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Our city and Chamber of London : the relationship between the City of London and the Crown in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary.

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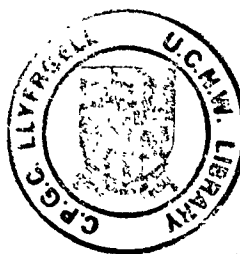
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OUR CITY AND CHAMBER OF LONDON :
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CITY OF LONDON AND THE CROWN
IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI AND MARY,
1547-1558

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LIST OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i	
LIST OF CONTENTS	ii-iii	
ABBREVIATIONS	iv-vi	
SUMMARY	vii	
STATEMENT	viii	
1 INTRODUCTION : MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY LONDON		1-22
i Historiography		
ii Primary sources		
iii Context		
2 FINANCE		23-120
Part I : London as a financial centre		
i Introduction		
ii Antwerp		
iii London and the London Bourse		
iv Insurance		
v Brokers, Scriveners and Notaries		
vi Money lending		
vii Conclusion		
Part II : Crown and City		
i Crown intervention		
ii Royal debt		
iii Conclusion		
3 OVERSEAS TRADE		121-184
i Introduction		
ii Economic background		
iii Merchant Adventurers		
iv Merchants of the Hanse		
v Merchants of the Staple		
vi Customs		
vii Overseas exploration		
viii Conclusion		
4 INTERNAL TRADE		185-249
i Introduction		
ii Crown and Council		
iii City Corporation		
iv City livery companies		
v Foreigners and strangers		
vi Conclusion		
5 RESOURCES		250-330
Part I : Money		
1 Parliamentary taxation		
ii Royal loans and gifts		
iii Civic taxation		
iv Conclusion	11	

Part II : Men	
i Royal service - war and rebellion	
ii Maintenance of order	
iii Conclusion	
6 HIGH POLITICS	331-371
i Introduction	
ii Chantries legislation	
iii 1549 rebellion	
iv 1549 coup d'etat	
v 1553 coup d'etat	
vi 1554 rebellion	
vii Conclusion	
7 PATRONAGE AND PAGEANTRY	372-424
Part I : Patronage and influence	
i Links between courtiers and citizens	
ii Favours	
Part II : Pageantry and entertainment	
i Introduction	
ii Royal entries and coronation processions	
iii Other occasions for pageantry and entertainment	
iv Conclusion	
CONCLUSION	425-30
APPENDICES	431-55
1.1 Crown borrowing in Antwerp, 1547-58	
1.2 Crown borrowing in Antwerp, 1547-58 (conversion)	
2 Crown borrowing : Adventurers and Staplers, 1552-8	
3.1 London insurers identified, 1547-58	
3.2 London insurers identified, 1559-73	
4.1 Aldermen of London, November 1554	
4.2 Lord Mayors of London, 1544-58	
5 Table of requests for civic patronage, 1547-58	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	456-78
MAPS	(Between pp 7 & 8)
1 London's wards and boundaries	
2 Braun and Hogenberg's map of the 1550s	

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>APC</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council of England</u> ed. J R Dasent new ser. 32 vols. 1880- 1907
Add Mss	Additional manuscripts
BL	British Library
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Burgon <u>Gresham</u>	J W Burgon <u>The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham</u> 2 vols. 1839
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward VI - Elizabeth I</u> 1924-
<u>CSP Dom</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-80</u> ed. R Lemon 1856
<u>CSP For</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, 1547-58</u> ed. W B Turnbull 2 vols. 1861
<u>CSP Sp</u>	<u>Calendar of Letters, Dispatches and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, IX-XIII, 1547-58</u> ed. MAS Hume and R Tyler 5 vols. 1912-54
<u>CSP Ven</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers and Manusc- ripts relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy, V-VI (I- III), 1534-58</u> ed. R Brown 4 vols. 1873-84
<u>Cal LBk</u>	<u>Calendar of Letter Books of the Corporation of the City of London</u> ed. R R Sharpe 1899-1912
<u>Chronicle of Queen Jane</u>	<u>Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Written by a Resident of the Tower of London</u> ed. J G Nichols Camden Society 48 1850

Cotton	Cottonian manuscripts
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> ed. L Stephen and S Lee 63 vols. 1885-1900
<u>EHD</u>	<u>English Historical Documents V 1485-1558</u> ed. C H Williams 1967
Edward VI <u>Chronicle</u>	<u>Chronicle and Political Papers of Edward VI</u> ed. W K Jordan 1976
GL	Guildhall Library, London
Grafton <u>Chronicle</u>	<u>Grafton's Chronicle or History of England (1569)</u> ed. H Ellis 2 vols. 1809
<u>Grey Friars' Chronicle</u>	<u>Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London</u> ed. J G Nichols Camden Society 53 1852
H&L I-III	PL Hughes and JF Larkin (eds.) <u>Tudor Royal Proclamations</u> 3 vols. New Haven 1969
HMC <u>Salisbury</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury</u> 24 vols. 1883-1976
Hall <u>Chronicle</u>	<u>Hall's Chronicle</u> ed. H Ellis 1809
Harl	Harleian manuscripts
Holinshed <u>Chronicle</u>	R Holinshed <u>Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (1586)</u> 6 vols. 1807-9
Jo	Journal of the Court of Common Council
<u>Kolner Inventar</u>	<u>Kolner Inventar. Inventare Hansischer Archive des Sechszehnten Jahrhunderts</u> ed. K Hohlbaum and H Keussen 2 vols. Leipzig 1896-1903
<u>L&P Henry VIII</u>	<u>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47</u> ed. J S Brewer, J Gairdner and R H Brodie 21 vols. 1862-1910
LBk	Letter book
Lans	Lansdowne manuscripts
MAC	Mercers' acts of court
Machyn <u>Diary</u>	<u>The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, 1550-63</u> ed. J G Nichols Camden Society 42 1848

PRO	Public Record Office, London
Ramsay <u>Isham</u>	G D Ramsay(ed.) <u>John Isham, Merchant and Merchant Adventurer: Two Account Books of a London Merchant in the Reign of Elizabeth I</u> Northamptonshire Record Society 21 1962
Rawl	Rawlinson manuscripts
Rep	Repertory of the Court of Aldermen
Stow <u>Annales</u>	J Stow, <u>The Annales of England</u> 1615
Stow <u>Survey</u>	J Stow <u>A Survey of London</u> ed. C L Kingsford 2 vols. Oxford 1908
T&P I-III	<u>Tudor Economic Documents</u> ed. R H Tawney and E Power 3 vols. London 1924
Tawney <u>Wilson</u>	<u>A Discourse upon Usury: Thomas Wilson</u> ed. R H Tawney 1925
Wriothesley <u>Chronicle</u>	C Wriothesley <u>A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors</u> ed. W D Hamilton 2 vols. Camden Society new ser. 11 and 21 1875,1877

Editorial note

Spellings have been modernised and dates are given in the new style throughout the text.

SUMMARY

This study of the relationship between the City of London and the Crown in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary brings together the results of original research, based principally on the records of the City Corporation, the City livery companies and the central government, and the work of other historians of sixteenth century London, in particular G D Ramsay, S Rappaport, S Brigden, and I Archer. It examines the interaction between the central and civic governments in a number of areas of mutual concern: finance, overseas and internal trade, taxation, war and rebellion, high politics, patronage and pageantry. In the course of the study an attempt is made to trace the development of the City as a financial centre, to explore its role in relation to the royal debt and to analyse the reasons for the withdrawal and the subsequent restoration of Hanseatic privileges in England. Other issues used to illustrate the liaison between the state and the capital in the mid-sixteenth century include the chantry legislation of 1548, the rebellions of 1549 and 1554, the coups d'etat of 1549 and 1553, and the pageantry provided by the City for Edward VI, Mary and Philip II. The conclusion reached is that, although the Crown had particular need of the capital at this period, both financially, in relation to taxation and to the royal debt, and politically, to validate its regime and to enforce its policies, the relationship was not one-sided. The City establishment continued to require central government support to legitimise its rule, to further the trade of its merchants, to ensure adequate supplies of commodities in the capital and, most importantly, to retain its liberties and privileges.

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION - MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY LONDON

1. Historiography

Inter nobiles urbes orbis, quas fama celebrat, civitas Londonia, regni Anglorum sedes, una est quae famam sui latius diffundit, opes et merces longius transmittit, caput altius extollit
(William FitzStephen, 1174, quoted by J Stow A Survey of London ed. C Kingsford Oxford 1908 II 219)

The national pre-eminence of London has long been recognised. However, until recently, its historiography has been surprisingly deficient. Despite the burgeoning of urban studies in the 1960s and early 1970s, London's role in the early modern period remained neglected, mentioned mainly as an exception to the national rule (1). Although academic contributions were made on individual aspects of the City's life and government (2), students of sixteenth century London were forced to rely largely on general, and often out-dated, histories of the capital and its institutions (3), or to project forward or backward from recent research on the medieval and seventeenth century City (4). There was no comprehensive bibliography for early modern London. The handful of excellent articles on sixteenth century economic and social history (5) only served to point out the enormous potential for more substantial study. It seemed that the sheer volume and complexity of primary sources for London at this period inhibited researchers.

This situation was to change in the late 1970s and 1980s, which witnessed a plethora of scholarly activity into Tudor London. In the second half of the 1970s, the detailed work of G D Ramsay illuminated the capital's role in international trade and politics, as well as examining internal industrial relations (6),

whilst Frank Freeman Foster opened the subject of Elizabethan civic government to debate (7). Meanwhile, a group of doctoral scholars entered the field, producing pioneering studies on London's social, economic, religious and political development in the sixteenth century (8). Much of this work was subsequently to be published (9). It represents, individually and collectively, an impressive achievement, both in terms of coverage and of historical scholarship. It has provided a much fuller picture of the Tudor capital than available previously, despite its tendency to divorce political from social and economic history and its preoccupation with the "stability debate" (10). In the 1980s and 1990s, further publications have appeared on various aspects of London's social economic and demographic history, notably the compilation volume edited by Beier and Finlay (11), and Vanessa Harding's helpful summary of recent work on the vexed question of early modern London's size and population (12).

The richness of its recent historiography should not obscure the need for further research into Tudor London. The results of this newly published work provide the opportunity to re-examine specific aspects of London's history from a wider perspective than has been possible in the past and should prove a stimulus to further study, whilst a number of gaps in the capital's history still remain. This thesis aims to fill one such deficiency, examining the relationship between the City and the Crown in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, and building on the foundations laid by recent research in the social, economic and political spheres (13). Although the period is brief, spanning only eleven years, it deserves detailed treatment. Despite the elements of continuity present in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, the

central government, with a boy and then a woman at its head, presided over substantial changes in economics, politics and religion, and withstood the threats of two major rebellions and two coups d'etat. Meanwhile, the capital was undergoing a gradual transformation into an international financial centre, whilst its rulers were attempting to come to terms with the problems of population growth, vagrancy and poverty, and trade fluctuation and economic slump. It is hoped that, by examining the relationship between City and Crown at this period in several areas of mutual concern - finance, overseas and internal trade, taxation, high politics, patronage and pageantry - and bringing together the results of original research and the recent work of other historians, it will be possible to illuminate the role played by the capital on the national stage and to assess the significance of the interaction between the two. In doing so, it has been necessary to exclude or condense a number of topics, both in order to keep the project within reasonable bounds and to avoid duplication. References to the effects of the religious changes and rebellions have, for example, been kept brief. Nor has there been any attempt to enter into the stability debate or the controversy over the economic impact of the coinage manipulation. Readers are referred to existing scholarship in such instances.

2. Primary sources

There is an abundance of primary sources, both civic and central, for a study of the period. The series of minutes (or Repertories) of the Court of Aldermen, of Journals of the Court of Common Council and of City Letter Books, which reproduce extracts from

the Repertories and Journals, are complete. These are supplemented by a range of livery company account books, which survive for the majority of the Twelve Great Companies and a number of the lesser ones. The central government records at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, include state papers, domestic and foreign, Exchequer accounts and Chancery proceedings. These are amplified by manuscripts at the British Library and Hatfield House, and a number of contemporary chronicles (14) and observers' comments, most notably those of the Imperial and Venetian ambassadors (15). Whilst allowances must be made for bias and misinformation, these personal observations help to flesh out the dry bones of the official records. The survival of a couple of merchants' account books (16) provides insight into the activities of two prominent London traders.

Nevertheless, there remain some surprising gaps in the evidence. There are no extant civic accounts for the period (17), nor any records from the City law courts. Those documents which do survive, moreover, are often frustrating for their omissions and brevity. The Repertories and Journals make no mention, for example, of the company allocations for raising troops against Wyatt, whilst a number of controversies which were brought before the Court of Aldermen, such as those concerning company ordinances, are mentioned on their initial hearing but disappear from the record before resolution was reached. Motivation and mood are also difficult to discover from formal phrases such as "after long debatement" which frequently occur in the official record. In addition, few livery company minute books or supplementary records survive to augment the company accounts at

this period.

There are also gaps and omissions in the central government series, including customs accounts, tellers' rolls, foreign accounts and star chamber proceedings. It is difficult, for example, to be certain whether some of the loans requested by the Crown from the citizens were, indeed, collected and paid into the Exchequer because of the absence of tellers' rolls and views of account (18). Nor is it possible to calculate the relative quantities of imports and exports because of deficiencies in the mid-Tudor customs records (19). The absence of archival material of the national Society of Merchant Adventurers also leaves a serious lacuna in our knowledge of overseas trade and international relations, only partly filled by the records surviving from provincial adventurers' societies (20). The records of the Hanseatic kontors have suffered a similar fate; they are widely dispersed and apparently disappointing. The detailed calendar of relevant material at Cologne (21) has been used to some advantage in this study. However, no attempt has been made to exploit original Hanseatic archives, either at Cologne or elsewhere, through lack of time and opportunity. They would doubtless repay future examination in spite of their deficiencies.

Despite shortcomings in the evidence, the historian of mid-sixteenth century London is in a fortunate position with regard to both primary and secondary sources. It is the interpretation of these well-known and frequently cited records, rather than the discovery of new ones, which continues to pose the challenge to the scholar.

3. Context: mid-sixteenth century London

Before examining the particular circumstances of the 1540s and 1550s which had a bearing on the relationship between City and Crown, the study must be placed in context. The section which follows will therefore attempt to summarise existing knowledge of the size, population, government and national significance of the capital which forms the subject of this thesis.

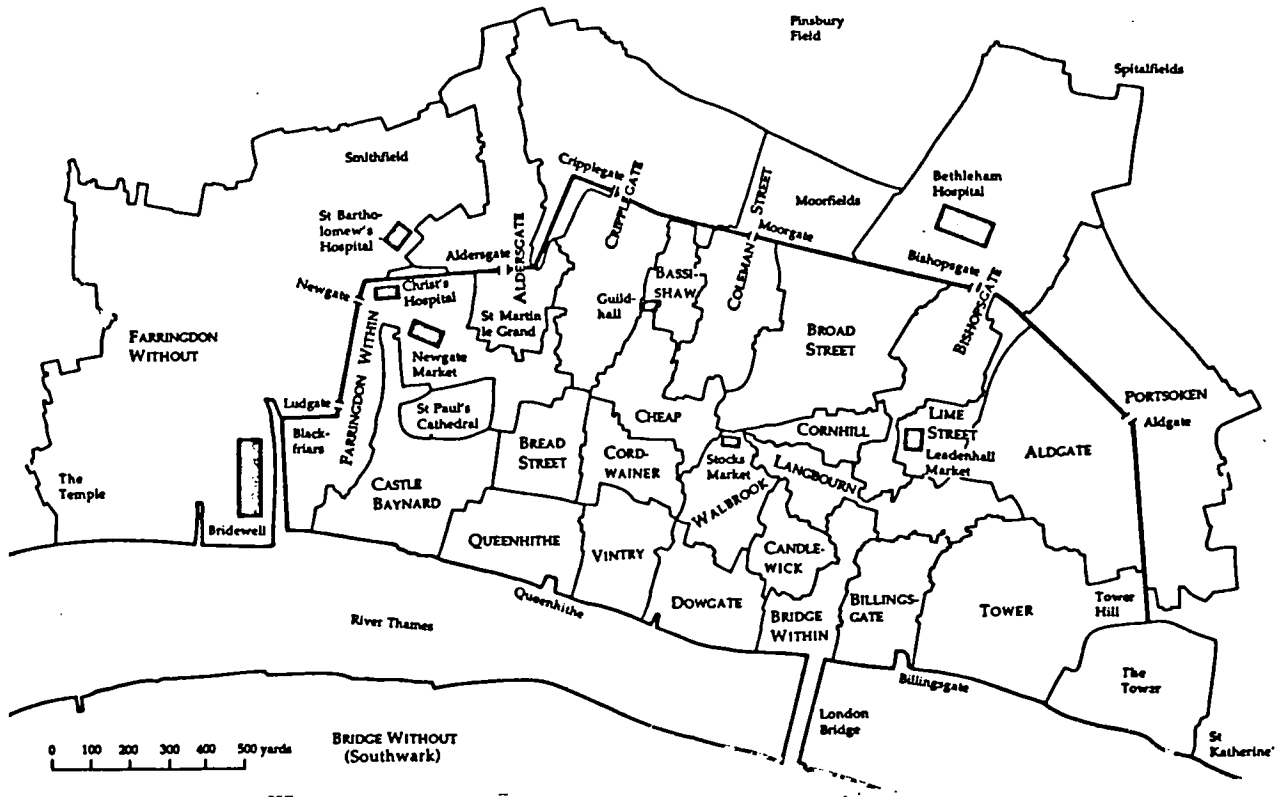
a Size and population

The expansion of London within and beyond the walls is the most salient feature of the City's history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rapidity with which buildings were shooting up and the speedy increase of population are chronicled in the literature of the time and in the works of contemporary historians; they are also delineated in the unrivalled series of maps (V Pearl London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution Oxford 1961 9)

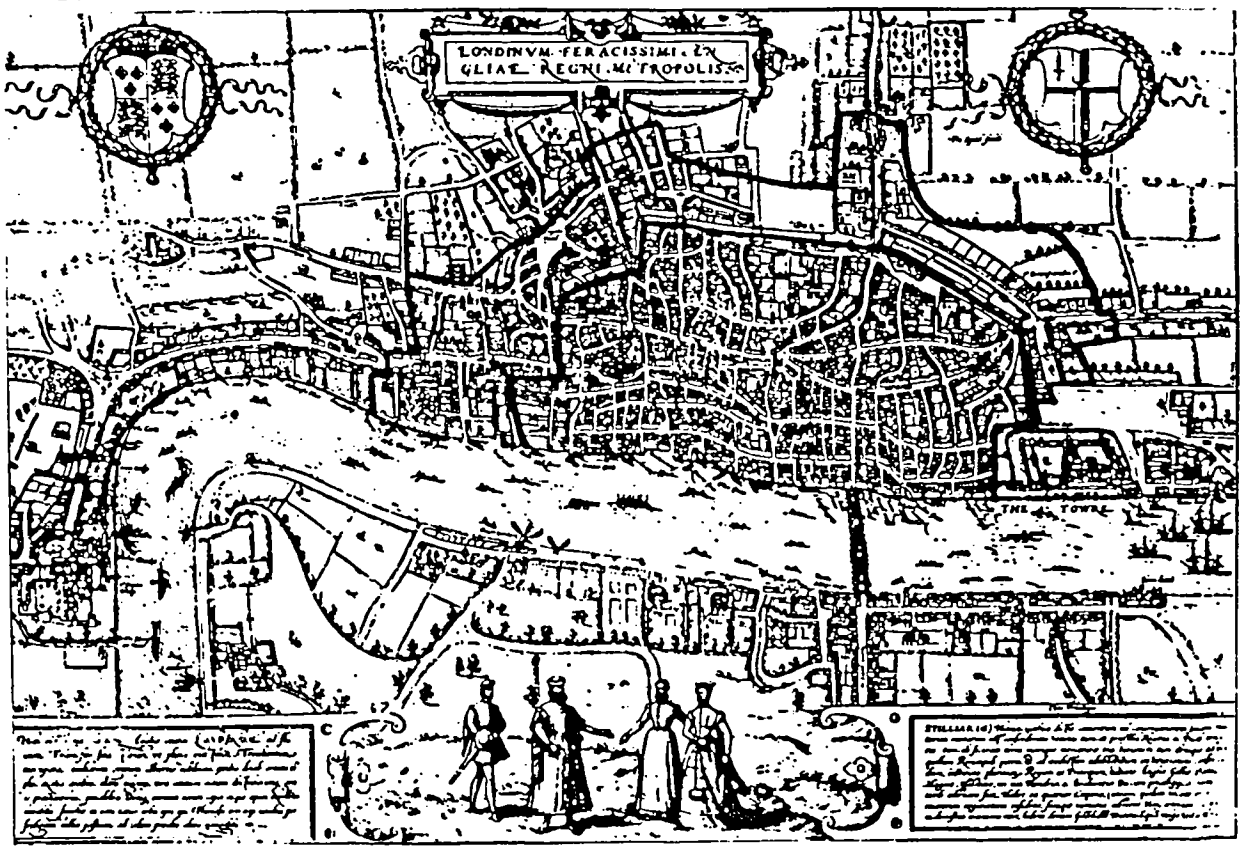
To contemporaries, the outstanding features of mid-sixteenth century London must have been its rapidly expanding population, its apparent wealth, founded chiefly on its international trade, and the opportunities which it therefore offered for personal advancement. As has been pointed out elsewhere (22), it is no coincidence that the rags-to-riches legend of Dick Whittington dates from the sixteenth century. It is certain that large numbers of provincials made their way to the capital, no doubt hoping to share in its prosperity and prestige (23). It was this influx, together with the immigration of a substantial number of political and religious refugees from abroad (24), which were responsible for the population increase of Tudor London and which had two major, if contradictory, consequences for the civic government. On the positive side, the influx provided for the

constant renewal of the pool of talent and resources and prevented the natural consequences of high mortality and low birth rates. However, the ever-increasing population posed considerable problems for the City's rulers, both in ensuring the continued adequate supply of essential commodities and in securing the maintenance of order within, and immediately outside, the city walls, particularly as vagrants and masterless men formed a significant proportion of the newcomers. Poverty was undoubtedly a serious problem in the metropolis, although its extent and impact is disputed. Indeed, the question of the maintenance of stability in the capital under these circumstances has been the subject of much recent research and debate (25).

It is important to provide a geographical definition of sixteenth century London. In this thesis, the term "London" will be used to refer to the City of London rather than to the whole urban area. The external boundaries of the City had remained static since the middle ages and included the area immediately outside the city walls. This was the extent of the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Aldermen of London. However, their effectiveness as governors was limited by the continuing presence within the City boundaries of liberties exempt from their control, most notably that of St Martin Le Grand. Henry VIII had deliberately perpetuated this apparent anomaly after the Reformation, unwilling to part with the franchises and temporal jurisdictions of the former religious houses, which had been vested in the Crown by an Act of 1540, unless the City made it worth his while to abolish them (26). In the event, the liberties remained intact during the following reigns, and continued to be a source of some irritation to the City rulers.



1. London's wards and boundaries



2. Braun and Hogenberg's map of the 1550s

Reproduced from S Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London Cambridge University Press 1989

In contrast, the City's governors and the central government shared concern over the effects of the growth of the City's suburbs (27). In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries this anxiety was to escalate as the built-up area expanded and to prompt the Stuart kings to offer the City Corporation the chance to govern the whole metropolitan area, a chance which the City, perhaps short-sightedly, declined (28). How far had this phenomenon occurred by the mid-sixteenth century ? It is extremely difficult to be precise about the extent of building and about the number of people living outside the City boundaries in the 1550s. However, Rappaport is unwise to rely too heavily on a contemporary map (Braun and Hogenberg) and evidence from livery company quarterage lists to conclude that the populated area outside the City was of little significance in the 1550s (29). Apart from the dangers inherent in depending on the accuracy of sixteenth century cartographers and on the representativeness of lists of subscribing company members, who by definition did not include non-citizens living in the suburbs, this would seem to be contradicted by other written evidence. By the reign of Henry VIII, the City livery companies had begun to seek powers of search within a two mile radius of the City, a privilege which they were granted, over non-Englishmen at least, by an Act of 1523-4 (30). Contemporary accounts show that the companies were not alone in their anxiety about the effects of suburban growth. Stow may have been writing almost fifty years later (1598) by which time the major expansion which was to continue throughout the following century was well under way; however, it is clear from his account that much building in the suburbs had taken place before this date (31). Moreover, the

population figures calculated by Finlay and Shearer estimate that in 1560, only two years into Elizabeth's reign, at least 27% of the population of the metropolis lived in the suburbs, of which two thirds resided north of the river (32). Indeed, whilst the expansion of Southwark, over the bridge from but not originally under the control of the City, was the cause of much concern, it was not the only suburb to feature in the records. Other areas mentioned include Clerkenwell, Ratcliff and Shoreditch. Many of these had been populated since the middle ages, but they had remained outside the City's jurisdiction and had begun to accommodate much additional development in the sixteenth century (33). It was in these areas, as well as in the liberties mentioned above, that a large number of immigrants both from abroad ("aliens" or "strangers") and native Englishmen who were not citizens of London ("foreigners") settled to enjoy the opportunities of metropolitan life largely free of the burdens and restrictions imposed on citizens (34).

The problem posed by Southwark, the principal resort for those fleeing or seeking exemption from the City's jurisdiction, was not fully resolved by the City's formal acquisition of the borough from Edward III. Its political absorption into the City in 1550, as Bridge Ward Without, on the purchase of the lordships of the royal manors there, represented a further attempt by the City Corporation to gain control of this troublesome borough at a time when suburban development appeared as an increasing threat to its jurisdiction. This aim coincided with the King's advisors' desire to realise royal assets by the sale of crown lands and privileges (35). Unlike their seventeenth century successors, the City's rulers seized the opportunity to expand in order to

confront the problem rather than merely to conserve their powers within existing limits (36). Westminster was a city in its own right with its own government (the High Steward and Court of Burgesses) and constitution, while the area between the two cities on the north bank of the Thames had become largely infilled by the sixteenth century, comprising a combination of parishes and inns of court and other liberties (37). Nevertheless, contemporaries would have made a clear distinction between the two cities, however closely linked. To stress that Parliament and the Central law courts were technically outside "London" is more than mere pedantry.

If it is hard to define the precise limits of the mid-sixteenth century metropolis, it is harder still to quantify its population. However, the recent work of several demographic historians provides an indication of the relative size of its resident population at various points in the sixteenth century, both in the City and in the wider urban area. It is unfortunate that their figures at times conflate or confuse the two (38). Nevertheless, they serve as useful guidelines. In 1560, for example, Finlay and Shearer estimate that there were approximately 80,000 living in the City 'within and without the walls', 20,000 in the suburbs north of the river and 10,000 to the south (i.e. 110,000 in the whole urban area) (39). In 1550 they calculate that the population of the metropolis represented 4% of the total population of England, rising to 4.9% by 1600 (40). However approximate, it is worth bearing these figures in mind when considering the problems faced and opportunities offered by the capital during the mid-sixteenth century. Although the major expansion of the urban area took place after our

period, the sheer size of London and its suburbs in comparison with other provincial cities and their steady growth explain contemporary fears that "soon London will be all England" (41). Rappaport provides some indication of the proportion of the population who were citizens in the 1550s, namely 75% of adult males (42). Although this figure bears comparison with other towns (43), it might well be distorted by the use of misleading base statistics (44). Yet, in the absence of firm evidence, estimates must be used to provide some sense of perspective.

b Civic government

The City's rulers were confronted by a number of challenges in the 1540s and 1550s, including population expansion, vagrancy, rising inflation and the recurrent problem of plague and other disease. However, the view that London was a city teetering on the brink of disaster seems to have been largely discredited (45). The alternative interpretation, of London as an "essentially stable society" governed by exceptionally "sensitive" rulers (46), has been widely accepted, although also subject to revision (47).

Who were London's rulers? At the beginning of the sixteenth century London was governed by a Mayor; Aldermen who represented the twenty five wards of the City, and who with the Mayor acted as the executive body for the City, the Court of Aldermen; and a Court of Common Council, which acted as the legislature. Elections of both Aldermen and Common Councilmen were made by the City's householders acting in Wardmotes, whilst the Mayor was chosen by Common Hall or Congregation, an electoral body

composed, since 1475, of the liverymen, the elite of the livery companies (48). During the sixteenth century several minor, but significant, changes occurred. Firstly, there was the enhancement of the status of the mayoralty, symbolised by the increasing tendency to refer to the office holder as Lord Mayor (49). Secondly, there was an increase in the number of Aldermen from twenty-five to twenty-six with the acquisition of Bridge Ward Without in 1550. Meanwhile, the frequency of meetings of the legislature increased as the demands for resources multiplied, whilst the burden of civic office grew ever weightier, with the creation of new posts, such as offices connected with the City Hospitals. This led to a significant rise in the commitment of time and money required of incumbents of such posts, which may explain the apparently increasing reluctance to assume civic office (50). There are several excellent accounts of the constitution and structure of the City Corporation and of its wards, precincts and parishes from the medieval period (51). The interlocking relationships between civic, parish, ward and livery company office have also been examined in some depth. Although historians disagree about the level of participation of the general populace in such posts and the extent to which widespread involvement in local government was a stabilising factor, they are united in stressing its importance (52).

In terms of administrative function, the City Corporation fulfilled the role characteristic of contemporary civic government. Although peculiar in certain of its procedure and practice (53), it performed the normal civic duties of regulating the prices of essential commodities; ensuring adequate food supplies; overseeing the maintenance of the highways, water-

supply and sanitation within the city; administering justice and imposing sentence (through the Mayor's and Sheriff's Courts and Sessions); maintaining the peace ; governing the city prisons and compters, hospitals and houses of correction; raising money and manpower from the inhabitants both on its own behalf and on the Crown's; initiating civic projects, such as the conversion of Bridewell into a house of correction, and maintaining civic property, including London Bridge and its large estates. It also had an important role to play in the guardianship of City orphans (54) and the oversight of the apprenticeship system. In terms of functions, the civic authorities did not differ significantly from those of other large provincial cities, such as Exeter and York (55). However, what placed London's rulers in an exceptional position was the size, collective wealth and national importance of the city which they governed.

c Significance

It has been pointed out that "London was almost unique in Europe in combining the role of capital city and great port" (56). One of a number of significant English ports in the middle ages, it became nationally pre-eminent during the sixteenth century as it began to dominate the English cloth trade (57). Although this trade was largely concentrated in the hands of the few, mainly members of the Merchant Adventurers' Society, their investment in other ventures, including domestic manufacture and civic projects, and their willingness to provide financial services to the Crown and other individuals helped to spread the benefits of this wealth (58). The role of London as a financial centre and as a national focus for international trade forms the subject of

the following chapters. However, it should be noted in passing that the national and international significance of the capital was integrally linked with its predominance in trade and finance.

London's location, on the Thames, with good access to its hinterland and within easy reach of the Continent, has always contributed to its success as a port and a capital (59). Its proximity to Westminster, the permanent seat of central government, Parliament and the Central law courts, enhanced this position from their settlement there in the middle ages (60). The presence of these institutions brought to Westminster a large number of the nobility, officials, churchmen, and individuals, many of whom were supplied by City merchants or owned property in the City or just outside (61). On the positive side, the citizens of London were able to gain relatively easy access to monarch, Parliament and the law courts. On the negative side, the topography dictated that the King could not afford to ignore the dangers of a discontented, disorderly or even hostile city on his doorstep.

Gronquist, in looking at the relationship between the City and Crown in the reign of Henry VIII, explained the City's pre-eminence in Tudor England largely by the absence of an intervening lordship between the City and the Crown, London being held by its citizens in free burgage tenure from the King. This had both positive and negative effects as far as the City's autonomy was concerned - it entitled the City's rulers to approach the Crown directly and to govern independent of a jealous overlord, but it enabled the King to make heavy demands upon the inhabitants and to retain ultimate control (62).

Whilst this point is perhaps overstressed by Gronquist, it is important in looking at the relationship between the City and the Crown, to recall that it was still basically a feudal one, despite modifications introduced in the middle ages and embodied in the 1327 Charter (63). It continued to embody the concept of good lordship, entitling both parties to have certain expectations of each other (64). Whilst the capital had much to benefit from the Crown in terms of privileges and exemptions, London's support for the latter, both politically and financially, was crucial to the Tudor monarchy, a fact that did not escape John Stow:

[London] only of any place in this realm is able to furnish the sudden necessity with a strong army. It availeth the prince in Tronage [Tonnage], Poundage and other her customs, much more than all the rest of the realm. It yieldeth a greater subsidy than any one part of the realm....It only doth and is able to make the Prince a ready prest or loan of money. It only is found fit and able to entertain strangers honourably, and receive the Prince of the Realm worthily (Stow Survey II 213-14)

It was this role that led to the coining of the phrase "our City and Chamber of London", with which the Crown commonly addressed the capital at this period (65).

Without the loyalty of its capital city, the monarch could not govern the realm effectively. Equally, the memory of the confiscation of its privileges by the Crown (66) was sufficient to keep the City compliant. As Caroline Barron points out, it could not afford to forget that ultimately its rights and privileges stemmed from the King (67). This duality was well illustrated during Edward VI's reign, when the nation's rulers' need for London's support (68) was matched by the King's concern to bring the City to book: "I was wholly determined to call in their liberties as confiscate and to appoint officers that should

look to them " (69). This relationship will be explored further in the body of the thesis.

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CHAPTER TWO : FINANCE

PART ONE : LONDON AS A FINANCIAL CENTRE

1. Introduction

The ceremonial opening of the Royal Exchange by Elizabeth I, in 1571, symbolised the establishment of London as a leading financial centre and the acknowledgement by the Crown of the importance of this role. However, the presence of an exchange in the heart of the City long predates the construction of the building, as does the close financial liaison between City and Crown. Indeed, the Crown's need to harness the financial services of the City is such a significant feature of their relationship in the mid-sixteenth century that a chapter will be devoted to London as a financial centre ; assessing both the development of its financial services and the involvement of Crown and Corporation in their regulation and exploitation. As a preliminary, it is necessary mention briefly the nature of contemporary exchange and financial dealing and to define what is meant by the term 'financial centre' in this context.

The principle and practice of sixteenth century exchange is a subject well covered by others (1). In their examination, a distinction is drawn between 'petty exchange' - the substitution of one kind of currency for another, whether gold for silver or native for foreign coinage - and 'merchants' exchange' or 'exchange by bill'. In England it continued to be illegal to charge for 'petty exchange', although currency could be exchanged on the continent for a fee. Any bullion received was supposed

to be turned over to the mint and all petty exchange transactions in England were obliged to take place through the Crown-appointed official known as the royal exchanger (2). The fear of the drain of precious metals abroad and of profiteering by individuals in exchange transactions remained a preoccupation of central government throughout the Tudor period, Edward VI's government, for example, passing an Act and issuing a proclamation against such practices (3). Far more widespread in the sixteenth century was 'merchants' exchange', or 'exchange by bill', which was used in a variety of financial transactions (4).

In the late middle ages, when the bill of exchange was first developed, its principal use was for 'real exchange', the payment of an agreed sum abroad in foreign currency. However, increasingly bills also came to be employed in other financial transactions, most notably in money lending and debt repayment. By disguising loans as exchange transactions, lenders found it possible to circumvent the usury laws by means of 'dry exchange' or exchange and re-exchange, a device involving two bills, one outward and one inward (5). By this means, the borrower had the use of the original sum during the life of both bills (usually two months, since London and Antwerp bills were usually of one month's duration each); whilst the lender had the chance, although not the certainty, of making a significant profit without contravening the usury laws, which forbade or severely limited the taking of interest. This gain (or loss) was determined by the difference in the exchange rates at Antwerp (or London) between the commencement and the expiry of the first bill. Although profits were not guaranteed, it seems that the majority of lenders in London benefited financially from 'dry

exchange' throughout this period, since exchange rates were generally in their favour (6). Nevertheless, the practice was condemned as usurious by contemporary authors both on account of the potential for gain and because it effectively concealed a loan (7). 'Fictitious exchange', a form of 'dry exchange', was seen as 'more pernicious' still (8), since the bills were not even sent abroad. Made out in fictitious names, they were employed only in the event of litigation.

Various other financial instruments were available to merchants and dealers in the middle ages and early modern period. These included the straight-forward bond (sealed and usually guaranteed by land, goods or personal sureties); the recognisance (a legally recorded bond); and the bill obligatory (which despite its lack of seal and legal record, became increasingly popular in commercial transactions because of its flexible nature and transferability) (9). By these means, and by exchange by bill, international deals could be concluded without the need to transfer bullion, rendered risky both by its illegality and the danger of piracy and robbery, and credit facilities could be offered in defiance of the usury laws. Indeed, commercial credit became 'inseparably tied' to foreign exchange throughout this period (10). Thus any financial centre needed to be able to offer facilities for both.

What other characteristics might be expected of a sixteenth century financial centre? Certainly some kind of bourse or commercial market would be considered essential, where merchants and traders of any nation, or their agents, could meet to transact their business, conclude credit deals and arrange for

foreign exchange. It would also act as the centre for the latest market and shipping information and facilitate certain additional financial services, such as insurance broking and the drawing up, authentication and registration of financial instruments. In the middle ages such facilities had generally been made available only during the international fairs or through the services of the Italian community resident in most large European cities. However, by the mid-sixteenth century the concept of the bourse, with a continuous existence between fairs and accessible to merchants and dealers from all nations, had become well established (11). Moreover, the success of a sixteenth century financial centre was directly dependant on its ability to provide, or to attract from elsewhere, a sufficient number of credit-worthy lenders, sureties and underwriters for its bourse, who could guarantee a solid base of individual and collective wealth. Both native merchants and aliens would be represented and, for it to qualify as a truly international market, there would have to be evidence of widespread dealings abroad, for example the drawing up of bills of exchange on a number of different bourses throughout Europe, and the presence of a significant number of overseas agents and factors permanently based there.

2. Antwerp

On all these counts, there is no disputing Antwerp's role as the leading international financial centre of mid-sixteenth century Europe. To quote G.D. Ramsay, 'in the spring of 1559, the City of Antwerp to all outward seeming lay at its zenith as the commercial capital of Christendom'(12). The rise of Antwerp,

which a century earlier had been a port of little significance despite the importance of the periodic fairs held there, was directly attributable to the liberal attitude of its civic government. Its rulers welcomed the influx of alien traders, allowing them to conduct their business freely, with the minimum of restriction or outside interference, in contrast to the protectionist stance taken by the authorities in most other European towns (13). Attracted initially by the four annual Brabant fairs, outsiders increasingly tended to stay in Antwerp, trading continuously between the fairs, a practice not discouraged by the city's rulers. Moreover, its geographical position, although not ideal, did have the merit of good overland communications with Italy. At a time when sea-routes were subject to an increasing danger of attack, this certainly had attractions for Italian merchants wishing to trade with northern Europe. Moreover, its hinterland was the most densely populated in Europe, including a number of rich towns and cities. The preponderance and affluence of outsiders resident in Antwerp was symbolised by the triumphal arches set up by the stranger communities during civic processions (14). It is significant that the English Merchant Adventurers transferred their base there in the mid-sixteenth century (15).

By the 1520s, Antwerp had emerged as an international money market as well as the centre of a 'far-reaching traffic in commodities' (16). It was to the Antwerp Bourse that the leading European monarchs resorted to raise loans to finance their increasingly expensive wars, posting their agents there on a semi-permanent basis. Stephen Vaughan, William Damsell and Thomas Gresham, for example, were deployed by the English monarchy, from

Henry VIII to Elizabeth I, and both Charles V and Francis I and their successors had agents there (17). However, the most significant presence in Antwerp was that of the great German and Italian banking houses and their representatives, whose resources the monarchs came to tap. The Fuggers, Schetz and other families and individuals were able to furnish loans, with a specified redemption date, by means of an institution 'where money might be raised- at an appropriate rate of interest- by anyone offering the requisite credit or security' (18). The facilities offered by the Antwerp Bourse were unparalleled anywhere in the world at that date. Indeed, many came to Antwerp to study the workings of the Bourse, partly in order to play it effectively and partly to transport ideas to their own countries. The English were in the forefront of both these developments (19).

3. London and the London Bourse

Although undoubtedly subservient to its powerful neighbour, Antwerp, London was arguably developing a more important role as a money market at this period than has sometimes been allowed. De Roover, whilst dismissing London as a mere satellite of Antwerp, points out that the Antwerp exchange rate was guided by sterling and that London acted as the 'head of exchange' with Germany throughout this period (20). He also mentions the inclusion of London in a select contemporary list of places 'where the exchange lieth' (21). Tawney, although emphasising that London in the mid-sixteenth century 'possessed neither the resources nor the organisation of Antwerp and Lyons' and lacked an exchange until 1567, admits the gradual emergence of the City as a financial centre, and its growing role in the European money

market, whose international character he is anxious to stress (22).

In the 1540s and 1550s, the London money market was inextricably linked with Antwerp, to which its important traffic in cloth was almost exclusively directed and where, as a consequence, the vast majority of London bills of exchange were made payable. It seems also that the majority of imports to London were negotiated through Antwerp (23). However, there is evidence that some London merchants had direct dealings with ports in countries other than the Low Countries (24) and that some of their bills of exchange were payable elsewhere than Antwerp (25). Moreover, Sir Thomas Gresham appears to have been working to free London from total dependence on Antwerp during his employment as royal agent (26). His success in this is indicated by the relatively easy adjustment of the London Bourse to its split from Antwerp in Elizabeth's reign (27).

The significance and antiquity of the London exchange was not missed by contemporaries. When campaigning for a site on which to construct a building worthy to house it, the Corporation appealed to the Merchant Taylors' Company, as owners of the most suitable plot, in these terms:

that it did so join upon Lombard Street, whereby the said Bourse might thereby retain and keep the ancient name of Lombard Street, for that the policies that hath been made time out of mind between merchant and merchant in other foreign regions hath had relations, to be of as good effect to all respects as the policies usually made in Lombard Street was of, whereby it doth appear that the Bourse of Lombard Street is of longer antiquity than any other Bourse is known to be of that is within all Europe (12 January 1564 - C M Clode Early History of the Merchant Taylors' Company 1888 I 397)

Even if this claim and a similar one, made in 1575 (28), are dismissed as extravagant, it would be misguided to assume that the London exchange lacked sophistication and organisation before the construction of the building that came to bear its name. As with the development of later City institutions, such as Lloyd's of London and the Stock Exchange, the informal dealings of individuals became focussed in a particular location, regulated by custom and accepted usage, well in advance of the drawing up of formal rules or the incorporation of its governing body. It is important, therefore, to trace the development of the London exchange and to examine the various attempts made to house it before assessing London's role as a financial centre in the 1540s and 1550s.

The location of the London Bourse, in the heart of the Lombard banking community, suggests its medieval and largely Italian origin (29). From an early date the customary meeting place for merchants had been Lombard street, where Italian merchants had resided and offered money lending facilities since the twelfth century (30). Its transformation into a 'new style' bourse - an exchange regularly attended and participated in by merchants of nations other than Italian - appears to date from the early sixteenth century, as with the Antwerp Bourse (31). By the mid-sixteenth century, the term 'Lombard street' had become synonymous with the London exchange (32). By this date, both native and alien merchants were assembling regularly in Lombard street to transact business twice a day (33). The increasing proportion of exchange business undertaken by English merchants has been noted by Tawney (34).

The growing importance of the exchange made incongruous the fact that business negotiations had to take place in the street, exposed to the elements and to vehicular traffic. The inconvenience and discomforts of this situation did not escape contemporaries (35). Indeed, the Court of Aldermen acted in 1527 to prevent the through-flow of traffic during dealing hours in response to a complaint made by one of their fellow Aldermen (36). However, to the Crown it was the unworthiness of this arrangement, rather than its inconvenience, which made essential some reform, to enable it to compete with its European rivals. As early as 1521, Henry VIII appears to have supported a scheme to move the exchange to covered premises at Leadenhall, as the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen record:

At this court Mr York one of the heralds brought in the King's letter concerning Leadenhall to be appointed to merchants there to have their communication as merchants in other countries have as by the said letter more plainly appeareth. Whereupon it is agreed that divers of every fellowship of merchants shall be sent for to know their minds. (19 February [1521] - CLRO Rep 5 181)

It is significant that the decision was to await the advice of representatives of the merchant livery companies. The Court of Aldermen, although entirely composed of members of the Twelve Great Companies, was not prepared to act unilaterally on an issue of such great moment to all its fellow merchants. Unfortunately, nothing more is known about the scheme, nor about its origins. Although it is tempting to ascribe it to Crown initiative, based on Henry's desire to outdo his continental rivals (37), there is no conclusive evidence for this. The fact that Leadenhall belonged to the City Corporation (38) might suggest that the plan for its use as a bourse originated with the City. Yet, if this were the case, one would expect the Court of Aldermen to have

responded more positively to the King's letter.

Nothing more is heard of the enterprise until 1534, when it appears to have been revived, once more with crown support (39). Again, the author of the scheme remains anonymous. It is simply recorded that, on 16 July 1534, a motion was put forward to the Court of Common Council 'for a Bourse and a place meet and convenient for merchants to treat of their feat of merchandises as is accustomed and used in other noble cities in outward parts beyond the sea' and that a committee, comprising four Aldermen and representatives of the Twelve Great Companies, was nominated to investigate and report on the proposal (40). Meanwhile, a separate committee appointed by the Court of Aldermen declared itself in favour of a move to Leadenhall:

The Aldermen and Commoners appointed to certify this court whether the place called Leadenhall is a convenient place or bourse for the assembling of merchants to do their feat of merchandise as they have used afore this time in Lombard street and this the most part of them have certified this court that the same place called Leadenhall is a convenient place for this purpose. (27 August 1534 - Rep 9 72)

However, the committee appointed by Common Council remained undecided and was given until after Christmas to report back. To assist them in their deliberations, eight additional Commoners 'that dwell westward' in the City were added to their number (41). Although these men had still to be selected the following January, it was decided that a vote should be taken in Common Council. Despite the recommendation of the Court of Aldermen's committee and the King's letters of the previous November, the vote proved decisively against the move to Leadenhall (42). The matter was not allowed to end there. The following April, Henry VIII again pressed the City for an answer, presumably hoping that

Common Council would reconsider its earlier views:

By the mouth of Mr Recorder the King's pleasure concerning the new establishing of a Bourse for the assembling of merchants was declared to the Common Council requiring to know their minds whether they will assent to have the Bourse translated out of Lombard Street or no (15 April 1535 - Jo 13 442v)

Opinion was polarised. Two groups, each comprising one Alderman and eight Commoners, were asked to produce in writing their cases for and against the scheme (43).

After these opposing 'books' had been 'openly read' in Common Council two days later, it was decided that they should be delivered to the Lord Mayor and by him forwarded to the King, with the further information:

that it is tried by the most voices in the said Common Council that Lombard Street shall be exercised for the assembly of merchants as it has been heretofore accustomed and not to be translated to Leadenhall and the same to be most expedient for the commonwealth of this city (17 April 1535 - Jo 13 443).

This incident has been treated at some length despite the fact that it lies outside the period under study. It is of some significance, indicating both the existence of an organised exchange in the reign of Henry VIII and the importance of its reputation and tradition to London merchants and to the Crown. Traditionalism surely must have been at the root of the opposition to the move. Unlike later attempts to found a new bourse, in the 1530s there was no problem in the acquisition of the proposed site; the building was already in the possession of the Corporation, although there had been earlier disputes about its farm (44). One can only conclude that it was its distance from the customary meeting place that made the proposed site unacceptable. The fact that advice had to be sought from eight

west Londoners would seem to bear this out, since Leadenhall's location to the east of Lombard street would have had the greatest impact on their business. Also noteworthy is the direct intervention of the Crown in the commercial life of the City, albeit probably more for reasons of prestige than of economics. The completion of the new Bourse building at Antwerp in 1533 (45) must have emphasised to Henry the need to see his merchants, and those from overseas, respectably housed in the heart of his capital city.

The pressing need for a suitable home for the London Bourse remained. Only two years after the final rejection of the Leadenhall scheme, a new proposal was put forward. Its promoter was Richard Gresham, then Lord Mayor of London. Once again it had royal backing. However, it was to prove equally unsuccessful despite attempts to overcome possible objections to the scheme by siting the proposed bourse building in Lombard street. Why did the project fail in opposition to the wishes of Crown, Mayor and Court of Aldermen ?

At first sight, the abortion of the project would seem more attributable to an inability to acquire land on which to erect a Bourse than to an objection to the principle of its construction or a reluctance to contribute towards it, as appears from Gresham's oft quoted letter to Thomas Cromwell in 1538:

The last year, I showed your good lordship a "platte", that was drawn out for them to make a goodly Bourse in "Lombert" street for merchants to repair unto. I do suppose it will cost ii ml li [L2,000] and more which shall be very beautiful [to the city] and also for the honour of our sovereign [lord the king. There is certain houses in the said [street belonging to Sir George Monnocks, and except [we] may purchase them, the said Bourse cannot be made. Wherefore, it may please your good lordship [to]

move the kings highness to have his most gracious letters [directed to the said Sir George willing and also [com]manding him to cause the said houses to be [sold to the mayor and commonalty of the City of London for such prices as he did purchase them for.... and that he fault not but to accomplish his gracious commandment the letter must be sharply made, for he is of no gentle nature and that he shall give further credence to the matter, I will deliver the letter and handle him the best I can. And if I may obtain to have the said houses I doubt not but to gather one ml li [L1,000] toward the building [before] I depart out of mine office there shall be no lack of good will in me
(25 July [1538]- BL Cotton Otho E x 45-45v ; transcribed in Welch Exchange 13-15 and Burgon Gresham I 31-3)

Here is a splendid example of the City Corporation appealing directly to the Court to add weight to its authority, for Gresham was not acting solely on his own behalf but with the backing of the Court of Aldermen. The two letters which the King was subsequently to send to Sir George Monoux, at the request of the City, confirm Henry's continuing support for the project (46).

The intransigence and 'no gentle nature' of Monoux, himself a member of the Court of Aldermen, were undoubtedly a significant factor in the failure of the scheme. He had first been approached on the subject of the proposed land purchase in July 1537. At a meeting of the Court on 3 July, the Pope's Head in Lombard street had been selected as the most suitable site for the proposed exchange and in the absence of its owner, representatives were sent to negotiate with him for its purchase. It is interesting that, by this date, the Court had accepted the need for the construction of a Bourse as an established fact (47). After several meetings with Monoux, and some correspondence, the matter was referred to Emmanuel Lucar, an influential merchant and Deputy of the Merchant Adventurers Company, to resolve on his return from overseas (48). Confident of success, the Court meanwhile investigated 'what men of their benevolence will give

towards the purchasing and building of a bourse' (49). However, it was the continuing failure of negotiations with Monoux which prompted Gresham a year later, in July 1538, to seek royal intervention through Thomas Cromwell. Henry VIII's first letter to Monoux, dated 13 August, requested his conveyance of the property to the Corporation 'freely and frankly or at least with a reasonable agreement undelayedly ... as they may have cause to think that ye want nō good affection towards the said City and also that ye have such good respect to our requisition ' (50).

Despite the King's promptings, the Court of Aldermen's offer of two hundred pounds or an annuity of ten pounds for the Pope's Head, the intervention of Sir Richard Rich, then Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, and a further meeting between Gresham and the landlord in September, no progress had been made by the end of the summer (51). Henry VIII therefore wrote again in November 1538, allowing that Monoux might have been encouraged in his recalcitrance 'through the evil counsel and dehortation of certain persons of forward disposition which little regard our pleasure and your estimation, contrary to our expectations and less to the furtherance of the commonwealth of that City, have disturbed the said good purpose to our no little marvel' and requiring him to conclude the grant without further delay for the benefit of the commonwealth and 'the beautifying of our city and chamber of London' (52). Fear of royal displeasure finally forced Monoux into conformity, a gesture acknowledged by the King (53). However, he did not deliver his 'book of the property' to Gresham until the following February (1539), after Gresham had ceased to be Lord Mayor, and continued to uphold his right to rents. In August, Monoux was still claiming that he had been 'unkindly

handled' by the Corporation and that the 'said matter for the Bourse was but a communication and not a full conclusion', although indentures for the sale had been drawn up the previous month (54). They were presumably never signed or sealed since the Pope's Head remained in private hands until the seventeenth century (55).

Thus it appears that Monoux's unwillingness to sell was in large part responsible for the failure to implement Gresham's plan. However, it was not the sole reason. The apparent reluctance of the merchants to shift from Lombard street was probably also a crucial factor. If they had been willing to consider such a move, there might have been an attempt to find an alternative site in 1538 to overcome the difficulties encountered over the Lombard street site. The fact that there was no such attempt suggests that their conservatism continued to outweigh all other considerations. Certainly, if the evidence of Henry VIII's second letter is to be trusted, Monoux was not alone in his opposition to the scheme (56). The unpopularity of Richard Gresham might also have been a contributory factor (57); his confidence in being able to raise the necessary funds might have been misplaced (58). Thus, although the Crown and a clear majority of the Court of Aldermen were in favour of the foundation of a building worthy to house the new-style Bourse by the 1530s, there was not sufficient support amongst the generality of merchants to implement the scheme. Indeed, it was another three decades before the idea was brought to fruition, by Richard Gresham's son. Why did Thomas Gresham succeed where his father had failed? Had the merchants and London market become more sophisticated in the interim?

One important point, and one apparently missed both by Welch and his commentators (59), is that there was an attempt to found an Exchange in the 1550s: in 1557 a scheme for 'a bourse to be made nigh Lombard street' was proposed to the Court of Aldermen by the Merchant Adventurers. The Court lent its support to the plan, agreeing that they should have 'free liberty to travail with whom they will and to take benevolence of all persons that will willingly bestow anything' for the making of the said Bourse. However, the Aldermen were not prepared to adopt the project as an official civic scheme and offered backing only 'provided that this house shall not in any wise be chargeable towards the making of it '(60). No more is heard of the scheme, which presumably foundered through a lack of 'willing' contributors (61). Nor is there any evidence of the Adventurers seeking, or being offered, royal support for the project. Yet, a mere nine years later, the Corporation succeeded where the Merchant Adventurers had failed, in getting the wealthier citizens to dip into their pockets to finance the purchase of land for the Bourse.

Thomas Gresham's success in the 1560s was far from guaranteed. At first the scheme seemed likely to fail, beset by problems similar to those encountered by his father and the Merchant Adventurers. Thus, although he secured the Corporation's support, the refusal of the Merchant Taylors' Company to part with the site in Lombard street selected by the committee of the Court of Aldermen placed the project in jeopardy (62). Similarly, the request for financial backing from members of the livery companies met with initial resistance (63). Yet the construction of the exchange building, completed in 1567 on a site purchased by subscription,

and its ceremonial royal opening in 1571 bear witness to Gresham's achievement. This success seems to be attributable to three factors: Gresham's offer to pay for the erection of the building; the Corporation's official backing of the project; and its acceptance by the majority of City merchants, despite the need to move from Lombard street (64).

The first two of these are connected. Gresham's 'gentle and friendly offer' to furnish the entire cost of the building was decisive in the Corporation's adoption of the scheme as a civic project, despite the proviso that the site be procured at its own expense (65). The Corporation was, in any event, adept at passing on the charges of civic enterprises to the livery companies, as it did in this instance (66). Despite initial reluctance, the majority of the funds required for the land purchase were raised (67). Responsibility for the selection of a suitable site was also left with the Court of Aldermen, which appointed a committee for the purpose. Although the first suggestion, a plot in Lombard street, fell through, the second site selected, lying between Broad street and Cornhill, was accepted as a reasonable alternative (68). Its proximity to Lombard street and its availability - the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury in particular showed a readiness to sell unusual amongst London landowners - must have weighed heavily with the Court, despite the complication and expense of compensation for the several owners and occupiers of houses on the site (69).

However, without a willingness amongst merchants to sever the Lombard street association with the exchange and their agreement to contribute financially to the scheme, however reluctantly, it

might have suffered the same fate as its predecessors. Its acceptance can only be explained by a change in attitude by the generality of merchants, acknowledging at last the need to provide their bourse with a worthy home. It is apparently not explained by personal support for Gresham, whose lack of popularity in some quarters is demonstrated by the proclamation against the defacers of his crest and coat of arms on the new Exchange building (70). It is likely, although difficult to prove, that an increasing sophistication in the money market between the 1530s and 1560s, combined with a growing realisation of the need to split from Antwerp (71), prompted the London merchants to overcome their traditionalism and reluctance to contribute towards the costs of a new bourse. Certainly, from the world of insurance, it is possible to demonstrate a significant degree of sophistication in the practice of the London Bourse prior to the 1560s, even if the precise stages in its development are hard to trace.

4. Insurance

Both the provision and the regulation of marine insurance were well established in London before the foundation of the Royal Exchange. The insurance policies originally held among the Corsini papers, dating from the 1580s (72), make mention of the practice of 'writing assurance which has used to be made in Lombard street' before the setting up of the Royal Exchange, according to the 'custom and usage of the same street' (73). The wording of the earliest extant insurance policy in England, dating from 1547 and held among the records of the High Court of Admiralty (74), confirms that the practice of Lombard street had

acquired sufficient 'certainty and notoriety' by that date to be considered as 'custom and usage' (75). Indeed, to qualify as 'custom', it must have been acknowledged to have existed continuously from time immemorial (beyond the memory of man) and thus to predate the sixteenth century (76). Even if the claim that the 'ancient custom of merchants in Lombard street' should be 'regarded as the foundation of all assurances made throughout Christendom' is dismissed as extravagant (77), the antiquity of insurance provision there does not appear to have been disputed: nor was it confined to marine insurance. In a suit in the High Court of Admiralty in March 1588 concerning the computation of the term 'month' in a life assurance policy, the custom and usage of Lombard street was again invoked as justification for the court's decision (78). Although this is the earliest reference to a life assurance policy known in Britain, the substance of the case intimates that the practice of assuring lives, for short periods at least, was far from new.

By the mid-sixteenth century, it is certain that marine insurance policies were readily available in Lombard street, negotiated principally by brokers and sometimes by the merchants themselves (79), and drawn up by notaries, the premiums varying according to the risks (80). The insurance market had both a London and an international dimension. Insurance policies were underwritten both by London and by overseas merchants (principally Italians) (81), and were negotiated by London and alien brokers. A statement made by the London brokers in 1575 confirms that, by the 1570s, merchant strangers frequently took out insurance policies in London and that they could have them drawn up in one of a number of languages (Italian, Spanish,

French and Dutch) for the convenience of their 'factors and friends' (82). It also draws attention to the apparently common practice of 'merchant strangers with assurances in England being otherwise employed' to enlist the services of notaries in London to 'receive the same to large sums, which have been honestly and fully repaid... and also some returns of money when the assurance hath not taken place'. Whilst it must be conceded that these methods may not date from as early as the 1540s, their obvious sophistication suggests longevity of practice.

