

Chapter Five: Mobility and transitory life

The theme of mobility is one which unites the margins of society with the margins of the city. As discussed in Chapter One, the settled household was held by those who formed the respectable 'centre' of late medieval society as the ideal form of familial organisation, enabling proper oversight of dependents and commitment to the community through frankpledge. Frequent movement challenged the stability which the organisation of society into households seemed to guarantee. In the previous chapter, it was shown how connections around and outside the city were important to those residents of the city margins prosperous enough to leave a will. The poor would have been mobile too, and yet this marked them out for suspicion and criminalisation as suggested in Chapter Two. Eric Spindler's model of social marginality posits that it was a combination of instability and jeopardy which defined whether an individual found themselves marginalised.³⁹⁷ A period of mobility is just such a time when these two factors could coalesce to make people vulnerable to detachment from social and institutional support.

This chapter therefore sets out to analyse the complicated relationship between mobility and marginality in an urban society which prized stability yet relied on movement for its prosperity. 'Mobility' is interpreted here in a broad sense which covers not only migration from country to city but also neighbourhood migration and day to day travel around the city for work or leisure. In the secondary literature on medieval London, it is the first of these which has been most thoroughly explored. Migration to London has been studied by a number of scholars in the post-Black Death period primarily using records of apprenticeship.³⁹⁸ However, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, peripheral neighbourhoods were less connected to the formal institutions of craft in the city which supported apprenticeship. Perhaps as a result, they also had populations in which citizenship was less prevalent. Thus apprentice migration has less relevance for these parishes. Moreover, the institution of apprenticeship itself not only resulted in successful attainment of the freedom and becoming master of a household, but also in significant levels of failure and drop out. Minns and Wallis calculated that only 40% of early modern London apprentices completed their terms and became citizens.³⁹⁹ The late medieval picture is similar, with completion rates of Goldsmiths'

³⁹⁷ Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations', pp. 13–16.

³⁹⁸ Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London, (c. 1300 - c. 1530)'; Wareing; Keene, 'Metropolitan Values'.

³⁹⁹ Minns and Wallis, 'Rules and Reality', p. 570.

apprentices at 27% in the fourteenth century and 44% in the fifteenth, and Tailors and Skinners at 35 and 33% respectively.⁴⁰⁰ This suggests that even those who did initially start out on the route of the *cursus honorum* were not all that successful at achieving citizenship, and begs the question of where all those failed apprentices went; the peripheral neighbourhoods of the city are a likely candidate, although some may have returned home. Wallis and Minns noted that those who were sons of London citizens were more likely to complete than immigrants, and that the latter seem to have been more reliant on their masters for employment as journeymen after completing their terms, suggesting the importance of London support networks in building a successful career in the city.⁴⁰¹ Alongside the large number who tried and failed to follow the traditional route to citizenship, we can also count the many who must have migrated with little intention of attaining the freedom, for whom similar issues around building London social networks in order to secure employment and support would have been important. In order to more fully understand processes of movement to the city, especially to the extramural neighbourhoods, we therefore need to examine migration from a broader social perspective.

In terms of other kinds of mobility, little has been written for the pre-Reformation period. Jeremy Boulton analysed neighbourhood migration in the early seventeenth-century Boroughside district of Southwark, finding that poorer residents were less likely to persist in the same neighbourhood from year to year than those eligible to pay poor rates.⁴⁰² We might expect to find a similar pattern in the marginal neighbourhoods of fifteenth-century London, particularly given their similar position on major routes of transit and, in some cases, association with poverty. Indeed, James Bolton has argued that the alien population displayed a tendency to cluster near points of entry to the city. Notably, he also suggested that many aliens were temporary residents of London who frequently returned to their place of origin.⁴⁰³ We therefore may expect the extramural neighbourhoods to be associated with transitory life, populated with those who were passing through. This might include both those who intended to leave the city as well as those who were looking for a more permanent place to live within London. It follows that neighbourhood migration can be quite closely tied

⁴⁰⁰ Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London, (c. 1300 - c. 1530)', p. 233.

⁴⁰¹ Minns and Wallis, 'Rules and Reality', pp. 567, 570.

⁴⁰² Jeremy Boulton, 'Neighbourhood Migration in Early Modern London', in *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Clark and David Souden (London: Hutchinson, 1987), pp. 107–49 (p. 120).

⁴⁰³ Bolton, 'La Répartition Spatiale de La Population Étrangère à Londres Au XVe Siècle', p. 427.

to less permanent forms of mobility. For the men and women classed as ‘assistants’ in Chapter Three who lived outside Bishopsgate, presumably their work required them to travel to their master. The location of alehouses and other recreational facilities outside the walls, as well as markets, courts and company halls within them, would all have encouraged considerable movement through the gates. Mobility of both permanent and temporary kinds shaped life at the margins of the city. The privileged status of stability means it is necessary to explore the meaning of this mobility both for the overall social character of the marginal neighbourhoods as well as the implications for how individuals negotiated their social position within them. The focus here is on how mobility interacted with the lives of the socially marginal and marginalisation, and thus will consider mobility from a perspective very different to that in the existing secondary literature.

Deposition book	Period covered	Total of witnesses in selected cases	No. naming place of birth	% with place of birth given
DL/C/A/001/MS09065, MS09065B	1487-96	51	3	5.9%
DL/C/205	1467-76	60	4	6.7%
DL/C/206	1510-16	84	15	18.1%
DL/C/207	1520-24	97	71	73.2%
DL/C/208	1529-33	109	51	46.8%
<i>Total</i>	-	<i>401</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>36%</i>

Table 5.1 Proportion of deponents with place of birth recorded

5.1 Methodology

This chapter will address issues around mobility mainly using evidence drawn from the Bishop of London’s consistory court. These records are useful for the study of mobility in the late medieval city for two reasons. The first is the broad social range represented by witnesses. In some cases parties might have manipulated an event itself to engineer a persuasively high-status set of witness, particularly the making of marriage contracts.⁴⁰⁴ However, ultimately what the court required was a detailed account of an event and the circumstances which surrounded it. The priority was that witnesses could provide adequate information about the context of defamatory words, disputed marriage contracts, spousal abuse or any other offence in the purview of the consistory court. Thus, a considerable number of witnesses were apparently of slender means and status or occupied subordinate positions in a household; the kinds of people absent in most other sources.⁴⁰⁵ Witnesses thus ranged in status from servants and

⁴⁰⁴ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, pp. 116–20.

⁴⁰⁵ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, p. 197.

apprentices to watermen, carmen, cobblers and grave diggers, from labourers and midwives to mercers, clerics and gentlemen.

The second reason why the consistory, over other church courts like the commissary, is so useful for mobility is the level of detail recorded in depositions, specifically the requirement placed on many deponents to provide information about places that they had lived.⁴⁰⁶ However, the level of detail recorded varied considerably over time as well as from one case to another, as Table 5.1 indicates. In the late fifteenth century books and first sixteenth century book, residence information is usually limited to present parish of residence, accompanied sometimes by one or two previous residences.⁴⁰⁷ Occasionally, these records note a deponent's place of birth, although interestingly this appears to have been more common for aliens than for English witnesses.⁴⁰⁸ In the deposition books of the 1520s and 1530s, the recording of places of birth (either a specific settlement or a county of birth) became more frequent alongside information about present and previous residences. This was perhaps under the influence of Cardinal Wolsey's drive against immorality in London and its surroundings, which included a crackdown on vagrancy.⁴⁰⁹ In DL/C/207 73.2% of witnesses provided a place of birth. Frustratingly, many recorded places of birth in DL/C/208 simply name a diocese of origin, such a vague indicator as to be of little use for assessing migration fields. However, 46.8% of witnesses still provided places of birth which could be identified to a settlement or county. In cases where both residence and long memory of local practice were crucial to the outcome, particularly disputes between rectors of neighbouring parishes over tithes, depositions might extend residence histories to cover the entire lifetime of a deponent.⁴¹⁰ Witnesses were apparently asked to give these

⁴⁰⁶ The consistory was a far more 'professional' court than the lower commissary court. The latter operated a system of compurgation through witnesses and did not require the detailed depositions given in the consistory. See Richard M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass: Medieval Academy of America, 1981), pp. 7–15.

⁴⁰⁷ For example, 'Johanna Salman, alias Bernard, of the parish of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr in Southwark where she has lived for seven years and before that time in the parish of St. Sepulchre for 20 years', LMA DL/C/205, f. 245.

⁴⁰⁸ For instance, in the case of Agnes Lyddon c. Alice Harrys all three witnesses had the same occupation (waterman). However, only Irishman Patrick Mandew was apparently asked to give a place of birth. LMA DL/C/205, ff. 420-21.

⁴⁰⁹ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 156–60.

⁴¹⁰ The long running case of More c. Evan, heard between 1521 and 1523, is an example of this practice. Lewis More and John Evan were the incumbent rectors of All Hallows on the Wall and St. Mary Axe respectively. They were in dispute over which of them was entitled to the tithes from the residents of a new building on the border between the parishes. Thomas Norris, currier and deponent for More, gave a residence history extending five parishes back to his birth in Hertford around 1460. John Rygate, carpenter and deponent for Evan had a residence history of six parishes from his birth in Bexley, Kent about 1473. LMA DC/L/207, ff. 35v, 141v.

residence histories as a means of vetting their identity and suitability to depose; as will be discussed in section 5.6, instability of residence was often used by parties as a means to discredit their opponents.

The evidence used here is drawn from the deposition books for the court in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Depositions were largely recorded in Latin, although sections of reported speech were often in English; where the records have been quoted, Latin has been translated but English has been left in the original spelling. Unfortunately these records are not available before the 1460s, but in the context of rising population from the later fifteenth century onwards experiences of mobility are probably better represented than they would be earlier. The 1487-96 manuscripts have been digitised through the Consistory Database Project at Concordia University under the direction of Shannon McSheffrey.⁴¹¹ Because only deposition books survive, we do not have records of the actual accusations made by plaintiffs or the questions put to witnesses by the court officials, only the statements made by witnesses. In most cases, the subject of the suit becomes clear during the witness testimonies. It is also very rare for an actual judgement to be recorded. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this thesis the witness statements form the most valuable part of the case as they concern the social context for accusations.

The cases selected for research were chosen based on either their location within extramural and mural parishes or for the insight they gave into other aspects of social marginality.⁴¹² In total, seventy-eight cases were chosen for analysis which featured 401 deponents. The selection of extramural parishes considered was wider than in the testamentary analysis and extended into the settlements and parishes in the immediate surroundings of London where such cases were particularly illustrative of the relationship between the city and its environs. The number of cases in the sample parishes used in Chapters Three and Four was not large enough to form the sole basis of analysis and the range used has enabled a wide spread of experiences to be considered. Some cases were also used from parishes within the city centre where these shed light on aspects of social marginality or mobility in the city.

A combination of the social range represented by deponents and the richness of material on mobility makes the consistory deposition books highly pertinent to the theme considered in this chapter. This research also represents a novel contribution to

⁴¹¹ Concordia University, *Consistory Database*, <<http://digitalhistory.concordia.ca/consistory/index.php>> [accessed 10 April 2015].

⁴¹² See Appendix 3 for details of cases used.

the literature on London's pre-Reformation ecclesiastical courts; hitherto little use has been made of this aspect of the late medieval consistory court depositions. Some studies of church courts outside London, notably P.J.P. Goldberg's work on York, have made use of their evidence for mobility.⁴¹³ Goldberg combines quantitative analysis of the York cause papers with use of their rich qualitative material illustrating personal experiences of migration. Owing to the narrower focus of investigation here, quantitative analysis has been sparingly employed, as the sample size of cases and the inconsistency in recording of material related to residence history would not yield meaningful results. Instead, this chapter will demonstrate the range of experiences of mobility as it related to peripheral neighbourhoods and social marginality through illustrative examples drawn from the records.

Although court records have limitations as sources, particularly around the relationship between social reality and its mediation in depositions, this analysis works with the same assumption as Shannon McSheffrey's research on marriage in the consistory, that deponents told 'a story calculated to strike its medieval audience as credible'.⁴¹⁴ Although deponents may have lied about the facts of a case, their deposition is still valuable as it strove to reflect late medieval norms and expectations. This process can partially be seen in the contradictions between deponents' stories about their status and residence histories and the tales told about them by counter-witnesses. Susan McDonough, working on depositions from Marseille, found that witnesses brought their own judgments to cases which were not aligned with the law and as a result depositions tell us much about the social norms and values of lay people.⁴¹⁵ She argued that becoming a witness was a significant act as it put an individual in a position of authority and allowed them to articulate communal expectations and demonstrate their own moral qualities.⁴¹⁶ Tom Johnson has critiqued these approaches to depositions which, following Natalie Zemon Davies *Fiction in the Archives*, treat them as narrative constructions of the deponents, who acted as conduits for social discourses.⁴¹⁷ He argues

⁴¹³ P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 217–63; Llinos Beverley Smith, 'A View from an Ecclesiastical Court - Mobility and Marriage in a Border Society at the End of the Middle Ages', in *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths*, ed. by R.R. Davies and Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 64–80.

⁴¹⁴ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, p. 12.

⁴¹⁵ McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community*, pp. 3–4.

⁴¹⁶ McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community*, pp. 29, 31–32, 39.

⁴¹⁷ Tom Johnson, 'The Preconstruction of Witness Testimony: Law and Social Discourse in England before the Reformation', *Law and History Review*, 32.1 (2014), 127–147 (pp. 136–41).

that the legal and social elements of depositions cannot be disentangled, and that individuals were very aware of the legal processes of the different courts they encountered. As a result, witnesses could ‘pre-construct’ testimony by manipulating both the events leading to a case and their own presentation of them.⁴¹⁸ This aspect of testimony is, in fact, not completely overlooked in McSheffrey and McDonough’s use of depositions; both argued that individuals were very aware of social convention and legal requirements and occasionally staged events to fulfill them, for example in the making of marriage contracts.⁴¹⁹ In sum, the existing historiography suggests that depositions are rich sources for social attitudes and judgments, meaning they can be used not only for individual histories but also for understanding wider social attitudes around migration and mobility.

5.2 Migration and life-long mobility

Mapping the evidence for mobility drawn from the consistory depositions demonstrates the diverse origins of migrants to London in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Figure 5.1 demonstrates the origins of English witnesses who named a specific birthplace, and Figure 5.2 shows the origins of these witnesses alongside those who only identified a county of origin. Thirteen witnesses were born within the city and Middlesex, the largest number in any county, although nearly as many were born in Yorkshire or Kent. The migration field amongst deponents was wide, with almost all the English counties represented. The north, west midlands and the counties to the south and east of Middlesex are best represented, while the south-west, the east midlands and the counties to the west of Middlesex are less apparent in the sample.

⁴¹⁸ Johnson, ‘The Preconstruction of Witness Testimony’, pp. 141–44.

⁴¹⁹ McSheffrey makes this point in relation to the use of space in the making of marriage contracts. Shannon McSheffrey, ‘Place, Space, and Situation: Public and Private in the Making of Marriage in Late-Medieval London’, *Speculum*, 79.4 (2004), 960–90 (pp. 963, 976–77).. McDonough argues that in port city like Marseille with a mobile male population, women were very familiar with legal processes and how to use them to defend business interests. McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community*, p. 39.

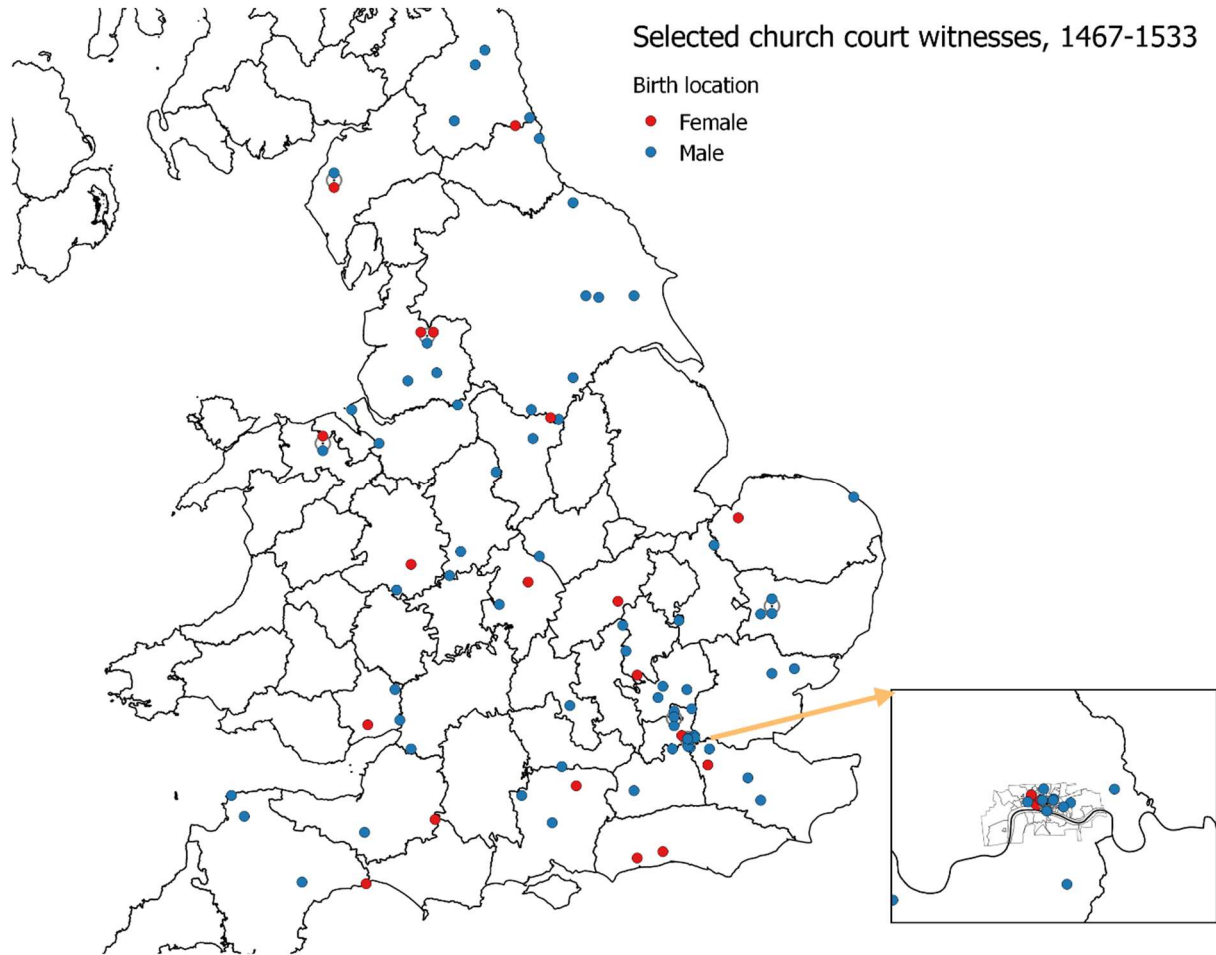


Figure 5.1 Consistory witnesses who gave a specific place of birth in England

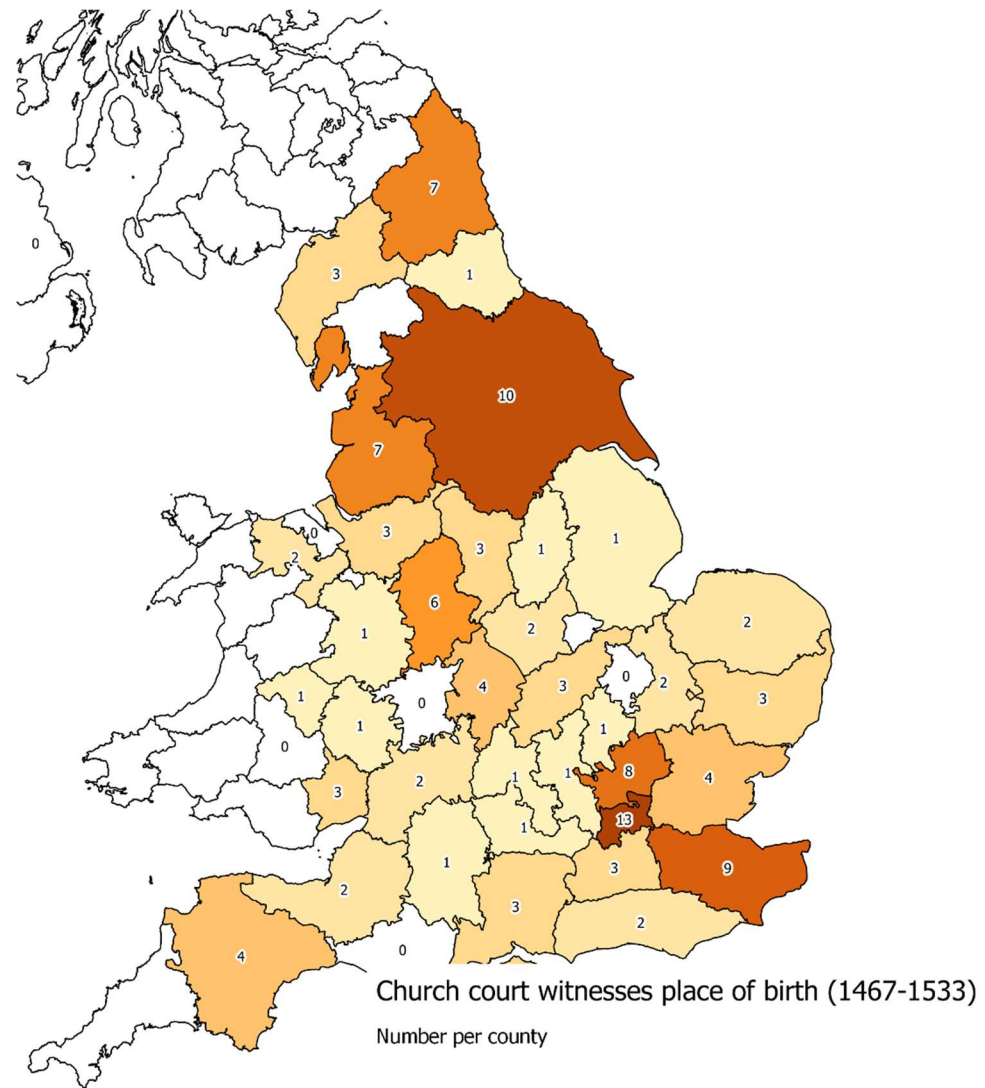


Figure 5.2 Consistory deponents giving place of birth including county

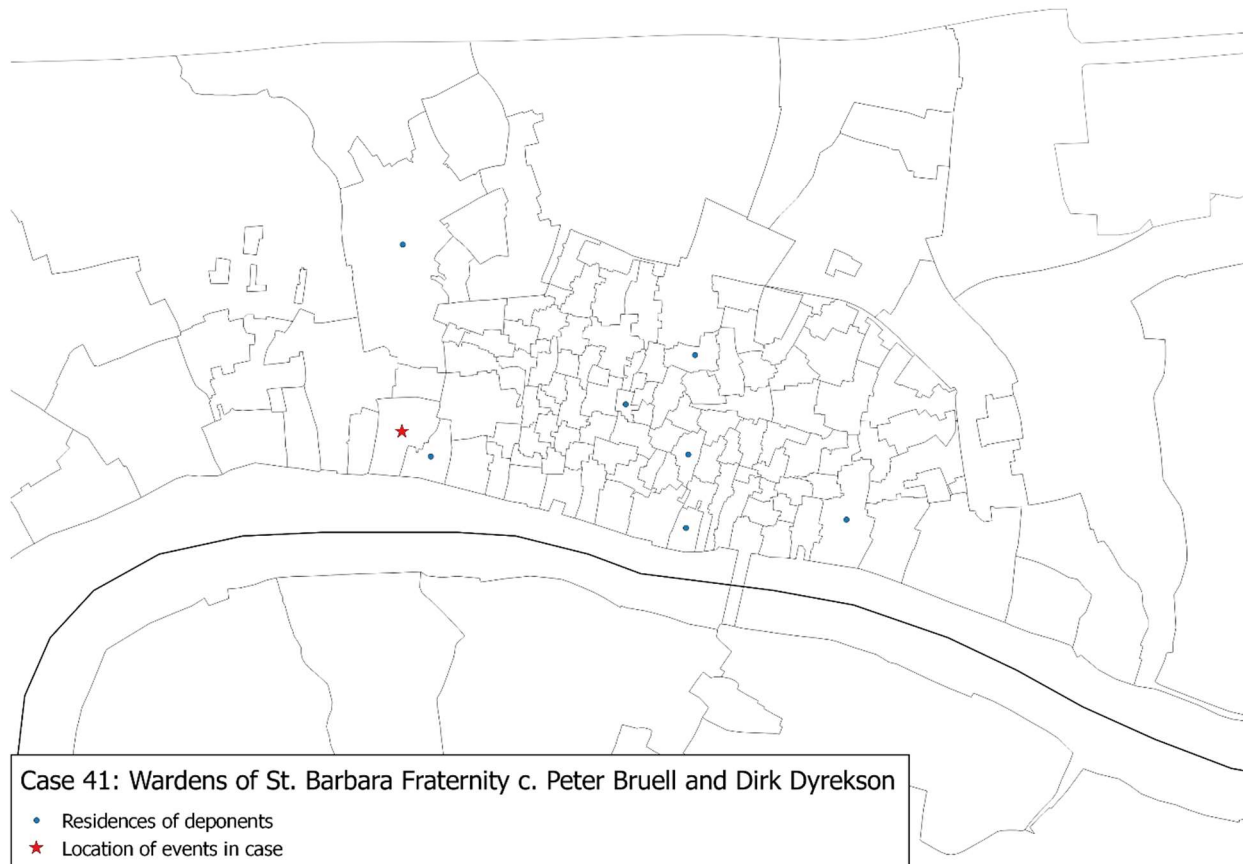


Figure 5.3 Event and deponent residence map, Wardens of St. Barbara fraternity c. Peter Bruell, Dirk Derekson



Figure 5.4 Residence history map, St. Sepulchre deponents

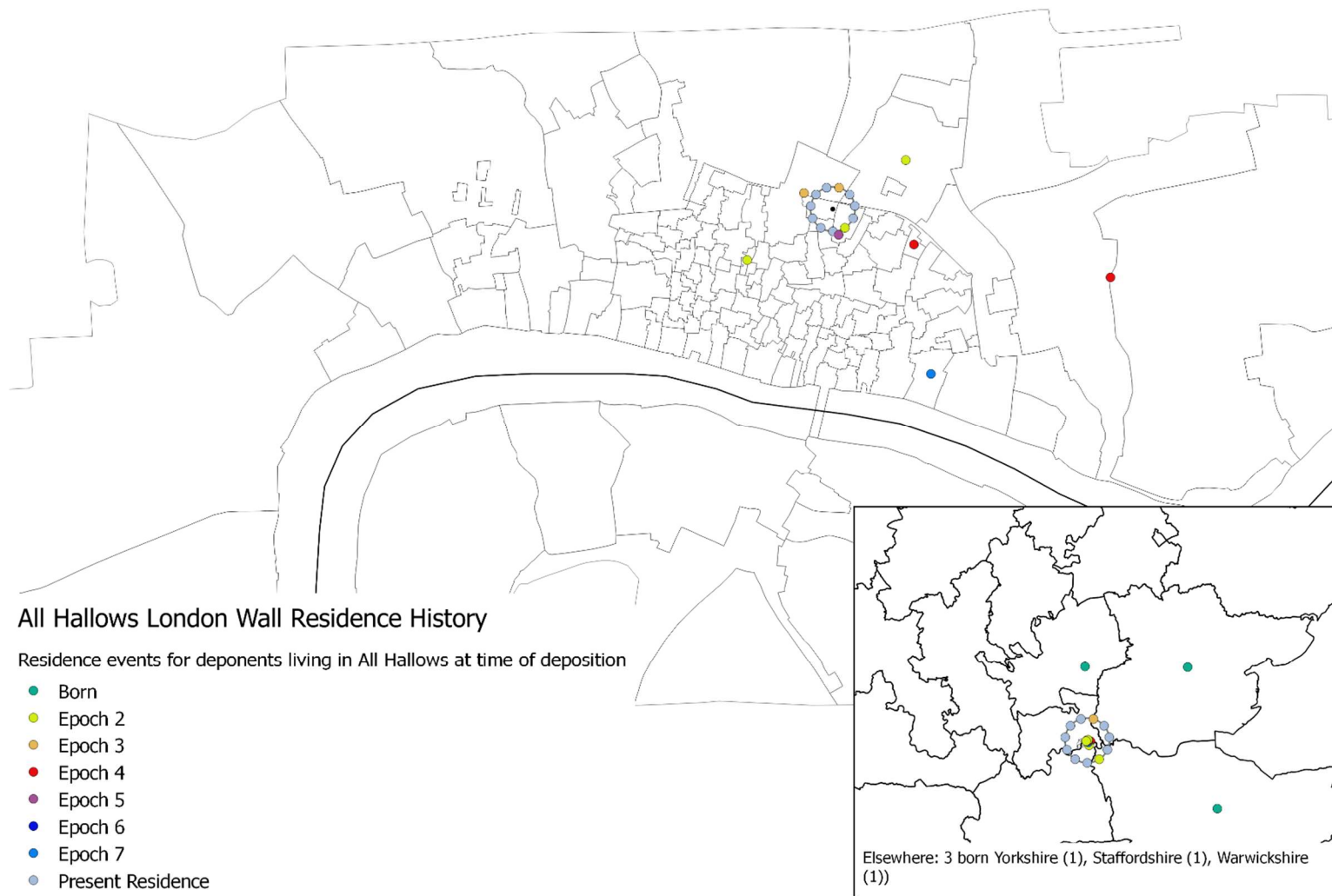


Figure 5.5 Residence history map, All Hallows London Wall deponents

This evidence tallies to an extent with the existing literature on London's migration field in the period, where it has been argued that London at the end of the fifteenth century had an extensive draw within England.⁴²⁰ Stephanie Hovland noted that the field from which apprentices came widened over the fifteenth century.⁴²¹ Hovland argued that the widest fields of migration were found amongst the most prestigious London crafts. However, the circumstances of consistory witnesses with northern origins suggests that this was not necessarily the case in the wider pool of London inhabitants. Amongst the witnesses from Yorkshire were people of solid artisan occupations like William Wylson, grey tawyer, Richard Smyth, brewer, John Frethe, poulterer, and Joan Fytt, a carpenter's wife.⁴²² Indeed, one of the main advantages of the consistory deposition evidence is that previous studies in this area have relied upon data from apprenticeship records of particular companies, making it difficult to distinguish between craft-specific patterns and change over time.⁴²³ Furthermore, the consistory court witnesses were not restricted to those who participated in the craft system. The evidence presented here suggests that the wide field detected in apprentice origins from greater crafts at the end of the fifteenth century may well be representative of London's population as a whole. It also substantiates the importance of the overland routes to Dover and Southampton as sources for migrants, which Derek Keene noted were well represented in Court of Common Pleas bonds of debt with London merchants but are harder to find in analysis of locative surnames.⁴²⁴ By contrast, the consistory witnesses show origins along both these major routes, especially in Kent. In general, the consistory court evidence confirms the wide appeal of London as a destination for migrants at the turn of the sixteenth century.

The migration field of one parish in particular reflects the trend for certain neighbourhoods to have a distinctive pattern of regional connections, demonstrated in the previous chapter. St. Sepulchre, to the north-west of the city, was the location for several extramural consistory cases which detailed witnesses' places of origins. There is a notable concentration, shown in Figure 5.4, in the western midlands; eight deponents were born within the counties of Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire. As with the relationship between Essex and St. Botolph Aldgate, the butchery trade appears to be the driving force in this trend. Six witnesses from the

⁴²⁰ Wareing, 'Changes in the Geographical Distribution', pp. 241–43.

⁴²¹ Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London, (c. 1300 - c. 1530)', pp. 60–64.

⁴²² LMA DL/C/207, ff. 40, 144v, 225v.

⁴²³ Wareing, 'Changes in the Geographical Distribution', p. 247.

⁴²⁴ Keene, 'Metropolitan Values', pp. 105–06.

parish of St. Sepulchre worked in the butchery trade and were explicit in saying that they lived or worked on St. John's Street, a community of butchers near to West Smithfield market about which more will be said later. This pattern reflects that seen in later sixteenth-century apprenticeship evidence for the butchers where the droving routes to the Midlands dominated the pattern of recruitment.⁴²⁵ Unfortunately not enough witnesses resident in the main parishes sampled for wills gave places of birth to make comparison, although the evidence for this trend amongst the residents of St. John Street, and the stability of this pattern amongst butchers, reinforces the general point that it may have been a distinctively extramural pattern. This underlines the argument made in Chapter Four that economic ties were tightly bound with social ones and drove migration to specific extramural neighbourhoods.

However, as suggested by the analysis of testamentary evidence in Chapter Four, it is important not simply to consider migration in isolation. Mobility, far from a one-time movement from country to city, was life-long for many of those who lived in fifteenth-century London and especially for those living in the marginal neighbourhoods. Although less consistent than the information about places of birth, the selection of cases also included detail from witnesses who gave more detailed residence histories. Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5 map this data based on witnesses' parish of residence at the time of their deposition. The information for All Hallows London Wall is particularly detailed owing to a case of disputed tithes in the parish, discussed above. The map in Figure 5.5 demonstrates the parishes in which the witnesses from All Hallows London Wall had lived over the course of their lives. No witnesses described having been born in the parish, with their origins scattered across England. All those who described a second movement 'epoch' (that is, a first residence after their birthplace and before moving to their present home) had moved to the city or its suburbs. Most of these moves were to All Hallows itself or its neighbouring parishes, apart from Richard Williams who had lived at Bermondsey. Most subsequent movements were closer to the parish, although Thomas Norris moved out into the suburbs at Stepney before returning to the city and William Wylson spent some time in Sussex. Four witnesses had been apprenticed in the parish, two of whom had moved there for their apprenticeships and never left. One of the former apprentices, William Wylson, related that he had been apprenticed in the parish and had then returned about ten years later to occupy his former master's house; presumably, his relationship with his master was close enough that he had been

⁴²⁵ Keene, 'Metropolitan Values', p. 109.

bequeathed the lease. The map of residences from All Hallows suggests a similar sense of neighbourhood to that in the testamentary evidence, with witnesses demonstrating ties to a part of the city which could extend across a lifetime. Nevertheless, it also suggests that movement between parishes was common, albeit that Londoners seem to have gravitated towards particular neighbourhoods of the city. The results of this pattern of movement were seen in Chapter Four, in terms of the bequests to fraternities and institutions made at the end of individuals' lives which, although ranging outside the parish, were usually within distinct 'quarters' of London. Late medieval Londoners primarily encountered urban space through quite small areas which were bound up with sociability and economic activity.