This international dimension might seem unremarkable. One would expect stranger merchants resident in London to insure their voyages to and from the capital. However, there is evidence in the records of the High Court of Admiralty of the negotiation in London of insurance on voyages between two overseas ports by stranger merchants by the 1550s. For example, Lewis de Poez, a Spaniard living in London, in 1555 insured a cargo from Calicut in the East Indies to Lisbon, Portugal in the name of Anthony de Salizar of Antwerp (83). Similarly, Robert Ridolphye, a resident Italian merchant, and his company assured a ship and its freight from Leghorn, Italy, to Cadiz, Spain, in 1562/3 (84). In 1565, Pieter de Moucheron of Antwerp insured two ships and one bark and their contents from Rouen and Haven Grace to the coast of Guinea, Brasil, Saint Domingo, New Spain and 'other places there about' and their return (85). It appears in the case of de Moucheron that he had decided to spread the risk between the London and Antwerp Bourses. Although the recorded examples are few, it shows that the London insurance market did have an attraction to outsiders. Similarly, although insurance was negotiable within Britain outside the capital in the sixteenth century, the

availability and relative security of London policies attracted provincial merchants to Lombard street (86).

Although the existence of marine insurance in London in the sixteenth century is well established (87), there has been some dispute about its sophistication and legal status. Jones claims that it 'existed only precariously and chaotically' and Bindoff that 'its unsystematic character is something to wonder at' (88). Jones adds that since 'customs such as these had no standing at law until some statutory authority was given to such practices the situation could be none other than confused and irrational, the converse of mercantile requirements' (89).

At first glance, Jones's argument would seem to be substantiated by the Privy Council's repeated efforts in the 1570s (90) to persuade the Corporation to formalise the regulation of insurance because of perceived deficiencies :

Forasmuch as great controversies suits doubts questions and demands have been and are depending remaining growing daily amongst merchants touching assurances in the Royal Exchange within the City of London for want of good orders to be therefore prescribed and set down in writing, to bind both the assured and assurers to stand to and obey the same (29 January 1577 - Letter Book Y 126)

This initiative resulted, not in a comprehensive code of rules on the continental model as the Privy Council had hoped (91), but in the establishment of a body of commissioners which met regularly to hear and determine insurance cases. These commissioners, who succeeded the earlier *ad hoc* bodies appointed to settle individual disputes, are the 'the Tudor commissions of marine insurance' which, according to Jones, 'failed because they attempted too much with too little authority' (92).

However, to concur unreservedly with Jones and Bindoff would be to overlook an important point: namely, that the failure to codify the custom of Lombard street did not mean that it did not have consistency or legal status, albeit outside the common law (93). In this, it did not differ from the practice of other countries (94) nor from other commercial and maritime matters covered by the Law Merchant, itself a form of customary law (95). Cases concerning insurance could therefore come before the City courts or the High Court of Admiralty (96).

Because of the loss of the records of the Mayor's and Sheriff's courts for this period, it is impossible to assess the proportion of insurance cases which were heard within the City. However, there is evidence of some civic actions, despite the High Court of Admiralty's claim to be the principal court for hearing insurance cases as part of its maritime jurisdiction (97). Moreover, appeal could be made to the equity jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper (98) or directly to the Privy Council (99). Although knowledge of the outcome of these cases is limited by the sparse survival of relevant records, it is clear that the High Court of Admiralty and Chancery were prepared to uphold the validity and binding nature of insurance policies (100). The customary nature of insurance regulation meant that many cases which did reach the law courts were referred to commissions of civilians 'forasmuch as the matter... consisteth and standeth much upon the order and usages of merchants by whom rather than by course of law it may be sooner ended and determined'. However, the advantages of this method of arbitration, in speed of settlement and cost-reduction - ' the

eschewing of great costs and charges which would rise and grow' - were explicit in the wording of the commission directed by the Lord High Admiral in 1553 (101). The Lord Chancellor also made use of this method, as in the case of *Lobo versus* the Company of Bonaventurers and Company of Fifteen Assurers (102). These *ad hoc* commissions, which were not unlike bankruptcy commissions (103), were to form a model for the regular insurance commissions appointed by the City Corporation from 1577, although the latter drew their authority from the Mayor and Aldermen (104).

Not only did insurance policies (105) have legal status in the sixteenth century - a policy was apparently considered of 'the self strength and virtue as if it were made by a public notary' (106) - they also had a degree of consistency. Their Italian origin gave them a common format and similar wording, although allowing room for considerable variation of content (107). There also seems to have been a system of registration, although largely informal, even before the appointment by Elizabeth I of a registrar of assurances, in 1575.

On 21 February 1575, Richard Candeler, citizen and mercer of London, was granted the office of making and registering all assurance policies made at the Royal Exchange or elsewhere in the City of London upon ships and goods entering and leaving the realm (108). Although the precise nature of the arrangements governing insurance prior to this grant remain obscure, the protest made by the London brokers adversely affected by this grant, make it clear that the Scriveners' Company played a significant role in its regulation and correction - 'But he the said Richard Candeler being of another company and otherwise

brought up is not in like manner to be controlled'(109). The notaries submitted a similar protest to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, as did the merchants affected by the grant (110).

These petitions addressed to the Corporation demonstrate that the existing system for drawing up and registering insurance policies had considerable advantages because of its relative informality : namely speed, flexibility and a confidentiality which enabled merchants to retain their 'trade secrets'. It is worth quoting from the merchants' protest:

(1.) The merchants have at this present good choice both of notaries and brokers which upon a sudden are and have been ready willing and diligent to serve the merchants turn as well in making their policies of assurance as in procuring the subscription of the same and also in making of such intimations renunciations and other writings as are incident thereunto. By which speedy dispatch of their divers losses discommodities and inconveniences which might happen to them are by such means prevented whereof they have had and daily do have good experience...

(3.) they find now great commodity and surety in dealing with notaries and brokers known to be skilful secret careful and diligent in using and doing their offices with expedition...

(4.) another great commodity riseth now to the merchants who pretending some secret and yet lawful voyage may pass their writings privately by such notaries as they know may be trusty and will be secret to them...whereof they shall be deprived if they shall be forced to come to a public office...so that no merchant can have trade secret but by perusing of such books it shall be public...

(5.) the credit and fidelity of the broker is occasion of divers assurances which otherwise would not be made for that divers merchants not having happen present money... are upon the brokers credit foreborne...

(8.) all merchants be now at liberty and divers do use for their case and advantage to pass and make their policies themselves and procure the same to be subscribed without charge either of notary or which liberty they would not willingly lose

(BL Lans 113 29)

The Privy Council's concern for the better ordering of the insurance industry predated the grant of the letters patent.

Although this may have been prompted by requests from potential office holders for patronage as by desire for reform (111), it should be seen as part of a series of measures introduced in the 1570s by the central government for the closer control and regulation of commerce in the City. The government's concern for insurance regulation was to lead to the Act of 1601 - 'An Act concerning matters of assurances among merchants' (112).

It is not surprising that the Corporation objected to the letters patent of 1575 'as a thing contrary to the liberties of this city' (113); nor that its implementation was delayed, despite the concession to the Lord Mayor of London to be amongst those setting the fees (114) ; nor that many merchants refused to go to Candeler to have their policies registered (115). It is harder to understand the Corporation's failure to act to regulate the industry itself, particularly when pressed by the Privy Council on several occasions (116). This can probably be explained by the rulers' reluctance to intervene in a matter in which the merchants were likely to be divided or which would interfere with vested interest or established practice (117). It has been noted that the reason given for the failure to codify the insurance regulations was the need to consider the matter thoroughly 'with advice'. By their reluctance to act, the patent to Candeler was imposed upon them (118).

The measures introduced in the 1570s should not distract attention from the ready availability of marine insurance on the London exchange before that date. In terms of insurance provision alone, claims can surely be put forward for London to be considered an important financial centre in the mid-sixteenth

century. The fact that its regulations were not codified, its legal status has been questioned and its Bourse building not yet constructed should not blind us to the relative sophistication of its long established practice.

5. Brokers, Scriveners and Notaries

Brokers

In London, as in Antwerp, the employment of brokers was commonplace by the sixteenth century. With the growth of the insurance industry and exchange business, brokers took on an increasing important role in the negotiation of financial transactions, although dealings in cloth and other commodities were also to remain a significant feature of their business (119). Stow defined their role:

Now Brokers as are Assistants to the Merchants in buying and selling, and in their contracts ; concerned also in the writing of Insurances and Policies, and such like. And therefore formerly they had their dealings near the Exchange, and were Freemen of the City. And so much depending upon their Truth and Honesty, they were sworn, and bound with Sureties in divers and sundry great Sums of Money for their Honest and True Dealings in their Faculty. About the Year 1574, there were thirty of them in number, and no more. (Styve's edition of Stow A Survey of London 1720 vol. 2 242)

The availability and experience of financial brokers in the City facilitated the workings of the Lombard Street exchange. Indeed, it is likely that there was an increasing degree of specialisation (120). Certainly the brokers who were dealing in insurance in Elizabeth's reign included a number of frequently reoccurring names. Robert Dove, Merchant Taylor, Nicholas Culverwell, Haberdasher, Hector Nonez and Lewis de Paz,

strangers, and various members of the Calthrop family (including Edmund Calthrop, Haberdasher, Anthony Calthrop, Mercer, and Sir Martin and John Calthrop, Drapers) appear repeatedly in the documents as insurance brokers or underwriters (121). Indeed, the broker who negotiated the policy generally acted as chief underwriter. As Jones suggests, 'it must have something of a closed society. Indeed, many merchants feared that the brokers might establish themselves in an impregnable position, possibly introducing some of the fraudulent devices which permeated insurance dealings abroad' (122).

It was such fears which prompted the Corporation to keep a tight rein on the number and activities of brokers, a policy which has been contrasted with the much more liberal attitude of the civic authorities in Antwerp (123). All authorised brokers had to take an oath before the Mayor and Aldermen (124), and the Repertories for this period confirm the Court of Aldermen's active involvement in the regulation of the profession (125). Thomas Bradshawe, broker, was, for example, sent to the pillory for perjury in 1556, whilst Robert Duckett (or Dockett) was imprisoned in 1553 for 'buying and selling with foreigners' in his shop in Bow lane (126).

Ramsay remarks on the persistent efforts of the City authorities to register and limit the number of authorised brokers in the 1550s and 1560s and cites an order of 1554 by the Court of Aldermen, requiring each common broker to practice only on oath to fulfil certain condition, with a surety of L100 (127). However, this reference does not relate to a new court order, but to the enrolment of the recognisance of one particular

broker, John Hylton, Merchant Taylor (128). If this were recorded as a precedent, one would expect this fact to be indicated. It is more likely to represent the implementation of existing policy than the imposition of new rules (129). Indeed, the City's right to admit and regulate brokers long predates the sixteenth century. The first evidence is found in a statute of Edward I's reign :

there shall be no broker [abrocour] in the City, except those who are admitted and sworn before the Warden [Gardeyn] or Mayor [Meyre] and Aldermen (1285 - Statutes of the Realm: vol I Henry I - Edward III 1810 102)

The penalties laid down for breaking the statute were imprisonment and disqualification from the franchise. The declared aim was to prevent the many foreigners and aliens who entered the city from setting up as brokers and thereby 'causing mischief' (130). In the following centuries, a number of further restrictions were imposed, limiting both the number and activities of brokers. Foreigners, strangers and denizens were repeatedly banned from brokerage, although this policy was not followed consistently (131).

In the sixteenth century stranger brokers were still in evidence: they were regularly asked to appear before or to certify their names to the Court of Aldermen (132), generally at the same time as their English counterparts. Gregory Isham used the services of at least two stranger brokers (133) and, in Elizabeth's reign, a stranger, John Combes, was admitted broker at the request of Secretary Cecil (134). Although they were appointed specifically to serve merchant strangers (135), inevitably there was resentment of aliens by native brokers. This led the latter to

seek an Act of Parliament and complain to Star Chamber in the reign of Henry VIII (136), apparently without success.

With regard to the English born brokers, by the sixteenth century the Twelve Great Companies had acquired the right to nominate them from their own ranks (137). Those few native brokers whose company membership can be identified for the mid-sixteenth century do indeed belong to one of the merchant companies, although paucity of evidence limits the significance of these results.

TABLE 2.1 : SWORN NATIVE BROKERS IDENTIFIED 1547-1558

	Broker Ref	Company	Company Ref
Bradshawe, Thomas	Rep 13iii 389v (1556)	Mercer	Boyd <u>Citizens</u> Will St Giles Cripplegate PCC 70 Harrington 1592
Ducket, Robert	Rep 13i 56 (1553)	Grocer	GL Ms 11572A Will 1578 Comissary Reg 16 389v
Gasely, Richard	Rep 11 330 (1547)		
Green, John	Rep 13iii 469 (1557)		
Hylton, John	Rep 13i 174 (1554)	Merchant Taylor	Rep 13i 174
Hylton, Thomas	<u>Isham</u> 164	Merchant Taylor ?	Boyd <u>Citizens</u>
Platt, John	Rep 11 330 (1547) Rep 13iii 469 (1557)	Mercer	Boyd <u>Citizens</u> Will PCC 37 Mellershe 1560
Smith, John	Rep 11 330 (1547)	Merchant Taylor ?	Boyd <u>Citizens</u> (1559)

The Wardens of the Twelve Great Companies appear to have accepted civic control over brokers without resentment. They were

probably reassured by the fact that there was apparently no suggestion of the brokers leaving their companies to form a separate fellowship, except perhaps in the late fifteenth century (138).

Did such restrictions hinder the smooth running of the London market ? It is interesting to note the comments of the Antwerp brokers when protesting against the proposed introduction of a system of nominated sworn insurance brokers at the beginning of Philip II's reign:

No-one can dispute, they say, that the liberties granted to the merchants is the cause of the prosperity of this city
(Quoted Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 236)

However, in London there is no evidence of any serious opposition to this apparently restrictive policy. *Indeed, the protests made* at the time of Richard Candler's patent, in 1575, demonstrate an inbuilt flexibility in the previous system. The merchants did not use the opportunity to complain about a lack of choice of brokers (139). Moreover, it seems that they were able to negotiate their own insurance policies if so they wished, or increasingly to employ the services of scriveners (140). It may be that a lack of evidence disguises an unsatisfactory state of affairs in London, in which excessive restrictions imposed on brokerage seriously hindered financial and commercial deals. However, there is no intimation of this in the records which survive regarding the negotiation of insurance policies (141). Moreover, the credit facilities which brokers were able to offer could have the effect of increasing business (142). Brokers were in a good position to offer credit because of the funds accumulated in the course of their transactions and from their commission (143). It seems that

the names of the Aldermen were also invoked as sureties, sometimes without their permission (144). Nor did the Corporation surrender its role after the 1570s; efforts to keep City brokers firmly under civic control continued into the Stuart period and beyond, assisted by city custom and by parliamentary authority (145).

Scriveners and notariēs

The ready availability of notaries in sixteenth century London, at least one of whom is known to have been resident in Lombard street itself (146), also facilitated the speedy drawing up of insurance policies and other legal documents (147) and their ready authentication. The notary's mark or sign gave legal validity to such instruments (148), and it appears that notaries provided some form of registration for insurance policies and other documents:

As touching the keeping of the Register, it is known that policies of assurance intimations and renunciations have been time out of mind and are at this present kept by notaries of good experience (amongst other their acts and dealings). And besides the Scriveners being mere Scriveners of London brought up in that science are sworn to make their writings duly and justly and to keep due Registers of the same and also have wardens of their company to correct their misdoings (if cause be) (BL Lans 113 9(ii) 30ff)

In their capacity as agents acting as conveyancers and attestors, they held a responsible position in society, one which was to grow in importance and status as they became financial advisors and middlemen (149). Loss of reputation or credibility might lead not just to disciplinary action by the Scriveners' Company, which was responsible for regulating the profession, but also to legal action and to financial ruin (150).

The role of the Scriveners' Company in the regulation of notarial practice is important. Although there were obviously some 'unskilled persons' who 'being of other companies and having no like wardens to correct their misdoings' encroached on the preserve of the notary (151), all the officially appointed notaries public practising in London were members of the Scriveners' Company or its predecessor, the Company of the Writers of the Court Letter, until well into the seventeenth century (152). Indeed, by 1477, the term 'scrivener' had become virtually synonymous with that of 'notary' (153). It seems that the Corporation was willing to leave the supervision of the trade to the company; there is no evidence of conflict over the issue.

The importance of scriveners and notaries in the growth of English deposit banking in the seventeenth century has long been acknowledged (154). It is arguable that the significance of their role in the sixteenth century money market has been underestimated.

6. Money lending

Loan capital was readily available in sixteenth century London, despite the operation of the usury laws, not only from the Italian bankers resident in the City (155) but also from individual English merchants and their companies. Although sixteenth century London could not compete with Antwerp as a banking centre, since the great German banking houses never established themselves there (156), it provided an important venue for loan negotiation. Indeed, there seems to have been no

shortage of individuals ready to lend their spare capital, both short and long term, provided that they were assured of a good return. Distinction should be drawn, however, between those like Thomas Gresham, Gregory Isham and Otwell Wylde, Barber Surgeon, who lent in a 'deliberate and systematic way' and those, like John Isham, who did so occasionally (157).

It has been pointed out that the native money market, although becoming increasingly sophisticated and adopting Italian methods of book-keeping and business vocabulary (158), was 'organised.... to satisfy the credit requirements of private individuals rather than the Crown' (159). This is scarcely surprising. The Antwerp Bourse was exceptional in its role as high financier for the European monarchy, and had itself, arisen from origins similar to those of the London money market (160). The absence of large banking houses in London should not disguise the existence of a significant quantity of loan and project capital, particularly in the hands of rich London cloth merchants. The speculation in former monastic and chantry lands (161) and investment in native industry and mineral extraction, most notably tin mining (162), and in overseas exploration (163), should warn against overhasty dismissal of London's role as a money market. Attempts to harness native capital resources to serve the needs of the Crown will be explored in the following part of the chapter.

7. London as a financial centre

The Corporation's attitude to the development of the City as a financial centre was ambiguous. Whilst wishing to protect its citizens from the malpractice of unscrupulous dealers, by

maintaining and implementing its licensing and regulation of brokers, it showed a reluctance to interfere directly in the regulation of the insurance and money market. However, this *laissez faire* stance was to leave the Court of Aldermen open to central government attack in Elizabeth's reign, with the resultant undermining of its supervisory powers. In comparison with the liberal attitude of the Antwerp civic government, London's rulers have been seen as restrictive: yet, it seems that Elizabeth's government did not consider them restrictive enough. The traditional view should perhaps be challenged. The City Corporation's unwillingness to force the merchants into a Bourse before they were ready to accept the move, and its reluctance to codify the regulations governing the insurance market against the advice of its participants surely demonstrate a sensitivity in the financial arena such as found by others in the social and political spheres (164). This may be explained as much by self-interest - the involvement of the majority of the rulers in trade and commerce should not be overlooked - as by consideration for the common good.

It might seem that we have dwelled over-long in speculation on the importance of London as a financial centre in a thesis which has a much narrower brief. However, without an attempt to assess this, it would be difficult to appreciate the importance of the financial role played by the City in relation to both the Crown and the nation. It is strange, then, that two studies of the relationship between the City and Crown in the reign of Henry VIII make only scant reference to it (165). Similarly, although recent works on Tudor London comment on the City's predominance in overseas trade and the importance of the cloth trade to

London's internal economy (166), there has been a tendency to underplay, if to not ignore (167), the vital financial services provided by the City in a growing and increasingly sophisticated international money market (168). Without an appreciation of this, any study of the relationship between the City and the Crown must surely start from a weak position.

PART TWO : CROWN AND CITY

The intervention of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I in the establishment of the London Bourse has already been noted. This section examines the involvement of the mid-Tudor monarchs in the development of the City as a financial centre and the ways in which they exploited its financial services.

1. Crown intervention

Edward VI's government was particularly concerned about the capital's economy, monitoring the exchange rate and price levels in the City and intervening, by means of orders, proclamations and Acts of Parliament, as it saw necessary. However, ironically, a regime which was perhaps more in need of the financial services of the City than any other at this period, was more notable for its undermining of the London money market than for assisting in its development.

The most far-reaching central government economic measure, or more correctly series of measures, which affected the City at this time was the Great Debasement. The precise effects of this policy on trade and commerce have been long and fiercely

debated (169). In particular, the extent to which debasement and devaluation of the coinage can be held responsible for inflation and for movements in the London-Antwerp exchange rate has been questioned, as has their effect on the bullion supply and the export trade. Both historical argument and quantitative analysis have been employed to assist in answering these questions : yet consensus has not been reached. Whilst all agree that the manipulation of the coinage, by both Henry VIII and his successor, had a significant effect on the mid-Tudor economy, the extent and precise nature of the change remains speculative. This chapter will be confined to political interpretation of the matter, examining the issue from contemporary perceptions.

There is no doubt that the debasement and devaluation measures had a major impact on the citizens of London, both merchants and retailers. Merchant Adventurers and Staplers commented on the loss of confidence in sterling currency overseas and its effect on the exchange rate with Antwerp. Otwell Johnson, for example, in May 1551, noted the impact of 'a vehement bruit that this day our English shillings shall be proclaimed at ixd the piece' (170); whilst Gresham pointed out, in March 1553, that as a result of the expected debasement 'which is daily looked for' , 'the fall of the money will be a great[er] loss to the King's Majesty than the profit of the exchange will be' (171). The following January, he wrote to the Council:

As the rumours that was served abroad of the valuing of the French Crown and silver Spanish rialls as also of calling down of our base coin was the only occasion of the sudden fall of the exchange so now upon news that is come that your honours never meant it the exchange is suddenly start up from xxis viiid to xxiiis iiiid and I trust now like to rise to xxiiis if it please God to send our ships laden with cloth in safety (SP 69/3 15-15v)

Suspicion also led to a refusal to accept certain English coins, both abroad and at the ports (172). Whatever the effects of the altered specie of the coin on the exchange rate (173), there is no doubt that rumours of the debasement were sufficient in themselves to upset the smooth working of the exchange mechanism.

However, the coinage debasement was not the only factor affecting the acceptability of sterling on the Antwerp bourse. Political instability in England, in particular during rebellion, could interrupt transactions there (174), whilst the retaliatory seizure of the English merchants' goods in Flanders in January 1549 had a similar effect:

I am driven to an urgent perplexity, namely thereunto adjoining the general restraint or rather arrest at Antwerp of all our English merchants bodies and goods, which is also chanced this last week, beginning upon occasion of a stay made by certain our English ships in the narrow of xl or l 'hewes' and other ships bound with herring into France, which indeed were shortly released again, but those news go not so soon to the Flemings ears ...and so our men and goods remain still under arrest.....This trouble doth vehemently put men in fear for much greater inconvenience to come and doth altogether stay my provision for your great payments at hand, for that almost no man will give any money out from Flanders until a release be of that is stayed (Otwell Johnson to John Johnson, 30 January 1549 - SP46/6 1)

The response was not unlike the impact of major events on the international money market today. In addition, rumours concerning other deals made on the Bourse were sufficient to prejudice future rates of interest for London-Antwerp deals, on both sides of the channel (175), whilst carefully aimed hospitality and gifts could help to restore favourable terms (176). The Bourse was also affected by the availability of loan capital - there were periodic shortages, as the great banking houses claimed to have loaned out the full extent of their financial resources. As

Gresham explained, in December 1553:

This bourse of Antwerp is so strange that as one day you shall have money plenty and the next day none. The reason is that there be so many good takers and deliverers so that if one will not another will.... I have talked with the Fucker [Fugger] and Jaspar Schetz and I find them bare of money for that the Emperor doth owe them above iiic thousand pounds, so that with them there is no good to be done at the present time (SP 69/2 107v-108)

Gresham apparently 'appreciated the fact that the rate of exchange was governed by the amount and character of the business done' there (177). Moreover deliberate attempts to manipulate the market, to create an artificial tightness or ease, were employed with some success by a number of speculators, most notably Gaspar Ducci (178).

Nevertheless, at a time when the fineness of the coinage was seen as essential to its value (179), its restoration was vital for long-term economic recovery. Mary's advisors realised this, putting forward legislation to this effect immediately on her accession (180). Meanwhile, in Edward's reign, the government's London financial advisors, Yorke, Gresham and Lane, were all involved in attempts to restore the coinage and to increase the bullion supply (181). Gresham, in particular, was preoccupied with the effect of the debasement on the London-Antwerp exchange rate and was determined to prevent the export, whilst increasing the import, of bullion (182). Yorke, meanwhile, devised a scheme to profit from the supply of silver to the mint (183). Both had some degree of success, despite the occasional need for somewhat unorthodox methods (184); Gresham, in particular, boasting about his personal success in playing the money market on behalf of the English crown. However, the effectiveness of Gresham's role has been disputed (185).

On this side of the channel, the repeated attempts to manipulate the currency were bound to have a harmful effect on public confidence, despite governmental warnings against rumour-mongers (186). This situation was exacerbated by the government's mishandling of the coinage manipulation, in particular in issuing advanced warning to JPs and town governors of the imminent debasement, in July 1551. Although local officials were instructed to keep the proclamations sealed (187), the news inevitably leaked out, with predictable results:

Whereas the King very lately by proclamation ordained that the shilling, after the last day of August next, should be current 9d and the groat for 3d, he is now advertised by his Privy Council that his favourable intention in settling so long a day is abused by covetous people raising prices of victual and other things : [it is proclaimed] that the 1s shall be current for 9d, and the groat for 3d from this present day (8 July 1551 CPR 1550-3 131)

Edward's advisers were particularly concerned about the effect of the debasement on price levels in the City. In August 1551, the Privy Council admonished the Mayor of London for his slackness in punishing spreaders of stories concerning the coinage, the ineffectiveness of this order being confirmed by further offences (188). Merchants were also accused of deliberately inflating prices in the capital (189). It is also interesting to note that, although coinage manipulation had been largely abandoned by Mary's reign (190), as late as 1556, the Lord Mayor was instructed to order the wards to arrest and punish city traders refusing to receive testons or other coin for their wares (191).

Loss of confidence in the coinage had a similar effect on the investment market. Individual borrowers accused lenders of profiteering (192), whilst creditors feared the declining value

of their investments, anxious that they should be repaid the full value of their loan (193). It also affected the London exchange:

such is the continual change of things here [London] nowadays and the bruit of proclamations for the new valuation of to take effect by and by and also of gold to be decried is so wonderful diverse, that few men's wits or none can assuredly comprehend or rather compass the well doing of their things (8 July 1551, Otwell Johnson to John Johnson - SP46/6 181)

The disruption to credit and exchange transactions in London was exacerbated by the government's attempts to eradicate private exchange and to revive the old laws against usury. Following on from the problems arising from the currency debasement, the London merchants were incredulous of the government's actions. Otwell Johnson wrote to his brother from London, 12 June 1551:

First concerning gold and the course of the exchange know that this day at our noon street time was published the enclosed proclamation for the stay or rather abolishing of the said exchange, rechange etc whereby most merchants are brought into a wonderful perplexity of their trade, and very few or none can understand the ground of the Council's meaning therein (SP46/6 159)

The proclamation, issued 10 June 1551, which suspended all private exchange and rechange transactions, reflected the government's fear of the drain of bullion abroad and concern that the exchange rate was being adversely affected by the ubiquity of merchants' exchange (194). A clue to its origins lies in the letter written by Sir Thomas Chamberlain to the Council, 7 June 1551:

Whereby it may well appear that the exchange is but merchants practice which how little they regard the commonweal for advancement of their private turn I think the world doth see. A merchant stranger here did ask me whether the exchange should be forbid with England which he said he had [heard] say that your lordships jointly with the calling down of the money took to be the remedy for the dearth of things as well within the realm as also of foreign commodities brought here. (SP68/7 593)

Once again Edward's advisers had miscalculated, and the following

March they were forced to withdraw the measure, acknowledging 'that the mart could not be without exchange', although attributing the blame for the failure to the suspension of links between the Antwerp and Lyons bourses during the war between the Emperor and French king rather than to their own policy (195). It is difficult to imagine how the proclamation could have been enforced in any event: merchants had been dependent private monetary exchange transactions since the middle ages (196). Nevertheless, the government continued to advocate programmes to control the exchange and to restrict the activities of individual merchants, particularly the Italians who 'in all times pass to go to and fro everywhere and for themselves serve all princes at once ...[and] work what they list and lick the fat even from our beards' (197). Its main concern remained to prevent the loss of bullion abroad.

The revival of the old usury laws, which had prevented the loan of capital for private gain, represented a similar attempt to turn back the clock. Although they had been relaxed in the 1540s by Henry VIII, they were reinstated and fortified by Edward VI's government in 1552 (198), and were to remain in force until 1571. It is ironic that a government so heavily dependent on loans should feel moved to pass this legislation, primarily on religious grounds (199). Mary, who chose to retain her brother's usury laws, was in fact forced to undermine them by granting dispensations to her own creditors (200). Although most of the London merchants seem to have found their own ways of circumventing these restrictions (201), there is evidence that they did have some effect on dampening the market (202). Nevertheless, as acknowledged in the preamble of the Elizabethan

Act, the provisions of the 1552 measure were unenforceable:

which said latter Act hath not done so much good as was hoped it should, but rather the said vice of usury and specially by way of sale of wares and shifts in interest, hath much more exceedingly abounded, to the utter undoing of many Gentlemen, Merchants, Occupiers and other, and to the importable hurt of the Commonwealth, as well for that in the said latter Act there is no provision against such corrupt shifts and sales of wares, as also for that there is no difference of pain, forfeiture or punishment upon the greater or lesser exactions and oppressions by reasons of loans upon usury (13 Elizabeth c8 - reproduced in T&P II 160-3)

By the Act of 1571, the Henrician usury laws, which had allowed the taking of interest of up to 10%, were reinstated and the hearing and determination of offences was assigned to the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace and the Mayors, Sheriffs and Bailiffs of cities. By these measures it was hoped that the cases of serious abuse, namely the taking of excessive rates of interest, would be easier to identify and punish (203).

There was no way in which merchants could be prevented from borrowing and lending money for gain, even during the period in which it was forbidden, 1552 to 1571 (204). Even those not wishing to take a specific rate of interest, could profit from money lending by the use of a number of devices, including 'dry' or 'fictitious' exchange (205). There is evidence, in the records of Chancery, of cases concerning the taking of interest (206), although these were in fact brought respectively by a borrower complaining that his attempts to repay a loan at interest were refused and a lender who feared the effect of the new usury laws. Evidence of government prosecutions of offenders, who were subject to the penalties of *praemunire*, would most likely be found in the records of King's bench or the assizes. None have yet been discovered for this period although further research

might reveal the existence of some. Cases might also have been brought in the ecclesiastical courts, since usury was still viewed in some quarters as a sin (207). The paucity of the evidence should not be taken as proof of the effectiveness of the legislation. If anything, it indicates an acknowledgment of the prevalence of the practice rather than its eradication. Without readily available credit, the wheels of trade and commerce could not turn; this was bound to make Edward's pious move an empty gesture.

Taken together, the interventionist measures of Edward's government into the financial workings of the City can only be described as detrimental. The fact that trade and commerce continued largely uninterrupted despite the restrictions placed upon them, is surely a tribute to their resilience. The government's apparent mishandling of the City's financial affairs is rendered more surprising by its need to harness its services in relation to the royal debt.

In contrast, Mary appears not to have intervened directly in this way. Apart from attempting to restore the coinage on her accession to the throne and subsequently (208), a move which was welcomed by the City's merchants (209), and her minister's attempt to reform the customs, which was less well received (210), she seems to have adopted a *laissez faire* policy with regard to the City, relying on Gresham to negotiate favourable exchange rates for her on the continent. It was not until the 1570s, in the reign of her sister, that the monarchy intervened in its financial affairs with renewed vigour. The official opening of the Royal Exchange by Elizabeth I in 1571 was followed

by a series of central government measures to regulate the City, in insurance, exchange and rechange and broking (211).

2. The Royal Debt

Public Credit

Despite the development of the native money market, its resources were not sufficient to meet the heavy demands of the Crown for loan capital in the mid-sixteenth century. For thirty years, from 1544 to 1574, English monarchs resorted to the great banking houses based in Antwerp to satisfy their growing need for cash. Yet the City of London continued to perform several vital financial services for the Crown, representing a source of ready money for short-term borrowing, providing personnel with expertise in financial matters and underwriting royal loans on the continent. Indeed, for the vast majority of this period the City acted a sole guarantor for Crown borrowing on the Antwerp exchange.

This close financial liaison between monarch and City merchants was far from new. Individual Londoners had been called on to lend money to the Crown from at least the twelfth century (212); and the syndicates of English merchants which raised funds for Edward III in the mid-fourteenth century (1343-51) had their headquarters in London and included many prominent Londoners (213). After the activities of these firms were terminated by plague and bankruptcy, the Crown continued to borrow from individuals and, from 1407, from the Merchants of the Staple corporately. However, the perceived unscrupulousness of the central government in

dealing with creditors periodically led to reluctance or refusal to lend (214). Some monarchs were more successful than others at attracting creditors and allaying their fears, Edward IV being particularly assiduous in this respect (215). Although monarchs continued to make extensive use of the credit facilities offered by the Italian community resident in London throughout the middle ages, Edward III and his successors made increasing use of native merchants, who from the fourteenth century became a 'serious alternative source of credit for the Crown' (216). The financial expertise of individual London merchants was also exploited by the Crown from an early date. The legendary Richard Whittington, for example, played a significant part in the securing of public credit (217).

Developments in the sixteenth century were to accentuate London's importance in relation to the royal debt, despite the fact that major loans for a time ceased to be raised in the capital. The most important of these was the enormous increase in the amounts required (218) and, in consequence, the Crown's need to find an underwriter for its increased borrowing on the continent.

In common with his European contemporaries (219), Henry VIII adopted an extravagant foreign policy, which involved him in expensive wars and vastly enhanced bills for mercenaries. This forced him to look for new expedients to raise ready money, particularly during the crisis years of 1544 to 1546. A variety of methods were exploited, including the sale of church lands, currency debasement and forced loans. However, they all had negative effects (220). An increasing tendency to resort to the medieval expedient of public credit was inevitable, particularly

when the concentration of continental bankers on the Antwerp Bourse in the sixteenth century made it easier to raise and spread loans, generally at lower rates of interest than available elsewhere (221). This practice was to be followed, with increasing frequency, by his immediate successors, although some loans continued to be raised from Italian bankers in London or through their agents abroad (222).

In order to secure access to these advantageous terms, Henry VIII had to provide sufficient security to the bankers. The creditworthiness of the English crown was hard to prove; nor was it subject to litigation for debt recovery. Moreover, with the replacement of the 'floating' debts of the middle ages by 'funded' loans, princes could no longer raise loans without the credit of cities, diets or other groups (223). Although it has been pointed out that practical consequences of this shift, from floating to funded debt, must not be exaggerated (224), the need to find corporate or other substantial guarantors on a regular basis represents a significant change. From the 1540s, the City of London corporately began to play a crucial role in royal credit, by underwriting its continental loans on request (225).

This involvement did not occur immediately. The first loan negotiated by Henry VIII's agent, Stephen Vaughan, with the Welsers of Augsburg in May 1544, was underwritten by Italian merchants resident in London (226). The second loan, in August 1545, from the Fuggers of Augsburg, was for the first time underwritten by the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of London, by thirteen separate bonds (227). However, Vaughan wrote, in

February 1545, that only the Fuggers of Augsburg would accept London as underwriter (228). Nevertheless, the Fuggers, Schetz and other overseas financial houses soon came to insist on the City's guarantee for all such advances (229), probably because of the difficulty of finding a reliable alternative (230). The fact that the English monarch consistently used the City as surety, in contrast to his European counterparts, who tended to spread their loans between a variety of guarantors, may well have been an important contributory factor in the high reputation which English royal credit gained abroad (231).

With regard to the mechanics of the operation, it is worth pausing to examine the nature of the City's guarantee to the continental bankers, an example of which is preserved in the State Papers (Foreign) in the form of a re-used draft (232). From this, it appears that the Mayor and Commonalty of London bound themselves to the banking house or individual money lender for the repayment of full sum of the monarch's debt, incorporating an amount for interest, at an agreed place and date. These details replicated the text of the monarch's own bonds to the creditor, issued by the Lord Chancellor under the Great Seal (233). In case of non-payment by the monarch, the citizens of London became individually and jointly liable, both in person and in moveable and immovable goods and possessions held in England and abroad, to the value of the money owed, with interest, costs, losses and other expenses (234). It is therefore no surprise to find either that the Court of Aldermen had to seek the approval of representatives of the Court of Common Council before sealing such bonds with the Common Seal (235) or that the Corporation insisted upon the Crown's counterbond to indemnify the citizens

against the penalties contained in the City's bond (236). This counterbond was held by the Town Clerk for the duration of the loan (237), after which it was returned, cancelled by cuts and defacing of the seal, to the Privy Council for storage in the Treasury of the Exchequer, together with the cancelled royal bond to the creditor (238). In return, the City's bond was annulled and redelivered to the Mayor or Town Clerk and transferred to the custody of the City Chamberlain (239).

That the central government appreciated the value of this service provided by the City is evident from the Privy Council's letters to the Court of Aldermen in April 1548, 'giving thanks to the same for such bonds as the City heretofore had sundry times by their means entered into for the King's debt', whilst requesting them to enter into other bonds for his grace (240). Its importance to Crown finance can be deduced from Appendices 1.1 and 1.2. Edward's government appears to have borrowed over £670,000 (Flemish) in various loans on the continent between 1547 and 1553 (including interest and brokerage charges), all of which were underwritten by the City, whilst Mary's foreign borrowing between 1553 and 1558 amounted to at least £800,000 (Flemish) (241).

The advantages to the City are less clear. It is curious that the City records are silent on the matter until Edward's reign (242), the only hint of the negotiations which must have taken place with the Council before the securing of the loan of August 1545 being the following entry of 28 July 1545:

After the report of Mr Recorder and Sir Ralph Warren knights for and concerning such weighty affairs touching the King's Majesty and this city as they presently this forenoon had moved the

King's most honourable Council of, it was agreed that my Lord Mayor, Mr Recorder, Mr Warren, Mr Forman, Mr Roche, Mr Dormer, Mr J Gresham and Mr Jervys Aldermen shall this afternoon at ii of the clock repair again unto the said Council for the said matters (Rep 11 191v)

It is stranger still that nothing is recorded in the Journal of Common Council since the endorsement of that body would surely have been necessary for the drawing up of the Fuggers' bond. This implies that the City rulers avoided consulting the Commoners in Henry VIII's reign, presumably out of fear that they would be accused of acting *ultra vires* by agreeing to the Crown's request. This supposition would seem to be confirmed by the fact that in July 1547, shortly before the first mention of the royal debt appears in the Repertories, the advice of the Lord Great Master was sought by the Court of Aldermen 'for the making of the commoners privy unto the bond which the King desireth this City to enter into for his grace unto the Fokers [Fuggers] that order shall be taken for the accomplishment thereof accordingly' (243). Certainly the procedure of consulting the commons was a laborious one, as Gresham was subsequently to indicate: 'for every bond sealing in the City there is above iic [200] burgesses besides the Mayor and the Aldermen' (244).

One can only conclude that the City's rulers considered adopting the role of underwriter a relatively undemanding way of gaining the good will of the Crown, without the need to advance the money themselves or to bear its loss, because of the Crown's counterbond. In this they were fortunate that the English monarchy, unlike its continental rivals, did not default on its debts or obligations during this period (245). In contrast, when Edward sought to borrow directly from the City in 1549, the Court of Aldermen expressed some reservation about the loan, demanding

that ' the declaration of the assurance that the City desires for the repayment of such money as the King does now require to borrow from them. Indeed, they insisted certain named Privy Councillors and royal officials bound themselves to the City Chamberlain for 'the repayment of such money as the City at this time shall lend to the King' (246).

The City's role as guarantor of the royal debt on the continent was not exceptional in a European context (247) and may have been rendered largely nominal by the Crown's counterbonds during this period at least (248). However, it placed London in a unique position in England *vis a vis* the Crown, forcing the monarch into the role of suppliant to the Mayor and Commonalty for each bond (249). The importance of these loans to the Crown is witnessed by their frequency and size (250). The Scottish and French wars of Edward's reign and the French wars of Mary's, with their heavy expenses, particularly on mercenaries, accentuated the need for Crown borrowing on the continent (251). This dependence left the Crown vulnerable, not only in relation to the City and to the foreign creditors, but also towards Parliament, to which the monarch had to appeal for subsidies and fifteenths and tenths (252) for the repayment of the royal debt. It also left the English monarchy weak in relation to the outside world, as Elizabeth stressed through Mildmay in 1575, after crown borrowing on the continent had been suspended in 1574:

A debt begun four years at the least before the death of King Henry the Eighth, and not cleared until within these two years, and all that while running upon interest, a course able to eat up not only private men and their patrimonies, but also princes, and their estates ; but such hath been the care of this time, as Her Majesty and the State is clearly freed from that eating corrosive, the truth whereof may be testified by the citizens of London, whose bonds under the common seal of the City of

assurance of payment being usually given and renewed, and which hanged so many years to their great danger, and to the peril of the whole traffic are now all discharged, cancelled and delivered into the chamber of London to their own hands. By means whereof the realm is not only acquitted of this great burthen, and the merchants free, but also Her Majesty[']s credit thereby both at home and abroad greater than any other prince for money, if she have need, and so in reason it ought to be, for that she hath kept promise to all men, wherein other princes have often failed to the hindrance of many (Sir Simonds D'Ewes The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth 1682 245-6. I am grateful to Dr I Archer for this reference)

Financial Expertise

The City's provision of financial expertise for the royal service was also of particular value to the Crown in this period, both formally through the office of royal agent, a position generally filled by a notable City merchant (253), and informally through advice given to the Privy Council by individual merchants or livery companies. This included market information, concerning supply and prices (254), exchange rates and foreign coinage (255) and shipping information (256). In 1552, in attempting to find a solution to the problem of the royal debt, Cecil suggested that a number of London merchants be called before the Council, presumably to offer their skilled financial advice (257). In addition, individual financiers suggested schemes to the Privy Council. The most notable of these was that presented in 1550 by Sir John Yorke, a Londoner who acted as one of the Under Treasurers of the Royal Mint (Southwark and Tower I). He planned to settle Edward's debts from the profits made out of silver bullion on the Mint. This scheme, implemented for one year, went some way towards achieving its objective, but subsequently lapsed. Nor was it the only plan suggested by Yorke (258). Sir William Lane, a London merchant, and Sir Roland Haywood were also involved in supplying financial advice (259), whilst Thomas

Gresham devised a number of schemes to raise money for the Crown, including an abortive plan to introduce a lead monopoly in 1552 (260). Thomas Gresham, and a number of other London merchants including Foxall, Saxey, Judde and Sir John Gresham also played an important role as *ad hoc* financial agents for the Crown (261). However, from Henry VIII's reign, the key role in international finance became the preserve of the official royal agent on the continent.

When Edward VI ascended to the throne, in January 1547, his father's royal agent in Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan, had already retired (262). He was replaced by William Damsell (or Dansell), who had previously served Henry VIII on a casual basis, from 1543 to 1547 (263). The exact date of his appointment as royal agent is not known. Certainly he was employed in this position by January 1548, when he delivered to the Court of Aldermen two cancelled bonds for Henry's debts (264), whilst Exchequer accounts indicate that he had been resident in Antwerp as an agent of the King since at least January 1547 (265). Damsell was promptly admitted to the freedom of the City by redemption, as a mercer, for a fee of L6 13s 4d, which would suggest that, unusually, he was not a Londoner by origin (266). This may explain his apparent lack of expertise in financial negotiations on behalf of the English Crown in Antwerp. In May 1549, the Privy Council wrote sharply to him, criticising him for failing to reply to their letters and for his unskillful proceeding:

the bruit is blown over London of the taking up of bullion for his Majesty, and of such price that it is great marvel: and as may be most credibly and certainly judged, ye have hindered the King's Majesty to a wondrous notable sum - as is supposed above 40,000li; so that except ye have prepared already very much for his highness, we cannot conjecture how to excuse you: but ye have

done his majesty marvelous evil service (17 May 1549 SP 68/3 703
- quoted Burgon Gresham I 63-4)

Damsell defended himself in a long letter to the Council (267), in which he explained that he had been assisted in the matter by one Thomas Gresham and enclosed a copy of his letter to Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Council Secretaries, who was a friend of his. After further complaints from the Privy Council, Damsell remonstrated:

I am right sure I never offended you; and it seemeth to me that you suppose me a very blunt beast, without reason and discretion that in so evident a matter I should not know where I have offended (27 June 1549 - SP68/3 835)

He also pointed out that, unless the Council 'extend their favour to him', Gresham stood to lose three or four hundred pounds in his bullion transactions on behalf of the government, which 'will discourage a great number of other to meddle with the bringing in of bullion' (268).

It seems that the Privy Council was unjust to Damsell; Sir William Paget certainly thought the Councillors' attitude severe (269). He had, after all, on the specific instruction of the Councillors, managed to negotiate, and prolong, a number of significant loans on the continent under difficult circumstances (270) and had concluded deals for plate, military equipment and munitions (271). The Council had surely been unreasonable in expecting him to persuade lenders to accept bell metal, lead or other commodities instead of interest on their loans, or to agree to interest rates below the normal rate (272). Moreover, Damsell was anxious to seek advice before acting, approaching the Lord Protector directly in July 1549 for authorisation to borrow at 13%, since he was unable to procure the L100,000 requested below

that rate (273). Nor was he completely inexperienced when he took up office in 1547 or 1548 - he had previously assisted Vaughan, who in his capacity as royal agent had also been reprimanded for his apparent shortcomings in loan negotiation (274).

Nevertheless, in April 1551, Damsell was 'revoked from his office of agent ', the Lords having 'wrought another way for satisfaction of the King's debt by reason of his slackness'(275). The Council relented and sent a letter to him on 26 April, allowing him to remain in Flanders, in his capacity as Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, until he received further order from them, praising his dealings in plate in September and confirming his position as royal agent (276). He was still active on Council business in November 1551 (277).

The following month he was summoned back to answer charges instigated against him by John Dymock (278). These were concerned with his Governorship of the Merchant Adventurers (279), rather than his supposed incompetence as royal agent (280). He delayed his return until 31 March of the following year, despite a second summons, and, whilst awaiting the outcome of the case, was committed to the custody of Philip Hobby for his intransigence, 'for that he repaired not hither immediately upon his first sending for, but delayed until now' (281). It seems that Hobby had been temporarily fulfilling Damsell's role in Flanders. On 15 March, for example, he had been given commission to repay 381,440 caroline florins to the Fuggers in repayment of the King's debts (282). Dymock lost his case and Damsell was granted a passport in May to travel overseas on the King's business. He resumed his negotiations for gunpowder, munitions and plate, but was not

reinstated as royal agent with responsibility for financial transactions, presumably because of his lack of skill in this area (283). Even when in post, Damsell does not seem to have been in sole charge of loan negotiation : the responsibility was shared with others such as Dymock, Foxall, Saxey and Yorke, all London merchants (284).

In contrast, the credentials of his successor, Thomas Gresham, for financial management were impeccable, and apparent to no-one more than to himself (285). He was to be a key figure in this period. His father was Sir Richard Gresham, who, besides his campaign for a London Bourse, had been active periodically in the service of the state, although never appointed royal agent (286). Thomas had also been consulted for financial advice and employed as a financial agent on an *ad hoc* basis before being called upon to serve as royal agent in Antwerp, in December 1551 or January 1552 (287). In Gresham's words, after he had been summoned before the King and Council:

to know my opinion (as they had many other merchants) what way with least charge his majesty might grow out of debt. And after my device was declared, the King's highness and the Council required me to take the room in hand, without my suit or labour for the same (BL Cotton Otho Ex 43; transcribed Burgon Gresham I 66).

With a brief interruption, at the beginning of Mary's reign, when he was recalled (288), Gresham continued to serve in this role well into Elizabeth's reign. It is difficult, from the hyperbole of Gresham's dispatches, to deduce the true effectiveness of his activities on behalf of the English crown (289). Nor would it be appropriate to enter into a detailed analysis of Gresham's dealings on behalf of the monarchy (290). However, in an age when

the principal object of those servicing the royal debt was to pay it off, his success in this is resounding (291). In the course of these deals, he tried to enhance the credit of the English Crown abroad, boasting soon after Edward's death that he had so raised the King's credit that he could borrow any sum at Antwerp 'wherefore his enemies begin to fear him, for hither his power had not been known' (292), and that in 1555, 'no Prince living can go out of his dominions and obtain such credit as [Mary] has' (293). Ehrenberg, in his analysis of the Antwerp Bourse concluded that 'allowing for some exaggeration it is certain that under Gresham the credit of the English Crown was far better than that of the other princes who borrowed in Antwerp' (294).

However, Gresham, like his predecessors, Vaughan and Damsell, could only act with the authority of the Privy Council (295). Indeed, at the beginning of Mary's reign he was issued with specific instructions (296), although Gresham himself drew up a memorial of his terms for the appointment (297). On more than one occasion the Councillors acted against his advice or withdrew support from Gresham's schemes (298). In August 1552, the Councillors' insistence on the prolongation of various loans on the continent against his advice caused Gresham to threaten resignation to Northumberland as a matter of principle:

In consideration whereof if there be no nother [sic] ways taken forthwith this is most humbly to beseech your grace that I may be discharged of this office of agentship for otherwise I see in the end I shall receive shame and discredit thereby to my utter undoing for every [sic], which is the smallest matter of all, so that the King's Majesty and credit be not spotted thereby and specially in a strange country where at this present his credit is better than the Emperors - which I pray to the living God long to continue - for now the Emperor giveth [16%] and yet no money to be gotten (BL Cotton Galba Bxii 212v)

No doubt he intended to call the Privy Council's bluff, which he

did successfully, only to be dismissed from his post by the incoming Marian government. This decision was no doubt attributable to his close association with the Northumberland regime (299). However, although his appeal to Mary for his reinstatement (300) had no immediate effect, Gresham's acknowledged ability, his extensive and influential contacts (301), the lobbying of Sir John Leigh (302) and the inadequacies of his successor (Christopher Dauntsey) combined to persuade the Crown to reappoint him, in November 1553 (303). Nevertheless, he continued to need the authorisation of the central government for all his transactions on the part of the Crown, as he himself acknowledged (304). It is clear that he had received instructions and advice not only from the Privy Council collectively, but also from William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, as Lord Treasurer, Sir William Petre and Sir William Cecil, as Principal secretaries, and Lord Paget (305).

According to Gresham, the secret of his success on the Antwerp Bourse lay in the prompt fulfilment of obligations, sometimes by resort to his own credit, the discouragement of bullion export from England, and his own travails, not least in the acquisition of bullion from abroad for the Royal Mint (306). He also managed to avoid the receipt of jewels or commodities, such as alum, as part of the loan negotiations, which his predecessors had often been obliged to accept (307). Gresham aimed to negotiate loans at the lowest possible rate of interest, to pay them back at their expiry date and to keep abreast of market intelligence (308). To achieve this, he drew up a number of devices to manipulate the exchange rates on the Antwerp Bourse in favour of sterling, although the extent to which movements in the exchange rate were

attributable to Gresham has been questioned (309), and learned to play the exchange with some success (310). It is noticeable that, under Gresham's aegis, the royal debt was split between an increasing number of bankers, thus releasing the Crown from total dependence on the major lenders, such as the Fuggers, the Schetz and Lazarus Tucher, on whom his predecessors had principally relied (311). This spread of loans also enabled him to fulfil his principal strategem - the use of 'Peter' to pay 'Paul'. By means of short-term borrowing and exchange transactions, both through other continental bankers and the native and Italian merchants in London (312), he was able largely to avoid the prolongation of loans at higher rates of interest, although he was forced to seek extensions on occasion (313).

Gresham was also employed on a variety of other Council business, chiefly foreign intelligence and munition purchase (314), and, as an extension of his financial dealings, was sent to Spain in 1554 to obtain and transport bullion negotiated on the Antwerp Exchange (315). However, he ran into difficulties in this and incurred the ire of the Privy Council for his tardiness in communication, the riskiness of his plan to convey his bullion to Cadiz for shipment in the sole custody of his servant and the shortfall, which Gresham attributed to the Spanish bankers, some of whom 'played bankrupt', and to natural wastage (316). During his absence from Antwerp, John Gresham and Nicholas Holborne took charge of transactions there concerning the royal debt (317).

Gresham may have been primarily a financier and a only secondarily a Londoner, who fulfilled a crucial role in central government finance. However, it is clear that he would not have

gained the necessary experience and expertise without having served an apprenticeship as a London merchant, as he himself acknowledged (318). Moreover, although exempt from civic office because of his governmental duties (319), he continued to identify himself with the City maintaining a house there, and with his livery company, the Mercers, showing, by the bequests in his will, his sense of responsibility to his guild (320). Indeed, he styled himself 'Thōmas Gresham, Mercer' in his dispatches from abroad (321). His offer to furnish the building of the London Bourse and to leave it jointly to the City Corporation and Mercers' company after his death is symptomatic of this civic loyalty (322). However, in common with his father, he was not universally popular in London. His use of alien workmen and his importation of foreign materials for the Royal Exchange caused resentment among the native workforce (323).

One of Gresham's chief aims was to transfer responsibility for the royal debt to London merchants and to decrease England's dependence on overseas credit, as he explained in Elizabeth reign:

I would wish that the Q[ueen]'s Majesty in this time should not use any strangers but her own subjects whereby he and all other princes may see what a prince of power she is... Sir, seeing I am entered so far with you for the credit of the Q[ueen]'s Majesty beyond the seas wherein I have travailed this 20 years and by experience in using our own merchants I found so great honour to the prince as also great profit to the merchants and to the whole Realm whatsoever our merchants say to the contrary for when our owed our own mean merchants 60 or 80 m li [L60,000 or L80,000] then they knew themselves and were daily ready and sure as good cheer as strangers did which Sir I would wish again in this time of extremity to be used for that I know our merchants be able to do it. (Gresham to Sir William Cecil, 14 August 1569 - BL Lans 12 16) (324)

As implied, there was some resistance to this move by the London merchants, who resented Gresham's interference in their trade and

particularly with regard to the exchange rate, which determined their profit.

Reviving and extending the medieval practice of borrowing from the Staplers (325), in 1552 the Crown raised what was in effect a forced loan from the Adventurers and Staplers from their cloth payments in Antwerp, 20s for each cloth, for which they were promised repayment in London at a subsequent date. The details were described by Edward VI in his chronicle:

3 October 1552 Because I had a pay[ment] of L48,000 to be paid in December and had as yet but L14,000 beyond the sea to pay it withall, the merchants did give me a loan of L40,000 to be paid by them the last of december and to be repaid again by me the last of March. The manner of levying this loan was off[] the cloths after the rate of 20s off[] a cloth. For they carried out at this shipping 40,000 broadcloths. This grant was confirmed the 4[th] day of this month by a company assembled of 300 Merchant Adventurers (Edward VI Chronicle 146-7)

On the grounds that he was confident of a rise in the exchange rate at Antwerp which would eat into their profits on exchange into sterling, Gresham apparently persuaded the native merchants to accept a lower rate than normal in London (326); thus the Crown not only had the use of the capital in the short-term, in order to pay off its own debts abroad, it also profited in the longer-term from a fixed (and favourable) exchange rate. It is scarcely surprising that the merchants were reluctant to accept this package, including his uncle who 'not a little stormed at him' for attempting to fix the exchange at such a high rate in Antwerp, since it would have the result of reducing the Merchant Adventurers' purchasing power there (327).

However, it seems that on subsequent occasions the merchants managed to obtain a more realistic rate of exchange (328). This,

combined with his insistence on prompt repayment by the government, may explain Gresham's subsequent success in obtaining further loans from the Merchant Adventurers and Merchants of the Staple in order to service royal borrowing abroad, not only under Edward VI, but also under his successors, Mary and Elizabeth (329), despite continued resistance on behalf of some (330). However, it was not until Elizabeth's reign that central government succeeded in persuading the London merchants, through the agency of the Corporation, to assume longer-term responsibility for the royal debt (331). Gresham's reliance on the Adventurers, together with his own membership of the Society, surely explain his willingness to support them in their battle against the Steelyard and against the new-style redemptioners in their own ranks in the 1550s (332). In addition to loans from the merchant associations, there is evidence that Gresham raised sums on the Lombard street exchange, as well as on the Antwerp Bourse (333).

Other London merchants had their own links with the Crown and Privy Council, offering financial services collectively or individually. Two other freemen of the Mercers' Company, Francis Foxall and Henry Saxey, were prominent in this respect (334). Between October 1548 and June 1549, Foxall was entrusted with £28,846 15s 'for the affairs of His Majesty's exchanges' (335). In February 1549, for example, he was given £1,425 for the settlement of Henry VIII's debts to the Fuggers (336), whilst £27,190 10s was 'paid and defrayed to diverse merchants as well strangers and Englishmen resident within the City of London...by exchange upon several bills to be repaid in Antwerp in Flemish money at several rates' together with an additional £34 10s for

brokerage (337). Foxall had received L4,721 15s of this money from three fellow City merchants - Alderman Hynde, John Machell and Richard Folkes, Clothworkers - for the purchase of 187 bales of 'whitehornes fustians'. These had been delivered to William Damsell by Lazarus Tucher (338). It was common for the Crown to attempt to make a profit out of the sale of cloths and other commodities, often received as part of loan negotiations, by selling them on to London merchants (339). In this case 'rewards' of L41 15s had to be given to the three merchants in consideration of their charges and in recompense for the 125 bales 'not being of the right making' (340). The following September, Foxall and Saxey were ordered to deliver L10,000, part of a further loan received from the Fuggers, to Sir Maurice Dennys 'for the King's affairs'. In October, they delivered L8,000 to Sir Richard Cotton towards the military charges at Boulogne and were ordered to provide payment for one hundred workmen at Portsmouth and for a band of German mercenaries (341).

John Dymock, Draper and Merchant Adventurer (342), also acted on occasion as a crown agent, negotiating money by exchange for the King's use and helping to further Anglo Swedish relations (343). It has been noted that Thomas Gresham and his father were employed in a similar *ad hoc* capacity: his brother and uncle were also used in this way (344). Sir John Gresham, for example, was associated with Sir Ralph Warren, Sir Roland Hill and Sir Andrew Judde in several projects to assist in paying off the royal debt. In particular, they were commissioned for the advantageous sale of alum and fustians received by the Crown as part of deals with the Antwerp bankers (345). Both Judde and Sir John Gresham lost money in the collapse of Yorke's scheme (346). A small number of

prominent merchants were employed to transport news and transact business between the City and the Court or had liaisons of their own with central government (347). This interaction must have fostered the links between the two.