As this suggests, migration was usually not a single journey to a London parish, but might consist of several steps. This kind of process has been identified by Catherine Wright amongst the Dutch immigrants to seventeenth-century London, where London was one regular stop off point in a migration network which extended across north-western Europe and along the Baltic trading routes.⁴²⁶ For some young men a spell in London was a formal part of their *wanderjahr*, the craft training they gained through 'tramping' from city to city in Europe.⁴²⁷ It seems likely that for some of the apprentices who never completed their terms in London, they may have done something similar by moving within the towns of England, or even the parishes in and around the city itself, working for different masters and developing their skills. For others amongst Wright's Dutch migrants, particularly women, family connections facilitated their move to the city.⁴²⁸ Wright's research highlights the support networks which enabled economic migration; while the role of the Dutch Reformed churches across Europe is a distinctly post-Reformation aspect of support for migration,⁴²⁹ the importance of well-worn routes where family, friends and fellow craftsmen had been before is undoubtedly an element common to the earlier period considered here. The economic interests of Londoners outside the city would have given them a foot in both camps, remaining in contact with family and using their position to support those who followed them to the city. In some consistory cases, the sharing of unusual surnames amongst servants in the same

⁴²⁶ Catherine Wright, 'The Dutch in London: Connections and Identities, c.1660-c.1720' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2015), pp. 120–28.

⁴²⁷ Wright, pp. 129–30. On the practice of tramping see Reinhold Reith, 'Circulation of Skilled Labour in Late Medieval and Early Modern Central Europe', in *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy 1400-1800*, ed. by S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 114–42 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511496738.005>>.

⁴²⁸ Wright, 'The Dutch in London', pp. 130–31.

⁴²⁹ Wright, 'The Dutch in London', pp. 117–20.

household suggests families sent siblings or cousins to London together. Witnesses Agnes and Thomas Rawlyns were both servants in the household of Agnes Corbe and Stephen and John Felix were both members of Margaret Harvey's household.⁴³⁰ In these examples, young men and women had been sent perhaps to the house of another relative or friend, or simply had gone together so that they could provide support for one another.

However, it is important to note that this type of support network relied on economic connections which were probably not available to the poorest migrants to London. These men and women may have been migrating in response to sudden worsening in their circumstances, rather than for a service position pre-arranged through family.⁴³¹ They may also have been moving when they were older than the typical servant or apprentice. Amongst those who were poorer, London's economic connections with its region were probably less used for arranging secure employment in advance but still shaped their mobility. For them, step migration may have been a case of moving from town to town wherever casual labour could be found and the dominance of London in the fifteenth-century economy of England would probably have made it an inevitable destination for those in the south. For instance, 35-year-old widow Helen Elys lived in St. Dunstan in the East at the time of her deposition in 1529 as a servant to Edmund Wright, having only moved from the village of Stone in Kent at the previous Christmas.⁴³² She had lived at Stone for four years. Helen responded to one of the interrogatories posed 'that she is poor but honest and would value in goods a little above ten shillings' and it may have been her impoverished widowhood which prompted her move to London seeking a service position less than a year before, when aged in her mid thirties.⁴³³ The examples of John Waldron and William Fryday, to be discussed in greater detail below, also indicate men who moved from southern counties into London who were of particularly low status and who moved when they were older than the typical apprentice. Both had lived elsewhere well into adulthood before moving to London; Waldron lived in Berkshire until his mid-twenties and Fryday lived at Great Gransden in Huntingdonshire until he was about thirty-four.⁴³⁴ Alongside those who set

⁴³⁰ LMA DL/C/206 f. 153v, f. 466.

⁴³¹ In a study of seventeenth century vagrancy, David Hitchcock stresses personal crisis as a reason for the poor to be on the road. David Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English Culture and Society, 1650-1750* (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p. 117.

⁴³² LMA DL/C/208, f. 64v.

⁴³³ LMA DL/C/208, f. 65v.

⁴³⁴ Fryday's residence history in London totals around 54 years and he was said to be 90 at the time of his deposition. LMA DL/C/207, f. 141v. Waldron was noted by Reginald a Redemayn as living at Wantage in Berkshire five or six years before he moved to the Precinct of St. Katharine

out on the well-worn path of service or apprenticeship and failed, we can also locate amongst London's poor those who found themselves in the city later in life compelled by economic necessity rather than through familial networks. The social networks which supported such migrants and helped them find places to work and live were almost certainly so informal as to be unrecoverable in the archives. The gossip of alehouses and inns and chance meetings with old acquaintances may have played a part. Perhaps knowledge of a London religious house through its role as a rural landowner may also have helped, as it did for rural migrants elsewhere in the country.⁴³⁵

Mobility should, however, not just be seen in terms of where people had lived but also where they spent their time sociably or whilst engaged in employment. The 'spatial footprint' of individuals in the city demonstrated in Chapter Four would have been created not just by neighbourhood migration but also by day-to-day movement in urban space. Consistory court depositions provide a wealth of detail about the circumstances surrounding the events of cases, often detailing who was in a certain place, who they were with and why they were there. The depositions thus provide an important insight into day-to-day mobility within and around the city.

Total % of witnesses for a party drawn from a single parish	Number of parties	% of parties
75-100%	57	46%
50-74%	47	38%
<50%	19	15%
<i>Total</i>		<i>123</i>

Table 5.2 Parties grouped by proportion of deponents from a single parish

Most cases in the consistory court serve to underline the importance of the neighbourhood itself as a venue for social events, suggesting day-to-day movement was often highly localised. Table 5.2 demonstrates the degree to which parties to a case drew their witnesses from a single parish; nearly half of all parties drew over three quarters of their witnesses from a single parish, while just one in six parties had witness groups with less than 50% living in a single parish at the time of their deposition. This very much suggests that parties drew on networks of witnesses from their own parish. In Chapter Four, the meaningfulness of locality within testamentary networks was demonstrated, and the same networks of local contacts are likely at the root of the continued importance of locality within the consistory evidence. Indeed, three consistory

in about 1490. Waldron claimed to be '30 years old and more' in his deposition. 'Elizabeth Brown, Marion Lauson c. Laurence Gilis', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=973>> [accessed 11 October 2017].

⁴³⁵ David Postles, 'Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy: English Internal Migration, c. 1200-1350', *Social History*, 25.3 (2000), 285-99 (pp. 290-92).

cases originating in St. Botolph Aldgate featured people who occurred in the testamentary sample as witnesses.⁴³⁶ It is likely that similar considerations of reliability were at work in selecting testamentary officials and consistory witnesses. Furthermore, networks of neighbours provided support as consistory witnesses because so many cases emerged from intensely local circumstances and rivalries.

However, as the next section will argue, the cases located in extramural neighbourhoods display a wider sense of neighbourhood and greater sense of mobility in their populations than cases within the city wall. Through everyday mobility for work and socialising as well as neighbourhood migration, the peripheries seem to have been larger social spaces than the general picture given in Table 5.2.

5.3 Mobility and the extramural neighbourhoods

That neighbourhoods beyond the walls had a sense of social and spatial separation from the central city is evident in the language used by their residents to describe where they lived. In a case which concerned events on a washing day in St. Botolph Aldersgate, a witness described how she happened to see her neighbours arguing when she ‘returned from the city of London to her dwelling house’.⁴³⁷ Similarly, John Edmund of St. Botolph Bishopsgate explained that before holding a chamber outside Bishopsgate he had lived ‘in the city of London with a certain Walter Wright with whom he was apprenticed’.⁴³⁸ Both of these examples seem to suggest a certain separation between the extramural neighbourhoods and the city centre. Of course, jurisdictionally, both Conquest and Edmund were residents of the city of London itself, but the sense these depositions give of moving into a differentiated space beyond the walls is borne out elsewhere.

Sociability and other forms of ‘casual’ movement evidenced in cases are good indicators of how mobility shaped extramural neighbourhoods. Using GIS, it is possible to map the ‘footprint’ of individuals and events which were associated with cases. In this section, analysis will be based on the mapping of two different kinds of data associated with consistory cases. One is the present parish of residence provided by witnesses when they gave a deposition. In a few cases, the gap in time between the disputed events of

⁴³⁶ William Culverden, citizen and brazier/bellmaker, featured in two cases from St. Botolph Aldgate and was part of wills sample 4. See *Goodefild c. Dobyngs and Culverden c. Smyth. Maliber c. Dalston alias Boste* concerned one of the wills in sample 3 and so featured a number of witnesses, officials and beneficiaries as deponents.

⁴³⁷ LMA DL/C/208, f. 71v.

⁴³⁸ LMA DL/C/208, f. 39v

the case and the suit appearing at the consistory may mean that individuals had moved, although this is quite rare. The other data mapped are incidents pertinent to the case which were mentioned within depositions. These are usually specific events, such as the witnessing of a contract, which can be placed within an identifiable parish, precinct or street. Occasionally, a more nebulous kind of 'event' will be mapped, such as the 'public fame' in a parish of an event, but this is only where other more specific incidents are not mentioned at that location.

All mapping has been done at parish level, although in the analysis below there is some discussion of the importance of smaller social spaces, such as the street. In all maps, 'events' are represented as stars and present residence as blue dots: where more than one of these is attached to a parish, this has been represented by creating concentric rings of the two symbols, with each symbol representing one person or event. To identify cases with an attachment to a particular neighbourhood, maps have been based on the people and events associated with cases which had at least one event in a given neighbourhood. In the main, this method produces maps which focus on the actors who can be sited within that location for at least some of the events associated with a case. However, it is important to note that in some complex cases, especially where counter-witnesses were used, the number of incidents associated with a case can quickly multiply. In turn, this distorts the 'neighbourhood' mapping with incidents which may only have been witnessed by one deponent, and which may relate to another deponent rather than the main business of the case. Where this occurs, it is addressed in the discussion.

Figures 5.6 to 5.9 map both the people and events attached to cases with at least one event in an extramural neighbourhood. The Bishopsgate and St. Sepulchre maps will mainly be drawn upon here for discussion, owing to the larger numbers of cases giving a fuller picture. It is particularly notable in both the Bishopsgate and St. Sepulchre maps that individuals from around the peripheries of the city had come to witness events there. The immediate 'neighbourhood' of Bishopsgate drawing in witnesses included Norton Folgate liberty, the precincts of St. Mary of Bethlehem and the Hospital of St. Mary and Shoreditch, all of which acted as settings for events disputed in cases as well as providing witnesses to events in Bishopsgate. The case of the Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate c. Pellet is particularly illustrative of the way that the Bishopsgate neighbourhood crossed jurisdictional boundaries. Robert and Joan Pellet were sued by the Hospital for repeated defamation. Witnesses recounted incidents

before the Hospital gates in Bishopsgate Street, within the precinct of the Hospital, in a nearby garden, outside Bishopsgate itself and in the Hospital churchyard. In these places, they allegedly called the prior and canons bawdy maintainers of whores and bawds within their precinct; Robert also repeated the accusations at the Guild Hall.⁴³⁹ Robert appears to have been a former servant of the Hospital who was sued for debts incurred whilst in the Prior and Canons' employment.⁴⁴⁰ The witnesses called upon to testify against them were nearly all drawn from Bishopsgate, both in Bishopsgate Street as well as residents of the Hospital of St. Mary and the liberty of Norton Folgate. In fact, this case featured the largest group of depositions for a single party in the sample with thirteen witnesses appearing for the Hospital's suit. The reasons for this large witness group appear to be twofold. Firstly, the Pellets had annoyed a remarkable number of their neighbours: Joan Pellet was said to have proclaimed many times

in the king's highway in the street called Bishopsgate Street that there is no good woman of good and honest conversation in the whole street 'but hores and bawdes'⁴⁴¹

Such behaviour was bound to have been unpopular, and the Pellets' accusations against the Hospital similarly implicated their neighbours by suggesting that they were the 'bawddes and harlotts' that the Prior and Canons maintained. Secondly, and perhaps related, is the fact that two witnesses appear to have been tenants of the Hospital's Bishopsgate properties, as a contemporary rental from their estate reveals.⁴⁴² Therefore, this case demonstrates both how the neighbourhood could be an extended area at the margins of the city, overspilling jurisdictional boundaries, as well as the role that a landlord like the Hospital could play in creating that sense of extended neighbourhood where they owned large amounts of property around their precincts.

Figure 5.7 also reveals mobility between the city centre and Bishopsgate. The parishes which lay along the road within the walls from the gate to London Bridge (via Bishopsgate Street and Gracechurch Street) provided several witnesses to events here, suggesting movement between them. Hugh Wellys, who was drinking in the White Hert without Bishopsgate when Richard Bek publicly attacked his wife Anne there, had travelled to drink from the parish of St. Ethelburga just within the gate.⁴⁴³ John

⁴³⁹ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 60v-62.

⁴⁴⁰ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 108-108v.

⁴⁴¹ LMA DL/C/206, f. 62.

⁴⁴² Henry Adams, salter, was a witness for the Hospital on 18 July 1511 and appears as a tenant of theirs in a rental dated 1505: LMA DL/C/206, f. 62v, TNA SC 11/975. Richard Wylkenson gave a deposition on 28 February 1512 and appears as a tenant of two properties owned by the Hospital in the same 1505 rental: LMA DL/C/206, f. 108v, TNA SC 11/975.

⁴⁴³ LMA DL/C/207, f. 236v.

Sawnder, a scrivener of St. Edmund Lumbard Street close to Gracechurch Street, was called to Bishopsgate by Richard Ely who wished Sawnder to witness his marriage contract.⁴⁴⁴ John Nores, a glazier of the parish of St. Olave Jewry, was witness to the Pellet case. Interestingly, despite living at the centre of the city Nores held a shop at Norton Folgate.⁴⁴⁵ Movement between centre and periphery for economic reasons can also be seen working in the other direction. The tailor Thomas Wylletts and capper John Brown, both of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, went to Eastcheap market on an autumn morning in 1529 to buy victuals, where they became witnesses to the alleged defamation.⁴⁴⁶ In these cases, the economic relationship between centre and periphery served to pull people in to networks of knowledge outside their own neighbourhood. Bishopsgate residents seeking respectable scribes or the best price for food used the services of the city centre while residents within the walls looking for affordable industrial property or simply a good time might go to Bishopsgate. This demonstrates the social impact of the economic differentiation of the peripheries set out in Chapter Three, as Londoners crossed the walls in both directions for the services of centre and periphery.

Cases associated with the parish of St. Sepulchre show a similar pattern. While the parish itself is the focus of most events and people involved, outsiders tended to come from around the fringes of the city, from Westminster in the west to St. Giles Cripplegate in the east. Where events or people were associated with the city centre, they were often from the parishes just inside the western end of the walls. In the case of *Austyn c. Hill*, two men from outside St. Sepulchre happened to witness an incident of defamation because they were having a shave in the shop of barber William Austyn.⁴⁴⁷ When one was asked in court to testify to the ‘fame’ of the incident, he replied that he had nothing to depose ‘because he is unknown in that area’.⁴⁴⁸ Nonetheless, both claimed to have known the barber’s wife for four or five years, suggesting that heading to Austyn’s shop for a shave may have been a regular occurrence. Day-to-day movement might be casual with regard to the whole local community but was still rooted in personal relationships.

The maps for cases from Aldersgate and Aldgate parishes provide less useful evidence. At Aldersgate, a small sample means that there is just a little evidence for

⁴⁴⁴ LMA DL/C/207, f. 146v.

⁴⁴⁵ LMA DL/C/206, f. 61.

⁴⁴⁶ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 108, 110.

⁴⁴⁷ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 105v-06.

⁴⁴⁸ LMA DL/C/208, f. 105v.

connections outside the parish. Whilst the Aldgate map appears to show a wealth of connections around as well as within the city, this impression is skewed by the complex case of Elizabeth Brown and Marion Lauson c. Laurence Gilis. In this case, two women launched competing matrimonial suits, one of which was alleged to have been based on a contract made in St. Botolph Aldgate and the other in St. Andrew Undershaft. Thus, witnesses to both contracts were called in.⁴⁴⁹

At both St. Sepulchre and Bishopsgate, the impression given in the maps of connections between areas outside the walls is created by more permanent kinds of movement as well as that prompted by sociability and economic requirements. In several cases, couples whose marriages became subject to a consistory case had moved from the parish where it had been solemnised. Thomas Wulley and Margaret Isot had banns issued for their wedding in their home parish of St. Sepulchre and then lived together in St. Giles Cripplegate for three years.⁴⁵⁰ The marriage of William and Isabel Newport was solemnised in St. Botolph Aldgate, from which they subsequently moved to Bishopsgate where their violent rows became well known.⁴⁵¹ Although unfortunately residence histories to the level of detail discussed in the previous section are not generally available for the witnesses in these parishes, these examples are suggestive of a trend visible elsewhere for witnesses living at the margins of the city to move around in the orbit of London. Richard Bysshopp of Westminster, a witness called in January 1524, had been born in the parish of St. Mary Whitechapel.⁴⁵² John Jervys, who was sued to fulfil a marriage contract he had made in the precinct of St. Katharine, was said by one witness to have lived at Rotherhithe at the time of the contract but now to live at Stepney; it seems likely that Jervys was a mariner from his movement around the port.⁴⁵³ Katharine and Thomas Atkynson lived at St. James Clerkenwell for twelve or thirteen years, where they ran an alehouse, but by the time of their depositions they had

⁴⁴⁹ 'Elizabeth Brown, Marion Lauson c. Laurence Gilis', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?object=case&action=view&id=61&expand=cases>> [accessed 14 February 2017]. This case is discussed by Shannon McSheffrey in 'Liberties of London: Social Networks, Sexual Disorder, and Independent Jurisdictions in the Late Medieval English Metropolis', in *Crossing borders: boundaries and margins in medieval and early modern Britain*, ed. by Krista J. Kesselring and Sara Butler (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

⁴⁵⁰ 'Thomas Wulley c. Margaret Isot John Heth', *Consistory Database*, <http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?object=case&action=view&id=41&expand=cases&case_results_format=full> [accessed 14 February 2017].

⁴⁵¹ 'William Newport c. Isabel Newport', *Consistory Database*, <http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?object=case&action=view&id=56&expand=cases&case_results_format=full> [accessed 14 February 2017].

⁴⁵² LMA DL/C/207, f. 259v.

⁴⁵³ LMA DL/C/207, f. 87v.

moved to St. Giles Cripplegate.⁴⁵⁴ Also moving between these two northern suburbs was William Hosyer, a butcher who lived at Clerkenwell at the time of his deposition having previously been resident of St. Giles; additionally, Hosyer seems to have travelled to his employment since he describes working in the shop of Robert Dunne his master in St. John Street.⁴⁵⁵

For these men and women, all of apparently low status, moving around in the immediate region of London presumably enabled them to stay in contact with friends and take advantage of the demand for services and labour in the city and its region, as well as the cheaper accommodation available outside its walls. Given how the Bishopsgate neighbourhood extended across jurisdictional boundaries, for those moving between adjoining parishes like St. Giles Cripplegate and Clerkenwell, the move may not have been very far. As Jeremy Boulton noted for seventeenth-century Southwark, short range movement was very common, especially for poorer residents, meaning that parish boundaries were often crossed by those who were nonetheless remaining within the same area.⁴⁵⁶ The evidence presented here, although not quantifiable, strongly suggests a comparable trend north of the river in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Furthermore, the kinds of mobility which connected the extramural neighbourhoods with the wider region around London, suggested in Chapter 4, come to the fore in several consistory depositions. Migration between Bishopsgate and the settlements of the Lea Valley is suggested in the case of Wryther c. Wryther. John and Joan Wryther had married at St. Botolph Bishopsgate but, after learning of an impediment to their marriage, Joan separated from her husband and returned to her family at Waltham Cross.⁴⁵⁷ As Figure 5.7 demonstrates, Waltham Cross lay in the same area so prominently featured in Bishopsgate wills. At St. Botolph Aldgate, more casual forms of movement are recorded eastwards into the area which dominated extramural bequests. Peter at Pele, a butcher of St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street, was passing the churchyard at Aldgate on his way to Stepney when he overheard Juliana Bylby's defamation of her neighbour.⁴⁵⁸ John Clyff who had lived at St. Botolph Aldgate for twenty years, evidently maintained social contacts in Stepney since he was invited

⁴⁵⁴ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 83, 96.

⁴⁵⁵ LMA DL/C/207, f. 34v. The deposition of Robert Dunne his master, which gives the site of the shop in St. John's Street, is at f.20v.

⁴⁵⁶ Boulton, 'Neighbourhood Migration in Early Modern London', pp. 123–25.

⁴⁵⁷ LMA DL/C/206, f. 316. More on this case below.

⁴⁵⁸ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Peter at Pele dated 1 March 1533.

by Alice Godard to dinner there on Easter Sunday in 1531, where he witnessed her marriage contract.⁴⁵⁹

Another case reinforces the sense that social and economic connections were interwoven between Aldgate parish and its hinterland. An action of debt made between Joan Plummere and John Olyve involved two witnesses from the eastern periphery; John Wavery from St. Botolph Aldgate and John Godbolt from St. Mary Matfellow. They testified to having been present in the town of Stapleford Abbotts in Essex in 1474 when Plummere paid ten shillings to Olyve in satisfaction of a debt owed to him by her father.⁴⁶⁰ Wavery and Godbolt were both smiths, and it seems likely that they had some involvement in the business related to the debt since Godbolt was questioned in court as to whether he and Wavery were fellow pledges to the debt.⁴⁶¹ Wavery had known Plummere for six years, the same amount of time that he had lived in St. Botolph Aldgate.⁴⁶² Taken together, this suggests a group with ties of occupation and friendship based in the east of the city using the routes of transport there to conduct business. The consistory evidence strongly indicates that connections outwards from the city were not simply created by one-time migration events but were cultivated through regular economic and sociable contact. Furthermore, the final example suggests that, rather than always being an alternative to neighbourhood sociability, travel beyond the city could act to reaffirm ties with neighbours who went together to carry out business.

In sum, localities outside the walls were associated with mobility in several ways. The general 'neighbourhood' in which residents outside the walls moved was quite wide, and crossed parish and jurisdictional boundaries. There also seems to have been a tendency for extramural residents to move around in the vicinity of London, both socially and in terms of where they chose to settle. Everyday activities like going to the market would have involved a journey through the city gates. In the next section, attention will turn to the relationship between mobility and status, in order to more fully explore how transitory life related to the circumstances of those who lived on the fringes of city, particularly the poor.

⁴⁵⁹ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 224v-25.

⁴⁶⁰ LMA DL/C/205, ff. 261-262v.

⁴⁶¹ Godbolt denied this accusation. LMA DL/C/205, f. 262.

⁴⁶² LMA DL/C/205, f. 261.

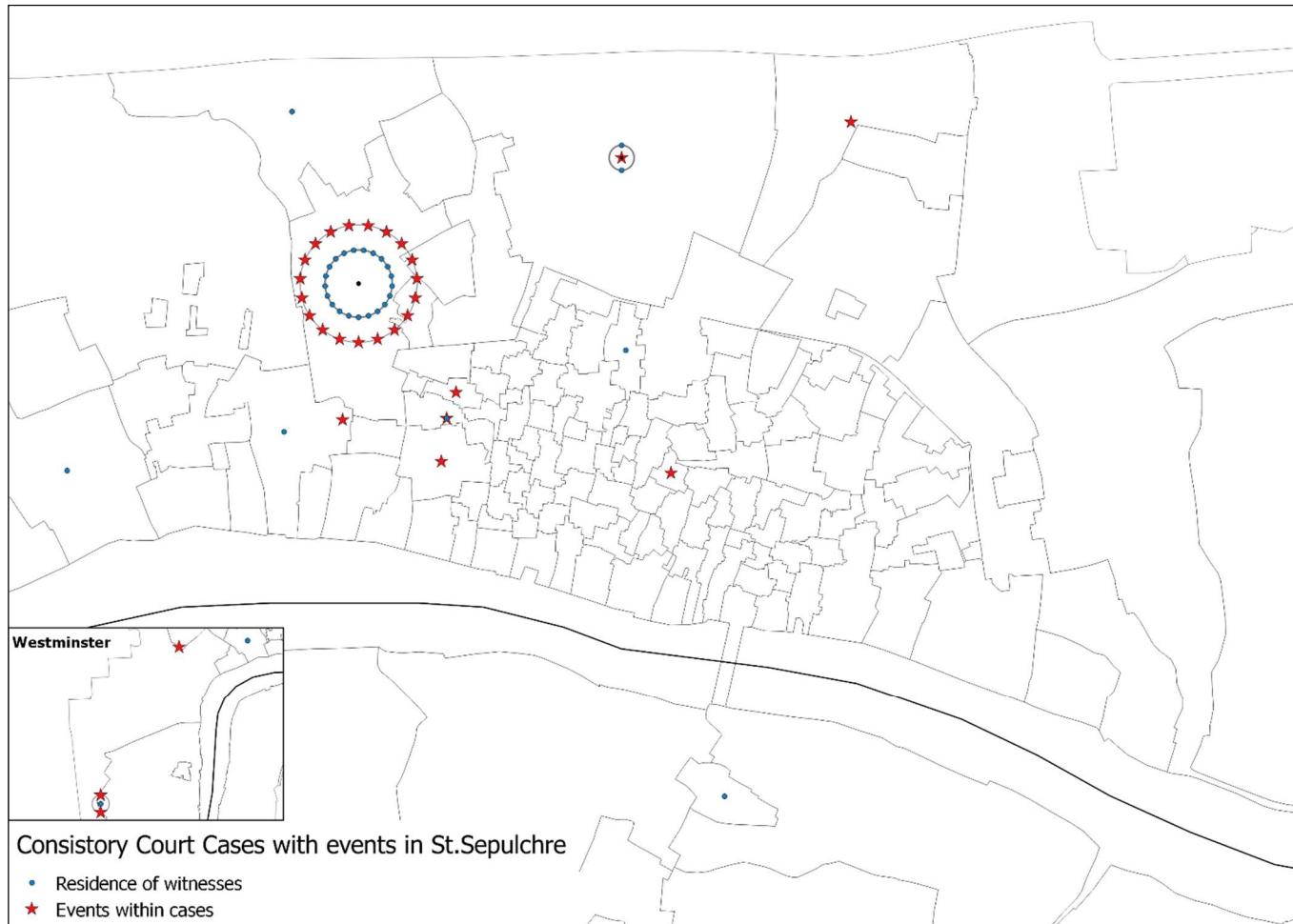


Figure 5.6 Events and deponent residences mapping, St. Sepulchre



Figure 5.7 Events and deponent residences mapping, St. Botolph Bishopsgate

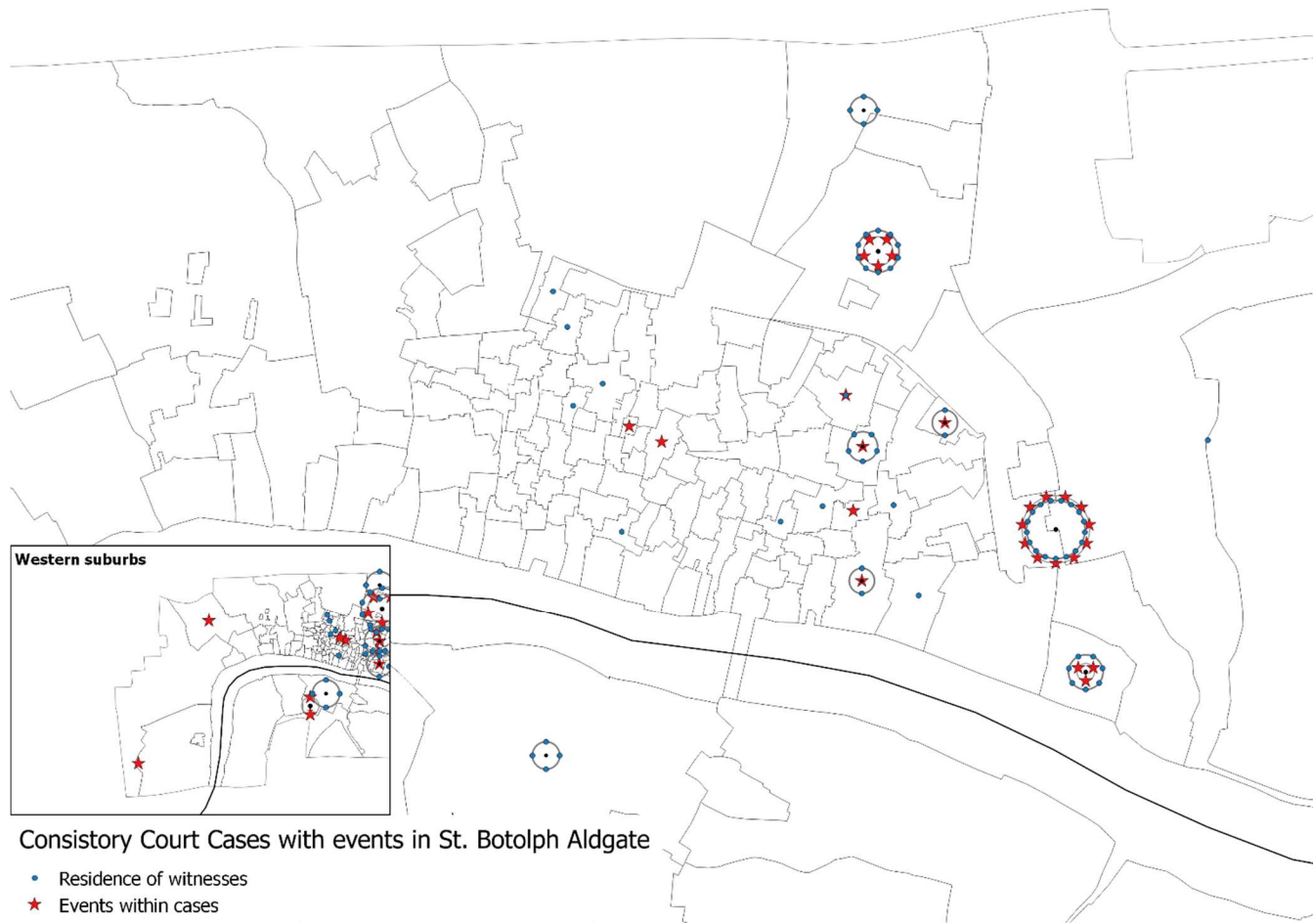


Figure 5.8 Events and deponent residences mapping, St. Botolph Aldgate

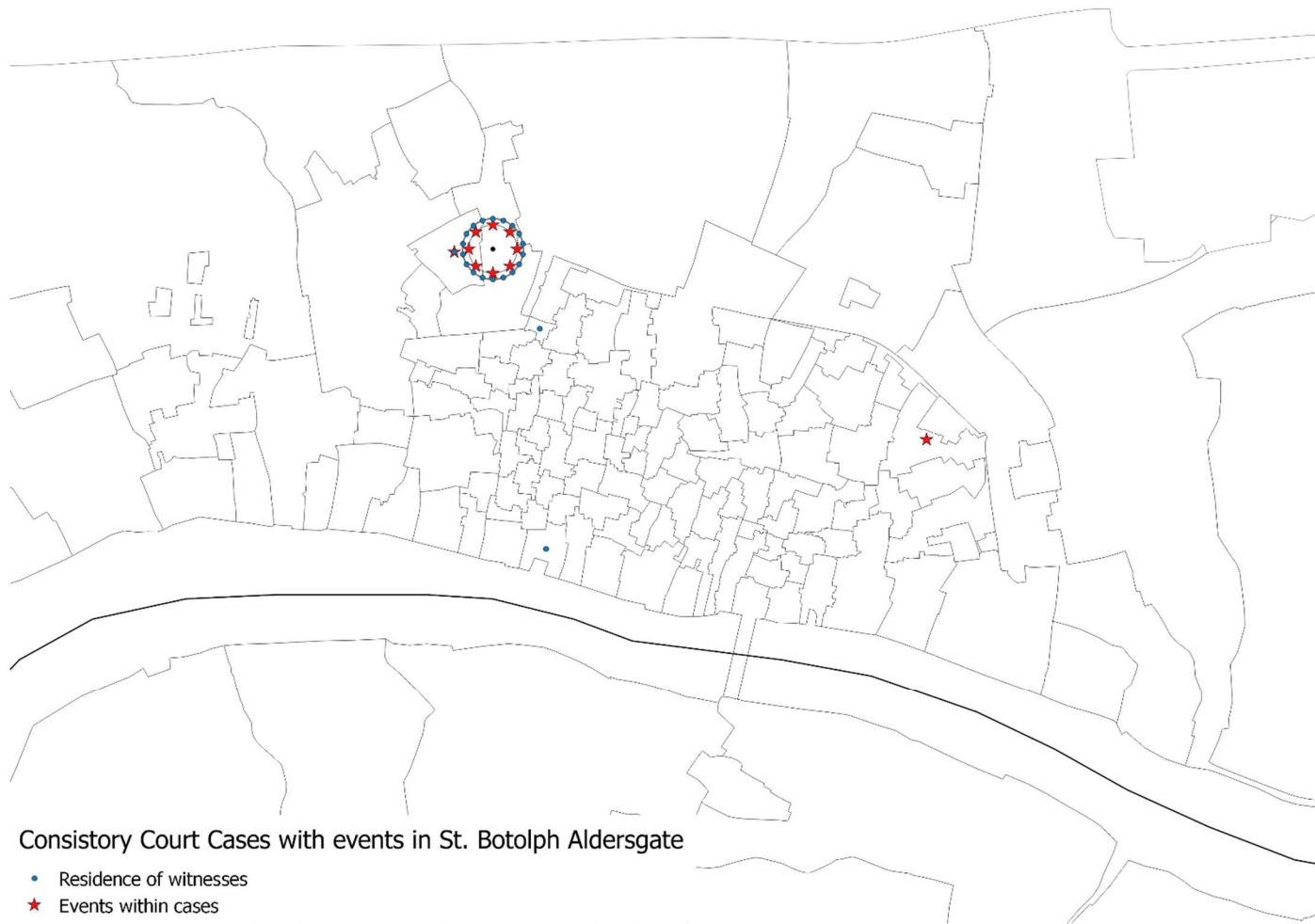


Figure 5.9 Events and deponents' residences, St. Botolph Aldersgate

5.4 Mobility and status

Mobility was common and yet, as discussed above, stability was idealised by urban elites. Some examination is thus required of the interaction between mobility and status, and where the line between problematic and unproblematic mobility lay. Although migration was a near-universal experience in London, mobility within the city and the migration of those with low social status was more likely to be problematic. This section sets out some legitimate forms of movement which raised little attention, before moving on to consider the negative impact of movement on status.

5.4.1 Life-cycle movement

Mobility which was related to a clear life-cycle event is a type which seems expected and relatively unproblematic. Men in their mid- to late-twenties were especially mobile across city parish boundaries. This was the age at which late medieval men generally married and, if they could, began to be masters of their own household.⁴⁶³ William Grene, the 28-year-old butcher who had moved from the Shambles to St. Sepulchre, was respectfully addressed as ‘neybor Grene’ in a conversation recalled in his deposition despite only having been resident in the parish for about two years.⁴⁶⁴ Henry Bathe, a skinner of the parish of St. Antolin, was also twenty-eight at the time of his deposition in 1522 and had also only lived in his parish for about two years.⁴⁶⁵ Likewise, William Goldsmyth, a haberdasher, was twenty-eight and had also lived in his parish of St. Nicholas Lombard Street for two years.⁴⁶⁶ All these men had defined occupations, which for Bathe and Goldsmyth were attached to prestigious companies, and all moved between parishes at around the same point in their life. Grene, Bathe and Goldsmyth all testified to have been busily working at the time of the events they described; Bathe even added that ‘at the time he was busy in his shop and did not pay much attention to the [defamatory] words’.⁴⁶⁷ The overall impression is of successful, industrious young men who had recently become masters of their own households, a process facilitated by a move to a new parish. In their cases, neighbourhood migration was very much a process through which they accrued respect (or at least, the furnishings of a respectable life) rather than one which cast aspersions on their character.

⁴⁶³ Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy*, chap. 5.

⁴⁶⁴ LMA DL/C/207, f. 33v.

⁴⁶⁵ LMA DL/C/207, f. 132v.

⁴⁶⁶ LMA DL/C/207, f. 229v.

⁴⁶⁷ LMA DL/C/207, f. 132v.

Widows too were individuals who, as was suggested in Chapter Three, had a life-cycle reason for mobility. Alice Bayly was a 69-year-old widow at the time of her deposition and had lived in the parish of St. Michael Bassingshaw just inside the northern city wall for two months.⁴⁶⁸ Previously, she had lived in the central parish of St. Mary Woolchurch for twenty-seven years, and a close reading of her testimony and relationship to another witness is highly suggestive of the cause of the move. Bayly appears as a witness alongside her former apprentice Richard Holand. The 29-year-old Holand testified that at the time of the events described around two months previously, he was still in Bayly's service in St. Mary Woolchurch, but for the past month he had lived at St. Giles Cripplegate and he gave his occupation as tailor.⁴⁶⁹ Furthermore, the reason for Bayly's involvement in the case is that she had agreed to let a house in St. Mary Woolchurch to a woman of questionable character.⁴⁷⁰ It seems feasible that this was Bayly's former dwelling house, and a series of events can be plausibly constructed which may have been similar to those which surrounded the widows living beyond the walls discussed in Chapter Three. Bayly was of quite advanced years, and without Holand's labour as her apprentice it would have been difficult for her to continue her business; perhaps failing eyesight made tailoring particularly difficult in older age. Therefore, once Holand completed his term, Bayly sought to retire and no longer needed a house in a central parish or the shop which may have been attached to it. She sought to sub-let her house at St. Mary Woolchurch for the remainder of the lease and move somewhere more affordable without, or with reduced, income from her craft. Moreover, Bayly was highly concerned to protect her reputation; as will be discussed in section 5.5.1 below, she showed considerable diligence in seeking to establish the character of her prospective tenant, apparently keen to protect herself from being tainted by association with nefarious activity. Alice Bayly's case is therefore a good example both of the socio-economic circumstances which caused widows to be mobile as well as the fact that widows could remain highly involved in the protection of their status during mobility. Nonetheless, her anxiety about her reputation was perhaps related to the fact that she was a recent arrival at St. Giles. She may also, like the widows seen in Chapter Four leaving bequests to their former parishes of residence, have wanted to maintain good connections with her old home.

⁴⁶⁸ LMA DL/C/207, f. 102. Bayly is a witness in the case of Cockerell c. Beckett which is explored in detail in section 5.5.1.

⁴⁶⁹ LMA DL/C/207, f. 100v.

⁴⁷⁰ LMA DL/C/207, f. 102.

Life-cycle mobility was thus an aspect of movement in the city which could either have a neutral impact on the perception of an individual or raise their social status. Indeed, social mobility seems to have been perceived as one of the benefits of the ‘right’ sort of movement. A consistory case from 1493 concerning the will of Thomas Dalston, a glover from St. Botolph Algate, is particularly revealing on this point. His will was amongst those analysed in the previous chapters. John Maliber had been an apprentice in Dalston’s household during the latter’s death in 1490 and Dalston left him forty shillings ‘the first year of his service after he comes out of his years if so be that he does good and true service to my wife’.⁴⁷¹ Agnes Dalston, Thomas’s widow, deposed that at the time of the bequest Maliber had six years remaining in his apprenticeship contract.⁴⁷² His fellow apprentice, William Bale or Balys, reported that

John solicited this witness to approach Agnes that she would deliver to him his letters of apprenticeship and that he would renounce his bequest in return for handing them over, adding that if he were freed from the terms of his service *he considered that he could gain much more than the bequest in a year*.⁴⁷³ [emphasis added]

Evidently, John Maliber calculated there to be brighter opportunities available to a young man freed from his obligation to a master and that he had gained enough skills to be able to set up shop by himself. John seems to have moved to neighbouring Bishopsgate to seek his fortune, since it was in that parish church where he subsequently harassed Agnes Dalston for the money.⁴⁷⁴ In Maliber’s case, the move appears not to have paid off, given that he went so far as suing Agnes in the consistory court for the bequest. Although not successful, Maliber’s actions are suggestive of the forces which tempted 60% of apprentices, according to Minns and Wallis, not to complete their contract terms as well as the attraction of a neighbourhood like Bishopsgate for young men in his position. Perhaps because Bishopsgate covered the boundaries of multiple jurisdictions, Maliber felt it was a safe bet for striking out on his own without attaining the freedom. He anticipated that a move from his master’s house could bring him the kind of social mobility which Grene, Goldsmyth and Bathe experienced.

⁴⁷¹ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, ff. 4v-5.

⁴⁷² ‘John Maliber c. Agnes Dalston alias Boste’, *Consistory Database*, <http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?object=case&action=view&id=83&expand=cases&case_results_format=full> [accessed 14 February 2017].

⁴⁷³ ‘Testimony of William Bale’, *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=1415>> [accessed 14 February 2017].

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Testimony of Agnes Dalston, alias Boste’, *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=1379>> [accessed 14 February 2017].

5.4.2 Reputational risk and movement

However, movement around the city which could not be fitted into such an obvious category could be deleterious to reputation, even for those with some wealth. Mobility was a point of weakness which was open to interpretation. In May 1532 a meeting of the head parishioners of St. Clement Eastcheap descended into acrimony when James Pott grumbled about being imposed with a greater assessment than usual, after everyone else had agreed to the new charges for the parish clerk's wages.⁴⁷⁵ His fellow parishioner John Hooke became so frustrated with Pott's complaints that he angrily proposed paying Pott's increase himself and removing Pott's wife from her accustomed pew in church 'rather then we wyll have all this brablyng'.⁴⁷⁶ Hooke went on to exclaim:

'ye made a brablyng her as ye have in other parishes as ye have com from'. Pott asking '[what] parishes be that' [and] Hooke saying 'from St. Marten Orgor and St. [Christopher] at Stockes for ther men wer glad that they wer ryd of yow'⁴⁷⁷

In Pott's own testimony he countered accusations that he had called Hooke a knave or wretch by saying he did so after Hooke had accused him of being 'driven out of diverse parishes', which certainly suggests that such accusations of expulsion were perceived as stinging insults.⁴⁷⁸ Thus, it was to Pott's mobility that Hooke turned as a weak point, an aspect of his life which could be reinterpreted as potentially suspicious. This case suggests mobility as a kind of liminal state, open to insinuation. As will be discussed further below, this suggests the importance of neighbourly oversight in the establishment of reputation.

An important implication for the relationship between mobility and status is the necessity of local context to legitimate movement. Movement which one's neighbours could ascribe to a clear life-cycle stage was less likely to arouse suspicion. As we have seen, the move from a master's house to leading a household was one anticipated to accrue wealth and respect for young men. For men and women in later life, age and infirmity may have been a contingency which limited the impact of mobility on reputation, as suggested by the movement of widows into marginal parishes. For all movement, it was the perception of purpose or purposelessness which tipped the balance of acceptance or suspicion. Just as civic authorities stressed that disruptive 'nightwalkers' had no good reason for their nocturnal wanderings,⁴⁷⁹ so could more

⁴⁷⁵ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Benedict Jackson, 8 July 1532.

⁴⁷⁶ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of John Knyll, 8 July 1532.

⁴⁷⁷ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of John Knyll, 8 July 1532.

⁴⁷⁸ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of James Pott, 15 November 1532.

⁴⁷⁹ Marjorie K McIntosh, 'Finding Language for Misconduct: Jurors in Fifteenth-Century Local Courts', in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century*

permanent kinds of mobility be judged in relation to purpose and thus perceptions of personal status and circumstances by neighbours were important.

As one of the most prevalent distinctions of status in the fifteenth century city, citizenship was probably a mitigating context for movement although, as we have seen in the case of Pott c.Hooke, movement which attracted greater prosperity and respect could be challenged by those who perhaps felt threatened by the competition. Belonging to a company and being a freeman engaged men in the kinds of city-wide networks discussed in Chapter Four and acted both as a conduit for knowledge about an individual's character around the city and as a widely recognised marker of status. The neighbourhood migration of citizens would thus have been within a context where their character could be easily attested. Therefore, if mobility constituted a liminal period of life, open to interpretation as suspicious, a variety of other facets of status related to life-stage and wealth served to mitigate its impact on reputation.

5.4.3 Aliens

However, for one group in London society, mobility was such an intrinsic aspect of their identity that its impact on their reputation was nearly impossible to mitigate. In their very designation, 'aliens' were forever associated with their migration in a manner far less apparent in judgement of English witnesses. Integration was by no means impossible, but it appears that the stigma of a foreign identity was very difficult to shake. For instance, the English wife of the alien Peter de Beer launched a vitriolic torrent of abuse at neighbour Christopher de Currano when he called her a 'stewyd hore', calling him a 'horson owtlandyssshe knave' and a 'Lumberd knave'.⁴⁸⁰ She also exclaimed to him 'thow art a frenche horeson theff knave [...] goo home to thy countree to feche thy wyff'.⁴⁸¹ Considering that this was from a woman herself married to an immigrant, who we might imagine to be less inclined to such xenophobia, this example is suggestive of the degree to which alien identity was a hindrance.

Bolton argues that London's continental immigrants were relatively well integrated into its society and economy, despite agitation against them.⁴⁸² The consistory cases show intermarriage, apprenticeship of aliens in English households and peaceful relationships but xenophobia was an undeniable constant in the perception of

England, ed. by Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 87–122 (p. 92).

⁴⁸⁰ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 227v, 229v.

⁴⁸¹ LMA DL/C/207, f. 226v.

⁴⁸² Bolton, 'The Alien Population of London in the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal', pp. 35–40.

aliens. William Hilton, a skinner's journeyman, impregnated a Dutch woman called Alice Fantell after promising to marry her.⁴⁸³ When he subsequently became engaged to his master's daughter, Alice challenged him over the contract they had made together. William responded 'what wenyst thow that I will for sake this inglisse maide that I am sewer too [...] and mary the a doche hore, nay'.⁴⁸⁴ The implication, that Alice was expendable when he had a far more advantageous wife in prospect, was firmly associated with her alien status. There was also, perhaps, a sense that slighting aliens had fewer repercussions for one's character because of their less permanent position within London society. Indeed, one of the witnesses to this exchange between Hilton and Fantell was a servant called Barbara Frees who, by the time the case was heard at the consistory, was 'living in the country beyond the Rhine'.⁴⁸⁵ This reflects the impermanence of alien residence discussed in Chapter Four. For aliens, then, their unsettled status and lesser connection to neighbourhood social networks probably made them vulnerable to suspicion and mistreatment. Although, as we have seen, English witnesses were also mainly migrants it may have been linguistic identity which continued to be the key marker of 'otherness', recalling the story that rebels during the Peasants' Revolt attacked those who said 'case and brode' rather than cheese and bread.⁴⁸⁶ Aside from one reference to a drunk youth calling an elderly man an 'old peasant' (*senem rusticum*), there is little evidence in the church courts for similar abuse of English migrants, reflecting their greater assimilation into neighbourhood society.⁴⁸⁷

The interaction between mobility and status was thus complex and dependent on a number of other factors. Citizenship and age might mitigate the impact of movement on reputation, while cultural identity could make its impact on status permanent. However, mobility introduced an element of suspicion, or at least openness to reinterpretation, of the status of all those who participated in it. As the next section will go on to explore, mobility was pervasive in the lives and experiences of those whose position in urban society was precarious and played an important part in processes of social marginalisation.

⁴⁸³ LMA DL/C/206, f. 457v.

⁴⁸⁴ LMA DL/C/206, f. 458v.

⁴⁸⁵ LMA DL/C/206, f. 458.

⁴⁸⁶ BL MS Julius B. II, f. 16v, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905; repr. Charleston: Bibliolife, 2009), p. 15.

⁴⁸⁷ LMA DL/C/206, f. 258v.

5.5 Experiences of mobility

This section uses detailed case study of individuals who found themselves witnesses or parties to consistory court cases, in order to explore the ways that mobility shaped the lives of Londoners on the social and spatial fringes of the city. The case studies examined here illuminate a variety of themes relating to mobility and its connection to marginality. These include the portability of reputation, the practicalities of finding accommodation when moving, mobility's relationship to poverty and mobility as a survival strategy.

5.5.1 Expulsion

Expulsion from the ward was a standard punishment for those who persistently flouted civic authority, more serious than imprisonment and far more common than exemplary trials before the Mayor.⁴⁸⁸ Decisions over who to expel appear to have been made by the ward's alderman rather than local officers or wardmote juries, although it was probably their knowledge and advice which identified potential targets.⁴⁸⁹ It is quite striking that throughout the late medieval period the routine means of dealing with offenders remained within the ward itself and generally did not require the expelled to abjure the city totally, other than during concerted morality drives by the civic government and crown.⁴⁹⁰ Even if cases were referred on to the church courts, the most severe punishment available was excommunication, a threat which does not seem to have been especially effective amongst those whose reputation was already poor.⁴⁹¹ This suggests that the primary nuisance caused by persistent offenders was perceived to be that to neighbours, a problem which could be solved by moving people along. The following example suggests some of the social dynamics involved in expulsions as well as how the expelled person could cope with this enforced mobility. While Martin Ingram has recently considered the role of expulsion and ward justice within the context of civic regulation of sex,⁴⁹² the aim of the discussion here is to consider how such justice was negotiated by local communities and individuals.

Agnes Cockerell appeared as the plaintiff of a defamation case heard in the consistory court in November 1521. Agnes had brought the case against John Beckett, capper, and his wife Elizabeth of the parish of St. Sepuchre without Newgate. Witnesses

⁴⁸⁸ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 223–24.

⁴⁸⁹ See examples cited below where individuals petition their alderman for an expulsion and where a former jury member deposed about having indicted a man but the alderman deciding not to expel him because he could provide sureties for future behaviour.

⁴⁹⁰ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 231–37.

⁴⁹¹ Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society*, p. 53.

⁴⁹² Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chap. 7.

were questioned about a series of events which began with an argument witnessed by John Gruege, a fletcher. Whilst sat working in his shop opposite John Beckett's house in late June 1521, Gruege saw a passionate dispute between Agnes, John and Elizabeth. Stood in the door of John's shop, Agnes 'said openly and in an audible voice and an evil and angry manner' to John:

thow pyllery knave and papyr face knave I shall make the to were a papyr⁴⁹³ and
make the over dere of a grote and to shytt in thy wyndowes and I have done with
the

In response, John told her to 'gete the hens dame, I pray the hens or ells wyll I' and his wife added 'I defye the dame. I sett not by thy malesse thow art known well, I nowe what though arte'.⁴⁹⁴

This exchange appears to have precipitated or coincided with Agnes' exit from St. Sepulchre parish. The next event which witnesses described was the arrival of Alice Bayly, a 69-year-old widow, at the Becketts' house two weeks later accompanied by her apprentice Richard Holand.⁴⁹⁵ Bayly approached John Beckett as he worked in his shop and asked him whether he knew 'Maystres Cockerel the midwyff' who had recently lived in that neighbourhood. Beckett replied in the affirmative, but according to Holand he evaded Bayly's next question about her character, instead inviting her to 'come nere and drynke'.⁴⁹⁶

In the Becketts' house there followed a conversation about Agnes Cockerell's character. Bayly explained that 'I have letten her a howse off myn and I wolde be glade to knowe off what conversation she wer'.⁴⁹⁷ She had taken a penny from Agnes as surety for her rent, but had been concerned by rumours about the ill fame of Alice and her servant, Robert Dyngley. The house which Bayly had intended to lease to Agnes lay in the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth in the heart of the city at Lombard Street, a move of quite some distance from St. Sepulchre; evidently, the rumours of Agnes' ill fame were remarkably widespread. John Beckett was initially evasive, telling Bayly to go and speak to Agnes' previous neighbours at Holborn Cross. Implicitly, Agnes had left more than one neighbourhood in disgrace; she had perhaps chosen St. Mary Woolnoth in the

⁴⁹³ Wearing a paper was synonymous with wearing a badge of conviction of a crime. 'paper, n. and adj.: 8', *OED Online*, <<http://www.oed.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/Entry/137122?rskey=5wfEbI&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 14 March 2017].

⁴⁹⁴ LMA DL/C/207, f. 99,

⁴⁹⁵ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 99v, 102,

⁴⁹⁶ LMA DL/C/207, f.100v,

⁴⁹⁷ LMA DL/C/207, f. 102,

hope that its centrality surpassed the reach of networks of knowledge about her reputation. Although Ingram cites this case as an example of the pervasive surveillance in late medieval London society,⁴⁹⁸ it is in fact anxiety about a lack of proper surveillance of a mobile individual which motivated Bayly's visit.

At length, both John and Elizabeth Beckett were persuaded to speak.⁴⁹⁹ They told Bayly that she had been deceived in letting to Agnes, since 'Dyngley her servaunt keypth her', implying he was her pimp⁵⁰⁰ and Agnes was 'a brothel of hyr taylle'.⁵⁰¹ They recalled that Agnes had been 'warnyed ought of the howse she dwelt in for hyr yll name', following a search of her house made at night.⁵⁰² The Becketts also warned Bayly about Agnes' reliability as a tenant, and that Bayly ought to be wary 'that she do not pute yow clene ought of your howse for ye shall fynde hyr a crafty dame'.⁵⁰³

Holand, Bayly and Gruege all agreed that these words were not spoken maliciously or in a defamatory manner, and there is a marked cautiousness in the manner that John and Elizabeth Beckett approached discussing Agnes Cockerell's reputation with a stranger from another neighbourhood. In contrast to other defamation cases, where the offending words were often pronounced angrily and in a public street or doorway, John took great pains to first move the discussion to the more private space of the house interior rather than the shop. In the proceeding discussions, both he and Elizabeth are presented as hesitant in substantiating Agnes' bad fame.

Although expelled from Farringdon Without ward, Agnes exercised agency in where to live next. In moving to a city centre parish, Agnes perhaps calculated that not just geographic distance but also social distance would insulate her from the consequences of a chequered reputation. The hesitancy of the Becketts is suggestive of the distance between suburbs and city centre and that reputation in the city was fundamentally made at neighbourhood level. Once Agnes moved to a distant neighbourhood, it was awkward for the Becketts to take the risk of a defamation charge by acting as linchpins between the two parish networks of knowledge about reputation.

⁴⁹⁸ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 221–24.

⁴⁹⁹ Martin Ingram reads this case slightly differently, as a sexual relationship (without a professional element) between Dyngley and Cockerell. However, owing to her apparent repeated expulsion like Margaret Morgan, mentioned below, I have assumed the fame in St. Sepulchre and Holborn was that Cockerell was a prostitute. Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 221–22.

⁵⁰⁰ LMA DL/C/207, f. 102.

⁵⁰¹ This probably means that she sold sex. According to the OED, in this period the word 'taylle' could refer to a person's posterior or genitalia. 'tail, n.1', *OED Online*, <<http://0-www.oed.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/Entry/197067?rskey=7mDRuz&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed March 14, 2017].

⁵⁰² LMA DL/C/207, ff. 99v, 101.

⁵⁰³ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 99v, 101.

In moving, Agnes understood this and, presumably when the Becketts' report to her new landlady barred her from renting in St. Mary Woolnoth, she attempted to portray this transfer of knowledge outside the social space of St. Sepulchre as defamation.

Knowledge which in one social space was treated as commonly known fact, as attested by John Gruege, became potentially defamatory when removed from the social context which legitimated it.

Furthermore, Cockerell c. Beckett demonstrates some of the practical aspects of mobility, particularly around the finding of accommodation. Agnes had apparently told her new landlady that she was a midwife, a legitimate way in which a woman might provide herself with the income to live independently. This may have been partly true, even if she also engaged in prostitution as her former neighbours suggested; another midwife mentioned in the consistory records was a wife who evidently contributed to a mixed household income since her husband was holy water clerk of St. Giles Cripplegate.⁵⁰⁴ Nonetheless, as the subsequent journey made by Alice Bayly to discover Agnes' reputation suggests, character of lessees was of keen interest to landlords or tenants who sublet. Poor reputation and suspicious behaviour of occupying tenants posed an embarrassing risk to the reputation of the property owner.⁵⁰⁵ Mobility outside the social space in which one's reputation was established thus presented difficulties in finding a place to live. Although Agnes seems to have attempted to use this 'knowledge gap' between neighbourhoods to her advantage, this presumably would have been a difficulty for everyone who was mobile around the city and speaks, at a basic level, to the importance of personal connections in finding accommodation.

5.5.2 Poverty and mobility

While Agnes Cockerell's movements around London appear to have been compelled by the disapproval of her neighbours, the experiences of other witnesses at the consistory suggest that for many mobility around the city and its environs was an economic necessity to find work. A few residence histories demonstrate that young men in their late twenties were particularly mobile. The tailor John Edmund was about thirty years old at the time of his deposition in July 1529, and was described as 'staying in a certain chamber within the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate' for the past two years. Tellingly, in a deleted phrase, the clerk had written 'having no fixed abode'

⁵⁰⁴ LMA DL/C/206, f. 65v.

⁵⁰⁵ R. H. Helmholtz, 'Harboring Sexual Offenders: Ecclesiastical Courts and Controlling Misbehavior', *Journal of British Studies*, 37.3 (1998), 258–68 (p. 260).

(*nulla habens certa mansionem*) before the description of Edmund's residential status.⁵⁰⁶ Edmund had apparently moved to cheaper periphery of the city after the end of his apprenticeship, and his inability to establish a permanent household even here is suggestive of meagre resources. This is a very useful example of the situation of the poor chamber-holders discussed in Chapter Three, suggesting one of the many ways they found themselves in cheap extramural rents.

Mobility could also be experienced when circumstances unsettled apprenticeship or service contracts, as evidenced in one consistory case. It concerned the spousal abuse precipitating the separation of Agnes Corbe from her husband John, a butcher. All the deponents on behalf of Agnes were current or former servants within her household. The violent beatings which they described John Corbe inflicting on his wife were committed in the presence of 'diverse servants'.⁵⁰⁷ William Williams, Thomas Rawlyns and Agnes Rawlyns, the deponents, had all been servants of Agnes Corbe during her earlier marriage to James Baram. Conspicuously, none of them were still in John Corbe's employment by February 1516 when the case was heard (eighteen months after the events described); 21-year-old Agnes Rawlyns served Agnes Corbe in her new household in St. Giles without Cripplegate, and 21-year-old Thomas and 29-year-old William had both found employment with new masters.⁵⁰⁸ Both had remained within the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles where John Corbe lived, and both served other butchers. The case of Corbe c. Corbe suggests that the close-quarter relationships involved in late medieval service were potential sources of economic instability; instead of stable and lasting employment, proximity to such a distressing domestic situation evidently encouraged servants to seek employment elsewhere. Living at the heart of the city's butchery trade William and Thomas did not have to look far for alternative employers, although in another trade it may well have been that young men in their situation would have needed to leave their parish.

Indeed, contrasting the servants involved in Corbe c. Corbe with others engaged in more precarious employment throws into relief the implicit advantage which skills in an established and well-connected trade like butchery might give men and women in potentially economically precarious situations. The Irish smith Dennis (*Dionisis*)⁵⁰⁹ Grey

⁵⁰⁶ LMA DL/C/208, f. 39v.

⁵⁰⁷ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 466-69.

⁵⁰⁸ William Williams lived with Andrew Mason, butcher, in St. Nicholas Shambles at the time of his deposition and Thomas Rawlyns with Thomas Cobham of the same parish. LMA DL/C/206, ff. 267, 268.

⁵⁰⁹ Patrick Hanks, *A Dictionary of First Names.*, ed. Patrick Hanks, Kate Hardcastle and Flavia Hodges. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 74.

lived in the parish of St. Olave Silver Street when he was called to depose in a testamentary case in January 1512. However, Dennis had only been resident here for two months. Whilst usually such a recent incomer would give a previous residence history of about two years, Dennis is simply recorded as having been resident before that ‘in several parishes of the city of London for 14 years’.⁵¹⁰ This suggests either that Grey was not sufficiently familiar with everywhere he had lived to give a full account or that he had lived in too many places for the clerks to bother recording; either way, the implication is that Grey needed to move frequently and did not have the resources to establish himself more permanently. The circumstances of the case further underline Grey’s apparent low status. He deposed that ten weeks previously his then master, John Warkman, had sent him to meet William Wodwarde in a house in St. Botolph Bishopsgate where the body of a recently deceased priest, Sir John Mores, lay. Wodwarde attempted to bribe Grey, asking him ‘to say and depose that Sir John gave instruction to him in his chamber’, apparently to witness a will which made Wodwarde and an accomplice executors.⁵¹¹ Wodwarde offered him the furred coat in which Sir John had died as a bribe. It can be inferred that Grey was perceived as the kind of man who might be persuaded to perjure himself for the sake of a coat. It is telling both that Grey had already left the service of John Warkman in the ten weeks preceding his deposition and that Warkman apparently sent his servant to Wodwarde’s aid rather than being willing to perjure himself. Like the servants in the Corbe household, Grey moved employer following an incident which strained the master-servant relationship. Unlike John Corbe’s servants, however, Grey was required to uproot himself and find a new master in a new neighbourhood.

That the poor were required to be mobile in this way opened them up to suspicion. The labourer John Fuller was called to bear witness in a disputed marriage case in June 1474. Fuller described himself as living in the parish of St. Peter in Coggeshall, Essex, although his testimony concerns a marriage contract which took place in the parish of St. Mary Axe in the city. Fuller was no chance visitor, since two witnesses from St. Mary attested to having known him since the previous Christmas while another reported on his character according to the ‘public voice and fame’ in the parish.⁵¹² Fuller’s testimony reveals that he had been in service to the family of another witness, William Oldale, ‘and William his father for six years. And before that time this witness kept a family of

⁵¹⁰ LMA DL/C/206, f. 94v.

⁵¹¹ Grey’s master Warkman deposed that Wodwarde had asked him to give false testimony that he was executor of Mores’ will, which he refused to do. LMA DL/C/206, f. 94.

⁵¹² LMA DL/C/205, ff. 236, 236v.

his own'.⁵¹³ The younger Oldale had moved to London at the most recent Easter, having served previously with a London girdler.⁵¹⁴ Fuller perhaps acted as a go-between for the Oldale family, moving between Coggeshall and London to bring messages for their son and run errands.⁵¹⁵

However, the impression of him amongst the parishioners of St. Mary Axe was entirely disreputable, according to counter-witnesses in the suit. Fuller was described as very poor, a vagabond and lacking a fixed place to live. He was 'always drunk and... is called by many names that he does not always use'.⁵¹⁶ The picture painted is, of course, an attempt to discredit Fuller and the party he spoke for; nonetheless, it is notable how his mobility between London and Essex could be interpreted as homelessness. Further, his mention of previously having 'kept his own family' before taking up service is suggestive of a man whose fortunes had faltered somewhat. Fuller's appearance and material possessions may indeed have suggested poverty to the residents of St. Mary Axe. The connections between mobility, poverty and suspicion were intricate; lacking a full knowledge of Fuller and his circumstances, the 'public voice' in the parish cast him as the classic image of the vagabond whose suitability as a witness could easily be undermined.

Similarly, a woman named Joan Salmon alias Bernard witnessed a disputed marriage contract in her mother's home in the parish at St. Sepulchre because she was there to act as housekeeper; Joan herself lived in Southwark but apparently moved back for this task, which perhaps explains why a counter-witness described her as a pauper and an 'infamous woman' who lived from her mother's goods.⁵¹⁷ Joan Salmon and John Fuller appeared in cases heard in 1474 and 1475, when Edward IV's 1473 proclamation against rootless vagabonds was likely influential in the casting of their characters by counter-witnesses.⁵¹⁸ Therefore, these examples offer insight into the means by which rhetoric around the social 'underworld' of London might be enacted and reinforced in the marginalisation of poor witnesses whose lives were marked by some characteristics of vagrancy. Thus, even where movement was not forced by expulsion, mobility still

⁵¹³ LMA DL/C/205, f. 225.

⁵¹⁴ LMA DL/C/205, f. 222v.

⁵¹⁵ The case concerned a disputed marriage contract between Agnes Rogers and James Whittington. The statements of a number of witnesses suggest that Oldale attempted to bribe Agnes Rogers with £40 to agree to the marriage and that Whittington called on distant relatives as his witnesses. The use of Fuller as a witness is perhaps another example of the exploitative use of low status servants as witnesses similar to Dennis Grey. LMA DL/C/205, ff. 236, 238v-240.

⁵¹⁶ LMA DL/C/205, f. 236.

⁵¹⁷ LMA DL/C/205, f. 262v.

⁵¹⁸ See above section 2.4; Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society*, p. 27.

attracted suspicion particularly by compelling individuals into new places where their reputation was unknown and their circumstances could be reinterpreted to their detriment. Mobility was both a marker of poverty and undermined one's character.

5.5.3 Vulnerability and mobility

Alongside expulsion and poverty, a third cause for mobility which emerges from the records is vulnerability. Vulnerability is here defined as those who were in fear of their lives and who thus were compelled to move for their own safety. The vulnerable group which is most commonly found in the records are those who had been abused by their spouse. These cases were usually either brought by husbands who sued their wives for breaking marriage vows by leaving the marital home or were suits for dissolution of the marriage. Such a tactic was probably also employed by servants, apprentices and children in abusive households, and the use of the cases here is intended to be suggestive of how vulnerable people may have gone about moving.

In the case of Corbe c. Corbe discussed above, two servants of the household escaped their violent master John Corbe by finding other masters within the same parish. For many women, their first support network when experiencing abuse was probably within the parish itself, as Tim Reinke-Williams has noted for early modern London.⁵¹⁹ However, as Reinke-Williams makes clear, this depended upon standing in good stead with the community; where a woman lacked a good local reputation, mobility may have been the only option available. Prolonged violence may also have driven some women away, even when they had local friends, simply to avoid discovery; a number of cases show neighbours were willing to intercede on the part of women who subsequently moved.⁵²⁰

The degree to which women were able to establish a new household once they left their husbands varied. Agnes Corbe, for instance, moved to St. Giles Cripplegate outside the city walls and took her servant Agnes Rawlyns with her, suggesting that she could support herself independently. It seems likely that she would have continued in the trade of butchery, given the continuity of that trade in her household between her two marriages.⁵²¹ Elizabeth Spenser, who also suffered cruel treatment at the hands of her

⁵¹⁹ Tim Reinke-Williams, *Women, Work and Sociability in Early Modern London*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 130–31.

⁵²⁰ See, for example, Spenser c. Spenser, LMA DL/C/208, ff. 16v-17, 39v.

⁵²¹ The probability of Agnes' proficiency in this trade is suggested by the stability of association with butchery amongst her servants after leaving her employment as well as their continuity in her household between her two marriages. One of Agnes Corbe's servants (William Williams) noted having been with her during the lifetime of her previous husband, John Baram, and he

husband Edmund, appears to have moved in the opposite direction from an extramural parish into the city centre to escape. The two witnesses in the separation case she brought against Edmund recall their separate dwelling places, Edmund at St. Clement without the Bars to the west of the city and Elizabeth at London Stone (probably the parish of St. Swithin) in the eastern city centre.⁵²² Unfortunately for Elizabeth, this tactic seems not to have worked, as the witnesses both recall Edmund drawing his dagger to threaten her at each house. Nonetheless, it is notable that in the cases of Elizabeth Spenser, Agnes Corbe and Agnes Cockerell, all chose to cross the city walls to find new accommodation and that in doing so all appear to have been attempting to in some way evade public fame. They appear to have calculated that the social distance between city centre and periphery offered them some protection, although we can only speculate as to whether the suspicion aroused by Cockerell's arrival in her new parish also attracted to these women in their search for new accommodation. Perhaps a woman like Agnes Corbe, with experience in an established trade, found it easier to convince others of her suitability as a tenant.

For yet others in desperate circumstances, the establishment of their own separate household appears not to have been a possibility, and yet the periphery was still an important route of escape. Eleanor Brownynge ran to the house of the sisters within the precinct of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in spring 1463 when her husband Alexander chased her with a drawn dagger. The nuns admitted her and closed the door against Alexander, an action which, in the judgment of a brother of the Hospital, saved her life.⁵²³ One witness suggested, recalling an incident three years later, that Eleanor was by that time a sister of the Hospital herself, and perhaps she had become a nun in order to escape Alexander's abuse.⁵²⁴ Such recourse to the religious houses which lay on the fringes of London is similar to their use to conceal morally questionable behaviour, which will be further discussed in Chapter 6. As well as social distance from the city, joining the community within a religious house added another practical layer of protection in the form of walls and gates, although evidently the presence of lay tenants

went on to work for another butcher. Both her male servants remained in St. Nicholas Shambles after leaving the Corbe household. LMA DL/C/206, ff. 467-68.

⁵²² LMA DL/C/208, ff. 16v, 39v.