Loans

To the Crown, one of the most attractive features of the City continued to be its ability to raise money directly in the form of loans, subsidies and gifts. It was, after all, a long standing custom to expect the capital to share with the Crown some of the fruits of its success:

The City, by the Benefit of its Trade, hath always been very opulent; and many of its members have arrived to overgrown Estates; which they have made use of very commendably, either for the present Supplies and Assistances of their Princes (which they have often done) or for such other Public Good ... And it hath been from Time to Time the Practice of Kings of England to borrow money for their present necessities of the City; and the Custom of the City accordingly to supply their Kings (Stow Survey ed. Strype 1720 I 281-2)

The wider issue of taxation will be discussed in a subsequent chapter (348). However, it is appropriate here to examine the loans requested by the monarchy, which in themselves represented a form of additional taxation.

Edward VI's Council endeavoured to borrow money from the City Corporation in July 1549 (349). The Corporation appeared reluctant to honour this request. It insisted on good security for the loan, requiring that individual Councillors and officials be bound to the City Chamberlain for repayment of the debt (350). At the end of August, agreement still had not been reached and representatives of the Court of Aldermen were summoned before the

Privy Council to answer their request 'for the borrowing of certain money of this City to the King's use' (351). No more is heard of the matter; presumably the Privy Council received a negative response (352). Mary was more successful with her request in 1556 for a loan of L6,000, which was furnished by the richer inhabitants of the City, namely all those charged at L100 or over in the last subsidy (353). It is unclear whether the 1556 loan was repaid (354):

However, the most spectacular attempt to raise money in the City in this period was in 1558. In March that year, Mary sought to borrow 'out of hand' the considerable sum of L100,000 from the citizens (355). It is likely that her success in 1556 spurred her on towards this extravagant claim. 'By great labour' on the part of the Mayor and Aldermen, this sum was reduced to L20,000, to be raised by the livery companies and lent on the security of mortgaged royal lands (356). Pressure had to be applied on some of the livery companies. In the Mayor's precept to the company wardens, they were commanded to deliver the full amount of their allocation to the City Chamber 'as ye tender her highness' favour and will and eschew her grace's high indignation and displeasure' (357), whilst the threat of *Quo Warranto* proceedings had to be employed, for example, against the Mercers' company to persuade its members to pay up the L3,275 assessed on them (358). The Corporation itself was somewhat concerned about the failure of the Council to give notice of the date for repayment (359). In the event, the loan was prolonged until April 1559 (360). The offer of 12% interest and dispensation from the usury laws (361) was presumably designed to sugar the pill.

This method of enticement was not new. It had been used the previous century by the Lancastrians, since, in the words of G L Harriss, 'weak governments, unable to secure sufficient loans from their subjects on the plea of obligation, must necessarily have resorted to offering interest as an inducement' (362). However, he continues 'if this were so, the inducement failed, for ascertainably the Tudors secured far more from their loans than did the Lancastrians'. Yet Harriss fails to notice that the Tudors attempted the same sort of persuasion, albeit with a limited degree of success (363).

The unpopularity of this forced loan is evident from the records of the Mercers' company (364). There is no reason to believe the Mercers were alone in their reluctance to contribute: there must have been considerable apprehension about possible default. Although the loan was secured on royal lands, which were to be mortgaged to named Aldermen and the Town Clerk, the City Chamberlain was forced to stand the costs of the 'assurance of land' (i.e. the mortgage deed) until such time as the money was repaid in full (365). Moreover, although interest was offered at 12%, this was below the going rate of interest for short-term loans, which, according to Ramsay, was generally 15% or above (366). In Mary's last Parliament, when the subject of loans was raised, one of the London MPs complained that, as a result of such exactions, the City of London 'was worse in substance in those five years by L300,000 than it was at the death of the late King Edward' (367).

The liquidity problems of the Crown forced Elizabeth to repeat and extend her sister's policy of borrowing directly from City

merchants, either through appeals to members of the Society of Merchant Adventurers or through the agency of the Corporation (368). It is interesting that, in 1562, Elizabeth used the list of names of those who had contributed over L100 to Mary to identify suitable contributors for a new loan (369), and that she encountered similar resistance from the Mercers. In 1562, the company again objected and sought legal advice. However, they concluded that 'there is no remedy to be had' and that they must pay the L100 'out of hand' (370).

In the period under examination, the Crown appealed not just to the Corporation for credit : short-term loans were also sought directly from individuals or merchant groups. During Edward's Scottish wars, for example money was borrowed by Gregory Raylton, Treasurer of the North, for the King's use from a number of merchants, many of whom can be identified as Londoners, including John Smith, Henry Elyot, Sir Hugh Willoughby and Anthony Burge (371). London merchants were also called on to advance funds to Sir Richard Cotton, Treasurer of Boulogne. On 11 May 1550, the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations was ordered to pay L3,200 to John Fleete, Jerarde Gore, John Harrys and Justinian Cookes, Merchant Taylors of London, borrowed from them by Cotton for the King's affairs in Boulogne; and on 14 August 1550, L2,200 was allowed to 'certain merchant men of London' for repayment of a similar loan (372). In addition, the instruction to Lord Clynton to obtain L2,700 from the 'merchants of Boulogne' for the furniture of wages, may in fact refer to London merchants trading with Boulogne (373).

The importance of the London contribution to direct taxation will

be explored in another chapter. However, it is clear that, in relation to the royal debt, both in England and abroad, the City merchants corporately and individually played a significant and increasingly visible role.

3. Conclusion

Both Crown and Corporation had an interest in the development and regulation of the City as a financial centre. Henry VIII's support for the building of a London Bourse and Elizabeth's ratification of its opening demonstrate the interest of the Tudors in the City. Similarly, the measures introduced in the 1570s to regulate exchange and rechange and insurance indicate central government concern for the ordering of the financial market. It is ironic that it was a Tudor government which reintroduced strict usury laws, with their dampening effect on the money market. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this was their intended effect. Their reintroduction was the apparently the result of religious motives. Similarly, although the attempt to found a Bourse in Mary's reign by the Merchant Adventurers came to nothing, there is no reason to suppose that the Marian government would not have lent support to the scheme, if approached. There is no evidence that the scheme reached this stage.

Both Edwardian and Marian governments were financially indebted to the City, in the form of direct loans and underwriting of foreign lending. They both sought the advice of its leading financiers. The effects of currency depreciation and the magnification of the royal debt accentuated the Crown's need for

City's financial assistance. Moreover, Gresham's plans made the monarchy increasingly dependent on its merchants for money supplies. This, in turn, was to have an impact on central government policy, particularly in regard to overseas trade. It is to this subject that the next chapter is devoted.

CHAPTER TWO : REFERENCES

- 1 Most notably by R De Roover, Gresham on Foreign Exchange Cambridge, Mass.1949; R H Tawney(ed.) A Discourse upon Usury by Thomas Wilson 1925 (henceforth Tawney Wilson) and Ramsay The City of London
- 2 De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 94-5.

For an example of a commission to a royal exchanger in the City of London, see the grant of the office to Walter Merwe, 26 November 1400 - Calendar of Patent Rolls (henceforth CPR) 1399-1401 341. Since exchange regulations were integrally linked to the bullion requirements of the Royal Mint, the offices of royal exchanger and master of the Mint were commonly held by the same person - H Buckley 'Sir Thomas Gresham and the Foreign Exchanges' Economic Journal 34 1924 592-3
- 3 7 Edward VI c6. For proclamation, 10 June 1551 see Tudor Royal Proclamations ed. P L Hughes and J F Larkin New Haven 1969 (henceforth H&L) I 523-4. The proclamation caused some concern amongst the merchants - see Public Record Office (PRO) SP46/6 159
- 4 The bill of exchange was basically an instruction for the payment of an agreed sum at a specified place, generally by a specific date. There were four parties to the bill: the drawer, responsible for drawing it up; the creditor, who undertook to finance the payment; the payer, to whom the bill was addressed; and the payee; although it was possible for one person to act in more than one capacity - M M Postan 'Private Financial Instruments in Medieval England' Vierteljahrschrift Fur Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 23 Leipzig 1930 62

In the sixteenth century its use was confined to payments made abroad. 'Inland bills', by which payments could be secured within the country of origin, did not become available in England until the seventeenth century - De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 105. See also F T Melton Sir Robert Clayton and the Origins of English Deposit Banking, 1655-85 Cambridge 1986 5.
- 5 For example, in the case of a merchant who wished to borrow a sum of money in sterling in London, he would make an outward bill in favour of the lender's agent in Antwerp, payable there in Flemish currency. When the bill matured (generally after a month), the agent would draw up an inward bill of exchange, by which the original borrower (as payor) had to make payment in London to the original lender (as payee), in one month's time, of a sterling sum equivalent to the Flemish currency due by the outward bill, at the exchange rate current at the expiry of the outward bill.
- 6 De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 161-2 and 'What is Dry Exchange? A Contribution to the Study of English Mercantalism' Journal of Political Economy 52 1944 250-66

However, the requirements for securing a 'favourable' rate varied. The Crown, for example, as borrower sometimes needed a high rate of exchange, and sometimes a low rate of exchange, depending whether it was transferring funds from or to Antwerp, in order to gain maximum benefit out of exchange transactions - R B Outhwaite 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing: The English Crown and the Antwerp Money Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 19 1966 297-8

- 7 For example, Thomas Wilson see Tawney Wilson *passim*
- 8 De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 164-5, quoting Malynes
- 9 Postan 'Private Financial Instruments' 26-75
- 10 De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 110
- 11 R Ehrenburg Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance 1928 55,316-17
- 12 Ramsay The City of London 1
- 13 The liberal attitude of the civic rulers in Antwerp and elsewhere in the Low countries was noted by Guicciardini, a contemporary Italian - G D Ramsay English Overseas Trade in the Centuries of Emergence 1957 17.

It has been pointed out, by Bindoff, that Antwerp was not alone in the Netherlands in its tolerant attitude and that privileges granted were not spontaneous but 'exhorted under threat of withdrawal' by the alien merchants - S Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' New Cambridge Modern History II : The Reformation, 1520-59 ed. G R Elton Cambridge 1990 53

- 14 Ramsay The City of London 15 Compare the pageants provided by the Hanse and other alien merchants in London processions - see cp7 n218-19,227-8 and cp3 n118
- 15 See cp3 n15.
Initially, the English merchants had leased a property in Bullinckstraat opposite the site of the first Bourse. From 1558 they rented the Hof van Liere in the Prinsstraat, near the new Bourse, from the lords of the town, which became known as the 'English house'. The English colony in Antwerp was rivalled in size only by the Germans. Indeed, Ramsay attributes the rise of Antwerp largely to English trade, seeing its growth 'as a result primarily of the fixing of the English cloth mart within its walls' - Ramsay English Overseas Trade 15,18; The City of London 23.
- 16 Ramsay The City of London 4. See also Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 233-80 *et passim*
- 17 Concerning the English agents in Antwerp see below pp 73-85
See also Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 251-2
- 18 Ramsay The City of London 4

- 19 Richard and Thomas Gresham were amongst those who studied the Antwerp Bourse, which itself had been based on the practices of its predecessor in Bruges - Ramsay English Overseas Trade 15. See below pp 77-83

In 1557, 1564 and 1576 Royal Commissions were appointed to examine the workings of the Antwerp and London exchanges - Ramsay Isham xxxiii; Tudor Economic Documents ed. R H Tawney and E Power (henceforth T&P) London 1924 III 346-59

- 20 De Roover Gresham on Exchange 111-12

- 21 I.e. where there was a bill market. The other places mentioned on the list were : Antwerp, Rouen, Paris, Lyons, Frankfurt, Straßbourg, Venice, Seville, Valladolid and Constantinople. Rome, Florence and Bologna were somewhat strangely excluded. However, it may reflect Italy's declining importance in the realm of international finance. De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 108.

The list is contained in an undated memorandum which De Roover attributes to Gresham, but whose authorship has been disputed see J D Gould The Great Debasement : Currency and the Economy in Mid-Tudor England Oxford 1970 161-4. It dates either from Mary's reign or from Elizabeth's.

- 22 Tawney Wilson 63-5, 78. See also above n25

- 23 For further details of the working of the London/Antwerp axis see, for example, H Van Der Wee The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy The Hague 1963 II 123; and Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 47-68

- 24 E.g. Spain and Portugal. See PRO C1/1209/61 for example of a factor being sent to conduct the affairs of a London merchant in Spain and Portugal and SP69/4 134v-5 and SP/5 21-21v for evidence of direct trade between Spain and England. For a description of the role and common use of factors in overseas trade see Willan Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade 1-33

- 25 For example, Venice, Lyons, Rouen and Seville - APC 1547-50 402; Tawney Wilson 68-9; Buckley 'Sir Thomas Gresham' 591

Indeed, Tawney is anxious to stress the international character of the European money market:

It is significant, indeed, that in all these [contemporary] accounts, it is assumed that the money market is a unity throughout Europe, and that the English merchant can borrow as easily in Antwerp, Frankfurt, Lyons or Rouen, as in the City. (Tawney Wilson 78)

- 26 British Library (henceforth BL) Lansdowne (henceforth Lans) 12 16; Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 254. There were also other suggestions for ports to replace Antwerp as the English mart - see p 132

- 27 Ramsay The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands 79-80; R B Outhwaite 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing: the English Crown and the Antwerp Money Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 19 1966 304-5.

There is disagreement as to whether the split with Antwerp was intentional. Ehrenberg assumes that it was deliberate, whilst Ashton states that it was the result of events rather than planning - Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 254; R Ashton The Crown and the Money Market 1603-1640 Oxford 1960 15.

- 28 See the text of the letters patent of 21 February 1575, quoted below, which included the claim that the Royal Exchange was 'hitherto regarded as the foundation of all assurances made throughout Christendom'- CPR 1572-5 510
- 29 Compare other medieval European bourses - Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 316. According to Clode, 'the street had been known in commerce since Edward II's reign, when a house was purchased for the Florentines by one Clerke living there' - C M Clode The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors 1888 I 227.

Clode also quotes from the Venetian Papers series: 'Lombard street, where merchants of divers nations are wont daily to congregate'(17 April 1460) - CSP Ven 1202-1509 88 (cal no. 354)

- 30 J Stow A Survey of London ed. J Strype Westminster 1720 (henceforth Strype's edition of Stow Survey) I 151

31 Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 316

- 32 For example, the reference to the 'Bourse called Lombard Street' in 1563 - PRO HCA 24/37 no. 74 transcribed in R G Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty: II The High Court of Admiralty, 1547-1602 Selden Society 11 1897 53-4

- 33 C Welch Illustrated Account of the Royal Exchange, and the Pictures Therein (henceforth Welch Exchange) 1913 13. Indeed, the trading times became known as 'streets' e.g. SP46/6 149,159

- 34 *What is more remarkable, as an indication of the growth in complexity and resources of English economic organisation, is the increase in the number of English firms who specialised in exchange business. By the late part, at any rate, of the fifteenth century, and doubtless much earlier, the provision of credit for merchants had become a regular trade, in connection with financing both imports and the principal English exports of raw wool and, somewhat later, of cloth. The policy of the wool staplers, it was complained, was not to bring home the proceeds of their sales of wool at Calais, but to advance them to English Merchant Adventurers engaged in an import business between the continent and England, who used the money to buy foreign wares, and subsequently repaid the lenders in London..... [They] saw in the financing of foreign trade a more*

profitable and less risky employment of their capital than in trade itself

(Tawney Wilson 65-6)

- 35 Including Richard Clough's comments to Gresham, 31 December 1561 :

considering what rulers we have in the City of London ; such a company that do study for nothing else but for their own profit. As for insample : considering what a city London is, and that in so many years they have not found the means to make a Bourse ! But must walk in the rain, when it raineth, more like pedlars than merchants ; and in this country [Flanders], and all other, there is no kind of people that have occassion to meet, but they have a place meet for that purpose. Indeed, and if your business were done, and that I might have the leisure to go about it, and that you will be a means to Mr Secretary to have his favour therin, I will not doubt but to make so fair a bourse in London as the great bourse is in Antwerp, without molesting of any man more than he should be well disposed to give.

(BL Lans 5 no.27 transcribed in T&PII 228)

Stow also described merchants' meetings as 'unpleasant and troublesome, by reason of walking and talking in an open narrow street , being there constrained either to endure all the extremeties of weather.. or else to shelter themselves in shops' - quoted by Clode The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors I 227

- 36 In 1527 Sir John Brugge, alderman of Langbourn ward made a formal complaint to the Court about the fact that the company meeting in Lombard Street were 'troubled every day by carts and cars passing through the street'. The Court of Aldermen responded by ordering that a chain should be drawn across the street every morning and afternoon during the hours at which the merchants met to prevent the passage of vehicle; an early example of pedestrianisation ! CLRO Repertory of the Court of Aldermen (henceforth Rep) 7 222v
- 37 Compare the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1521
- 38 It was acquired by the City Corporation in 1411 - H A Harben A Dictionary of London 1918 343-4
- 39 This might suggest that the earlier, isolated reference is misdated and should in fact be attributed to 1534. However, it follows sequentially from other 1521 entries in Rep 5. This makes misdating unlikely.
- 40 Jo 13 217
- 41 27 August 1534 - Jo 13 220
- 42 Jo 13 435 ; King's letters received by the Court of Aldermen 3 November 1534 - Rep 9 80v

43 Jo 13 442v :

Group 1: Mr(William) Bowyer, Alderman(Draper); Richard Reynolds

(M

er); Paul Withypoll (Merchant Taylor);

Nicholas Gybson(Grocer); Thomas Wattes and Andrew Woodcote

Group 2: Mr(Ralph) Warren, Alderman(Mercer); John Preest (?
Sheriff 1536); Robert Pakyngton (Mercer); Martin Bowes
(Goldsmith); Thomas Bowyer and Robert Alford

Of these, only William Bowyer and Richard Reynolds had been
amongst those nominated for the Common Council committee the
previous July - Jo 13 217

44 In 1520 : Rep 5 105v,112v,113v,147v,148v,149v

45 Ramsay The City of London 14

46 These letters were transcribed into the Journals of the
Court of Common Council - Jo 14 124 - by order of the Court
of Aldermen - Rep 10 77v

47 Rep 9 255v

48 Rep 9 257v, 258

49 Rep 9 258

50 Jo 14 124

51 Rep 10 42,46

52 Jo 14 124

53 Henry VIII to Monoux 25 November - Jo 14 124v

54 Rep 10 100,106,107,109,111,113v,116v

55 Mercers' company misc. ms. 2.10

56 Although the 'evil counsel' referred to may in fact have
consisted of legal advisers - see above n52

57 In 1526 Gresham had been threatened with expulsion from
Common Council when he spoke in favour of Henry's exactions
for the French wars - I am indebted to J Imray for this
information - Mercers' company misc. ms. 2.10

58 There is no evidence in the records of the Corporation of
the raising of any money for the bourse at this period,
although investigations were conducted - see above n49

59 For example, Ramsay The City of London; although not missed
by Imray - Mercers' company misc. ms. 2.10

60 23 November 1557 - Rep 13ii 567v

61 In 1561 Clough blamed the failure of attempts to found a
bourse on the selfishness of the merchants who 'do study for
nothing else but for their own profit' - see above n35

- 62 Rep 15 407,410v,412; Clode The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors I 227-8,396-400
- 63 For the initial requests to the companies and the Adventurers and Staplers see Rep 15 454,461,509. In March 1566, further precepts were necessary to secure advances from the companies - Rep 16 31v,32v. Even then the full total of the promised sum was not realised; of 128 Mercers whose names were returned only 83 paid up and of 59 Goldsmiths on the list only 48 actually contributed - Mercers' company misc. ms. 2.10
- 64 It is surprising that the Crown's support for the scheme, symbolised by the royal opening, does not seem to been demonstrated at earlier stage in the project. Presumably the Corporation was sufficiently confident of its own success that it did not feel the need to seek royal intervention, in contrast to 1537
- 65 4 January 1565 - Rep 15 406v
- 66 Rep 15 454,461. The Merchant Adventurers and Staplers were also approached - Rep 15 509; Rep 16 43v
- 67 Subscriptions amounted to L1,685 9s 7d excluding the loans from companies amounting to L490 making a total of L2,175. Total charges for the land purchase and compensation were L3532 - Jo 19 13v-18v. Compare Richard Gresham's claim in 1538 that total costs, presumably including building costs, would amount to only L2,000 - BL Cotton Otho Ex 45-45v
- 68 Welch Exchange 16
- 69 Jo 19 12-20v
- 70 Jo 19 150v
- 71 The vulnerability of the English because of their dependence on the Antwerp money market had become clear by the 1560s. See, for example, Ramsay The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands 79-80; Outhwaite 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing' 304-5
- 72 The originals have been dispersed. Only one original is held by Guildhall Library (GL Ms. 22,281). However, photocopies of all the policies are available at Guildhall Library see J Cox 'The Corsini Letters 1567-1637' Journal of the Society of Archivists 9 1988 81-3
- 73 GL Ms 22,281. This form of words was to be adopted by Lloyd's of London and Pulling noted that it was still in use in 1842 - Pulling A Practical Treatise on the Laws, Customs, Usages and Regulations of the City and Port of London 457. It has continued into the twentieth century - I am indebted to J Wraight of Guildhall Library for this information
- 74 HCA 24/18/131-2, in Italian with contemporary English

- translation; transcribed in Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II 47-8
- 75 For legal definitions of the terms 'certainty', 'notoriety' and 'custom and usage' see Halsbury's Laws of England 4th ed. vol.12 2-32
- 76 Halsbury's Laws of England 4th ed. vol 12 2. Raynes supposes that the memory of man would extend three generations and thus that marine insurance in England must date from the early fifteenth century H E Raynes A History of British Insurance 2nd ed. 1964 25. This may represent too literal a view of 'the memory of man'. It does, however, indicate longevity of practice.
- 77 See above n28. In fact, the earliest form of the modern marine insurance policy has been traced to fourteenth century Italy, although the practice doubtless predated this. In the thirteenth century, a form of loan, repayable on the safe arrival of a named ship, was certainly practised in Palermo - Raynes A History of British Insurance 5-7. It is not clear when the practice was imported into England. However, the tendency of historians to equate this with the date of the first extant insurance policy in Britain (1547) is unwise - see above n74
- 78 BL Lans 170/123; Lans 113/58-58v
- Concerning the availability of life assurance on the Antwerp Bourse see Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 63
- 79 See, for example, the Corsini policies, some of which were drawn up by brokers and some by Corsini himself -GL Mss. 22,281-2
- 80 For example, premiums rose during the wars - SP46/6 129 See also SP46/6 112d,127-8 re negotiations of premium
- 81 See Appendix 3.1 and 3.2. It is noticeable that the proportion of native insurers identified rises from 63% between 1547 and 1558 to 93% from 1559 to 1573, although allowance must be made for distortion because of the limited evidence available
- 82 BL Lans 113 32
- 83 HCA24/29/45 transcribed in Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II 49-50
- 84 HCA24/35/283 - transcribed in Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II 52; HCA24/37/115; HCA24/39/77; C3/15/5
- 85 HCA24/39/20; Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II 54-7
- 86 For example, there is evidence of Bristol and Chester merchants insuring in London -C3/32/4; C3/21/52 - cited by W J Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance: The Judicial Undergrowth' Business History 2 no.2 1960 60-2. See also

T&P I 206.

- 87 See H A L Cockerell and E Green The British Insurance Business, 1547-1970 1976; Raynes A History of British Insurance; Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 53-66
- 88 Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 53; Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 63-4
- 89 Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 55
- 90 E.g. APC 1571-5 321,337,397; APC 1575-7 43,163,177
- 91 Certain experienced merchants, native and stranger, had been nominated to compile a book of 'the ancient orders heretofore used in Lombard street unto which orders all other countries heretofore have submitted'. However, although they 'very painfully travailed therein and have already set down many good orders, which notwithstanding are not yet fully finished for that the same are thoroughly with advice to be considered upon means whereof reformation of such things are not yet provided for' - CLRO Letter Book (henceforth LBk) Y 126
- 92 Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 65
- 93 Halsbury's Laws vol.12 2
- 94 Compare the Antwerp insurance market which operated without written rules until 1563 - Raynes A History of British Insurance 35
- 95 Halsbury's Laws vol. 12 37-8
- 96 Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II xv-xvi
- 97 HCA24/25/33 William Maynard v John Broke, Draper. Cited Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II 47. See also HCA24/27/147,199. The Admiralty Court also seems to have assumed jurisdiction over life assurance see above
- 98 E.g. C3/15/55, C3/200/39
- 99 E.g. APC 1571-5 321,337; SP10/4 90,94-95v (cal. no. 45,47);
- 100 E.g. HCA24/37/115; HCA24/39/77; C78/20/33

Jones quotes these cases. However, he dismisses them as evidence only of the 'partial sanction' from the courts which 'did little to give this branch of law merchant any status comparable with the common law'- Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 65. In drawing this conclusion and in citing the overlapping jurisdictions of the High Court of Admiralty and other courts as a symptom of the primitive nature of this area of law, he fails to take the context into account. The ill-defined boundaries of the High Court of Admiralty's jurisdiction were commonly a matter of dispute during this period; and not just in relation to

insurance - PRO -introduction to HCA list; Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II xii- xiii. Examples of variance between City and Admiralty Court concerning legal jurisdiction include: Rep 13i 99v,227,232v,237v; Rep 19 498vff

- 101 12 August 1553 - HCA14/13. By this appointment, the commissioners were endowed with the Lord Admiral's authority to call and examine witnesses, to determine the matter 'according to the laudable usage and custom in this and like cases heretofore used and observed' and to discipline recalcitrant parties or witnesses.
- 102 C78/20/33 quoted by Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 57-8. In this case the Commissioners were unable to determine the case because of the delaying tactics of the defendants and it was referred back to Chancery
- 103 E.g. APC 1550-2 51-2; C1/1177 45
- 104 LBk Y 126-127
- 105 Raynes is incorrect in thinking that the term 'policy' was not in use in sixteenth century England - Raynes A History of British Insurance 25. See, for example, C3/15/5 which cites 'a certain writing called a policy' drawn up 12 March 1563
- 106 HCA24/35/283
- 107 Cockerell and Green The British Insurance Business 4; Raynes A History of British Insurance 22
- 108 CPR 1572-5 510. Richard Candeler also acted as Thomas Gresham's London agent.
- 109 BL Lans 113 30-33; transcribed in T&P II 246-51. It continues :*and thereby all Notaries, Scriveners, Brokers and other free of the City of London (unless it please Her Highness or Her Majesty's most honorable Council to revoke the said Patent) are utterly barred from using their faculty vocation and calling, which ever hitherto they have used without contradiction.*
- 110 BL Lans 113 34,29

It is ironic that Candeler's patent may have been prompted by the suit of these very merchants, as the preamble suggests:

At the suit of the principal merchants in England as well strangers as the Queen's subjects... for the want of good registration of assurances among merchants of ships and goods going into or out of the realm, merchants have been greatly abused by evil-disposed persons who have assured one thing in sundry places, so that the ancient custom of merchants in Lombard street, and now the Royal Exchange, has fallen out of esteem, though hitherto regarded as the foundation of all assurances made throughout Christendom

(21 February 1575: CPR 1572-5 510)

Indeed, they admitted that many of them had 'subscribed their names upon a certain writing supposing it a thing very needful that a perfect register should be kept of all such assurances...made in the Royal Exchange in London', although they claimed not to have intended to undermine the previous system - BL Lans 113 29

111 Compare Henriques Rodriquez's petition to the Queen in 1576 for a monopoly of insurance brokerage - Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II xvi

112 Statutes of the Realm: Elizabeth I 978-9

The measures introduced by the central government in the 1570s which affected the workings of the City included, in addition to the patent granted to Candeler, patents to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, granting him the office of keeper of the exchange, in March 1575, and a monopoly to appoint brokers in London and elsewhere, in November 1575 - C82/1285 & 1295; CPR 1572-5 487-8; CPR 1575-8 2

These patents, farmed out to two City merchants, Wanton and Calthropp, led to protests from the native, Flemish and Italian merchants in the City - T&P II 169; GL Ms 21,607

113 22 March 1575 - LBk X 375v

114 The text of the patent with the agreed fees for registration were not entered into the Journal of the Common Council until July 1576 - Jo 20ii 295-295v

115 APC 1575-7 177

116 APC 1571-5 321,337,397

117 Compare the abandonment of attempts to found a Bourse in the 1530s - see above pp 31-7

118 The Corsini policies (GL Mss. 22,281-2) prove, from their endorsements, that at least some of the insurance policies drawn up in the 1580s were registered by Candeler. In addition, an instruction from the Corporation to Candeler to ensure that, from January 1577, all policies included a clause relating to arbitration by the Commissioners of Assurances, demonstrates that the text of policies was, at least nominally, under his control (LBk Y 127). The appeal of the Scriveners' Company to the Court of Aldermen against Candeler (16 June 1575 - Rep 18 394) and the complaints by the Corporation to the Crown (e.g. 22 March 1575 -LBk X 375v) had little effect.

119 Ramsay The City of London 39. See list of commodities and commissions in BL Additional manuscript (henceforth Add Ms) 48,019 224

Stow makes a distinction between these 'commercial brokers' and 'retailing brokers', who were small-scale dealers - see Strype' edition of Stow Survey 1720 II 242-3. In the middle

ages, the retailing brokers tended to live on the edges of the City, for example, Houndsditch and Long Lane see Stow Survey (ed. Kingsford) I 129, II 28

- 120 It is interesting to note that the regulations passed in Edward III's reign acknowledged the need for specialisation. They forbade the sworn broker to 'meddle with the brokerage of any business other than that of which he is sworn a broker' - Calendar of Letter Books of the Corporation of the City of London ed. R R Sharpe 1899-1912 (henceforth Cal LBk) D 219. This specialisation was probably initially in individual commodities
- 121 Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 62; Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty II *passim*. Company membership from P Boyd's Index of London Citizens in the Sixteenth Century (henceforth Boyd's 'Citizens')
- 122 Jones 'Elizabethan Marine Insurance' 63
- 123 Ramsay The City of London 10-11,40
- 124 For a description of the process see PRO STAC2/30/8
- 125 E.g. Rep 11 316v,327,330,330v; Rep 13i 55v,56,57,59; Rep 13ii 389v,469,472v
- 126 Rep 13ii 389v; Rep 13i 56
- 127 Ramsay The City of London 39-40
- 128 Rep 13i 174-174v
- 129 The similarity of the terms of the 1554 recognisance to the regulations of 1452 (Cal LBkD 219), for example, is striking
- 130 1285 Act - Statutes of the Realm: Henry I - Edward III 1810 102
- 131 E.g. Cal LBkK 350-2, Cal LBkL 38,40,162,164,220,233.

See also the ordinance for brokers occupying in London, n.d. [16th century] - BL Add Ms 48,019 224 cited Ramsay The City of London 40 and summary of regulations in Henry VIII's reign in Star Chamber case - STAC2/30/8. The Corporation's jurisdiction over brokers was confirmed by Act of Parliament,1697,1700 and 1707, and the freedom requirement for brokers remained in force until 1854 - I am indebted to V Aldous of the CLRO for this information.

Stranger brokers were for example admitted by order of the King - Rep 1 33v,36v,39,42v,43v. See also Rep 4 90v-91; Rep 5 222,224 for lists of brokers for the merchants of Ragusa, Florence, Venice and Portugal, 1521

- 132 E.g. May 1547 Rep 11 327; June 1547 Rep 11 330,330v; June 1553 Rep 13i 57,59; Jan 1557 Rep 13ii 469,472v
- 133 Ramsay Isham xviii, 164

- 134 Rep 14 480v
- 135 E.g. Anthony Bruskett [of Genoa] was admitted as a common broker 'for the merchants of Genoa' Rep 14 430. He, himself was described as 'merchant stranger' of London - C3/200/39. See also C3/21/52 concerning Anthony Brusket; and D Jones 'Ludowick Bryskett and his Family' Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans ed. C J Sisson 1933 243-362 concerning his son, Ludowick.
- 136 STAC2/30/8
- 137 E.g. Rep 14 321v : precepts to the Great Companies to certify which of their company they think meet to be City brokers See also Rep 14 415,420. It seems that this right predates the sixteenth century. In 1310, for example, the Vintners' company elected the brokers for wine - Cal LBk D 219
- 138 Cal LBk L 233
- 139 Cockerell and Green estimate that there were thirty sworn brokers in 1574 - The British Insurance Business 4. The brokers themselves claimed a sufficiency in their number - 'the office of the sworn brokers within this City being many in number' (T&P II 249) - although allowance must be made for vested interest
- 140 BL Lans 113 no.9i 29; Tawney Wilson 97-100
- 141 E.g. C3/15/5 Barne v Ridolphi ; C3/200/39 Watson v De Paz; SP46/6 122d,127,129. Sometimes it did take several days to secure signatures from underwriters (HCA24 *passim*), but this was only to be expected
- 142 BL Lans. 113 9(i) 29 - 'the credit and fidelity of the broker is occasion of divers assurances which otherwise would not be made for that divers merchants not having happen [sic] present money are upon brokers credit foreborne'
- 143 Fees were laid down and periodically revised by the Corporation from the Middle Ages - e.g. Cal LBk I 264; Cal LBkK 352. For list of authorised fees in the sixteenth century [temp. Elizabeth I] see BL Add. Ms. 48,019
- 144 LBk Z 162v
- 145 Efforts continued into Stuart period and beyond, assisted by Parliamentary authority e.g. 21 James I c17. See Tawney Wilson 98
- 146 Humfrey Broke, notary, drew up a document 'within the dwelling house of the same notary set and being in Lombard street' - HCA24/35/308. Broke is mentioned as master of an apprentice in F W Steer Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628 London Records Society 1968 13

- 147 See BL Lans 113 9(i) 29
- 148 For definition of the term 'notary public' see Halsbury's Laws of England 4th ed. vol 34 1980 85 and B G C Brooks 'London Notaries and their History' (unpublished lecture delivered at the Society of Genealogists, 22 March 1967) 2
- 149 Steer Scriveners' Company Common Paper vii; Tawney Wilson 98
- 150 See, for example, the case of *Goddard v Bartholomew* - C1/1227/29. Goddard, a stranger, claimed that he had refused to authenticate a forged document produced by Bartholomew, who subsequently attained his purpose by deceit and prosecuted Goddard for breach of contract in the King's Bench. Since the writing was dated in London a jury of Londoners was summoned which pronounced in favour of the plaintiff. Goddard attributed this to prejudice :

[The] said inquest having nothing before their eyes but partiality and neighbourhood and favour towards the said Bartholomew being a citizen ... your said orator being a stranger, have found the said forged writing to be the deed of your said orator

He therefore sought the aid of the Lord Chancellor to prevent his imprisonment.

- 151 BL Lans 113 9(ii) 30ff quoted T&P II 249
- 152 The Scriveners' Company's predecessor, the Company of the Writers of the Court Letter in London, was in existence by 1357, when it first appears in the Corporation's records (Cal LBk G 88). The successor company was not incorporated until 1617. However, the myth, repeated by Melton (Melton Sir Robert Clayton 24, following J J Stocken 'The Scriveners' Company' Notes and Queries 7th ser. 10 1890 464), that the company declined in the sixteenth century because of the rise of printing, was abolished in 1565 losing its members to the Ironmongers' Company, and was founded as a new company in 1617 should be discredited. Evidence from the Scriveners' Common Paper proves the continuous existence of the company, and the brokers' protest in 1575 bears witness to its vitality in trade regulation. It is true that the company experienced difficulty in filling the senior wardenship in 1550s. However, to equate this with the rise of printing would be unwise, since the principal documents drawn up and authenticated by scriveners - conveyances, bonds, contracts, deeds, policies - continued in manuscript well beyond the sixteenth century - Steer Scriveners' Company Common Paper 52-3 *et passim*. Scriveners also kept writing schools in the City, although threatened by competition both from other freemen and from foreigners- Rep 13ii 508v,521v,527v,530, 535v,541

It is notable how the profession tended to descend in families, a high proportion of new recruits being born of London freemen - Brooks 'London Notaries' 5; Steer Scriveners' Company Common Paper xiv-xvi. Compare

recruitment to other trades -Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds
78

- 153 Brooks 'London Notaries' 2; Steer Scriveners' Company
Common Paper vii
- 154 E.g. Melton Sir Robert Clayton 7-10; Tawney Wilson 99-102
- 155 Italian bankers in London continued to represent an important source of loan capital for private individuals well into Elizabeth's reign, when several new merchant/banking families settled in the capital, for example, the Cofsinis - see Cox 'The Corsini Letters'. Bartholomew Campagni continued to offer financial services to the Crown (e.g. APC 1552-4 351,401-2 and APC 1554-6 36), although most royal borrowing took place in Antwerp at this period. In fact, the Italians played a key role in assisting Crown borrowing on the continent, Campagni, for example, offering to furnish money from his friends in Antwerp - APC 1552-4 401-2 and see below n222. In 1559, complaints were still being made about the success of the Italians in London - e.g. Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury 1883-1976 (henceforth HMC Salisbury Mss) I 163.

For an analysis of the decline of Italian influence in London see G D Ramsay 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony in Sixteenth Century London' Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia De Lacy Mann ed. N B Harte and K G Ponting Manchester 1973 22-49

- 156 Tawney Wilson 64
- 157 For details of Thomas Gresham's lending see, for example, Gresham's daybook, 1546-51, at Mercer's hall ; Ramsay Isham xviii,xxxix,xl
- 158 G D Ramsay The Woollen Industry 1500-1700 1982 56
- 159 Outhwaite 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing' 290. See also Ashton The Crown and the Money Market 1-30
- 160 Bindoff 'the Greatness of Antwerp' 48
- 161 See cp6 n11
- 162 Tawney Wilson 55-6; Ramsay The Woollen Industry 57
- 163 See below p 162
- 164 E.g. Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds *passim* and V Pearl 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London' London Journal 5 3-34
- 165 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City and the Crown, 1509-47' and J Kennedy 'The City of London and the Crown, 1509-47' Manchester MA 1978
- 166 E.g. Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds cp4 : B Dietz 'Overseas

Trade and Metropolitan Growth' London 1500-1700: the Making of the Metropolis ed. A L Beier and R Finlay 1986 115-40

- 167 E.g. Dietz 'Overseas Trade' 121; Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds *passim*
- 168 Gould agrees that 'the degree of sophistication in the institutional structure of mid sixteenth century finance' has not been sufficiently recognised in the past - Gould The Great Debasement 112
- 169 See for example J D Gould The Great Debasement: Currency and the Economy in Mid-Tudor England Oxford 1970; P H Ramsey (ed.) The Price Revolution in Sixteenth Century England 1971, Tudor Economic Problems 1963; C E Challis The Tudor Coinage Manchester 1978, 'Currency and the Economy in Mid-Tudor England' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 25 1972 313-22, 'The Debasement of the Coinage, 1542-51' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 20 1967 457-66; R B Outhwaite Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England 1969; G Unwin Studies in Economic History: the Collected Papers of George Unwin ed. R H Tawney 1966
- 170 SP46/6 103. The shilling (or teston) was, indeed, called down from 12d to 10d that very day - Edward VI Chronicle 62
- 171 SP68/11 193. Gresham, in a memorandum to Elizabeth at her accession, was to attribute the major part of the blame for the fall of the exchange to the debasement - J W Burgon The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham 1839 I 484
- 172 In 1546, Stephen Vaughan informed the Privy Council that the new gold coins were not acceptable to the merchants in Antwerp - see Challis Tudor Coinage 173-4; in April 1549 Lord St John issued a letter to the customs officers ordering them to not to refuse the payment of custom from William Damsell's agents in testons, despite the fact that they were due for devaluation in May, 'wherein you do wrong now to the party because testons be now current' - SP46/2 9
- 173 See Unwin Studies in Economic History 149-67; Gould The Great Debasement 87-112; De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange 128; Challis 'Currency and the Economy' 319-22
- 174 For example, it was difficult to get money on the Exchange in July 1549 because of the news of the rebellions - SP 68/4 1047; and in 1554, on account of Wyatt's rebellion SP69/3 52-4v, 62-3v, 78-8v. Gresham reported, on 6 February 1554, that 'the Queen's Majesty and her city at this instant is clean out of credit and all our nation, so that here is no money to be taken up as long as the state remain so' - SP69/3 63v
- 175 For example, the Council's letter to Damsell, 17 May 1549:

But report is made and the bruit is so blown all over London of the taking up of bullion for His Majesty, and of such price it is great marvel and as may be most credibly and certainly judged ye have hindered the King's Majesty to a

notable sum (SP68/3 703)

Gresham's letter to the Council concerning Dauntsey's bargain, 26 November 1553:

Which bargain is openly known to all merchants upon the bourse... so that by this his proceedings he hath been the very occasion of the raising of the interest.... If this bargain do take place of Tucker's you may not look to have any money upon interest under xiii upon the hundred by the reason this matter is so spread abroad and advices given throughout Christendom (SP69/2 65-65v)

and Gresham's letter to the Council, 20 December 1553 :

I find in divers men's hands money, as by xl ml & l ml gilders for to be let for a xii month but when we should come to the price, they were not ashamed to ask xv p[er] cent and then I offered x or xi p[er] cent then they would burst out and say think ye that we do not know that the Queen's Majesty gave Lazarus Tucher xiii p[er] cent, and is our money not as good as hisas also I know the rich merchants have consulted together and be agreed in the matter that if they keep up now the price with the Queen of England, the price will never fall again (SP69/2 107)

- 176 BL Cotton Galba Bxiii 184,185,188; Burgon Gresham I 83-4; R B Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Finance: Royal Borrowing and the Sales of Crown Lands, 1572-1603' Nottingham PhD 1964 99
- 177 Buckley 'Sir Thomas Gresham and the Foreign Exchanges' 595. The Council also pointed out to Gresham, in June 1558, that if 'you are not greedy of money and so taken that the Queen's Majesty hath not so much need but that she might forbear it' he would be able to drive a better bargain with the Antwerp bankers - SP69/13 3
- 178 Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 245,270-1
- 179 Challis The Tudor Coinage 274
- 180 H&L II 8-9,51-2
- 181 See below n258-60
- 182 See De Roover Gresham on Foreign Exchange
- 183 Concerning Yorke's scheme see below n258
- 184 Gresham was forced to disguise the bullion exported illegally from Flanders in a number of curious ways. In December 1553, he was planning to conceal bullion in bags of pepper, but abandoned the idea in favour of buying 1000 demi-lances, which 'is better than treasure, which may not pass without the Emperor's passport' -SP69/2 82-83v; quoted Burgon Gresham I 140-1
- 185 For example, Unwin attributes the fall and rise in exchange

- rate to the alterations in the mint-par and blames Gresham for deliberately concealing this - 'It is clear that the broad movements indicated by Gresham can be accounted for by simple mechanical causes...And we may be quite sure that Gresham was fully aware of the operation of those causes' - Unwin Studies in Economic History 155. Unwin also accuses Gresham of long term damage to the money market through ignorance 'In tampering with the foreign exchanges, whether by temporary suspension or by violent manipulation, Gresham was unconsciously checking, to a disastrous extent, the sensitive life and growth of a new agency.... the agency of banking and international credit' - Unwin Ibid 167; Buckley describes Gresham's letters as 'a curious mixture of sound practical knowledge and unsound or half-correct theory' - Buckley 'Sir Thomas Gresham' 595
- 186 Challis The Tudor Coinage 173
- 187 SP10/13 60-1; Jordan Threshold 459
- 188 APC 1550-2 352,355,375. For the general proclamation against rumour-mongering about the coinage see H&L I 528-9; Edward VI Chronicle 73.
- 189 E.g. Edward VI Chronicle 129,155; APC 1550-2 272; APC 1552-4 51; Ramsay Isham xxxi - see also cp4. In November 1552 a commission was appointed to examine the effects of the fall of the money after the two proclamations of 1551 - Edward VI Chronicle 155.
- 190 Gould The Great Debasement 43; Challis The Tudor Coinage
- 191 APC 1554-6 358
- 192 For example, William Whalley of Nottinghamshire accused Richard Eden of London of lending him L180 in silver at a high rate of interest, in June 1551, in the knowledge that the coinage would be debased in August, in order to avoid the loss which would have occurred if he had retained it in his own hands - C1/1298/4. Ambrose Saunders suggested to Otwell Johnson, in June 1551, that he should accept one Mr Spencer's offer of 100 angels to be repaid 'at a year's end' after delivery in L100 in money current at that time - SP 46/6 169
- 193 Edward Wylmot wrote to John Johnson, in May 1551, 'I friendly desire you to consider this alteration of money and that I may be paid all the last day of this month or else take it and pay me at Christmas money current then - SP46/6 104
- 194 H&L I 523-4; Edward VI Chronicle 64; Tawney Wilson 145-6
- 195 Edward VI Chronicle 116
- 196 Richard Gresham to Cromwell, 1538, 'merchants can no more be without exchanges and rechanges than the ships in the sea to be without water' BL Cotton Otho Ex 45; quoted Tawney Wilson 72. Cf BL Harl 660 107 - 'the greatest quantity of

- wares transported either outward or inward is bought by money taken up by exchange': quoted Tawney Wilson 67. In 1560, Gresham, strongly opposed a similar proposal, put forward by Hussey, to stop the exchange, claiming that it would not only lead to the drain of bullion abroad, but would also reduce the customs - Buckley 'Sir Thomas Gresham' 600-1
- 197 1559, Proposals to Parliament - HMC Salisbury Mss I 162-4. Attributed to Cecil - Tawney Wilson 64. Cecil, as Lord Burghley, was to become Keeper of the Exchange and Rechange in England in 1575 - CPR 1572-5 487-8. See also CPR 1575-8 2; GL Ms 21607. Certain of the proposals are very similar to Gresham's recommendations to the Queen in the same year - Burgon Gresham I 483-6. Gresham notes that Mr Secretary Cecil was 'most privy unto' his manipulation of the exchange - loc. cit.
- 198 5&6 Edward VI c20 - printed in T&P II 142-3. This Act made the taking of interest on loans a criminal offence. Concerning the operation of the usury laws see W S Holdsworth A History of English Law 8 100-13 and the introduction to Tawney Wilson
- 199 For Edward VI's views on usury see his 'Discourse on Reform' - BL Cotton Nero C x 113-117: printed in Edward VI Chronicle 165
- 200 In 1558, she granted dispensation to the City of London to receive interest at 12% on its loan to the Crown - CPR 1557-8 434; English Historical Documents, 1485-1558 V 1012; Ramsay Isham xlvii, 24-5
- 201 Ramsay Isham xlvi-xlvii; Tawney Wilson 156
- 202 Ramsay The City of London 60. In 1560, Gresham advised Cecil to revert to the Henrician usury laws. If this were done, he anticipated that the Queen would have little difficulty in finding loan capital in England Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' 105
- 203 See T&P II 163-4 for example of the presentment of a money lender before the Middlesex Sessions for offences against 13 Elizabeth I c8. For further examples of local cases brought under the Elizabethan usury law see Holdsworth A History of English Law 8 109 and Tawney Wilson 125
- 204 Technically there was a difference between usurious interest (i.e. providing certain profit) and interest awarded in compensation for potential loss in venturing risk capital - Holdsworth A History of English Law 8 103; E Kerridge Trade and Banking in Early Modern England Manchester 1988 34-5. However, it is difficult to see how this distinction could have been easily made in practice. Certainly Isham's account books show the taking of interest, in apparent contradiction of the usury laws. These show reveal the going rate of interest for short term loans in this period was approximately 15% - Ramsay Isham xxxix-xl

- 205 See above pp 24-5
- 206 C1/1366/43 [c1553-5] & C1/1298/ 4-5 - both quoted by Ramsay Isham xl,xliv
- 207 Tawney Wilson 160. This area would repay further research
- 208 H&L II 8-9, 51-2
- 209 The Spanish Ambassador noted the favourable effect on public opinion of the attempted restoration of the coin by Mary - CSP Sp 1553 214-15
- 210 See below p 159
- 211 See n112. The measures of the 1570s would repay further investigation.
- 212 For example, Gervase of Cornhill lent money to the wife of King Stephen in 1141 -E B Fryde and M M Fryde 'Public Credit with Special Reference to North Western Europe ...' The Cambridge Economic History of Europe III Cambridge 1963 451
- 213 Fryde 'Public Credit' 461-2
- 214 Fryde 'Public Credit' 462-9
- 215 Fryde 'Public Credit' 470; C Ross Edward IV 1974 353-4
- 216 Fryde 'Public Credit' 460
- 217 Melton Sir Robert Clayton 17; Barron 'Richard Whittington: The Man Behind the Myth' 197-248; Burgon Gresham I 54-7
- 218 The loans taken out by European monarchs in the early sixteenth century were proportionally much larger than those of their medieval counterparts - Fryde 'Public Credit' 440
- 219 Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 64-5; Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 25-9
- 220 W C Richardson 'Some Financial Expedients of Henry VIII' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 7 no. 1 1954 33-48; Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 25-33; Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 208-16
- 221 Henry VIII had initially made use of the Italian merchants in London, in particular the Bonvisi and Cavalcanti, but found that he could borrow to better advantage at Antwerp - Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 201
- 222 The Italians based in London, including Bartholomew Compagni, Benedict Spinola and John de Swigo, continued to play an important, if declining, role in royal negotiations for loans on the continent and in proffering short-term loans in England. E.g. E351/10 - L2,000 of the L5,352 borrowed from Compagni was repaid; CPR 1547-8 233; E101/520/14a 116. The role played by the Italians in such deals should be further investigated

- 223 Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 40-1
- 224 Fryde 'Public Credit' 430
- 225 W C Richardson Stephen Vaughan : Financial Agent of Henry VIII Baton Rouge 1953 52-3; Outhwaite 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing' 289
- 226 Richardson Stephen Vaughan 52-3
- 227 SP1/202 11,146; SP1/205 189; SP1/206 201v,246-7,248-9. For copy of City's bond, 26 August 1545, see SP1/206 250-2v. See also Richardson Stephen Vaughan 67
- 228 SP1/214 151
- 229 E351/9; Ramsay The City of London 51. Outhwaite appears to be incorrect in supposing that the initial bonds were underwritten by the Staplers and Adventurers, and only subsequently by the Corporation - Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Finance' 83. Despite Vaughan's initial suggestion that obligations should be procured from the Greshams, Sir Ralph Warren and 'other known men' - Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47 ed. J S Brewer, J Gairdner and R H Brodie 1862-1910 (henceforth L&P Henry VIII) xix ii cal no. 764 - they seem in fact to have been guaranteed by the City corporately from 1545 -see above n227
- 230 For example, in August 1545, Christopher Haller had insisted on a guarantee from three four Italian houses in Antwerp negotiated through the Italians in London. However, the Italians in Antwerp refused to be bound - SP1/205 66v,189v; SP1/206 201; SP1/214 61
- 231 Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 253
- 232 E.g. SP69/2 70-1 (cal.no. 85)
- 233 APC 1552-4 40-1,229. The monarchs bonds to the Fuggers were modelled on those made by the Emperor - SP1/202 146. It seems that Petre continued to arrange for bonds to be drawn up after the receipt of a draft from the agent abroad - SP69/2 38-9v; SP69/6 15-17v,52-4. The Lord Treasurer was also involved in the arrangement for continental loans e.g. SP69/5 80-80v; E101/520/14a
- 234 The possessions of the English merchants abroad were particularly vulnerable to confiscation - see L Stone An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino Oxford 1956 87-8,91, 95
- 235 E.g. Rep 11 337v, 422; Rep 12i 239; Rep 12ii 323; Rep 13i 157 *et passim*. See also SP69/3 1v
- 236 E.g. Rep 11 466; Rep 12i 82,99v,243; Rep 12ii 323; Rep 13i 168v

- 237 Rep 13i 285
- 238 Several cancelled counterbonds have survived in PRO class E34/4
- 239 E.g. APC 1547-50 159-60; Rep 12i 250v,253v; Rep 13i 244,246
- 240 10 April 1548 - Rep 11 422-422v
- 241 Appendix 1.2. For further analysis of Crown finance under Edward VI and Mary - see F C Dietz English Government Finance, 1485-1558 Urbana, Illinois, 1921; Loades The Reign of Mary Tudor 129-56,232-61; J D Alsop 'The Structure of Early Tudor Finance c1508-58' in Revolution Reassessed ed. C Coleman and D Starkey Oxford 1986 135-162
- 242 The first specific mention of the underwriting of the royal debt occurs in the City records in July 1547 - Rep 11 338v
- 243 Rep 11 337v
- 244 SP69/3 1v
- 245 Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 252; Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 66-7
- 246 3 July 1549 - Rep 12i 99v
- 247 Antwerp, for example, often acted as guarantor for public loans - Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 248-9 *et passim*
- 248 In Elizabeth's reign, however, the Pallavicini threatened to prosecute the City in the courts or to seize the goods of citizens on the continent on the basis of similar bonds from the City underwriting their loan to the Dutch - Stone Pallavicino 87-8,91,95-6
- 249 Repts *passim*
- 250 See Appendix 1.1-2
- 251 Indeed, some of the loans were paid directly to the captains of the mercenaries - e.g. APC 1547-50 345,346,355; SP68/3 68; SP69/12 55-6
- 252 Concerning Parliamentary taxation raised during this period see below pp 251-61
- 253 For the origins of the office and its link with the City see Burgon Gresham I 54ff
- 254 For example, the Mercers and Drapers were consulted concerning the high price of silks, 1551-2 - Mercers' acts of court (henceforth MAC) 1527-60 250,256v- and certain London merchants were asked to value whale oil taken by a Frenchman - APC 1552-4 114,120
- 255 For example, letters were sent to Judde, Garret, Martin Bowes, Egerton and Knight, 29 April 1553, to certify

- their opinions concerning the valuation of foreign coins -
APC 1552-4 258
- 256 E.g. BL Lans 170 142
- 257 HMC Salisbury Mss I 99; Jordan Threshold 457
- 258 See, for example, Challis The Tudor Coinage 177-8; Edward VI Chronicle 48-9,54.
- 259 Gould The Great Debasement 42-3 ; Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' 110; W Jay 'Sir Rowland Hayward' Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society VI 1933 515; SP12/105 62-4
- 260 Richardson 'Some Financial Expedients' 47 note 3; F R Salter Sir Thomas Gresham 1925 59-60,176; Unwin Studies in Economic History 153. Gresham was indeed involved in the export and sale of lead on the continent.
- 261 See below pp 77-85
- 262 In 1546. Vaughan was the first royal agent to serve in Antwerp on a regular basis, 1538-1546. After 1546, he continued to serve the Crown, as one of the Under Treasurers of the Royal Mint, to which office he had been appointed in 1544 - Richardson Stephen Vaughan
- 263 E351/9
- 264 Rep 11 387v
- 265 E351/10
- 266 Rep 11 387v. He was subsequently to be excused from the shrievalty, at the request of Philip and Mary, provided that he undertook not to occupy any merchandise in the City thereafter - Rep 13i 190v; Jo 16 301. Burgon suggests that he was bred in Oxford Burgon Gresham I 63. He was certainly an Oxford graduate, as appears from his will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury - PRO PROB 11/64 261-2
- 267 25 May 1549 - SP68/3 727-733
- 268 SP68/3 835 The Council claimed that there was a discrepancy between Damsell's and Gresham's accounts of their bullion transactions, 3 June 1549 - SP68/3 773
- 269 Paget to Smith, 26 June 1549 -SP68/3 831-2; Burgon Gresham I 64
- 270 E.g. APC 1547-50 241,310,426,428; SP68/3 663-5
- 271 E.g. APC 1547-50 139,271,426,481; SP68/3 723,727
- 272 SP68/3 773-4,785
- 273 SP68/4 1047. More usually he sought to know the Protector's pleasure through Sir Thomas Smith e.g. SP68/3 791-2

- 274 Richardson Stephen Vaughan 4,76 *et passim*
- 275 APC 1550-2 252
- 276 APC 1550-2 265,367,370
- 277 APC 1550-2 408
- 278 APC 1550-2 452; APC 1552-4 9 Burgon Gresham I 65
- 279 A position often held in conjunction with that of royal agent - Ramsay The City of London 47
- 280 It concerned the dispute between the Old and New Hanse of the Adventurers - APC 1552-4 279-81; Bod Rawl C394; Ramsay The City of London 47-9 & see below pp 126-131
- 281 APC 1552-4 9
- 282 APC 1550-2 505
- 283 E.g. SP 69/3 52; APC 1550-2 40,115,358,367; Burgon Gresham I 66. Damsell subsequently became Receiver of the Court of Wards and Liveries - CPR 1549-50 311; APC 1550-2 397. He received a knighthood and was living in the parish of St Mary Aldermanbury at the time that he drew up his will, June 1582, which was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 18 August 1582 - PROB 11/64 261-2
- 284 See below pp 83-4
- 285 Gresham expressed an extremely high opinion of himself, described by Ehrenberg as 'a tendency to exaggerated self-praise'- Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 275. Unwin went as far as to accuse Gresham of deliberate fabrication in order to enhance the importance of his own role - 'we cannot acquit him of deliberately seeking to mislead his correspondents. He was probably quite aware that he had not done all that he claimed - Unwin Studies in Economic History 156
- 286 Burgon Gresham I 21-2. For his advice concerning exchange matters see BL Cotton Otho Ex 45
- 287 E.g. APC 1550-2 243-5,310-12
- 288 In 1553 see below and possibly between March 1556 and March 1558, when his correspondence and loan negotiation seem to have ceased - Appendix 1.1; Burgon Gresham I 180-1
- 289 In 1566, he boasted that in the previous fourteen years since appointed he had obtained L1,840,000 (Flemish) for the Crown and repaid nearly all - Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 253
- 290 For details see Burgon Gresham I; Buckley 'Sir Thomas Gresham'; Unwin Studies in Economic History; SP68&69 *passim*