⁵²³ LMA DL/C/205, ff. 203-03v

⁵²⁴ The Latin is a little vague on this point. Deposition of William Saunders refers to visiting the house of a man called Burgoyne within the Hospital precinct in summer 1466 '*ubi erat dicte Alianore soror*' and then recalls that Alexander threatened to kill her '*quod voluit ipsam Alianoram interficere... nisi existentes in dicta domo ipsam sibi ad tunc deliberarent*'. Presumably Saunders meant she was a sister of the Hospital and had delivered herself there rather than to Burgoyne's house. LMA DL/C/205, f. 203v.

within the precinct made it possible for Alexander to enter and continue to terrorise his wife.

Other women looking to escape their husbands sought out blood relations in the environs of London. Joan Yngolsby alias Wryther was involved in a complicated case of disputed marriage after she left her husband John Wryther. John and Joan's marriage had been solemnised in St. Botolph Bishopsgate where John continued to live, but Joan now lived at Waltham Cross, one of the towns along Ermine Street which featured in the testamentary hinterland of Bishopsgate.⁵²⁵ Joan had made a pre-contract with a man in her sister's house at Waltham six years before the case was heard, suggesting this was either the place of her birth or at least a place in which she had relatives.⁵²⁶ Either way, when she sought to leave Wryther it was to relatives that she turned to offer support. This same tactic was used by Joan Wood. The sole surviving witness statement in Joan's 1519 case against her husband William Wood is by Thomas West, beadle of the parish of St. Olave Southwark.⁵²⁷ Joan approached West in the house of a grocer in the parish of St. Magnus the Martyr near London Bridge and implored him to help her, saying 'yonder ys my husband in the church and I dare not goo home for he wel kyll me'.⁵²⁸ She asked West to escort her to her daughter's house at Bermondsey, south-east of Southwark. After an altercation with her husband, they proceeded to Bermondsey, where West heard from Joan's daughter's neighbours about his cruelty.

In both Wood's and Yngolsby's case, the maintenance of family connections outside the city was crucial to their ability to support themselves outside the marital household once a marriage broke down. The fact that neighbours at Bermondsey could attest to William Wood's treatment of his wife suggests that Joan visited her daughter with some frequency. Moving between city and hinterland to maintain social connections was not just a matter of overseeing economic interests, but also cultivated support networks which might be turned to in times of need. For women who could not establish their own household in the city, moving in with relatives beyond the walls was a pragmatic defence against homelessness. Like Eleanor Brownynge, seeking out an alternative community outside, but close to, the city was a means of survival.

⁵²⁵ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 314-14v, 316.

⁵²⁶ LMA DL/C/206, f. 316.

⁵²⁷ This statement occurs at the very start of DL/C/207 and thus the other depositions were presumably contained in an earlier book which is now lost.

⁵²⁸ LMA DL/C/207, f. 2.

5.6 Mobility and marginality

These case studies suggest the variety of ways in which mobility could be associated with social marginality in urban life. It is notable that, for those operating on the social margins, movement was necessary both because it was compelled and because it was a practical approach to coping with a precarious existence. In this section, the relationship between these two different kinds of marginal mobility will be discussed.

Agnes Cockerell's expulsion from Farringdon Without ward forced her into finding a new place to live after a raid by ward officials. There are a number of other instances within the consistory which suggest neighbours might launch concerted campaigns of complaint to the Alderman to get a rival individual or family to leave. Fulk Pygott, of St. Andrew Undershaft, deposed that the wives of three other witnesses were biased against the party he appeared in favour of, Katharine Mett. Pygott deposed that a witness's wife had said 'we [came] to se her ride in a carte one day or ells we wyll [dryve] her [...] owt of the parishe or she shall dryve us out' and subsequently made a suit to the wardmote for Mett's expulsion which the jury judged to be malicious.⁵²⁹ In this case, the failure of the attempt was what, Pygott alleged, motivated the defamation case against Mett in the consistory court, suggesting that expulsion was a preferred method through which to disgrace a neighbour. It may well be that mobility was so associated with poor character, as was suggested in the case of Pott c. Hooke, that it was the most damaging action possible, especially for those who prized their reputation. If reputation was made at the neighbourhood level then expulsion represented a failure to successfully establish a good character.

However, the case studies discussed in the previous section very much suggest that mobility was also a common response to the vicissitudes of late medieval life for those with a precarious social position. This begs the question of how far expulsion presented a real threat to those who were already peripheral to society. Agnes Cockerell's choice to move to a city centre parish suggests a degree of strategy in dealing with expulsion and even an attempt to turn enforced mobility to her advantage. The case (or competing cases) of Elizabeth Brown and Marion Lauson c. Lawrence Gilis featured an extremely mobile range of witnesses and counter witnesses whose shady activities would suggest they occupied Frank Rexroth's 'underworld' of London life. Margaret Morgan alias Smyth, who lived within St. Helen's Priory at the time of her deposition, was alleged by a counter-witness to have been expelled from both Langbourn

⁵²⁹ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Fulk Pygott, 21 January 1533.

and Billingsgate wards as well as from the precinct of St. Katharine's during an attempt to clear it of 'infamous people and prostitutes'.⁵³⁰ Other witnesses who had not actually been expelled were nonetheless mobile, particularly around the city's liberties. John Waldron had held three different bawdy houses in turn within the Stews at Southwark, and frequently came to the attention of the court held at the Clink and the constable of St. Margaret's parish, before moving to the precinct of St. Katharine. William Alston left the home he shared with his wife in Southwark to run a bawdy house there before also moving to the precinct of St. Katharine.⁵³¹ Interestingly, in their own testimonies both men claimed that some ten years before they had held their own houses, Waldron at Newbury in Berkshire and Alston at the parish of St. Peter ad Vincula. It seems likely that these were men who, like John Fuller, had experienced a downturn in their fortunes which precipitated a mobile life. In a similar manner to Agnes Cockerell, these witnesses appear to have a strategy to their movement, choosing to move around the precincts and areas outside the city's jurisdiction. It can be argued that a transitory life was not just one that was caused by expulsion and economic necessity but that mobility was also a means through which individuals exercised agency in responding to their circumstances and mitigating them.

This is not to say that Agnes Cockerell, John Waldron, William Alston and Margaret Morgan formed an underclass that rejected or inverted the values of conventional society, but that their movement around the city can be seen as a pragmatic response to both straitened circumstances and the disapproval of London society. Cockerell sought to exploit the local nature of reputation formation in London as well as ward-based policing. Moreover, it is interesting to note that she sought to accuse the Becketts of defamation in the consistory, where the geographical spread of jurisdiction was far wider than the secular means of managing disruptive behaviour. Perhaps she calculated that a successful suit here could be used as a reference point for her character which transcended any one neighbourhood, enabling her to move where she pleased. Waldron, Alston and Morgan also exploited the localisation of justice in London both through their mobility and their choice in new residences. Assuming the accusations around pimping and prostitution which attached to them were true, their movement around the Thameside and particularly between Southwark and St. Katharine's would have enabled them to carry out their activities in a business which

⁵³⁰ 'Elizabeth Brown, Marion Lauson c. Laurence Gilis', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=973>> [accessed 14 February 2017].

⁵³¹ Shannon McSheffrey has discussed this case in 'Liberties of London'.

was commonly associated with port areas. Conveniently, there were also zones of the city around the river where civic jurisdiction and the ward system did not operate. Making a living from prostitution was far easier here than in city wards, as demonstrated by the fact that Margaret Morgan attempted to return to Langbourn ward only to be expelled again. By contrast neither Waldron or Alston seem to have been forced to leave Southwark and so presumably some other reason, perhaps for Waldron related to the frequent debt suits he attracted, compelled their movement. Thus, expulsion was just one of the kinds of mobility undertaken by those Londoners with precarious lives. It was one of a range of motivations for moving neighbourhood and may have been ineffective at deterring those engaged in illicit activity because mobility was simply a fact of life. Where expulsion made a difference was for individuals determined to find a place to live within the city wards whose aldermen and wardmotes considered expulsion elsewhere grounds for suspicion.⁵³² Expulsion can be interpreted as a punishment propagated by those who prized stability and for whom being forced to move to St. Katharine's or Southwark would be anathema. It would have been a deterrent of variable efficiency amongst those for whom mobility was a fact of life anyway.

Social marginality thus involved a degree of mobility as a response to economic and social circumstances, which raises the question of whether movement could in some circumstances form part of a strategy for maintaining a livelihood within the city. In the case of sanctuary seekers, quite a clear strategy can be drawn in their mobility. The reliability of John Curlews as witness to a disputed marriage contract was questioned by counter-witnesses on the basis of an incident two years before when the carcasses of two stolen sheep were found in the chamber he rented in Totteridge, Middlesex. Curlews took sanctuary at the churchyard in Totteridge before fleeing to the sanctuary of St. Martin le Grand.⁵³³ Curlews appears to have been a poor man, as suggested by a couple of aspects of witnesses' descriptions of him; 'being then unmarried' he held a chamber in Totteridge and was unusually old for a chamberholder, at the age of about 40.⁵³⁴ When faced with a charge of theft, Curlews knew that fleeing to St. Martin le Grand would enable him to escape prosecution, knowledge which would probably have been common in the community in which he lived owing to the frequency of movement to and from the

⁵³² Five men of the parish of St. Botolph Aldersgate were indicted at the Aldersgate wardmote 'for vacabonds and were put owte of the citie afore'. Aldersgate Wardmote presentment, undated (c. 1510-20), LMA CLC/W/FA/007/MS01501.

⁵³³ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folios, deposition of John Hayward, 10 March 1533.

⁵³⁴ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of William Hayward, 10 March 1533; unnumbered folio, deposition of John Curlews, 17 January 1533.

north west of the city occasioned by those on the droving route. Moreover, Curlews' strategy worked, as two London butchers interceded with the shepherd he had stolen from and visited Curlews in sanctuary to negotiate an amicable settlement. This was an especially mobile community with knowledge of London and its topography and connections to its tradesmen which enabled Curlews to evade prosecution, using mobility to his advantage. Such a strategy is similar to that demonstrated by John Edmund, the chamber-holding tailor who had moved to Bishopsgate following his apprenticeship, in that both men's moves rely on a knowledge of the economic and jurisdictional topography of the city.

However, in the majority of the cases discussed above, mobility was enforced through unforeseen or unfortunate circumstances, such as spousal abuse or sudden poverty. Unlike Curlews, who was able to anticipate his discovery with enough time to seek sanctuary, most of those in precarious social positions were forced by circumstance to move. Where an element of strategy is most discernible in their mobility, however, is in the choice of where to go next. Some, such as several of the women faced with spousal abuse, used family connections to enable escape. For most others it seems that their own knowledge of London's social topography was key, whether that was Curlews heading for sanctuary, Eleanor Brownynge fleeing to a hospital, Agnes Cockerell moving to the city centre or John Waldron going to St. Katharine's. Although mobility could not always be anticipated, a knowledge of where cheaper rents could be found or where prostitution was only periodically punished was useful when movement became necessary.

Unpredictability of movement amongst those with precarious lives may have been one of the factors which marked the distinction between suspect and unproblematic movement. Indeed, throughout the consistory court records the reporting of residence histories seems to have partly been a method of establishing status. Impressions of residential stability offered by individuals in their own depositions were challenged by counter witnesses; mobility seems to have been one of the ways that reliability as a witness was judged. As already noted, alien witnesses appear to have been far more consistently asked for their places of birth than those who were English. On one occasion, it appears that the alien status of witnesses was raised as an issue by a defendant to be put to witnesses in the interrogatories used for cross examination. In the case of Larke c. Banester the witnesses on the party of Banester all responded to the first interrogatory with their place of birth, a question perhaps intended to discredit Warren Fanbooke, a

goldsmith's journeyman born in Gelderland.⁵³⁵ Similarly, the co-witnesses of John Fuller, the witness accused of vagrancy discussed above, were interrogated as to their resident histories.⁵³⁶ In yet other examples, the narrative which witnesses provided of their own residence history was challenged either in the interrogatories or in the statements of counter witnesses. John Curlews claimed in his own deposition to have lived in Totteridge for twelve years, making no mention of the spell in sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand discussed above.⁵³⁷ John Waldron deposed that he had lived in St. Katharine's for just over year and before that time at Newbury, Berkshire, although the constable of Southwark deposed that he had held brothels there for the past four years. William Alston claimed to have lived in St. Katharine's for seven years, despite counter-witnesses connecting him with Southwark for the past four or five years.⁵³⁸ This process of vetting and contesting residence histories is highly suggestive of their importance to status, since presumably the court was only interested in this material in as far as it shored up or cast doubt upon the reliability of a witness's testimony. Occasionally, witnesses were compelled (or felt compelled) to justify periods of movement. Elizabeth Weston was recorded with a residence history as follows:

Elizabeth Weston of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields where she has lived for eight years and more with her mother, born in the town of Cockermouth in northern parts, except that for a time she lived with a certain man named Newton, now deceased, in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West of the city of London for nine months. And she says that consequently she departed from the parish of St. Martin to the said parish of St. Dunstan to fulfil her position in the service of a good man [*boni viri*]. And she says that she left for nine months, the reason of her return to the parish of St. Martin being because she and her master mutually agreed.⁵³⁹

The fact that both Weston's short period of service and the reason for the end of it was recorded implies either that the court was interested to know the reason for the breaking of a contract or that Elizabeth was anxious to pre-empt any assumptions. Perhaps she thought it might be assumed she was expelled from her master's house, or that the nine month's service was in fact time spent lying in for a pre-marital pregnancy. In either case, the example speaks to the importance that witnesses could demonstrate

⁵³⁵ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 324v-327v.

⁵³⁶ The chaplain Sir Robert Hoper replied to the first interrogatory that 'for 3 years he lived with the lady Duchess of Norfolk. And before that time in the town of South Petherton in Somerset for eight years'. LMA DL/C/205, f. 222.

⁵³⁷ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of John Curlews, 17th January 1533.

⁵³⁸ 'Elizabeth Brown, Marion Lauson c. Laurence Gilis', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=973>> [accessed 11 October 2017].

⁵³⁹ LMA DL/C/206, f. 168.

stability (or the potential for stability) in their residence. It can be argued that residential stability was being used in the consistory court as one of the means through which character and reliability was assessed. The fact that witnesses felt compelled to defend themselves by saying they had previously held their own house, or had only left service through mutual agreement, speaks to an acknowledgement that mobility was a mark against their character which required mitigation. In this, it seems likely that the consistory court was reflecting judgments which were commonly made around inclusion and exclusion in London. Poor witnesses anticipated mobility as a factor which could cause their marginalisation from the proceedings of the court just as it could cause their marginalisation from neighbourhood society.

The concern over stability in residences for witnesses also ought to be related to the mitigating circumstances considered for the mobility of 'respectable' witnesses. In particular, status and wealth were important elements of the judgements made about the problematic or unproblematic status of witnesses' mobility. As well as implying stable relationships with one's neighbours, in the sense of not actually being compelled to leave the ward, stability also suggested access to the financial and social resources needed to weather difficult times, a motive which has been suggested for displays of wealth by burgesses.⁵⁴⁰ Wealth and a profitable craft were bulwarks against uncertainty. The relationship between social marginality and mobility formed an exclusionary circle; on the one hand maintaining a stable residence necessitated a good local reputation and on the other good reputation provided access to the credit and support networks which enabled stability.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between mobility and the social and spatial margins of the city. The evidence presented from the consistory court confirms the picture of London as a city of migrants, and it was perhaps this which fuelled the apparent contestation of the meaning of mobility, as everyone sought to establish their place in urban society. The extent to which crafts and neighbourhoods in the city developed specific hinterlands for migration and trade is also apparent at St. Sepulchre, which shared this trait with Bishopsgate and Aldgate parishes. This is further evidence for the close intertwining of social and economic

⁵⁴⁰ Riddy, "'Burgeis' Domesticity', pp. 29–31.

connections between extramural neighbourhoods and their hinterlands shown in Chapter Four.

The effect of mobility in the extramural parishes was a key aspect of what made them 'marginal'. The sense of 'neighbourhood' outside the walls, meaning the locality in which people were known and conducted their lives, was very broad and crossed parochial and jurisdictional boundaries, particularly at Bishopsgate. A similar process is visible within the walls, with neighbourhood migration taking place around parishes in a particular part of the city, but what is notable at the fringes of the city is both that this occurred in parishes which were far larger than those within the walls and that the precincts of religious houses and neighbouring settlements appear to have been included as well. It follows that the sense of neighbourhood was not confined by the city's administrative boundaries, and thus that citizenship had less meaning in an extramural context. This would explain the lower levels of citizenship amongst testators outside the walls demonstrated in Chapter Three. This understanding of extramural space also explains the apparent tendency for individuals to move around the urban fringe, with little regard for the formal boundaries of London. Already in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the geographical space of London was diffused beyond the walls by the mobility of its inhabitants before the built environment reflected its sprawl.

In terms of migration, however, the evidence presented here suggests that the wide migration field evident in institutional records was echoed in the wider London population. Aside from those neighbourhoods with ties to a particular region, patterns of migration amongst the poorer residents of at the city fringes may have been similar to their wealthier fellow city dwellers. This is an important corollary to previous evidence which had suggested that more prestigious companies had wider fields of apprentice recruitment.

As the experience of the extramural parishes shows, migration from country to city was not the only meaningful way that mobility shaped urban life. Neighbourhood migration within London as well as even more transient kinds of movement were important for shaping senses of social space as well as carrying social meaning for the individual. Those with only fleeting connections to a locality might be interpreted as vagrants. Instability was relatively common amongst the poor; mobility was a habitual risk born of lack of resources and engagement in semi-legal trades like prostitution as well as ward expulsion for those deemed to be of poor character. In cases where step migration around the city was used, it does not appear to be uniformly from periphery to centre but instead to be judged according to knowledge of the socio-economic topography

of the city and what was advantageous for the trade or life stage of an individual. Such knowledge would undoubtedly have been gained through the social networks and connections to institutions explored in the previous chapter and this may be behind the localised movements demonstrated in residence histories.

This chapter began by posing the question of how status was related to mobility. The evidence suggests that movement was as important for the upwardly mobile as it was for the socially marginal. Moving to establish a household or to bigger premises which expanded a business were necessary steps, and yet to be mobile was an unstable state which could be used to cast aspersions on the characters of even men who had been successful in the urban *cursus honorum*. What mitigated the impact of mobility on one's reputation were circumstances of wealth, status, age and life-cycle stage which neighbours could use to contextualise movement which otherwise might have been associated with vagrancy, expulsion or a suspiciously unstable lifestyle. Neighbourhood was a crucial venue for making and substantiating reputation, a process which mobility challenged by enabling individuals to detach themselves from the social context in which they were known and their character was established. This theme of reputation and its location in the neighbourhood will be explored in the next chapter, in which processes of social marginalisation are analysed.

Chapter Six: Processes of marginalisation in the neighbourhood

Finding your place in London meant negotiating a complex system of social control which scrutinised behaviour in pursuit of peaceful community.⁵⁴¹ Collective determination of who was to be excluded or punished was socially useful as it developed a sense of community as well as enabling certain individuals to assert their moral worth and right to exert authority.⁵⁴² Implicit in marginalisation is thus the constant negotiation of authority in the community: the definition of who is respectable and, for those who aspired to the parish elite, who was worthy to hold office and pass judgment on others.

In a largely oral society, gossip was an important means through which this negotiation happened and a person's local fame was frequently used in court to substantiate or undermine them. Gossip flourishes best in 'close-knit, highly connected social networks' with shared notions of proper behaviour.⁵⁴³ Within a city the size of London, the knowledge created by gossip would thus primarily have circulated within smaller neighbourhood units, as was suggested in the discussion of mobility in the previous chapter. Gossip has been considered by sociologists as primarily a concern of those in the middle of the social hierarchy competing for resources and reputation.⁵⁴⁴ However, Sandy Bardsley's study of scolding accusations demonstrates great variety over time and place in the status of those women accused, suggesting that in late medieval England participation in speech which aimed to marginalise was very widespread.⁵⁴⁵ Surveillance was the norm in English society and speech about sexual reputation was used to crystallize public opinion about those with poor reputation.⁵⁴⁶ Further, Erik Spindler has argued that the neighbourhood was an important location in which such information flows were used to negotiate relationships and marginalise certain individuals.⁵⁴⁷ Spindler argues that urban social relations were generally weak, and thus information flows about individual's status and identity were haphazard, an

⁵⁴¹ See Chapter One section 1.1.3 for discussion of the definition of community as used here.

⁵⁴² Scribner, 'Wie Wird Man Außenseiter?', pp. 23–24; Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 147–49; Katharina Simon-Muscheid, 'Randgruppen, Bürgerschaft Und Obrigkeit: Der Basler Kohlenburg, 14.-16. Jahrhundert', in *Spannungen Und Widersprechen: Gedenkschrift Für František Graus*, ed. by Susanna Burghartz (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), pp. 203–25 (p. 211).

⁵⁴³ Sally Engle Merry, 'Rethinking Gossip and Scandal', in *Reputation: Studies in the Voluntary Elicitation of Good Conduct*, ed. by Daniel B Klein, (Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 47–74 (pp. 52–53).

⁵⁴⁴ Engle Merry, 'Rethinking Gossip and Scandal', p. 48.

⁵⁴⁵ Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 133–37.

⁵⁴⁶ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 69–74.

⁵⁴⁷ Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations', pp. 220–27.

argument borne out by the evidence in Chapter Five around the problematic nature of mobility for individual reputation.⁵⁴⁸ However, Spindler does not dwell on the role of the neighbourhood, despite the fact that the formal mechanisms for exclusion and marginalisation in London largely centred on local units like the ward and the parish. Expulsion and presentation at the wardmote were formal aspects of processes of marginalisation alongside more informal kinds of policing, all of which relied at their base on local reputation as promulgated through gossip.⁵⁴⁹ This chapter will thus address how marginalisation was carried out at neighbourhood level, probably the most important social forum for most Londoners.

The importance of neighbourhood in developing reputation is a key social continuity from the medieval to early modern city, crucial as it is to Tim Reinke-Williams analysis of how women cultivated good reputation, and thus support networks, in the latter period.⁵⁵⁰ A number of scholars have suggested that participation in marginalisation was itself part of the making of reputation, in both late medieval and early modern communities.⁵⁵¹ It is thus suggested here that all Londoners were engaged in negotiating their own reputation through interactions with formal and informal authority. This is a theme which has recently been taken up by Martin Ingram, who argued the importance of the late medieval wardmote and church courts in asserting the wishes of local householders keen to enforce moral standards.⁵⁵² However, Ingram follows Frank Rexroth in viewing the wardmote as assigning a ‘persistent identity’ to malefactors, and ‘from such imposed identities, there was no escape’.⁵⁵³ Ingram’s focus on the instruments of sexual regulation tends, as this statement suggests, to downplay the extent to which individuals who stood accused of misdemeanours were also engaged in negotiating their reputation as much as any householder. This chapter addresses the question of how both ‘respectable’ householders and their poor neighbours participated in processes of marginalisation and argues that differences of status were important in how reputation was negotiated.

The following discussion locates social marginality within neighbourhoods which were themselves in some senses socially marginal. As we have seen, the peripheral

⁵⁴⁸ Spindler, ‘Marginality and Social Relations’, pp. 220–27.

⁵⁴⁹ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chap. 2.

⁵⁵⁰ Reinke-Williams, *Women, Work and Sociability*, pp. 127–33.

⁵⁵¹ Shannon McSheffrey, ‘Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality: A Comment on Marjorie McIntosh’s “Controlling Misbehavior”’, *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (1998), 269–78 (pp. 271–72); Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, pp. 70–72; Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 74–75, 220.

⁵⁵² Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 165–66, 172, 179–87, 194, 212–22.

⁵⁵³ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 224.

areas of the city, and particularly extramural parishes, were both economically differentiated from the city centre and had distinctive social structures which were shaped by their marginal location and loose attachment to London-wide institutions. In the previous chapter, it was argued that senses of social space at the city margins were distinctively large and freed from formalities of jurisdiction due to their more mobile populations. Nonetheless, the testator networks explored in Chapter Four demonstrate that marginal neighbourhoods had ‘respectable’ communities of settled householders, some of whom might be quite wealthy, even if those communities were a smaller proportion of the population than in the city centre. Ingram argued that communities of suburban householders were just as concerned as their city centre counterparts in the regulation of sex, despite these areas’ seedy reputations.⁵⁵⁴ Since processes of marginalisation were part of the negotiation of the ‘centre’ of the community too, the socio-economic mix of peripheral localities make them very interesting places in which to study this urban social dynamic at work. This chapter suggests some distinctions in how the society of marginal parishes might have differed in terms of marginalisation.

Rather than viewing ‘marginals’ as a fixed set of people, this chapter takes as its base the idea that who was included or excluded was mutable, created through a dialectic between the individual (and their behaviour) and society, and thus also variable over time.⁵⁵⁵ As seen in the previous chapter, mobility was a moment when marginalisation could occur. The discussion analyses the process of marginalisation as it played out in the peripheral neighbourhoods of London. First, it explores definitions of marginal behaviour and the relationship between marginal spaces and behaviours. The latter half of the chapter considers what constituted the formal and informal methods of policing and how different people approached reputation management and rehabilitation.

6.1 Methodology

The discussion will utilise a mixture of records from London’s church and civic courts. The selection process for consistory court records was outlined in Chapter Five, and the same sample of cases has been used here with the purpose of exploring processes of marginalisation and policing in London. The rationale and historiographical context for using these depositions as sources for social judgment was set out in section 5.1. In this chapter, an even greater emphasis is placed on the

⁵⁵⁴ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chap. 5.

⁵⁵⁵ Scribner, ‘Wie Wird Man Außenseiter?’, pp. 40–42.

importance of depositions as evidence for *fama*, the talk about an individual that ‘continually adjusts honor and assigns rank or standing’ throughout the life cycle.⁵⁵⁶ While modern legal systems attempt to minimise the impact of gossip on a court’s proceedings, canon law courts enshrined the role of *fama* as essential to the judgment of a witness’s worthiness to depose. It was even an important supplement to eyewitness testimony, as the talk about an event served to reinforce the validity of personal depositions.⁵⁵⁷ Reputation is thus at the heart of much consistory court testimony and medieval people were intimately aware of the need to manage the *fama* about them through ‘careful attention to speech, behaviour, demeanor and action’.⁵⁵⁸ This chapter uses consistory depositions to understand how reputation was created by those neighbours who talked about an individual, as well as how individuals acted to manage their reputation.

The other main sources used in this chapter are the surviving records of London’s wardmote courts. Although not extensive, they offer a valuable opportunity to study life in the city at the level of parish and neighbourhood which is rare in other fifteenth-century documents. The wardmote was a means by which local men, in the form of a jury of the *probi homines* of the ward, could bring problems to the attention of their alderman. The jurors were elected annually in December and reconvened after Christmas to write presentments, although from 1447 aldermen were permitted to call a wardmote as often as required.⁵⁵⁹ Sometimes ward juries may have been convened to deal with specific problems or individuals, as indicated by a Cheap wardmote recorded in the city Journals which just indicted the grocer Robert Sewall of being a bawd to his wife and servant as well as being a leper.⁵⁶⁰ Until 1486, it was the custom for jurors to go with their alderman in January to show their presentments at the Guildhall.⁵⁶¹ In common with leet courts elsewhere in England, the wardmote had within its remit a broad range of offences, including those related to fornication, public order, environmental hazards and infringements of London’s economic regulations. There was, however, a remarkable continuity of format other than that the language of record changed from Latin to English in the late fifteenth century.

⁵⁵⁶ Thelma S. Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, ‘Introduction’, in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 1–11 (pp. 3–4).

⁵⁵⁷ Fenster and Smail, ‘Introduction’, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁸ Fenster and Smail, ‘Introduction’, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁹ LMA Jor. 4, f. 180.

⁵⁶⁰ LMA Jor. 5, f. 214v.

⁵⁶¹ LMA Jor. 10, f. 129.

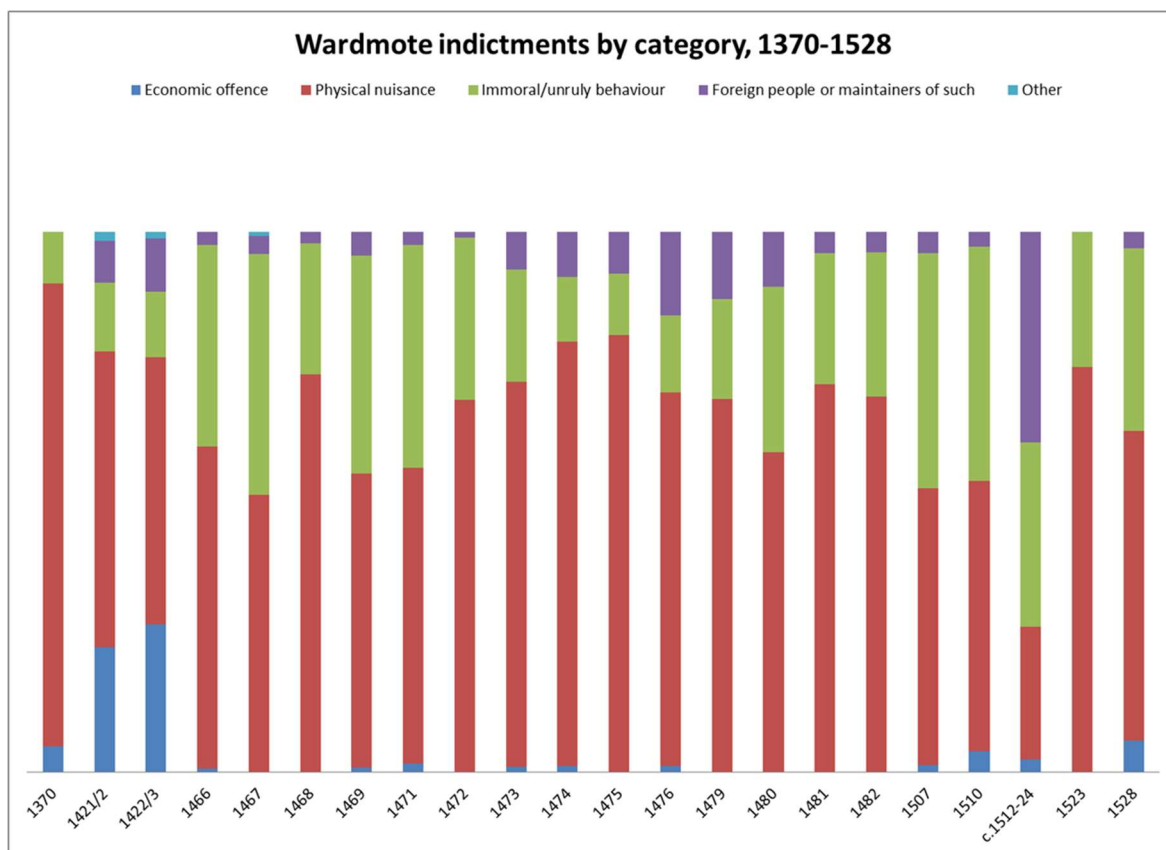


Figure 6.1 Proportions of wardmote indictment categories

This similarity of format enables the charges made in presentments from across the period to be compared. It also means that, with a certain measure of standardisation and interpretation, it is possible to analyse and compare wardmotes in terms of both the specific charges presented and the typology of offences. Four broad types can be drawn: economic offences; physical nuisances; immoral/unruly behaviour; and foreigners (non-citizens living and working in London) and their maintainers. Proportions of indictments in each of these categories are presented in Figure 6.1. Although jurors seem to have made a broad distinction between physical/environmental and behavioural nuisances, in numerous examples charges fit multiple types and so have been categorised in more than one way. Within a presentment, it is common for the physical nuisances to appear first and all indictments involving individuals to follow.⁵⁶² Jurors sometimes cited more than one charge against an individual, or multiple individuals against one charge; in these cases, charges were recorded as separate instances, one instance of a specific charge per person or married couple cited. This means that where jurors indict whole groups as ‘defective’, such as the common complaints against ‘all the brewers, bakers and

⁵⁶² Winter, ‘The Portsoken Presentments’, p. 102.

regraters of bread and ale' in the 1420s presentments, only one charge is recorded despite a clear intention to indict large numbers of individuals.⁵⁶³

The advantage in dealing with wardmote charges as standardised and categorised offences is that it enables a more systematic analysis of the documents across the city than has previously been attempted. Caroline Barron has discussed the wardmote in terms of local politics and the administrative function of the wards and their officers.⁵⁶⁴ Christine Winter has performed a similar analysis of the Portsoken records, tracking the incidence of specific charges across a number of years and grouping some charges into the categories of sexual offences, environmental problems and indictments for occupying as a freeman.⁵⁶⁵ Sarah Rees Jones has also made quantitative analysis of the Plea and Memoranda Roll records, using categories broadly similar to those here to compare London's records with similar records for Norwich in 1300 and argue for a distinctive discourse of nuisance developed within them.⁵⁶⁶ Shannon McSheffrey argued in a short 1998 article that the wardmote was a venue for the assertion of the respectable masculinity of the jurors.⁵⁶⁷ Recently, Martin Ingram has made detailed study of the role of the wardmote in sexual regulation.⁵⁶⁸ However, there has been little systematic comparison of all the records. After the 1420s, the only surviving presentments are from the mural and extramural wards of London. The records are thus ideal for exploring the nature of social relations in these areas of the city. Furthermore, the issues raised by McSheffrey surrounding the use of jury service to define 'which men were respectable, worthy, and of a certain stature' merit greater exploration within the context of local processes of social marginalisation.⁵⁶⁹

Both the church courts and wardmote dealt with people and activities which caused tensions within local society, and there is reason to believe their functions overlapped as ward officials sometimes took offenders for punishment in the church courts.⁵⁷⁰ Ingram considered the wardmote and church courts to be part of an early

⁵⁶³ *P&M Rolls*, vol. 4, p. 121.

⁵⁶⁴ Barron, 'Lay Solidarities'; Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 121–27.

⁵⁶⁵ Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments', pp. 103–08, 148–49.

⁵⁶⁶ Rees Jones, 'The Regulation of "Nuisance": Civic Government and the Built Environment in the Medieval City', pp. 291–93.

⁵⁶⁷ McSheffrey, 'Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality'.

⁵⁶⁸ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chap. 7.

⁵⁶⁹ McSheffrey, 'Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality', pp. 271–72.

⁵⁷⁰ Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society*, pp. 38–39; Martin Ingram, 'Regulating Sex in Pre-Reformation London', in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays Presented to C.S.L. Davies*, ed. by George W. Bernard and Steven J. Gunn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 79–95 (p. 90).

Tudor ‘system’ for policing morality.⁵⁷¹ There is thus much to be gained by looking at these records alongside one another as means by which the neighbourhood was policed and attention will be paid to the reasons individuals and communities chose different venues for marginalisation and prosecution of their neighbours.

6.2 Defining marginal and anti-social behaviours

As has been noted by both Marjorie McIntosh and Sandy Bardsley, the definition of problematic behaviour in the fifteenth century was variable according to location and social context. Both stress that presentations in local courts were highly influenced by local circumstance and concerns, although Bardsley argues that they were even more specific in being driven by individuals.⁵⁷² The London wardmotes operated in a similar way to the local courts elsewhere in relying on a jury of twelve men to report local misdemeanours. Although the civic precepts or ‘articles’ of the wardmote broadly shaped what was to be presented, jurors also exercised quite a degree of autonomy in their choices. Jurors may, during periods of civic or royal anxiety about particular issues, have been guided to focus on particular types of offence, as implicit in Martin Ingram’s analysis.⁵⁷³ However, it is probable that juries responded to neighbourhood politics to a significant degree just as they did in other English towns and villages.

This is evidenced by the changing volume of certain categories of presentment over time. Figure 6.1 demonstrates how the proportions of different types of presentment varied over time. It is evident in the Portsoken (1466-1507) and Aldersgate (1510, c. 1512-24 and 1528) presentments that even year to year juries varied in the offences they prosecuted, and when presentments for multiple wards exist in the 1420s different neighbourhoods evidently focussed on different kinds of offence. Moreover, during periods of civic morality campaign like the 1470s and 1520s,⁵⁷⁴ indictments for sexual transgressions do not noticeably increase. These patterns suggest that, while the wardmote was undoubtedly part of a wider civic justice system, jurors often responded to local concerns rather than simply exercising the will of the Mayor and Aldermen.

⁵⁷¹ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 173–74.

⁵⁷² Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England*, pp. 33–36; Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 115–19.

⁵⁷³ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 233–37.

⁵⁷⁴ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chaps 6, 7.

There are also broader changes over time. In the early presentments recorded in the Plea and Memoranda Rolls, an average of just 11% of presentments were for immoral or unruly behaviour compared to 27% in the mid to late fifteenth century Portsoken presentments and 36% in the early sixteenth century documents. These behavioural offences included disruptive speech such as scolding or being a 'noyer' of one's neighbours, sexual misdemeanours like adultery or 'misgovernment' of the body and failures to uphold proper household order. This last category included accusations of 'keeping ill rule', 'receiving suspicious persons' or being a 'maintainer' of those who themselves were accused of disruptive speech or sexual immorality and was occasionally difficult to distinguish from those who were accused of keeping or maintaining foreigners in their houses. Appendix 2 shows the full range of complaints found in the presentments and how they were categorised for the purposes of analysis here. As Christine Winter noted in her analysis of the Portsoken presentments, indictments for physical and environmental nuisances appear not to have affected one's opportunity to act on the jury whereas few who were accused of immoral behaviour or selling without the freedom of the city were ever nominated to the jury.⁵⁷⁵ It will be argued in section 6.4 below that membership of the jury was an important means of defining the 'respectable' group in neighbourhood society.

Consistory counter-witnesses reveal definitions of marginal and anti-social behaviour in other ways, many of which are similar to the categories in wardmote indictments. The deposition of George Barretson, who appeared as a counter witness in 1523, gives a revealing depth in its description of why his opponents were unfit to depose:

...he says that John Pruddon is accustomed to be drunk and spreads gossip amongst his neighbours and is very poor and needy and has little or nothing in goods in as much as this witness can tell. Further he says that Richard Trussington was indicted at the 'warmolquest' this last year for a quarrelsome person and also is a pauper as he believes. And he says that Thomas Plowghe is a pauper as he says that [deleted: he is 'le water man' travelling the sea] save that he is an honest pauper. And moreover he says that William Rede is quarrelsome and also violent with his neighbours and he says that around the feast of Christmas last passed this witness saw him fighting with some of his neighbours.⁵⁷⁶

Barretson gives a wide range of descriptors indicating that the opposing witnesses were not respectable; drunkenness, quarrelling, gossiping, violence and poverty. The

⁵⁷⁵ Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments', p. 101.

⁵⁷⁶ LMA DL/C/207, f. 268v.

reference to indictment at the wardmote here serves as objective evidence for his description of Trussyngton's character. It is interesting that, even though he states Plowghe is an 'honest pauper', his poverty and that of Pruddon and Trussyngton is still relevant to assessment of their suitability as witnesses. In a canon law court like the consistory, the word of a pauper could be discounted, although Susan McDonough found that in Marseille it was common practice for parties to present pauper witnesses and defend their right to depose.⁵⁷⁷

This raises the question of how far we can use the characteristics which were held to make an unreliable witness as proxies for wider marginalisation in society. Was it simply that counter-witnesses were using objections based in advice from canon lawyers, or did it truly mean exclusion from neighbourhood society on a day to day basis? This is a difficult issue, as in some sense court records shape and define our sense of exclusion and inclusion because they are the closest we can get to the lived experiences of these complex social processes. A plausible answer is offered in Erik Spindler's framework for marginality, in which there is no binary mainstream/marginal divide but instead that marginality is a condition of being between social groups caused by a combination of jeopardy and instability.⁵⁷⁸ As we saw in the previous chapter, an individual who was an outsider to the local community could find their position and behaviour portrayed as suspicious. Mobility was particularly associated with the poor and also jeopardised reputation. Sandy Bardsley argues that prosecutions for scolding were dependent on varying local priorities and officers: while gossiping and chiding would have happened everywhere, and would no doubt have been considered unpleasant by their object, prosecution relied upon local circumstance.⁵⁷⁹ Exclusion and inclusion were thus constantly being negotiated, rather than every neighbourhood having a fixed social 'margin', and the citation of problematic behaviours by counter witnesses was a part of that process. They brought local fame of reputation into the court, a fame which itself might have contradictory or contested aspects, and used it to define their opponent as an unfit witness.

In the specific case of poverty, it would have been a social disadvantage in the sense of denying one access to social networks like fraternities where, as Gervase Rosser argues, social capital could be gained.⁵⁸⁰ Poverty also meant mobility, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, leading to the instability Spindler defines as a

⁵⁷⁷ McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community*, p. 52.

⁵⁷⁸ Spindler, 'Marginality and Social Relations', pp. 8–15.

⁵⁷⁹ Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 107–08.

⁵⁸⁰ Rosser, 'Finding Oneself in a Medieval Fraternity', pp. 34–37.

key element of marginality. Thus, there was probably not just a sense that the poor were unreliable witnesses because they could be persuaded to perjure themselves but also that they were not a settled part of the community about which they deposed. However, paupers who were not involved in disruptive behaviour may not have been seen as problematic and even become respected elders of the parish. This is perhaps what George Barretson meant by an ‘honest pauper’: a person whose poverty made them a less reliable witness in a law court but who was otherwise an accepted community member. It is worth noting that this category of the ‘honest pauper’ probably corresponds to a large proportion, maybe even a majority, of adult Londoners. Maintaining a good reputation would have been important for this group as well as challenging, given that they were both vulnerable to the changes of fortune which engendered mobility (and thus suspicion) and that they were ineligible for the leadership roles which could cement good reputation. This issue of rehabilitation will be further addressed in section 6.6.

There was thus a range of behaviour which was considered anti-social and which could damage one’s local reputation. What behaviour caused most concern seems to have shifted somewhat over time. For instance, Caroline Barron has pointed out that regulation of wages, which featured in wardmote precepts in the 1370s and the *Liber Albus* of the 1420s, was removed from precepts produced in the 1470s.⁵⁸¹ Likewise, the indictments for breaking the assize of bread and ale which are dominant in the earlier surviving presentments are absent in the Portsoken, Aldersgate and Broad Street presentments in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This is despite a restatement of this precept by the Common Council in 1508.⁵⁸² However, behavioural concerns seem constant across the period; although the language used changes across the period, sexual immorality was indicted in every surviving presentment bar 1373. Quarrelsome behaviour or failure to keep order in the household were also continual themes. Even concern with foreigners and evading the city’s jurisdiction, which Barron notes were novelties in the wardmote precepts in the 1470s, were apparent in the presentments from the 1420s (see Figure 6.1). As will be argued in section 6.4 below, the wardmote could be used to respond to local concerns at a point in time, but the broad scope of behaviours which were considered anti-social and liable to be indicted were similar through the long fifteenth century.

⁵⁸¹ Barron, ‘Lay Solidarities’, pp. 223–24.

⁵⁸² LMA Jor. 11, f. 93v.

6.3 The wardmote and policing of in/exclusion

The wardmote was the primary formal means of raising concerns about those who broke civic regulations or ‘the King’s peace’ in London. It was also, as an institution reliant on local knowledge, embedded within neighbourhood society. As noted above, the definition of marginal behaviour was flexible in local courts, and wardmotes themselves were no different both in the breadth of the discourse of nuisance which they encompassed and in their potential as sites for political protest.

Likewise, the wardmote itself was organised to reinforce local social hierarchies. Surviving presentments from many wards list nuisances by their separate parish of location, suggesting that the presentation of complaints was organised along parish lines, a unit which in most of the city was probably closer to the neighbourhood in which knowledge of issues circulated than the whole ward.⁵⁸³ In the sixteenth century, wards were divided into small precincts presumably for similar reasons.⁵⁸⁴ Furthermore, it was common practice to annually repeat indictments for continued defaults or individuals who continued to misbehave, a process which reinforced such local networks of knowledge. Although Richard Wunderli argued that this repetition shows the wardmote was an ineffective means of policing the neighbourhood, depositions made at the consistory in fact suggest this repetition served a useful purpose in defining marginal individuals.⁵⁸⁵ Martin Ingram argued that the very act of recording offenders on parchment was a valuable part of wider communal policing which might result in harsher punishment down the line.⁵⁸⁶ While this may have been a valuable aspect of wardmotes from the view of the alderman, for those who were indicted it was probably not the written record of the event which mattered so much as the popular local memory of their indictment. Counter witnesses often used memory of indictments at the wardmote as a means to discredit individuals and their testimony. For instance, when a counter witness accused Henry Fyt of being ‘a man of ill fame’ in 1529 he substantiated this claim by reference to Fyt’s indictment for quarrelling with his neighbours at the wardmote four years previously.⁵⁸⁷ Likewise, in 1512, John Saunderson’s reliability as a witness was undermined by a counter witness who

⁵⁸³ This is the case in the surviving Aldersgate returns, LMA CLC/W/FA/005/MS01499, CLC/W/FA/006/MS01500 and CLC/W/FA/007/MS01501. It is also the case within Bishopsgate, Farringdon Without and Within, Aldersgate, Vintry, Broad Street and Bread Street in the returns in 1421-22. *P&M Rolls*, vol. 4, pp. 116-41.

⁵⁸⁴ Pearl, ‘Change and Stability’, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁸⁵ Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society*, pp. 34-45.

⁵⁸⁶ Ingram, ‘Regulating Sex in Pre-Reformation London’, p. 89.

⁵⁸⁷ LMA DL/C/208, f. 40.

recalled that he had been ‘compelled to appear before the wardmote inquest’ for abusing his wife and turning her out of their house.⁵⁸⁸ Fyt and Saunderson’s misgovernment of themselves and their households was apparently felt to be material evidence of their unreliability as witnesses, and the memory of their indictment was proof of this. By repeating indictments each year, the wardmote thus attempted to fix this knowledge of character within local networks of knowledge, an appearance before the jury itself being a reputational punishment. Ingram rightly argued that the wardmote and church courts, through referrals from one to the other, were mutually reinforcing.⁵⁸⁹ The importance of the memory of indictment further suggests that the wardmote had a significance for punishment within the local community itself, serving as a verification of reputation and in the process legitimating what would otherwise be gossip or rumour about an individual.

The use of repeated indictments may also reflect the mutability of reputation; although Henry Fyt had been indicted for quarrelling with his neighbours in 1525, he also served as a member of the jury in 1528 and 1529, suggesting a degree of rehabilitation before the time of the consistory court case.⁵⁹⁰ In this instance, utilisation of a previous indictment by a counter-witness sought to fix his character based on an earlier point in time, ignoring the fact that he had apparently (and unusually) overcome the reputational damage of an indictment in the intervening period. Repeating indictments year after year may thus have sought to avoid this kind of use of old judgments, making it clear that there were some individuals who continued to disrupt the neighbourhood while implying that others had amended their ways or left. Nonetheless, a single indictment seems to have a powerful enough effect in local memory to be useful in the description of reputation a number of years later; it is difficult to imagine how a person without Fyt’s long parish residence and householder status, which enabled him to participate positively in the wardmote as a juror, would have recovered their reputation from an indictment.⁵⁹¹ On the other hand, as will be discussed in section 6.6 below, the degree to which the wardmote totally marginalised individuals within the local community varied.

The profile of those indicted at the wardmote for their behaviour suggests that those most vulnerable to this kind of marginalisation were women. Four of the five

⁵⁸⁸ LMA DL/C/206, f. 170.

⁵⁸⁹ Ingram, ‘Regulating Sex in Pre-Reformation London’, pp. 89–90.

⁵⁹⁰ LMA Aldersgate Wardmote Book, CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001, f. 8v.

⁵⁹¹ See below section 6.4 for the use of the wardmote as a venue for the positive creation of reputation.

most common categories of behavioural indictment were distinctively feminine: strumpet (83 indictments), scold (female) (53 indictments), bawd (female) (52 indictments) and harlot (female) (39 indictments). Men's indictment in analogous categories was far less common, with just 25 male bawds, seven harlots and three scolds. Moreover, it is notable that both apparently single women and wives are mentioned in the second most common category of indictment, receiving suspicious people (59 indictments), even where a husband's identity ought to have covered the whole household. Women were thus commonly complained about for a failure to maintain proper control over others and their households. This sense in which the wardmote expressed disquiet about women with power to 'keep ill rule' in their house is important in the context of an institution which was an expression of masculine moral authority, a point which will be further developed below.⁵⁹² Male behaviour which attracted complaints was most likely to centre on a failure of a man to govern himself by acting as a baratour, nightwalker or a non-specific 'noyer of neighbours', a trend which fits with contemporary expectations of male behaviour in which, for instance, abusive husbands had to be proved to be incapable of governing themselves (let alone their wives) for a separation to be granted.⁵⁹³ The wardmote presentments thus indicate gendered patterns of indictment in which women's sexuality led to more frequent challenge of their ability to govern themselves and their households.

Alongside women, foreigners were another group who dominated indictments. There are indications in the indictments that many of those who were cited for being a 'foreigner occupying as a freeman' were continental aliens. At Portsoken names such as Sote Dutchwoman, John Leflaimder and Michell Milpekkar amongst the indicted suggest this was the case.⁵⁹⁴ The growing German and Dutch population at Portsoken was discussed in Chapter Five. Conveniently coinciding with the dating of the surviving Portsoken presentments, the mixed reception of this growing community is suggested by the wardmote records. Although few people are expressly identified as aliens or had a place of origin noted in their indictment, the homogeneity of English forenames in this period make definition by name a reasonably secure way of identifying them. Nonetheless, there are likely to be many recorded as John or Henry in the presentments who would have called themselves Hans or Heinrich.

⁵⁹² McSheffrey, 'Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality', pp. 270–73.

⁵⁹³ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, pp. 140–42.

⁵⁹⁴ Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments', pp. 150–55.

As well as being indicted for breaching the privileges of the freedom, Portsoken's immigrants were also commonly indicted for disruptive behaviour. Trewde Stutfold and her husband Thomas were indicted as common bawds, Margaret Olsson was named a common bawd, Reynold Fremet was a common strumpetmonger and four women given the surname 'Dutchwoman' were indicted for being a leper, a harlot, a strumpet and a bawd.⁵⁹⁵ The association between aliens and sexual immorality or disruptive behaviour is borne out in other presentments. Guyse and Willyman Pawnser of Broad Street were accused of keeping a stew in Broad Street at the 1421 wardmote and in 1422 Gerard Clayson and his wife from Cripplegate Without were accused of an extensive list of offences including being 'evildoers' who both received and maintained harlots, bawds, strumpets and 'an evil coven'.⁵⁹⁶ Indeed, it may be that prostitutes were often immigrants as was the case in Bruges where English and other foreign women commonly worked in brothels.⁵⁹⁷ In a legal context where prostitution and other forms of fornication were not distinguished, and where the epithet 'whore' often implied general loose sexual mores rather than definite engagement in prostitution,⁵⁹⁸ it is also likely that many of these presentments simply reflect women who were believed to have sex outside marriage or people whose control of dependents' sexuality was lax. Thus, there was considerable room for xenophobia, as much as any real connection to the sex trade, to lead to presentation of immigrants who, as Chapter Four argued, were less socially integrated into the neighbourhood.

Nonetheless, what is perhaps surprising about the Portsoken presentments is that despite a growing community of immigrants, indictments of foreigners trading without the freedom only formed between 2-8% of indictments most years, except in 1476, 1479 and 1480 when they were 10-15%, as Figure 6.1 indicates. This suggests that concern tended to fluctuate year on year independent of sheer immigrant population size; alongside the economic adaptation of the area to serve the alien community demonstrated in Chapter 3, it seems that relations were in general cordial punctuated by occasional concern. An intriguing example of how this may have been experienced is provided by the Stutfolds or Stotfolds, a family who apparently had decades-long association with the area. Thomas and Trewde Stutfold were indicted in

⁵⁹⁵ Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments', pp. 150–55.

⁵⁹⁶ *P&M Rolls*, vol. 4, p. 154.

⁵⁹⁷ Erik Spindler, 'Were Medieval Prostitutes Marginals? Evidence from Sluis, 1387-1440', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire*, 87.2 (2009), 239–72 (p. 253).

⁵⁹⁸ Goldberg, 'Pigs and Prostitutes', pp. 174–75; Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 111–12.

1465 and 1466 for bawdry.⁵⁹⁹ However, a decade later in the late 1470s, a probable relative Richard Stutfold/Stotfold appeared on the jury three times and served as ward constable. Richard was a man who came to be both wealthy and well respected by his neighbours, becoming a citizen and bladesmith and featuring prominently in the Aldgate testamentary network of 1465-95, his own will being proved at the PCC in 1493. Although it cannot be conclusively proved that Richard was related to Thomas and Trewde, it seems likely that this is an example of how migrant families could have become so integrated within local society that xenophobia had a limited hold on wardmote jurors. Migration and its stigma may have been a matter of recent history for such jurors.

In 1508, a new clause was added to the wardmote precepts that no 'stranger born', even those granted letters of denization, was to be elected to any ward office or wardmote jury.⁶⁰⁰ While undoubtedly an example of civic xenophobia, it is striking that it took so long for such a precept to be added given the longstanding presence of immigrants; it also suggests that some aliens had actually been elected jurors by their neighbours.

In this context, a mass indictment of aliens at Aldersgate in an early sixteenth century wardmote presentment appears as an isolated release of tension rather than an indication of ongoing problems of community cohesion. The other surviving wardmote presentations in this period from Aldersgate contain just two indictments each of foreigners infringing on the freedom, 3-4% of total complaints. The indictment in which multiple aliens are named unfortunately lacks its dating preamble and jury list which would allow it to be precisely dated, but by chance a presentment mentions the alderman as 'Master [Robert] Fenrother' who held this office from 1512 to 1524. During this period were both the Evil May Day riots against aliens in 1517 and the city's ongoing efforts to challenge the legal basis for the sanctuary at St. Martin le Grand, the precinct in which the indicted aliens likely lived.⁶⁰¹ This presentment is thus an example of the wardmote being used in precisely the way that Steve Rappaport conceived of civic institutions, as release points for tension within the population at

⁵⁹⁹ Although Stotfold could be a locative British surname, referring to a village in Bedfordshire, Trewde's Germanic name as well as the variant spellings (Stutfold/Stotfold/Stutsfold) have informed the assumption here that the family were immigrants. It is also possible that Thomas Stotfold was English and Trewde was originally an immigrant.

⁶⁰⁰ LMA Jor. 11, f. 93.

⁶⁰¹ McSheffrey, 'Stranger Artisans and the London Sanctuary of St. Martin Le Grand in the Reign of Henry VIII'.

times of particular stress.⁶⁰² A similar effect may be at work in the appearance of vagabonds in the later presentments, when concern about vagrancy was returning to popular consciousness and the attention of the authorities.⁶⁰³ Men indicted as ‘vagabonds’ only appear in two of the later Aldersgate presentments, with five of the six indicted in the same year. It seems that wardmote presentments for problematic or ‘marginal’ behaviours reflect particular concerns which fluctuated over time, rather than being directly linked to the frequency of a given phenomenon

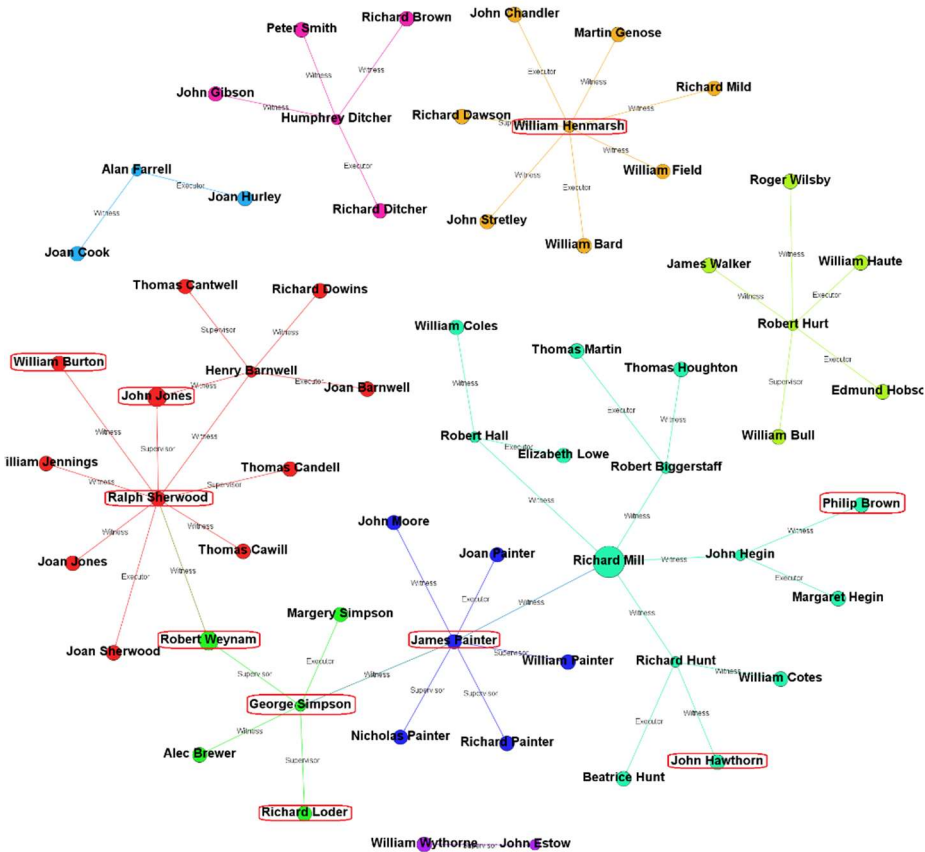


Figure 6.2 Aldersgate testamentary network 1515-40 with wardmote jurors highlighted

The wardmote records thus suggest that those most likely to find themselves marginalised through this means were those who challenged gendered conventions of behaviour or whose identity or circumstances made them vulnerable to the present concerns of the jury. As Shannon McSheffrey has argued, the wardmote and its jury was a process through which the community defined ‘which men were respectable, worthy, and of a certain stature’ to the exclusion of those who appeared indicted, and

⁶⁰² Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. 176–78.

⁶⁰³ For discussion of the city’s policy towards vagrants, see above section 2.4

defined respectable women by their complete absence from proceedings.⁶⁰⁴ This aspect of the wardmote has significant implications for understanding the inquest within the broader context of social marginalisation in London neighbourhoods. She notes how the wardmote allowed middling households to control misbehaviour and impose their own model of respectability on others, and cites a dispute which ended up at the church courts between men who contested one another's right to participate in the jury.⁶⁰⁵ This suggests that as well as determining who was excluded from the community, the inquest was also a public demonstration of the jurors' right and ability to govern, and thus who was included within the 'respectable middle' of local society.

A comparison of the jury lists from Aldersgate and Portsoken wards with the testamentary social networks in Chapter Four provides a route to understanding the role that the wardmote played in the definition of the respectable portion of a local community. Figures 4.8 and 6.2 show these networks in the periods which coincide with jury lists with those who featured as jurors (or as officers where this information survives at Portsoken) highlighted in yellow. Both graphs indicate that those who had served as ward jurors were very likely to be mentioned by others; all jurors in the Aldersgate network bar one had an in-degree of one or more, as did 16 out of 24 jurors and officials in the Aldgate parish network. Within these limited samples, there is thus a sense that ward jurors were somewhat more likely to be the kind of men trusted by their neighbours to take on important testamentary roles.

As discussed in section 1.1.2, participation in institutions was part of London's *cursus honorum*. Both Marjorie McIntosh and Dana Durkee have shown such participation was a route to the accrual of social capital, gathering of contacts and development of co-operative government and financial management skills, the same men often taking on roles in several institutional contexts.⁶⁰⁶ Tracing the careers of a number of jurors who also feature in testamentary networks suggests that the same was largely true of the neighbourhood community within London, and that the wardmote played a specific, early role in the process of accruing social capital. The wealthy bladesmith Richard Stotfold (juror, constable and probable second-generation immigrant) held office or was a ward juror four times between 1474 and 1481. Stotfold's

⁶⁰⁴ McSheffrey, 'Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality', pp. 271–72.

⁶⁰⁵ McSheffrey, 'Jurors, Respectable Masculinity, and Christian Morality', pp. 270–71.

⁶⁰⁶ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, 'The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300–1640 (with a Glance at Modern Nigeria)', in *Patterns of Social Capital: Stability and Change in Historical Perspective*, ed. by Robert Irwin Rotberg, Studies in Interdisciplinary History, 6 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 121–52 (pp. 123–28); Durkee, 'A Cursus for Craftsmen?'

will, dated 1493, named two adult children and one son, John, who was still a minor.⁶⁰⁷ It seems reasonable to conjecture that the date of Stotfold's initial involvement in the ward some nineteen years before his death had thus come while his children were still young, within a few years of marrying and becoming a householder. One of the men who named him as witness to their will was Thomas Dalston, a glover, who had served as ward constable in the late 1460s and then as one of the ward's representatives on the city Common Council ten times from 1470 to 1483 when he died. Another of the men who named Stotfold as witness to their will was John Mansfield, who served on the jury three times in the late 1460s and was then five times constable of the ward in the 1470s. Office holding within the ward was, as Christine Winter noted in her analysis of the Portsoken presentments, often preceded by a period of jury service.⁶⁰⁸ The evidence from Portsoken suggests that participation in a jury could thus be a route to advancement through the holding of local positions of responsibility within the ward itself. All three men would likely have become well known amongst their neighbours as constables, responsible for the apprehension of local offenders as well as raising the hue and cry and organising juries.⁶⁰⁹ The benefits accrued to one's creditworthiness as a result of participation in the jury thus derived both from the opportunity to become acquainted with wealthy and influential men like Stotfold as well as, in the longer term, through progression to greater positions of local respect and responsibility.

Further examples from Portsoken are suggestive of wardmote jury service as an early rung in the ladder of local office holding. Two more constables of the ward, Philip Thomson, a brewer, and William Pywale, a barber, who also held office in the 1460s and 70s appear connected in Figure 4.8. Thomson named Dalston and Pywale as supervisors to his will. Thomson's will was proved in December 1471, just after his first year as constable of the ward following three stints on the jury in 1466-68. He left an apparently modest estate with just twelve pence set aside to the parish church for forgotten tithes.⁶¹⁰ His will mentions his surviving wife, Hawys, but no children are explicitly named. Comparison between Thomson and Pywale's wills as contemporaries suggests that Thomson died relatively young before having the opportunity to amass much wealth; by contrast, Pywale's will, proved at the PCC seventeen years later in May 1488, includes twenty shillings for forgotten tithes and detailed requirements for

⁶⁰⁷ TNA PROB 11/12/81.

⁶⁰⁸ Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments', p. 100.

⁶⁰⁹ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 124-25.

⁶¹⁰ LMA DL/C/B/004/MS9171/006, f. 93.

memorial masses and doles to the poor.⁶¹¹ Thomson thus appears to have died young, before his emerging office-holding career could accord him the success that his testamentary supervisors Dalston and Pywale went on to achieve. Likewise, Thomas Warren appeared on the jury for the first time in 1479, a year after he married Marion Roke and received her portion of inheritance held as a bond by three prominent Portsoken ward officials, Dalston, Stotfold and Andrew Todd.⁶¹²

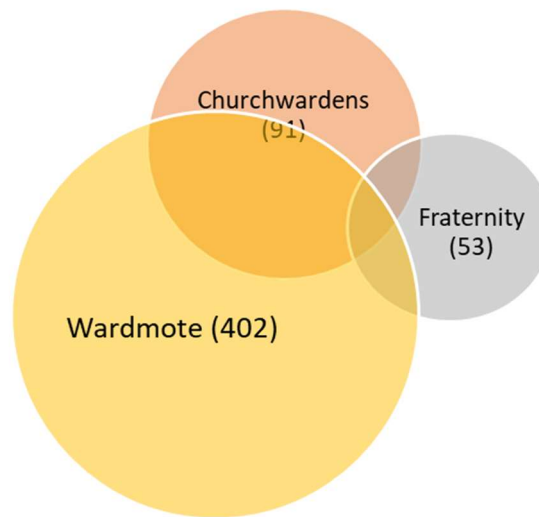


Figure 6.3 Venn diagram of participants in Aldersgate institutions, 1460-1540

⁶¹¹ TNA PROB 11/8/169.

⁶¹² Marion Roke was the daughter of John Roke, junior, who had served twice as a common councillor for Portsoken. Andrew Todd served as juror, constable and common councillor in the 1470s and 80s. 'Folios 131 - 140: Nov 1477 - ,' in Reginald R Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: L, Edward IV-Henry VII* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912), pp. 153-162. British History Online, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-letter-books/voll/pp153-162>> [accessed 14 July 2016].

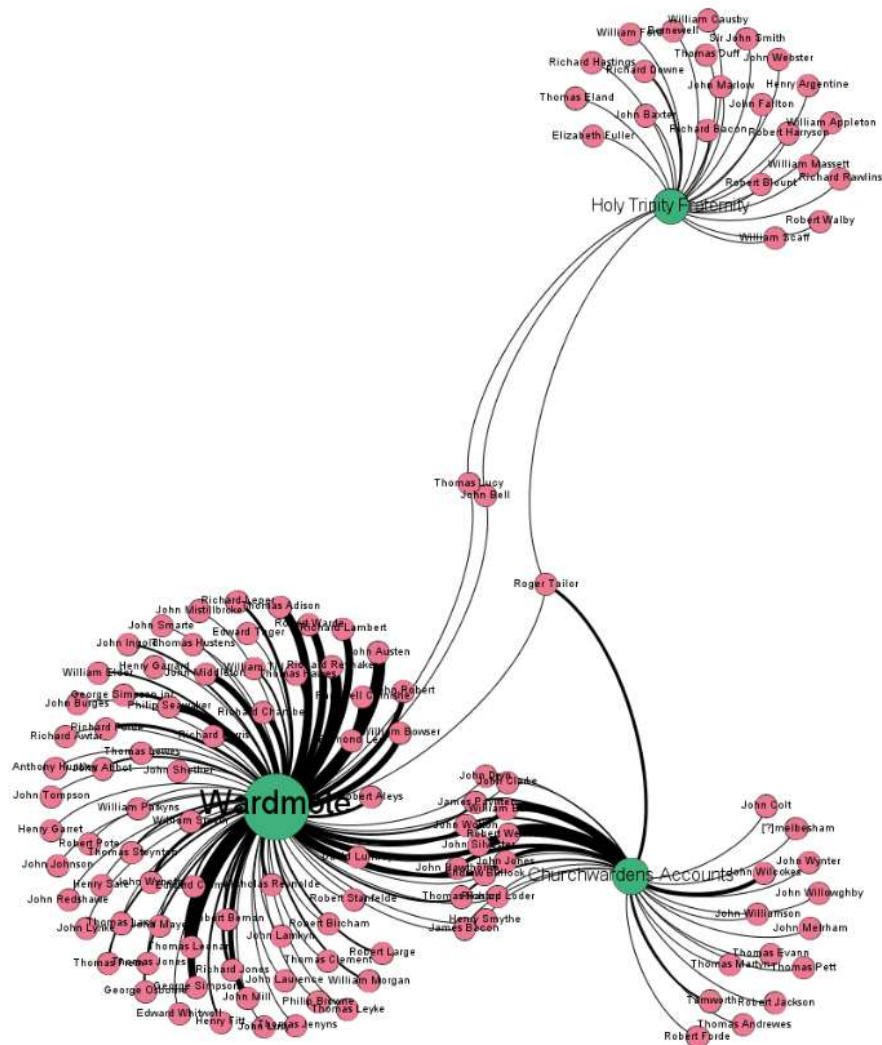


Figure 6.4 Aldersgate wardmote jurors, fraternity members/masters and churchwardens/senior parishioners, 1526-36

Although Aldersgate lacks lists of officers, the parish of St. Botolph which made up most of the geographical extent of the ward has considerable surviving records of both the churchwardens' accounts and the parish fraternity through which the connections between wardmote jury service and other kinds of office holding can be traced. Figure 6.3 shows a venn diagram of individuals who participated in these three institutions from about 1460 to 1540, although coverage over the period varies by the amount of surviving records. It suggests that the group of senior parishioners in particular was dominated by those who were also wardmote jurors. Between 1468 and 1540, 52.7% of those who featured in the wardens' accounts were also Aldersgate

wardmote jurors.⁶¹³ In Figure 6.4, records for the decade from 1526-36 are graphed to give a more focused snapshot of the shared personnel of these institutions. Green nodes indicate institutions and pink nodes indicate individuals who participated in them. The frequency with which individuals participated in an institution is indicated by the weight of the edge between institution and individual. This suggests further it was the most frequent churchwardens who were very likely to also have acted as wardmote jurors. The timelines of involvement for many of these men suggest that acting as a juror was a precursor to parochial office. Robert Woodhouse served five times as a member of the ward inquest between 1490 and 1501 and was then churchwarden four times between 1501 and his death in office sometime in 1504 or 1505. Similarly, Roger Russell served twice on the jury in the 1470s and went on to be churchwarden in 1483-4 and another four times in the early 1500s, including serving as deputy for Woodhouse in the year of the latter's death. When Russell died around 1513 he was a wealthy enough man to be commemorated in one of the windows in St. Botolph Aldersgate's parish church.⁶¹⁴

Therefore, involvement in the wardmote jury often began soon after a man became a householder. Corroboration with the other available parish records at Aldersgate suggests that in joining the jury a new householder might expect to meet men who formed part of the parish elite which steered local decision making. Wardmote service thus served as a route for making connections with the respectable men of the neighbourhood. For the successful, this could result in building the social capital necessary to progress to a prominent local role as churchwarden or, indeed, to take on greater responsibility in the ward as an officer and perhaps eventually a common councilman. By contrast, the parish fraternity appears less associated with neighbourhood progression; even in the 1526-36 period shown in Figure 6.4, where more members are recorded than in other periods, only three members participated in either the wardmote or parish leadership. Even for the many who do not appear to have been involved in other institutions, participation in the wardmote may have been socially useful. Just as Dana Durkee has shown juries to be essential venues for young Norwich weavers looking to establish their businesses, so too would the London

⁶¹³ Drawn from St. Botolph Aldersgate churchwardens accounts, 1468-1506, LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/002-025.