- 291 According to Gresham, in 1552, the Crown debt was L60,000 Flemish. It was paid in full by the end of Edward's reign - BL Cotton Otho E x 43v; quoted by Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 253
- 292 BL Cotton Otho E x 43v; quoted Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 253
- 293 SP69/7 24
- 294 Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 253
- 295 Compare Richardson Stephen Vaughan 49
- 296 The instructions issued to Gresham in 1553 survive in the form of a draft revised by Petre - SP69/2 38-39v; Burgon Gresham I 471
- 297 SP69/2 42ff
- 298 For example, Gresham's scheme to receive L12,000 from the chantry sales to feed into the Antwerp exchange, which was authorised by the Council in September 1552, was stayed two months later because not considered sufficiently profitable - APC 1552-4 123,169; Burgon Gresham I 92-3; Tawney Wilson 84
- 299 Burgon Gresham I 114
- 300 BL Cotton Otho E x 43-4
- 301 He stayed regularly with the Schetz family, was apparently friendly with Pruin and certain other overseas merchants based in Antwerp Gresham I 70. He also entertained the Fuggers and Schetz - Burgon Gresham I 83-4; Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' 99
- 302 Gresham himself attributed his reinstatement to Leigh - Burgon Gresham I 122-5
- 303 Burgon Gresham I 127-32. He was actively engaged by December, when reference is made to his factor, John Elliot, undertaking work on his behalf APC 1552-4 376. The following March commissioners were appointed to audit his previous accounts, as he had requested in November 1553 - CPR 1553-4 176; SP69/2 42. Like many of his contemporaries, he had received a pardon from Mary in October 1553 - CPR 1553-4 440
- 304 In November 1553, Gresham requested a new commission to take money on interest because there was no mention of a sum in his earlier commission - SP69/2 50. This request, like that for the proper audit of his accounts from the previous reign - SP69/2 42 - was no doubt motivated by a desire to protect himself against accusations of fraud or unilateral action
- 305 SP69/4 80-80v; Burgon Gresham I 182-3,485; E101/520/14a 155v. Burgon suggests that he felt he had been mishandled by the Lord Treasurer - Burgon Gresham I 181

- 306 BL Cotton Otho E x 43; Galba B xii 212
- 307 Outhwaite 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing' 292; Richardson 'Some Financial Expedients'. Outhwaite points out that after Gresham ceased to negotiate loans, the practice of receiving commodities was revived - Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' 77
- 308 On 28 April 1553, Gresham wrote : 'for there is never a bourse but I have a note what money is taken up by exchange, as well the stranger as the Englishman' SP68/12 398
- 309 See above n185. See also T&P II 146-9; Ramsay The City of London 51-2
- 310 Gresham claimed to have gained as much L11,421 11s 9d profit for the Crown in 1557 through 'diligent travail' in his exchange transactions - E364/120 67v
- 311 See Appendix 1.1. Tucher, in particular, was known to be an awkward man to deal with, and certainly struck a hard bargain - SP69/2 82
- 312 See, for example, E351/17 & E101/520/14a for exchange and rechange transactions with native and stranger merchants in the 1540s and 1550s. Outhwaite assumes that this device - selling London bills on Antwerp (or *visa versa*) to individual merchants in order to get the use of the money in the interim - was not used by the Crown until the 1560s - Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' 94
- 313 E.g. E364/120 m68 (records details of certain prolonged loans). In March 1556, he prolonged the sum of L70,000 for six months - SP69/8 78-78v - although he had warned the Council, the previous month, that he could not extend any more than L40,000 - SP69/8 53
- 314 E.g. APC 1554-6 4,116
- 315 For details of the setting up of the deal see SP69/3 33v
- 316 Burgon Gresham I 152-6; SP69/4 134-7; SP69/5 21-1v,119-20; SP69/6 15-16,40-40v,52-4; E364/120 m69
- 317 For their declared accounts see E351/19,20,29
- 318 SP68/12 327-8
- 319 In contrast to his father, Richard, who had served his turn as Lord Mayor - Burgon Gresham I 23-4
- 320 Gresham's will, dated 5 July 1575, was proved in the Court of Husting - R R Sharpe Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting 1258-1688 II 1890 698-700
- 321 SP68 & SP69 *passim*
- 322 R R Sharpe London and the Kingdom 1894 I 502

- 323 Welch Exchange 19; Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 498-9. See also above p 40 concerning the defacement of his arms
- 324 Quoted by Ehrenberg Capital and Finance 254. Gresham's advice to Elizabeth was to 'come in as small debt as you can beyond the seas' and to keep your credit, and specially with your own merchants' - Burgon Gresham I 486
- 325 See above n214. Vaughan also used this method of borrowing in Henry VIII's reign - Richardson Stephen Vaughan 74-5, 59 - although he did encounter problems
- 326 Unwin Studies in Economic History 165-6; Burgon Gresham I 257-61
- 327 Gresham to Northumberland, 17 May 1553 - SP10/18/24 - quoted Ramsay The City of London 52. Gresham did, indeed, attempt, in 1552-3, to raise the pound above its quoted rate on the Antwerp Bourse - Burgon Gresham I 98-99. See Ramsay on the effects of this scheme The City of London 51-2. Compare Unwin's comment that Gresham 'secured by strong pressure a series of forced loans from national sources, and that the first of the series was obtained by violence on grossly unfavourable terms' - Unwin Studies in Economic History 166
- 328 Unwin Studies in Economic History 166. However, in October 1555, Gresham boasted that he had made an advantageous bargain for the Queen with the Merchant Adventurers and Staplers because the exchange rate had fallen in Antwerp- SP 69/7 75
- 329 Edward VI's reign - APC 1552-4 169, 199, 207, 217, 221, 240, 267-8. In October 1552, the Privy Council thanked the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp for their good-will to Gresham - APC 1552-4 153. Mary's reign - APC 1552-4 240, 267-8, 275, 278; E364/120. See Appendix 2. For Elizabeth I's reign see Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' and 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing' 290-1; Ramsay Isham lxix; Stow Survey ed. Strype 1720 I 283. Outhwaite points out that in 1558 the Merchant Adventurers were asked to lend money in sterling in London for repayment in Antwerp, the reverse of Gresham's normal device - Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance' 90, 379
- 330 Some continued to refuse or to claim inability to contribute - 'some of the Adventurers cannot, and others will not pay, so there lacks about L3000 which the Deputy and generality decided should be taken up for three months at their own risk by exchange or interest' - SP69/7 126v
- 331 Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Government Finance'
- 332 See cp3 n36

However, Unwin's theory that Gresham was the driving force behind both attacks would seem to be overstating the case - Unwin Studies in Economic History 149, 167. The central role which he attributes to Gresham relies entirely on the evidence of Gresham's own letters on the matter, ignoring

the part played by other members of the Society, including Damsell, Tull and Dymmock, and by the Privy Councillors - see below 126-31

- 333 E364/120 68v. Re exchange and rechange transactions by the Crown in London see E351/17 and E101/520a/14 and n312 above
- 334 Foxall and Saxey were both men of some substance. Foxall, for example, purchased chantry lands in Warwickshire and the City of London jointly with Palladaye for L1,522 - CPR 1548-9 25. Saxey also held chantry property in the City, and was to receive an annuity from the Crown - CPR 1548-9 130; CPR 1549-51 303
- 335 E351/17. See also APC 1547-50 227,228,230,235,236,241
- 336 APC 1547-50 245
- 337 E351/17
- 338 E351/14 & 17
- 339 E.g. E351/11,14
- 340 E351/17
- 341 APC 1547-50 325,345,346,351,355 see also APC 1550-2 57
- 342 See T S Willan The Muscovy Merchants of 1555 Manchester 1953 94 and below cp3. He was assessed in the 1559 London subsidy at L120 - GL Ms 2859
- 343 APC 1547-50 297,304,308; Ramsay The City of London 106; APC 1550-2 104
- 344 E.g. APC 1547-50 10,85,187,275; APC 1550-2 50; E351/10,11,17; Burgon Gresham I 67
- 345 E351/10&11. See also Richardson 'Some Financial Expedients' 45-7
- 346 Edward VI Chronicle 54
- 347 See below pp 375-6
- 348 See cp5
- 349 Rep 12i 99-99v
- 350 Rep 12i 99v
- 351 Rep 12i 135v
- 352 Nothing is recorded in the Journals of Common Council, nor in the Exchequer receipt roll for Michaelmas 1549 - E401/1187. However, as Outhwaite points out, this series is unlikely to include the receipt of loans, for which tallies were not normally issued - 'Studies in Elizabethan Finance' 347-58. Unfortunately the tellers roll (E405) does not

survive for 1549 and the loans book and tellers' views of accounts series do not commence until Elizabeth's reign - E101/2583ff, E405/425-44

353 Rep 13ii 414,421,426v,525v. This was raised as part of a national forced loan - APC 1554-6 321,350 etc

354 Although Schofield follows Dietz in concluding that the loan was not repaid - R Schofield 'Taxation and the Political Limits of the Tudor State' Law and Government under the Tudors ed. C Cross, D M Loades and J Scarisbrick Cambridge 1988 229 - the Repertories record the redelivery by the City of the Queen's counterbond for the loan, in July 1557, in relation to the second payment of the subsidy. Although this might mean that the City had agreed to write off the debt, there is a possibility that part of the L6,000 was offset against the subsidy payment - Rep 13ii 525v :

It was agreed that William Dumer the Comptroller of the Chamber shall deliver into the hands of the officers of the Exchequer the Queen's Majesty's counterbond made to the Chamberlain of this City for the repayment of the vi mli [L6,000] lately lent unto the King and Queen's Majesties and also Sir Robert Rochester's acquittance made to the Mayor and Commonalty and citizens of the said City for the receipt of the said vi mli [L6,000] of them to the King and Queen's Majesties' uses to the intent that he the said Dumer by reason of the delivery over of the said bond and acquittance may go through with his account in the Exchequer for the receipt of the second payment of the subsidy payable at this present

355 Jo 17 60. In some sources (e.g. SP11/12 108) the amount demanded is recorded as 100,000 marks. See also Rep 14 15v; Ramsay Isham lxviii-ix, 24; Wriothesley Chronicle II 140-1; Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 482. The sum was requested 'for none other cause but for the surety of them and the rest of our loving subjects and for their defence from invasion of all foreign enemies', the queen trusting that they 'will employ yourselves to your uttermost to serve us herein'. However, the Journal of Common Council records the raising of a much smaller sum - L18,293 6s 8d - Jo 17 60. cL18,000 was paid into the Exchequer during the Easter term - E405/123 15.

356 Rep 14 15v,17,20,28v,59; Ramsay Isham lxviii-ix,24; Wriothesley II 140-1; Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 482.

Henry VIII had also borrowed money from the livery companies on the security of mortgaged lands - in 1544 he secured L21,263 6s 8d from members of the Great Companies, according to Stow - Strype's edition of Stow Survey 1720 I 281-2

357 Jo 17 60

358 Ramsay Isham lxviii-ix; MAC 1527-60 293, 296; Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 482

359 Rep 14 59

- 360 Ramsay Isham 24. Although not reimbursed in full, a large portion of the loan was repaid by Elizabeth - Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 482 note 4; Rep 14 236v,289
- 361 CPR 1557-8 434; Ramsay Isham lxviii-ix,24
- 362 G L Harriss 'Aids, Loans and Benevolences' Historical Journal 6 no. 1 1963 18
- 363 See also Outhwaite concerning the decline in the credit-worthiness of the Crown under Elizabeth - 'Studies in Elizabethan Finance' 220-1
- 364 MAC 1527-60 292v,293v
- 365 Rep 14 28v
- 366 Ramsay Isham xxxix-xl,lxviii,24. However, Outhwaite concludes that the normal rate of interest in Elizabeth's reign was 10% - Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Finance' 214. It is difficult to believe that Mary would have offered a rate 2% above the normal rate
- 367 J Strype Life of Sir Thomas Smith London 1698 110 - quoted J Loach 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament, 1553-8' DPhil Oxford 1974 194
- 368 Ramsay Isham lxix; Outhwaite 'Studies in Elizabethan Finance' 174-221
- 369 E34/4
- 370 MAC 1560-95 40v,41v; Ramsay Isham lxix
- 371 29 January 1550 and 5 July 1551- APC 1547-50 375; APC 1550-2 313. The others named, Sir Conrad Penick, Captain Ventura, Richard Conisby and Michael Haistry, have not been identified. Note: Willoughby was given an exploration licence by Edward VI - BL Cotton Faustina Cii no. 26 fo. 110
- 372 APC 1550-2 30,103
- 373 9 February 1550 - APC 1547-50 389

CHAPTER THREE : OVERSEAS TRADE

1. Introduction

In the volume and value of its foreign trade, London had overwhelming superiority over all other English ports ; not only was London's foreign trade greater than that of any other port in England, it was also greater than that of all the provincial ports put together (Willan Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade 65)

The importance of overseas trade to London merchants made it a significant factor in the relationship between City and Crown. This chapter aims to explore the politics of overseas trade: its economic effects are mentioned only briefly by way of introduction.

With regard to politics, there were several matters which dominated relations between the City merchants and the central government in the reigns of Edward and Mary, the most notable of which was the issue of Hanseatic privileges. The Society of Merchant Adventurers, whose membership included a majority of leading London merchants, played a prominent role in the altercation with the Hanse. It was also involved in other trade matters. It was at the request of the Society, for example, that the Privy Council endorsed the English merchants' attempt to revive the English mart at Barrow (Bergen-op-Zoom) to prevent total dependence on Antwerp. The Society was also forced to seek the assistance of the Privy Council in settling its own internal affairs, as division emerged among its members. The City merchants had much to gain from central government support in other areas of overseas trade: in the backing of exploratory expeditions to seek and establish new markets; in the negotiation of trade agreements, for example with the Emperor of Russia; in

the enforcement of retribution against foreign pirates and privateers, particularly during the French wars; and in trade negotiations with other European nations.

The Crown derived direct financial benefit from the overseas trade of the City merchants. The introduction of a revised book of custom rates by Mary's financial advisers enhanced the value of this important contribution to royal finances. It was in the interest of the Crown to foster the trade of London and the outports. However, the demands of the Londoners had to be balanced against wider issues of internal and international politics. It was for this reason that Mary's government was prepared to revive the Hanseatic privileges formerly abolished by her brother, and that the Londoners were forbidden to trade in Portuguese dominions. Nevertheless, the dependence of the Crown on the goodwill of the London merchants, both individually and collectively, ensured that their interests had to be taken into account. This chapter aims to explore these issues further and to demonstrate their part in influencing central government policy.

2. Economic background

It is well established that London's already predominant share in the nation's overseas trade increased during the first half of the sixteenth century. This growth can be explained principally by the steady upward trend in the number of woollen cloths exported from London, by both native merchants and strangers (1). This was followed by a dramatic down turn in the cloth trade in the mid-century, from 1551 to 1552, the beginnings of which can be traced back to the middle of the boom year of 1550 (2).

Despite the severity of this slump, it proved to be temporary. However, after a brief, and equally dramatic recovery in 1553, the cloth trade seems to have experienced a gradual downward trend to the early 1560s, although lack of data makes this interpretation largely speculative (3). These trends should be borne in mind when considering the issues and controversies affecting the cloth trade in the 1540s and 1550s. Meanwhile, wool exports, still significant despite their continuing decline in relation to cloth exports, fluctuated but remained within a downward trend (4). With regard to other commodities, it is necessary to wait for the advent of the port books, in 1565, for a clear indication of the proportion of cloth to other exports (5). Although it would be unwise to project the port book figures back to the preceding decades, they confirm the continuing importance of the cloth trade to London's economy in the later sixteenth century.

Although there is an abundance of literature on London's export trade in the mid-sixteenth century, there is relatively little on the import side. In Elizabeth's reign, contemporary lists of imports demonstrate the wide range of essential and luxury items which entered the country via London (6). Whilst calculations have been made for 1559/60 of the proportions represented by different categories of import, there is no comprehensive data for the two previous reigns. However, the Elizabethan figures may serve to indicate the composition of import trade in the period before, even if they do not take account of changing trends (7). London's involvement in the import trade enhanced its position as the leading port in Britain in the sixteenth century. Although the import trade was not generally subject to the same monopolies

and restrictions as the export trade, it was inevitable that wealthy cloth exporters, with the necessary funds and contacts, would play a predominant role in importing goods from Antwerp and beyond. However, to the annoyance of native London merchants, much of this trade remained in foreign hands (8). This was to be a significant factor in the Merchant Adventurers' attack on Hanseatic privileges. The abuse of these privileges with regard to imports was to be a catalyst in the seeking of their withdrawal (9).

3. Merchant Adventurers

Background

The importance of the London cloth trade in the sixteenth century explains the pre-eminence of the national Society of Merchant Adventurers, which enjoyed a chartered monopoly for the export of manufactured goods, including finished and partly finished cloths (10). It also accounts for the predominance of London merchants within the Society, in particular members of the London Mercers' Company. This is reflected by the fact that its early meetings in London were generally held in Mercers' hall, and that its early minutes are contained in the same volume as the Mercers' own court minutes (11). The domination of the Society by Londoners made it inevitable that the leading outports, including York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Exeter and Bristol, would form their own societies of Merchant Adventurers (or Venturers) in the mid-sixteenth century (12). The provincial societies, which achieved varying levels of autonomy (13), seem to have benefited from the support shown by central government to their mother

organisation. It is surely no coincidence, for example, that Edward VI granted a far-reaching charter to the Bristol Society in 1552, the same year that he backed the national society against the Hanse (14).

By the late 1540s the headquarters of the national society had shifted to Antwerp (15). The chronology of this move cannot be reconstructed because of the paucity of written evidence. However, it is clear from the archives of the Newcastle and York societies, from records of the London Drapers' Company and from documents placed before the Privy Council that, by Edward VI's reign, the Governor and his Assistants in Antwerp were acting as Society's chief executive, making decisions on the admission of new entrants, on policy and on regulatory matters. They were also entitled to impose certain monetary levies on 'all the brethren' of the national society (16). Although Ramsay states that, in the mid-sixteenth century, 'in all matters of import the control lay at London', he cites no evidence for this beyond the fact that from 1552 the Society was authorised to hold meetings in Guildhall Chapel (17). However, it is clear from the letters received from London by the 'Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers of England resident within the City of York', that the London branch was subsidiary to the headquarters at Antwerp. Describing itself as the 'Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers of England resident in London', it seems to have been run, in the Elizabethan period at least, principally by a Deputy Governor (Thomas Egerton) and to have been subject to 'acts of court passed in Antwerp', although also entitled to make its own court orders (18). Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the national society's membership continued to be dominated by London

merchants, as witnessed by the proportion of Londoners amongst the Adventurers obliged to contribute to Crown loans (19). This fact had an impact on the central government which, on more than one occasion, backed the Society's governors against internal and external competition (20). The nature of three such disputes - the attack of the new hanse on the privileged position of the old hanse within the society; the issue of the English mart abroad; and the battle against the Hanseatic League - will be examined below, for the light which they shed on relations between the City and the Privy Council.

Internal division

The first of these controversies, which was brought before the Privy Council in the 1550s, resulted from internal rivalry (21). According to the complainants, the Society's membership had become sub-divided into two groups, the 'new' and 'old hansas' (not to be confused with the Hanseatic merchants). It seems that the privileges of the 'old hanse', were resented by the members of the 'new hanse.' It is tempting to equate this dispute with the traditional London/out-port division, assuming that the complainants were principally, if not exclusively, merchants from the provincial ports, whilst the 'old hanse' against which they complained comprised mainly Londoners. Ramsay, for example, portrays the victory of 'old hanse' in 1555, with the confirmation of their supposedly restrictive practices, as a symbol of 'the quiet appropriation of power by Londoners within the Company, still in name a national body' (22). Yet, as he himself acknowledges, one, and possibly both, of the two leading campaigners for the 'new hanse' were themselves London merchants

(23), and, although it is likely that the aggressors included disgruntled out-port merchants, there is no evidence to prove this. The complaint of the 'new hanse' to the Lord Chancellor (24) did not name the complainants, nor did the stated grievances relate specifically to the out-port merchants, but to all those who had entered the Society by redemption (i.e. by payment of a fee).

The defendants attributed the controversy not to provincial merchants, nor to redemptioners in general, but to those redemptioners who were 'clothworkers and of other handicrafts so brought up and exercised, and able thereby to live before they were admitted into the foresaid company of merchants' (25). The spectre of ruin and of the loss of privileges hard won by their ancestors were used by the merchants against these 'upstart' craftsmen, who had expanded into the cloth export market during the boom years before 1551 and challenged the livelihood of the 'ancient merchants':

The ancient merchants have not, nor ever had, any other trade to live, but only the feat of merchandise whereunto every of them have been bound apprentice by the term of vii years and the least before he occupied or else he came into the said company by the freedom of his father claiming the same by descent in consideration of the charges that his ancestors had before sustained for the obtaining and maintenance of the said privileges ... (Bod Rawl C394 143-4)

They even included in this attack those substantial merchants who, like Rowland Hayward, had entered the Company themselves as retailers by redemption (26). In doing so, the defendants equated the controversy with the perennial squabbles between merchants and craftsmen in the cloth trade (27).

Thomas Gresham endorsed this view, attributing the decline in the

exchange, in April 1553, to the inexperience of the newcomers into the Merchant Adventurers' Company, who had not been apprenticed in 'the art of merchandising'. As remedy, he suggested that, in the future, none should be made free of the company except those who had served an apprenticeship of at least eight years, as he himself had done despite his entitlement to the freedom by patrimony. He also complained of 'the injury done to the merchant adventurer by the retailer, who ought to occupy his retail only' (28). It has, indeed, been argued that Gresham, himself, fomented the dispute (29).

Yet it appears to have been the 'new hanse' which commenced the suit. In 1552, its leaders complained to the Privy Council that there was a deliberate policy to exclude their sort from admission to the Society, by the imposition of high entrance fees and exactions, and from its management, by ensuring that they were under-represented on the governing body at Antwerp (30). They based their case for reasonable entrance fines for all on a Statute passed in 1496 (31) which fixed a maximum imposition of ten marks (16 13s 4d) on merchants wishing to trade with foreign markets. Other complaints included the association of the 'old hanse' with 'the superstitious fraternity of Thomas Becket' (the patron saint of the Mercers' company) and claims of its manipulation of internal politics:

*for to increase their number and superstitious fraternity
[they] have continually from time to time admitted of their own apprentices, children and friends into their said fellowship...
for the only fine of viis vid Flemish, such a number that they have always been and continued the greater and more part of the said fellowship of Merchant Adventurers; by reason thereof, being the greater part in number have continually made, and yet daily make hard and straight by-laws and statutes amongst themselves, part of which by-laws and statutes are contained in a schedule hereunto annexed, to the intent thereby to bind and restrain your*

said orators from the liberties which they, by the King's majesty's laws, 'owe' [ought] to enjoy (Bod Rawl C394 122)

Unless the Lord Chancellor took some order 'that all the said cruel by-laws and statutes made without any authority by the said Merchant Adventurers named of the old hanse may be condemned' and that the Company be reunited 'without any division by name, liberty or otherwise', the orators claimed that they would be 'greatly impoverished and at length shall be enforced to leave their trade of merchandise to their great loss and hindrance'(32).

These charges were denied by the representatives of the 'old hanse', who would not even admit to such a sub-division or nomenclature. They did acknowledge a differentiation in levels of admission fees; however, they claimed that these reflected the different methods of entry. Those entering by redemption ought, it was stated, to pay more than those accepted by the traditional methods of admission, namely apprenticeship or patrimony (33).

The chief significance of this dispute to the present study rests on the involvement of the Privy Council in its settlement. The Privy Council sided firmly with the Governor and Assistants of the Society against the 'new hanse', confirming their authority and committing their chief opponents, Dymock and Tull, to prison in 1553 (34). This judgement was reached despite the Council's disapproval of the Governor's behaviour with regard to the trial (35):

30 May (1553). This day the Merchant Adventurers, as well of the Old as of the New Hanse, were before the Lords and other of the Kings Majestys Privy Council, and for as much as upon the due examination of the matter in controversy between them it appeareth that the New Hanse have, without any just ground or

occasion, and contrary to their oath and duty, gone about to stir strife and contention, and as much as in them lieth to subvert the long continued privileges granted unto the said Fellowship of Merchants, as well by the Kings Majestys noble progenitors as by the Princes beyond the seas ; it was therefore ordered by the Lords and other of the Council that the aforesaid Merchants of the New Hanse should submit them selves to such orders and sort of punishment, by penalties or otherwise, as should by the Governor, Assistants, and residue of the Merchants of the Old Hanse be thought agreeable to their fault and contempt

(APC 1552-4 279-80)

It is almost certain that the Privy Councillors were influenced in their decision to support the Governor and his associates by the need to borrow money from them to service the King's debts, and Gresham's lobbying to that effect (36). It was the substantial members of the Society whose agreement was necessary to secure the grant of such loans; although recent entrants (young men) were to be amongst the contributors. This is implicit in the minutes of a meeting held on 3 October 1552 at Syon, at which established representatives of the Society were present:

Upon much communication and treaty with these m[er]chants und[er]named

Ald[erman] Garret, Emmanuel Lucar, Thom[as] Gresha[m], Richard Mallory, Lyonell Duckat, Thom[as] Eaton, J[ohn] Calthropp, Rog[e]l Martyn, Phillipp Bolde, J[ohn] Elliott

they agreed for them selves that they would pay in Antwerp by the end of December of ev[er]ly cloth they had xx.s to [th]e discharge of [th]e Kings debt, requiring repayment w[il]t[h]in iii months after [th]e delivery thereof

It[e]m they required that the K[ing]s Ma[jes]tys Agent would herein help the[m] to forbear so part thereof until the end of January for that the .. m[er]chants should have their pay in consideration a great p[ar]t of these cloths belong to yo[un]g me[n] which owe much there

It[e]m they required the aid of [th]e K[ing]s Ma[jes]ty and his Council for the redress of certain disorders amongst [th]e co[m]pany of M[er]cha[n]ts Adve[n]turers whereof [they] were willed to exhibit a certificate in writing and were p[ro]mised thereupo[n] help (3 October 1552 - SP 10/15 fo.32)

The collective wealth of the Society's members made them a political force to be reckoned with and their cooperation in

assuming a significant portion of the royal debt brought this into sharp relief. The fact that the leading personnel of the Society played a prominent role in civic government would not have escaped the notice of the Privy Council (37). These factors were probably decisive also in the Privy Council's support of the Adventurers' schemes to control the English mart in Mary's reign.

English Mart

Throughout the period in question, English overseas trade remained predominantly directed to the Low Countries, and within the Low Countries, to Antwerp. However, in the commercial sphere, as well as in the financial one (38), there were attempts to release English trade from almost total dependence on the London-Antwerp axis, which rendered it vulnerable to outside attack and other interruption. The danger of this position was emphasised during the French wars, when the disruption of the Antwerp mart and closure of the Lyons exchange had serious repercussions for the English merchants, exacerbated by the privateering which accompanied the hostilities (39). Serious consideration was therefore given to plans to transfer the chief mart for English goods from the Low Countries to England and to attract merchants there from the continent. Edward VI appeared to be personally interested in this proposition, recording in his chronicle:

It was consulted touching the marts, and it was agreed that it was most necessary to have a mart in England for the enriching of the same, to make it the most famous, and to be the less in other men's danger, and to make all things better cheap and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, because of the wars between the French King and the Emperor. (9 March 1552 - Edward VI Chronicle 115)

He also composed a memorandum on the topic (40). It is interesting to note that Southampton and Hull were proposed as locations for the mart rather than London, although 'London also was thought no ill place; but it was appointed to begin with the other two'. The reason given for preferring them to London was the accessibility of the former to the Italians, the Spaniards and the French and of the latter to Scandanavian merchants. If the plans had reached a later stage, it is likely that there would have been a substantial lobby of London merchants presenting the case for the capital to act as the mart. This will remain a matter for speculation, since the idea of establishing the English mart at home was never to reach fruition (41). Meanwhile, attempts were made to expand the scope of London's trade, both within Europe and further afield (42).

Within the Low Countries, the Merchant Adventurers attempted to maintain markets for their goods in a number of towns, despite the fact that an increasing proportion of their trade passed through Antwerp. As Bindoff states, 'one of the secrets of the privileged position which the Merchant Adventurers came to enjoy in the Netherlands was their calculated avoidance of any commitment to the sole use of one of the towns - Antwerp, Middleburg and Bergen-op-Zoom-... which was available to them' (43). Indeed, in 1547, feeling their presence in Antwerp taken too much for granted, they resolved to move one of the markets which had come to be held in Antwerp back to its original location at Barrow (Bergen-op-Zoom) (44). In addition to the political and economic reasons for avoiding total dependence on Antwerp, there were also religious ones. In July 1550, English merchants had been commanded 'to stay as much as they could

their vent into Flanders because the Emperor had made many strait laws against them that professed the gospels'. However, the following March, the Council realising that the English subjects 'lacking their vent in Flanders might put the realm in danger, [and that] the Flemings had cloth enough for a year in their hand' in the midst of the mid-century slump in the cloth trade, appealed to the Emperor for remedy (45).

As part of their campaign, the English merchants went as far as to prohibit trade with Antwerp on a number of occasions. In 1547, as part of their Barrow policy (46), and again, in January 1552, in retaliation for a tax of 1/2 % exacted from them by the authorities in Antwerp (47), the Adventurers imposed such a ban on their members. In June 1556, in the light of a further prohibition, to be enforced within the Society until the following November, the Adventurers persuaded the Privy Council to forbid the shipping of cloths to the Low Countries by strangers (48). The English merchants' aim in interrupting trade with Antwerp on this occasion was partly to 'undo their foreign rivals', chiefly the Italian and Hanseatic merchants who dealt in English cloths (49), and partly to assist in a further attempt to revive the market at Barrow (50). The Privy Council's order was therefore followed by instructions to ensure that all English cloths and other merchandise were discharged at Barrow during the markets there. In December 1556, the Lord Treasurer sent a letter to the officers of all ports in the realm. They were to certify that members of the Adventurers' Company were complying with the agreed policy and to take bonds from non-members both to discharge their goods at Barrow and to bring back, within one month, certificates of unloading from the 'Governor of the English

Nation' there, or his deputy, to prove their compliance with the order (51). This was followed by specific orders for the binding of the Hanseatic, Italian and 'Arogozey'[Ragusan] merchants not to sell any English cloths in Antwerp (52).

Although the Adventurers' extreme request in January 1557, that the Italians should be prohibited entirely from using the transcontinental route via Antwerp for trade with England, was rejected by the Privy Council (53), the restrictions which the Council did agree to impose on their trade gave rise to a series of protests from both the Hanse and the Italians. In the subsequent dispute, Philip II was to act as intermediary (54). However, presumably at the continued request of the Adventurers, the ban on trade with Antwerp was apparently still in force in 1557, at which time the Italians were more successful in their appeals to the Council. In March that year, they were permitted to land a number of cloths at Antwerp, with the following important proviso: that they were not sold there but were transported thence to Italy (55). The controversy was to continue into Elizabeth's reign (56).

The altercation between the Merchant Adventurers and Hanseatic League in the mid-sixteenth century was not confined to the matter of the English mart abroad. The key issue concerned the continuance of the Hanseatic trading privileges in London, which directly affected the City Corporation as well as the Merchant Adventurers. This important issue will be examined in the next section.

4. Merchants of the Hanse

Since the foundation of the Hanseatic Kontor in London in 1281, which was located on a site which came to be known as the London Steelyard, the merchants based there had enjoyed significant trading privileges, together with the possession of their own Guildhall and the election of their own Alderman, who was confirmed in office by the City Corporation (57). By a series of royal charters, reinforced by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1474, these privileges had been confirmed and enhanced. They were to become a source of grievance to the increasing number of native London merchants, particularly since they fixed rates of custom lower than those paid by English merchants and allowed direct purchase of cloths in the City's chief cloth market, Blackwell hall, a privilege denied to the English non-free as the preserve of citizens. Moreover, it was claimed that the reciprocal arrangements granted by the Treaty of Utrecht to English merchants abroad were never properly implemented (58). The situation was exacerbated when the scope of the Hanseatic traffic, which had originally been confined to the Baltic, was widened to include the Antwerp market and beyond, directly challenging the monopoly of the Merchant Adventurers.

Confrontation between the City and the Hanseatic merchants had become inevitable by the mid-sixteenth century (59). Nor were the Mayor and Aldermen of London alone in their antipathy to this cuckoo in their nest. In 1551 the Privy Council wrote to the civic authorities in Hull on complaint of the Merchants of the Steelyard there that they were being charged above the 'old accustomed rate' for housing their wares. The Mayor and Aldermen

were instructed to redress the situation until order could be taken by equity (60). It is significant that these conflicts came to a head during the slump years of 1551-2.

Edward VI

In Edward's reign, the City Corporation was to enter the fray first, demanding from the Merchants of the Steelyard an imposition from which they claimed immunity, namely grainage on salt. This demand was to cause a prolonged controversy, commencing in 1548 (61). Appeal was made to the 'composition' dated 20 February 1427 between the Steelyard and the City (62). The Recorder and the rest of the City's legal counsel were called in to examine the case but seemed unable to resolve the dispute, which was therefore referred 'to the judges' opinion' (63). Meanwhile, the Alderman of the Steelyard delivered to Gresham and Amcotes 'several bills of such salt as he supposeth them to have taken for grainage against their privileges' (64). Unfortunately, no more is heard of the issue in the records of the Court of Aldermen for this period. However, the controversy persisted well into the reign of Elizabeth (65).

In the 1550s, the emphasis of the conflict shifted from salt to cloth. The London customs officers seized supposedly illegal cloths with increasing frequency from members of the Hanse and pursued cases against the Steelyard merchants through the courts (66). In 1552, acting explicitly at the request of the Merchant Adventurers, the Corporation pushed forward its own campaign, forbidding the clothworkers of the Steelyard to take their woollen cloth out of their houses or to put them up for sale

without the Mayor's consent as part of a series of measures designed to tighten up the sale of cloths at Blackwell hall (67).

Up to this point, the attitude of the King and his Privy Council to the Hanse merchants had been ambivalent. In 1547, Edward VI had been prepared to reinforce Hanseatic privileges in England, confirming Henry VIII's charter of 1510 (68). However, the following year the Hanseatic League complained to him of a restriction on exports which was adversely affecting the merchants of the London Steelyard and undermining their privileges (69). Appeal was made by the Steelyard to the Emperor, the Burgundian court and the German towns to unite to seek redress from the English Crown and Parliament, and complaints were indeed received by the Privy Council from Lubeck and the King of Denmark (70). Anger was also expressed at the King of Sweden's commercial agreement with the English which was thought to undermine their own (71). Meanwhile, the English merchants complained about their bad treatment in Danzig, which the League agreed to address (72).

Nevertheless, the Privy Council continued to redress individual grievances brought to its notice by Hanseatic merchants. On 6 May 1548, for example, the Council ordered the Mayor and Aldermen of London to allow Claise Lang, an Easterling, to buy cloths at Blackwell hall when he wished, notwithstanding the normal restrictions affecting strangers (73). It also intervened concerning a case in the High Court of Admiralty against several Hanseatic merchants, successfully requesting the complainants (who included Anthony Hussey, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers) to remit part of the fine imposed by the Court on

the defendants (74). Meanwhile, in August 1548, the King granted favours to individual Hanseatic merchants by letters patent (75). More significantly, in February 1549 and January 1551, the Council instructed the customers of London to permit the merchants of the London Steelyard to ship out cloths and import Gascon wines at the accustomed rate. However, the 1551 licence was to expire after six months (76).

In December 1551, when the licence had again come up for renewal, some caution was exhibited. The Clerks of the Chancery were asked to check the enrolment of letters patent granted to the Hanse merchants 'for shipping cloths' the previous January, and the Alderman and certain other Steelyard merchants were called before the Privy Council on 29 December to respond to the case brought against them by the Merchant Adventurers (77). Legal counsel, including the Recorder of London, was called in to examine the Steelyard's answer to the Adventurers' complaint and to report back, making sure 'to keep their conferences secret'(78). Meanwhile, a serious dispute had arisen between Baldwin Smith and the Steelyard, on a matter considered by the Privy Council to be 'of great weight and worthy ripe deliberation' (79): it was to have consequences for the future of Hanse privileges in England. It is surely no coincidence that it occurred shortly after the seizure of an English merchant's goods in Danzig (80).

Baldwin Smith, citizen and haberdasher of London, acted as 'deputy to the Surveyor General of the King's Majesty's customs and subsidy in his highness' port of London' (81). In September 1551, in this capacity, he arrested Adrian Moore of the Steelyard

and the following month seized some incriminating papers from a Danzig ship, thus sparking off the controversy which will, for convenience, be referred to as "the Cosselor case", after the name of one of the merchants involved (82). Smith proceeded to exhibit two informations in the Exchequer against the Alderman and merchants of the Steelyard (83). In November (1551), the Cosselor case was referred to an inquisition held at the Guildhall before the Lord Mayor, as Escheator of London (84). On 28 January 1552, the Lord Treasurer demanded to know whether it should proceed to a *nisi prius* or not. However, the matter was referred back to the Lord Treasurer and Mr Baker for consideration and report (85). A month later, the Steelyard's privileges were revoked (86).

What was the substance of the Cosselor case and why was it so significant in English/Hanse relations? Adrian Cosselor (or Casselor) was a Hanseatic merchant based in Danzig who employed Andrew Moore as his London factor (87). The case rested on the accusation that Andrew Moore had 'coloured' (i.e. disguised) the goods of Cosselor and of another Danzig merchant, Lawrence Fensell, neither of whom were free of the London Steelyard, to make it appear that they were those of *bone fide* Steelyard merchants (principally in the name of one Michael Tymberman), and thus eligible for reduced rates of custom. The matter came to light on the death of Andrew Moore in July 1551. Although his role as Cosselor's London agent seems to have been assumed by Michael Tymberman, it was Andrew's brother, Adrian Moore, who took over his books and accounts, including his account with Cosselor. These raised suspicions of colouring, which were apparently confirmed by the letters seized by Baldwin Smith in

October 1551. Adrian Moore had 'unadvisedly mentioned the matter to a clothworker's servant' and thus it 'came to the ears' of Baldwin Smith, who arrested Moore, and another merchant of the Steelyard 'at the bourse time in Lombard street', with the authorisation of the Privy Council (88). Adrian Moore appeared three times before the Council and his confession formed the basis of the two informations exhibited by Baldwin Smith in the Exchequer. The first accused the Aldermen and merchants of the Steelyard of receiving the goods of Cosselor and Fensell, not being freemen, and the second concerned the entry of these cloths under Tymberman's name in the records (89). The case against the Steelyard was extended when it was heard at Guildhall to take in other non-free merchants whose goods were supposedly coloured. The list of the names used to disguise the goods was also expanded. Interestingly, it included the names of two native merchants (Thomas Sares and Richard Patryck), as well as Steelyard merchants. The jury, which comprised seventeen London merchants, found guilty all those accused (90).

The governors of the Steelyard inevitably denied that such colouring had taken place. They further argued that they had acted promptly to investigate the matter when it had come to light, sealing up Moore's counting house, examining Tymberman and others, and referring the case to the magistrates at Danzig. Moreover, they alleged that they had not been treated fairly under English law. In particular, they claimed that the outcome of the inquest held at the Guildhall had been pre-judged - the case was based only on Moore's confession, the jury was biased, the Hanse merchants had not been heard and the wording of the verdict had already been drawn up, only wanting a signature (91).

For the Hanse, the timing of the case was as unfortunate as its outcome. Even before this particular controversy had arisen, the League had felt the need to take precautions against the possible loss of its privileges in London (92). To be caught abusing the very liberties which they were attempting to maintain was likely to prove disastrous, as two of its members observed:

We fear that all which cometh unto that reckoning and occupying that is in the land [England] is forfeited to the King which cometh unto certain hundred pounds, if we escape so that we lose not all our privileges thereby. Now God give us that which belongeth to salvation. (Orante Van Holtorne to his brother, Reynolde, 8 October 1551 - SP69/13 49v. My underlining)

Our matter with the English men is every day worsen.....I trust they of Danske [Danzig] will not forgive Cosselor for here we stand in great danger of our whole house and thereby we might go and play with trumpets [T]omorrow they will send for me too [Y]ou shall know how I fear [W]e may devise the best for ourselves that we can but the truth is we know nothing of this before. (John Kynell to Tyves Mayre, 9 October 1551 - SP69/13 50v. My underlining)

The guilty verdict added weight to the Merchant Adventurers' appeal to the Council for the revocation of Hanse privileges, as the Spanish ambassador noted in December 1551:

It seems that the Council are about to abolish all the privileges of the Steelyard merchants, who from now on are not to be allowed to freight cloth and other goods according to these privileges. They are giving as a reason certain abuses and frauds committed by the merchants... (CSP Sp 1550-2 425-6)

Indeed, the Privy Council's order of 24 February 1552, abrogating the Steelyard's rights, specifically cites the Exchequer case:

It appeareth also that if the said pretended grants were good by the laws of the realm, as in deed they be not, yet the same were made on condition that they should not avow or colour any foreign's goods or merchandises, which conditions the said Merchants of the Hanse have not observed, as may appear by office found remaining of record in the King's Majesty's Exchequer, and by other sufficient proves [sic] of the same (T&P II 35)

It was fruitless for the King of Poland retrospectively to plead with Edward VI that, even if any individual subject had offended, others who were entirely innocent should not be made to suffer on account of such offence (93).

The diligence of the customs officer, Baldwin Smith, in detecting and pursuing the Cosselor affair was important (94): he was not, however, the prime mover in the campaign against Hanse privileges. This role was assumed by the Merchant Adventurers, who, according to the Spanish Ambassador, were 'trying to get all the trade into their own hands' (95). It has already been noted that, in December 1551, when the Steelyard's licence came up for renewal, the Adventurers took the opportunity to attack their rivals (96). Their case against the Steelyard merchants rested on three main grounds: that the privileges which they claimed had no legal foundation; that, even if they were legal, the privileges should have been restricted to authorised merchants and to goods produced or sold in the Hanseatic towns and not elsewhere; and that they should have been reciprocated in the Hanse towns, which they had not been (97).

On 9 February 1552, the variance between the Adventurers and Steelyard was examined formally before the Privy Council. However, the documents produced by the latter were not considered of sufficient 'force' to uphold their case and decision was deferred. In the interim, the Recorder of London and 'other the Merchant Adventurers' learned counsel' were to be granted access to the charters and grants of the Hanse (98). By 24 February the previous ambivalence of the King and his Council had evaporated: the privileges of the Merchants of Hanse were revoked (99). The

Merchant Adventurers, with the support of the Corporation and the assistance of the City's legal counsel, had won a significant victory. The City Corporation's backing for the Adventurers is not controversial. Quite apart from its natural affinity to the Society, the chance to regain an element of control over Steelyard, which effectively acted as a liberty within the City, must have been irresistible. However, the Crown's support in this requires some examination.

It seemed as if the King had much to gain financially from the revocation in terms of increased customs revenue. This factor might have weighed heavily with the Privy Council at a time of severe financial embarrassment (100). However, the fact that this action had not been taken long before suggests that diplomatic reasons had prevented earlier monarchs from taking such a bold step. The King's father had been prepared on occasion to ignore the rights of the Hanse merchants, for example granting the suit of the Fullers and Shearmen of London to prevent the export by the Hanse of 'rough and unshorn' cloths (101). However, it is significant that he had been unwilling to go further than this, perhaps hoping to avoid the wrath of the Hanseatic League, which Edward's government did not escape (102). Moreover, the abrogation of the privileges did not lead to a significant increase in customs revenue for the Crown. The measure seems to have had a negative effect, Hanse cloth exports falling from c40,000 cloths in 1550/1 to c14,000 in 1551/2. Gould argues that this may in part be attributable to the general decline in cloth exports (103). However, there is evidence of deliberate policy on the part of the Steelyard to limit trade. In March 1552, measures were taken by both the London and Antwerp Kontors to forbid trade

involving heavy duties, prescribing punishment for those who broke ranks. In May the Cologne Kontor advised the discontinuance of all commerce with England (104).

It is more likely that Edward's government was influenced by the arguments of the Merchant Adventurers with regard to trade than by the hope of increased customs revenue from the Steelyard merchants. Although it was not until the following October (1552) that evidence can be found of the Adventurers assisting directly in the servicing of the royal debt (105), the importance of the Society's role in trade and commerce must have been self evident. Their complaints against the Hanse merchants, both in London and in the Baltic towns, must have had a certain conviction. It was doubtless more than mere rhetoric that inspired the Privy Council to echo these complaints, claiming that 'their pretended privileges are grown so prejudicial to the King and his crown, as without great hurt thereof and of the whole estate of the realm the same may not be longer endured' (106).

The Adventurers' role in influencing the Council is substantiated by the comments of Scheyfve, both before and after the revocation:

It seems that the Council are about to abolish all the privileges of the Steelyard merchants, who from now on are not to be allowed to freight cloth and other goods according to these privileges. They are giving as a reason certain abuses and frauds committed by the merchants, and that the Hanse towns are no longer free as they used to be. It all began with the confiscation of Englishmen's goods made in north Germany for similar abuses. The London merchants, who are trying to get all the trade into their own hands, especially now that the Council have need of them, are pressing the matter warmly. It is thought the Steelyard merchants will not come out of it without very heavy expenses at the least. (27 December 1551 - CSP Sp 1550-2 425-6. My underlining)

The Steelyard merchants have had all their privileges taken away

by a decree of the Council ; but it seems that the decree was rendered rather in order to be able to restrict these privileges than anything else, and the London merchants who urged the measure wish to prevent the Steelyard merchants from selling or distributing the goods they buy in England elsewhere than in the Hanse towns, and also from importing into England any other goods than those produced in the Hanse towns. They wish to oblige those merchants who deal outside these limits to pay the same taxes that non-privileged folk are liable to, or at any rate to obtain corresponding privileges for the English in the Hanse towns (30 March 1552 - CSP Sp 1550-2 494. My underlining)

This interpretation seems more feasible than Unwin's thesis, that the Adventurers were merely acting as the chosen instrument of Northumberland and Gresham, who between them were plotting the downfall of the Hanse as part of a deliberate policy by the government to force all export trade into English hands (107). In either case, Edward VI's government had shown solidarity with the Merchant Adventurers and was prepared to incur the wrath of the still powerful Hanseatic League in the interest of the native merchants. However, sustained political pressure from the League, and the Emperor on its behalf, did have some effect. Negotiations continued and the King agreed to the holding of a summit in England, the delegates for which were due to arrive in London in July 1553, the month of his death (108). Moreover, concessions were made in response to Hanseatic requests, including the rights to export at the old rates of custom goods loaded before the revocation took effect and to import from member towns at the said rates until 25 May 1553 (109). Correspondence and negotiation continued throughout the rest of the reign (110) and there is evidence that the King would have been prepared to restore at least part of the Steelyard's privileges in the event of the establishment of an English mart at home (111).

Meanwhile, cases were brought by customs officers against

Hanseatic merchants in the (Equity) Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, several of which were dismissed in favour of the Steelyard on the express instructions of the King and his Council (112). Leniency was also apparent elsewhere. In October 1552, it was clear that the restrictions were still not being fully implemented:

for as much as since that time [i.e February], albeit sentence were then pronounced against the said merchants, yet remaineth the same unexecuted, and only the goods of the said merchants and their traffic stayed, it was therefore this day resolved by their Lordships that the matter should be heard and proceed in th[e] Exchequer, to th[e] end that upon further examination and trial thereof there such order may be taken in the same as justice and the King's Majesty's laws shall be most agreeable (11 October 1552 - APC 1552-4 141-2).

Although the Council had ordered the London searchers 'to use expedition in the searching and perusing of Flemish ships', the Councillors were anxious that the officials should 'behave themselves as honestly and gently towards the strangers as they can' (113). There was some concern about possible retaliations by the Easterlings on English merchant shipping (114).

Thus it would be incorrect to view the withdrawal of Hanseatic privileges by Edward VI as either inevitable or irreversible: it can best be explained by the successful lobbying of the Adventurers in 1551 and 1552. It is interesting to speculate whether further campaigning would have been necessary to secure the continuance of these gains if Edward VI had remained longer on the throne.

Mary

In the event, the Adventurers' victory appeared short-lived, with

the restoration of Hanseatic privileges in November 1553. The change of monarch led to a reversal of policy in virtually every aspect of government: this action should perhaps been seen in this light (115). However, as has been shown, it may not have been a complete about-turn, if Edward was moving in this direction himself. Moreover, there may have been other factors involved in Mary's decision. A desire to punish the civic authorities for their apparent willingness to support Northumberland's puppet queen, a wish to please the Emperor, Charles V, in whose domains the Hanseatic towns were sited, or the skilful persuasions of the delegates from those towns, who visited her in London in August, may have inclined her in that direction (116). It seems, moreover, that certain members of the Council were prepared to back their case:

We are informed that they [the Ambassadors] will obtain what they are asking, and that some of the Councillors have given their opinion in their favour, hoping for a recompense (CSP Sp 1553 203)

It is interesting that the commission of five appointed to confirm the Hanseatic privileges included Petre, an acknowledged friend of the City (117).

The Hanse had not lost the opportunity to show its support for the new regime. It is almost certain that the Steelyard had joined with the other merchant strangers in the celebrations for Mary's entry into London in July, as it was to do again by providing a pageant before her coronation and on Philip II's visit to the City in 1554 (118). The Hanseatic Ambassadors also played a prominent part in the procession from the Tower to Westminster the day before the coronation (119). Nevertheless, the Ambassadors, who had come over to England in July 'with a

brave show and a large company' and after 'great preparations' made by the London Steelyard (120), were left in some confusion at first: it was by no means clear that Mary was not intending to continue her brother's policy. Negotiations took place between delegates, Privy Council and monarch from August to October (121). The outcome proved favourable to the Hanse: on 24 October 1553, the privileges were restored, as Mary confirmed the Charters of 1547, 1510, 1499, 1486, 1461 and 1377. In return, the English government insisted on the fulfilment of two conditions: a limitation on the number of white cloths to be exported to the Netherlands by Steelyard merchants and a guarantee of reciprocal enjoyment of privileges by the English merchants in the Hanseatic towns, particularly in Prussia (122).

Two months later, in January 1554, Mary granted a licence to the Hanseatic merchants to export unprepared cloth for three years and confirmed that they were exempt from the tunnage and poundage dues agreed by Parliament in 1553 (123). They were duly grateful for these concessions, offering her advice on the issues which remained unresolved, including the judicial proceedings against them and the issue of Blackwell hall cloth market (124). Mary even went as far as to write directly to the City Corporation seeking favours for individual Steelyard merchants, either in defiance or ignorance of their mutual antipathy (125).

The London merchants were infuriated by these actions, and in January 1554, sent a supplication to the Emperor relating the wrongs they had experienced at the hands of his subjects (126). Nor was the City Corporation willing to accept this policy reversal without protest: almost immediately it took out legal

proceedings against the Hanse merchants (127). A year later, appeal was made directly to members of the Council for their:

lawful favours towards the City and the English Merchants of the same for the revocation and stay of the great and exceeding liberties and franchises that the merchants of the Steelyard and all the other merchant strangers do now of late days claim and usurp within the same city to the great decay and impoverishing of the same. (22 December 1554 - Rep 13i 244-v)

The Hanseatic delegates complained to their superiors in Cologne that their supplications to the Privy Council to redress their grievances were not effective 'for all sorts of reasons within the Council and also because of ever-new approaches from the London merchants' (128).

Meanwhile, there was nothing lawful about the actions of the civic authorities in relation to the Hanse merchants, allowing the seizure of their cloths at Blackwell hall, persisting in their demands for grainage of salt and even banning individual merchants from exporting goods from London (129). In fact, the authority of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer had to be enlisted on the behalf of the Steelyard, to secure the return of some of the offending cloths or compensation for the same (130). In 1554, the Hanse Parliament in Lubeck wrote to thank the Chancellor for his support (131). Yet, despite this high level intervention, the Corporation persisted in its campaign. On 4 April 1555 the Mayor and Aldermen ordered the Chamberlain of London to seize all the cloths purchased by the Easterlings at Blackwell hall that forenoon 'to the City's use as foreign bought and sold' (132). Once again, the Privy Council felt the need to arbitrate in this matter and, several months later, to require the redelivery of all cloths (133). Meanwhile, the City sought

the advice of the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, the City Recorder and other legal counsel in their variance with the Steelyard (134). A year later the intransigence of the London authorities obliged the Council to issue an order to prevent the harassment of the Hanseatic merchants, to remain in force for twelve months from April 1556 or until the next Diet to be held in London (135).

The tide of change was against Mary's government. Once the Corporation and Society had experienced freedom from Hanse privilege, in the previous reign, they would not surrender it without a fight, and in their battle they had powerful financial arguments on their side. It must have been in acknowledgment of this that in 1555 the Queen issued a *constitutio moderatoria* which severely limited Hanseatic traffic (136). This move caused great indignation amongst the towns of the Hanseatic League, who formally complained to the Privy Council and Lord Mayor of London in 1556, outlining numerous grievances both general and specific (137). However, although the Hanseatic representation to the Privy Council did result in some concessions to the Steelyard, in March 1556, which the City Corporation was ordered to implement (138), the Marian government remained firm in its resolution to maintain the conditions laid down in the *moderatio* and to uphold complaints about abuses of the remaining Hanseatic privileges (139). This resolve must have been reinforced by Gresham's repeated appeals to Mary to be favourable to the English merchants 'in their suit against the Steelyard; for it is one of the chiefest points she has to look to for the wealth of her realm' (140). The Hanse's position was further undermined in June 1556 by the ban imposed by the Privy Council on all

shipments to the Netherlands. All merchants were to ship goods to Barrow [Bergen-op-Zoom] (141).

Failing to achieve its purpose in England and knowing Philip's sympathy for its cause, the League appealed to him to intercede with the Queen and her Council to lift these restrictions on its trade. This situation was to cause Mary much discomfort (142). Although the reply sent by the Council to the Hanse towns in March 1556, upholding the *moderatio*, had been issued in the names of both Mary and Philip (143), Philip's subsequent letters to Mary in favour of the Hanse merchants belied this sense of united purpose (144). In particular, Philip backed the complaints of the Hanseatic merchants against the Barrow policy, insisting through the agency of Quarrentyne, a member of the Council of Brabant, that the regulations be revoked. Failing this he might be forced to act himself to indemnify his subjects (145). Mary's reply to her husband, to be conveyed by Dr Martyn, is revealing - conciliatory but resolute:

The Queen's Majesty hath seen and well considered th[e] articles by you presented declaring the good will of the King our master concerning the Statute which was published not long ago to withhold that no cloths should be transported into the Low Countries till the month of November next coming together with some other things contained more at large in your said articles. And for answer of them, her Majesty has commanded us to show you that there is nothing in this world that she desireth more than to do that which may be to the contentation of the King our said master and that she intendeth not by the said Statute nor by any other means to prejudicate [sic] the old amity and intercourse between the Realms and Countries that her Majesty does inherit and those of the King our master in the Low Countries, But hath ever and will do hereafter all that she conveniently may for the continuance and increase of the same. And because the said Statute will be ended within a few days, that is to say at the beginning of the month of November, and was made at the beginning for many great considerations touching the commonwealth of this realm, and is not contrary to any treaty, Her Majesty trusteth that when the King is more advertised of the true occasion of this Statute he will take it in good part. (BL Lans 170 142v-3)

The Barrow regulations, however, did not expire in November 1556: they continued to apply well into 1557, angering the Italian merchants based in London as well as those of the Hanse (146). The Steelyard merchants refused to bind themselves to ship to Barrow, despite specific command from the Privy Council, and were reported for selling English cloths at Antwerp in violation of the ban (147). Interestingly, the Merchant Adventurers saw the need to justify the Barrow policy to Philip II, a move which seems to have had positive results (148).

The dispute between the English and Hanseatic merchants continued for the remainder of the reign, with both sides periodically appealing to Philip (149). Some concessions were made to the Steelyard merchants by the English government, for example a licence was issued in April 1557 to permit them to export up to 2,000 coloured cloths. However, these were relatively minor. Although negotiations were held in April, May, June and September (150), the situation worsened. The complaints of the Hanseatic merchants at their ill-treatment in London were matched by the grievances expressed by the English merchants at their reception in the Hanse towns, particularly Danzig (151). By September 1557, Hanseatic trade was at a virtual standstill, a situation exacerbated by the retaliatory blockade imposed by the Hanse towns on English goods (152). In October, the Consuls and Senators of Lubeck complained that the ships of a number of their citizens laden in Lisbon had been attacked by English ships (153) and, in November, the Hamburgers expressed a fear that the English were aiming to withdraw Hanseatic privileges altogether (154). The ancient trading agreement, or Intercourse, was formally suspended the following January (155), and reports were

received that the Hanse towns were preparing to take military action against the English fleet, in league with the Danes, on account of the unfavourable response to their ambassadors. There was even a suggestion that they might seek help from the French against Philip II (156).

The fear of such an alliance united Philip II and the English Privy Council in seeking reconciliation with the Hanse, albeit with the important reservation that the conditions of the Queen's *moderatio* should be maintained:

I write now to remind you that if it is possible to negotiate with the Hanseatic towns without the interests of the kingdom in any way suffering, it would be advisable to do so, keeping me fully informed that I may consider the matter in conjunction with report I am expecting from the person I sent to those Towns, and frame my policy accordingly (Philip II to the Privy Council, 6 April 1558 - CSP Sp 1554-8 374)

With regard to the Hanseatic Towns, their magistrates and citizens forbade English merchants to trade with them last year and by their own free will broke off the relations of amity and commerce which formerly existed between them and this kingdom. Now it seems opportune to conclude a new treaty with these Towns, for it is certainly desirable to preserve the ancient relations of friendship that existed with them, provided that the English subjects of your Majesties obtain reciprocity. We mean that merchandise exported from those Towns may be imported into England on condition that the customary dues, which natives of this kingdom have to pay, should be met. It is not possible, without wronging our own merchants and all our citizens, to admit the Towns' claims to the privileges which they possessed before the Queen, moved thereto by circumstances and changing times, introduced new duties on all imports. Making due allowance for this, we consider that the ancient amity should be restored between us (Privy Council to Philip II, 17 May 1558 - CSP Sp 1554-8 384-5)

As for the conditions on which trade may be continued with the Hanseatic cities, we consider you are proceeding wisely ... We exhort you when you have examined the matter to your satisfaction, to resume amity with those cities, which will be very advantageous for England and agreeable to us (Philip II to the Privy Council, 27 May 1558 - CSP Sp 1554-8 389)

However, Philip's ambassador, Count Feria was more cynical than his master about the motives and reliability of the English:

As for me, the English never take me in because I never believe a word they say.....Your Majesty will see from what they are writing to you by this messenger their views about the Hanseatic Towns affair. I have not seen their letter... But I do know they chop and change about any business they take in hand, from one day to the next, and I am weary of writing to your Majesty about it. ... The Hanseatic ambassadors are very grateful to your Majesty. They will let me know about any reply they receive, and they intend to appeal to you for advice. (Feria to Philip II, 6 June 1558 - CSP Sp 1554-8 394)

As in Edward's reign, the English government saw the need to balance carefully the wishes of the native merchants against the needs of international politics. Thus, despite the firmness of their resolution, Queen and Council continued to negotiate with the Hanseatic League throughout the remainder of the reign (157). In the spring of 1558, Mary received another embassy from the Hanse towns, which did not return until August (158). Finally, in October 1558, the League voted for a lifting of its blockade (159). This may have prompted the favourable treatment which was ordered to be meted out to Hans Poppe, citizen of Danzig, in the case brought against him by Richard Grey, one of the London searchers in the Exchequer (160). It was in no one's interest to antagonise the Hanseatic merchants into war.

Mary's reign was to come to a end before the resolution of the dispute, which lasted well into her sister's. It was not until 1598, when a further trade blockage by the continental towns led to the final revocation of the Hanseatic privileges in England, that the London Steelyard was to be ceremonially closed by the Mayor and Aldermen (161).

The withdrawal of Mary's initial concession to the Hanse was only a question of time. The Mayor, Aldermen and their fellow merchants were not prepared to allow the Steelyard to operate

effectively, which made a sham of the agreement. Once again the Merchant Adventurers had fought a successful campaign, a fact acknowledged in the Corporation's gift of forty marks to their governor, Anthony Hussey, in October 1557, in recognition of his fruitful efforts in defence of the City's rights against the Steelyard (162). It seems that Mary was forced to bow to the inevitable and to support her own merchants, even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of her husband. The important contribution made by the Merchant Adventurers towards the servicing of the royal debt, emphasised by Gresham, must have been a significant factor in her policy reversal. It is ironic that, in the midst of this bitter controversy, the civic authorities continued to rely on individual Steelyard merchants to supply the City with much needed grain (163). However, it is typical of the Corporation's ambivalent attitude towards strangers (164).

5. Merchants of the Staple

How important were the Merchants of the Staple in this period ? The expansion of the cloth trade at the expense of the wool trade would suggest a similar eclipse of the association of Merchants of the Staple by the Society of Merchant Adventurers. There is some truth in this hypothesis. However, it would be unwise to assume that the Staple organisation, which from the reign of Edward I had enjoyed a monopoly of exports of raw wool and of a number of other commodities, was moribund by the mid-sixteenth century. A considerable quantity of raw wool continued to be exported during the period under examination (165) and London wool merchants remained prominent in this trade, in the Staplers

organisation and, indeed, in civic government (166).

Proof of the continuing significance of the Staplers can also be found in the Acts of the Privy Council: the Councillors continued to identify them as a potential source of loan capital. In response to central government request, the Merchants of the Staple assumed joint responsibility with the Adventurers for the servicing of the royal debt in the mid-sixteenth century. Although the former were generally asked to contribute less than the latter, the sums involved were substantial (167). Moreover, the continuing political significance of the Staplers is evident from the fact that representatives were summoned to sign Edward's devise for the succession in 1553 (168). In addition, the office of providing 'wafting' [*conductione*] for the Staplers' fleet was still considered sufficiently important and lucrative to be granted to Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral, in 1547 (169).

The Imperial ambassador had no doubt about the importance of the English wool staple in 1547, encouraging the renewal of the treaty before the English had time to change their minds:

It is of the greatest importance to his Majesty's dominions, especially to Flanders and Holland, that the staple fail them not, as it would if the said treaty [of 1522], which expires at the end of the year, were not renewed (Van der Delft to Granvelle, 27 December 1547 - CSP Sp 1547-9 527)

According to Bowden 'the [wool] trade gave the government a diplomatic level in its negotiations with foreign powers' (170). Moreover, in 1550, the Staplers regained possession of the Staple Inn in Calais, which they had been forced to surrender in Henry VIII's reign through failure to meet their financial obligations, whilst the trade recovery experienced in 1552 and 1553 resulted

in a doubling of wool shipments (171). The Act of 1552, which limited wool sales to Staplers and clothworkers, was apparently passed as a result of Staple pressure. It was designed to bolster their export monopoly as well as to eliminate the middle-man (172).

Despite this, the position of the Staple organisation was to be undermined during the mid-sixteenth century. Since its failure to honour the terms of the Acts of Retainer under Henry VIII, the society had been allowed to maintain its trade monopoly solely by means of temporary licences, generally issued for one or two years at a time. In March 1551, Andrew Judde, then Lord Mayor, joined his fellow Staplers in appealing to the Privy Council for 'liberty to ship wools according to their privileges' for a minimum of thirty years. They were willing to pay as much as one thousand pounds for the grant. However, although the Council did confirm their right to do so for the coming year, the licence was to continue only 'till at further leisure further order shall be taken with them on the King's Majesty's behalf' (173). This uncertainty was not conducive to trade, although the government's need of the Staplers to service the royal debt in the 1550s ensured that the licences would continue to be renewed. In addition, in January 1553, the London customs officials were authorised to allow the Staplers to ship their goods unless there was reason to the contrary, whilst the licence of 1558 to export wool to Bruges included, interestingly, a pardon for offences under the Edwardian statute of 1552 (174).

The loss of Calais in 1558, which had acted as the continental Staple for some years previously, was extremely grave for the

Staplers (175). The matter was of direct concern to Philip II, as ruler of the Low Countries. In March 1558 he was informed by Feria of the Staplers' dissatisfaction with the alternatives offered them:

I have spoken to them about the staple they will need somewhere in the Low Countries for the wool and other goods they used to store in Calais. Although they had looked into the 'Berghes'[sic] proposal, nothing is settled yet and will not be without having sought your Majesty's instructions, as they tell me. They do not want Dunkirk, because the harbour is bad, or Bruges, because of the Spanish merchants who reside for the Spanish wool-trade, or Middleburg. I did not go into the matter with them further than to have it understood that they would decide nothing without ascertaining your Majesty's will (Feria to Philip II, 10 March 1558 - CSP Sp 1554-8 368)

There was even a suggestion, made by the central government in 1559, that the Staple should return to England, although this was opposed by the Staplers (176). In the event, the new staple was eventually established in Bruges. This was obviously felt unsatisfactory as the sole staple town, since in 1561 the Staplers obtained a new charter enabling them to ship to Bruges, Middleburg, Bergen-op-Zoom or elsewhere in the Low Countries, a privilege enlarged in 1584 to encompass anywhere "in amity" with England. These concessions did not prevent the near collapse of the Staple organisation in the reign of Elizabeth, as wool exports were virtually extinguished (177). Nevertheless, the eclipse of the Staplers should not be predated. In the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, the Staple organisation remained a significant force in both civic and national politics because of the substantial wealth wielded by its prominent members, including Andrew Judde, Thomas Offley and David Woodruff (178).

6. Customs

Both Staplers and Adventurers contributed to royal finances in

another, more direct, way; through the customs paid by individual members. It has been pointed out elsewhere (179) that England's system of regular customs, introduced by Edward I in 1275, was without parallel in Europe in its effectiveness and comprehensiveness. However, the structure which had proved so successful in the middle ages, when the English wool-trade was at its height, had become anachronistic and unresponsive to change by the mid-sixteenth century, at the zenith of the cloth-trade. The new 'book of rates', introduced in May 1558, attempted to redress this situation. The new book was a result of the investigations of a Royal Commission, headed by the Marquis of Winchester, which had been appointed in May 1557 to enquire why the 'customs and subsidies be greatly diminished and decayed and from time to time do decay as by the records of our Exchequer more plainly appeareth' (180). Winchester had been planning fiscal reform for some years before this: the book of rates represented culmination of his efforts (181).

The imposition of the new tariff has been described as 'a major achievement in Tudor fiscal administration, marking the recovery of a large, expanding and virtually permanent source of revenue for the Exchequer', by which the Crown became less dependent on other sources of income, such as Parliamentary grants (182). Ramsay concludes that 'it is not too much to say that in the long term the financial basis of the monarchy down to 1640 was now assured'. This initiative was reinforced in the reign of Elizabeth by an Act of 1559, which established general regulations for lading and discharging cargoes and offered for the first time strict geographical definitions of individual overseas ports and quays, and by the introduction, in 1564-5, of

the port books (183). The effectiveness, or otherwise, of these reforms is beyond the scope of this thesis: it is, however, worth pausing to enquire into their effect on the relationship between City and Crown. This was twofold: first the impact on the customs officials who had to collect the new tariffs, and second the financial implications for London merchants who had to pay them.

As Ramsay emphasises in relation to Henry Isham, it is important to remember that the customs officials 'were usually persons of first hand commercial experience if not still in trade' who were 'further embedded in the mercantile community by their membership of one or another Livery Company' (184). Baldwin Smith, who has been encountered above, was a haberdasher, whilst Richard Grey, another customs official, was apparently a goldsmith (185). Ramsay cites a number of haberdashers and mercers who held posts as customs officers in the 1560s and 1570s (186). As he points out, the imposition of higher rates of tariff, particularly those on cloths, did have a significant effect on these men, making their duties more onerous and placing them in the position of increasing indebtedness to the crown for unpaid dues (187).

Although the customs officers were clearly conscientious in dealing with offending merchant strangers (188), it is impossible to assess to what extent they were prepared to collude with their fellow merchants and livery company brethren to prevent full implementation of the reformed customs system. Although Dietz concludes that the native merchants were unlikely to have colluded in customs evasion (189), it is apparent from the records of the Privy Council, that the central government was concerned about this possibility and thus felt the need to ensure that their

dealings were kept under fairly close scrutiny. In August 1558, for example, the Lord Treasurer was ordered by the Privy Council to call before him all the Customers of the City of London to declare their customs accounts before him and the other Lords of the Council, so that 'order' could be taken with them (190). There is also direct evidence of opposition to the new rates on the part of native exporters. The Merchant Adventurers did not accept them until April 1559, and then only after they had challenged their legality, whilst five London grocers were summoned before the Privy Council in September 1558 for their misbehaviour towards the customs officials (191). In March 1559, John Hales wrote at length to Cecil concerning out the unwiseness of the new imposition on cloth (192). However, in this particular case, the Merchant Adventurers appear to have lost their campaign: *the new rates continued to apply in Elizabeth's reign.*

7. Overseas exploration

In contrast, the interests of City merchants and Crown largely coincided in relation to overseas exploration and the establishment of new markets. However, whilst it was clearly to the advantage of both to expand the range of outlets for English exports, particularly cloth, once again the Crown was subject to the constraints of international politics.

The significant events in overseas exploration and exploitation in this period are well charted, in particular the expeditions of Hugh Willoughby, culminating in his death searching for a north-east passage (193); the foundation of the Russia company in 1555 and the preceding Anglo-Russian trading agreement of 1553 (194);

the voyages of Sebastian Cabot (195); and the establishment of trading links with Guinea and Morocco (Barbary) (196). They were to be overshadowed by the more ambitious schemes of Elizabeth's reign, and the subsequent proliferation of incorporated trading companies (197). However, it is important that the earliest of these, the Russia/Muscovy Company, was founded in our period. There are several reasons for these developments: the search for new markets for English cloth to release the merchants from near-total dependence on the Antwerp axis after the 1551-2 slump (198); the decline of the Levant trade (199); expansionist rivalry; the enterprise of individual explorers, including Willoughby and Cabot; and the availability of central government backing, particularly under Northumberland (200), and of private sponsorship. Without such funding, none of these trading expeditions would have been able to take place. The advent of the joint-stock company facilitated the raising and distribution of such sponsorship (201), whilst the development of London as a financial centre (202) made it easier to identify and tap native sponsors. The Russia company's membership comprised mainly London merchants, Privy Councillors and members of the Royal Household (203). Willan sees them as:

investors, investing in a form of enterprise new to this country, and therefore of interest not only as pioneers in the opening up of a new trade, but also as pioneers in the development of a new financial device for the conduct of that trade (Willan Russia Company 7)

Although earlier voyages, including those to Guinea, had been joint-stock enterprises, they had not generally involved incorporation or long-term share holding (204). In the case of the Andalusian merchants who were awarded a Charter by Henry VIII, the terms of the grant had been largely confined to matters

of internal administration (205). By incorporating the Russia Company by letters patent with a much wider brief, in February 1555 (206), the Crown fostered both overseas trade and financial development in the City. It is interesting that a statement made *circa* 1600 to explain the origins of the company attributed to Edward and his Council the chief motivation for its foundation:

In the time of King Edward the Sixth the King and his Council finding it inconvenient that the utterance of the commodities of England especially cloth should so much depend upon the Low Countries and Spain and that it should be beneficial to have a vent some other ways did encourage his subjects the merchants to adventure for discovery of new trades northward. The English merchants being so encouraged and assisted with the favour of the King and his Council did with their very great charge and loss of many men of worth and loss of divers ships discover a trade with Russia by St Nicholas which was not frequented before either by the English or any other nation. To encourage them to bear the burthen and to open this vent for the realm they had granted to them a corporation and the privilege to be a society in perpetual succession (207)

In addition to the rights and trade monopolies which could be secured by royal charter, the new trading companies periodically sought the support of the central government and law courts against interlopers. The Russia Company, for example, brought actions against them in the High Court of Admiralty, Star Chamber and Court of Common Pleas, while individual companies, their members and rivals addressed their cases to the Privy Council (208).

However, the monarchy did not invariably back the interests of private enterprise. In 1555, pressure from the Portuguese persuaded the Crown to forbid further trade with Guinea, the Privy Council sending:

a letter to the Mayor of London to call the merchants that occupy to Guinea before him, and to give them commandment, and all other

merchants, in the King and Queen's Majesties' names to stay from further traffic in those parts until further order be taken herein, for that the King of Portugal maketh a claim to that navigation (18 July 1555 - APC 1554-6 162) (209)

A year later, the Privy Council was forced to act in a more direct way to prohibit the Guinea trade, issuing instructions to the Mayor of London and to the customers, comptrollers and searchers there and elsewhere to stay any traffic intended for Guinea and neighbouring territories in the King of Portugal's dominions (210). A London merchant, Miles Mordeine, who had supposedly 'prepared certain wares in Flanders, minding to send the same towards Bristol to be conveyed from thence to Guinea', was to be sought out and punished (211). In February 1558, Philip II warned Feria of the King of Portugal's anger 'sur le projet de certains marchands anglais de se rendre aux Indes Portugais' (212). The following month, the Ambassador expressed his concern to his master that two of the Queen's ships, which were ostensibly chartered for a voyage to Barbary, were, in fact, bound for Guinea (213). Although the Barbary voyages themselves caused disquiet to the Portuguese, they had no real grounds for complaint since they had recently been expelled from the chief Atlantic ports in Morocco (214). Moreover, those London merchants who had hoped to gain trading access to the Spanish empire through Mary's marriage to Philip were to be disappointed. In addition, individual import and export licences granted by the Crown could undermine the effectiveness of monopolies and vested interests (215), although these appear to have been granted only sparingly before Elizabeth's reign.

London merchants featured prominently in overseas expansion in the sixteenth century, both as traders and investors,

particularly after the economic slump of the early 1550s (216). As traders, they were anxious to expand their markets wherever they could in the world, as stated by the "merchants of the King and Queen's Majesties' City of London" in reply to the allegations of the Portuguese Ambassador:

We say we be merchants who by the common usage of the world do use traffic in all places of the world as well Asia and Africa as Europa and have never been restrained from resort to any place doing there as we be appointed by the authority whereunto we come, and following this our accustomed usage we have of late resorted to sundry places both towards the south and north parts of the world in both which we find the governors and the people of the places well willing to receive us friendly and gently (SP69/7 151)

They became excited by the possibility of new ventures, as witnessed by the support expressed in London for Sebastian Cabot, son of John Cabot (217), and overcame their earlier reluctance to finance potentially risky voyages of discovery, investing in ventures such as Willoughby's expedition in 1553 (218). Not all merchants were prepared to entrust their capital to such high risk enterprises. The Isham family was amongst those who displayed a reluctance to invest in overseas expeditions (219). However, the City could provide an adequate number of investors, with sufficient capital, to enable such voyages to take place.

The London merchants were also prominent amongst those who traded with the new markets once they had been established, although the role played by adventurers from other ports, notably Bristol and Southampton, should not be overlooked (220). Promoters of the early trading voyages to Guinea included a number of London cloth merchants (221). The dominating presence of Londoners among the membership of the Russia Company and the defenders of the Barbary trade has already been noted. Many of these were also leading

members of the Merchant Adventurers' and Staplers' associations and held civic office (222). A significant number were inter-related by marriage or kinship and most had dealings with their fellow members at Court. The Privy Councillors and other royal officials who invested in the Russia company included William Cecil, Thomas Egerton, Lord Howard of Effingham, William Paget, Sir William Petre and the Marquis of Winchester (223). The identification of interests between these leading figures in Court and City in the sphere of trade and investment is of some moment (224).

8. Conclusion

The importance of overseas trade to the London merchants made it a significant issue in relations between the City and the Crown. A number of developments enhanced its importance in the mid-sixteenth century: the slump in the cloth trade in the early 1550s, the Crown's inconsistent policy towards the Hanseatic merchants of the Steelyard and the role played by the Adventurers and Staplers in servicing the royal debt. Although the central government acted on occasion in direct opposition to civic interests, notably through Mary's restoration of the Hanseatic privileges and the Council's prohibition of the Guinea trade, it could not afford to ignore pressure from the London merchants in the long term. The fostering of international trade was, after all, in the interests of the monarchy, in terms both of securing increased customs revenue and of ensuring the future prosperity of the City. The wealth of the capital was of benefit not only to its principal citizens; it also contributed to the income of the royal exchequer and to the wealth of the kingdom.

CHAPTER THREE : REFERENCES

- 1 Whereas the average number of cloths exported annually from London in the decade 1500-9 has been calculated at 49,400, the equivalent average for 1550-9 is approximately 115,200, an increase of well over 100% - Rappaport Worlds within Worlds 89 Fig 4.1. During the peak years of 1548/9, 1549/50 and 1553 - when London cloth exports reached 128,200; 132,766 ; 135,594 respectively - London's contribution to the national total of cloth exports has been estimated at 92.5% ; 90.2% ; and 90.1%; the outports share dropping as low as 7.5% in 1548/9 - Gould The Great Debasement 136 Table XVA
- 2 Gould The Great Debasement 141-2. Various hypotheses have been put forward for this slump , one of which is to attribute it solely to the debasement of the sterling currency (e.g. Unwin quoted by Gould Ibid. 93). However, Gould dismisses this explanation as simplistic. According to his interpretation, it was the saturation of the overseas market caused by the (earlier) favourable exchange rate which was largely responsible for the fall in exports in the early 1550s, combined other depressive factors, including political circumstances. When these were lifted, at the beginning of Mary's reign, there is evidence of a corresponding boom - Gould Ibid 140-43 *et passim*. For a critical review of Gould's conclusions see Challis 'Currency and the Economy' 318-22
- 3 See E M Carus-Wilson and O Coleman England's Export Trade 1275-1547 Oxford 1967; Gould The Great Debasement; Dietz 'Overseas Trade and Metropolitan Growth'; Ramsay English Overseas Trade; Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 87-122
- 4 The 1540s cloth boom had certainly eaten into the supply of raw wool. Although there was some recovery in the 1550s, the export of raw wool continued to lose ground until its virtual collapse in Elizabeth's reign - P Bowden The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England 1971 107,112,155-62; Ramsay The English Woollen Industry 18-19; E E Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple Cambridge 1937 18-19; Gould The Great Debasement 136 Table XVB, 154-5
- 5 For an edition of the earliest port books (PRO E190) for London see B Dietz The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London Documents London Record Society 8 1972.

Detailed customs records (PRO E122) for Edward and Mary's reign do not survive in any systematic way and therefore it is difficult to construct any statistical breakdown of type of exports
- 6 E.g. BL Lans 8 no 17 75 -list of the 'the wares brought into the Port of London', Michaelmas 7 - Michaelmas 8 Elizabeth I The list includes (given in pound sterling values): canvas (L32,124); playing cards (L2,800); fustians (L27,254); oil (L39,377); linen cloth (L86,250); wines (L48,634); sugar (L18,000); pepper (L27,000); Dietz The Port and Trade 152-5

7 It is helpful to note, for example, that in 1559/60 manufactured goods made up 45.6% of London's imports (including linens - 17.7% ; and silks - 11.5%); drink and foodstuffs comprised 20.4% (of which wine and brandy accounted for only 1.9%, fruit 3.2% and sugar and molasses 2.9%), whilst raw materials represented 26.3% (including dyes 7.4% and oil 3.4%) - Dietz 'Overseas Trade' 124-5

8 Ramsay Isham xxxii

9 See below pp 138-43

10 For background see E M Carus-Wilson Medieval Merchant Adventurers 2nd ed. 1967; W E Lingelbach The Merchant Adventurers of England : Their Laws and Ordinances University of Pennsylvania 2nd ser. II 1902; 'The Internal Organisation of the Merchant Adventurers' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society new ser. 16 1901 19ff

The Merchant Adventurers organised their exports in fleets, like the Staplers e.g. APC 1552-4 145

11 A point noted elsewhere. See C Gross The Gild Merchant 1890 I 149; E M Carus-Wilson 'The Origin and Early Development of the Merchant Adventurers' Organisation in London as shown in their Medieval Records' Medieval Merchant Adventurers ed. E M Carus-Wilson 2nd ed. 1967 143-82; L Lyell 'The Problem of the Records of the Merchant Adventurers' Economic Historical Review 5 1934-5 96-8; and J Imray 'The Merchant Adventurers and their Records' Prisca Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History ed. F Ranger 1973 219-39.

Carus Wilson (loc. cit.) suggested that several of the Great Companies had their own groups of Merchant Adventurers in addition to the Mercers, including the Drapers and the Grocers, which eventually amalgamated with the Mercers' group. But Lingelbach disagrees - Lingelbach The Merchant Adventurers of England : Their Laws and Ordinances

12 See, for example : P McGrath, The Merchant Venturers of Bristol 1975; F D Dundy (ed.) Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle Surtees Society 93 1895; W Cotton An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter 1873; MacCaffrey Exeter 1540-1640; D M Smith (ed.) A Guide to the Archives of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of York Borthwick Texts 16 York 1990; M Sellers (ed.) The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917 Surtees Society 129 1918

13 The York and Newcastle societies were addressed as the 'Fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers of England resident within the City of York/Newcastle'. Despite incorporation (Newcastle by Letters Patent of 1547 - CPR 1547-8 66; Inspeximus of 1554 - Tyne and Wear Archives Acc 778/1; and York in 1581 - Smith Guide 2) they remained subservient to the national society in a number of matters including the export trade to the Low countries and contributions to national levies - see York Merchant Adventurers Mss.

D75/36L,M,O,Q,R,S; Tyne and Wear Archives Acc. 988/1 and Lingelbach The Merchant Adventurers of England : Their Laws and Ordinances xvii,xix,122-4.

However, the Bristol society, incorporated in 1552, seems to have had more autonomy from the outset, probably because its members were specifically excluded from trading with the Low Countries - McGrath The Merchant Venturers of Bristol 10-11

- 14 Letters patent were granted to the Bristol society on 18 December 1552: CPR 1550-3 258. See McGrath The Merchant Venturers of Bristol 10-13.

McGrath is hesistant about this connection, concluding that 'What we do not know is why the merchants chose this particular time to make a bid for a monopoly. It could conceivably have been a response to a trade depression ...It does not seem, however, that the Bristol merchants were adversely affected by the export crisis...' However, he does acknowledge that it might have been part of central government policy for a "well-ordered trade" - loc. cit.

- 15 The move to Antwerp seems to have occurred by 1547, when a meeting of the general court in there made a resolution affecting the whole society - W P M Kennedy 'A General Court of the Merchant Adventurers in 1547' English Historical Review 37 1922 105-7

However, it is disputed whether, before the move, the headquarters had been in London or abroad in the chief mart town, Bruges. Imray believes that it had been in London and that the transfer to Antwerp was neither sudden nor deliberate : 'What seems more likely is that the control of the Company was acquired gradually by the Court abroad, perhaps partly as the result of the dissension among the London Adventurers which manifested itself in 1527' - Imray 'The Merchant Adventurers' 235,237. Lingelbach and Ramsay suggest that the national society was always based abroad - Lingelbach The Merchant Adventurers of England: Their Laws and Ordinances xv; Ramsay The City of London 40

- 16 E.g. York Merchant Adventurers Mss. D75/36L,M,O,Q,R,S; Newcastle Merchant Adventurers - Tyne and Wear Archives Acc 988/1; London Drapers' minutes 1543-53 867,873,943,967; Bodleian Library Rawlinson manuscript (henceforth Bod Rawl) C394 122,144; SP69/6 87

- 17 Ramsay The City of London 70. For order re Guildhall see Rep 12ii 511v (Imray misdates it - 'The Merchant Adventurers' 239). Imray points out that the London-based members continued to meet regularly in London, from 1555 to 1666 in Founders Hall - Imray 'The Merchant Adventurers' 239; GL Ms 6303/1 391,409,420 (records payment of rent to the Founders' company from the second quarter of 1555-6, at L1 per quarter). Lingelbach points out that some orders of court could be issued by the general court in London - Lingelbach The Merchant Adventurers of England : Their Laws and Ordinances 35

- 18 See York Merchant Adventurers Ms D75/34B,C;35H
- 19 See E101/520/14a and SP69/2 58-59v for lists of Merchant Adventurers contributing to royal loans in Mary's reign - only a small number are identified as non-Londoners. However, these lists represent the distribution of wealth of members rather than their absolute numbers - it is clear from a letter to the York Adventurers in 1560 that only the richest from the provincial societies were expected to contribute to royal loans - only 7 men were nominated from York for the 1560 loan - York Merchant Adventurers Ms D75/36Q. The authorisation for contribution towards royal loans emanated from the general assembly in Antwerp - loc.cit; SP69/6 87
- 20 Internal: for example, in Henry VIII's reign, the Lord Chancellor issued instructions authorising the Lord Mayor of London to assist the Governors of the Merchant Adventurers in disciplining recalcitrant members - Jo15 167. External: for example, in 1547 the Council permitted the Adventurers to exceed their quota of cloth exports, because of the rise in cloth prices abroad, and in 1552 intervened to order the Customers of London to permit the departure of the Adventurers' fleet to Flanders - APC 1547-50 142-3, APC 1552-4 145
- 21 Bod Rawl C394 121-151
- 22 Ramsay The City of London 46-7,70
- 23 Dymock and Tull were in the forefront of the complaint against the 'old hanse' see APC 1550-2 452; APC 1552-4 9, 279-81. John Dymock was a London draper - Willan Muscovy Merchants 94 - and appears in the 1559 London subsidy return - GL Ms. 2859. John Tull may have been the John Tull in whose favour Somerset wrote in 1547 to the Corporation for him remain tenant in his father's house in the City - Rep 11 338 - and it is possible that he was related to Richard Tull, who appears in the London assessment of the 1548 and 1559 subsidies - SP10/5 18; GL Ms. 2589. On 21 January 1551, a John Tull was married to a Dorothy Webb at St Mary Woolnoth - GL Ms. 7635/1
- 24 Preserved in a contemporary copy in Bod Rawl C394 121-151. According to Ramsay, the original, held in the Cecil Papers (212/7), is in a relatively poor state - Ramsay The City of London 74
- 25 Bod Rawl C394 143
- 26 Gresham was vitriolic in his comments about Roland Hayward and his colleague, Richard Fokkes, whom he accused of undercutting the established merchants on the continent :

In this matter you may please you to understand that this last mart there [Antwerp], there was one Roland Heyward and Richard Fokkes both retailers as also this last year they both came in by the new hanse which parties sold here in

Barth[lomewtide] xv c cloths of the best sorts in England and took half silks for them, which matter is to be justified and their said cloths so sold here were offered by the said parties that bought them to sell in this town for iv li better cheap than any merchant adventurer was able to afford them which is a matter in the commonweal to be looked upon. In consideration whereof the merchants here with one assent have made an act in our house to take effect at midsummerso far such as the King's Majesty and his most honourable Council be agreeable to the same, that the retailer shall occupy only his retail and the merchant adventurer his [sort]....which seems to me a thing most reasonable and a point in our commonweal...

(16 April 1553, Gresham to Northumberland - SP69/12 329-30)

See also Ramsay The City of London 47. For Hayward's subsequent career see Jay 'Sir Roland Hayward' 509-27

- 27 See below and Ramsay 'Industrial Discontent in Early Elizabethan London : Clothworkers and Merchant adventurers in Conflict' 227-39; G Unwin Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century London Oxford 1904
- 28 SP69/12 327-30. Compare the case for the issue of the Bristol Merchant Adventurers' patent - CPR 1550-3 258
- 29 Unwin Studies in Economic History 149,167.
- 30 APC 1552-4 9; Bod Rawl C394 121-7
- 31 12 Hen VII c6. According to its preamble, this statute does seem to have been passed in response to the complaints of the outports against the exactions of 'the fellowship of Mercers and other merchants and adventurers' of London on persons dealing in the foreign marts.
- 32 Bod Rawl C394 122
- 33 Entry into livery company membership and into the freedom of the City could also be by apprenticeship, patrimony or redemption
- 34 APC 1552-4 280-1:

where it appeareth that John Tull, one of the said New Hanse, hath used himself very unquietly in reporting certain slanderous and unfitting words of the whole Company, and also that also John Dymmok, another of the same New Hanse, hath misused himself very much towards the said Governor in the face of the whole Company by divers lewd and unreverent words, it was in like manner ordered that the said Tull should be committed to the Fleet, there to remain prisoner until upon his humble submission to the said Governor and Merchants of th(e) old Hanse they shall be content to make suit for his release, and then he abide orders for his further punishment, and John Dymmok to be sent for to be ordered as the lords shall think his fault to deserve, who upon his appearance made before their Lordships the xxxi th

of May was by them committed to the Fleet to abide the like order that was taken with the said John Tulle

- 35 APC 1552-4 9 - see above p76
- 36 See above pp 66-89. In October 1552 the Privy Council sent a letter of thanks to the Adventurers in Antwerp for their good-will towards Gresham - APC 1552-4 153. For Gresham's letters to the Queen and Council in favour of the Adventurers see SP69/8 53,78
- 37 With the important exception of the Governor, who although usually a Londoner, was often also royal agent in Flanders and thus exempt from civic office. However, Marsh, Governor in 1555; who was not a royal agent, simultaneously held the office of common sergeant in the City. In that year, he was given licence to be absent from the City during the Mayor's election on account of pressing business overseas - Rep 13ii 324v

Ramsay noted that, in 1564, all but three of the twenty-nine men who served as one of the twenty-six London Aldermen during that year were definitely or probably members of the Society and that virtually all the Lord Mayors elected between 1550 and 1580 were Adventurers - Ramsay The City of London 41. However, it is unwise to overstate the connection. In November 1554, 50% of the Aldermen can be identified as Adventurers, whilst at least 31% were Staplers - see Appendix 4.1. Of the Lord Mayors, seven out of the fifteen men who held the office between 1544 and 1558 were definitely Adventurers, whilst four were Staplers - Appendix 4.2

Moreover, although this link almost certainly guaranteed an identification of interests between Society and Corporation, it would be unwise to assume that behaviour of individuals was invariably dictated by self-interest irrespective of whichever hat they happened to be wearing at the time (this argument also applies to their livery company, parish, ward and individual business concerns). Moreover, the fact that several leading Aldermen (and subsequently Lord Mayors) were not Adventurers, including Sir Martin Bowes, Goldsmith, and Sir Thomas Offley, Mayor of the Staple, should not be overlooked - Ramsay The City of London 41

In addition to the role played in civic government by individual Adventurers, the Society did on occasion supply advice corporately to the City Corporation, for example in January 1549 concerning the Parliamentary bill for the true dyeing of cloth and the campaign against the levying of new custom on cloth - Rep 12i.33,43

- 38 See above p 81
- 39 Edward VI Chronicle 115-16
- 40 BL Cotton Nero C x 85ff - printed in Edward VI Chronicle 168-173

- 41 Edward VI Chronicle 115,169. Another suggestion for the location of the English mart was Ipswich - Willan Studies 74; T&P III 173-99. The promoters of the Ipswich scheme, John Johnson and Christopher Goodwyn, alleged that London would not be adversely affected by it - T&P III 191-2,199
- 42 See, for example, the trade agreement with the King of Sweden in 1550 mentioned by Edward VI Chronicle 24,26-7. For direct trade with Spain see, for example, APC 1550-2 80. For details of overseas exploration see below pp 161-6
- 43 Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 52
- 44 Kennedy 'A General Court'; Ramsay English Overseas Trade 70
- 45 Edward VI Chronicle 40-1,56;APC 1550-2 88. See also CPR 1550-3 49
- 46 In 1547 & 1548 some of the Adventurers themselves objected to the Barrow policy - APC 1547-50 545,556
- 47 CSP Sp 1550-2 445-6
- 48 APC 1554-6 295 :

Whereas it was this day declared unto the Lords that where the Merchant Adventurers have taken order amongst themselves that none of their company shall ship any cloths into the Low Countries before November next, forasmuch as it is considered that if the merchant strangers should ship over cloths into the Low Countries in the mean time the same should be both a great hindrance to the said Merchant Adventurers and let such good purposes as they go about; it was ordered that the Lord Treasurer should give order and commandment to the Customers and other officers at all the ports, that no stranger should be suffered to transport any cloths to the said Low Countries before the Feast of All Saints [1 November] next coming

See also Kolner Inventar I 1236,1238

- 49 Ramsay 'The Italian Mercantile Community' 28-30
- 50 Two of the four annual international fairs in the Low Countries were held at Barrow [Bergen-op-Zoom] - Paasmarkt (Easter) and Kaidmarkt (winter) - Bindoff 'The Greatness of Antwerp' 53-4; Ramsay The City of London 67-8
- 51 BL Lans 170 151
- 52 APC 1556-8 33-4,63-4
- 53 E.g. BL Lans 129-131v,141-4
- 54 BL Lans 170 37-8
- 55 BL Lans 170 150v. See also Ibid 146v-50 for the petitions of the Italians and Merchant Adventurers to the Council

- 56 Ramsay 'The Italian Mercantile Community' 31-3. In 1561-2, there was some confusion whether the Barrow policy was still in effect - SP46/13 130-1
- 57 Paragraph based on P Dollinger The German Hansa 1970 40, 102-3 *et passim*; Ramsay The City of London 63-70; Cambridge Economic History of Europe vol 4 1967 175-6; BL Lans 170 155ff; BL Add Ms 35,840 62v,69; Unwin Studies in Economic History 204-6
- For plan of the London Steelyard in Elizabeth's reign see PRO MPF 23. I am grateful to Norman Evans of the PRO for pointing this out to me
- 58 T&P II 34-7; see also English complaints re Danzig in 1549 SP68/4 1015,1017; and the staying of Thomas Bannaster of London's cloths in Danzig - APC 1550-2 365
- 59 For the build up to confrontation during Henry VIII's reign see Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City and the Crown' 283-5
- 60 5 July 1551 - APC 1550-2 313
- 61 Rep 11 489; Rep 12i 81,82,85,143v,214
- 62 Rep 11 489
- 63 Rep 12i 85,143
- 64 20 March 1550 - Rep 12i 214
- 65 E.g. 1574 - Rep 18 312
- 66 Including the Cosselor case - see below pp 138-41
- 67 5 August 1552 - Rep 12ii 514v
- 68 The Hanse privileges were confirmed by Act of Parliament for the duration of that Parliament - 1 Edward VI c13. See also Kolner Inventar I 420 concerning the confirmation
- 69 Kolner Inventar I 435-6,439-41. The ban on cloth exports, which affected English as well as stranger merchants, was lifted in August 1548 - SP 46/1 175
- 70 Kolner Inventar I 439-41,449-50,456,461; SP68/4 977,987-9,1027-33,1035-42
- 71 SP68/4 1017
- 72 Reported 5 May 1551 - SP68/7 383-7
- 73 APC 1547-50 553
- 74 APC 1550-2 300-1
- 75 Letters patent provided for compensation of 500 marks to the owners of 'the Lyon of Lubeck', to be allowed from the

customs normally paid by the Steelyard, and protection, for one year, for Nicholas Dickholff, late merchant of the Steelyard - CPR 1547-8 269,275

- 76 SP46/2 2 (3 February 1549); APC 1550-2 187 (January 1551)
- 77 APC 1550-2 453
- 78 20 January 1552 - APC 1550-2 460
- 79 APC 1550-2 464
- 80 In September 1551, the Privy Council wrote to the King's agent in Danzig requiring him to secure the release of the goods of Thomas Bannaster of London 'stayed in the said town' - APC 1550-2 365
- 81 SP69/13 48v. Smith became free of the Haberdashers' company on 20 November 1536 GL Ms 15,857/1 83v. He died in July 1557, his will being proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury -PROB 11/39 fo.192. He was active in the customs service in Henry VIII's reign, bringing at least two cases before the Privy Council - L&P Hen VIII 1542 550,655.
- 82 SP69/13 78v,79v
- 83 SP69/13 79v
- 84 SP69/13 53v-62; Kolner Inventar I 646
- 85 APC 1550-2 464
- 86 APC 1550-2 487-9
- 87 The following paragraphs are based on SP69/13 37-81v
- 88 SP69/13 78v
- 89 It is interesting that Mary subsequently requested Timberman's freedom of the City, in 1553, 1554 and 1556, albeit without success - Rep 13i 104v,131v,132,134,140; Rep 13ii 439v. Mary also wrote to the City, in 1555, in favour of Fensell, for the restoration of his goods. Timberman was also involved in this controversy - Rep 13ii 320v-1v
- A suit was brought against Timberman in King's Bench for obstructing the water supply at Norton Folgate in Mary's reign - PRO KB29/191 37v
- 90 For list of jurors and note of case see SP69/13 54. Not all Londoners were opposed to the Steelyard. In addition to those who assisted in the colouring of goods, at least one bequest was left to the Steelyard by a Londoner - Thomas Clayton, citizen and baker - presumably in acknowledgement of the value of Hanseatic grain imports - R R Sharpe Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London vol II 1890 657-8
- 91 SP69/13 73-83

- 92 May 1551- Kolner Inventar I 610,616,623
- 93 Sigismund-Augustus to Edward VI, 7 Sept 1552 - SP68/10 143:
'si privati cuiusquam hominis nobis subditi aliquo errato
majestas v[est]ra offensa est propterea privilegiis
caeterorum culpa omni vacantium derogari patiatu[r]'
- 94 In his official capacity, Baldwin Smith continued to harass the Hanseatic merchants. In 1553, in a case involving the seizure of cloths, Smith appeared again in the Exchequer against the Steelyard. In April that year, a warrant was sent to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to convey the King's pardon to the Hanseatic merchants accused, whilst the Privy Council ordered the restitution of their goods by Smith (CPR 1553 39-40; APC 1552-4 255). The following January, Smith's Exchequer case was stayed by order of Chancery (C33/11 87) and a further case in the same court was suspended by the Privy Council in March 1556 (APC 1554-6 254). In 1551, Smith was recompensed for his expenses in the seizure of 'old silver' - E405/117 43d
- 95 CSP Sp 1550-2 425-6
- 96 APC 1550-2 453, 460
- 97 CSP Sp 1550-2 425-6,494; T&P II 34-7
- 98 APC 1550-2 475. For copies of the evidence, petitions etc see Kolner Inventar I 656-60
- 99 APC 1550-2 487-9; T&P II 34-6
- 100 Compare the claim, in 1559, that the Hanseatic merchants not only robbed the native merchants of much of their trade, but also, by the concealment of other strangers' goods, deprived the Queen of at least 10,000 marks in custom each year - HMC Salisbury Mss I 164
- 101 T&P II 31-4. See also Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City and the Crown' 283-5
- 102 E.g. CSP Sp 1550-2 591 ; Kolner Inventar I 678-9,687,709-11 *et passim*
- 103 Similarly their increase to 27,903 cloths in 1553/4, after the restoration of their privileges, may be part of a general increase see Gould The Great Debasement 140,143
- 104 Kolner Inventar I 663-7, 680-7
- 105 Edward VI Chronicle 146-7 ; see cp2
- 106 T&P II 36
- 107 Unwin Studies in Economic History 149,167. Gresham certainly supported the Adventurers' case, and used his influence in their favour see below p 150. However, it has not been possible to uncover any evidence to prove that he was the

- author of the scheme to revoke Hanse privileges
- 108 CSP Sp 1550-2 591; CSP Sp 1553 33,42,53-4; Kolner Inventar I 732,796, 815, 817, 822
- 109 Kolner Inventar I 696,700-3,705,734; APC 1552-4 39,92-3,98; CPR 1550-3 346
- 110 Kolner Inventar I 678ff. In May, the Privy Council was anxious that the answer to the Hanse Ambassadors should 'stand with equity and justice and the King's Majesty's honour' - APC 1552-4 43
- 111 9 March 1552, 'It were good the Steelyard men were for this time gently answered and that it were seen whether, by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties again, they might be brought to ship their wares to the mart', bearing in mind that 'the denial of the request of the merchants of the Steelyard will somewhat let the mart, if it be not looked to' Edward VI Chronicle 173,171
- 112 See above n94.
See also E207/26/9 m5 & C24/21/11 - Richard Grey, servant of Richard Cook, Customer of London v Greverode, Brwiller and Lylye, Hanse merchants; APC 1552-4 141-2,255
- 113 APC 1552-4 75
- 114 CSP Sp 1553 69
- 115 Ramsay The City of London 65
- 116 Ramsay The City of London 65; Kolner Inventar I 832-56
- 117 Emmison Tudor Secretary 163; CSP Sp 1553 315. See also below pp 372,393-4
- 118 R Holinshed Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (1586) IV 1808 6; Rep 13i 166v,170,190v; BL Add Ms 35,840 62v-65; Brigden London and the Reformation 523
- 119 CSP Sp 1553 259
- 120 CSP Sp 1553 53
- 121 Kolner Inventar I 832-56
- 122 CSP Sp 1553 315-16; Kolner Inventar I 861,864
- 123 Kolner Inventar I 885,893; CPR 1553-4 58-9
- 124 Kolner Inventar I 986,1069-70
- 125 Favours were sought for Timberman and Fensell - see n89
- 126 CSP Sp 1553 347-8; APC 1552-4 390
- 127 Rep 13i 103,105,108

- 128 In January 1554. Translated from the German - Kolner Inventar I 892. Compare, in April 1555, 'the London merchants stand in favour with the Queen and Privy Council for their services rendered'- Kolner Inventar I 1107
- 129 Rep 13i 114,126v,266,282; Kolner Inventar I 1061,1107
- 130 C33/11/87; Rep 13i 114,126v,266,270v
- 131 Kolner Inventar I 977
- 132 Rep 13i 282
- 133 APC 1554-6 115-16,161,165; Rep 13i 285; Rep 13ii 307. The Lord Treasurer also wrote to the Corporation in support of the Steelyard's case - Rep 13i 266,270v
- 134 Rep 13i 270v,283v,286v,288
- 135 Rep 13ii 385v,386v; APC 1554-6 254
- 136 Kolner Inventar I 1100. The Hanse attributed the decision to the influence of the London merchants - Kolner Inventar I 1107,1119,1121. For the arguments for and against the maintenance of the privileges see Kolner Inventar I 1091,1103,1095,1098
- 137 BL Lans 170 152v-4v; APC 1554-6 252-4
- 138 APC 1554-6 254-7; BL Lans 170 156
- 139 SP 69/8 115-28. See also Kolner Inventar I 1221
- 140 SP69/8 53,78-8v
- 141 APC 1554-6 295-6; Kolner Inventar I 1236,1238
- 142 Kolner Inventar I 1099,1161,1196; Loades Reign of Mary 322; CSP Sp 1554-8 380,407
- 143 SP69/8 121 :
- the King and Queen being fully informed by us from time to time of all such matters as have been proposed by you on the behalf of the honorable society of the confederate cities of the Hanse hath willed us for answer to declare to you ...*
- 144 Kolner Inventar I 1197; BL Lans 170 129,142v
- 145 Kolner Inventar I 129-130v
- 146 Kolner Inventar I 145ff; see above pp133-4
- 147 Kolner Inventar I 151-2,156v-7; APC 1556-8 33-4; SP68/12 69
- 148 BL Lans 170 131,144
- 149 See, for example, the supplication exhibited by the orators of the Hanse to Philip at Westminster, June 1557, and the

reply of the English merchants - BL Lans 170 159-164. See also Kolner Inventar I 1487-8,1494

- 150 Kolner Inventar I 1375,1438. In April, the task of negotiating with the Hanse Ambassadors was deputed to Sir John Tregonwell - APC 1556-8 81. In September, Mary explained to the Hanseatic representatives that the privileges of the Hanse, which had long been abused, must be reduced in the interest of the nation - Kolner Inventar I 1438
- 151 General Hanse complaints are recited in BL Lans 170 157v-160v *et passim*. A specific complaint by the Steelyard against the Judge of the Admiralty Court, Dr Coke, was referred to the Privy Council - APC 1556-8 126. For English grievances against Danzig see BL Lans 170 200-7v,214v,217v
- 152 BL Lans 170 213,217v; Kolner Inventar I 1428,1438,1491; Ramsay The City of London 69; Unwin Studies in Economic History 207

In November 1557, the London kontor suggested to the rest of the League that the ban should be dropped as counter-productive and that a further delegation should be sent over to negotiate with the Queen for the restoration of their privileges - Kolner Inventar I 1491,1551

- 153 SP69/11 85v-86
- 154 Kolner Inventar I 1474. The Cologne kontor warned the Hamburg kontor that the Hamburg merchants who had been selling loads of English cloth in Antwerp in defiance of the agreement should be openly punished since 'their behaviour is giving advantage to the English' in their case against them - Kolner Inventar I 1483
- 155 SP69/12 4-6
- 156 CSP Sp 1554-8 345,348,350,358; Kolner Inventar I 1551,1555
- 157 E.g. Mary's correspondence with the League - BL Lans 170 208-9, 211-12v; BL Add Ms 35,840; SP 69/9 73-4,85v-6; SP69/10 69-71. See also Kolner Inventar I 1551,1554,1559, 1562,1566,1575,1583,1585,1592,1593
- 158 APC 1556-8 340-2,377-9,387; Ramsay The City of London 69
In May 1558, Winchester ordered Sanders, Osborne and Christopher Smith of the Exchequer to bring him the records used in the matter of the Hanse, concerning, for example, the quantity, type and destination of their exports because 'the Commissioners' had expressed a need for them - SP46/8 173

The delegation had to wait over three weeks in vain for an audience after an initial visit to the Queen on 3 May. Eventually they got to discuss the issue with the Commissioners, but failed to achieve their aim - Kolner Inventar I 1592,1593,1597,1611,1616,1640

- 159 Kolner Inventar I 1641
- 160 APC 1556-8 422,429
- 161 BL Egerton Ms 2603 fo. 53
- 162 Rep 13ii 555
- 163 Rep 12i 135; Rep 12ii 314,317,321v,399,402v,436v; Rep 13ii 303v, 363-364, 468, 489
- 164 See below pp 222-5
- 165 See above n4; Gould The Great Debasement 136,154-5; Bowden The Wool Trade 107,112,155
- 166 See for example E122 84/3, which gives details of individual cloth shipments by London Staplers, 1-2 Edward VI. These include David Woodrof, Sir Ralph Warren, Andrew Judde, Stephen Kyrton, Thomas Offley and Sir Henry Hubberthorne, all of whom were prominent in civic and gild life. All became Aldermen, and Offley, Warren, Leigh, Judde and Hubberthorne attained the Mayoralty of London - Beaven II 29,30,32,33,170-1. Thomas Offley also became Mayor of the Staple - Ramsay The City of London 41. In November 1554, 8 of the 26 Aldermen can be identified as Staplers - see Appendix 4.1 For list of Staplers in 1558, see CPR 1557-8 300-1
- Rich points out that, although the merchants from the out-ports maintained theoretical equality with the London merchants, the predominance of the Londoners in practice was indisputable - Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple 95-6. See also Bowden The Wool Trade 122
- 167 APC 1552-4 169,199,207,217,221,225,240,267-8,275-6,278 and Appendix 2. See also E101/520/14a.
- The English monarchy had borrowed from the Staplers from 1407 - Fryde 'English Public Credit' 462.
- 168 See below p 350
- 169 CPR 1547-8 183. In 1549 the office was assigned to Thomas Cotton - CPR 1548-9 368
- 170 Bowden The Wool Trade 107
- 171 APC 1550-2 180; CPR 1550-3 15; SP11/13 102; Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple 10,19; Bowden The Wool Trade 107-9
- 172 5&6 Edward VI c7; Bowden The Wool Trade 115. However, the fact that the merchants had to seek pardon for offences under the Act shows that it must have caused inconvenience to the Staplers despite reinforcing their export monopoly for raw wool - CPR 1557-8 300-1. Moreover, the Act was difficult to enforce, despite the system of informers - Bowden The Wool Trade 129-30; M W Beresford 'The Common Informer, the Penal

- 173 APC 1550-2 241. For renewal of the licence from May 1553-
August 1555 see APC 1552-4 274 and in 1558 see CPR 1557-8
300-1
- 174 APC 1552-4 205; Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of
the Staple 19
- 175 For the effect of the loss of Calais on the Staplers see
SP12/15 95-8; SP12/114 52-3 (now classified as EXT6/55);
Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple 21
- 176 HMC Salisbury Mss I 164; Bowden The Wool Trade 157
- 177 Willan Studies 48; Bowden The Wool Trade 156-7. See also
Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple 28ff.
According to Rich, Cecil championed the Staplers' cause in
Elizabeth's reign, assisting them in gaining their charter
in 1561 - Rich Ibid. 30. The organisation did not entirely
collapse in Elizabeth's reign, but its members tended to
shift from wool export to wool-broking - Rich Ibid. 64-86;
Bowden Ibid. 160ff; Ramsay The Woollen Industry 18-21
- 178 For customs see E122 84/3. Unfortunately, in contrast to
the Adventurers, individual Staplers' contributions to
royal loans are not detailed in E101/520/14a. However,
several Staplers were involved in exchange transactions on
behalf of the government. In 1554/5, Woodrofe was paid £100
for a bill at usance, as was Thomas Offley E101/520/14a 121

Rich points out that, in the negotiations between the Staplers
and the government in 1558, the Staplers were in a strong
position because of the government's need of loan capital -
Rich The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple 23.
Bowden makes a similar case for the Staple's political
influence - The Wool Trade 112.

- 179 Carus Wilson and Coleman England's Export Trade 2-3
- 180 Customs Commission C66/908 20v quoted by Ramsay The City of
London 151. Summarised CPR 1555-7 317. BL Lans 3 143-4
- cited N S B Gras The Early English Customs System
Harvard 1918 91

In 1549, a Parliamentary bill had been put forward for
raising new custom on woollen cloths, which had been
strenuously opposed by the Corporation and merchant
Adventurers - Rep 12i 43

- 181 Ramsay The City of London 150-1 ; T S Willan A Tudor Book of
Rates Manchester 1962 xxi-xxiii; H S Cobb 'Books of Rates
and the London Customs, 1507-58' Guildhall Miscellany 4
no.1 1971 1-13; Dietz The Port and Trade xi.

Gras sees the introduction of the new book as an
attempt to rectify the disparity between wool and cloth
customs rather than an innovation - Gras Early English

Customs 91. This would seem to be confirmed by the preamble of the privy seal letter to the customs officials before its introduction:

where the customs and subsidies of wools and other staple wares and merchandises, which in times past have been in yearly revenue very great to divers our noble progenitors (as by our records manifestly appeareth), are so decayed as at this present the same do yield unto us a very small yearly profit, the greatest cause of which decay we understand to be that much less wool is shipped and carried forth of this realm, and much more wool made into cloth and because the custom and subsidy of wool carried out of this realm doth far exceed the custom and subsidy of so much wool after the rate clothed [i.e. made into cloths] and carried out of this realm.....We therefore minding in reasonable sort to maintain our customs as the most ancient and certain revenue of our crown upon deliberate consideration in recompense of part of the great loss by us sustained have by the advice of our Council assessed upon the cloths to be carried forth [a new rate]

(28 May 1557 - BL Lans 3 143v)

- 182 Ramsay The City of London 151
- 183 Dietz The Port and Trade x-xi
- 184 Ramsay Isham lxxv
- 185 Concerning Baldwin Smith - see above n81. Richard Grey was possibly the citizen and goldsmith of London of the same name who was indicted for felony in King's Bench - KB29/189 50
- 186 Ramsay Isham lxxv
- 187 Ramsay Isham lxxvi
- 188 See above n94 & n112
- 189 B Dietz 'Antwerp and London : the Structure and Balance of Trade in the 1560s', Wealth and Power in Tudor England : Essays presented to S T Bindoff 1978 ed. E W Ives, R J Knecht and JJ Scarisbrick 187-8
- 190 APC 1556-8 363,369.
- See also Richard Clough's letter to Gresham on the frauds of the customs officers, 31 December 1561 - T&P II 226-8
- 191 APC 1558-70 48,52-4,69,83; cited by Ramsay Isham lxxvi-lxxvii; Gras Early English Customs 91-3,129. The Adventurers questioned the legality of the imposition on the basis that it had not been granted by Parliament. The Merchant Adventurers had refused to pay new customs introduced by Henry VII - Lingelbach 'The Internal Organisation of the Merchant Adventurers' 38. Concerning the Grocers' refusal to pay, see APC 1556-8 393

- 192 T&P II 223-6
- 193 CSP Sp 1553 14 footnote; see also Edward VI's licence to Willoughby for his voyage of discovery - BL Cotton Faustina CII no 26 fo 110
- 194 T S Willan Early History of the Russia Company Manchester 1956 9; SP68/11 65-6 (2 Feb 1553)
- 195 See, for example, CSP Sp 1553 204
- 196 Willan Studies 92 ff.
- 197 Willan Studies 34
- 198 Ramsay English Overseas Trade 23-4; and Isham lxxxii
- 199 Willan Studies 94; See also T S Willan 'Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century' English Historical Review lxx 399-410. Trading voyages to the Levant did, however, continue to be made during this period see, for example, Edward VI's Chronicle 111
- 200 Northumberland apparently had a personal interest in overseas exploration - Beer Northumberland 193-4
- 201 For details of the joint stock raised by the Russia Company see Willan Russia Company 6
- 202 See cp2
- 203 Willan Muscovy Merchants 75-132
- 204 Willan Russia Company 7
- 205 C T Carr Select Charters of Trading Companies 1530-1707 Selden Society 28 1913 1-3
- 206 CPR 1554-6 55-9
- 207 SP91/1 pt II 133 - cited by Willan Muscovy Merchants 25
- 208 Willan Russia Company 134-9,142-4
- 209 See also Mary's letter to the King of Portugal in 1555, the Portugese Ambassador's allegation of unlawful trading and the London merchants' reply - SP69/7 155-155v; 151
- 210 APC 1554-6 305,315
- 211 APC 1554-6 322
- 212 J M B C Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove and L Gilliots van Severen Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Regne de Philippe II Brussels 1882-1900 I 131. For Philip II's attitude to overseas trading in Portuguese territory by the English see SP 69/7 134.

It may have been that, as the English feared, Philip had ulterior motives in trying to limit British expansionist enterprise in the interest of Spanish competition - SP69/9 69-70

213 CSP Sp 1554-8 368

214 Willan Studies 94; CSP Sp 1554-8 315,347

215 Examples of individual licences include those granted to Richard Chaloner (tallow licence, 1550); Sir Thomas Darcy (wheat licence 1546); Robert Barnes, Alderman (wine licence to supply King, 1547) - APC 1547-50 410,448,506

216 Ramsay English Overseas Trade 23-7

217. CSP Sp 1553 204:

The people of London set a great value on the Captain's services and believe him to be possessed of secrets concerning English navigation

Cabot was described as one of the King's servants and was granted a royal annuity of L166 13s 4d p.a. from 6 January 1549 [sic.] - CPR 1547-8 320; E405/122 36

218 CSP Sp 1553 14:

The English are fitting out 3 vessels ... They say they are being sent on a voyage of discovery, and that they are to steer their course towards Iceland, and thence towards the east, making a few ports. they are being provisioned for two years, at the expense of certain London merchants and some members of the Council (My underlining)

Ramsay notes the earlier reluctance of Londoners to invest in overseas exploration - Ramsay English Overseas Trade 23-7

219 Ramsay Isham lxxxii

220 For example in the Andalusian Company Charter, merchants from London, Bristol and Southampton were specifically mentioned - Carr Select Charters 1-3

221 E.g. Sir John York, William Garrard, William Chester, Thomas Lodge, Francis and Richard Lambert, Edward Jackman and Francis Bowyer - Willan Studies 94,102. Re cloth exports in 1559 see SP12/6 112-14 (cal no. 52) cited by Willan loc. cit.

222 See Appendix 4.1

223 See Willan Muscovy Merchants 19,23-4 *et passim*

224 This has been explored by both Willan Muscovy Merchants *passim* and Ramsay The City of London 55-6 and will be examined in chapter 7 below.

CHAPTER FOUR : INTERNAL TRADE

1. Introduction

The regulation of internal trade and manufacture within the City also brought into contact Crown, Corporation and livery company: all had an interest in maintaining the quantity, quality and reasonable prices of goods produced or imported and sold in the capital, and in controlling the activities of the non-free. Although this interest doubtless arose as much from fear of disorder as from moral obligation to the City's inhabitants (1), Acts of Parliament, orders of the Court of Aldermen and guild regulations or ordinances did together represent a form of consumer protection, designed to minimise complaints and retributive action by individuals. However, on the reverse side of the legislation and regulation lay the vested interests of groups of traders and manufacturers, who sought support from Crown, Parliament, and City institutions to obtain and defend monopoly and privilege, often in opposition to each other. There has been considerable recent interest in the subject of trade regulation in Tudor London, both its method and its effectiveness (2). This chapter aims to explore the extent to which it featured in relations between Crown, Corporation and company at this period.

2. Crown and Council

The proximity of the capital to the Court and its importance as a political and commercial centre made the regulation of internal trade and manufacture in the City a matter of national concern.

The stability of London's economy and internal government had an impact not only on the security of the realm, but also on the exchange rate at Antwerp (3). Scarcity of victuals, price fluctuations and poor quality manufacture might not only result in discontent, if not riot, in the capital, but also undermine the reputation of the monarchy, both at home and on the continent (4). In more than one sense, London acted as the shop window for the success, or failure, of the Crown's economic policy (5).

Prices

Edward VI's government, in particular, maintained a close watch on price levels in the City, monitoring the effects of its currency policy on the markets with increasing alarm. When prices rose in the capital, it blamed the City authorities for failing to keep them down despite governmental instructions. Thus, in May 1552, the Council wrote to the Corporation 'marvelling' at the high price of victuals and accusing the City of deliberately maintaining inflated prices, in contrast to the remainder of the realm. Meanwhile, the Duke of Northumberland sent his own letters to the Court of Aldermen in a similar vein (6). It is significant that it was anger over this matter that apparently moved the King to threaten the City's liberties:

[8 June 1552]: The Lords of the Council sat at Guildhall in London, where in the presence of a thousand people they declared to the Mayor and Brethren their slothfulness in suffering unreasonable prices of things, and to craftsmen for their willfulness etc., telling them that if upon this admonition they did not amend, I was wholly determined to call in their liberties as confiscate and to appoint officers that should look to them. (Edward VI Chronicle 129-130)

The Corporation must have questioned the justice of this apportionment of blame for, as the Aldermen had pointed out to

the Council in August 1551, 'they cannot perceive how the victuallers and fuellers of the City for all the abasing of the coin can be able to abate the prices of their chaffer without their lordships' aid' (7). Moreover, some outside observers doubted whether, in time of scarcity, prices could ever be controlled by mere government order. In December 1550, at an earlier period of high food costs, Sir John Mason had written to Cecil: 'Nature will have his course.....Who will keep a cow that may not sell milk for so much as the merchant and he can agree upon' (8). The combined efforts of Parliament, Council and local authorities to put a lid on rising victual prices was bound to meet with limited success (9). Nevertheless, the City authorities did, in general, react swiftly to the complaints of the central government by the imposition of tight regulations on supply and prices.