⁶¹⁴ Patricia Basing, 'Introduction', in Patricia Basing (ed.), *Parish Fraternity Register: Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and SS. Fabian and Sebastian (Parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate)* (London: London Record Society, 1982), p. vii-xxviii. British History Online, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol18/vii-xxviii>> [accessed 17 August 2016].

wardmote have provided young men with access to well respected figures in the neighbourhood.⁶¹⁵ As well as economic benefits, these men could prove to be important allies and witnesses in the event of an individual becoming subject to accusations in the church or civic courts and so access to them in itself could be a form of social capital.

Those who participated in more than one institution at Aldersgate were far more likely to be repeated jurors, churchwardens or present at the parish accounts than those who only participated in one. The average weighted out-degree of individuals in all Aldersgate institutions 1460-1540 (that is, the number of times they participated in any institution) was 6.35 for those involved in the wardmote and at least one other institution compared to 1.81 for those who were involved in just one. This fits well with the idea that social capital transferred between institutional contexts, as engagement with more than one local institution led to repeated involvement and re-election. As we have already seen, this relationship was strongest with parish leadership. In the act of judgement of their neighbours, jurors could display their sound governance and adherence to conventional morality in the presence of an influential group of men. Ultimately, the successful juror might expect to earn his own place amongst the worthy of the neighbourhood. In London's *cursus honorum*, wardmote jury service was a small step, less time consuming than full office holding, and yet participation formed part of one of the routes to advancement.

Moreover, a list of ordinances regulating the behaviour of jurors, drawn up by the Aldersgate inquest in 1540, suggests that during the inquest itself men were expected to demonstrate their suitability for office in their conduct. The subjects covered ranged from not speaking up in favour of offenders while they were being examined to the fines paid if jurors violently confronted one another 'either with weapon or without as smyting with hand or fist, violent plucking, wrastling, hurlyng, tearing or punching'.⁶¹⁶ The regulations suggest that, while disagreement was to be expected within the inquest, calm self-government was prized amongst jurors.⁶¹⁷ This accords well with both McSheffrey and McIntosh's conceptions of the jury as a space in which social capital was accrued through the demonstration of proper masculine authority. It was not simply through the distinction between those indicted and those who were called to jury service that the wardmote shaped inclusion and exclusion, but

⁶¹⁵ Durkee, 'A Cursus for Craftsmen?', pp. 158–59.

⁶¹⁶ LMA CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001, ff. 54v-55.

⁶¹⁷ Charlotte Berry, "'To Avoide All Envye, Malys, Grudge and Displeasure": Sociability and Social Networking at the London Wardmote Inquest, c.1470–1540', *The London Journal*, 42.3 (2017), 201–17 (pp. 210–11).

also through the testing of jurors themselves. As Table 6.1 shows, 59.2% of Aldersgate jurors only appeared once during the period 1467-1540, while those who did appear again were more likely to serve three or more times than to remain at just two appearances. By governing themselves properly, jurors demonstrated their adherence to dominant values of masculine behaviour, standards which were transgressed by those indicted as offenders.

No. times named as jury member	No. jury members	% total jury members
5+	48	11.9%
3-4	50	12.4%
2	66	16.4%
1	238	59.2%
<i>Total</i>	<i>402</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 6.1 Aldersgate jury participation, 1467-1540.⁶¹⁸

It was not just participation in the wardmote which made the difference to a man's career, but how he conducted himself within it. As discussed below, the right of an individual to participate in the jury could be challenged, and the wardmote was an early opportunity for men to demonstrate their capacity to exercise authority, a venue in which they often seem not to have succeeded. The wardmote was therefore a very active part of processes of marginalisation and social capital formation, where both the jury and the offenders presented were subject to assessment of their reputation. For the jurors, the good governance they demonstrated at the wardmote might transfer into informal authority in policing the neighbourhood throughout the year, as the next section will discuss.

6.4 Informal policing of community

Efforts to manage relationships within the community and curb disruptive behaviour were ongoing and extended beyond formal structures like the wardmote. This section will address this aspect of managing tensions by returning to the records of the consistory court. Legal processes of both ward and consistory interacted with informal, local attempts to manage damaged relationships. Processes of marginalisation operated through ongoing, local exertions of power of which formal punishment through the courts might just be a part or endpoint.

The role of the officials appointed by the ward, the constables and beadles, were formally defined and yet relied on informal interpersonal relationships to carry out their duties. The 1488 deposition of John Calton recalled an incident seventeen years

⁶¹⁸ Calculated from lists of Aldersgate jurors in LMA CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001, ff. 2-15v.

earlier when the constable of the liberty of St. John approached him to inform him that his son was suspected of fornicating with a local girl in a neighbour's house; in response Calton, the constables and several other men apprehended the young couple that evening.⁶¹⁹ This suggests a consensual approach to policing, in which the parents of an offender were forewarned and invited to participate in the punishment of their child. Perhaps the intended result was to allow Calton an opportunity to preserve the family's reputation by publicly expressing his disapproval of his son's actions and demonstrating his own continued adherence to communally expected standards of behaviour. In 1529 Thomas Hoskyns, constable of Aldersgate ward, was encouraged to raid the alehouse of Henry Fyt by the carpenter William Bowser.⁶²⁰ 60-year-old Bowser had sat on the Aldersgate wardmote jury six times during the 1510s and 1520s, including in the year before the case was heard. It was claimed by Fyt that Bowser harboured grudges against a number of the men and women who had been drinking together in Fyt's house that evening.⁶²¹ This example suggests the blurred line between formal and informal management of the community, with Bowser apparently exploiting his seniority and connections to encourage punishment of those of those he personally deemed disruptive.

Although Fyt and other witnesses suggested this was in some sense unfair, it seems that it was by no means extraordinary; certain senior individuals within a community expected to take a leading role in mediating relationships between their neighbours. Thomas Wornegey, a mercer of St. Katharine Creechurch, deposed at the consistory in a case which concerned defamatory accusations of fornication in 1475. Wornegey stated that he had warned one of the parties, Thomas Hay, 'not to resort to the house of Agnes Howell because of the suspicion that many men had against him due to the manner of his evening visits'.⁶²² Although Hay angrily rejected this advice, the fact that Wornegey offered it suggests he felt a responsibility for advising Hay to watch his behaviour. Similarly, the grocer Robert Haskyn deposed in 1474 that Agnes Roger, who he stood as witness for, could not have contracted a marriage as the plaintiff alleged 'because... if the said Agnes had intended that [marriage] then Agnes would have spoken to this witness'.⁶²³ Both Wornegey and Haskyn were middle-aged

⁶¹⁹ 'Deposition of John Calton', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=796>>, [accessed 3 March 2017].

⁶²⁰ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 36v-37, 38-38v.

⁶²¹ LMA CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001, ff. 7-8v. LMA DL/C/208, ff. 36v-37.

⁶²² LMA DL/C/205, f. 308v.

⁶²³ LMA DL/C/205, f. 239.

men with prestigious mercantile occupations who expected their advice to be respected and sought by their neighbours. In these examples, we can see something of the boundary between the formal and informal exertion of authority within the neighbourhood. The same kind of men who offered this personal advice were those who joined wardmote juries to judge their neighbours.

Indeed, it seems that the involvement of the consistory court could be perceived as more problematic than local, informal networks of arbitration. The case of *Swyndon c. Hoskyns*, in which Henry Fyt and William Bowser testified, demonstrates this. In January 1531, nearly two years after the original depositions, the case returned to the consistory. The witnesses who appeared this time attested to a local mediation process which they thought had resolved the dispute. In October 1530, Henry Garrett, Owen Gowgh and Thomas Willis called Dorothy Swyndon to Willis' house and 'warned Dorothy for her to cause an amicable conclusion' to the case.⁶²⁴ Following this, with the intercession of the parish curate at a meeting between Swyndon and Hoskyns' wife, an agreement was drawn up that Hoskyns would pay her ten shillings to withdraw her suit.⁶²⁵ Swyndon was said to have exclaimed 'wo worth them that gave me councell first to go to the law'.⁶²⁶

Swyndon's case was perceived as highly disruptive to neighbourhood relations, perhaps with good reason. During the original testimonies, Henry Fyt had recounted his neighbour William Bowser's affair with a servant. He knew the story because Bowser had asked him to be godfather to the illegitimate baby, suggesting a past friendship and level of trust which his deposition can only have damaged.⁶²⁷ Fyt himself found his reputation challenged by counter witnesses through reference to a previous wardmote indictment, as discussed in section 6.2 above. It seems likely that this rehearsal of embarrassing histories was very damaging to local relationships, especially when the reputation of a prominent man like Bowser was called into question. As we saw in Chapter Five, the process of giving counter-testimony often exploited local forms of knowledge about reputation, particularly of those who were known to be highly mobile. However, as *Swyndon c. Hoskyns* shows, counter-testimony at the consistory might also undermine the basis on which individuals claimed to be respectable among their neighbours. Informal resolutions avoided both expense to the parties and potential embarrassment to the whole community which could be brought

⁶²⁴ LMA DL/C/208, f. 179v.

⁶²⁵ LMA DL/C/208, f. 186v.

⁶²⁶ LMA DL/C/208, f. 183.

⁶²⁷ LMA DL/C/208, f. 14v.

about by a consistory case. Such a case posed a threat to those who exerted local decision-making power, unlike informal resolutions in which they could demonstrate and extend that authority.

This raises the question of why the church courts were used at all. Litigants in the consistory had to pay for advocates and, in marriage cases at least, were most likely to be of the urban ‘middling sort’.⁶²⁸ That is, precisely the group who had most to lose through exposure of their behaviour to counter witnessing and the most to gain by resort to informal policing or their formalised roles within the wardmote. An answer seems to be offered by cases like *Swyndon c. Hoskyns* where more localised mechanisms of mediation and marginalisation had failed. Although eventually Dorothy Swyndon was called to resolve her dispute by mutual agreement, the complex history of the case and its counter testimonies suggests that it was originally born out of a situation of considerable communal discord in which even the ‘respectable’ local men whom each side appealed to were at odds. Likewise, in the defamation case of *Kyrkham c. Mett*, a witness argued that the suit was brought because the plaintiff was persuaded by a neighbour:

rather thene the mater should stope thus (menyng by way of entreatie) he wold complain hier [the consistory] and make all that ever he cowld rather the she shuld skape unpunshed.⁶²⁹

The case came after a number of appeals to the alderman for the same woman to be expelled were ignored.⁶³⁰ The vagaries of informal justice, relying as it did on personal exercise of authority and unspoken overlaps between ward and parish administration, would have left it liable to use in ways which were partial to local factions. The wardmote’s indictments against those who were ‘noyers of their neighbours’, rather than dealing with specific instances of defamation, may also have driven victims to become consistory plaintiffs. Those who felt aggrieved by or dissatisfied with informal policing or the wardmote could instead turn to the consistory as a legal mechanism which bypassed local networks. In *Hoskyns c. Swyndon*, key witnesses switched sides away from Dorothy Swyndon when she attempted to revive her case two years later, suggesting that in the end the power of local informal authority was reasserted.

The informal policing and mediation power wielded by individuals suggests how important the definition of the ‘centre’ of the community was to marginalisation. Although, as Spindler argues, anyone could find themselves marginal, at the local level

⁶²⁸ Goldberg, ‘Fiction in the Archives’, pp. 427–29.

⁶²⁹ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Henry Rolf, 22 January 1533.

⁶³⁰ LMA DL/C/208 unnumbered folio, deposition of Fulk Pygott, 21 January 1533.

decisions about who to exclude from the community were made by those who used displays of their good judgement against others to reinforce their own reputation. This definition of the social ‘centre’ was rooted in locality and, as with the sense of neighbourhood outside the city walls, varied in its geographical extent. In a 1521 defamation case, Thomas Hodgson was said to have exclaimed to Margaret Fyfeld ‘thow skotts drab I will bere never a shert to my back but I will have thy husband owte of this strete’.⁶³¹ Hodgson’s insistence that it was the street, not the parish, that he wanted to see the Fyfelds leave suggests that senses of community, and thus instances of marginalisation, could be highly localised and perhaps especially so in such a large extramural parish. However, St. John Street where the parties lived was the centre of an occupational community as well as a liberty exempt from city jurisdiction.⁶³² As a result, the close definition of community here to a street may not be a factor general to extramural parishes. By contrast, at St. Andrew Hubbard in 1533 two women were alleged to have said they were determined to see their neighbour expelled from the parish.⁶³³ Enmities could thus be expressed in terms of the inability of the parties to live together in the same space and it was presumably for this reason that expulsion from a ward, as discussed in Chapter Five, continued to be the primary punishment for repeat offenders.

The latter example of the campaign against Mett by local women⁶³⁴ suggests that the structures of the ward overlaid and supported smaller communities and their internal politics. This applies both to the fact that Mett’s rivals wanted her out of the parish as well as that, in this case, it was female rivalries which drove marginalisation. Witness Henry Rolf told the consistory that ‘the wives of those witnesses [for the plaintiff] and Katharine are enemies’.⁶³⁵ Although women were excluded from the wardmote, this example nonetheless suggests that women could utilise the formal structures of the ward, as well as their husband’s ability to gather reliable witnesses for a consistory case, in their pursuit of a rival. In this case, the neighbourhood appears both as a subset of the ward and as a space containing female social networks which, while lacking a direct hierarchical overlap with formal authority, nonetheless could

⁶³¹ LMA DL/C/207 f. 58.

⁶³² St. John Street was one of the exempt places named by the city in a 1455 proclamation against those citizens who lived in liberties. LMA Jor. 5, f. 260. It also occasionally operated as sanctuary, deriving this status from its ownership by the Knights Hospitaller. McSheffrey, *Seeking Sanctuary*, pp. 99–102.

⁶³³ LMA DL/C/208 unnumbered folio, deposition of Fulk Pygott, 21 January 1533.

⁶³⁴ LMA DL/C/208 unnumbered folio, deposition of Fulk Pygott, 21 January 1533.

⁶³⁵ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Henry Rolf, 22 January 1533.

appeal to men with formal and informal policing power. This is one of the ways in which authority could be exercised by households rather than just male householders, thus giving women a stake in the operation of formal authority which was notionally masculine.

Spatial difference was thus an important element in communal policing, with implications for the differences between neighbourhoods within and without the city walls. The small sample sizes for individual parishes make it difficult to assert with any certainty the differences between them; however, some inferences can be made. As we saw in the previous chapter, at Bishopsgate individuals from a wider area encompassing Bishopsgate Street, the liberty of Norton Folgate and the precinct of the Hospital of St. Mary all seem to have been aware of one another's comings and goings. Arrangement of this wider neighbourhood around one major street may well have been important in shaping these social interactions. Cases concerning events within St. Botolph Bishopsgate were difficult to locate in the consistory records.⁶³⁶ Combined with the greater density of social connections exhibited amongst Bishopsgate testators in Chapter Four and the poorer socio-economic profile of the parish shown in Chapter Three, it may be that Bishopsgate was a community where either informal mediation was strong enough to prevent disputes resulting in consistory cases or that its poorer community was less concerned with marginalising their neighbours.

Additionally, in extramural neighbourhoods the religious houses could exert power over social relations. This role was formalised in Portsoken where the Prior of Holy Trinity acted as alderman, but several consistory cases show the religious houses and their officers acting with informal power over their secular neighbours. For example, the marriage of Joan Floraunce of St. Botolph Aldgate to Robert Partridge appears to have been mediated by the Abbot of St. Mary Graces at Tower Hill. Henry Chamberley, servant of the Abbot, presided over the creation of the contract in Joan's yard, asking her 'how say ye Johan, ar ye the same woman that ye wer an as ye promised my lord abbot of Towr Hill?'.⁶³⁷ The contract appears unusual in the profile of its witnesses as well as the apparent resistance of Joan's friends. Most witnesses were outsiders to the parish, one of whom was apparently a cleric as he lived within Whittington College, and the contract could only take place while a servant girl who

⁶³⁶ Cases from St. Botolph Bishopsgate formed seven out of the selected seventy-eight cases in the consistory, three of which concerned marriage contracts or wills made in the parish rather than more disorderly behaviour.

⁶³⁷ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 81v-82, 85.

objected was detained.⁶³⁸ Three local witnesses appeared for a rival suitor to Joan.⁶³⁹ A contemporary rental of the Abbey's London estates shows that Robert Partridge was a tenant of a house owned by Abbey in East Smithfield. Other probable tenants of the Abbey's estate, John Colfox and Henry Chamberley, witnessed the contract.⁶⁴⁰ The marriage contract thus seems to have been arranged under the influence of the Abbot using the mediation of at least one wealthy tenant to bring pressure on the couple to contract and bear witness. This kind of authority is comparable to that of 'respectable' local lay men, suggesting that through their role as landowners and employers the heads of religious houses could exert some pressure on those in their localities.

For Joan Floraunce, this relationship with a religious house may have been rather one-sided. However, more prominent tenants could turn this role to their own advantage. As has been argued of Westminster Abbey, the relationship between a religious house and a wealthy tenant could be mutually beneficial and so the Abbot viewed tenants as potentially influential friends in the laity.⁶⁴¹ It was perhaps this kind of relationship which led to the Prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate evicting William Smyth and his family from a substantial property in St. Botolph Aldgate in favour of William Culverden, a wealthy bellfounder and wardmote jurist that the Prior would have known through his role as Portsoken Alderman.⁶⁴² Smyth refused to leave the house and launched a campaign of abuse against Culverden which resulted in a defamation case at the consistory, where many witnesses recounted the dramatic eviction.⁶⁴³ Culverden was presumably able to pay higher rents than Smyth, and exploited the connections he had with the Priory to get a property that he wanted. In this case, the ability of a religious house to favour certain residents over others was a source of disharmony within the community.

Nonetheless, this case and the previous one suggest that religious houses played a powerful role in the lives of lay communities on the fringes of the city. As well as occasionally intervening in marriage or through the management of their estates, we saw in the last chapter how a hospital used its tenants to provide testimony on its

⁶³⁸ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 81v-86.

⁶³⁹ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 63v-65v, 69v-70.

⁶⁴⁰ Rental of the estates of the Abbey of St. Mary Graces, 1523-29, TNA SC 12/11/43. Robert Partridge was a tenant in East Smithfield in 1528. John Colfax was a tenant in the parish of All Hallows Staining 1524-29. Henry Chamberley, servant to the Abbot, may be the Henry Chamber or Chambers who appears as a tenant in East Smithfield 1524-29.

⁶⁴¹ Barbara F. Harvey, 'Westminster Abbey', pp. 20-21.

⁶⁴² William Culverden featured as a witness in another consistory case deposing about incidents that happened when he was on the Portsoken ward jury. LMA DL/C/206, f. 20v.

⁶⁴³ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 37v-39, 44-46.

behalf. In section 6.6, the uses of religious houses' precincts by lay Londoners will be considered; these uses suggest the relationship between the laity and the houses had mutual benefits.

However, the wardmote was an opportunity for the neighbourhood to express dissatisfaction with the functions of religious houses as alternative authorities and their precincts as 'zones of exception'. In Chapter Two a number of examples of the long-running disputes between Portsoken and its surrounding liberties and precincts were outlined. These presentments suggest resistance to religious and royal precincts' liberties and that, alongside their power as landowners, came a degree of local resentment. In addition to the tensions between the requirements of the consistory and hierarchies of informal power in the neighbourhood, the religious houses were another source of authority in marginal neighbourhoods which might be contested. The potentially arbitrary nature of informal authority led to tensions about this form of community management which could never be fully resolved.

There was thus an interaction at the local level between informal and formal authority. Those who routinely participated in the wardmote and other forms of local office holding could bring that authority into other interactions with their neighbours. This authority was probably initially developed by the sort of low level participation in the wardmote described above. Informal settings too provided opportunities for people to accrue respect. For instance, women could not hold office and yet their reputations as 'an honest woman' or 'honest and faithful' might still be cited in their support.⁶⁴⁴ The proximity of religious houses in extramural neighbourhoods added a distinctive actor into the mix of those with authority, a role which sometimes extended into the policing of troublesome individuals as in the Pellet case described in Chapter Five. Informal authority played an important part in policing the neighbourhood and shaped the social 'centre' at the same time as it determined who was to be excluded.

6.5 Negotiating respectability and marginality

The business of negotiating reputation was, as we have seen, a constant concern and intersected with various methods of policing. This section suggests how individuals went about this negotiation, both in the ways that they interacted with authority and in their day to day conduct. In doing so, the aim is to understand how individuals were marginalised from the community and how they attempted rehabilitation. As will be

⁶⁴⁴ 'This witness never heard that Chylderley was a defamer but always reputed... as an honest woman', LMA DL/C/207, f. 197v. LMA DL/C/205, f. 284v.

seen, the evidence suggests that much like the process of the wardmote, the shoring up of reputation often came at the cost of marginalising others.

6.5.1 Food and drink retailers

There were some for whom maintaining a good reputation was difficult because disorderly behaviour was to an extent expected of them. This was the case suggested in section 6.3 with accusations made at the wardmote against aliens, particularly regarding sexual behaviour. Another such group were those who operated alehouses and other venues for the sale and consumption of food and drink. As has been argued by Helen Carrel, food retailers were viewed with particular suspicion by civic authorities who often identified them as disruptive and even morally corrupting influences, and alehouses were often ordered to close early during major festivals as a matter of public order.⁶⁴⁵ Accordingly, keepers of such houses would have particularly feared presentation at the wardmote, their precarious position in relation to authority making them vulnerable to the spread of rumour and scandal which could damage their business.⁶⁴⁶ Not only was food retailing itself considered morally suspicious, but the acceptance of customers into the home could easily be construed as misgovernance of the household given the mixed nature of domestic and commercial space in medieval houses. This was therefore a group whose precarious position in society fits well within Erik Spindler's definition of the marginalised.

In response, the food and drink retailers who appear within consistory court cases often took actions which can be interpreted as mitigating the impact of their trade upon their reputations. In 1510 Robert Gustard, a brewer of St. Botolph Aldersgate, was said to have intervened to prevent one of the customers at his bowling alley angrily throwing a bowling ball at a priest's head.⁶⁴⁷ In Robert's own testimony about the incident, however, he was evasive: 'as to the blow or violence specified in the article [of interrogation] he has nothing to depose'.⁶⁴⁸ It was wholly within Gustard's interests to publicly downplay the violence of the dispute within his premises; the year before, he had been part of the Aldersgate wardmote jury which indicted his neighbour Bobbett's wife 'for resorting of yll dyspossed pepull to hys [sic] howse and on Seint Stephens day laste passed ii suspessyowse persons lyke to make murder in her

⁶⁴⁵ Helen Carrel, 'Food, Drink and Public Order in the London Liber Albus', *Urban History*, 33.2 (2006), 176–94 (pp. 185–88); Lindenbaum, p. 173.

⁶⁴⁶ Carrel, pp. 192–93.

⁶⁴⁷ LMA DL/C/206, f. 75.

⁶⁴⁸ LMA DL/C/206, f. 75

howse'.⁶⁴⁹ Reputation management for a brewer and bowling alley owner appears in this instance to have involved both crowd control when drunkenness threatened to spill into violence and subsequent avoidance of public fame. This strategy appears to have worked for Robert, as he continued to be selected for service on the wardmote jury, participating a total of four times from 1503-13.⁶⁵⁰

A similar approach can be seen in the testimonies of Thomas and Katharine Atkynson, a couple who were likely of a more precarious social position than Robert Gustard. Thomas described himself as a wheelwright in his testimony, given in November 1521, and Katharine said that 'she keyyd a vytylyng howse'.⁶⁵¹ This mixture of low status occupations suggests that the Atkynsons perhaps fit the 'honest pauper' category discussed above, needing to bring in income from a variety of sources to support themselves. Certainly, their house was small enough that a commotion within it was overheard by Robert Clerk their next-door neighbour and Hugh, a bear keeper, who lived in a chamber above.⁶⁵² The incident was caused by John Wright, who entered the house shouting 'how many hoorys have we here' before beating and stripping his wife Elizabeth who had come there to eat. The response of the Atkynsons and their testimonies speak to a concern with their own reputations. Thomas responded 'none withoute thow bryng hem with the' to John's provocative statement and, when he learned that Elizabeth was John's wife, urged John to 'take her and get the owt off my howse'.⁶⁵³ In doing so, he may have sought to avoid suggestions that the Atkynsons had harboured Elizabeth against her husband's consent.

John also challenged Thomas's suitability to keep a house, saying 'yf thow were without thy howse as thow art withyn thow shuld never come withyn agayn'.⁶⁵⁴ This direct challenge to Thomas's authority is very suggestive of how vulnerable the Atkynsons were to marginalisation, implying that even though Thomas was publicly well-behaved he kept ill rule. Indeed, by the time the case came to the consistory Thomas and Katharine had left the parish where their victualling house had been, St. James Clerkenwell, moving to St. Giles Cripplegate. There is nothing to explicitly link the case to their movement, but it can be imagined that this sort of incident, cast as misgovernment of the household, could have damaged their local reputation. Margaret

⁶⁴⁹ LMA CLC/W/FA/005/MS01499.

⁶⁵⁰ LMA CLC/W/FA/001/MS02050/001, ff. 5v-7.

⁶⁵¹ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 83, 96.

⁶⁵² LMA DL/C/207, f. 97v.

⁶⁵³ LMA DL/C/207, f. 96.

⁶⁵⁴ LMA DL/C/207, f. 96.

Margetson, an alehouse keeper who acted as plaintiff in another case, was said to have ‘made expenses and labours in the prosecution’ of Ralph Trerise, who drunkenly claimed ‘this howse is common for hors, theves and bawds’ when she expelled him for falling asleep before the fire.⁶⁵⁵ As one of Margaret’s witnesses sagely reflected ‘such people good and evil, honest and dishonest are received in such a house’;⁶⁵⁶ alehouse keepers could not be too choosy about their customers, making them vulnerable to aspersions on their governance which even a sympathetic witness was cautious to portray as defamation. Margaret’s use of the consistory court to pursue Ralph is interesting, as it suggests the lengths to which she was prepared to go to defend the reputation of her business. It also provides an interesting parallel to Agnes Cockerell, another consistory plaintiff whose marginal position in the neighbourhood made the wardmote an unproductive venue for complaint. The church courts were a useful venue for a plaintiff like Margaret, whose defamer used tropes about alehouses which civic justice reinforced and whose rehabilitation thus relied on exoneration from another source.

While Henry Fyt and Robert Gustard successfully defended their reputations despite their occupation and rehabilitated themselves in the ‘respectable middle’, the examples of the Atkynsons and Margaret Margetson demonstrate the marginalisation that food and drink retailers faced. It is likely that gender was an important factor in the difference of outcome. Margaret Margetson and Katharine Atkynson were women held responsible for their customers despite dominant gender norms which defined proper governance as a masculine role. Households which retailed food and drink were thus at the nexus of a number of middling anxieties about the maintenance of public order and moral standards which forced their owners to work hard in the negotiation of their reputations, a struggle against marginalisation which was easily lost.

6.5.2 Gender

Gender was also an important category affecting the strategies which individuals used in the negotiation of reputation. An interesting aspect is the attempts by women to engage in the kinds of informal policing which, as discussed in the previous section, were an important means for men to demonstrate their authority.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ LMA DL/C/206, ff. 257v-59

⁶⁵⁶ LMA DL/C/207, f. 257v.

⁶⁵⁷ On defamation as a form of policing, see Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 70–75; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, pp. 70–72.

Edith Stocker was outraged when her neighbour William Roydon called her master, Roland Hyde, ‘knave’ in 1520, telling her husband:

‘Roydon hathe callyd the and Masterr Rowland knave and he hathe been her in this parishe 21 yeres’ referring to Rowland ‘And the tother haithe not been her 4 yeres’ referring to Roydon⁶⁵⁸

Hearing this, William Roydon shouted down from his chamber above the Stockers’ house, calling Edith a whore and accusing her husband of not being lawfully wed to her. According to one witness, Edith’s husband took this insult so seriously that he refused to share a bed with his wife for a week.⁶⁵⁹ It is notable how this case turns on tit-for-tat denigration of who had the right to pass judgment on whom. Edith’s own criticism of William centres on his status as a relative newcomer to the parish, basing her criticism in the idealisation of residential stability which was discussed in the previous chapter. The gendered nature of the abuse she received in return is typical of the defamatory language used against women, but in this context also challenges her right to pass judgment on a neighbour. All the parties used gendered norms to place themselves on the moral high ground.

Like Edith, Elizabeth Philpott found herself accused of defamation for words which, if said by a man, would perhaps have been legitimate ‘informal policing’ of behaviour. Elizabeth chastised her neighbour William Stevynson for failing to keep proper tabs on his tenants’ behaviour, saying ‘mary, ther be curitiers and harlotts resorting to Raff Long house at unlawfull seasons of the nyght and about iiii of the clock in the morning the harlotts be conveyed away in spanyshe clokes’.⁶⁶⁰ Certainly in the setting of the wardmote these accusations would have been permissible grounds for indictment of Stevynson, given 1422 presentments at Bishopsgate of two landlords for leasing property to offenders.⁶⁶¹ The incident also provides an interesting contrast to that discussed in the previous section of a mercer attempting to advise a young man on his behaviour. Although that advice was angrily received, he was not accused of defamation. Sandy Bardsley has argued that women were increasingly excluded from raising the hue and cry about crimes at the same time as a discourse of scolding, which problematised women’s voice in legal and social contexts, was on the rise.⁶⁶² These thwarted attempts by women to engage in informal policing of male behaviour can be

⁶⁵⁸ LMA DL/C/207, f. 19.

⁶⁵⁹ LMA DL/C/207, f. 19v.

⁶⁶⁰ LMA DL/C/208, f. 9.

⁶⁶¹ *P&M Rolls*, vol. 4, pp. 122, 124.

⁶⁶² Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 75–77.

seen as a result of female social capital, gained through sociability and reciprocity,⁶⁶³ not transferring into the arena of informal policing. This accords with Bardsley's argument, and suggests that defamation accusations, like scolding, could be a response to women's attempts to engage in processes of marginalisation which were considered more properly conducted by men.

If women's engagement in marginalisation could be risky because of their different social capital networks, it also seems that those same networks could frustrate male attempts to marginalise women. Margaret Thompson was a witness to a 1530 defamation case in the parish of St. Anne and St. Agnes against whom the defendant brought a counter witness. The counter witness was Thomas Adyson, a man who served on the Aldersgate wardmote jury seven times from 1514 onwards. He testified that Margaret had committed adultery in George and Agnes Browne's house in 1529, for which she had been imprisoned in the Counter by order of the alderman of Aldersgate.⁶⁶⁴ Perhaps surprisingly, then, the circumstances surrounding the incident of defamation suggest that Margaret was not marginalised from female social networks in the parish. At three o'clock in the afternoon she was chatting in the doorway of the Browne's house together with Agnes Browne, the wife of Dean the goldsmith and 'a number of others living in that place' when they all saw two women opposite quarrelling.⁶⁶⁵ Thomas Adyson also deposed that Margaret 'much favoured' Joan Preston the plaintiff in the case because they often 'hatched contention' and spoke together.⁶⁶⁶ This case suggests that a woman like Margaret Thompson who had been not just publicly indicted but also punished by institutional structures might still have a social network amongst the women of her neighbourhood. Although women participated in enforcing dominant patriarchal values, it seems that women's social capital might not always have been destroyed by formal mechanisms of marginalisation. This is an important reminder that we cannot always read formal indictments of individuals as proof that they were totally ostracised from their communities; there would have been multiple social groups within a neighbourhood with their own dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, although below the level of the 'respectable middle' these processes are harder to recover. As will be discussed further

⁶⁶³ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, 'The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300-1640 (with a Glance at Modern Nigeria)', pp. 129-34.

⁶⁶⁴ LMA DL/C/208, f. 180.

⁶⁶⁵ LMA DL/C/208, ff. 158v-59.

⁶⁶⁶ LMA DL/C/208, f. 180.

below, the poor may have employed different strategies for rehabilitation into the community.

6.5.3 The ‘respectable middle’

For those who were a part of this respectable group, the guarding of reputation for both men and women could involve a skilful negotiation of the line between defence of one’s own character and defamation of another. Marion Chylderly, when accused of being a leper by her neighbour Agnes Wylkyns in 1523, allegedly replied:

‘that there was never good woman that callyd me soo’. To which Wylkyns said ‘Callyst thow me harlott’, Chylderley replying ‘nay, as trewe ys the oone as the other’.⁶⁶⁷

Even if this is a subsequent legal construction to hide Chylderley’s own defamation of Wylkyns, it nonetheless is valuable evidence for the ideal way to respond to denigration of one’s character without risky accusations. Roger Newesse was similarly evasive when, in 1523, he objected to the selection of Roger Wryght to the wardmote of Farringdon Within. Newesse called ‘nay he ys nott worthy to have yt’ at Wryght’s selection and when asked why, said ‘ye shall knowe ferder here after for there ys a padde yn the strawe’, meaning a lurking danger.⁶⁶⁸ Newesse then resolutely refused to clarify his statement, even when Wryght came to his house, insisting ‘I sayde soo or as ylle and ye may saye that I am a good fellowe for I sayd no thing be hynde your backe but I saye yt to your face’.⁶⁶⁹

Ingram notes how this case highlights the importance of reputation for wardmote jurors,⁶⁷⁰ and close examination of Newesse’s actions further demonstrates the kind of jockeying for position which could surround access to such a respected role. His careful avoidance of any specific accusation, whilst at the same time bragging of his honest dealings in the matter, can be interpreted as a targeted attempt to lower Wryght’s status without any damage to himself. Indeed, it appears to have worked since Wryght’s wife was called to appear the wardmote on the basis of this vague accusation, requiring Wryght to launch a suit in the consistory to uphold their household’s reputation. Although judgment of others was a way for men to demonstrate their authority and status, these examples suggest that for those less assured of their

⁶⁶⁷ LMA DL/C/207, f. 197v.