During Edward's six year reign, concern over prices was almost constant. Currency debasement, and the rampant inflation which accompanied it (10), gave rise to a certain degree of panic in the capital, fomented and spread by rumour-mongers, and noted by the overseas ambassadors there (11). Barbaro, the Venetian Ambassador, for example, commented that 'this infamous money has fallen into such disrepute that those who make purchases with it pay fourfold and thus with good reason the ruin of the country is anticipated', whilst livery company accounts reveal problems caused by the uncertainties and fluctuations in purchasing power (12). Meanwhile, the Council tried, without success, to scotch gossip about Northumberland's own designs on the coinage (13).

On at least three occasions, central government intervened

directly in the City's economic affairs at moments of financial crisis: in 1549, 1551 and 1552. 1549 was a difficult year. A series of proclamations from January to April had brought about a dramatic debasement of the currency, which was followed by spiralling inflation and a poor harvest (14). In July, a proclamation was issued in an attempt to control the price of victuals nationally (15). However, almost immediately, the City appealed to the Lord Protector and Lord Chancellor to suspend the proclamation for victual prices during the rebellions which took place that year (16), and obtained a promise from the Council for the furtherance of the victuallers' case in Parliament (17). Nevertheless, only two months later, the central government intervened to complain about meat prices in the City. In September 1549, the Lord Mayor 'opened' to the Butchers' company 'how straightly the King's Honorable Council "bordened" him for that the said butchers sold their flesh to the King's subjects by his sufferance at unreasonable prices and not according to the rates as they ought to do, forasmuch as they bought the same at the King's prices' (18). The Corporation reacted by appointing surveyors of the meat markets for 'certain urgent considerations' to ensure the maintenance of prices laid down by the Mayor, a self-regulatory device which had been employed in the past (19).

1551 was another year of financial strain, when food prices peaked and the currency was again debased, and subsequently devalued (20). In May that year, the Recorder had declared the King's Council's pleasure that the recent proclamation concerning the coinage should be proclaimed in the City and that the companies should keep down prices (21). This apparently had little effect: in July the companies were asked for an

explanation of the reason for the dearth and high prices of commodities (22). The situation was compounded by the successive devaluations of the teston (shilling) in July and August, and their mishandling by the government, which led to further panic in the City (23). A poor harvest followed in their wake. It is hardly surprising that the City establishment was not willing to accept the blame when the cost of victuals soared (24).

However, the following year the City Corporation was swifter to respond to assist the central government in its endeavours to rebuild the economy (25). In response to the letters from the Council and Duke of Northumberland (26), the Court of Aldermen laid down revised prices for meat to be enforced by the Butchers' company (27), whilst the Recorder, Martin Bowes, John Gresham and Mr Crayforde were told to inform the Duke of Northumberland that the Court had drawn up an order for the victuallers to amend their prices in reply to his letter (28). Meanwhile, Common Council authorised the Lord Mayor to punish victuallers breaking the prices laid down by the Corporation (29). Punishments, varying from the pillory or imprisonment to disenfranchisement, were, indeed, meted out to offenders (30). Although it is difficult to judge to what extent this represented a natural response to the situation or was prompted by the King's threat to the City's liberties, the Court of Aldermen stressed the 'dangers' to which disobedience would give rise:

[9 June 1552]: The wardens of the companies according to their warning appeared in the Mayor's court before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen unto whom was declared by the Lord Mayor and Mr Recorder the admonition given to them by the King's council regarding the dearth of victuals and all manner of wares requiring them to take heed of the gentle exhortation given by the said Council and endeavour to reform and amend their prices of each kind of thing for fear of dangers to the contrary in that behalf ensuing for

neglecting the same and shortly to call their companies to their halls and to give them warning thereof so to do (Rep 12ii 491)

This message was conveyed in a similar tone to the company membership (31). Nevertheless, the Vintners' company was emboldened to appeal directly to the Council in Star Chamber for the retail prices of wines to be maintained, in July 1552 (32).

Mary's government inherited a legacy of distrust in the currency, which persisted despite attempts to reform the coinage, to control the price of victuals nationally, to prevent 'traffic in coin' and to prohibit rumours of coin devaluation (33). However, her ministers tended to be less interventionist with regard to London prices than her brother's. Although the government did approach the City during the dearth of 1555-6, its main concern seemed to be to ensure the adequacy of grain supplies rather than to castigate the City rulers for failing to control prices (34). However, in April 1557, the Council was forced to appeal to the Court of Aldermen to redress the 'excessive price' of victuals in the City and to scotch the persistent rumours there of the 'fall of the money' (35).

The fierceness of the Council's reaction to high prices in London (36) doubtless stemmed from its well founded anxiety about the effects of currency manipulation on the economy. However, there is evidence that Edward VI was developing a personal interest in financial issues, particularly those affecting the City (37). In any event, the importance of price levels in the capital to central, as well as local, government is self-evident, particularly at a time of economic and political instability.

Supply

The Council also intervened to assist London in securing an adequate grain supply and in preventing the export of essential commodities required by the capital and elsewhere (38), both as part of national policy and in response to specific requests from the Corporation. Edward VI's government issued no less than eighteen proclamations regarding the prices and export of grain, leather, bell metal and victuals (39) and five controlling the wool and cloth trade (40) on the grounds that:

nothing can better declare the zeal and affection by his highness borne towards the commonweal, than when by all good means such orders proceed from his majesty as may best tend to the general plenty of things here needful for the commodious living of his highness' natural subjects (3 July 1550 - Hughes and Larkin Tudor Royal Proclamations 1 495)

This profusion of proclamations contrasts with Mary's more modest number (41). Edward's Council also revealed its interest in supplies to London by the instructions sent directly to the Court of Aldermen. Of particular concern were tallow and hops (42). Anxiety was also expressed concerning the failure of the London goldsmiths to maintain the gold plate standard (43). Yet central government continued to display a readiness to refer what were perceived to be purely internal matters to the civic authorities or to independent arbitrators (44). Indeed, it has been suggested that central government economic policy was largely shaped by local initiative and need (45). Certainly, the power of London interest groups in influencing Parliamentary legislation should not be underestimated (46).

Mary's government intervened directly on at least two occasions, with regard to London's supply of grain and firewood. In

November 1553, a royal proclamation permitted subjects bringing fuel into the capital to sell it 'at reasonable prices' negotiated irrespective of the assise laid down by Act of Parliament earlier that year (47). The preamble justified this dispensation on the grounds of extra demand generated by the Queen's presence in the metropolis for the coronation and Parliament. Far more serious was dearth of grain three years later. The bad harvests of 1555 and 1556 (48) gave the Queen and Council cause for anxiety. In 1555, the Lord Treasurer issued orders to marshal supplies of grain for the City from as far afield as Yorkshire and, in August 1556, in a letter to the Court of Aldermen, the Council expressed its concern for the proper provision of grain for the capital (49).

Less helpful to the City merchants were the import and export licences on occasion granted by the Crown to strangers and foreigners against the City's interests (50), and the measure prohibiting the importation of French wines during the wars with France, which had to be repeated because of abuse (51). However, as might be expected, it was possible to obtain licences from the Queen to avoid the ban, whilst a subsequent order in Council reopened the wine import trade in return for an imposition of forty shillings per tun (52).

Employment regulation and monopoly

The abortive attempt in Henry VIII's reign to limit the wages of artificers and labourers in the capital, as part of a national policy (53), was not repeated in the following reigns, although there was some attempt by Edward's government to regulate the

employment of journeymen and to prevent the artificial raising of work rates by groups of victuallers and handicraftsmen (54). On the whole, the central authorities felt it advisable to leave such matters to the discretion of the City fathers (55), who did appear to take the responsibility seriously. In 1551, for example, the Corporation took action to regulate wages in the building industry at a time of special need (56). However, under Mary, an Act of Parliament was passed to regulate the activities of Thames watermen and bargemen plying the river from Windsor to Gravesend, after complaints of their profiteering and evil behaviour and after the apparent failure of an earlier Act, passed in Henry VIII's reign (57). Responsibility for the supervision of the trade and for the registration of individual watermen was to be assigned to eight overseers, appointed by the Mayor and Aldermen of London, whilst the City Corporation was empowered to set fares and to punish offenders under the terms of the Act (58). The Watermen were subsequently to be constituted as a fellowship or company, although never attaining livery company status or independence from civic supervision. Nevertheless, the development was a significant one in the history of employment regulation within and beyond the bounds of the metropolis (59).

In contrast to her sister, Elizabeth, Mary made little use of patents of monopoly as a revenue raising device or in order to reward courtiers (60). However, two significant trade monopolies were granted to interest groups in the City in the 1550s, one to foster the growth of overseas trade and one as part of a national censorship campaign. The charter granted to the Muscovy Company has already been discussed (61). The incorporation of the

Stationers' Company, in 1557, was granted ostensibly because of central government concern 'that seditious and heretical books, rhymes and treatises are daily printed', although the effects of lobbying should not be overlooked (62). By restricting printing to members of the London Stationers' company and a few other Crown licence holders, and by empowering company rulers to search without restriction for books and leaflets printed against royal statute or proclamation and to punish offenders, it was hoped that the steady flow of Protestant and anti-government propaganda emanating from London and the continent could be stemmed. Despite the apparent success of the measure in confining English printing to the capital and silencing the majority of Protestant presses there, the ineffectiveness of the government's overall policy is evident. Seditious and radical literature continued to be imported from the continent, its flow largely uninterrupted by charter or Act of Parliament (63). However, the measure represents an interesting attempt by the Crown to harness vested interest and livery company organisation within the City to serve its own purposes.

3. City Corporation

The adequate supply of consumables, particularly of food, drink and fuel, had become a matter of increasing concern to the civic authorities in London, and in other towns challenged by rising populations in the sixteenth century (64). The City Corporation enforced assises of bread, ale and other victuals (65), laying down weights and measures and prices on a regular basis, adjusted to take account of shortages and seasonal fluctuations (66). It drew up tables of prices for fuel and other commodities, usually

in conjunction with the relevant livery companies (67), and attempted to ensure that adequate supplies reached and remained in the City (68). These responsibilities did not cease during economic recovery: in 1557, when food supplies became more abundant, as a good harvest followed two bad ones, the Corporation acted to make certain that prices in the capital were lowered accordingly, to prevent profiteering (69).

In these endeavours, the Aldermen were forced to have periodic recourse to King and Privy Council for their assistance, in particular to prevent the export of essential commodities and to limit the demands of the royal purveyors. For example, on 17 April 1548, the Lord Mayor was instructed to make a motion to the King's Council 'for staying of butter, cheese and tallow here within the realm' and in August 1548, the Court of Aldermen dispatched Mr Atkyns to the Lord Chancellor to 'declare to him the sudden rising of the price of wheat here at London and the nether parts hereabout by reason partly of the shipping over of great quantity thereof late beyond the sea, desiring his Lordship in my Lord Mayor and Aldermen's names to be a mean to the Lord Protector's grace if a restraint may be had with expedition by proclamation for the staying of the same here within the realm' (70). In 1550, in response to information supplied by the Lord Mayor, the Council acknowledged the King's responsibility for ensuring the provision of grain in the capital (71), and in Edward's and Mary's reigns two Acts were passed to control the excesses of purveyors (72). The Corporation built up stocks of wheat, rye and other victuals to stave off famine in time of scarcity, and obtained licences from the Privy Council to import wheat from France, for example in 1551 (73). Indeed, London's

dependence on French corn in the 1550s has been seen as a significant factor in Anglo-French relations in this period (74).

The City's rulers also attempted to expel vagabonds and the idle poor, since the fear of a starving and riotous population was a constant preoccupation (75). In 1551, for example, the Mayor and Aldermen justified their measures to secure adequate grain supplies in the City in these terms:

Forasmuch as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London foreseeing and considering the great danger and peril that might have come and ensued to the said city and inhabitants of the same by reason of the great scarcity and penury of all kinds of bread corn that of late hath been and yet is through the most parts of.... England if good and convenient provision in time and season had not been had and made in foreign regions by the said Mayor and Aldermen of and for the competent and necessary store and quantity of the said grain have in eschewing of the said peril and danger and to not no little wealth commodity and comfort of the said city and citizens aswell of their own proper costs and charges as also of the said citizens bought and made provision in foreign and exterior regions of such store that the same of itself (thanked be almighty god) is able to suffice and serve the said city of and by a long season (Jo 16 112v)

Moreover, as Benbow has pointed out, both moral and social arguments dictated civic intervention when the market failed to function (76). This led to tension between the City Corporation and the victualling companies, which had its parallels elsewhere in England (77). Victuallers were periodically punished for breaking assises or other offences, such as forestalling, by penalties varying from fines to pillorying, imprisonment and disenfranchisement (78): their subservience to the Corporation, and to its by-laws, was thus demonstrated as an example to others. More dramatically, in 1551, the whole membership of the Brewers' company was barred from election to the Court of Common Council, albeit temporarily, 'forasmuch as the beerbrewers in the last Common Council here holden most disobediently,

stubbornly and arrogantly behaved themselves toward this honorable court and also for that other hereafter may the rather fear to attempt the like disorder'(79). The background to this incident, and its subsequent resolution, deserve examination, providing an interesting example of the preoccupations of the mid-sixteenth century establishment.

The origins of the Brewers' disagreement with the civic authorities lay in the shortage of grain in the capital in 1550, which led to a steep rise in the prices of hops, malt and other cereals used in brewing and baking. In October 1550, the Brewers' company requested a rise in beer prices to compensate them for their increasing costs (80). It was the Corporation's failure to respond to this request which led to the bad behaviour of the beerbrewers during the meeting of Common Council on 8 February 1551. The company felt that their interests had been overlooked.

The civic authorities, however, did view the matter seriously. The Lord Mayor communicated to the Privy Council the problems caused by shortage of grain in the capital, for which the presence of the King and Parliament in the metropolis was acknowledged to be largely responsible (81). In response to this information, the central government issued a proclamation to the magistrates of the home counties to provide grain and victuals for the City (82), whilst the Corporation sent letters to named grain suppliers in Norfolk and Kent to supply wheat to the City (83). However, it was four months before the Brewers' request for a price rise was finally approved, on 14 February 1551, and then not in full. Moreover, the increase was conditional on a number of provisos, which were embodied in an act of Common

Council passed the same day. These included the following: that the higher prices were only to continue until malt and wheat resumed their normal prices (i.e. 12s and 15s respectively per quarter); that tipplers were to maintain retail prices at their 'old and accustomed' level, on pain of disenfranchisement; that tables of prices were to be displayed publicly at Guildhall; and that four surveyors were to be chosen by Common Council to enforce the regulations, with the assistance of the beadles of the 'house of the poor' if required (84).

The misbehaviour of the beerbrewers at the Common Council meeting might have been provoked by the civic government's dilatory and uncompromising approach. However, the City Corporation blamed the native alebrewers for inciting their colleagues in the beer-brewing industry, in particular the alien beerbrewers, into disruptive action:

it has appeared that this notable stubbornness of the beerbrewers has risen by the counsel and provocation of the alebrewers, which have united unto them all the beerbrewers as well strangers and alien born as other. And that the said beerbrewers being strangers born and not free of this City durst not so stoutly to have proceeded to the great vexation of the whole body of so honourable a city as the City of London is, without the aid and help of the same alebrewers being mere Englishmen (Jo 16 101v)

The Corporation took firm measures to regulate the industry in the light of this intransigence. It decided that the alebrewers and beerbrewers should be divided into separate fellowships and that the practitioners should be supervised more closely. On 19 February, the beerbrewers were given a copy of the act of Common Council, with which they had previously declared themselves 'not contented', 'to the intent that they may better observe it', and

were ordered to bring their charter of incorporation before the Court of Aldermen (85). Meanwhile, surveyors were appointed by Common Council from within the new Beerbrewers' company under the terms of the act of 14 February. They were to report to the Court of Aldermen on beer-brewing activities within the City (86). However, these measures were apparently not effective. The following October (1552), Common Council was forced to pass a further act to endow the surveyors 'with full power and authority' to carry out their required duties, to prevent interference by the Alebrewers' company and to enforce prices (87). The friction between the Corporation and the brewers continued (88) until at least 1556, when, at the request of the Beerbrewers, the City authorities agreed to the reunion of the two brewers' fellowships chiefly on the grounds that the election of the surveyors, who were supposed to govern them, had lapsed (89). The Corporation's plans to enforce stricter supervision on the industry had proved abortive.

Although the experiment of appointing surveyors to regulate beer brewing had failed, the Corporation continued to use company representatives to supervise markets and to carry out *statutory* searches in other areas of trade and manufacture. Indeed, the employment of fellow members might have helped to reduce the companies' natural hostility to outside interference, as well as providing a useful source of manpower. Thus vintners and tallowchandlers were appointed, rather than the mayor's officers, to undertake the searches for wines dictated by Act of Parliament (90) and the search of tanned leather in the Southwark fair in 1547 was delegated to the wardens of the Girdlers', Curriers' and Cordwainers' companies (91). Similarly, searches for hops were

undertaken by members of the Grocers', Salters' and Brewers' companies (92), whilst the supervision of the City's fishmarkets and fleshmarkets, in 1548, 1549, 1551 and 1552, was assigned to representatives of the Twelve Great Companies (93).

4. City Livery Companies

The City livery companies had been involved in trade regulation from their origin in the twelfth century: it was clauses relating to trade and manufacture in their ordinances which distinguished them from their fellow religious guilds. Their subservience to central and local government was emphasised by the need for the approval of both for their regulations (94). The Act of 1504, which for the first time required central government authorisation for company ordinances, was apparently passed in response to the dispute between the City and the Crown over the granting of the Merchant Taylors' charter by Henry VII against the wishes of the Corporation (95). Although the statute might have been expected to represent a source of continuing friction between the two, or to have seriously undermined the supervisory role of the civic authorities over the companies, it apparently did neither in the long term. After an extended campaign by the Corporation to have the measure rescinded (96), a *modus vivendi* was apparently reached, and there is no evidence in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary of continuing irritation over the matter. Although some companies omitted to follow the correct procedure (97), the City authorities continued to insist on their own right to inspect new company ordinances. Indeed, they also stressed the need for conformity to the 1504 statute. In 1567, for example, the Pewterers' company was ordered to enter into a bond, under a

penalty of five hundred pounds, not to make any ordinances in contravention of the Act, after a dispute with one of its members (98).

Nor was the approval of the Corporation to guild ordinances automatic: sometimes they were rejected out of hand, as when the Fletchers' book of ordinances was disallowed by the Court of Aldermen in 1547 'as 'neither meet nor yet convenient to be admitted or allowed by this court' (99). More frequently, alterations or additions were required, as in the case of the common porters', waterbearers' and alebrewers' regulations (100). It is interesting that the Clothworkers, who had had one of their articles rejected by the Court of Aldermen, persisted in their attempts to obtain authorisation for it from the Court of Common Council. The controversial clause would have required all those apprenticed to learn the skills of rowing and shearing to have become free of the Clothworkers' company and not of any other company, thus undermining the position of the Merchant Taylors' company. However, after much wrangling, it was rejected (101).

Nevertheless, despite the rivalries between companies and other constraints on their powers (102), many livery companies managed to retain a fair degree of autonomy in the supervision of trade and manufacture in their area of concern, reinforced by grants of independent rights by royal charter and Act of Parliament, which consolidated or extended their privileges within the City and outside (103). The assistance of outside institutions with company affairs could lead to friction with the civic authorities, since it represented in some cases a direct challenge to their power. On the other hand, the periodic appeals

by companies to the Corporation for endorsement of guild authority over recalcitrant members or non-members helped to underpin civic supremacy in trade regulation.

Letters patent

The most effective way of obtaining outside authority was by royal letters patent (104). By the mid-sixteenth century, the vast majority of the City livery companies had achieved incorporation by letters patent, the only new company 'charter' granted during this period being the one granted to the Stationers' company, in 1557 (105). Nevertheless, there were a number of confirmations, some apparently in response to *Quo Warranto* proceedings, which were to become particularly common towards the end of Mary's reign (106). Despite the advantages which the letters patent brought, in terms of incorporation and endorsement of specific powers of search and regulation, they were only effective as far as they were enforceable by company officials. It is interesting to note, for example, that in this period the Pewterers felt it necessary to obtain a mandate addressed to justices, sheriffs, mayors and other local officials reinforcing their earlier letters patent and requiring the addressees to permit and assist the company wardens to exercise their powers according to the terms of the patent (107), whilst the Physicians, established as a College by patent of Henry VIII, sought Acts of Parliament in the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary to ensure the continuance of their independent existence (108). As with their ordinances, the companies were supposed to seek approval from the Corporation before seeking royal grants. The Stationers did indeed bring in their charter of incorporation to the Court of Aldermen to be enrolled, albeit retrospectively. The

Court agreed on the condition 'that there be nothing therein contained which is against the liberties or ancient customs of the City' (109). Letters patent were also sought with increasing regularity to exempt company members from the effects of parliamentary legislation, if lobbying had failed to prevent the passing or repeal of an unfavourable act (110).

Parliament

Recent research has shown that it became increasingly common during the sixteenth century for companies to appeal to Parliament without civic authorisation (111). In addition to undermining the Corporation's supervisory role, this development was to cause problems for Parliament itself in Elizabeth's reign, as individual London companies clogged up the agenda with numerous private bills (112), in contrast to the carefully planned Parliamentary programme devised by the Corporation (113). Although, as Helen Miller has pointed out, it is possible that the greater companies secured verbal authorisation for their Parliamentary lobbying, since, in contrast to their lesser equivalents, they were never reproved for their activities, it is equally likely that this represented defeatism on the part of the civic authorities: 'it was clearly becoming increasingly difficult to maintain aldermanic control' (114).

Nevertheless, during the mid-sixteenth century, a significant number of companies, including at least two of the Great Companies, did submit and gain approval for their draft Parliamentary bills from the Court of Aldermen. These included the Merchant Taylors (115); the Vintners (116); the Bakers (117); the Brewers (118); the Curriers and Cordwainers (119); the

Pewterers (120); the Dyers (121); the Tallowchandlers (122); and the Woodmongers (123). Despite the growing trend for the livery companies to approach Parliament directly without civic authorisation (124), many companies apparently felt that it was in their interest to approach the Corporation first, to gain its support and access to its well established lobbying machinery. The Corporation greatly assisted the Woodmongers, for example, backing not only their case in Parliament, but also other of their measures to address the wood shortage in the City in February 1552 (125), whilst the Curriers petitioned the Court of Aldermen to ensure that the correct procedure was followed:

[26 September 1555]: The supplication of the Curriers that no bill or suit shall be exhibited or made by any of the citizens of this city from henceforth into the Parliament House concerning leather or any other merchandise without the privity and knowledge of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City and their consent and assent first had and obtained for the same was read and agreed that the law and ordinance herefore already made and provided for the self same effect shall be perused and if the same be not full and perfect in that behalf it was then agreed that the said bill shall be heard again (Rep 13ii 324v)

Rather than seeking to enhance its role in this area, the Corporation felt the need to limit its own involvement in the long running dispute between the leather trades and, in the 1550s, the Court of Aldermen expressed impatience with the Curriers and Cordwainers for their constant lobbying. In November 1554, for example, the Court restricted, on pain of imprisonment, the number of company representatives who should attend Parliament 'for the soliciting and setting forward of their bill there exhibited for and concerning the true tanning and curing of leather' and, the subsequent April, advised them to make their own suit to the Queen for dispensation from the effects of the recent Statute concerning tanned leather (126). On the other hand, the Court of Aldermen was successful in persuading the

Grocers' company and Thomas Norton to withdraw their opposing Parliamentary bills concerning the garbellorship of spices in 1547 (127) and, in 1553, in ordering the Butchers to retain their bill concerning the scarcity of fat cattle 'still in their own hands and not put it forth' (128).

Recent research has revealed both the strength of the company lobbies, and the vast sums that they were prepared to dispense in seeking legislation or dispensation therefrom (129). Parliamentary lobbying might have the added effect of enhancing the status of individual companies within the City and outside and in fostering internal unity, by providing a communal sense of purpose (130). In their campaigns, companies canvassed courtiers and royal and Parliamentary officials, mirroring the Corporation's own use of the City-Court patronage network (131). Moreover, as stressed by both Archer and Dean, Parliament was only one of the many avenues followed by the livery companies in order to defend or expand the trading interests of their members. Obtaining dispensations from statutory restrictions and securing favourable judgments in the law courts could compensate for legislative disappointment (132).

Archer has analysed the content of company sponsored bills in the late-sixteenth century, placing them into five subject categories: (i) to extend company control over non-members engaged in the company's trade, be they freemen of other companies, foreigners or strangers; (ii) to obtain or extend statutory powers to search; (iii) to maximise employment for company members, by preventing the export of raw materials and limiting the import of manufactured goods; (iv) to curb the

activities of middlemen; and (v) to remove statutory restrictions on trade and manufacture in their own areas. The Parliamentary lobbying by livery companies in the mid-century fits well within this pattern. An example of category one is the Baker's bill against strangers baking and providing meal (133). Category two is represented by the Tallowchandlers' bill for the search of oils (134). Category three includes the Woodmongers' bill of 1552 mentioned above (135) and the Pewterers' bill, approved by the Court of Aldermen in November 1553, 'for the restraint of tin to be sent over the sea in whole blocks' (136). Category four encompasses the Cordwainers' long dispute with Curriers over the latter's role as middlemen between the tanners and shoemakers (137); and into category five fit, for example, the Merchant Taylors bill to employ apprentices and journeymen against the recent Statute (3&4 Edward VI c22) (138), the Vintners' campaign against the 1553 Act 'to avoid the great price and excess of wines' (139), the Ironmongers' action against the bill 'to bring in steel' (140), and the Dyers' bill, of November 1554, which concerned methods of manufacture, namely the 'true dying of cloths, caps and other things mentioned in the said bill with woad' (141).

It is perhaps disappointing to the historian that there is little evidence of conflict between the City Corporation and the companies over Parliamentary issues during this period. The fact that the Court of Aldermen remained empowered to 'permit' the Curriers and Cordwainers to 'sue for the determination of the said matters by the high court of Parliament', to prevent the Butchers from submitting their bill about fat cattle and to require Thomas Norton to remove his bill against the Grocers from

the Parliament House in favour of arbitration, should caution against assuming its impotence (142). Aldermanic influence may have been declining in this area; yet it would not become redundant for as long as the companies continued to feel the need for assistance and support from the Corporation and from its agents, the City MPs, the Recorder and the City's legal counsel. Indeed, the proposal to refer London private bills to the City authorities in Elizabeth's reign, in order to save parliamentary time, would incidentally have effected a reinforcement of civic control, as its author was keen to point out:

so shall you ... do the City a marvelous benefit, that their matters came not too much in question, and the reforming of their own causes be referred to themselves (BL Harl 253 34v)

Law courts

The companies could also resort to the Lord Chancellor and the central law courts in the hope of gaining favourable judgments to back up their trade regulations, particularly against the non-free, although they were supposed, by city custom, to seek the prior permission of the Corporation before impleading outside the City (143). The most common cases of this kind concerned encroachment in their area of trade by strangers (144). In addition, during this period, the Pewterers went to the Exchequer court in their suit against hawkers (145), and the Merchant Taylors' pursued their campaign concerning apprentices in the same court, in 1552 (146). On the other hand, the Vintners denied any involvement in the prosecution of wine retailers in the Exchequer (147).

The central law courts could also be used by members against

their governors, despite company ordinances which normally forbade external law suits by individuals (148). In Trinity term 1552, for example, the master and wardens of the Cooks appeared in the Exchequer defending a case brought there on a 'nisi prius'. The dispute related to the admission of one Richard Adamson, late apprentice with John Wylcockes, a member of the Cooks' company. Wylcockes accused the master and wardens of ignoring both an Act of Parliament of Henry VIII's reign (149) and company ordinances concerning the entry fee that was payable on admission of an apprentice to the freedom (150). Unfortunately, the outcome of this case is not known. The Goldsmiths' governors were brought before the Chancellor to answer a complaint against them by one Sherarde. However, they managed to escape on a technicality - the company had been incorrectly described in the complaint (151). Meanwhile, several maltmen commenced a plea against one of the wardens of the Brewers' company in King's Bench, for an action which they claimed to be against the laws of the City, for which they were ordered before the Court of Aldermen, in January 1554 (152).

Further research in the central court records might reveal other examples (153). However, not surprisingly, the companies appear to have made little use of this costly and dilatory method of enforcing their rights during this period (154): most of the cases brought by them in the central law courts related to property ownership disputes rather than trade regulations (155).

Corporation and company

Despite the relatively easy access enjoyed by London citizens to the Crown, the central law courts and Parliament, lobbying was

expensive and time-consuming. It is therefore not surprising to find that the lesser companies, at least, tended to seek support from the civic authorities in the first instance. It was not uncommon, for example, for company governors to approach the Aldermen to discipline recalcitrant members or for members themselves to bring internal disputes before the Court of Aldermen for arbitration. Their ability to do so has been seen as a contributory factor to London's stability in the sixteenth century. Certainly, there is evidence of this process acting as a 'safety valve'. Because the City Corporation did not always favour the company wardens in such disputes, and appeared to judge each case on its merits, there were some grounds for individual applicants to feel confident of a fair hearing. However, company rulers could rely on civic backing in redressing cases of wilful disobedience amongst their membership. Whilst the question of 'stability' and of the degree of 'sensitivity' shown by the City and company rulers lies beyond the scope of this thesis (156), it is worth pausing to examine a number of incidents taken from this period to indicate the nature of civic arbitration.

The most striking examples of civic intervention in internal disputes at this period relate to the Parish Clerks' and the Pewterers' companies. With regard to the former, no less than seven instances of internecine strife were recorded in the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen between June 1551 and June 1553 (157), and, on 18 June 1551, the wardens were empowered to commit to ward (prison) in the Lord Mayor's name 'all such disobedient persons of their fellowship as shall refuse to use themselves in obeying their honest rules' (158). The Parish

Clerks, admittedly, were an exceptional case: they never achieved livery company status and had yet to recover from the vulnerable position in which they were left after the confiscation of their property by the Chantry Commissioners (159). However, their reliance on the Corporation for their viability demonstrates the advantages to companies of civic support. Moreover, the Parish Clerks were not alone in seeking reinforcement in cases of disregard for authority by individual members. In January 1553, the wardens of the Poulterers' company sought aid in disciplining Robert Chamber for his misdemeanours against them (160). In fact, the Corporation felt it appropriate to refer the matter back to the Poulterers' own Court of Assistants, perhaps an example of its 'sensitivity'. Two years later, the Clothworkers sought the assistance of the Court of Aldermen against a recalcitrant member, John a Bartho, who obstinately refused to cease using an illegal practice in cloth manufacture (161), whilst the Pewterers, in 1552, had referred the case of Richard Selby, who had persisted in manufacturing faulty pots, to the judgement of the Lord Mayor (162).

More serious, however, were the complaints against the rule of company wardens which came before the Court of Aldermen. In complaining, members were challenging not so much the authority of their leaders to rule, but more the equity of their regime (163). In their defence, the wardens tended to rely on the Court's willingness to uphold the status quo. However, the City's rulers did not automatically side with the company officials. One such case involved the Pewterers' company: from 1548 to 1567 the company wardens were troubled by suits against them by one of their members, Edward Rewe (164).

Rewe had been apprenticed to William a[pl] Pris in 1526 or 1527 and set up his shop, as a member of the company yeomanry, ten years later. He entered the livery in 1546, two years before the commencement of his suit against the wardens. Despite his disruptive behaviour he became renterwarden in 1560 and upper warden four years later, following the normal progression through the company. He was subsequently to serve as master, in 1582 and 1588 (165). Rewe's complaints, both in 1548 and 1567, concerned the imposition by the wardens of new, unauthorised, ordinances (166). Although the company wardens resorted to commissioning a search the City's records, looking out the entry in Letter book G 'as touching rebellions in companies' and drew up a formal answer to Rewe's complaint, the Aldermen, acting on the advice of arbitrators, decided in favour of Rewe (167). Rewe, however, continued to be a source of controversy, despite attaining company office. He was imprisoned the following year, for reviling one of the wardens in 'dispytuous manner,' and he insisted that an outside assessor, Sir Martin Bowes, a former Lord Mayor, should visit Pewterers' hall on several occasions 'for trial and proof of their [as]say of lay metal [i.e. inferior quality pewter]' and that the company weights should be taken to the Guildhall for 'new trying' of them there. Probably as a result of this, the company was obliged to purchase a new pair of assay stones for the hall (168). Although these initiatives may have been in the common good, the Court of Aldermen ordered him to pay fifty-nine shillings and twopence to the company, 'for the charges and expenses he had put the craft unto', together with two shillings which he owed in quarterage (169). In 1567, he caused such upset within the company, that eighty six out of a

total of one hundred and thirty five members (170) were prepared to sign a motion ejecting him from the court of assistants and from company membership (171). On his submission, he was subsequently readmitted. However, significantly, he appears to have won his suit to the Court of Aldermen: the Court ordered the company to be bound, under penalty of five hundred pounds, not to make any ordinances against the 1504 statute (172).

The Court of Aldermen's response was apparently not predetermined, even in disputes between the lower ranks, the yeomanry, and their superiors, the livery, where one might have expected the Aldermen to favour their fellow liverymen. Between 1547 and 1558, the Saddlers, Broderers, Tylers, Weavers, Founders and Clothworkers all experienced such altercations (173). These fall into the pattern of similar incidents discussed elsewhere (174). They rested on accusations of malpractice by the wardens or of the introduction of excessive restrictions by the company rulers. The yeomanry was seeking remedies for specific grievances rather than challenging the right of the 'ancients' to rule. It is interesting that the Court of Aldermen awarded the Saddler's yeomanry fifteen pounds six shillings in costs, to be paid by the wardens, in its complaint against the latter and supported the case of the Tylers' yeomanry against its wardens. On the other hand, the Weavers' yeomanry seems to have lost a similar suit, whilst the Bakers' journeymen were clamped into irons in Newgate for their disobedience to their wardens. The Bakers' governors were, nevertheless, ordered to redress the grievances of which their journeymen complained (175).

There were a number of other ways in which the Corporation might

become involved in company affairs. The presence of the mayor's officers accompanying company searchers helped them to enforce company, as well as civic, regulations (176), whilst many companies benefited from the advice of the City's legal counsel (177). The annual gifts given to Corporation officials bear witness to the value of their services to the companies (178). However, the most obvious area in which support was sought from the Corporation was in the arbitration of rivalries with other companies. These were intensified by the 'custom of London', which entitled citizens to engage in any trading activity and thus undermined the companies' power to regulate their trades and to raise quarterage from practitioners (179). The Repertories abound with examples of inter-company struggles during this period, pursued inside and outside the City, the most well known of which was the rivalry between the Merchant Taylors and Clothworkers (180) which is well covered elsewhere (181). In addition to waging these long running campaigns, companies also sought awards to resolve specific issues, such as the quarterage liability, transfer of citizens from one company to another and the punishment of defaulters (182).

The effectiveness of economic regulation by the livery companies and their important role in the arbitration of trade disputes lie beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is worth emphasising that, as agents of the civic government in the maintenance of trading standards, trade and craft guilds continued to fulfil a vital role in assisting Corporation and Crown in 'policing' the economy, despite the growing limitations on their powers (183). The most serious of these was the threat posed by the increasing involvement of non-citizens in trade and

manufacture in the City and its suburbs, which was of mutual concern to Crown, Council, City Corporation and livery companies. It is to this subject that the remainder of the chapter will be devoted.

5. Foreigners and strangers

Both strangers (alien-born non-citizens) and foreigners (native-born non-citizens) were subject to certain disabilities in their dealings in the City, those affecting the aliens being greater and more clearly defined (184). Non-citizens were not entitled to sell by retail in the City; to purchase cloths at the City's chief cloth market, Blackwell hall; to manufacture or to set up shops within the City bounds; nor to vote or participate in any way in civic government. In addition, strangers (except the Hanseatic merchants) were subject to higher taxes and dues than native Englishmen; to limitations on the bequest of real property and on the right to wage law suits; and to various additional restraints upon trade (185). From time to time they were even subject to expulsion (186). Denization, which could be obtained by patent from the Crown, or naturalisation, secured by Act of Parliament, did remove some of the disadvantages of alien status. However, the position of denizens was far from clear and the rights conceded tended to vary with each separate grant. Nevertheless, despite the considerable cost of obtaining such a grant, the reassurance which it brought seems to have been thought worthy of the expense and effort at times of particular insecurity or attack. Nearly three thousand new denizens were registered in 1544, after Henry VIII had forced aliens to seek denization or to leave the country, principally as a revenue

raising device (187).

The alien population was well established in London and its suburbs by the mid-sixteenth century, comprising not only rich merchants, who amongst other things could offer a variety of financial services to Crown and City merchants, but also artisans and craftsmen. The most notable of the former were the Italians who had formed communities in London, centred in Lombard Street (and subsequently Clerkenwell), from at least the thirteenth century (188). The latter included Flemish weavers, who had been working in the City from the fourteenth century (189). To these were added in the mid to late sixteenth century an influx of Protestant refugees fleeing from the religious persecution on the continent, principally from France and the Low Countries. Their presence in London was encouraged by the foundation of a stranger church there in 1550, as a result of a royal grant (190). Over eight hundred denizens were enrolled in *Edward VI's reign* (191).

Crown and Council

Although it may have been acting as part of a 'conscious policy' to further Protestant settlement in England (192), Edward VI's government seems to have agreed to this grant principally in order to prevent the excesses of anabaptism breeding in the capital (193).

The church was established largely as a result of lobbying of Cranmer by John a Lasco, a noted Polish reformer who had arrived in England a few months earlier. It also had the assistance and support of Hooper. Significantly, the church was granted freedom from interference by the English ecclesiastical authorities, which

inevitably angered Nicholas Ridley, then Bishop of London (194). Lasco became its first superintendent, and its congregation initially encompassed Flemish, Dutch, German and French Protestants. However, the French were subsequently granted their own place of worship, the chapel of St Anthony, Threadneedle street (195). Lasco seems to have retained a favourable position *vis a vis* the central government: he was subsequently granted a licence for life to eat flesh during Lent and holidays, a privilege reserved for the well connected (196). An appeal to the Privy Council on behalf of his congregation for dispensation from the Statute enforcing attendance at the established church was also successful. The Bishop of London was instructed 'to devise means to appease the disquiet in the strangers' church' and, meanwhile, to allow members to continue to worship there (197). For reasons of religion and security, Edward's government was apparently sympathetic to the needs of the stranger Protestants in the capital. Yet, the problems of disorder, which the establishment of the stranger churches was designed to obviate, were in some ways enhanced by their foundation: they made much more obvious the large number of aliens resident in the capital (198).

Andrew Pettegree has investigated the religious, social and economic impact of these churches, which not only provided a religious focus for recent immigrants, but also played an essential role in meeting their immediate needs, including poor relief, medical care and schooling (199). Despite the tendency of such communities towards separateness (200), there is evidence of some integration with the citizens - mixed marriages were not unknown and bequests in wills demonstrate links with the native

population (201). Under an ostentatiously Protestant regime, the Protestant stranger congregation flourished. Although there is less evidence about the Roman Catholic alien population under Edward VI, it is likely that they continued to worship together in private or in the embassy chapels (202).

However, as part of its reversal of Edwardian policy, the Marian Privy Council, on 16 September 1553, ordered officials to enable French Protestants to leave realm (203) and, the following February, commanded the expulsion of all Protestant refugees, again on a combination of religious and security grounds :

understanding that a multitude of evil-disposed persons, being born out of her highness' dominions in other sundry nations, fleeing from the obeisance of princes and rulers under whom they be born (some for heresy, some for murder, treason, robbery, and some for other horrible crimes) be resorted and come into her majesty's realm, and here have made their demur and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the subjects of her grace's realm, of purpose to infect her good subjects with the like (Proclamation, 17 February 1554 - H&L II 31-2)

There was just cause for alarm, if the, admittedly biased, Imperial ambassador is to be believed (204). As a direct result of this measure, the life of the stranger church community had to be suspended and the number of resident aliens sharply declined until the reformation of their congregations in 1559. However, it is clear that a substantial proportion of the alien church membership remained in London, many of whom were protected by their English merchant colleagues or employers (205).

Edward and Mary's opposing policies towards the stranger churches in London may have been motivated largely by religious

considerations. However, the attitude of the monarch and Privy Council towards the individual non-free was generally more pragmatic. There are a number of examples of the Council sponsoring suits to the Court of Aldermen in favour of strangers and foreigners resident in London, in response to petitions from ambassadors and the claimants themselves (206), although the King of Sweden's request, in April 1550, for his subjects to be free of customs and restrictions was dismissed by the Council as 'unreasonable' (207). The grant of import and export licences by the Crown to individual strangers acted as a source of annoyance to the London merchants (208). Moreover, letters patent were granted to native entrepreneurs wishing to introduce or exploit alien skills in manufacture. In April 1552, for example, Henry Smyth of London, merchant, was granted a patent to bring from abroad 'certain strangers into the realm expert in making broad glass such is commonly called Normandy glass, whereby divers of the King's subject's may be set to work and get their living and in time learn and be able to make the same glass themselves' (209). Meanwhile, the Crown continued to make use of the financial services offered by the Italians resident in the City. Although fewer loans were made directly by the Lombards than in the past, the Italians continued to act as agents for the Crown on the continent (210). In addition, royal annuities were granted to several stranger merchants, whilst a number of Henry VIII's grants to aliens were confirmed (211).

Nevertheless, Crown and Council were aware of the dangers of xenophobia. The memory of Evil May Day of 1517, when apprentices had turned against the alien population in the City, was there to remind them of the hazards to order posed by the presence of the

stranger population (212). Among the general populace, a certain amount of xenophobia was inevitable, whatever the economic and political situation:

*So many Easterlings,
Lombards and Flemings
To bear away our winnings
Saw I never:
By their subtle ways
All England decays,
For such false Januays,
Saw I never*

(P Henderson (ed.) The Complete Poems of John Skelton Laureate
2nd ed 1948 138 quoted in Ransome 'Glaziers' 13) (213).

However, there were additional reasons for resentment of outsiders during the middle of the century, namely economic fluctuations, the mass immigration of religious refugees, the revival of the Hanseatic privileges and the Spanish Marriage. The fear of brawls and riot, with assaults on alien scapegoats, was a real one, particularly at time of economic slump. These sentiments were certainly present during the reigns of Edward and Mary, and did indeed from time to time spill out onto the street, although there was no actual rising. There were two periods of particular tension, both of which caused the Privy Council to intervene in civic affairs, ordering the Corporation to act to preserve the peace.

The first coincided significantly with the slump in the cloth trade and the high inflation in the mid-century. In 1551, the Spanish Ambassador noted the tendency of Londoners to exaggerate the numbers of aliens resident in the City and to attribute to them blame for ills such as high prices and food shortages (214). Indeed, in the spring of that year a deputation of citizens made a formal complaint to the Lord Mayor against strangers at a time

of particular tension. There were even rumours of a plot to attack aliens, which was supposedly crushed only by the speedy response of the civic authorities. Edward VI himself recorded in his chronicle this conspiracy 'of Londoners who thought to rise on May Day against the strangers of the City; and both the parties committed to ward'(215). It is not clear whether it was connected with the preceding entry, namely the attempted rising of Essex men in Chelmsford, who 'minded to declare the coming of strangers.. and then to spoil the rich men's houses if they could' or indeed formed part of wider unrest. The Privy Council was sufficiently concerned to send out warnings to JPs in all the shires to guard against possible disturbances (216) and the Acts of the Privy Council reveal that the Recorder and certain other 'substantial men' of London had given warning on 19 April of the circulation of slanderous books in the City and feared the rising which might result from this (217). The Council also ordered the Aldermen to make returns of the alien population, which it was accustomed to do in times of particular unrest. The request was to be repeated in 1552 and 1554 (218). There was also anxiety about the native non-citizen population, which prompted searches for vagabonds and masterless men (i.e. the disruptive non-free) in 1552 and at other times of stress (219).

The other period of justifiable concern was in 1554, when the Privy Council was left in little doubt about the anti-Spanish feeling in the capital, both during the visitation by the Imperial delegation to negotiate Mary's marriage with Philip II of Spain and after his arrival in England for the nuptials. In August 1554, the wardens of the livery companies were instructed by the Queen, through the Mayor and Aldermen, to ensure that

their members did not misbehave towards the Spaniards; while Helen Legge, who had repeated a rumour that a dying Spaniard had said that 'the Spaniards were come hither to destroy this city' and William Bryan, collier, author of the rumour, were disciplined in October (220). There were many reported instances of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic slights and demonstrations and contemporary sources abound with references to affrays between Spaniards and Englishmen and rumours of anti-Spanish plots (221). Although London had ultimately stood firmly by its monarch against the Wyatt rebellion, which had been largely motivated by anti-Spanish feeling, the loyalty of individual Londoners was certainly not assured. The order ejecting stranger Protestants, in February 1554, may well have been connected to the perceived unreliability of the capital (222). Moreover, it is significant that even after Philip's successful entry into the City later that year, Mary combined her thanks for the splendid show put on by the Corporation with a warning to take further measures to preserve peace within the walls (223). It is not surprising that the Queen felt inclined to move Parliament out of the metropolis to the relatively friendly atmosphere of Oxford (224).

The Council and Corporation were also aware that xenophobia was exacerbated at time of war. However, whether the arrest of Frenchmen by the watch on several occasions during Edward's wars with France had more to do with belligerence or vindictiveness than with the prevention of disorder is a moot point. Certainly the orders issued in 1548 by the Lord Protector for the staying of Frenchmen, their ships and goods in the lead up to the French wars and the order in 1558 enabling citizen's arrests of Frenchmen suggests the former (225).

Corporation

The attitude of the City's rulers to the non-free living within and outside the city walls was also ambivalent, influenced by considerations of order and profit. They do not seem to have opposed the establishment of the stranger churches (226), presumably sharing the hope of central government that they would promote stability and prevent religious excess. Indeed, Pettegree claims that the City authorities were reluctant to assist the Marian regime in disciplining and expelling Protestant aliens after the 1554 proclamation (227). Irrespective of their own religious views (228), the Aldermen were more conscious than most of the advantages of employing the non-free in trade and manufacture within the City. Both strangers and foreigners could augment the supply of essential commodities at time of scarcity (229) and reinforce the workforce during periods of labour shortage (230). As entrepreneurs, the advantages offered by the importation of new skills and equipment cannot have escaped the City's rulers. Indeed, the Corporation did not always take the part of the native against the alien: in 1551, for example it accused the English alebrewers of provoking the alien beerbrewers into disobedience and, in 1554, the request of Mark Basso, an Italian, to set up a shop 'in like manner as other milliners do keep', was not dismissed out of hand but referred to the Chamberlain (231). In 1548, at the suit of one of the Aldermen, the Corporation licensed certain Spaniards to sell fish at their own prices, whilst the sale of oranges by Portuguese merchants was subsequently forgiven (232). Moreover, the civic authorities displayed a vacillating policy towards foreigners keeping writing schools, at first backing the Scriveners' company in seeking to

close them down and then allowing their continuance providing that they were run in a discreet manner (233).

Yet it was the Court of Aldermen which sponsored a Parliamentary bill, in 1547, against strangers dwelling in the City and suburbs by the waterside for their 'misdemeanor in buying, selling and conveying divers merchandise privily away by night' and other such offences (234); who appointed 'foreign takers' to confiscate victuals put to sale by outsiders against the ordinances of the City (235); and who put forward a 'book' to be enacted in September 1556 by Common Council prohibiting the employment of foreign workmen in manual occupations and preventing foreigners setting up shops within the City (236). The 1556 measure, which was introduced on the grounds that foreigners were taking away jobs from qualified freemen, presumably reflected a fear of unemployment in the manual industries with the perceived easing of the economy. It surely must have been the result of lobbying. Yet it was not popular. It took some time to pass Common Council, and was quickly followed, on 27 September 1556, by a measure authorising the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to issue dispensations from the act (237). Moreover, when the foreign bakers affected by the original order threatened to take the matter before the Privy Council, the Court of Aldermen gave in to their demands for licences to continue baking (238). However, the Corporation had proved a point by proposing and upholding the enactment: that whilst appreciating the value of the stranger community and other non-free, it reserved the right to regulate and restrict its activities. It was the City authorities' lack of jurisdiction over the Hanseatic merchants which was one of the chief objections to their privileges (239).

The reluctance of the alien population to contribute to subsidies and to other levies was also a cause of grievance. The refusal of the authorities, both central and civic, to accept their claims to exemption is evident (240). In 1554, the Corporation drew up a bill 'to be enacted in Parliament to constrain all strangers and foreigners inhabiting in the City to bear like charges in all things as freemen there do' (241). Moreover, persistent attempts were made, albeit largely unsuccessful, to raise scavage in the City, an ancient civic levy claimed on goods brought within the walls to be sold by outsiders (242).

However, the Corporation's greatest anxiety with regard to the substantial alien population in its midst remained the threat to order which their presence posed. This was exacerbated by their concentration in certain districts of the City, either by civic prescription, for example in Blancheapleton, or by natural development, for example in Lombard street. Moreover, large groups of the non-free chose to settle in the suburbs and liberties, such as St Martin le Grand, which were outside Corporation control (243), despite repeated attempts by the civic authorities to extend their jurisdiction into these areas (244). The assistance which the Corporation rendered to the Council, in the form of returns of strangers and searches for the non-free, was doubtless given willingly.

Livery companies

The livery companies started from a position of natural hostility to the non-free. Their principal *raison d'etre* was to restrict trade and manufacture to members, who by definition were citizens

and by oath and ordinance were under their economic control and correction. However, there is evidence of the holding of more positive attitudes to strangers and foreigners. The reasons for these opposing views are self-evident (245). It was those companies whose members suffered considerably from the activities of non-free rivals which were prepared to go to the trouble of waging long and costly law suits through the law courts and of lobbying the Council or Parliament against strangers, foreigners or both. Examples in this period are the Glaziers' and Vintners' companies (246). In addition, in 1556, the Merchant Taylors remunerated Mr Southcote, one of the City's legal counsel, for drawing up a supplication for the expulsion of foreigners working in the City, to be delivered to the Lord Mayor and read out in Common Council (247). The Pewterers, also, were to complain of the damaging nature of outside competition (248). They had been fighting against the infiltration of their trades by the non-free from at least the reign of Henry VIII, when they obtained Parliamentary legislation against this practice (249). The Brewers had a similar problem. However, it appears that they, at least, were engaged in a losing battle. It has been estimated that half the breweries in sixteenth century London were owned by Germans or Dutchmen, whilst even the native brewers employed a high proportion of alien labour (250). It is significant that they were specifically excluded from the 1556 Act of Common Council. Moreover, in addition to the large alien workforce, the substantial but largely unrecorded contribution made by native-born women in the brewing industry should not be overlooked (251). Other companies seemed relatively immune from overseas competition but lost work to non-free Englishmen, most notably the Carpenters (252).

Nevertheless, there were some companies which actively recruited strangers and/or foreigners into their ranks, generally as a special category of membership. The Coopers, Armourers and Braziers, Blacksmiths, Weavers and Founders had a relatively high proportion of such members in the sixteenth century (253). The Coopers' company's membership, for example, in 1547-8 comprised one hundred and three English freemen, twenty native-born 'foreigns' (eleven foreign householders and nine foreign journeymen) and forty 'Dutchmen' (fifteen denizen householders and twenty-five denizen journeymen), rising in 1555-6 to one hundred and ninety-seven Englishmen and one hundred and thirty-six 'Dutchmen' (of whom twenty-one were householders and the remainder journeymen) (254). The specialist skills and techniques contributed by the alien craftsmen seemed to have outweighed the natural prejudice against them in this case. Certainly the new techniques imported by the Dutch with regard to brewing, printing and armour and caliver making had an impact on the native industry (255). The Dyers' company appealed to the Court of Aldermen to licence two strangers to work in the City against the provisions of the 1556 Act of Common Council specifically because they possessed specialist skills (256). Pettegree also notes that the Governors of Christ's Hospital apprenticed their charges out to stranger masters because of their acknowledged skills (257). Not all new techniques and gadgets met with instant approval. The 'vice' devised by the alien glaziers 'to draw lead out with' was pronounced 'doubtful and not meet to be used with in this realm' (258). However, there were considerable advantages to be gained from the use of foreign workers, particularly at a time of labour shortage or pressure of work (259). In 1556, at least ten

companies appealed for licences to employ foreign workmen against the terms of the recent Act, ranging from the Bakers, who sought a total of sixty four licences, to the Blacksmiths with a request for fourteen and the Skinners' petition for just one. The Armourers asked for blanket permission to employ foreigners during time of war, which was granted (260).

The company membership was not always united on such issues. Inevitably, the policy of the company rulers, often large-scale employers themselves, caused resentment among the rank and file whose livings were directly affected by outside competition. The Carpenters' yeomanry, for example, were to complain in Elizabeth I's reign against the company's policy of licensing foreigners to work in the City (261). On the other hand, some companies, such as the Brewers and Coopers, were prepared to accept non-citizens as associates, *with their own category of membership as 'foreign brethren'*. Although they could not hold wardenships, they were entitled to membership of the court of assistants of the company and made a substantial contribution to levies. However, from 1559, the Brewers ceased to allow this kind of associate membership (262). Despite these variations, most companies can be assumed to be united in their desire to control, if not prevent, the activities of the non-free. At certain times they pursued their search powers, extended by Act of 1523-4 (14&15 Hen VIII c2) to include aliens within a two-mile radius of the City, with full rigour, fining all found to be violating company ordinances. Nevertheless, their effectiveness in enforcing their regulations in the sixteenth century has been described as 'intermittent and faltering' (263).

6. Conclusion

Attitudes to trade regulation and to the control of the non-free in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary probably differed little from those held in the remainder of sixteenth century. However, the particular circumstances of the 1540s and 1550s, both economic and political, tended to bring latent feelings of panic and xenophobia to the surface. These threatened disorder in the capital on more than one occasion and enhanced the importance of economic issues in relations between the City and the State. Although their views on specific issues did not always coincide, affected as they were by vested interest, it is clear that Council, Corporation and company, shared an overriding common concern for the maintenance of order within the City and for the need to exercise control over its internal trade and manufacture.

CHAPTER FOUR : REFERENCES

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- 3 E.g. SP68/3 1047
- 4 For a discussion concerning the contemporary view of the social hierarchy and the differentiation of roles within this see L Baldwin Smith Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia 1986 134 *et passim*. Concerning central government support for town government and the development of a national urban policy under the Tudors see Tittler 'The Emergence of Urban Policy' 74-93. For contemporary comment see E Lamond (ed.) A Discourse on the Common Weal of this Realm of England Cambridge 1893
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- 6 APC 1552-4 51; Rep 12ii 476v.
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- 9 Jordan Young King 400
- 10 Generally attributed principally to the currency manipulation e.g. Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 134-5; Jordan Young King 395. See also cp2 n169
- 11 E.g. Schevfre in December 1551 - CSP Sp 1550-2 424-5; and Barbaro - CSP Ven 1534-54 359: both cited by Jordan Young King 460-1. Concerning government fears of rumours see

Smith Treason in Tudor England 135

- 12 CSP Ven 1534-54 359; Drapers' minutes 1543-53 1023; GL Ms 4326/2; 7086/2 148. The Pewterers' company agreed to compensate its wardens for their losses by the 'fall of the money' in 1551 from the company's reserves - GL Ms 7090/1 4 The Tallowchandlers' wardens sought a similar allowance - GL Ms 6152/1 10. However, the Carpenters' company fined William Mortymer 13s 4d in 1552-3 'for that he paid not the money to the masters of the hospital before the fall of the money' - GL Ms 4326/2 unfoliated
- 13 APC 1550-2 462; CSP 1550-2 424; SP10/15 11-12v,106-6v; SP10/14 161v; Bridgen London and the Reformation 505
- 14 Jordan Young King 395,398. The bad harvest led to a shortage of bread in the City in November - Rep 12i 164v
- 15 See H&L I 464-9. For similar proclamation, October 1550, see H&L I 504-9
- 16 Rep 12i 115. Regarding the 1549 rebellions see below pp 341-2
- 17 Jo 16 20
- 18 Rep 12i 138
- 19 E.g. 1544 - P E Jones The Butchers of London 1976 116
- 20 Rappaport Worlds within Worlds 130-5; Jordan Threshold 459
- 21 Jo 16 112
- 22 E.g. MAC 1527-60 250; Drapers' minutes 1543-53 1031
- 23 See p 61. See also SP10/13 61; Jordan Threshold 459,460; Bridgen London and the Reformation 505
- 24 Rep 12i 365v
- 25 Jordan Threshold 461-3
- 26 See above n6
- 27 Rep 12ii 484-484v,490,491
- 28 Rep 12ii 476v
- 29 Jo 16 181; Rep 12ii 490v. According to Jones this move was unprecedented - Jones Butchers 120
- 30 E.g. Rep 12ii,441v,458v,491v,494,498
- 31 E.g. the Mercers' wardens announced that complaint had been made by all the Lords of the King's Council 'to reproach the whole City of London' for failing to lower prices in line with the rest of the realm, 'whereby the liberties of the City is threatened sore to be seized if remedy and redress be not the sooner had' - MAC 1527-60 256v. The Drapers'

company wardens reported that the reformation of prices of wares and victuals was necessary 'lest hereafter it be prejudicial to the City and the liberties thereof' - Drapers' minutes 1543-53 1068

32 GL Ms 15333/1 295

33 H&L II 8-9,51-2,68-9,71,72.

34 See below n49

35 Rep 13ii 495

36 The Mercers, for example, claimed that they had had to sustain a financial loss because of the Council's insistence on such low prices - MAC 1527-60 256v

37 See Edward VI Chronicle *passim*

38 E.g. APC 1550-2 27,106,213,255,313-14,355

In the words of Power, with regard to the grain supply, 'short of desperation elsewhere, the City enjoyed a privileged status, raised even higher when Parliament was sitting' - 'London and the "Crisis" of the 1590s' 372. See also N S B Gras The Evolution of the English Corn Market from the Twelfth Century to the Eighteenth Century Harvard Economic Studies 1915 73-93

39 H&L I 386,391,409-10,419-20,423,424,429,435,439,464-9,480,482,490,495-6,499-503,504-9,530-3,536-7

40 H&L I 384,453,457,479,492-4. Acts of Parliament were also used by Edward's government to attempt to control the woollen industry (e.g. 5&6 Edward VI c6 and c8) and other aspects of internal trade and manufacture - see F J Fisher 'Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth Century England' Economic History Review 10 1940 112-13. See also Bush concerning the social and economic policy of Somerset's regime - M L Bush The Government Policy of Protector Somerset 1975 48ff

41 Three proclamations concerning prices and the import of victuals - H&L II 17,71,85 - and two concerning the wool trade - H&L II 19-20,60-2. Although the Marian government made modest use of proclamations to regulate trade, Tittler makes the point that the Council used Parliament to introduce radical measures to control the wool trade. He sees this legislation as innovatory in the extent to which it was designed to govern the proper manufacture of wares. Regulatory jurisdiction was placed in the hands of local authorities under the terms of the Act - Tittler 'The Emergence of Urban Policy' 84-5

42 APC 1550-2 326,451,453. Compare Edward VI Chronicle 103

43 CPR 1549-51 214

44 E.g. APC 1552-4 219; APC 1554-6 344,360; Rep 13i 273

- 45 See above n5
- 46 See Clarkson 'English Economic Policy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'; Archer 'The London Lobbies'; Dean 'Public or Private ?'
- 47 I.e. 7 Edward VI c7. For the text of Mary's subsequent proclamation see H&L II 17. For examples of licences to import and sell fuel to the capital see CPR 1553-4 300, 391. The second of these licences mentions the increased need for fuel because on the influx of people to the metropolis for Parliament and the coronation - CPR 1553-4 391
- 48 Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 135; P Slack 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58' The Mid-Tudor Polity c1540-60 ed. J Loach and R Tittler 1980 95
- 49 Rep 13ii 344v,423v. In response to the Council's letter concerning grain provision, read out on 27 August 1556, the Court of Aldermen agreed to 'have provision thereof made from the parts beyond the sea by such persons as shall be appointed by the Lord Mayor' - Rep 13ii 423v. In June that year, company members had been ordered to provide a store of corn for their own households, at 2s 4d the bushel - GL Ms 7090/1 45
- 50 See below n208 and Archer The Pursuit of Stability 37
- 51 E.g. H&L II 77-9,85
- 52 For the ban on wine imports, March 1558 see H&L II 85. For examples of licences to avoid the ban see CPR 1557-8 4,302, 304,402(William Paget),432. Cioll, a London merchant with an existing licence to import wine, brought a case against the Crown in the Exchequer - Loach 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament, 1553-8' 222-3
- 53 The Act fixing maximum wages for servants, artificers and labourers nationally (6 Henry VIII c3) was altered by a later Act (7 Henry VIII c7) to exclude London, after lobbying from the London companies affected (e.g. the Masons, Carpenters and Glaziers) - see preamble to second Act
- 54 3&4 Edward VI c22; 2&3 Edward VI c15
- 55 Woodward 'The Background to the Statute of Artificers' 39
- 56 E.g. Rep 12ii 386,390v,391,394; Woodward 'The Background to the Statute of Artificers' 33
- 57 6 Henry VIII c7
- 58 2&3 Philip & Mary c16. It is not clear whether or not this was a central government measure or the result of London lobbying
- 59 W S Stern 'The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the City of London : the Earliest London Transport Executive'

- 60 One example of a Marian patent for a new device in manufacture was that granted to Henry Smith - see below n209. There are few other examples of monopolies for trade and manufacture in Mary's reign, in contrast to Elizabeth's. Regarding Elizabethan monopolies see Archer The Pursuit of Stability 36-7,47-9; J E Neale Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments 1584-1601 352-5,376-93
- 61 See below p 162
- 62 CPR 1555-7 480-1. Although Took warns against unquestioning acceptance of this preamble, it is clear that the government wished to restrict the printing of books to try to prevent the spread of Protestant literature. The measure may also have been passed as the result of lobbying by the Stationers - P M Took 'Government and the Printing Trade, 1540-1560' PhD London 1979 9-10
- 63 Took 'Government and the Printing Trade'; D M Loades 'The Press under the Early Tudors' Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 4 1964 29-50; 'Le Livre et la Reforme Anglaise avant 1558' La Reforme et le Livre: l'Europe de l'imprime 1517-v1570 ed. J-F Gilmont Paris 1990; J Loach 'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press' English Historical Review 101 1986 135-48 and 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament, 1553-8' 247-79.
- Loades emphasises that illicit printing did continue in the capital, although largely suppressed - Loades 'The Press' 46
- 64 Exeter, for example, levied subscriptions to purchase a common store of grain against scarcity and, in the dearth year of 1555, received authorisation from the Privy Council to requisition supplies from ships at Plymouth bound for Portugal - MacCaffrey Exeter 1540-60 85. See also A Dyer The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century 1973 140-2 concerning the measures taken by the municipal authorities in Worcester and Gras The Evolution of the English Corn Market 73-93 *et passim* concerning corn provision by London and other sixteenth century towns
- 65 E.g. Bread - Rep 11 311, 317,320,365v,470; Rep 12i 56v,62,86, 106 and Repts *passim*; beer - Rep 11 337v; Rep 12i 231; tallow - Rep 12i 78v,81v,85v,223v. It seems that, even with regard to assises laid down by Parliament, legislation was restricted to specifying standard quantities, leaving the magistrates to impose local prices e.g. 7 Edward VI c7 (assize of wood).
- 66 Repts *passim*. Benbow notes the Corporation's success in restraining excessive price increases, whilst pointing out the limitations on its powers - R M Benbow 'The Court of Aldermen and the Assizes : The Policy of Price Control in Elizabethan London' Guildhall Studies 4 93-118
- 67 Benbow 'The Court of Aldermen and the Assizes' 95-6. In some cases, prices were reached in consultation with

representatives from a selection of companies other than the one immediately affected, for example in relation to poultry prices - Jo 16 111v

- 68 This could be achieved by staying supplies in City (e.g. herrings - Rep 13i 10) and by licensing merchants to supply victuals and fuel for the capital - (e.g Rep 13i 5v,10,11,13, 14v,20,35v,38,87,109,127v). See also below (n73 and pp 270-2) concerning the Corporation's attempts to secure adequate grain supplies.
- 69 Jo 17 52v-53v - 'Forasmuch as God almighty of his infinite goodness, grace and mercy hath this present year blessed us more plentifully with store of grain and other victuals for our comfort and sustentation than of late years he hath done'
- 70 Rep 11 426,468v
- 71 Jo 16 83v
- 72 2&3 Edward VI c3 and 2&3 Philip & Mary c6. Compare the problems with regard to purveyance in Henry VIII's reign see Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 117-136.
- 73 For example the Corporation obtained a licence from the Privy Council to import wheat from France in 1551 - APC 1550-2 417 and Rep 12ii 410,428,437v,465v,512v.
- 74 Fisher 'Commercial Trends' 111
- 75 See cp 5. See also Archer The Pursuit of Stability 206-8, 238-41; A L Beier Masterless Men : the Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640 1985 ; P Slack Poverty and Policy in Tudor Stuart England 1985 and 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58' 94-115. Rappaport disagrees with Beier as to the severity of the problem in Tudor London - Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 5
- 76 The Court of Aldermen committed itself to a 'common policy' for the 'prevention of extremities' - Benbow 'The Court of Aldermen and the Assizes' 93, quoting Jo 20 87v
- 77 See, for example, S L Thrupp A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers 1933 169; Jones Butchers 106-122; Phythian Adams Desolation 105; Palliser Tudor York 93
- 78 There is evidence of resistance to the imposition of assises, both vocal and by breach of regulation, although no-one appears to have challenged the Corporation's right to set prices on essential commodities - Benbow 'The Court of Aldermen and the Assizes' 98-9,109. For examples of breaking of prices or selling before they had been set see Reps *passim* e.g. Butchers - Rep 12ii 430v,446v,491v,494,498 Poulterers - Rep 12i 36,37,37v,38,54,58v ; Rep 12ii 430v,444v. Bakers - Rep 12i 197v Brewers - Rep 13ii 537v Tallowchandlers - Rep 11 369,444; Rep 12i 80,80v,84 Fishmongers -LBk S 1. Punishments varied from being fined or set in the pillory to disenfranchisement and closure of shop

windows. However, most could be remitted on the submission of the offender. See also n30 above.

- 79 Jo 16 101v. In 1533 the Butchers had been disenfranchised - Jones Butchers 110
- 80 The Brewers had asked for double beer to be to be sold at 5s the barrell and single beer at 2s 8d. The following February, Common Council agreed to 4s 8d and 2s 4d per barrel respectively - Jo 16 83,100
- 81 Jo 16 83v
- 82 Jo 16 83v. Also see the proclamations concerning prices and against export - Jo 16 85-87v [97-99v]; H&L I 504-9
- 83 Jo 16 87v-88
- 84 Jo 16 99-100v
- 85 Jo 16 101v; Rep 12ii 307v,309v,312v
- 86 Jo 16 100. For mention of the activities of the surveyors see Rep 12ii 305v,311v,374,416,550
- 87 Jo 16 212v-214v
- 88 For example, in May 1555, the Aldermen were instructed to enforce beer prices - Rep 13ii 293-293v
- 89 Jo 17 8-8v
- 90 E.g. Rep 11 359v; Rep 12i 4-4v,23,163v; Rep 12ii 411v,412, 423; LBk S 8
- 91 Rep 11 345. Cf In July 1548, at the suit of the said companies, the Court of Aldermen agreed to promote the enacting of an order re sealing and searching of tanned leather - Rep 11 450v
- 92 Rep 12ii 369v,434v,512
- 93 Rep 11 401; Rep 12i 138v; Rep 12ii 318,481
- 94 A statute of Henry VI's reign(15 Henry VI c6) required civic approval of company ordinances, although it is clear from the City Letter Books that the London guilds had sought enrolment of their regulations by the City Corporation long before this date, presumably to reinforce their effectiveness. Earlier, several guilds had sought enrolment in the ecclesiastical court records to provide the church's sanction for their by-laws - see H C Coote 'The Ordinances of Some Secular Guilds of London 1354 to 1498' Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society 4 1871 1-59. For evidence of religious origins in company records see C R H Cooper 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies and Related Organisations' Archives 16 no.72 1984 325. See also C M Barron 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' The Church in Pre-Reformation Society ed.

An Act of 1504 (19 Hen VII c7) introduced the requirement for central government authorisation for company ordinances.

- 95 The Act of 1504 is reproduced in T&P I 101-2. For background see Clode The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors I 39-41 and Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 267. It appears that the statute of 1504 did not lead to a significant change of practice *vis a vis* the town authorities: companies continued to seek civic approval for their ordinances as before - Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 184; S Kramer The English Craft Gilds and the Government New York 1905 66,130-1
- 96 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 267; H Miller 'London and Parliament in the Reign of Henry VIII' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 35 1962 130-43
- 97 In 1550, the Dyers' company, in defending itself against a complaint by one of its members, John Drake, admitted that its ordinances had not been ratified by the Court of Aldermen. It is probably not a coincidence that judgement was apparently given in favour of Drake - Rep 12i 222,225v; Rep 12ii 274v,276v,281
- 98 Rep 16 248-248v. See below n172
- 99 Rep 11 347v,358
- 100 In the case of the common porters, the Court of Aldermen added a condition that there should not be more than two tapers of 2lb each at the funeral of any of the brethren - Rep 13i 278-8v; the waterbearers were ordered to add certain clauses to their third article - LBk S 95; and the alebrewers were required to make an alteration to their ordinances - Rep 12ii 351
- 101 Jo 16 110-110v. See also Clothworkers' orders of court 1536-58 198v
- 102 The supervisory powers of companies were limited in practice by the custom of London, by the activities of the non-free population, by the divided loyalties of citizens and by the growth of suburbs - JR Kellett 'The Breakdown of Guild and Corporation Control over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London' Economic History Review 2nd ser 10 1957-8 381-94; Archer The Pursuit of Stability 108,124,147
- 103 National search powers, for example, could only be conferred by royal grant. Examples of companies granted national jurisdiction over their trades include the Goldsmiths, Pewterers and Pinmakers - Cooper 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies' 349. Concerning the Stationers' monopoly see above n62-3 and J Morris 'Restrictive Practices in the Elizabethan Book Trade: the Stationers' Company v Thomas Thomas,1583-8'

- 104 Cooper 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies'
329-30
- 105 See n62 above
- 106 There seems to have been a policy of forcing corporations to seek charter confirmations in Philip and Mary's reign, probably as a revenue seeking device. In 1558, the City's legal counsel was consulted in an attempt to stay or defend the Quo Warranto proceedings which had been initiated against many of the livery companies - Rep 14 35. Examples include the Parish Clerks; the Grocers, who paid L11 14s 4d to stay the legal process against them and to renew their charter; and the Coopers, who spent L6 17s 8d in a similar exercise, including 10s to Mr Little 'to be our friend to the Lord Chancellor' and 4s to the masters in Chancery for their examination - KB29/189 mm18,70; KB27/1179 m7; GL Mss 11571/6 108v; 5606/1 220. Meanwhile, the Pewterers had renewed their charter in 1555 and the Tallowchandlers in 1558 - GL Mss 7086/2 196; 6152/1 67
- 107 CPR 1547-8 350
- 108 14&15 Henry VIII c5; 1 Mary st2 c9
- 109 1 June 1557 -Rep 13ii 515
- 110 For example, the Vintners were collectively exempted from the terms of the 1553 Act by Letters Patent of Mary, September 1553 and March 1555, and Elizabeth, May 1567 - CPR 1553-4 390; CPR 1554-5 132; CPR 1566-9 828; A Crawford A History of the Vintners' Company 1977 62,65. See also E Green 'The Vintners' Lobby, 1552-68' Guildhall Studies 1 1974 47-58; Archer 'The London Lobbies' 38-43; Dean 'Public or Private?' 547-8
- 111 Dean 'Public or Private?' 527-8. Compare Henry VIII's reign - Miller 'London and Parliament' 128-149
- 112 In 1572, a remedy was suggested, probably by Thomas Norton, that these bills should be perused by the City's MPs in the hope that some could be dealt with by the Corporation and thus removed from the Parliamentary agenda - BL Harl Ms 253 34v cited by Dean 'Public or Private?' 527.
- In January 1593, the Corporation, under pressure from the Privy Council, set up a committee to 'consider what bills are fit for the good and benefit of this city', a move adumbrated in Henry VIII's reign - Dean 'Public or Private?' 528-9; Rep 23 22v; Miller 'London and Parliament' 128-9
- 113 Miller 'London and Parliament' 128
- 114 Miller 'London and Parliament' 129-30
- 115 Rep 12ii 449v. See also E207/26 7 m10

- 116 Rep 13i 26,30v,93v. See also GL Ms 15,333/1 272,291,312,326-30, 376,381-4 and Green 'The Vintners' Lobby'
- 117 Rep 11 365v. Cf GL Mss 5174/1 254; 5174/2 30v
- 118 Rep 11 369
- 119 Rep 12i 28; Rep 12ii 460v; Rep 13i 85,94v
- 120 Rep 13i 94v. See also below n129
- 121 Rep 13i 232v-233
- 122 GL Ms 6152/1 17,25v,26,33v. The Recorder perused the supplication exhibited to Parliament 'for the search of oils' -ibid 26
- 123 Rep 12ii 450,451v,466,472v
- 124 Little evidence has been found of companies appealing to Parliament without civic approval at this period. It is possible that the Carpenters put their bill forward without authorisation, since it is mentioned in the company records but does not appear in the Repertories - GL Ms 4326/2 (wardens' account for 1548-9). Similarly, the Clothworkers proposed, in January 1549, to introduce a bill into Parliament, as part of their campaign against the Merchant Taylors, which is not mentioned in the records of the Court of Aldermen. However, it may never have reached the House - Clothworkers' Orders of Court 1536-58 205. When they sought assistance from the Council concerning a similar matter, in 1550, they did seek a licence from the Court of Aldermen - Rep 12ii 273v,275
- 125 These included the Woodmongers' suits to Northumberland, to the rest of the Council and to the Barons of the Exchequer - Rep 12ii 450,451v,466,472v. Compare the proclamation of November 1553 ordering the provision of fire wood for London - H&L II 17
- 126 Rep 13i 94v,143. This point has been made also by Dean 'Public or Private ?' 530. Concerning the long-running battle between the different branches of the leather trade see Clarkson 'English Economic Policy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: the Case of the Leather Industry' 149-62 and 'The Organisation of the Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 13 1960 245-56
- 127 Rep 11 372v; GL Ms 11571/5 313v. See cp 7
- 128 Rep 13i 84
- 129 Green 'The Vintners' Lobby'; Dean 'Public or Private ?'; Archer 'The London Lobbies'

Concerning cost, Green revealed that the Vintners spent L70 8s 1d (i.e. 17% of their total outlay) between 1552 and

1554 on Parliamentary lobbying, and L167 8s 3d (i.e. 38% of total expenses) between 1564 and 1566- Green *ibid.* 48,54. The Pewterers spent a more modest sum - L17 13s 4 1/2d - between 1547 and 1554 on their Parliamentary expenses - GL Ms 7086/2 120-120v,122,128,136,156,176v, some of which was recovered by appeals to members - e.g. GL Ms 7086/2 149v,170v,180v - and some from company reserves e.g. GL Ms 7090/1 5. They anticipated additional expenditure should Parliament have been held in Oxford in 1554 - see GL Ms 7090/1 24v.

Costs could also be incurred in attempting to prevent the passing of prejudicial acts. The Ironmongers, for example, spent L3 12s 8d, *circa* 1554, in opposing a bill brought in by James Hawes for the 'bringing in of steel' - GL Ms 16,988/2 63 See also Dean, 'Public or Private?' 540-7, concerning the expenditure of individual companies in Parliamentary lobbying in the Elizabethan period.

- 130 Dean 'Public or Private?' 547-8; Archer 'The London Lobbies' 38-43
- 131 E.g. Dean mentions the Brewer's gift of L20 to the Queen's attorney, in 1575-6, of L5 to his wife, and 22s to a member of the Earl of Leicester's staff - 'Public or private?' 546. The Pewterers' company gave monetary rewards to the Lord Chancellor's clerk 'to remember my Lord' and dined with the secretary of Bishop Hooper to further their campaign - GL MS 7086/2 154v-155. The Merchant Taylors, in 1557, paid 44s for a hogshead of wine, and its carriage, to donate to the Lord Chief Justice Broke for his favour in their suit against the Haberdashers - GL MF 298 370. In 1549 or 1550, the Grocers gave a sugar loaf to Mr Mildmay for his support - GL Ms 11571/5 359
- 132 Dean 'Public or private?' 547-8; Archer 'The London Lobbies' 38-43
- 133 Rep 11 365v
- 134 GL Ms 6152/1 17,25v,26,33v
- 135 Rep 12ii 465. See also above n124
- 136 Rep 13i 94v
- 137 See above n128
- 138 'For that divers of the City are sued in the Exchequer upon the said late statute' - Rep 12ii 449v
- 139 Green 'The Vintners' Lobby' 47-8
- 140 GL Ms 16988/2 63
- 141 Rep 13i 232v-3
- 142 See above n128,125-6

- 143 Barron 'The Government of London' 165-70. This ruling also applied to individuals.
Compare the case of Baptista de Bassano, who appealed to King's Bench to reverse the verdict of the jury in the Sheriffs' court in a case brought against him by Thomas Grey, grocer. The Court of Aldermen successfully ordered him to withdraw the appeal and return the case to the City - Rep 13ii 391, 392v, 398, 399
- 144 Regarding encroachment on their area of trade by strangers - see below p 225
- 145 GL Mss 7090/1 8; 7086/2 157 (June 1552). In 1550 or 1551, an earlier case in the Exchequer, concerning an unspecified matter, had been stayed by order of the Council - GL Ms 7086/2 146-146v. The Pewterers paid a regular fee to a lawyer to act as their attorney in Exchequer - e.g. GL Ms 7090/1 31
- 146 E207/26 7 m10
- 147 GL Ms 15333/1 321
- 148 Licences to sue outside could be obtained from the company rulers (e.g. Drapers min 1543-53 1029,1081), whilst fines were usually imposed for suing without the company's licence (e.g. GL Ms 6152/1 14v). However, persuasion was generally used first, to give members the chance to end unlicensed cases in the law courts and to bring them before the company for arbitration - e.g. GL Ms 11588/1 unfoliated - 19 June 1556 (Thomas Bowyer) and 4 July 1556 (Emma Byttenson). Licences were also required from the Corporation for suing outside the City - see above n143
- 149 22 Henry VIII c4. This act recited the 1504 Act concerning company ordinances (see above n78-9). In its preamble, it was claimed that, since the 1504 Act, many companies had continued to charge excessively high apprenticeship and freedom admission fees in contravention of the Act. It therefore imposed a maximum on such fees - 2s 6d (apprenticeship admission) and 3s 4d (freedom admission)
- 150 E207/26 8-9
- 151 C1/1265/25-6
- 152 Rep 13i 108v
- 153 Compare cases in the Exchequer of Pleas in Henry VII's and Elizabeth I's reigns (e.g an action for trespass by the bailiffs of the Weavers' company, who sought judgement for infraction of their powers - 3 Hen VII m37 - and a case concerning the enrolment of the Cordwainers' company ordinances - 12&13 Eliz I Mich m11-13 - mentioned in the relevant PRO index) and in Star Chamber in Henry VIII's reign - see below n246. Also there are examples of individuals going to law against their wardens, for example Eden, a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' company, appealed to Star Chamber against the arbitration award of the master

and wardens of his company in a suit originally commenced in 1573, in the Mayor's court. The Lord Chancellor eventually advised the company to confer a pension on him - Clode The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors I 76

- 154 Considerable expenses could be incurred in legal action, although often less than was spent on parliamentary campaigns (see n129). The Merchant Taylors spent over L33 in defending themselves against the Clothworkers and L10 in their legal suit against the Haberdashers - GL MF 298 vol 4 46,200v-201,237,260,314v,369v-70
- 155 For example, the Parish Clerks' attempts to recover their confiscated property from Sir Robert Chester - C33/11 112v; APC 1550-2 238 and see p 341; the Mercers long dispute in Chancery concerning Dormer and the Collyers school's endowment - A History of Collyer's School 1532-1964 Horsham 1965 11-16 and C33/17 36 etc. See also the Grocers' long suit against Morley, taken to Kings Bench - GL Ms 11571/5 262,338-338v; and the Tallowchandlers suits in the Exchequer - GL Ms 6152/1 44v,58,67
- 156 The issue of the stability and sensitivity of London's government in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been discussed by others principally Pearl, Rappaport and Archer - see cpl n45-7
- 157 Rep 12ii 343v,346,371,391,527v,534v; Rep 13i 56
- 158 Rep 12ii 346
- 159 See R H Adams The Parish Clerks of London Phillimore 1971 29-30; Unwin Guilds 210 and below p 341
- 160 Rep 13i 16
- 161 Clothworkers' orders of court 1536-58 266
- 162 GL Ms 7090/1 9
- 163 C M Clubb 'Rebels or Reformers? : an Examination of Internal Dissension in the City of London Livery Companies in the Mid-Sixteenth Century' unpublished paper delivered at the Institute of Historical Research, 19/6/86 ; Archer The Pursuit of Stability 110-11,130
- 164 Examined in Clubb 'Rebels or Reformers'
- 165 GL Mss 7086/1 207; 7086/2 32v-33; 7110 9; 7099. Rewe appears to have been occupying a messuage in the churchyard of St Margaret's Patten in 1548 - CPR 1547-8 381. Depositions concerning his wealth and goods in 1557 are contained in the Journal of the Court of Common Council - Jo 17 55a. It is interesting to note that Rewe's servant, Peter Rigsby, was also disciplined for his misbehaviour, in this instance for 'pulling of' the beard of a fellow member, John Cutler - GL Ms 7090/1 71v

- 166 In 1548, Rewe sought, from the Court of Aldermen, 'the reformation of certain ordinances... lately devised and made' by the wardens and assistants - Rep 11 413v. For details of the 1548 dispute see also GL Mss 7086/2 121; 7114 78v. For details of the 1567 dispute see Rep 16 248-248v; GL Mss 7086/2 288v; 7090/2 55,58
- 167 GL Mss 7086/2 121; 7114 78v; Cal L Bk G 174; Rep 11 424
- 168 GL Ms 7086/2 127-127v
- 169 GL 7086/2 130v
- 170 33 liverymen 7-widows and 95 yeomanry - quarterage a/c 1567/8 - GL Ms 7086/2 291vff
- 171 GL Ms7090/2 55
- 172 Rep 16 248-248v
- 173 Rep 11 458v,459v,474,480v(Tylers);Rep 12i 176,178v,208v,209v, 251v,253v (Saddlers); Rep 12i 201,215 (Founders); Rep 12ii 520, 522v,524 (Weavers); Rep 13i 102v,105,105v (Bakers); Rep 13i 234 (Clothworkers); Rep 13ii 303v,304 (Broderers)
- 174 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 110-11; T F Reddaway The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509 1975 95-6; C G Parsloe (ed.) Wardens' Accounts of the Worshipful Company of Founders in the City of London 1497-1681 xxxvi-xxxviii, 17-18; Unwin Industrial Organisation 41-53 and Guilds 223-31
- 175 For references see n173 above
- 176 E.g. Rep 11 359 -the Bakers were given the assistance of the Lord Mayor's officers against foreign bakers breaking the assise. The Pewterers' company paid the mayor's officer in 1551-2 for arresting an offender and bringing him before the Mayor and 2s to the same officer for searching with them on St Bartholomew's day, 1555-6 - GL Ms 7086/2 157,196; the Weavers paid the Mayor's and the Chamberlain's clerks for various duties - GL Ms 4646 19,19v,21v,22,25; and the Clothworkers' company paid one of the Mayor's officers 12d in 1549 (or 1550) 'for giving attendance on our hall when certain journeymen were there concerning the raising of their wages' and 20d for 'going about the search day'- Clothworkers' wardens' accounts 1520-58 46. See also Benbow 'The Court of Aldermen and the Assizes' 106
- 177 In 1554, the City Recorder was assigned to assist the Brewers in 'moving my Lord Chancellor for the understanding of the proclamation lately made against strangers according to the true meaning of the 'counseill' - Rep 13i 126v - whilst the Grocers' Company made extensive use of the Recorder's legal counsel, and that of other legal advisers, in their suit against Morley in King's Bench - GL Ms 11571/5 262-2v,263v,288v,388-8v,449.
- 178 For example, Underhill, the Mayor's officer, received

regular fees from a number of companies during this period
e.g. from the Vintners - Ms 15333/1 272,296 *et passim*

- 179 See Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 113-114 and Archer The Pursuit of Stability 114-15
- 180 E.g. Rep 11 334v,368v,381v-382; Rep 12ii 305,314v,316v,317, 323,326,340v,349v,381vff. See also GL MF 298 vol 4 46,200v-1,237,260,314v; Clothworkers' orders of court 1536-58 200,205-5v (case to Parliament),227,228
- 181 E.g. Ramsay 'Industrial Discontent in Early Elizabethan England: Clothworkers and Merchant Adventurers in Conflict' 227-39; Unwin Industrial Organisation *passim*; Rappaport Worlds within Worlds 113-14,246-7,266,370

The perennial arguments between the Coopers and Brewers; the Curriers and Cordwainers; the Merchant Taylors and Haberdashers; and the Butchers and Tallowchandlers were amongst other long-running disputes recorded in the Repertories - e.g. Rep 11 374-4v,476,482v; Rep 13i 151v,198; Rep 13ii 411,414v,416v,419; Rep 14 38v (Coopers and Brewers) Rep 12ii 354,386,388,394,401,406,426v,433,441,452v,456,460v (licence to Parliament) 479,483v,552,555v (Cordwainers and Curriers); Rep 13ii 505v,509; GL MF 298 369v-70 (Merchant Taylors and Haberdashers) Rep 11 360v; Rep 12i 227; Rep 12ii 341-2,354; Rep 13ii 450v,497 (Tallowchandlers and Butchers)

- 182 The Clothworkers referred to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen a dispute about a Cutler, who had married a Clothworker's widow, but refused to pay quarterage to the company - Clothworkers' orders of court 1536-58 264v. The Cooks agreed to the translation of one of their members to the Woodmongers' company and accepted a redemptioner, who had formerly been authorised to enter the Stationers' company, into their ranks - Rep 12i 82; Rep 13ii 356v. A member of the Joiners' company occupying tailoring was transferred to the Merchant Taylors' company, whilst it was agreed that another member, engaged part-time in painting, would not be forced to translate to the Painter-Stainers, on condition that he restrict himself to the joiner's occupation in the future - Rep 12 i 238v,248. There are many other such examples in the Repertories. Concerning the involvement of the Corporation in the punishment of recalcitrant members by the Corporation see notes 157-72 above
- 183 Thrupp The Merchant Class 93; H Swanson 'The Illusion of Economic Structure : Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns' Past and Present 121 1988 33; Kellett 'The Breakdown of Gild and Corporation Control over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London' 381-94
- 184 Excluding the Hanseatic merchants of the Steelyard, who had special privileges - see above cp3 n57
- 185 I Scouloudi (ed.) Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis, 1593,1627,1635,1639 Huguenot Society 57 1985 3
- 186 E.g. 1544 and 1554 - A Pettegree Foreign Protestant

Communities in Sixteenth Century London Oxford 1986 15; R E G Kirk & E F Kirk (eds.) Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London Huguenot Society 10 1900-8 preface; H&L II 31-2.

187 2965 grants of denization or acts of naturalisation were obtained in 1544 - W Page Letters of Denization and acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England, 1509-1603 Huguenot Society 8 1893 lii. See also Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 15 ; Richardson 'Some Financial Expedients' 37. However, this situation was not paralleled in 1554, when the motivation behind the order was different. In 1554 only two grants of denization were made, and in the following two years there were none - Page ibid liiii.

188 See cp2 29-30

189 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 11

190 In fact, the stranger congregations in the City long predated the foundation of the churches in 1550 - Brigden London and the Reformation 459-60; Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 8,36

191 Page 'Letters of Denization' lii-liii

192 A Pettegree 'The Stranger Community in Marian London' Proceedings of the Huguenot Society 24 no.5 1987 392

193 [29 June 1550] *It was appointed that the Germans shall have the Austin Friars for their church to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists and such like* - Edward VI Chronicle 37

Concerning the authorities' fear of anabaptism see, for example P C Clasen Anabaptism : A Social History 1525-1618 Cornell University 1972 358-422;425-7. See also Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials II pt I 1822 62,107-9

In April 1551 George van Parris, a Dutchman and suspected anabaptist, was excommunicated by 'the congregation of his countrymen' and 'was after long disputation condemned to the fire' - Edward VI Chronicle 58

194 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 31-38

195 Edward VI Chronicle 37; Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 36-7

The mainstay of the London stranger churches were the French and Low Countries Protestants. The Italian and German Protestants, who were less numerous, tended to stand aloof from the churches - Pettegree 'The Stranger Community in Marian London' 392 - whilst the Spaniards also tended to worship at home - J Strype The History of the Life and Acts of ... Edmund Grindal Oxford 1821 69-70

196 CPR 1553 86. For other licences see CPR passim

197 APC 1552-4 160

198 In June 1551, for example, a deputation of Englishmen, in complaining about the 'great number of strangers lately come into their realm' claimed that they were 'for the most part.... heretics fled out of other countries' - SP 68/7 569 See also Scheyvre's remarks - CSP Sp 1550-2 279. As Pettegree points out that 'it was the foreigners' [i.e. strangers'] visibility rather than the immigration itself which was at the root of contemporary disquiet' - A Pettegree 'The Foreign Population of London in 1549' Proceedings of the Huguenot Society 24 no.2 1984 145

199 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 301,309

200 For example, the complaint, voiced in 1571, that aliens cut themselves off from their hosts - T&P I 309 - quoted by Archer The Pursuit of Stability 131

201 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 303-4

202 The overseas ambassadors in England were allowed to worship according to their own predilection. Indeed, the English Ambassador to the Emperor appealed for the right to his own form of religious worship in the Netherlands on the grounds that the Imperial Ambassador in England was allowed to continue to hear mass in England - CSP Sp 1550-2 237-8. Bossy points out that the foreign embassy chapels in the West end of London, which were subsequently taken over by the aristocracy in the late eighteenth century, continued until that point to be the preserve of the foreign embassies 'which until then had retained a sort of protectorate over them' - J Bossy The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 1975 311

With regard to the Lombard street Italian Catholic community, it is interesting to note that, although it had worshipped in a hall attached to the Austin Friars before the Reformation, it was apparently not catered for there after the Reformation. Austin Friars appears to have become the preserve of Protestants, including the Protestant Italians resident in London - Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 8,36; S Thrupp 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century' Studies in London History 1969 263

203 APC 1552-4 349

204 CSP Sp 1553 169,187-8,210

205 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 122-3; and 'The Stranger Community in Marian London' 390-402

206 E.g. letters in favour of Yvon Bras, Frenchman, to be free of the City through the Skinners' company, at the suit of the French ambassador - APC 1550-2 480; for the release of three Flemings at the suit of the Imperial Ambassadors in 1552 - APC 1552-4 70; in favour of Vandernote, physician, in his suit against the City ibid 150; for a licence for a Frenchman to brew double double beer, at the request of the

- French ambassador, in 1556 - Rep 13ii 400; for Dunstan Anez's freedom in 1557 - Rep 13ii 516v,518v; and in favour of the foreign bakers' suit for the relaxation of the Act of Common Council against them, in 1556, - Rep 13ii 433v
- 207 APC 1550-2 8-9. Perhaps as compensation, the following August, a Swedish merchant was allowed to ship salt, beer, malmesey and L20 worth of spices without paying custom, for the King of Sweden's sake - APC 1550-2 104
- 208 For example, licences to le Visdame de Chartres APC 1550-2 41,110,186 ; to de Laubespyne, the French King's Secretary - APC 1550-2 206; to the Imperial ambassador to transport beer - APC 1550-2 362; for the export of seacoals - APC 1550-2 500. Also licences to export at the rates of custom payable by Englishmen e.g. Calvalcanti, Giraldi and Fortini of Florence (wool) - CPR 1547-8 238 - which was confirmed despite the recent proclamation - CPR 1549-51 115; merchants of Venice (wool)- CPR 1547-8 366 - confirmed despite the proclamation - CPR 1548-9 247; Lopus de Carrion and other Spanish merchants - CPR 1548-9 97; Cavalcanti- CPR 1549-51 415; Guidotti- CPR 1550-3 97
- 209 CPR 1550-3 323
- 210 See cp2 n222
- 211 For example, annuities were granted to Bernard Ochino of Sienna, Peter Martyr Vermigli of Florence- CPR 1547-8 265-6; Sebastian de France of Lucca; Paul Baptista Spinola; John and Anthony Guidotti and Dominic Lomelino of Genoa - CPR 1549-51 110,174,303,307,308. See also the exemplification of Peter Negro's grant from Henry VIII- CPR 1550-3 60; the replacement by a new grant of Sir Angelus de Marianus of Cremona's annuity from Henry VIII - CPR 1550-3 169-170
- 212 See cp5 n239
- 213 Hall also noted a general hostility to successful aliens in Henry VIII's reign - Hall Chronicle 586-91,645 - cited Ransome 'Glaziers' 13 (footnote).
- 214 CSP Sp 1550-2 218-19,278-9
- 215 Edward VI Chronicle 59
- 216 APC 1550-2 260
- 217 APC 1550-2 262
- 218 Rep 12ii 325,497; Rep 13ii 582. These returns apparently also served to reassure Londoners that action was being taken against aliens - SP68/7 569
- 219 E.g. Rep 12ii 313,319,323,497; Rep 13i 121,205v,207; see also below p 304
- 220 Rep 13i 191;212v;214v

- 221 These have been cited by Loades The Reign of Mary Tudor 159-62; and Brigden London and the Reformation 548-51, 556-7. See also Chronicle of Queen Jane 34,81; CSP Sp 1554-8 3,5,26,37,56,60,72,73
- 222 A point made by Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 117
- 223 See cp7 n233
- 224 See cp6 n119
- 225 E.g. Rep 11 316v,486; Rep 13ii 581v
- 226 There is no evidence of such a complaint to the central government in the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen or the Acts of Privy Council for this period
- 227 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 122-3; and 'The Stranger Community in Marian London' 396-7; Rep 13i 179,183
- 228 Where detectable, the religious views of the majority of City's rulers appear to have been largely Protestant - Foster The Politics of Stability 5,113-32
- 229 For example, foreign butchers were allowed into City to sell meat and tallow freely in 1552 - Rep 12ii 435v,473 - and grain was purchased from strangers to supply the City in time of scarcity - see above cp3 n163
- 230 Rappaport estimates that the labour shortage in the cloth industry, for example, persisted throughout the 1540s and 1550s - Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 88
- 231 Jo 16 101v; Rep 13i 162; see also above pp 198-9
- 232 Rep 11 440v-441; Rep 12i 174v
- 233 Rep 13ii 508v,521,530,535v,541
- 234 Rep 11 367. This was not to be enacted.
- 235 E.g. Rep 11 447
- 236 Rep 13ii 400v,405,407 This was revised by the Commoners before it was enacted, 1 August 1556 - LBk S 93v. An earlier proposal had, apparently, been rejected by Common Council, February 1556 - Jo 16 372
- 237 Jo 17 7v. For examples of dispensations see below n260
- 238 Rep 13ii 433v
- 239 See above pp 135-55
- 240 The lists of defaulters on the subsidy rolls include a significant number of strangers who had been assessed - see cp5. Humphrey Wells, one of the subcollectors of the 1st payment of the relief of 1549 was ordered to deliver writs

of subpoena to five merchant strangers - E 207/26 6.

- 241 Rep 13i 145,147v. This bill failed to reach the Statute Books. An Act passed in Henry VIII's reign (22 Hen VIII c8) had confirmed that resident aliens were subject to taxation
- 242 E.g. Jo 15 340; Rep 12ii 383v. See also Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 279-282
- 243 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 17-18. Concerning London liberties see also Davies 'The Transformation of London' 287-314.
- Aliens resident in St Martin Le Grand were explicitly excluded from the rigours of the Henrician legislation to control alien trading and manufacturing activities in the capital - e.g. 14&15 Henry VIII c2; 21 Henry VIII c16
- 244 During this period Southwark was finally brought under the City's jurisdiction - see cp1 n35. However, arguments with officials of the liberties, particularly in the Tower and in St Martin le Grand, continued - e.g. APC 1552-4 115,117. Jo 13 467-468v; Rep 18 401v; Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 277
- 245 They have been the subject of some recent analysis - e.g. Archer The Pursuit of Stability 131-40 and Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 84-109
- 246 Ransome 'Glaziers' 12-20; Rep 12ii 83,289v,290v;400. Although there are no extant records to prove whether or not appeals were brought by livery companies to Star Chamber during this period, the cases surviving from Henry VIII's reign illustrate the use of this method of complaint against aliens by the Cordwainers, Glaziers and Founders earlier in the century e.g. STAC2/9 230; STAC2/16/79; STAC2/31/140; STAC2/19/347
- 247 GL MF 298 vol 4 340
- 248 In the 1582 return of aliens - Kirk and Kirk Return of Aliens II 305-14
- 249 19 Henry VII c.6; 25 Henry VIII c.9
- 250 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 11
- 251 Swanson has emphasised the importance of women in the brewing industry in late medieval York - Swanson 'The Illusion of Economic Structure' 34-5
- 252 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 133. The Carpenters regularly issued licences to allow the employment of foreign workmen e.g. 1548-9 (5 licences); 1551-2 (6 licences) and 1556-7 (2 licences) - GL Ms4326/2 unfoliated
- 253 The Coopers, Armourers and Braziers, Blacksmiths, Founders and Tallowchandlers had a relatively high proportion of such

members - Coopers (see n233); Armourers (GL Ms 12079/1 24v-40v), Blacksmiths (GL Ms2883/1 quarterage accounts passim); Founders (GL Ms 6303/1 378,387,389,405,416,418,430). In two years, 1549-51, the Tallowchandlers collected 36s from quarterage paid by strangers - GL Ms 6152/1 8

For proportions of non-free in a number of companies in 1582 see Kirk and Kirk Return of Aliens '10 no2 305-14 and Archer The Pursuit of Stability 132. In Elizabeth's reign, the Stationers had a considerable number of 'foreign' brothers, in contrast to the few in Mary's reign - Took 'Government and the Printing Trade' 15; Kirk and Kirk Ibid. 308

An Act passed in Henry VIII's reign (21 Henry VIII c16) required alien craftsmen to take oaths of allegiance before the master and wardens of the relevant trade, to bear charges as native craftsmen and to meet only in trade groups only when authorised by the London company officials. A previous Act (14&15 Henry VIII c2) had placed them under the search powers of the London companies within two mile radius of the City.

254 GL Ms.5606/1 123-4v,201-3

Pettegree estimates that in Mary's reign approximately 30% journeymen coopers in London were alien born - 'The Stranger Community in Marian London' 395-6

255 Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 85-105

256 Rep 13ii 433

257 GAT Allan Christ's Hospital Admissions, 1554-99 1937 38-9, 41-5 cited Pettegree Foreign Protestant Communities 301

258 Rep 11 354v quoted by Ransome 'Glaziers' 19

259 For example, leniency was shown to those who employed foreign clothworkers in 1549, because of the difficulty in finding freemen - Clothworkers' Orders of Court 1536-58 207, 210,213v,215

260 Rep 13ii 428;433-433v;436v;437;439;445v;446;448;451-2;470;493

261 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 133

262 GL Ms.5445/2 11 Sept. 1559: 'from henceforth there be no more brethren admitted to our company being foreigners unless he will become a freeman of our company'. I am grateful to Ian Archer for this reference

263 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 139

CHAPTER FIVE : RESOURCES

Introduction

The City was an important supplier of resources to the Crown, both financial and military. The City Corporation generally accepted the need to comply with royal demands made on the grounds of national emergency, passing on responsibility for the raising of such supplies to the Aldermen of the wards or, increasingly, to the wardens of the livery companies. The way in which this system operated in the sixteenth century is of some significance in examining the relationship between Crown and City and between the different organs of government within the city walls.

PART ONE : MONEY

The Crown could raise money from citizens in three main ways: by direct taxation voted by Parliament; by repayable loans; and by benevolences or gifts. The last two were, theoretically, voluntary advances to the King in acknowledgment of special need. However, they seem to have become obligatory in practice (1). In addition, the inhabitants of London were subject to demands for contributions for civic projects and appeals from outside, many of which were endorsed by the Crown. These affected their willingness and ability to pay their obligations to the central government and therefore are of significance in this context. Owing to the size and relative wealth of its population, the City yielded far more in direct taxation than any other city, or indeed county, in the kingdom in the sixteenth century (2). This

fact reinforced the importance to the Crown of maintaining the cooperation of the metropolis.

1. Parliamentary taxation

Parliamentary taxation, in the form of fifteenths and tenths and subsidies (3), continued to be raised through the City ward system throughout this period.

a. *Fifteenths and tenths*

The fifteenth and tenth was originally a tax directly assessed on moveables, at a fraction of their value. However, by the mid-fourteenth century, it had become a tax of fixed yield, levied from communities rather than individuals; each urban ward, for example, being allocated a sum which was supposed to be divided between individual taxpayers in proportion to their wealth (4). Based on an assessment of 1334, its distribution did not necessarily reflect the relative wealth of the City wards in the sixteenth century. Farringdon without, for example, whose population had expanded enormously in the later medieval and early modern period was still only assessed at L35 1s, nearly L15 less than the much smaller ward of Farringdon within (table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 Assessment of fifteenths and tenths : London

	1557/8	1541
Aldersgate	L7	L6 19s
Aldgate	L4 (L1 deducted from L5)	L4
Bassishaw	L7	L7
Billingsgate	L31 (10s deducted from L31 10s)	L31
Bishopsgate		L13
Bread street		L36 18s 2d
Bridge	L47 (L3 deducted from L50)	L47
Broad street	L25	L25
Candlewick street	L16	L16
Castle Baynard	L11 13s	L11 13s
Cheap	L52 16s	L52 16s
Coleman street	L15 16s 9d	L15 16s 10d
Cornhill		L16
Cordwainer		L52 6s
Cripplegate		L40
Dowgate	L28	L28
Farringdon within	L50	L50
Farringdon without	L35 1s	L35 1s
Langbourne	L20 10s	L20 10s
Lime street	L1 19s 11 1/2d	L2 11 1/2d
Portsoken		L4 10s
Queenhithe		L19 16s 2d
Tower	L26	L26
Vintry	L16 13s 4d	L16 13s 4d
	-----	-----
Total		L616 10s 9 1/2 d

1557/8 figures : E179/145/192 - individual wards (some missing)

1541 figures : Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown, 1509-47' Table 4.2 182

Nor was the total yield of the tax - *circa* thirty thousand pounds throughout the kingdom, of which approximately 20% was raised the City (5) - considered adequate for the royal coffers by the sixteenth century. It failed to take account both of inflation and of changes in the size and relative wealth of the population. Therefore, from the 1510s, the fifteenth and tenth tended to be raised in conjunction with the directly assessed subsidy (6). Moreover, the chief advantages of the tax - its predetermined yield and long established method of collection (7) - did not always guarantee it a smooth path. In 1557-8, for example, the London yield was well down on its allocation, at L562 10s 1/2d (8), which was L50, or 12%, lower than the amount raised in 1553 (9). This shortfall might have been related to the collection, within the same regnal year, of a subsidy at a higher than normal rate (10).

b. *Subsidies*

In order to overcome the disadvantages of the fixed and relatively low yield of the fifteenths and tenths, the Tudor subsidies, introduced in 1489, were designed to produce taxation which was more directly related to personal wealth, assessed either on lands or goods (11). The rate and exemption level, which were laid down in the relevant Subsidy Act, varied under the early Tudors. However, they remained constant in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary (at 1s 6d in the pound on goods over a minimum value of L10), with the important exception of 1558, when the rate was raised and the minimum value was lowered (to 4s per pound on lands over L1 minimum value and 2s 8d on goods over L5 value) (12). The subsidy was usually accompanied by a poll tax

on aliens (13).

The Parliamentary subsidy required its own collection machinery. Commissioners appointed by the Crown by letters patent drew up and sealed indentures with the high collectors for the City, who were men of substance, although not necessarily Aldermen (14), selected to supervise the collection. In the City, the twenty-five wards were generally linked together into four groups, with two high collectors responsible for each group. The assessment and collection of the sums allocated to each ward and individual taxpayer were delegated to the petty collectors, two for each ward. The names of these petty collectors were submitted to Chancery, together with their assessments. Indentures were then drawn up between the Commissioners and high and petty collectors for the delivery of the required amount (15). The livery companies were not called to assist in the collection of the subsidy. Their involvement was solely as taxpayers, due to contribute in relation to their halls, goods and lands within the wards in which they were located (16). As guilds, they were made liable for additional payments in the relief of 1548-9, on plate and luxury items specifically excluded from assessment in the case of churches, chapels and individuals (17).

Despite the fact that the subsidy was designed to rise with inflation and to reflect fluctuations in individual wealth, it became increasingly unresponsive to change. There was practically no reassessment during the remainder of the Tudor period and valuations became fixed and unrealistic. The extent to which they reflected wealth and the degree to which evasion affected tax yield have been the subject of some investigation (19). It

has been established that, by Elizabeth's reign, yields had begun to decline, affected by the increasing inaccuracy of valuations and collusion on the part of collectors (18).

The 'erosion of the subsidy' theory is substantiated by the decline of yields in London over this period, not only in absolute terms (with the exception of 1557-8), but also as a percentage of national yields. In the last six years of Henry VIII's reign and throughout Edward VI's reign the average proportion of London's contribution to the national subsidy was in the region of 20% (20). However, Mary's reign witnessed a downward trend - to a consistent 13% (21). Moreover, there was a significant shortfall in the expected yield of the relief in 1549 and subsidy in 1556 (22). There is also evidence of reluctance by the City to contribute to the subsidy and of difficulty in collecting it (23).

TABLE 5.2 Subsidies 1547-58 (rounded to nearest thousand)

	London yield (L'000)	Total yield (L'000)	London percentage
1547	17 [A]	97	17.5%
1549	11*	54	20%
1550	10*	47	21%
1551	9*	40	22%
1552	9*	43	21%
1556	9**	68	13%
1557	10**	77	13%
1558	18***	134	13%

(Notes on following page)

Notes to table 5.2

[A] 2nd payment of subsidy of 37 Hen VIII (collected 1 Edward VI). Assessment figures only : no record of actual yield.
Assessment : L16,892 5s 11d (E179/145/151)

* Relief granted by Act of Parliament 24 November 1548 (2&3 Edward VI c36), to be raised annually for three years
- 1st payment to be delivered by 3 May 1549

Rate: { 1s per pound value (those worth over L10 in moveables)
{ 2s in L strangers worth L10 or over
{ 8d poll tax on strangers not worth L10

1st payment

Assessment - L12,251 15s 11d (E179/174)
Collected - L10,819 4s 2d (E359/45)
Paid to Treasury - L10,470 11s 4d
(after fees deducted at 2d per L)
Lists of non-payers in E359/45 - 97 names

2nd payment

Collected - L9,918 (E359/45)
Paid to Treasury - L9,641 17s 8d
Non-payers - 191

3rd payment

Collected - L9,044 6s 10d (E359/45)
Paid to Treasury - L8,639 4d
Non-payers - 298

4th payment

Collected - L8,995 15s 8d (E359/45)
Paid to Treasury - L8,735 19s 8d
Non-payers - 170

** Subsidy 2&3 Philip & Mary c23

1st payment

Collected - L9,421 4s 4d (E359/47)
Paid to Treasury - L9,188 3s 3d

2nd payment

Collected - L10,409 3s (E359/47)
Paid to Treasury - L10,148 1s 6d
Non-payers - 180

*** Subsidy 4&5 Philip & Mary c11

Collected - L18,675 6s 8 1/2d (E359/47)
Paid to Treasury - L18,207 17s 4 1/2d
Non-payers - 215

London yields from : E179/145/151,174; E359/45,47
Total yields from Schofield 'Taxation and the Political Limits of the Tudor State' Table 1

The most striking example of unwillingness to pay, came from the civic authorities themselves: in July 1549, the Corporation informed the Privy Council that the City was unable to raise any 'certain' contribution to the second payment of the relief, for the following reasons:

13 July 1549 : It is agreed that Mr Recorder, in the name of the whole house, shall this afternoon declare to my Lord Chancellor that they and the citizens must be at such high & great charges many other ways as hereafter appeareth for the defence of the City that they are not able to grant any sum of money certain towards the finding of the men of war called the 'Albonyes' that are lately come hither to serve the King :

Imprimis the City must be at great charges in retaining and giving wages to the poverty of the city if the need shall so require

Item for the provision of victuals to store the City withall

Item for the new making and amendment of the gates and bridge, portcullises , chains , weapons and other munitions of war

Item for gunpowder and shot, and towards all these charges there is no treasure in the City

And that my Lord Mayor, Mr Laxton, Mr Gresham, Mr Recorder, Mr Judde, Mr Barne, Mr Jervys and Mr Turke with the ii Sheriffs shall meet at ii of the clock at St Botolph's Church without 'Aldrichgate' [Aldersgate] and from thence to go to my said Lord Chancellor's for the execution of the premises (Rep 12i 106v-7)

Brigden suggests that this recalcitrance was attributable to a growing loss of confidence in Protector Somerset and his policies (24), rather than a genuine inability to pay or a desire to undermine an unpopular tax. She quotes as evidence the fact that the Journal of the Court of Common Council noted how Somerset 'buildeth three, four or five palaces most sumptuously and leaveth the poor soldiers unpaid' (25). However, this is a direct quotation from the letter sent by the Earl of Warwick and his supporters in the King's Council to the City in October that year to persuade the London rulers to lend their support against

Somerset. It does not necessarily reflect the motivation of the City Corporation in protesting against the tax. It is possible that the City rulers were expressing a genuine grievance at the way in which the citizens were being exploited to finance the King's wars, although the relief had been granted by Parliament in 1548 for a period of three years (26). In the event, they lost their appeal and the citizens had to contribute to the second, third and fourth payments of relief, although yields declined (27).

There is also evidence of reluctance to pay on the part of individual citizens, both in 1549 and subsequently. In September 1549, the Aldermen were ordered to 'travail' with the substantial inhabitants of their wards, who were clearly proving obstructive. The following December, the Court of Aldermen instructed the high collectors to pay over what they had managed to collect to the Town Clerk and to deliver to the Lord Mayor the names of those still refusing to contribute; and the following July the Town Clerk had to be reimbursed for the shortfall, which had presumably been written off as bad debts (28).

In April 1552, increased diligence was demanded by the Court of Aldermen of the petty collectors in the wards (29). In June 1558, James Corser, tailor, was imprisoned for his lewd words against the subsidy (30), whilst in April 1551 John Bodylye of 'Henawd' [Hainault ?] was committed to ward for his 'opprobrious' words to the collectors of the King's relief, not be released without a letter from the Council signed by at least three Councillors and a bond for his good behaviour, particularly towards George Tadlowe, haberdasher (31). In August 1558, the Privy Council

ordered the Lord Mayor to call before him all the collectors of the subsidy and to charge them with the 'undelayed' payment into the Exchequer of all the sums due 'at their peril' (32). Particular anxiety was expressed by the authorities that payment should be secured from those worth over fifty pounds a year (33). The subsidy account rolls held in the Public Record Office (34) indicate an increasing reluctance to contribute, with their growing lists of non-payers (defaulters and those seeking exemption), whose names were often transferred from roll to roll in an attempt to achieve subsequent payment. Among these debtors were a significant number of strangers (35) and at least one of the livery companies (36). Although the number of defaulters recorded, which rose from 97 in 1549 to 298 in 1551 (37), may seem insignificant in relation to the estimated total City population of this period (38), it should be emphasised that these lists included only those considered to be of substantial wealth for whom Commissioners' certificates were necessary (39). Those of modest means and those who had paid up reluctantly after some pressure remain largely unrecorded (40).

No evidence has been discovered of collusion between taxpayers and collectors or sheriffs at this period, of the type identified by Schofield, leading to undervaluation in assessments and unwillingness to distrain goods (41). This does not prove it did not occur. Certainly Wolsey and Cromwell had their suspicions concerning undervaluation in London in Henry VIII's reign (42). In 1516, Wolsey threatened to take strong measures, declaring that, if they failed to pay in full, the Mayor and Aldermen were 'to be sworn of and upon the true value of their substance within the sum of C marks' (43). Further research to compare individual

assessments with the known wealth of individual Londoners will no doubt substantiate the suspicions of the central government that they were not contributing as much as they should (44).

Resistance to paying was not confined to subsidy payments. In 1553, 1554 and 1555, for example, inhabitants of several wards, notably Farringdon Within and Castle Baynard, refused to contribute to fifteenths and tenths, which, although more modest, tended to fall more heavily on the less wealthy (45). Defaulters were ordered to appear before the Aldermen and various threats had to be made in order to secure payment, including the distraint of the goods of non-payers, the shutting up of their shops and the imprisonment of the collectors. The most obvious group of non-payers were foreigners and strangers (46). Their failure to cooperate angered the City Corporation, and presumably the generality of native freemen. Advice was sought from the Council and motions were passed in the Court of Aldermen and Common Council to force them to contribute (47). In April 1554, Mr Southcote, one of the City's legal counsel, was requested:

to devise and draw a bill to be enacted by the Parliament for to constrain and order all manner of foreigners and strangers from the liberties of this City of London as well aliens born as Englishmen inhabiting in the city and liberties to contribute and pay their portions after their taxations towards payment of any xv and to bear lot and scot and all other charges with the citizens of the said city at all times hereafter when and as often as any such charge shall be taxed, levied or bourne within the said city as the freemen for their rates shall do, all lords and other noblemen being of the Queen's Council only except
(5 April 1554 - Rep 13i 145)

However, although the Court of Aldermen approved the bill (48), it does not appear to have been enacted. The subsidy account rolls confirm the continuation of stranger recalcitrance,

expressed perhaps in the 'opprobrious words' spoken by a stranger to one of the petty collectors of the relief in April 1551 (49).

The difficulty of raising direct taxation from the citizens of London was not exceptional. Parallels can be drawn with other parts of the country and with other periods (50). Reluctance to pay was inevitably greatest at times of economic depression and increasing frequency of demand. By the mid-Tudor period the subsidy had become an almost annual imposition, with brief respites between Parliaments. Indeed, Archer has shown that the taxation burden on citizens was greater in the 1540s and 1550s than in the 1590s, both in terms of its size and frequency (51). The incidence of other financial demands had also become common by the mid-sixteenth century, as will be examined below. It is therefore remarkable, not that there was some resistance to financial demands by the Crown, but that it was not greater, particularly during the economic slump in the 1550s.

2. Royal loans and gifts

The importance of civic loans to the Crown has already been noted (52). They did not require Parliamentary sanction, and were thus more readily raised and flexible than subsidies. However, they were not popular. Although the lenders were given an undertaking that they would be repaid in full, in some cases with interest, there was opposition to what were considered 'forced loans', in London and elsewhere (53). Henry VIII's loans had not served as an attractive precedent: most had been written off, albeit only after special Acts of Parliament (54). Moreover, it is clear that all the national advances raised by the Crown in

the late middle ages and early modern period were in fact compulsory (55). The refusal of the City to lend money to the Protector in 1549 without the personal security of named Councillors may be attributable to the fear of non-repayment. Again Brigden links this incident with a loss of confidence in Somerset's regime (56). Mary was more successful in seeking 'prests' from the City: she raised substantial sums from citizens in 1556 and 1558, albeit in the face of some resistance (57).

Royal loans were raised either directly from individual Aldermen or, more commonly, through the livery companies, which allocated the allotted sums to their membership in proportion to their wealth or disposable income. The companies, increasingly employed as revenue agents for a variety of civic schemes, were able to tap the funds of the richer of their members in a more flexible way than the ward taxation system (58). *It was quite common for them to protect poorer members from contributions, thus reducing the sense of public outrage at the apparently ever increasing demands of Crown and City (59).* Rappaport has shown that, in general, 'the system used by members to tax their members was progressive, based roughly on each man's ability to pay' (60). Indeed, some companies relied on one or two of their richer members to bear the brunt of these demands. The Pewterers were thus placed at a disadvantage by the enforced translation to one of the Great Companies of their most substantial member, Thomas Curtes, after his elevation to the Aldermanship since 'he was wont always to bear the one half of such payments' (61). This may explain his reluctance to translate, aware of his crucial role in the company (62).