⁶⁶⁸ LMA DL/C/207, f. 270v; ‘pad, n.1.’, *OED Online* < www.oed.com/view/Entry/135885 > [Accessed 22 November 2017].

⁶⁶⁹ LMA DL/C/207, f. 271.

⁶⁷⁰ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 221.

social position or directly confronted with a threat to it, a wise strategy was to avoid direct criticism of others' behaviour. Tom Johnson has argued that consistory court depositions show witnesses both employing social discourses and moulding them to fit what the court required. This was both in the crafting of depositions and in their own actions leading up to a case, which might be engineered with an eye to building a successful court case.⁶⁷¹ The ability to 'pre-construct' testimony would have been an important resource for the middling sort in maintaining their position, as would access to respected local men gained through participation in local institutions. Crafting plausible legal stories in the church courts, and having access to the witnesses who provided plausibility, was thus an important element of the 'soft power' that the middling sorts could exert.

Indeed, the conjunction of formal modes of punishment with informal authority meant for men who were not assured members of the neighbourhood elite, passing judgment on others could be a risky activity. Guy Dobyns of St. Botolph Aldgate appears to have launched a concerted campaign against his neighbour Elizabeth Goodfeld to ensure her marginalisation from the community. He claimed, amongst other accusations, that she had acted as a bawd between a gentleman and a tailor's wife, she accepted sex as repayment for debts and that she had conceived a child with a priest.⁶⁷² Dobyns made these accusations to the Portsoken wardmote jury sitting at the Three Kings inn in June 1510 and again before the alderman, the Prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, in July. Much like Edith Stocker, he attempted to justify his marginalisation of Elizabeth through recourse to widely accepted markers of ill fame, stating that her own husband had signed an indictment against her at a previous wardmote. Guy Dobyns apparently failed in these attempts: the wardmote jury refused to indict Elizabeth, which presumably explains why he took his complaints to the alderman directly, and by December he himself was a defendant in the consistory court accused of defamation.⁶⁷³ The case suggests the risks associated with assuming a policing role when, even as a man, you were not apparently considered of sufficient authority to do so. It also suggests some of the legal skill and knowledge required in demonstrating one's own authority. Wardmote indictments, as discussed above, were usually termed generally rather than with specific accusations; a woman who was indicted of Elizabeth's crimes would most likely have been described as a common bawd and a

⁶⁷¹ Johnson, 'The Preconstruction of Witness Testimony', pp. 142–44.

⁶⁷² LMA DL/C/207, f. 16.

⁶⁷³ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 19v–20v.

‘vicious woman of her body’ in a presentment. It seems likely that jurors had specific incidents in mind when they indicted individuals, but Dobyns was not a member of the jury and in appearing before them and the alderman with such specific accusations he seems to have miscalculated. Two long-standing wardmote jurors appeared against him in the consistory defamation case, serving to distinguish between their legitimate authority ‘to inquire as to diverse gross excesses and those men and priests suspected of ill rule’ and Dobyns’ illegitimate attempt to marginalise a neighbour.⁶⁷⁴ For Dobyns, his inability to convince the jury and marshal such witnesses for his own case suggests lesser social resources, and thus the importance of both social networks and legal knowledge to negotiating reputation. In a society where so much policing was done informally, it was important for the institutional basis of judgment to be reaffirmed in a case such as this, avoiding the possibility that the wardmote could itself be associated with defamation. For Dobyns, what appears as an attempt to gain respect amongst his neighbours for his exposure of Elizabeth’s ‘crimes’ likely damaged his reputation given the jurors’ depositions against him.

The evidence presented here suggests that processes of marginalisation were at work between members of the ‘middling sort’ as well as being exerted downwards onto the poor. Neighbourhood communities should thus not be thought of as having a fixed ‘centre’ or unquestioned elite; instead, there were householders who aspired to authority but who still had to negotiate their right to exert it through management of their own reputations.

6.5.4 Status and rehabilitation

Where there was dissension within a ward about decisions, the consistory court could be a venue in which reputations were renegotiated. One counter-witness claimed that Richard Trussyngton had been indicted at the wardmote as a quarrelsome man, but admitted when asked further that Richard was not expelled because he found men who would act as sureties to the alderman for his better future behaviour.⁶⁷⁵ In laying this process bare, the counter witness emphasised the past punishment inflicted on Richard by the wardmote over the rehabilitation offered by his sureties. That Richard could find sureties for his behaviour suggests that, despite the judgment against him, he had not lost all local credit and may indeed have endeavoured by better behaviour to

⁶⁷⁴ These were John Hygyns and William Culverden, who also featured within the testamentary networks discussed in Chapter Four. LMA DL/C/207, ff. 19v-20v.

⁶⁷⁵ LMA DL/C/207, f. 268v.

regain reputation. All the counter-witnesses used in this case appear to have been members of the Queenhithe wardmote jury, appearing on behalf of a defendant who called a man a ‘cuckold knave’ and claimed that ‘such was the fame’ of the man that it could not be considered defamation.⁶⁷⁶ In this case jurors appear to be defending their own judgment in the consistory, and even to be prioritising it over the authority of the alderman to accept sureties.

Moreover, for those who found themselves indicted at ward level the consistory could be a venue to gain rehabilitation, as was noted above regarding food retailers. In the case mentioned above where Roger Wryght was called a ‘pad in the straw’, the consistory case appears to have been launched in response to the fact that Wryght’s wife was called to the wardmote. In line with Shannon McSheffrey’s argument that the wardmote defined respectable women as those who were completely absent from proceedings, witnesses described the harmful impact of this incident on the reputation of the Wryght household. John May deposed that:

thus the good fame of Roger Wryght is damaged and especially of his wife who was called at the wardmote inquest on occasion of those words because he says that many have discussed those words. And he knows that he is vexed by many expenses in the pursuit of this case⁶⁷⁷

The pursuit of a consistory case thus sought both to rehabilitate Wryght as a potential future member of the wardmote jury and to protect the reputation of his wife who had suffered such a humiliation. For Roger Wryght and his wife, who apparently felt themselves to rightfully be part of the ‘respectable’ section of neighbourhood society who performed judgment, the consistory offered a positive means to rehabilitate themselves to that group. For a poor waterman like Richard Trussyngton, who most likely never expected to become part of such an elite, finding sureties for behaviour was an appropriate strategy. Yet, as demonstrated by the attitude of the counter witness against him, the admission of guilt involved in such a process was nonetheless considered deeply damaging by those who aspired to exercise authority themselves. For the middling sort who found themselves locally accused, the legal category of defamation offered a route to rehabilitation through expenditure on a consistory suit. For those without the means to defend themselves this way, showing deference to the authorities of the ward and contrition through use of sureties was enough to protect

⁶⁷⁶ The counter witnesses were George Barretson, William Florence and Thomas Swyndon. Florence and Swyndon explicitly stated that they were members of the jury and Barretson’s testimony echoes many of the same details. LMA DL/C/207, ff. 268v-270.

⁶⁷⁷ LMA DL/C/207, f. 271v.

themselves against expulsion. Martin Ingram contrasted the harsh, arbitrary nature of civic justice with the reintegration offered by church courts, but it seems likely that the consistory and the ward were serving different purposes for different sections of the community.⁶⁷⁸

6.5.6 Differences between marginal and central neighbourhoods

This distinction may also be helpful to understanding differences in how central and marginal communities chose to prosecute offenders. In the analysis of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century commissary records by Ingram, the most common parishes of origin for cases were all extramural: St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, St. Mary Matfelon, St. Stephen Colman, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Bride and St. Sepulchre.⁶⁷⁹ By contrast, St. Botolph Aldgate was the origin point for just five of the consistory suits that could be found in the records up to 1533. This pattern makes sense if we understand the consistory court as a venue in which middling people could launch civil suits to defend their reputations against those who had specifically defamed them. By contrast, the commissary court offered those indicted the option of compurgation, which allowed those accused to use sureties in a similar manner to ward justice. Richard Wunderli argued that compurgation was ineffective in an urban environment where witnesses were easy to come by.⁶⁸⁰ In extramural neighbourhoods where the middling constituted a smaller portion of the population, the consistory simply had less of a constituency of potential users. At the same time, it was in the interests of poorer people from extramural parishes to accept the authority of the commissary by submitting themselves to compurgation, as this was likely enough to rehabilitate their reputations. As suggested above, rehabilitation probably meant different things to Londoners of different levels of status. Cases from these neighbourhoods were thus both less likely to be taken to the consistory in the first place and less likely to be disputed in the commissary by the defendant prompting a transferral to the consistory. Therefore, the church courts performed different functions for different sections of the community, enabling rehabilitation in different ways.

For the many Londoners whose best hope was to be considered an 'honest pauper', formal mechanisms of marginalisation impacted upon their reputation in complex ways which were different to those aspiring to local authority. When called as

⁶⁷⁸ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 223.

⁶⁷⁹ Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 180.

⁶⁸⁰ Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society*, pp. 41, 49.

deponents, we see respectable men lined up as counter witnesses against them to attest to their low status and unreliability, using wardmote appearances as evidence. And yet as we have seen in a number of cases, such formal judgments against them may not have resulted in being cut off from local social networks outside of that respectable group. For the poor, negotiation of reputation may have been far more about staying out of trouble as much as possible and reinforcing friendships which could turn into sureties when faced with legal indictments. Unfortunately for poor food and drink retailers, the common discourse about their dangerous social influence presented particular problems in defending themselves and their businesses, and thus they may have felt a greater anxiety about local indictment.

Those aspiring to local prominence played a different game with its own risks, where demonstration of authority was both a key marker of success and a potentially defamatory activity. Because these middling individuals relied on those with local authority for their social networks, finding oneself on the wrong end of a wardmote indictment required a robust defence which the consistory could provide. The consistory could also be a useful venue when those who wielded authority were divided over an issue and thus where the kind of informal negotiation discussed above was ineffective.⁶⁸¹ Legal knowledge and access to respectable witnesses were thus social resources very useful in the negotiation of respectability and marginality; the middling sort could more easily defend themselves through both a good understanding of how to 'pre-construct' testimony and their social networks which contained men and women who might be thought reliable witnesses. The prominence of different kinds of justice across London suggests that those in marginal neighbourhoods had less access to such social resources and thus that authorities here instead expected the poor to rely on one another for support.

6.6 Avoiding policing in marginal spaces

At the margins of the city, there were also spaces available where Londoners could attempt to evade these various formal and informal types of policing. As discussed in Chapter Two, the 'zones of exception' provided by religious precincts and liberties created the potential for avoidance of civic jurisdiction at the fringes of the city. Moreover, as can be seen in relation to mobility in the previous chapter, the fringes of the city offered opportunity for individuals to escape their reputation and

⁶⁸¹ See section 6.4.

avoid public fame. The highly mobile nature of fringe neighbourhoods invites scrutiny of how far the informal and formal methods of policing could still operate in a society which was unsettled. Valerie Pearl argued of seventeenth century London that it was the highly localised nature of ward structure, which were by that time divided into tiny precincts, that made the wardmote an effective local institution.⁶⁸² In large extramural wards, with multiple 'centres' of community including religious liberties, it may be expected that formal policing was less effective.

One consistory marriage case provides a useful introduction to the ways in which the urban periphery could be associated with marginal behaviour. As discussed above in section 5.6, Elizabeth Brown and Marion Lauson c. Lawrence Gilis featured an impressive array of disreputable witnesses and revolved around two competing marriage suits. One of the contracts was made within the city centre parish of St. Andrew Undershaft and the other in St. Botolph Aldgate. The contract made in St. Andrew's parish between Gilis and Lauson bears the hallmarks of legitimate marriages outlined by Shannon McSheffrey; statements of present consent were made in the hall of Marion's house and were repeated at a neighbour's, witnessed by many including the parish chaplain who advised on the proper words of consent.⁶⁸³ By contrast, the Aldgate contract with Brown took place in the house of a man described as a 'beermaker', so probably an alehouse, with just two witnesses. These were William Alston and John Waldron, men whose disreputable characters, association with Stewside brothels and mobile lives were discussed in the previous chapter.⁶⁸⁴ As Shannon McSheffrey argues in her analysis of the case, the witnesses on the part of Elizabeth Brown show a close degree of connection between the different liberties around the city, having moved between them.⁶⁸⁵ This, in turn, is important for our understanding of how St. Botolph Aldgate was perceived. In both the testamentary evidence of Chapter Four and the consistory evidence of Chapter Five we have seen how the boundaries between different jurisdictions blurred at the fringe of the city, as both day-to-day mobility and neighbourhood migration created broader neighbourhood spaces outside the city walls. Ananya Roy's theory of 'zones of exception', discussed in Chapter Two, provides a useful framework for understanding the operation of these spaces in urban society. The case

⁶⁸² Pearl, 'Change and Stability', p. 27.

⁶⁸³ 'Testimony of William Walker', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=1123>> [accessed 19 October 2017].

⁶⁸⁴ 'Testimony of William Alston', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=978>> [accessed 19 October 2017].

⁶⁸⁵ McSheffrey, 'Liberties of London'.

of Lauson and Brown c. Gilis thus demonstrates how these zones of exception, and the deviant behaviour and morality which characterised them, could spill over into areas nominally considered to be within the jurisdiction of the city. Through its border with St. Katharine's precinct, the neighbourhood outside Aldgate was something of a grey area into which undesirable elements of urban society could drift.

The sanctuary status of a precinct like St. Katharine's had a more marked impact on the society which developed there. Aside from its connections with prostitution, the case of Sutton c. Jervys, regarding a disputed marriage contract made at St. Katharine's in May 1521, demonstrates another facet to that precinct; its role in the lives of mariners and their families. Notably there were only two witnesses to the alleged contract who appeared in the consistory, both the wives of mariners who lived at St. Katharine's.⁶⁸⁶ Although three men were said to have been present, unusually for a marriage case none appeared, perhaps suggesting these men were sailors who were not in London at the time the case was heard. The groom (John Jervys) was said to have lived at Rotherhithe at the time of the contract and Stepney at the time of the depositions which also points to connections with the port. A witness in another case was a mariner said to be 'living about the city of London not having a particular house at St. Katharine's by the Tower', a situation perhaps similar to John Jervys.⁶⁸⁷ In sum, this was a highly mobile community which did not conform at all to the ideal model of the stable household. Men here could easily evade responsibilities and wives who remained on land might be the mainstay of the neighbourhood community. As well as being places where actively disruptive individuals lived, then, precincts could also support communities whose lives did not fit the urban social ideal.

Perhaps because of this role as a home of the marginal, several consistory cases demonstrate the use of the precincts by otherwise 'respectable' people as spaces in which embarrassing facts which posed a risk to reputation might be hidden. In July 1529, Henry Fyt of St. Mary Staining, Aldersgate ward, deposed how two years before his neighbour William Bowser had an adulterous affair with servant Joan Stere, resulting in a pregnancy. Joan was sent to the Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate to give birth, where her baby son was baptised, and subsequently the boy was raised at Bowser's expense in the village of Havering atte Bower in Essex.⁶⁸⁸ Joan

⁶⁸⁶ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 86v-89.

⁶⁸⁷ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of John Browne, 24th April 1532.

⁶⁸⁸ DL/C/208, ff. 36-36v. Havering appears to have been a popular place for the nursing of illegitimate children from London- Marjorie McIntosh noted the prevalence of such children in its post-Reformation parish burials. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *A Community Transformed*, p. 47.

now lived with a widow in Carter Lane in Baynard Castle ward, where Bowser maintained and continued to visit her.⁶⁸⁹ It is notable how Bowser appears to have arranged the affair and its fall out such that it was kept at a distance from the space of the parish. Both Joan and her child were maintained outside the neighbourhood. The fact that Joan lay in childbed at St. Mary Bishopsgate is significant in both demonstrating the possibility of hospitals as venues for a childbirth which could potentially bring shame on the household and because Bowser eschewed St. Bartholomew's Hospital which was closer to St. Mary Staining. Perhaps this was deliberate, given St. Bartholomew's border with the ward in which he lived.

Putting unmarried mothers into houses outside the city walls to give birth may have been a common way to avoid public fame of the pregnancy. Agnes Henley gave birth within the house of Elizabeth Rowland of St. Sepulchre, a woman reputed as a bawd according to counter-witnesses.⁶⁹⁰ The father of Agnes' child, James Wolmar, frequently visited her there.⁶⁹¹ Therefore, religious precincts were not unique in being marginal spaces which were useful for hiding extramarital pregnancies, and the social distance between centre and periphery discussed in Chapter Five might make private households outside the walls sufficiently discreet spaces. A combination of a greater number of low status households outside the walls and their social distance made them convenient places to put unwed mothers in childbed. The rooting of reputation within the neighbourhood meant a distance between centre and periphery could be exploited in such cases.

Other kinds of activities which might have posed a reputational risk within the parish instead took place in the precincts of religious houses. Such a use of marginal space accords well with Tom Johnson's argument about the pre-construction of testimony discussed above. In the following examples, individuals of middling status appear to have exploited discourses of urban space in the handling of circumstances around marriage and separation, matters which commonly came to the attention of the church courts. The draper Thomas Dudley, a longstanding resident of St. Michael Cornhill, took his apprentice John Sandock and servant Anne Trym to the conventual church of Austin Friars in autumn 1525 when he discovered that Anne was expecting John's child. Whilst there, he and his neighbour Thomas Knyght persuaded John and Anne to contract marriage, and they returned to Dudley's house to exchange the proper

⁶⁸⁹ LMA DL/C/208, f. 37.

⁶⁹⁰ LMA DL/C/205, ff. 262v-263v.

⁶⁹¹ LMA DL/C/205, ff. 244-244v.

promises witnessed only by Knyght, Dudley and Dudley's wife.⁶⁹² In this example, it is notable that the frank discussions leading up to the marriage were sited within the Austin Friars, while the contract which made the marriage binding was still witnessed in its proper location in the hall of Dudley's house. A contrasting example is provided by the contract of Agnes Wellys and William Rote, which took place under threat of violence in Agnes' father, John Wellys', house; John Wellys drew his knife to threaten Rote and Rote attempted to escape, instead being returned to the house after Agnes and her mother cried 'Keep the thief!' to passers-by.⁶⁹³

It was perhaps to avoid these kinds of dramatic scenes, which could invalidate a marriage by implying coercion, that Thomas Dudley used Austin Friars as a space in which to ensure compliance, using an understanding of the legal requirements about a valid marriage and of urban space. In the friary church, he 'reproached or chastised' John Sandock who 'because of fear of being incarcerated by Thomas Knyght' and 'the course of his apprenticeship not expiring for three years... submitted himself to the discipline and arbitration' of Dudley and Knyght.⁶⁹⁴ Of course, Sandock's testimony was shaped to emphasise his lack of consent. Nonetheless, Dudley and Knyght broadly corroborated his version of events, stating that Austin Friars was the location in which Sandock 'confessed... that Anne was impregnated and the time and place when he committed the offence'.⁶⁹⁵ Disciplining Sandock at Austin Friars and ensuring his compliance in advance of the contract avoided the chaotic scenes described in Wellys c. Rote. It also may have been intended to secure the contract against subsequent challenge. By ensuring the smooth running of the contract within its legitimate space, the hall of the master's house, while keeping discussions which revealed the illegitimate origins of the marriage in a 'zone of exception' like Austin Friars, Thomas Dudley maintained the legitimacy of the former. In Wellys c. Rote, by contrast, the conjunction of the threats to Rote and the contract itself within the household resulted in witnesses who could attest to the full, embarrassing circumstances.⁶⁹⁶ The failure of patriarchal control suggested by Anne Trym's pregnancy was spatially disassociated from both the marriage and the Dudley household, which both minimised the risk to Dudley's reputation and upheld the legitimacy of the contract. Austin Friars, at a few

⁶⁹² LMA DL/C/208, ff. 162, 166-66v.

⁶⁹³ LMA DL/C/205, ff. 275-76v.

⁶⁹⁴ LMA DL/C/208, f. 162.

⁶⁹⁵ LMA DL/C/208, f. 166.

⁶⁹⁶ Wellys' witnesses Robert Ryngbell and Richard Hadley were called to the house at three in the afternoon to witness the contract, apparently after the incident where Wellys drew a knife which happened during a meal. LMA DL/C/205, ff. 252v-256.

parishes' distance from St. Michael Cornhill, was perhaps considered just far enough away to be discreet. Once again, the management of events surrounding a case involved the differential use of urban space, separating conventional and disorderly activities into appropriate spaces.

The 'exceptional' space of a religious precinct could also be used in the unmaking of a marriage. In a suit for separation made by John Hawkyns against his wife Elizabeth, the Hospital of St. Bartholomew played an important role in the circumstances of the case. The Hawkyns lived outside Aldersgate near the Red Cross, and the depositions of John's witnesses related incidents where Elizabeth had told John 'if I can not be divorced of yow I will be the cause of your dethe' both at their house and within the Hospital of St. Bartholomew.⁶⁹⁷ There were only two witnesses, Henry Manocke, a servant of 'Master Barley, chaplain of our Lord King', and Thomas Carter, a resident of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It seems likely that Manocke was resident there too, since he heard Elizabeth repeat this threat within the hall of the Hospital.⁶⁹⁸ Curiously, both men had been invited to the Hawkyns household by Elizabeth on the day the accusations were first made, which suggests that the events deposed were not spontaneous and Elizabeth (perhaps with John's co-operation) engineered the circumstances surrounding her threat to give it legal force in procuring a separation. More specific threats of violence are notably absent, with Thomas Carter saying Elizabeth made this statement with 'a mischievous mind' but no weapon or assault is mentioned.⁶⁹⁹ Contrasting this case with another, that of William Newport c. Isabel Newport, makes the apparent calculation in Hawkyns c. Hawkyns clear. Several witnesses testified to numerous incidents of Isabel's abuse of William, including one deposition which recounted two separate occasions, one in which Isabel threatened him with a knife and another where she called him a 'whoreson cuckold' before throwing him into Houndsditch.⁷⁰⁰ No such history of violence was recounted by the Hawkyns's neighbours; instead, they appear to have used the personnel and space of a hospital precinct in order to procure reliable witnesses without the need to publicly berate one another. It may even be that, if Manocke and Carter were familiar with canon law, their advice was sought on the requirements which needed to be met for a separation to be granted.

⁶⁹⁷ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Thomas Carter, 13th June 1532.

⁶⁹⁸ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Henry Manocke, 13th June 1532.

⁶⁹⁹ LMA DL/C/208, unnumbered folio, deposition of Thomas Carter, 13th June 1532.

⁷⁰⁰ 'Testimony of John Twemlove', *Consistory Database*, <<http://consistory.cohds.ca/obj.php?p=1186>> [accessed 19 October 2017].

In this instance, the precinct stands as an alternative space to the neighbourhood; rather than relying on the creation of local scandal to justify the annulment, *Hawkyns c. Hawkyns* used events and people drawn from the precinct in a manner which was presumably less hazardous to reputation. As was discussed above in section 6.2, witnessing involved the application of local reputation from one context to another. While the testimonies in *Newport c. Newport* recalled the disorderly lives of the couple by their neighbours, the deponents in the *Hawkyns's* case are notably outsiders to the parish. Thereby the *Hawkyns* made their case for a separation without having created a disorderly local fame previously. This is not to suggest that the *Newports* deliberately berated one another in order to create public grounds for a divorce, but that the case in favour of the *Hawkyns* so notably lacks public fame as to suggest a close management of their activities and choice of witnesses to produce a separation with minimal local risk to reputation. The rehearsal of Elizabeth's threat to John before the same witnesses in semi-private household space and in the 'exceptional' space of the Hospital seems part of a performance made in anticipation of a consistory case. Such a performance is analogous to marriage cases, where vows were performed and marriage tokens shown to multiple witnesses as part of a performed demonstration of the legitimacy of the contract.⁷⁰¹ Although we ought to be cautious in ascribing such a performed aspect to cases, particularly given the conscious process of narrative at work in retrospective testimony, here it is justified by the remarkably careful use of urban space, choice of witnesses and comparison to testimony about more apparently spontaneous examples of spousal abuse. This case accords well with Johnson's argument about the 'pre-construction' of testimony.

However, while it suited Londoners to use the 'exceptional' space of the precinct to bypass the court of neighbourhood opinion, their exceptional status was by no means unchallenged. As discussed above, wardmotes used to challenge liberties. The early sixteenth-century Aldersgate presentment of numerous aliens was targeted against residents of St. Martin le Grand.⁷⁰² In the context of ongoing hostility between the city and St. Martin's, this presentment offers a local perspective on the dispute, in which the infringement of the city's jurisdiction was expressed not in terms of legal principle

⁷⁰¹ Boeles Rowland, 'Material Mnemonics', pp. 132–45.

⁷⁰² 'Aidryan Betson, shomaker', 'Harry Jonson'. 'Anthony Sanctis, goldsmyth' (Anthony Saynte) and 'Anthony Johnson' indicted as aliens in LMA CLC/W/FA/007/MS01501 all correspond to known aliens resident in the sanctuary in this period. See Shannon McSheffrey 'Residents of St. Martin le Grand c. 1510-1550', <<https://shannonmcsheffrey.wordpress.com/research/>> [accessed 9 May 2017].

but through recitation of the individuals who were known in the neighbourhood.⁷⁰³ It is quite striking, considering the importance of the boundaries dividing sanctuary, that not only household heads but also servants could be named by the Aldersgate jurors.⁷⁰⁴ This further emphasises how networks of social knowledge did not respect jurisdictional boundaries in areas containing exempt precincts. Indeed, this sense of neighbourhood across the boundaries may explain why such presentments were made; rather than being isolated and external, those in other jurisdictions were the neighbours of Londoners who lacked their privileged status. Therefore, the presence of a sanctuary and liberty meant far more than an abstract legal division between Londoners and privileged liberty-dwellers. It was instead an active source of division *within* local communities.

While this continuity of neighbourhood across precinct boundaries might seem to conflict with their role as zones of exception, this duality is in keeping with medieval conceptions of urban space discussed in Chapter Two. The precincts in themselves provided multiple spaces for activity, from the cemetery and orchards in which the Pellets were said to have publicly defamed the Prior of St. Mary Bishopsgate to the church where John Sandock and Anne Trym confessed to fornication or the hall of the Hospital where Elizabeth Hawkyngs threatened to kill her husband. Certain spaces within the precinct were more openly accessible to the laity than others, thus allowing them to act simultaneously as social space largely contiguous with surrounding neighbourhood and as zones of exception providing venues for activity which could escape wider lay notice. In Aldersgate the protests at the wardmote suggest the tension between these dual purposes of precinct space, brought into focus by the fact that housing for the laity (common to many precincts) was treated at St. Martin's like 'exceptional' space.

As well as the specific problems which came with living alongside a zone of exception like a sanctuary, other typically 'marginal' uses of space were found to be problematic and indicted at the wardmote. It was noted above that care for women in childbed was available outside the walls, and more generally there are several presentments in Aldersgate ward for nursing the sick. Thomas Burger and his wife of St. Botolph Aldersgate were indicted for 'keyng of pety ostre of seke and laser peopyll',

⁷⁰³ For the history of this dispute see McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London'.

⁷⁰⁴ For example 'Nicolas Deryk goldsmith John and Jone his servants... Greffyn Taylor William and Thomas his servants... Anthony Sanill goldsmith Richard and John his servants'. LMA CL/W/FA/007/MS01501.

John Bott and Alice Epps of St. John Zachary for likewise keeping ‘peopyll of the poxe and other disseasyd persons’.⁷⁰⁵ It was claimed that the Burgers annoyed their neighbours through their nursing activities, presumably because of fear of infection, although peripheral locations had long association with the convalescence of the sick in hospitals.⁷⁰⁶ It is notable also that the Burgers were suspected of keeping lepers while for Bott and Epps, living within the walls, the pox was the only specified disease of those in their charge. Lepers were supposed to be turned away from the gates of the city, and perhaps the Burgers found a lucrative business in providing accommodation for them just outside the walls.⁷⁰⁷ Carol Rawcliffe has argued that the location of hospitals on marginal land was both down to practical constraints, like easier access to running water and greater availability of land, and a positive benefit to them as they attracted travellers at points where traffic became congested just outside gates.⁷⁰⁸ Some of these benefits may also have encouraged residents of extramural neighbourhoods to give over space within their households to sick guests. Also notable in Rawcliffe’s analysis is the way in which hospitals provided support for those who were marginalised by civic authorities; for instance, she notes that St. Bartholomew’s and St. Mary Spital in London both took in children from brothels and that they might take in those, like lepers, turned back from the city gates.⁷⁰⁹ Rawcliffe’s analysis thus suggests again the ways that social and spatial marginality might coincide, and it may well be that the suburban location of hospitals was partly what drove the demand for informal arrangements for convalescence of the sick there. Once again, the functions of ‘exempt’ precinct space can be seen here to overspill their boundaries and affect surrounding areas.

Moreover, the most classically ‘marginal’ of urban occupations, prostitution, had a particular relationship with the periphery of the city. Prostitution in Southwark has been well-studied by historians, with its regulated brothels and ordinances governing the contractual relationship between pimps and prostitutes.⁷¹⁰ Westminster too developed districts associated with prostitution.⁷¹¹ Elsewhere within the city’s jurisdiction prostitution was outlawed but wardmote indictments for bawdry suggest it

⁷⁰⁵ LMA CLC/W/FA/007/MS01501.

⁷⁰⁶ Rawcliffe, ‘The Earthly and Spiritual Topography of Suburban Hospitals’.

⁷⁰⁷ LMA Jor. 5, f. 205.

⁷⁰⁸ Rawcliffe, ‘The Earthly and Spiritual Topography of Suburban Hospitals’, pp. 251–52, 261–63.

⁷⁰⁹ Rawcliffe, ‘The Earthly and Spiritual Topography of Suburban Hospitals’, pp. 253–55, 269.

⁷¹⁰ Karras, ‘The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England’; Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, chap. 9; Goldberg, ‘Pigs and Prostitutes’, pp. 180–86. Martin Ingram has recently challenged the notion that the Stews were tolerated. Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 160–72.

⁷¹¹ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 143–44.

continued regardless. Although the consistory rarely heard cases relating directly to prostitution, a sample of cases heard in the lower commissary court suggests that it may have been more common outside the city walls, or at least that the policing of these neighbourhoods was more attuned to deal with it, by the latter part of the period. Out of 104 cases heard between March and June 1515, thirteen were for offences relating to prostitution and pimping; ten were in extramural parishes with six in St. Botolph Aldgate alone. In total 54% of these cases centred on the eastern extramural zone. It may be that the proximity of St. Katharine's encouraged prostitution to spill over into the surrounding parishes since, as has been discussed, social connections crossed jurisdictional boundaries. Thus, the extramural neighbourhoods may have offered venues where it was easier to evade detection, even if there were householders outside the walls determined to stamp out such behaviour.⁷¹²

What can be ascertained more clearly is the power of the Southwark stews in the imaginative geography of the city for Londoners. Helen Bradley of St. Laurence Pountney parish claimed 'yender ys shamefull rewle kepte at Phylipp Byffyns howse almost... as ys in the stewys syde' and Christopher de Currano called Agnes de Beer 'stewyd hore', justifying his insult by saying that she had lived at Southwark for two years.⁷¹³ Joan Salmon alias Bernard, a resident of Southwark, was described as an 'infamous woman' by parishioners of St. Sepulchre, where they claimed her mother had acted as her pimp in a liaison between Joan and a man called Walter Haydon.⁷¹⁴ Given the ease with which prostitution and other forms of extramarital sex were conflated in late medieval England,⁷¹⁵ it may well be that Joan's Southwark connection prompted the St. Sepulchre parishioners to assume this liaison was commercial. Certainly, in the insults above the location of the Stews loomed large in the minds of Londoners dwelling north of the Thames, Southwark itself being cast as both the 'appropriate' space for illicit relations as well as contaminating those who were associated with it. Although Southwark lies outside the scope of this thesis, such examples suggest the discursive importance of ordering disruptive behaviours on the margins of urban space.

Marginal neighbourhoods were thus associated with disruptive behaviour in several ways. The presence of religious precincts was in part responsible for this, since they both provided a home for those who were marginal to London society and were a convenient location for 'respectable' people to engage in activities which they did not

⁷¹² Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, chap. 5.

⁷¹³ LMA DL/C/207, ff. 228v, 236.

⁷¹⁴ LMA DL/C/205, ff. 262v-63.

⁷¹⁵ Goldberg, 'Pigs and Prostitutes', pp. 174-75.

want to tarnish their reputation. The long-standing placement of moral and environmental pollution in the periphery in some sense made the city fringes into appropriate space for marginal behaviours, and yet through the wardmote and church courts the residents of these areas still challenged this role. As we have seen, individuals here still negotiated their reputations and participated in formal and informal means of policing the neighbourhood. However, the evidence presented here suggests the possibilities these mobile, multifaceted spaces offered for behaviours which were perhaps more effectively policed elsewhere. The attempts to extend wardmote jurisdiction into the sanctuary at St. Martin's, and the persistent charges at Portsoken wardmate against the liberties, suggests that this limit to formal jurisdiction was felt by local residents who were otherwise used to holding authority.

6.7 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that processes of social marginalisation worked through both formal legal institutions and informal neighbourhood policing, with those who participated in formal judgment maintaining their authority beyond the jury. It has highlighted just how important the neighbourhood was to the creation and negotiation of reputation, revealing some of the dynamics involved in shaping the social networks which were demonstrated in Chapter Four.

Viewing these issues through the lens of the wardmote and consistory records tends to emphasise legalistic methods of marginalisation and it is important not to overplay the extent to which judgments in court impacted upon an individual's ability to gain access to social networks and resources. The movement of the poor around the periphery of London through neighbourhood migration in and out of the city's jurisdiction suggests that the wardmote, with its intense local focus, served here as a means of keeping record of a shifting population for those who sought to define themselves as the 'centre' of the community. On the margins of the city, the middling sort policed behaviour in similar ways to elsewhere within the city but faced particular challenges and alternative authorities. Authority was rooted in neighbourhood relations, and so space was essential to social order; at the fringes there seems to have been an ambiguity about space which consequently limited that authority.

An alternative authority at the margins were the religious houses and hospitals. In a sense, the houses had a reciprocal relationship with neighbourhood society in the capital, both 'greasing the wheels' of reputation management and exerting influence over tenants and others to further the interests their own estates. This dynamic goes

some way to explaining the popularity of local houses amongst extramural testators demonstrated in Chapter Four, and reinforces the sense that connections were forged with the personnel of the houses through a variety of activities from mundane incidents of rent collection to dramatic evictions and contested marriages.

There is also a distinctive shape to the neighbourhood community described here. The majority of the local community, getting by as well as they could, seem to have been able to satisfactorily maintain a position within the neighbourhood by submitting themselves to compurgation or finding sureties when they found themselves indicted and avoiding being enough of a nuisance to warrant expulsion. These are the people described as 'honest paupers' at the consistory court, mostly respectable in their conduct yet not of sufficient status to give unchallenged testimony. A smaller group within the community aspired to office-holding and influence, a type described here and in the secondary literature as 'burgesses', the 'parish elite' or the 'middling sort'. And yet, the constitution of this smaller group was contested and changeable. The wardmote jury acted as a testing ground for inclusion. Personal rivalries within this 'elite' produced consistory cases, a venue where authority could be questioned and undermined albeit that greater social resources (access to good witnesses and knowledge of how to 'pre-construct' testimony) would have been a considerable advantage. These findings provide nuance to our understanding of neighbourhood society, especially in the contrast they provide to parish records which often suggest a narrow, fixed elite who presented their decisions as unanimous and uncontroversial.

The picture of marginalisation which emerges is thus multifaceted. One could be marginalised from the 'parish elite' and yet still have a social network of friendship and support within the neighbourhood and be considered of good character. Even formal punishment appears not to have always broken social ties, given that neighbourhoods themselves contained a multiplicity of groups with their own patterns of sociability. Those friendships could turn into sureties, witnesses or compurgators in times of need. Thus, the problematic nature of mobility explored in Chapter Five comes into focus, as the real point at which an individual, lacking local social resources, could be truly marginal in urban society. Unlike Bronisław Geremek's 'marginals' who were defined by deviant behaviour, the evidence in this chapter has demonstrated that people of all social standings engaged in potentially indictable behaviour; what mattered most was their ability to avoid or manipulate processes of marginalisation through neighbourhood society.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer several research questions about the nature of marginality in fifteenth-century London. It has addressed issues of marginality as it was produced in the city's environment, economy and society. Marginality was a quality which, like other facets of space, was both a producer and a product of social relations. The thesis has thus argued that London's society is best understood in terms of locality and neighbourhood as these were the primary forums in which Londoners socialised and negotiated their place. Institutions have been, and will continue to be, an important frame for the study of late medieval urban society but, as has been demonstrated, by reading a range of records against the grain a very different picture of urban life can be developed. Marginality had different effects in different neighbourhoods and a focus on a group of neighbourhoods has demonstrated the diversity of London's society and economy, particularly as it was encountered by those who were not party to the formal power structures of the city. While previous studies of marginality have tended to work from within the records of the city itself, the broader documentary and methodological approach taken here has enabled it to move beyond the imagined marginality of civic rhetoric and towards a more holistic understanding of space and society in which individuals were not simply assigned marginal status from the centre but negotiated their position within urban society.

The sample parishes set out in Chapter One were the focus of investigation in Chapters Three and Four, each emerging as marginal in divergent ways. St. Botolph Aldgate, the largest parish under investigation, appears not to have been a coherent social space. The diversity of its built environment and multiple potential centres of attraction for development, discussed in Chapters Two and Three, were important factors. Another was its cluster of communities with alternative routes of sociability, the aliens and butchers, discussed in Chapter Four. St. Botolph Aldersgate and St. Botolph Bishopsgate were more spatially coherent than Aldgate, but otherwise were quite contrasting neighbourhoods. Bishopsgate was generally a poor area while Aldersgate had great extremes of wealth and poverty. Of the mural neighbourhoods taken for study, the sparse evidence for All Hallows London Wall suggested it shared several features with poor extramural parishes, particularly in its low status housing and economy. St. Katharine Cree, while less wealthy than some other city centre parishes, was perhaps the least classically 'marginal' of all those sampled.

Nonetheless, an important influence on St. Katharine Cree as with other extramural neighbourhoods was the presence of a religious house. Throughout the thesis, the importance of religious houses and hospitals as a feature of marginal neighbourhoods has emerged. In Chapters Three and Four, their influence on the economy of surrounding neighbourhoods was considered while in Chapters Two and Six the importance of precinct space in providing 'zones of exception', in which marginal behaviours could take place, came to the fore. In Chapter Six it was also shown that the leaders of the houses could exert authority amongst the laity not just within their own liberties but also amongst tenants and others in their environs. While not all of London's religious houses were on its periphery, this role as local authorities and influencers of the character of surrounding neighbourhoods was almost certainly most pronounced on the city's margins, particularly in neighbourhoods like Bishopsgate and East Smithfield where houses were drivers of local development. These findings contribute to a secondary literature which is increasingly showing how urban religious houses were not just connected to the wealthy and powerful lay people who founded them or held grand mansions within their precincts, but also played an important role in the social life of the whole city.

One of the central issues in the thesis is the relationship between marginal neighbourhoods and marginal people. For the reasons set out in Chapter One, it can be difficult to study the lives and experiences of those who were peripheral to the city's institutions and thus its records. However, it has been shown that the margins of the city provided a home for many of these people and in Chapters Four, Five and Six evidence was advanced that it was the distinctive qualities of marginal space which encouraged them to reside there. Non-citizens did not simply live on the margins to evade civic regulation; the city's periphery was an extremely mobile space in which people whose lives were often precarious could move with relative ease. There are some important similarities between this picture of the periphery and that drawn by early modernists, in particular early seventeenth-century Southwark as described by Jeremy Boulton. Even the wealthy will-making proportion of the population of the margins showed connections which often faced away from the city itself and into its wider region in which goods and people moved. Moreover, as Chapter Six showed, processes of marginalisation were rooted in the neighbourhood and were bound up with the constant negotiation of individual reputation and status. Civic punishment, through expulsion from the ward, reinforced the mobility of the poor and would have made the

neighbourhoods of the periphery attractive places where there were a lower number of middling neighbours looking to exert their authority.

Crucial to these conclusions has been the use of a range of methodologies which expand the possibilities for the examination of urban society. Social Network Analysis (SNA) is a key tool for understanding not just individual Londoners and their social worlds but also for making comparisons between different communities within the city. In combination with and counterpoint to the records of churchwardens and wardmote juries, SNA using personal documents like wills gives a greater sense of the varied social texture of the city. One of the important challenges facing the urban historian is how to root analyses of society in the spaces which it produced and was shaped by. Comparative SNA is one methodology which allows us to do so, particularly when combined with the use of GIS. While GIS is already well established within the discipline of urban history for the visualisation of quantitative data and historic boundaries, Chapters Four and Five demonstrate the possibilities for using digital tools to represent individual uses and perceptions of space. Given how much London was to expand in both population and geographic terms over the following centuries, the use of such techniques is important to demonstrate how every day uses of marginal space, particularly mobility around them, could prefigure later urban development. Like plan and space-syntax analysis, they allow us to move towards an archaeology of used and experienced space which anticipates and overlays that of built space.

As this thesis has argued, marginality is very much a negotiated aspect of space and society. Beyond the small number of men who made up the citizenry, there was a far larger population of people who lived, worked and died in London, getting by as best they could in a city where they had little power. The city's physical margins were important spaces for those looking to share in London's economic success without the social and economic resources to live at its centre. Marginal neighbourhoods were spaces of mobility profoundly shaped by social and economic networks extending out into London's region and beyond. The distinction of extramural and precinct space from the rest of the city was exploited by people engaged in the maintenance of their livelihoods and negotiation of their reputations, sometimes to insulate themselves from the consequences of morally dubious behaviour.

These forces are crucial to understanding the city which was to emerge in the early modern period. This thesis has brought into focus the transition between the medieval and early modern cities and has explored the spaces which were to come to define and overwhelm it, its extramural neighbourhoods. Although the better

documentation available from the mid-fifteenth century frustrates attempts to show clear changes and continuities in the period 1370-1540, it is evident that the pattern for later development was set by the early sixteenth century; that the pressure of population, already beginning to be felt by the last quarter of the fifteenth century, brought about intensification of existing uses and characteristics of marginal space. Moreover, some of the changes of the late medieval period, particularly the development of the liberties and estate management strategies of the religious houses, were to have far reaching consequences after those institutions disappeared.

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Appendix 1: Carpenters Company Tenants, 1438-1516

List of tenants of property at Carpenter Hall drawn from the warden's account book, LMA CLC/L/CC/D/002/MS04326/001. Also noted are other mentions of the tenants in the accounts.

Tenant	Year as tenant	Other mentions in the accounts
John Mariot	1439	none
Geoffrey Colet	1439	none
Thomas Thornton	1439	none
William Mildred	1438, 1439	paid for 30 ells of cloth, 1439
Willam Mendham and wife	1448	beadle of the company 1438-c.1448
The Tawyer	1448	none
Richard Bywater	1459	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • money spent on pleas for him 1452 • 3s. for prising of his goods 1457 • in pledge in pewter vessel and brass and cushions of Richard Bywaters Goldsmith for 13s. 4d. due to the craft for 2 years 1459 • paid in expenses for him 12d. and his goods still pledged 1460
Richard Gaywode	1459	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6d paid in alms to him 1472 • 4d paid to him in alms 1473
Thomas Warynger	1459	none
Marion Gaade	1459	none
Walter Mylson	1463	none
Thomas Warryng	1463	none
William Condytt	1463	none
John Grocer	1463	none
Sir William	1463	none
James	1463	none
Parnell	1463	none

William Wynne and wife Katherine (later Mother) Wynne	1467, 1468, 1469 (as a couple) 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473 (Katherine alone)	none
William Bloxham	1467	none
Margery Bunne	1467	none
Thomas Wilkok	1469, 1470, 1471, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1485	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • freedom 1448 • warden 1472 • holding money for the company 1480
Robert Edward	1469	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gave 5s towards company charter from Edward IV 1472 • paid 20d towards work on Lime St. property 1484 • tenant in Lime St. 1485
Robert Wheteley	1469	none
William Witte	1470, 1471, 1473, 1474	none
Sibill	1470, 1471, 1472	none
Thomas Bateman	1470, 1471, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1484,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paid 13s 4d 1481 • paid for wages 24s • paid for wages 33s 4d 1486 • paid for salary 33s 4d 1487 • beadle 1483
John Marchall	1470, 1471	none
the Beadle	1472	none
John Redwith	1472, 1473	none
Hewet	1472	none
William Puddisey	1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1505, 1508	none, but 1508 rent was paid in household goods
Charles Wynne	1473	none
John Cobbe	1472, 1473, 1474, 1475	paid for his keeping and burial 1477
Richard Barbor	1472	none
Thomas Hobson	1473	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paid for his freedom 1472 • paid a fine 1477 • paid 3s 4d towards purchase of company charter 1477

John Brewer	1474	paid for taking on an apprentice 1458
Robert Taylor	1474, 1475, 1476	none
the Baker	1474	none
John Cardiff	1475	none
the Anker's mother ⁷¹⁶	1476	none
John Wright	1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1484, 1485, 1487	none
Davy Whetley	1477, 1478, 1479	paid for his freedom 40s 1479
Thomas Brewer	1476, 1477, 1475, 1478, 1479	none
John Shukborough	1477	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paid 2s 8d for making the indenture with him 1477 • sold adjoining property to Carpenters 1515
Sir John Chamber	1478	none
John Belamy	1478	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paid 26s 8d for freedom 1441 • paid 8s 4d for freedom 1446 (?) • paid 13s 4d for freedom 1447 • 2d for a fine 1457 • paid 13s 4d for quarter board for doors and windows to him • paid 3s 4d fine 1458 • paid 11d for poundage 1458 • paid 12d for poundage 1459 • paid 15d in alms to him 3 times in the year 1482 • paid 6s 3d in alms to him 1483 • paid 3s 4d in alms to him 1485 • paid 6s 8d in alms for the year 1486 • paid 6s 8d in alms to him 1487

⁷¹⁶ This is likely the mother of the anchor who resided in a cell attached to London Wall near the parish church of All Hallows London Wall. 'Alien Houses: Hermits and Anchorites of London', in *A History of the County of London: Volume 1, London Within the Bars, Westminster and Southwark*, ed. William Page (London, 1909), pp. 585-588. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/london/vol1/pp585-588>> [Accessed 23 November 2017].

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> paid 6s 8d in alms to him 1488
Sir John Smith	1479	none
Richard Garnet	1479	none
Master Andrew	1479	none
William Curson	1480	none
William Bas of Southwark	1481	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> paid to his man for a reward 4d 1481 20d part payment of fine 1490
John Saunder	1482	none
John Slade	1482	none
Robert Mokkesley	1482, 1483	none
Jane Scarnedale	1483	A John Scarnedale made 12d payment for an oath 1482
Alice Ewestace	1483	none
[blank] Crosby	1483, 1484	none
2 cooks	1483	none
Thomas Deraunt	1484, 1485, 1486, 1487	none
Margery Mablle	1484, 1485	none
Elizabeth	1484, 1485, 1487, 1489	none
Father Piers	1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1490	none
John Edmonde	1484	paid 12d for a free brother 1485
Margery Albright	1483, 1485, 1486	none
Thomas Geyton	1487	Gayton the younger paid 3s 4d 1487
Nicholas Medilmor	1487, 1489	none
George Gayton the elder	1487	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> paid 5s for free-journeyship 1487 paid 20d for a free journeyman 1489
William Newton	1487, 1488	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> paid part of 2s 4d for his resting 1456 5s expenses 'when we went about with William Newton and the prior for the King' 1456
John Carter	1488, 1491, 1492	none
Thomas Shettele	1488, 1489	received 13s 4d from him for his obligation 1489
Mr Heylowe	1488, 1489	none

Christopher Johnson	1489, 1490	none
Thomas Greffyn	1490	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paid 12d for a free journeyman 1480 • paid 40s for his freedom 1488 • paid 12d twice for John Fornecke's apprentice and Thomas Marchant's apprentice 1489 • paid 5s 9d in money 1490 • paid 9s 3d on reparations as appears by a bill 1490 • wife paid 16s 8d rent at Lime St. 1491
Mother Maud	1490	none
Mother Hatfiel	1490	none
Mr Hungerford	1490	none
Henry Hogges	1491, 1492, 1493	none
Robert Maister	1491, 1492, 1493, 1496, 1497, 1498	none
John Chaunder	1491, 1492	none
Sir Edward	1491, 1492, 1494, 1497, 1498	none
Mother Margaret	1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1499	none
Mother Johanna Grey	1492, 1493	none
Richard Key	1492	none
John Clerk	1493	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paid 12d to present Robert Watson, journeyman 1494 • paid 12d for Richard Halmond apprentice 1495 • paid 12d fine 1497 • paid 12d for William Adesson apprentice 1498 • paid 12d for presenting apprentice 1501 • gave 3s 4d to the hall 1502 • paid 2s to present 2 apprentices • paid 12d to present Thomas Stapylton apprentice 1503 • paid 12d fine 1504

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> presented as journeyman by Roger Ovenell 1492 presented as apprentice by Richard Banastre 1482
Alice	1493	none
the Ankers cousin ⁷¹⁷	1493	none
William Skipton	1494, 1497	paid 4d to him for making a vine frame 1491
Mrs Roo	1495	none
Mr Roo	1494, 1496	none
Rose	1495	none
Mrs Richmond	1497	none
Thomas Ladde	1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509	none
John Bowghton	1497, 1498	none
John Watson	1497, 1498	paid 3s for journeyman 1511
Lady Woxberg	1498	none
Thomas Brain	1498	none
Thomas	1498	none
Master Yong	1499, 1500, 1501	none
John Purdew	1499	none
Robert Odysdale	1499, 1500, 1502	paid 12d in alms at the request of the fellowship 1500
Jeffrey	1500	none
Simon Capper	1500	none
Guy Byrchfeld	1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1505	paid rent for Mother Sage 1501
Harry Philip	1500	paid for writing up the accounts 1499

⁷¹⁷ See n. 711.

Appendix 2: Wardmote indictments, 1370-1528

Standardised offence type	Offence category
Adultery	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Alien	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Alien communities	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Apostate	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Baratour	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Bars/barriers	Physical nuisance
Bawd (couple)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Bawd (female)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Bawd (male)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Bowling alley	Physical nuisance
Brawler	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Breaker of King's peace	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Bridge dangerous	Physical nuisance
Bringing ordure from another ward	Physical nuisance
Business beyond proper hour	Economic offence
Carts	Physical nuisance
Cellar door	Physical nuisance
Channels and gutters	Physical nuisance
Chider	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Chimney of brick	Physical nuisance
Chimney of loam	Physical nuisance
Chimney of stone	Physical nuisance
Chimney of tree	Physical nuisance
Chimneys	Physical nuisance
Clossbane	Physical nuisance
Colourer of foreign goods	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Common woman	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Concealer of orphans' goods	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Dangerous ground	Physical nuisance
Dangerous stair	Physical nuisance
Dangerous stairs	Physical nuisance
Discurer of confessioun	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Disobedience to the wardmote	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Distrobeler	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Ditches	Physical nuisance
Door opening into churchyard	Physical nuisance
Door opening into highway	Physical nuisance
Dronkyn	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Ducking stool	Physical nuisance
Dung in highway	Physical nuisance
Dung onto field	Physical nuisance
Eavesdropper	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Enclosing com ground	Physical nuisance
Encroachment on com ground	Physical nuisance
Enslaving of women	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Evil conversation	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Evil disposed of body	Immoral/unruly behaviour

Evildoers	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Extortioner	Immoral/unruly behaviour
False surgeon and physician	Economic offence
Faytoner beggar	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Fighting	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Fixing boats to privy	Physical nuisance
Foreigner (male)	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Foreigners (couple)	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Forestaller	Economic offence
Fornication	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Gate	Physical nuisance
Hanging jetties/pentices	Physical nuisance
Harlot (female)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Harlot (male)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Hasadour	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Houses covd with reed	Physical nuisance
Huckster (female)	Economic offence
Inappropriate use of office	Economic offence
Keep. Another man's wife	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Keeping of geese/ducks	Physical nuisance
Keeper of goats	Physical nuisance
Keeper of petty hostelry	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Keeper of pigs and cows	Physical nuisance
Keeper of unlawful rule/bawdry	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Keeping a stew	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Keeping diseased people	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Keeping dung under stalls	Physical nuisance
Keeping guests as a foreigner	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Keeping knights of the post	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Lane open by night	Other
Latys	Physical nuisance
Leper	Other
Maintainer of foreigners	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Mayntenour	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Misbehaved person of his tounge	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Misgoverned man	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Misgovernment of body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Nice woman of her body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Nightwalker	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Not paying lot and scot	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Not paying scot and lot	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Not under frankpledge	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Noyer of neighbours	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Noyous of his/her tongue	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Noyous place	Physical nuisance
Obstr. In highway	Physical nuisance
Obstructing watergates	Physical nuisance
Occupying as a freeman	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Occupying as a freewoman	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Occupying as freefolk	Foreign people or maintainers of such

Occupying as freewoman	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Occupying evil rule	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Occupying misrule with body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Offal	Physical nuisance
Ordure into highway	Physical nuisance
Orphan	Other
Pavements	Physical nuisance
Porch too low	Physical nuisance
Privies	Physical nuisance
Privy picker	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Privy place	Physical nuisance
Puterer	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Putour	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Quarrelsome	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Rebaud of his tunge	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Rebel against the king's officers	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Receiver of murderers	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Receiver of susp. Peop.	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Receiver of men's servants	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Refusal of office	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Regrater	Economic offence
Renting to offender	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Reredos	Physical nuisance
Resorting of a man not her husband to house	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Ruinous house	Physical nuisance
Scold (couple)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Scold (female)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Scold (male)	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Selling against the mayor's cry	Economic offence
Selling corrupt foodstuffs	Economic offence
Sheds covd with reed	Physical nuisance
Sign	Physical nuisance
Slanderer	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Slaving of her body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Stalls built too high	Physical nuisance
Stream obstructed	Physical nuisance
Strumpet	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Strumpetmonger	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Stulpes and posts	Physical nuisance
Suspicious behaviour	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Swelow	Physical nuisance
Threatening wardmote jurors	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Timber & wood	Physical nuisance
Timber onto field	Physical nuisance
Tippling ale as a foreigner	Foreign people or maintainers of such
Unsafe bridge	Physical nuisance
Unwilling to obey the alderman	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Usurer	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Utterer of unlawful language	Immoral/unruly behaviour

Vagabond	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Vicious man of his body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Vicious man of his living	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Vicious woman of her body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Vicious women of her body	Immoral/unruly behaviour
Walls	Physical nuisance
Ward lacking fire equipment	Other
Waste into ditch	Physical nuisance
Waste into Thames	Physical nuisance
Well	Physical nuisance
Whirlepit	Physical nuisance
Windows	Physical nuisance
Withholder of men's apprentices and servants	Economic offence
Withholding money from a will	Immoral/unruly behaviour

Appendix 3: Consistory court cases used

Case ID	Case title	Deposition book	Folios	Subject	Summary
1	Wolmar c. Henley	DL/C/205	243-246, 260v, 262v-264v	Disputed marriage	Marriage contract allegedly made whilst bride was pregnant and lodging in a house in St. Sepulchre.
2	Plummere c. Olyve	DL/C/205	261-262	Debt	Bond of debt made in Essex by woman and neighbours from Whitechapel and St. Botolph Aldgate.
3	Rogers c. Whytyngdon	DL/C/205	221-223, 224, 225-226, 234- 240v, 257v- 258v	Disputed marriage	Marriage contract allegedly made in St. Mary Axe with dispute over suitability of witnesses.
4	Reygate c. Hay	DL/C/205	283v-284v, 285-285v, 290- 290v, 307-310	Defamation	Rumours of a man suspiciously visiting and maintaining a woman in St. Katharine Creechurch.
5	Mortimer als. Dorward als. Stevyns c. Mortymer	DL/C/205	59v-60, 79v- 80v, 83v-84, 259v-260	Disputed marriage	Woman allegedly conspires in St. Katharine Creechurch for men to provide false witness to a marriage contract.
6	Prioress and Convent of Clerkenwell c. John Jay	DL/C/205	78-79, 80v-81, 97v-98v, 116	Testamentary dispute	Defendant accused of withholding goods willed to Clerkenwell Priory.

7	Couper c. Stowe	DL/C/205	104-105v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract between two Londoners made and solemnised at Cambridge.
8	Wellys c. Rote	DL/C/205	252v-256, 258v-259, 265v-266v, 275-276v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made by apprentice under threat of violence in St. Katharine Colman.
9	Browynge c. Brownynge	DL/C/205	203-204v	Spousal abuse	Abused wife separated from husband and living at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
10	Goodefeld c. Dobyngs	DL/C/206	16-17v, 18v-21	Defamation	Defamation of woman from St. Botolph Aldgate at the Portsoken wardmote.
11	Culverden c. Smyth	DL/C/206	37v-39, 44-46	Defamation	Defamation of St. Botolph Aldgate resident in dispute over eviction.
12	Hospital of St. Mary Bishopsgate c. Pellet	DL/C/206	60v-63v, 107v-109v, 167-170v	Defamation	Defamation of the Prior and Canons of St. Mary Bishopsgate by former hospital porter.
13	Parishioners of St. Botolph Aldersgate c. Salmon	DL/C/206	65-71v	Clerical misdemeanours	St Botolph Aldersgate parish chaplain accused of failure to perform duties and attendance at cock fights.
14	Thorpe c. Witton	DL/C/206	74, 75, 80	Clerical misdemeanours	Violent dispute between two priests in an Aldersgate brewhouse.

15	Crowne c. Woodward & Malyn	DL/C/206	85v-86, 94-96	Testamentary dispute	Alleged attempt to forge will in St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
16	Felix c. Halygbery	DL/C/206	153v-155	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract between an apprentice and servant made on the roof of their master's house in St. Clement Eastcheap.
17	Jaclet c. Foster	DL/C/206	222v-224v	Defamation	Woman accused of defamation while attempting to get master to prevent his servant from beating servant's wife.
18	Bek als. Clerke c. Clerke	DL/C/206	236v-237	Spousal abuse	Man abused his wife in an alehouse outside Bishopsgate.
19	Margetson c. Trerise	DL/C/206	257v-259	Defamation	Man defamed female alehouse keeper for harbouring bawds and whores.
20	Fantell c. Nicolls	DL/C/206	269-271	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in St. Martin le Grand by French parties.
21	Larke c. Banester	DL/C/206	297-298v, 324v-326, 327-327v	Defamation	Competing defamation claims regarding a fight outside an alehouse in Lombard Street.
22	Yngolsby alias Wryther c. Jekyll	DL/C/206	314-314v, 316-316v	Disputed marriage	Woman sues man to fulfil alleged marriage contract made at Waltham Cross after abandoning

					subsequent void marriage made in St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
23	Lyddon c. Harrys	DL/C/206	420-421	Defamation	Defamation between two women on the Thames bank concerning theft.
24	Wod c. Calton	DL/C/206	436-439, 447	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage in St. Mary Aldermanbury between apprentice and servant witnessed only by women.
25	Fantell c. Hilton	DL/C/206	457v-59	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract in St. Bride between alien servant girl and English apprentice.
26	Corbe c. Corbe	DL/C/206	466-69	Spousal abuse	Butcher of St. Nicholas Shambles accused of cruelty to his wife, witnessed by servants.
27	Wood c. Wood	DL/C/207	2-2v	Spousal abuse	Woman abused by husband led to Bermondsey by beadle of St. Olave Southwark.
28	Hodgson c. Margaret Fyfeld	DL/C/207	8-8v, 11-12, 20-20v, 33-35, 58-58v	Defamation	Defamation between butchers' wives of St. John Street.
29	Stocker c. Roydon	DL/C/207	16-16v, 18-19v	Defamation	Defamation of foreign woman by her neighbour in St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street.
30	More c. Evan	DL/C/207	16-16v, 18-19v	Tithes	Dispute between rectors of St. Mary Axe and All Hallows London Wall

					over tithes owed by newly constructed house.
31	Office c. Cock & Clerke	DL/C/207	56v-57	Unclear (possibly related to abortion/burial of child)	Woman attacked by man in his house in St. Bartholomews Hospital causing her to give birth to stillborn child. Man refused to fetch a midwife.
32	Philipp c. Shyrwyn	DL/C/207	68v-70, 77v	Defamation	Defamation of man as a cuckold knave at St. Alphage Cripplegate.
33	Wright c. Wright	DL/C/207	82v-83v, 96-97v	Spousal abuse	Wife attacked by husband in an alehouse in St. James Clerkenwell.
34	Sutton c. Jervys	DL/C/207	86v-89	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in St. Katharine's precinct by mariner.
35	Beckett c. Cockerell	DL/C/207	99-102v	Defamation	Defamation claim against former neighbours by woman expelled from St. Sepulchre.
36	Osborn c. Jenyngs	DL/C/207	131v-132v	Defamation	Defamation claim against man who called woman a whore in St. Antholin.
37	Sherwood c. Ely	DL/C/207	133v, 146v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in St. Botolph Bishopsgate with scrivener as witness.
38	Wyer c. Cresswell	DL/C/207	147v-149, 152v-153, 154-154v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in St. Martin in the Fields by widow.

39	Palmer c. Wyndesland	DL/C/207	192v-193, 195v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in St. Dunstan in the East by widow and servant.
40	Chylderley c. Wylkyns	DL/C/207	197v-198, 202, 204, 205v-206	Defamation	Woman defamed as a leper in St. Andrew Hubbard.
41	Sharpove et al c. Deryson & Bruell	DL/C/207	198v-199v, 218, 251v-255v	Unclear (possibly debt)	Suit against former member of alien fraternity held at Blackfriars, probably for non-payment of dues.
42	Bawden c. Shooter	DL/C/207	211-213, 219, 225v-226, 229, 234, 238	Clerical misdemeanours	Violent dispute between two chaplains in the church of St. Botolph Aldersgate.
43	de Carrant c. de Bere	DL/C/207	226v-227v, 234v, 235v-236v	Defamation	Defamation of alien by another alien's English wife.
44	Byffyn c. Bradley	DL/C/207	228v, 236	Defamation	Woman allegedly defamed man for ill rule in St. Lawrence Pountney.
45	Hare c. Alford	DL/C/207	244, 258v-259v	Defamation	Defamation over a theft of bricks at Charing Cross.
46	Wryght c. Newesse	DL/C/207	270v-272	Defamation	Alleged defamation of man as unfit for the wardmote jury of Farringdon Within.
47	Ratclyff c. Chalener	DL/C/207	306-307, 314v, 324v	Defamation	Defamation of woman as a wedded man's whore at St. Mary Whitechapel.
48	Byffyn c. Ford	DL/C/208	2-2v	Unclear	Case with only one deposition surviving in

					which witness describes city punishment for keepers of petty hostelry.
49	Long c. Philpott	DL/C/208	9-9v, 32v	Defamation	Alleged defamation of man by woman claiming he keeps ill rule at night in St. Sepulchre.
50	Swyndon c. Hoskyns	DL/C/208	14-15, 19v-20, 23, 36-40v, 175, 179v, 182v-183	Defamation	Alleged defamation of woman by the constable of Aldersgate ward during her arrest in St. Mary Staining.
51	Spenser c. Spenser	DL/C/208	16v-17, 39v	Spousal abuse	Abuse of wife by husband at Charing Cross and St. Swithin.
52	Burnham c. Sackford	DL/C/208	18-19	Disputed marriage	Marriage contract made by two Londoners whilst on pilgrimage to Walsingham.
53	Wryght c. Floraunce	DL/C/208	63v-65v, 69v-70, 73-73v, 81v-82, 84v-86	Disputed marriage	Suit of pre-contract against woman from St. Botolph Aldgate who subsequently married under influence of Abbot of St. Mary Graces.
54	Pegg c. Power	DL/C/208	66v-69	Defamation	Defamation suit between neighbours in St. Bride regarding alleged perjury at the Guildhall.
55	Pole c. Williams	DL/C/208	70v-71v, 73v, 103	Defamation	Defamation suit regarding argument when woman hung out her dead child's clothes to dry near

					neighbour's house in St. Botolph Aldersgate.
56	Austyn c. Hill	DL/C/208	105-106	Defamation	Alleged defamation of woman as whore in St. Sepulchre.
57	Stokes c. Southwike	DL/C/208	107v-108, 110	Defamation	Alleged defamation of woman as a scold in Eastcheap market.
58	Jamys c. Vanharlem	DL/C/208	125-126	Testamentary dispute	Dispute over goods in alien's will.
59	More c. Philcock	DL/C/208	144-145, 147, 148v	Defamation	Man accused of defaming rector of All Hallows London Wall as having revealed his confession.
60	White c. Preston	DL/C/208	158v-160, 162	Defamation	Defamation against woman described as a 'whore nun' in St. Anne and St. Agnes.
61	Sandock c. Trym	DL/C/208	162, 166-166v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made between apprentice and servant after pregnancy in Austin Friars and St. Michael Cornhill.
62	Care c. Care	DL/C/208	205-7v	Spousal abuse	Abuse of wife before neighbours in St. Clement Danes. Husband openly committed adultery in employer's house at St. Michael Crooked Lane.
63	Cockock c. Bylby	DL/C/208	illegible (February 1533)	Defamation	Alleged defamation in St. Botolph Aldgate churchyard.

64	Cordell als. Jackson c. Elderton	DL/C/208	illegible (December 1532-March 1533)	Disputed marriage	Competing marriage contract at Limehouse and St. Mary at Hill. Extensive counter-witnesses from around Middlesex.
65	Thornton als. Godard c. Mason	DL/C/208	224v-225v, 240	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in Stepney.
66	Hawkyns c. Hawkyns	DL/C/208	illegible (June 1532)	Divorce	Suit for divorce of couple from St. Botolph Aldersgate involving clergy from St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
67	Hulson c. Boder als. Godard	DL/C/208	illegible (April 1532)	Defamation	Alleged defamation of man as a false harlot whilst on lighters in the middle of the Thames.
68	Kyrkham c. Mett	DL/C/208	illegible (June 1532, December 1532-January 1533)	Defamation	Defamation suit against woman who neighbours had failed to get expelled from St. Andrew Hubbard.
69	Parys c. Hucheyns	DL/C/208	190v, 192v-193	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract in St. John Street between man and servant he impregnated while his wife was lying sick.
70	Pott c. Hooke	DL/C/208	illegible (July 1532)	Defamation	Alleged defamation during meeting of senior parishioners of St. Clement Eastcheap in dispute over clerk's wages.

71	Thornton c. Turner	DL/C/208	224-224v	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made by servant in St. Sepulchre.
72	Warde c. Jonson	DL/C/208	illegible (July 1532)	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made in St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
73	Maliber c. Dalston alias Boste	DL/C/A/001/MS09065	142v, 150v-153	Debt	Dispute over bequest given to apprentice in master's will in St. Botolph Aldgate.
74	Brown & Lauson c. Gilis	DL/C/A/001/MS09065	1-3v, 85-86v, 89-93, 99v-104, 105v-107, 110v-111	Disputed marriage	Competing suits of marriage made in St. Botolph Aldgate and St. Andrew Undershaft. Extensive counterwitnesses.
75	Newport c. Newport	DL/C/A/001/MS09065	79v, 95-97v, 112-112v	Divorce	Suit for divorce by husband abused by wife in St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
76	Pernell c. Pecoke	DL/C/A/001/MS09065	186-186v	Defamation	Defamation of woman in St. Botolph Aldersgate.
77	Essex c. Badcock	DL/C/A/001/MS09065	44-45v	Defamation	Defamation of woman in St. Andrew Undershaft by another woman who accused her of being husband's mistress.
78	Wulley c. Isot & Heth	DL/C/A/001/MS09065	48v-49v, 53v-55	Disputed marriage	Alleged marriage contract made after couple were discovered together by the watch in St. John Street.

Appendix 4: Modularity algorithm

ΔQ = change of modularity
 i = isolated node
 \sum_{in} = sum of weight of links inside a community
 \sum_{tot} = sum of weight of links incident to nodes within a community
 k_i = sum of weight of links incident to node i
 $k_{i,in}$ = sum of weights of links from i to the nodes within the community
 m = sum of weight of all links in the network

Gephi repeats this calculation for each node until the highest possible modularity is achieved for the graph as a whole.

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