The same method was used to raise other, non-repayable, levies for the Crown. In this period there was no attempt to revive the unpopular experiment of the Henrician Amicable Grant (63). However, gifts were given by the City to the Crown at the time of Mary's accession, both before and after her arrival in London (64) and for the maintenance of the garrison in 1554 (65), not without reluctance in the latter case. The City made several attempts to reduce the amount that it was expected to donate and murmurings were heard among company members against the gift (66).

3. Civic taxation

The City authorities themselves employed the system of fifteenths and tenths to raise money, both for pageantry connected with royal occasions, such as *Edward and Mary's coronations and Philip II's entry into London (67)*, and for the funding of civic projects. The civic projects undertaken during this period are worthy of particular note. In an attempt to deal with the problems of vagrancy and poverty, and as a substitute for the important charitable contribution formerly made by the religious houses in London, a number of foundations were set up to cater for the poor in the City (68). These came to be funded and maintained almost entirely by citizens, despite important initial support, financial and otherwise, from the Crown (69). They included St Bartholomew's hospital (70), Bedlam (71), Christ's hospital (72), Bridewell (73) and St Thomas's hospital, Southwark (74). The unprecedented calls for contributions from the livery companies towards the relief of the poor in the first of these hospitals, St Bartholomew's, prompted an outcry. It therefore

forms an interesting example of attitudes to civic fund-raising.

The City was bound, by an indenture exchanged with Henry VIII, 13 April 1544, which was reinforced by an Act of Common Council, to make an annual contribution to the maintenance of the poor in St Bartholomew's hospital, which had been refounded and endowed by Henry at the request of the Corporation (75). The Corporation was initially in some doubt as to the best way of raising the agreed annual sum. The Court of Aldermen tried a number of solutions to the problem, on the Lord Mayor's motion that a 'good way' should be devised for the 'continual maintenance of the poor' in St Bartholomew's. These included imposing (on an experimental one-year basis) two fifteenths on all taxpayers, to replace the weekly parish contributions customarily paid by communicants for the poor; seeking contributions from individual Aldermen, both lump sums and regular weekly payments; establishing a 'brotherhood of the poor', whose membership comprised the Lord Mayor and all but three of the Aldermen, who were to pay an annual subscription of thirteen shillings and fourpence; and employing funds from elsewhere, including the profits of certain civic offices (76).

The fifteenths proved unpopular, since they were 'taken of the whole body of the said city, wherewith the poverty of the same city is much burdened and grieved and has not a little "grutched" and repined' (77). This claim was not entirely accurate, since not every one was liable for the fifteenth, although its incidence was apparently wider than that of the subsidy (78). However, some remedy was obviously necessary and the Court of Aldermen approached the wardens of the livery companies and

non-liveried fellowships for their assistance. They were asked to offer advice in devising 'some good ordinance' for the future maintenance of the poor and, in the interim, to persuade their members to contribute towards the hospital until further provision should be made (79).

Despite the Court's appeal that the wardens should 'move, stir and earnestly provoke all their companies to grant their devotions and charitable aid towards the maintenance and relief of the indigent and needy persons in the house of the poor quarterly', and the instructions to individual companies to bring in to the Court their certificates of the totals raised (80), many of their members proved unwilling to cooperate. Yet they were bound to pay by an Act of Common Council of 20 December 1548, which ordered that the City's contribution 'should be always levied from the several and fellowships hereunder written according to the allotment as here appears', to be paid quarterly till further provision be made (81). The amounts set, and supposedly 'willingly granted' by the companies and fellowships, were as follows:

Mercers	L24	Clothworkers	L17 6s 8d
Grocers	L20	Dyers	L4
Drapers	L20	Brewers	L12
Fishmongers	L16	Bakers	L5 6s 8d
Goldsmiths	L16	Leathersellers	L10 13s 4d
Skinners	L13 6s 8d	Tallowchandlers	L5 6s 8d
Mt Taylors	L20	Carpenters	4 marks
Salters	L12	Painters	L4
Haberdashers	L16	Cutlers	L4
Ironmongers	L9 6s 8d	Pewterers	L6 13s 4d
Vintners	L9 6s 8d	Saddlers	L5 6s 8d
Girdlers	L8	Barber Surgeons	L5 6s 8d
Curriers	L4 13s 8d	Waxchandlers	L1 6s 8d
Innholders	L5 6s 8d	Cordwainers	4 marks
Bowyers	L4	Armourers	4 marks
Coopers	L4	Fletchers	4 marks
Broderers	4 marks	Woolpackers	L1 6s 8d

Plumbers	L1	6s 8d	Poulterers	4 marks
Pastelers		4 marks	Lorimers	13s 4d
Tylers	L2		Stationers	4 marks
Fruiterers		4 marks	Upholderers	13s 4d
Butchers		4 marks	Brown bakers	13s 4d
Masons	L1	6s 8d	Greytawyers	13s 4d
Scriveners	L1	6s 8d	Longbowstringers	13s 4d
Joiners	L1	6s 8d	Turners	13s 4d
Woodmongers	L1	6s 8d	Glaziers	13s 4d
Plasterers	L1	6s 8d	Blacksmiths	4 marks
Bottlemakers		13s 4d	Farriers	13s 4d
Paviours		13s 4d	Founders	L1 6s 8d
Weavers	L1	6s 8d		

At least twenty-five companies, both great and lesser, initially refused to contribute, which caused delay and difficulty in the collection of the required amounts (82). In at least one case, the original allocation had to be reduced, although not without careful consideration by the Court (83). The Coopers' company appears to have lost an earlier appeal for a similar reduction (84). The Corporation became so alarmed by the situation, particularly in view of the high cost of maintaining the hospital's establishment, that it appealed to the Crown to alter the terms of the foundation, with some success:

Having given us to understand by the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London that the foundation of the hospital of Saint Bartholomew's in West Smithfield cannot in all points so be observed, as was meant by the foundation thereof, by cause most of the revenues to the same assigned is consumed in fees and wages, to stipendiary priests and other superfluous officers, the which abuses can in no wise be reformed but only by authority or dispensation from the King's Majesty, these shall therefore be to will and require you to draw a book of licence from his Majesty to the Mayor and Aldermen of the same City authorising them by the same to transpose alter and charge the said number of priests and all other offices and things which shall be thought by them not necessary for the ministry of the said hospital, unto some other kind of ministers or uses.... (copy letter from Somerset, Southampton and Rich to unknown recipient, 1 August 1549 - transcribed in Jo 16 26v)

This concession may have led to significant changes and economies in the hospital's management. It did not, however, remove the need to raise annual subscriptions from the citizens. Moreover,

the situation was made more difficult by the foundation of two new city institutions, Christ's hospital and Bridewell, both with their own financial needs.

Bridewell, 'which this the King and Queen's City had of the gift of Edward VI by Letters Patent to the intent that they should with convenient speed cause the great number of vagabonds, sturdy and valiant beggars and idle masterless men that the City is from time to time much burdened withall...therin to be set awork', was not fully established as a House of Correction until 1556. In addition to providing the able poor with 'good and necessary bodily labours and occupations to get their own livings and eschew and avoid idleness and their other lewd and unlawful kinds of living', it was to include suitable lodgings within the house for the infirm and weak (85). Once again funding was sought directly from the companies on these grounds:

And forasmuch as also as it seems to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Commons in this present Common Council assembled good necessary and expedient that the poor number of citizens of the said City which all at this present are diverse and sundry other ways much charged with the payments of sundry sums of money aswell to our sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen's Majesties as also otherwise, should in no wise be touched or grieved with the payment of any manner of sum or sums of money towards the said charges or expenses, it is therefore this day lovingly and freely grantedthat all the said charges or expenses which shall be disbursed, expended and levied out for and about the alteration and commission of the said house and for the erection and provision and buying of the said beds, bedding, instuments and tools shall only be levied, gathered and taken of such a competent number of the chief and best companies and fellowships of the said City as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen think meet and convenient and that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen shall by their discretions tax and assess upon every of the said companies appointed by them such a reasonable sum as appears meet and convenient, and that after their assessment and taxation they shall call the wardens of the said companies commanding them to call before them their companies at their common halls and other meeting places and them to assess and tax upon every one of the company such reasonable sum as they know or verily believe that they well able to pay towards said charges not burdening any poor

or indigent person of their companies with the payment of any manner of sum (February 1556 - Jo 16 370v-371)

By restricting the appeal to selected companies and, within those, to individuals considered able to pay, the Corporation hoped to raise sufficient funds without causing a general protest. This decision was conveyed to the wardens by the Court of Aldermen (86). It was not well received, and in November the wardens of the recalcitrant companies were threatened with imprisonment (87). Significantly, and probably in response to complaints from the companies, precepts were subsequently sent to the Aldermen to raise money through parishes within their wards 'towards the charges and expenses that are to be borne and laid out by the City at Bridewell' (88). Meanwhile, the Clothworkers' and Bakers' companies were urged to pay their contributions to the poor (89).

In addition, the parish weekly collections for St Bartholomew's seem to have been reinstated. In March 1556, a variance between St Dunstan in the East and the hospital governors concerning a legacy bequeathed to the parish for the poor, ended in a compromise which involved the continuance of 'the weekly alms and relief of the poor within the said House in like manner as accustomed' (90), although it is possible that these payments were derived from the legacy rather than from a collection from the congregation.

The financial state of all the City hospitals continued to cause concern (91). In May 1556, it was agreed that Christ's hospital should receive one hundred pounds from St Bartholomew's 'to relieve the great necessity of the poor children there', whilst

the Governor was authorised to borrow another one or two hundred from selected 'worshipful commoners' (92). Meanwhile, Sir Henry Suckeley, merchant taylor, was 'earnestly moved to continue his devotion and charitable weekly alms towards the relief of the poor children at Christ's Hospital as heretofore' (93) and the profits from a number of civic offices were assigned to one or more of the hospitals, including those of the keepership of Blackwell hall (94). In addition, in September 1552, the fines received by the Corporation from those seeking exemption from the shrievalty had been divided between St Bartholomew's and Christ's hospitals, whilst, in December 1557, the five pound annual rent from Blackwell hall, paid to the Chamberlain for the use of the dissolved Guildhall College library, was transferred from St Bartholomew's to Christ's hospital (95). However, despite the occasional injection of civic funds, the bulk of the relief remained the responsibility of parishioners and livery company members, who continued to resent the imposition. In January 1555, for example, the governors of Christ's hospital were instructed to deliver to the Lord Mayor and the relevant Aldermen the lists of those in their wards who refused to pay anything towards the hospital, and to 'call the said persons so refusing to pay before them and earnestly travail with them for the recontinuance of their devotion and charitable aid towards that godly use'. Meanwhile, a letter of attorney was to be drawn up to give Richard Grafton, grocer, and John Hylton, gentleman, the right to enter and take possession of certain houses there on behalf of the Corporation (96). The companies seem to have won have derived from regular parish collections rather than company contributions (97).

In addition to civic projects for the relief of poverty, the Corporation sought contributions from citizens to ensure an adequate supply of certain essential commodities, in order to lessen the likelihood of food riots in the event of scarcity. The chief of these commodities was wheat (98). The first Mayor recorded as making a provision of corn for the City was Sir Stephen Brown, in 1438, although it was a subsequent officeholder, Sir Simon Eyre (Mayor, 1445) who ordered the erection of a public granary at Leadenhall (99). By Henry VIII's reign, it had become customary to raise 'wheat money' from individual Aldermen for the purchase and storage of a supply of this grain, which was to be sold to the inhabitants at reasonable prices in time of shortage. This money was either donated to the Corporation or loaned until it could be reimbursed on the sale of the wheat (100). It was in 1521 that the civic authorities first approached the livery companies for 'wheat money' (101). Their assistance was to be enlisted with increasing frequency during the reigns of Edward and Mary to raise loans from their membership, although the Aldermen continued to be called on periodically for individual contributions. Although the companies were generally repaid in full, the delays in reimbursement and the need to raise capital additional to that sought for other civic and royal projects made such requests unpopular (102).

TABLE 5.3 WHEAT MONEY, 1547-1558

	Source	Reference
[1546-7]	Companies	
1548	Aldermen	GL Ms 16988/2 33v
1549	Aug Aldermen L50 each	MAC 211v
1550	May Companies * L100 each	Rep 11 452
		Rep 12i 122,129
		Jo 16 52v
1551	Mar Companies **	GL Ms 16988/2 42,43
		MAC 243
		GL Ms 11571/5 343, 358v
		Rep 12ii 316v
		GL Ms 16988/2 52v
		MAC 249v
[1552-4]	Companies	
1553	Mar Aldermen L10 each	GL Ms 16988/2 70v
		Rep 13i 36
1556	Feb-Mar Companies ***	Rep 13ii 368v, 372v, 373v, 375v
		GL Ms 16988/2 84v
		MAC 279
		GL Ms 11571/6 22
1556	Sep Aldermen and merchants ****	Rep 13ii 425v-6

Notes to table 5.3

* The lesser companies were ordered to be repaid first, in July 1550 (Rep 12i 248v). The Great Companies were to be repaid in November (Rep 12ii 285). There was a further order in January (Rep 12ii 301v)

** The Merchant Taylors were ordered to be repaid first, in November 1551, followed by the lesser companies (Rep 12ii 407). The Drapers had to wait until the following June for a promise of repayment, and then only to the 'youngmen' of the company 'that may worst forbear their money' (Rep 12ii 493)

*** In May, the companies were offered repayment in wheat. If they wished for cash they would have to wait until the wheat had been sold by the Corporation (Rep 13ii 511v)

**** The individual commoners asked to contribute were promised repayment in November (Rep 13ii 425v-6)

MAC - Mercers' acts of court, 1527-60

In June 1556, in an attempt to ensure the maintenance of an adequate stock of grain within the walls, the civic authorities arranged for its storage through individual company members, the Lord Mayor:

calling the wardens of all the companies and fellowships of this City before him here tomorrow should advise them to call their of the rye that is now here at the waterside to be bought so that everyone of them may have some wheat in store whereby they may eschew such danger as might percase issue by the lack thereof
(Rep 13ii 400) (103)

However, the City Corporation continued to remain responsible for storing a stock of wheat and rye in the Bridgehouse. The following year (June 1557), the Brownbakers were ordered to report how much of the City's rye they would take (104).

The delegation of grain storage to individual companies on a regular basis did not occur until the reign of Elizabeth I, and then only at the request of the companies themselves (105). However, the new system had considerable advantages for the Corporation. When the civic authorities were directly responsible for the maintenance of the grain stocks, they had to raise money to purchase wheat; to obtain it at reasonable prices, often from abroad via the Steelyard merchants (106); to store it, in granaries which were often requisitioned by the royal purveyors, against the wishes of the Aldermen (107), and to sell it before it became too stale, at a rate sufficiently high to enable repayment of the loans. This final requirement led to seemingly endless negotiations with the White and Black Bakers' companies, which were generally commandeered to employ the stocks in baking (108). It must have been with some relief that these duties were relinquished to the companies from 1578, although the Corporation

retained an overall responsibility for ensuring that the City was adequately provided with bread and beer.

To return to the reigns of Edward and Mary, direct contributions were also sought for seacoals, again purchased and stored by the Corporation (109), in order to ensure adequate supplies at reasonable prices. In contrast to wheat money, seacoal funds were raised through fifteenths levied on the wards (110). It is interesting that the money thus raised had to be temporarily diverted towards the expenses of soldiers provided by the City in 1554 (111). An additional fifteenth was to be levied in December 1555 to purchase wood for the poor (112). A civic levy was also collected from certain merchant strangers inhabiting the City in August 1558 for an unspecified purpose. It is possible that this represented a fine for misbehaviour (113).

The citizens were also approached with extra-mural appeals. In 1551, the Mayor of Great Yarmouth's request for contributions towards the construction of a new harbour received a positive response from the Court of Aldermen. The livery company wardens were instructed to persuade the substantial members of their companies to subscribe (114). A similar appeal from Dover was at first treated with some suspicion. However, the port authorities managed to convince the City that it had in fact promised one hundred pounds towards the construction of their new haven in Henry VIII's reign (115). It was agreed that this sum should be realised through voluntary donations by parishioners (116). Subscriptions were meanwhile sought for the sponsorship of 'poor scholars' through Oxford and Cambridge (117). The Court of Aldermen resolved to distribute the charge between the Great

Companies, each paying for one student, at five pounds each annually (118). The majority agreed, reserving the right to nominate the scholar and with the proviso that the other Great Companies agreed to do likewise. The 'books containing the certainty of the devotion' promised by them was examined by four of the Aldermen in June 1551 (119). However, the Vintners seem to have made it a precondition of their cooperation that they be allowed to proceed in their legal suit against strangers retailing wine in the City. On receiving this permission, they 'willingly agreed to pay' (120).

Not all requests for assistance were successful. The inhabitants of the town of Shepperton, which had sustained a devastating fire in 1555, were refused help on the ground of the heavy burden of poor relief on the citizens (121). In the light of the cumulative effects of taxation and appeals, this decision is not surprising. The multitude and frequency of demands for money from citizens help to explain the reluctance to contribute towards both royal subsidies and poor relief.

4. Conclusion

The frequency of the subsidy increased in the mid-Tudor period. Henry VIII had raised seventeen in thirty eight years (average : 0.45 per year); Edward VI was to levy four in seven years (0.57 per year); and Mary, three in five years (0.6 per year). In the 1540s and 1550s there were only six years (1540,1543,1548,1553-5) free of subsidy payments (122). Of these, two were burdened with fifteenths and tenths, 1553 and 1555 (123). These increased demands were attributed both to war, against France and Scotland,

and to other necessity, such as the inheritance of a large debt and 'other great and inestimable charges' sustained by the Crown (124). Mary's display of goodwill, in 1553, in releasing her subjects from Edward VI's last subsidy, must have been greatly appreciated, although their liability for the accompanying fifteenth remained (125). The relatively low London yields in subsequent subsidies prove it an empty gesture in the long-term. In addition to state taxation, citizens had to bear the burden of the civic levies, enhanced in the mid-sixteenth century by the increased demands of poor relief, as well as ordinary local charges collected by the wards and parishes, such as scavengers' rates and assessments for the wages of beadles and parish clerks (126).

TABLE 5.4: INCIDENCE OF EXTRAORDINARY FINANCIAL DEMANDS ON CITIZENS, 1547-58

	Crown: Subsidies	Crown: Other	City
1547	Subsidy (Henry VIII) (2nd payment)		<i>coronation (15th)</i> poor (15th)
1548			poor (co.s) wheat (Ald)
1549	Subsidy (1st payment)		
1550	Subsidy (2nd)		wheat (co.s)
1551	Subsidy (3rd)		wheat (co.s) Yarmouth (co.s) Oxbridge (co.s)
1552	Subsidy (4th)		poor (Ald) Oxbridge (co.s) poor (parishes)
1553		Gift to Queen (co.s) 15th to Queen	coronation (15th)
1554		garrison (co.s)	seacoals (15th) Philip II (15th) Oxbridge (co.s) civic loan (Ald)

1555		Philip II (15th)	Dover (parishes)
1556	Subsidy (1st)	loan to Queen (co.s)	wheat&rye (co.s) Bridewell (co.s) wheat (merchants) Bridewell (parishes)
1557	Subsidy (2nd)		
1558	Subsidy	loan to Queen (co.s) 15th to Queen	

Source: Reys *passim*

Ald - Aldermen co.s = companies

The frequency of the extraordinary financial demands upon citizens (see table 5.4) explains both their reluctance to contribute and their resentment towards the foreigners and strangers who refused to pay. New impositions were bound to be unpopular, notably those for the new civic hospitals, whilst the raising of the subsidy rate by Mary's last Parliament seems to have led to a shortfall in the collection both of the subsidy itself and of the accompanying fifteenth and tenth. Citizens of London, in common with other subjects, expected to have to meet royal demands in time of national emergency, which in the sixteenth century encompassed more than war-time necessity (127). They also had an acknowledged duty to contribute to civic levies and company dues (128).

The civic authorities felt it wise to divide the burden of meeting extraordinary demands between the two main agents of civic government - the wards and companies - in order to spread the load of payment and collection, and to protect the poorer inhabitants and company members if possible. However, there was a fine dividing line between acknowledged duty and exploitation, of which the citizens periodically reminded both civic and central authorities.

PART TWO : MEN

1. Royal service

a. *War*

A similar dividing line also affected the provision of men for the Crown. By long tradition, reinforced by a royal charter granted by Edward III in 1327 (129), it had been established that troops could only be raised in London for service within the City and could not be compelled to serve the King abroad. However, subsequent monarchs had managed to override such limitations, not only in London but also in the shires, many of which had previously obtained similar royal grants of exemption.

Henry VIII, in particular, had frequently ignored the privileges granted by his predecessors. During his reign, the City had been presented with demands for militia to sail to France, to defend the south coast and to defeat the rebels involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The frequency and magnitude of these requests had increased in the 1540s: the relatively modest numbers sought in the first decades of the reign, between one and three hundred at one time, had been superseded by apparently unprecedented demands for one thousand men, in 1544, and two thousand men in 1545 (130). Although the City Corporation periodically reminded the Crown of its theoretical exemption, it did not refuse to raise men for the royal service in Henry's reign. However, it did not always furnish him with as many as requested. In the early part of the reign, they were generally

raised on a ward basis through the Aldermen (131). However, the contingent sent against the Pilgrimage of Grace, two hundred horsemen and one hundred archers, and many of those raised in the 1540s were mustered through the agency of the livery companies (132). Gronquist points out that it was speedier to raise troops in London than in the shires, which made it an attractive source to tap (133). It is also worth emphasising the fact that raising men through the livery companies was a more immediate and flexible method than using the machinery of the wards, as with the levying of money. In the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, this trend continued: the companies provided contingents to serve in Scotland and France, and sent men against Wyatt's rebellion, although the ward system continued to be used on occasion. The companies were also involved in assisting in the defence of the City.

The first request for troops in Edward's reign was for horsemen and other soldiers to travel northwards to Scotland, in 1548 and 1549. The footmen and gunners were to be raised in the wards by the Aldermen and their deputies and constables, from any 'mariners, gunners, sailors, fishermen, wherry-men, bargemen or servingmen' between the ages of twenty and fifty years, and to be mustered before the Lord Admiral at Deptford on 7 July (134). There was some dispute about the procurement of other's apprentices to serve. In July 1548, Richard Cokkes, tailor was arrested for attempting to take away the servant of William Atkinson, a fellow tailor, to serve with him in Scotland (135) The City Corporation, having originally appealed through the Lord Mayor to the Protector and Council against the levy, agreed to pay the expenses of the City's horsemen and the trumpeters sent

to accompany them, including their coats, conduct money and banners, which amounted to nine pounds eleven shillings (136). A further sum (six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence) was also expended in payments to the captains of the the City's horsemen and to the Lord Mayor's clerk for riding to St Alban's in connection with the expedition (137). The Lord Protector was duly grateful, sending a personal letter of thanks to the Mayor and Aldermen 'for their dexterities and readiness in setting forth their horsemen to the King's service in Scotland', and a further contingent was raised in April 1549 (138). Although war with France broke out the following August, the City was apparently spared from making a military contribution: no evidence of requests for troops appears in the Corporation's records. It was not to be so fortunate under Mary, who, largely in deference to her husband Philip, involved the country in his military campaigns overseas.

The first military request of the new reign was received by the Court of Aldermen on 29 March 1554. A letter from the Queen requested the levying of two hundred soldiers in the City to be embarked in Kent to assist the Lord Admiral in providing a naval escort for Philip II. The Corporation acceded to this demand, although it stipulated, apparently unsuccessfully, that it was not held responsible for finding armour and weapons or for conveying them further than Billingsgate or the Tower (139). The Court of Aldermen passed on the costs of the military equipment and also the responsibility of raising the two hundred men to eight of the Great Companies. The men were to be mainly vagabonds, rounded up from the prisons where they had been committed by the privy watch (140). Nevertheless, the Corporation did order the repair of its

own stock of armour and provided gunpowder from the city store, and diverted money from the seacoal funds towards the expenses of setting out the soldiers (141). The following July, it agreed to reimburse the Great Companies, providing their claims did not exceed thirty pounds each (142).

In October 1555, however, a request from the Queen for a further one hundred soldiers with armour and weapons to be ready at Woolwich 'to serve in her highness' affairs where they shall be assigned upon the seas' met with resistance. The Corporation reminded the Council that this demand contravened the liberties and franchises granted by her progenitors and confirmed by Mary herself. It also stressed that the City was 'not furnished with any number of seamen meet to do any such service'. It therefore sought discharge (143). It was not successful. On 12 October, the companies were ordered to supply the required one hundred men, although they were to be billmen and bowmen rather than 'seamen', and to muster at Leadenhall rather than Woolwich (144).

In June 1557, Philip II succeeded in persuading England to join in his war against the French (145). Requests for soldiers from the City became inevitable. The first appeal, in June, for five hundred men from the capital seems to have met with unconditional success (146), despite contradictory instructions concerning their uniforms. On 8 July, the companies furnishing the five hundred men, were ordered to supply them with coats of watchet-coloured kersey, instead of the white coats originally requested. The Merchant Taylors were to have a sample made up and left at the Guildhall as a pattern for the other companies, each of which was to provide as many men, with their coats, halberds and

conduct money, as they had in the mayoralty of Sir Ralph Warren (1544-5). They were to muster before the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and to be conveyed in barges to Gravesend and thence to Rochester by representatives from ten of the companies, responsible for fifty men each (147). These were to be made up as follows (148):

Mercers	36	}	Edmund Tetlowe	Curriers	7	}
Ironmongers	14	}		Woolpackers	2	}...
				Poulters	4	}iron
Grocers	30	}	Gregory Newman	Cooks	4	}mong
Skinners	20	}		Tylers	2	}er
				Fruiterers	4	}
Drapers	30	}	Robert Holmes	Scriveners	2	}
Vintners	14	}	draper	Woodmongers	2	}
Dyers	6	}		Turners	2	}
				Plasterers	2	}
Fishmongers	24	}	Oliver Smith	Blacksmiths		
Goldsmiths	24	}	fishmonger	& Spurriers	4	}
Masons	2	}		Bottlemakers		
				& Korners	1	}
Merchant Taylors	30	}	John Bendyshe	Farriers	1	}
Salters	18	}	merchant taylor	Paviours	1	}
Wax-chandlers	2	}		Founders	2	}
				Weavers	2	}
Haberdashers	24	}	John Wetherell	Lorimers	1	}
Brewers	18	}	goldsmith	Stationers	4	}
Bakers	8	}		Upholderers	1	}
				Brownbakers	1	}
Clothworkers	28	}	William Agar	Longbowstring		
Leather-sellers	16	}	salter	makers	2	}
Carpenters	4	}		Glaziers	1	}
Joiners	2	}		Minstrels	1	}
				Fletchers	4	}
Tallow-chandlers	8	}Marshe			
Painters	6	}	skinner			
Cutlers	6	}				
Pewterers	10	}				
Saddlers	8	}				
Barber-surgeons	8	}				
Cordwainers	4	}				
Girdlers	12	}	Richard Byknall			
Innholders	8	}	haberdasher			
Bowyers	6	}				
Coopers	6	}				
Broderers	6	}				
Plumbers	2	}				
Armourers	4	}				
Greytawyers	2	}				

The men were not raised without some reluctance on the part of the companies. The Barber Surgeons and Bowyers both sought

discharge of their allocations, eight and six men respectively, without success. In July the Court of Aldermen commanded them to fulfil their obligations (149). This was despite the fact that the Bowyers had been promised lenient treatment with regard to such levies (150), a guarantee which was to be renewed subsequently (151). Meanwhile, the Broderers had caused to be imprisoned one of their members who had refused to serve in the wars. He was later released at the request of one of the Earl of Rutland's servants, who claimed that the said Jones had already been enlisted in the military service of the said Earl when the company wardens had attempted to impress him (152).

The following month, August 1557, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs received a demand for a further contingent, of one thousand able men, of whom as many as possible were to be horsemen. Of the remainder, one quarter were to be pikemen, one quarter hagbutters or archers and the rest billmen, accompanied by captains to conduct them. They were to be ready by 16 August, to serve wherever they were appointed for the defence of the Queen, the City and the realm (153). The reaction of the City to this request was predictable. Immediately, the Recorder and one of the Sheriffs were sent to the Council:

to put them not only in remembrance of the liberties and franchise granted of ancient time to the City in this behalf but also of the lack of power of the said City to prepare and furnish any such number of men and that the same City has not at any time heretofore ever been charged with any such number of men beseeching their honours of their favourable aid to be showed herein for the disburdening of the said City as much as conveniently may (Rep 13ii 531)

This illustrates a key point in relations between the City and Crown: that although rejecting the right of the latter to raise

troops in the City and pleading inability and lack of precedence to provide as many as requested, the Corporation did not offer the Council an outright refusal, but only a plea for a reduction of the burden 'as much as conveniently may'. The response was a protest rather than an ultimatum, and probably reflected the merchants' objections to the war as well as their reluctance to raise troops (154). The claim was not even entirely accurate: there had, in fact, been requests for as many as one thousand men before, in 1544 and 1545 (155).

In the event, the appeal failed. The one thousand able men were ordered to be raised through the companies at their own cost, at double the previous allocations. 'Due and speedy accomplishment' of the said order was invoked, as the Recorder read out the Queen's letters in full to the company wardens and as the Mayor and rest of the Court exhorted compliance by their 'good advice' (156). On 14 August, the wardens returned to *the Court their* lists of the names of the soldiers they were appointed to find, with details of their weapons and armour (157).

Five months later, in January 1558, came the next request for troops. On 3 January, Mary's letters requiring five hundred footmen, including hagbutters, bowyers and pikemen, all equipped with armour and weapons, to assist in the defence of Calais, were received by the Court of Aldermen. The task was once more delegated to the companies who were to supply as many men as they had the previous July (158). Only a week later, this number was doubled, as the Queen commanded one thousand men to be sent to Dover, under the direction of captains appointed by the City, for conveyance to Calais (159).

A significant development occurred. The companies had been bearing the brunt of these repeated calls for soldiers, both in raising the men and in providing them with coats, armour, weapons and conduct money. In January 1558, the Corporation acknowledged the magnitude of this burden and attempted to alleviate it as far as possible. Thus, although precepts were sent to the companies to raise double the number they had supplied in July in response to the Queen's request for one thousand men, additional means were to be explored 'somewhat [to] relieve the said companies that are very sore burdened and charged in this behalf' (160). The Recorder, the Mayor and Sir Martin Bowes were ordered to 'travail' with the merchant strangers resident in the City to prepare and set forth as many men as they could to form part of the one thousand and every Alderman was instructed to do the same with all foreigners inhabiting their wards. Meanwhile, the companies were authorised to:

have the aid of the said Aldermen for men out their wards for the furnishing of their number of men in case they of themselves could not get or provide them so always that they the said fellowships shall find and provide for all the same men so by them to be taken out of the said wards both harness and weapon and also pay their conduct money at their own charges (Rep 13ii 582)

As a precaution the Aldermen were ordered to instruct the constables in their wards, accompanied by 'sad commoners', to search for and establish the quantity and types of armour and weapons possessed by inhabitants within the ward, both strangers and Englishmen, freemen and foreigners, householders and servants (161).

In the event, only five hundred men, 'the handsomest and best' of

the one thousand raised, were required for royal service. They were to be armed and weaponed, clothed in white coats with green and red crosses, and to be delivered by petty captains to the Queen's captains at Dover on 31 January to serve under the Earl of Rutland. Each soldier was to receive from his company two shillings and sixpence in conduct money and one shilling in reward 'and no more'. Sir Martin Bowes, Sir Roland Hill, Sir Andrew Judd and one Alderman from each of the companies possessing Aldermen were to muster the troops in preparation for their departure (162). The companies' burden was further eased by the delivery to Thomas Champeney, one of the captains, of one hundred pounds of gunpowder for harquebusiers, at the City's cost, and the payment by the City Chamberlain of charges for the setting out of the troops, including twenty-three shillings and fourpence for straw and 'lynkes' (163).

English involvement in the fighting in France continued throughout 1558, even after the loss of Calais in January, and was to end only with the Queen's death (164). Several more requests were received by the City for soldiers and seamen. In April, the Lord Admiral commanded a search in London for mariners, watermen and fishermen to serve him. Precepts were sent by the Court of Aldermen to individual Aldermen for lists of names of the men found, who were to congregate at Deptford. However, George Devenishe, who was supposed to receive the seamen on behalf of the Lord Admiral, wrote to the Lord Mayor complaining that 'the greater part of the said men absented themselves and did not return'. The Mayor was asked to ensure that they were rounded up and sent to Devenishe with speed 'if they may be found' (165).

The following July, a request from the Lord Treasurer for one hundred and fifty 'pioneers' to be at Dover by 20 August with their conduct money and coats, was received with some disquiet (166). It coincided with a demand for at least one thousand men to be raised for 'the Queen's service out of the City', and a request for additional men 'to serve King and Queen as well for surety and defence of the royal person of the Queen as for the safeguard and defence of this their City and Chamber of London and ready for to resist of such malicious attempts which might be made against the same by any foreign enemy' (167).

As part of his duties as Lord Lieutenant of the City and certain other cities and counties in England and Wales (168), the Lord Treasurer had initiated a number of enquiries, musters and views of the able men, armour and weapons available in the City, which could, if necessary, be requisitioned for the royal service (169). These activities alarmed the City Corporation, which was anxious to limit any future demands on its resources. In the past the City had reported directly to the Council the number of men which it felt could be spared, and financed, for military service. With the advent of central government enquiry into military resources in London, they were much more vulnerable to crown exploitation. Thus, in July 1558, the Lord Mayor and his colleagues declared to the Lord Treasurer on the City's behalf:

that the most and greatest number of able men that they are able to make and furnish at this present for the Queen's highness service if need should so require is [4,000] and above and not [5,000] and that they have harness of sundry sorts for [3,325] men and sundry sorts also of armour and weapons hereunder mentioned. that is to say sculls and sallets [765], guns [69], bills [4803] and swords and daggers [55] in a perfect readiness (Rep 14 49v)

The Lord Mayor subsequently displayed gratitude to the Lord Treasurer that, after earnest appeal, 'he was pleased to take but one thousand men for the Queen's service out of the City at present and no more, so that they provide sufficient armour, harness and weapons meet for the said service' (170), in contrast to the Corporation's earlier outrage at the demand for such a number (171). Indeed, the Lord Treasurer declared himself willing to provide an additional five hundred men himself 'if extreme need should require' (172).

On this occasion, the City's contingent, of one thousand men, provided with armour and weapons, was to be secured not through the wardens of the companies but through the Aldermen in the wards. Those affected by the change protested at this form of imposition, opposition being led by 'sundry of the best inhabitants' of Farringdon within. In response to such complaints, the Corporation ordered the four Aldermen and the Town Clerk, who had been appointed to distribute the burden among the wards, to 'again peruse their doings therein and ease some of the said wards of part of the charge now imposed upon them' (173). It also undertook to guarantee to all the wards that the allocation of the military levy on this occasion should not act as a precedent 'but that the same charge shall always from henceforth be borne and levied of the whole body of the said city after such indifferent rate and sort as to the Mayor and Aldermen seem most reasonable' and that Aldermen for this time should only be liable for the wards which they represented, not the wards in which they were resident (174). The discontent expressed by the ward inhabitants about the levy may have related to its distribution between wards as much as to its method. However, it

is reasonable to suppose that the revived ward levies affected some citizens more severely than the company levies to which they had become accustomed. In fact, the companies were required to furnish armour and weapons for an additional five hundred men 'that the said Lord Treasurer hath also at this present appointed and charged the said city to find and prepare for the said service' (175).

In the light of these demands, it is scarcely surprising that there was reluctance to accommodate the request for the one hundred and fifty 'pioneers' which were required to embark at Dover in August. The original request for these 'pioneers' was received from the Lord Treasurer on 21 July (176). The Corporation made no reply and took no immediate action, although, two weeks earlier, it had ordered a search for masterless men and idle persons suitable to serve the King and Queen as labourers, presumably in response to an earlier request (177). However, by 9 August, the Court of Aldermen had conceded, ordering that the men be found and prepared for royal service. Interestingly, the decision was again taken to raise them through the wards rather than the companies, as follows (178):

Aldersgate	10	Cornhill	3
Aldgate	10	Cripplegate	10
Bassishaw	4	Dowgate	4
Billingsgate	10	Farringdon within	10
Bishopsgate	10	Farringdon without	16
Bread street	3	Langbourne	6
Bridge	4	Lime street	4
Broad street	10	Portsoken	4

Candlewick street	4	Queenhithe	6
Castle Baynard	6	Tower	10
Cheap	4	Vintry	6
Coleman street	6	Walbrook	4
Cordwainer	4		

In September 1558, there was a further request for fifty 'pioneers'. On this occasion, the City Corporation refused to find the men itself, although licensing the captain who was sent thither with the demand 'to cause a drum to be sounded throughout the City and to see and try whether he that way may get them or not for otherwise the City is not able to get them forasmuch as they have already furnished and delivered out their whole number of 150 men wherewith they were charged and that with great difficulty and business' (179).

The reversion of military responsibilities from companies to wards may have been connected with recent Parliamentary legislation, which required the provision of armour and weapons by individual citizens on a ward basis (180). However, it is more likely that it represented an attempt to redistribute liability for costs, to prevent protest from any one sector of the population. In January 1558, the Corporation had acknowledged the overburdening of the companies. Nevertheless, in either case, the richer inhabitants would have been expected to contribute substantial amounts, being both leading members of the companies and 'of the best sort' in the wards, although they were not expected to serve in person (181).

b. Rebellion

In addition to providing men for service overseas, in common with the other cities and shires of the realm, London had a particularly important role to play in the event of civil disturbance. Lying directly beside, and closely interconnected with Westminster, the permanent seat of the central government, the City of London's loyalty and stability at time of rebellion or unrest could be crucial to the Crown. Thus the arrangements made for the defence of the City against outside attack and internal disturbance were of national, as well as local, concern. The reigns of Edward VI and Mary witnessed both rebellion and other forms of unrest: the reactions of City and Crown to these events are of some interest.

In 1549, the risings in the countryside caused both central and civic governments to fear for the stability of the City. In July 1549, precepts were sent to the *livery companies* 'previously charged to find' five hundred men for Boulogne (182), to raise the same number for the 'safeguard' of the City, although with a higher proportion of handgunners and lower proportion of billmen than on the previous occasion (183). Representation was made to the Lord Protector and the Council to borrow two hundred pikes and two hundred hagbuts, for which the Corporation would pay if they were employed, and for the use of royal ordnance from the Tower (184). In July, the Twelve Great Companies, and a number of lesser ones, were enlisted to provide men to watch the gates between 5 am and 8 pm as follows (185):

Ludgate	- Fishmongers	4 (3)
	Vintners	2 (1)
	Dyers	2 (1)
Cripplegate	- Mercers	5 (4)
	Barber-surgeons	3 (1)
Aldgate	- Drapers	5 (3)
	Salterers	3 (2)
Bishopsgate	- Grocers	6 (4)
	Ironmongers	2 (1)
The Bridge	- Merchant Taylors	8 (5)
Newgate	- Goldsmiths	4 (3)
	Skinners	4 (2)
Aldersgate	- Haberdashers	6 (4)
	Pewterers	2 (1)
Moorgate	- Clothworkers	6 (4)
	Girdlers	2 (1)
Tower postern	- Leather-sellers	5 (3)
	Curriers	3 (2)
Billingsgate	- Tallow-chandlers	2
	Saddlers	2
		<hr/>
		76 (45)

Note : the numbers in brackets are for the subsequent reduction

The number was subsequently adjusted to allow for five men per gate (186). In addition to apprehending suspects, the company watchers were ordered to prevent the passage of artillery, weapons and munitions out of the gates (187).

The companies also had a significant role to play in the maintenance of order within the walls. The Grocers' company was instructed not to sell any gunpowder 'during this stirring of the people' except to the King or by licence of the Mayor (188). Meanwhile, the company wardens were ordered to certify the quantity and kinds of the gunpowder held by their members (189), whilst John Holygrave, clothworker, was bound to the City to

keep no more than one pound of 'cornpowder' and one pound of 'serpentine powder' at his house in St Thomas the Apostle parish (190). Livery company members who were householders were to be summoned by their wardens and instructed to confine to their houses their families, apprentices and servants between 9 pm and 5am nightly and during one day holidays (191). The wardens were also asked to ensure that their members stocked their houses with sufficient victualls for at least two weeks (192). Meanwhile, certain named butchers were permitted to purchase cattle, oxen and sheep at special prices laid down by the Lord Protector and Council 'for the provision and victualling of the said City and of the King's majesty and his nobles and subjects repairing to the same in this time of rebellion of the people' (193) and members of the Butchers' company were exhorted use 'discreet moderation in selling of their flesh so that they may always have to serve every man reasonably withall' during 'this stirring of the people' (194). The Court of Aldermen appealed to the Lord Protector to prevent the export of beer from the City during the rebellion by virtue of licences issued by the King (195).

The Aldermen of the wards and the wardens of the companies were ordered to certify the armour and weapons available for the City's use and the companies were each required to provide a specified number of men and amount of equipment. The Mercers, for example, were charged, in July 1549, to provide 'on behalf of the King' thirty able and tall men, with good and substantial weapons and 'habilments' of war, namely six bows, six sheaves of arrows, twelve hagbutters or handguns and twelve bills, 'for the safeguard of the King and of His City and Chamber of London'. The requirement was subsequently raised to thirty six men, of

whom eight were to be bowmen (196). In addition, the following month, the companies were ordered to provide labourers to clean out the city ditches, which although 'made for the defence and safeguard at all times of the City and namely during rebellion and war are at this dangerous time in many parts stopped up to the no little peril of the City and of all citizens and inhabitants within the same' (197). The Mercers, for example, were required to supply eleven such labourers for a month. The task was not completed in the allotted time and four weeks later, on 31 August, the company was asked to furnish the wages of six labourers to be appointed by the Corporation for a further month (198). The companies were thus increasingly employed to reinforce the 'standing watch' system imposed upon the wards.

In July 1549, the watch was to be organised by the ward constables, who were to select three or four of 'the best chiefest and saddest persons of the ward' to maintain good order between 10pm and 4am nightly during the rebellion. To prevent negligence by the wards, watches were to be supervised personally by the Aldermen and their deputies, whilst those householders who refused to serve were to provide well equipped deputies on pain of imprisonment (199). The crisis had passed by August of that year. However, as a precaution, the watch was maintained until 10 September. On that day also, the royal ordnance was returned to the Tower (200). The City had remained loyal to the Crown and Protectorate throughout the rebellion and fears of civic disorder and collusion with the rebels had proved largely unfounded (201), although the incident had taken its toll (202).

The following October, the Council required military assistance

from the City once more to ensure the maintenance of order in the City. During Warwick's coup against Somerset (203), the standing watches in the wards were doubled and the companies were ordered to man the gates and posterns, between 5 am and 8 pm, 'with double the number of good able and discreet persons well harnessed and weapons of the several companies that were lately charged with the custody and watching of the same'. Ludgate, Newgate and the Bridge were to be closed during day and night and the Aldermen and their deputies were to survey the watches nightly, accompanied by at least twenty armoured men, at the City's expense, during the 'time of dissension and unquietness' (204). The Earl of Warwick also made a bid for one thousand men to be raised in the City to support his cause against the Duke of Somerset. The Corporation's willingness to comply was to be contributory to the successful outcome of the coup (205). The wardens of the companies were once again called on to supply the men, together with their armour and equipment and coats of white with red crosses, preparing the full one thousand in case the Council was not content with the five hundred men which the City was inclined to offer (206). The Council seems to have accepted the lower figure, provided that a number of them (set by the City at one hundred) were horsemen (207). The five hundred were allocated as follows (208):

<u>Company</u>	<u>Billmen</u>	<u>Horsemen</u>	<u>Company</u>	<u>Billmen</u>	<u>Horsemen</u>
Mercers	30	6	Coopers	6	6
Grocers	30	6	Broderers	6	1
Drapers	30	6	Plumbers	2}	
Fishmongers	24	5	Waxchandlers	2}	{1
Goldsmiths	24	5	Cordwainers	4	1
Skinners	20	4	Armourers	4	1
Merchant Taylors	30	6	Fletchers	4	1
Salters	18	4	Woolpackers	2}	
Haberdashers	24	5	Tylers	2}	{1
Fishmongers	14	3	Poulters	4	1

Vintners	14	3	Pastlers	4	1
Clothworkers	23	5	Fruiterers	4}	
Dyers	6	1	Masons	2}	{1
Brewers	18	3	Butchers	4	1
Bakers	8	2	Scriveners	2}	
Leathersellers	16	3	Joiners	2}	{1
Tallowhandlers	8	1	Woodmongers	2}	
Carpenters	4	1	Plasterers	2}	
Painters	6	1	Weavers	2}	{1
Cutlers	6	1	Blacksmiths		
Pewterers	10	2	& Spurriers	4}	
Saddlers	8	2	Bottlemakers		
Barber Surgeons	8	2	& Horners	1}	
Girdlers	12	2	Farriers	1}	{1
Curriers	7	2	Greytawyers	2}	
Innholders	8	2	Paviours	2}	
Bowyers	6	1	Founders	2}	
Stationers	4}		Upholderers	1}	{1
Lorimers	1}		Turners	2	-
Brownbakers	1}	{1	Longbowstring makers	[]	-

On 11 October there was a muster of these troops in Moorfields, for attendance at which the trumpeters and drummers were rewarded with twenty pence each. However, there was no need to employ these men against Somerset, whose support had dwindled and who was apprehended and sent to the Tower on 14 October (209).

Watches were also instituted in the wards on at least two occasions in 1550 specifically 'on the King's behalf', in June and September, when disorder was feared (210). In 1551 the frequency of such requests rose (211). Several incidents in 1550 and 1551 (212) had caused mounting anxiety in Corporation and Council, culminating in a 'conspiracy tending to rebellion' in April 1551, which was swiftly eliminated, but not without perceived danger to the City (213). The arraignment of Somerset revived the nervousness of the authorities and led to the institution of a double watch at the instance of the Privy Council, which also instructed the Lord Mayor to ensure the careful guarding of the City on 28 November, the day that the Duke of Somerset was to be taken to Westminster (214). This

double watch took place from the 1st to 8th of December, in conjunction with the guarding of the gates, and was then reduced to a single watch (215).

The final illness and death of Edward VI, with the uncertainty concerning the succession, led to the inauguration of substantial standing watches, to be surveyed nightly by Common Council representatives, and the re-manning of the gates by the companies (216). By 21 July, the company watchers were ordered to apprehend and examine anyone suspected of being a Dudley adherent (217). When Northumberland and his accomplices were brought as prisoners to the Tower and taken to trial, the householders of the City were ordered to be armed to keep order within the walls and a double watch was instituted (218).

Wyatt's rebellion, in 1554, prompted a repetition of the measures taken in 1549 for the safeguard of the City. Once again the companies were involved. The gates were manned and the wardens of companies and Aldermen were ordered to certify the quantity and state of armour and weapons available among the company members and ward inhabitants and in the livery company halls. A stay on the sale of gunpowder was again imposed through the Grocers' Company (219). In addition, Common Council was asked to authorise the sending of a contingent of five to six hundred men into Kent against the rebels, to be raised and equipped by the companies. The Corporation agreed to provide armour and weapons for those thought to be inadequately turned out, including one hundred morris pikes purchased from a draper, who was not paid for two years (220).

On 27 January, the six hundred harnessed men who were to form the City's contingent were ordered to gather at Leadenhall (221). It is difficult to calculate the exact number of men of raised by each company against Wyatt, in the absence of civic data. The available evidence, taken from company accounts, is as follows:

TABLE 5.5 Men raised by various livery companies against Wyatt

Company	Number*	Reference **	Notes ***
Bakers	8 + 16	5174/2 42-3	8 men in 1st contingent deserted. Costs: L2 5s 1d + L9 2s 2d
Blacksmiths	?	2883/1 156,166	Costs: L2 6s +L4 6s 6d (L1 12s 11d from strangers and foreigners)
Brewers	?	5442/3 1554-5	Costs: L13 10s 3d
Butchers	[?4]	6440/1 85	
Carpenters	4 + ?	4326/2 1553-4	Costs: L1 6s + L10 5s 9d (for armour, weapons) Only 6 returned
Clothworkers	28 + 56	A/c 1553-4	Costs: L13 16s 4d + L14 14s
Coopers	6 + 10	5606/1 1553-4	
Drapers	30 +?43 +?16	A/c 1553-4	8 men brought back their harness and were rewarded
Grocers	30 + 40	11571/5 446v-447	30 men deserted 30 bills borrowed from Keeper of Guildhall

Ironmongers	(16) + 14 + ?	16988/2 62,62v 67v	16 men raised but were 'turned home again' Costs: L8 4s 1d + more for additional equipment 13 of 14 deserted
Mercers	?	A/c 1527-60 266	Costs: L120
Merchant Taylors	30 + 60	MF298 vol 4 290r-v	Costs: L14 17s 1d (for the 30 men) L59 9s 7d (for the 60 men to guard London Bridge
Pewterers	10 + 20	7086/2 168v-9 177v	Costs: L2 18s (for 10 men i.e. 2 bowmen + 8 billmen) + L3 6s 5d (for 20 men to keep bridge i.e. 3 gunners, 4 bowmen + 13 billmen Harness lost
		7090/1 32	
Tallowchandlers	8 + [16]	6152/1 26v-27v 34	Costs: L15 2d (8 men) L5 4s 2d + (16 men to guard in rotation) Foreigner ran away with harness - paid 12d for its return
		6152/1 25v	
Vintners	14 + 28 + 10	15333/1 331-4	Costs (total): L39 8s 1d

Notes: * first figure = men sent against Wyatt
second and third figures = men to guard City
** Guildhall Library Ms no. or date of company account
*** costs, details of deserters etc.

The company levies were sent into Kent the following day (28 January). The majority of these troops were in fact to join the rebels, including those raised by the Grocers and Bakers, apparently as a result of advance planning (222). This must have enhanced the Crown and City Corporation's fears for the loyalty

and safeguard of the City against the rebels. Other precautions were immediately taken within the City. A false draw-bridge was constructed and certain watermen were ordered to not to ferry men out of the City during the rebellion (223). Boats were also requisitioned, one waterman being authorised to sue for compensation for the loss of his vessel after the commotion (224). All companies were required to report absent members, and a week or so later, at Candlemas, the Mayor and Aldermen were sufficiently concerned to dine in armour (225).

On 8 February 1554, a double watch was ordered to reinforce the existing nightly watch in the wards and the daily manning of the gates by the company representatives was stepped up to sixty men at each of the six gates (226). However, only five days later the Corporation for 'diverse reasonable considerations' agreed to release the companies from half of this obligation (227). In an attempt to secure more arms for the City's use, the Court of Aldermen moved Common Council to oblige all householders with mansion houses worth at least 26s 8d annual rent 'to prepare and have always in a readiness such quantity of harness and weapons to them (Common Council) shall seem meet and convenient' (228). A bargain was also made with the Bowyers' company in to deliver bows to the Corporation during the rebellion, for which its members were recompensed the following March (229).

Wyatt's rebellion failed. However, it came near enough to success to shake the confidence of Crown and City authorities and to emphasise and reinforce the former's dependence on the loyalty of the latter. It was in order to secure the maintenance of order in the City that in March 1554 the Queen decided to establish a

garrison 'which her grace intendeth to keep near unto this city for the defence and safeguard of the same' (230). She sought L1000 from the citizens towards the charges sustained, a sum which the Corporation managed to reduce to 2000 marks, to be raised by the companies (231).

The experiment of the garrison was reinforced four years later by the imposition of martial law: in May 1558, the Lord Treasurer was appointed by letters patent as Lieutenant of the City and other counties 'for the suppression of rebellion according to the order of martial law and levying of an army for the defence and safeguard of the Queen's Majesty's most honourable and royal person and this her highness' realm if need should require' (232). This development was reinforced by two Acts of Parliament designed 'for the better furniture and defence of this realm' : the 'Act for the Having of Horse, Armour and Weapon' and the 'Act for the Taking of Musters' (4 & 5 Ph & M c2 & c3). The first imposed duties on individuals, cities, boroughs and parishes for the provision and maintenance of armour and weapons, to be supervised and viewed periodically by Commissioners of Musters appointed by the Crown. The second aimed to redress the abuses in the system of musters, such as absenteeism and bribery of muster masters to obtain discharge from service.

In line with this general tightening up of militia supervision, on 2 May the Lord Treasurer had ordered a muster and view of all the able bodied persons in the City, both freemen and foreigners, and their servants and of the armour and weapons that they held among them. This order was transmitted to the individual Aldermen (233). On 13 May, the Commission of Lieutenancy was to be openly

proclaimed in the City and the Aldermen were ordered to 'give their earnest endeavour for the apprehension of all suspect and idle persons remaining in their wards', whose names were to be reported to the Lord Lieutenant who would take order for their gaol delivery (234). One of those arrested was Robert Wodrof, a servingman, who was imprisoned for involvement in an affray in Cheapside. The Lord Treasurer subsequently agreed to Wodrof's release (235). Meanwhile, he ordered the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to search throughout their wards for masterless men and to certify their names to him, and, on 21 June, he required returns from the wards of all the men, weapons and armour available in each (236). There was some delay in their production of these returns and, as late as 14 July, the Aldermen were ordered to take them back to peruse them again before submitting them to the Lord Treasurer, as required (237).

In view of this interference in the internal affairs of the City, it is perhaps surprising that the Corporation did not protest its independence more vociferously than it did. Although reminding the Crown of its franchises, it seemed to be willing to cooperate, even without the immediate threat posed by a rebellion. The imposition of martial law, after all, occurred as a result not of an actual political crisis, only of a perceived one (238).

2. Maintenance of order

The civic authorities in London, as in other towns, felt the need for constant vigilance to prevent disorder. Fears about the presence of vagabonds, masterless men and able-bodied paupers were order-related. Particular circumstances and occasions

fuelled these anxieties, namely the combination of food shortages, high prices and high unemployment, heightened xenophobia, inadequate provision for poor relief, and the festivities and gatherings which accompanied plays and holidays, particularly May Day and Shrove Tuesday. Although these fears may have been exaggerated, they were not unfounded. In London, the spectre of Evil May Day of 1517, when apprentices rose and focused their attack on foreigners (239), must have haunted the City Corporation. The measures taken for the maintenance of stability in sixteenth century London have been the subject of some discussion: coverage here will be restricted to a brief survey.

The watch system during time of rebellion has already been described. It was employed also on other occasions, both for the maintenance of order and for ceremonial purposes. There appear to have been three types of watch - 'standing' or 'substantial'; 'privy'; and 'marching'.

The 'standing watch' was raised whenever trouble was expected. Inhabitants of the wards were selected to serve by the Aldermen, their deputies or the ward constables, after receipt of a precept from the Mayor or the Court of Aldermen. They were instructed to ensure the maintenance of order nightly until further instruction was issued. In addition to these special precepts, regular requests were made to the wards for one or two night watches on the eves before the festivals of May day, St John the Baptist (Midsummer) and St Peter, when trouble was expected (240). These were sometimes 'double watches', presumably twice the strength of the normal watch.

The members of the watch were supposed to be substantial and responsible householders, properly equipped, and not 'boys and naked men as they are now commonly made' (241). Their function was to apprehend disorderly or suspicious persons found in their ward and to report to the Aldermen anything of interest and concern. Those refusing to serve in the watch were threatened with imprisonment and the general conduct and effectiveness of watchmen were the responsibility of the Aldermen. Periodically the Aldermen, or representatives from their ranks, were ordered to survey the constables and watchmen. However, the duties were considered onerous and could be hazardous (242), and there are examples of those who sought, and sometimes achieved, exemption from watching (243). Indeed, it became customary for those liable to serve to pay beadles to watch in their stead, a perquisite which the beadles guarded jealously (244).

In July 1549, the arrest of two constables came near to causing a City-wide strike by the other constables, who 'hearing the punishment of the said two constables do much murmer and grudge and say that they will no more watch'. It appears that the constables, Penyngton and Tailler of Farringdon within, had been apprehended by the central government for preventing Secretary Smith's servants from passing out of the City with his armour and weapons at night. Appeal was made to the Secretary for remedy (245). The effectiveness of the standing watch is difficult to judge. Its frequent employment during the period under examination would suggest that the civic authorities appreciated its usefulness, although they were concerned about its composition. There is also evidence of arrests made by the

watchmen (246). Even if those apprehended were not a significant proportion of wrongdoers in the ward, since watchmen were unlikely to report their friends and neighbours, the watch was of assistance in identifying and apprehending suspicious outsiders.

The privy watch was appointed specifically to search out vagrants and masterless men, at the instance either of the Privy Council or of the civic authorities. It was often convened together with the standing watch (247). It is not clear how the two differed, except that the former had a limited and short-term objective. Certainly a number of vagrants were arrested and ejected from the City as a result of such searches (248).

Watches were raised by the following precepts in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary:

TABLE 5.6 Frequency of precepts for watches, 1547-58

Nightly watch (year/month/day)	May even	Midsummer	Privy watch
1547/11/3	1547/4/24		
1548/1/10		1547/5/14	
1548/1/31			
1548/3/8			
1548/5/25		1548/6/12*	
1549/7/5			1549/7/18
1549/8/20**			
1549/10/6			
1549/12/5	1549/4/24**		
1550/5/13		1550/6/12	
1550/9/25			

Nightly watch	May even	Midsummer	Privy watch
1550/11/6			
1551/1/20			
1551/4/7	1551/4/28**	1551/6/18	
1551/8/19			
1551/10/17			1551/11/24
1551/12/1**			
1551/12/8			
1552/8/6			
1552/10/4	1553/4/20		
1553/6/15			
1553/7/20 (gates)			
1553/7/25**			
1553/11/9			
1553/12/14			1553/12/14
1554/1/18			
1554/2/1(gates)			
1554/2/8**			1554/4/6
1554/4/26	1554/4/26	1554/6/19	1554/6/19
			1554/7/12
1554/8/30			1554/8/19
1554/11/13			1554/11/13
1555/4/9			1555/4/9
1556/12/17(gates)			1558/6/7

Notes

* Marching watch
Source: Reys *passim*

** Double watch

The third type of watch, the 'marching watch', was summoned for ceremonial and military purposes on festivals, such as midsummer, and other special occasions (249). Although the midsummer marching watch had taken place 'time out of mind', it

was abandoned in 1539 (250), probably because of the expense incurred, and was not revived until 1548. At the instance of the Lord Protector and Privy Council, the Lord Mayor promulgated a proclamation for 'a good watch' on the Vigils of St John the Baptist and St Peter and St Paul in June that year (251), incorporating the City's contingent of horsemen for the Scottish campaign (252). The chroniclers were enthusiastic in their descriptions of the revived parades and their colourful pageantry:

This year, there was a great watch kept at Midsummer even and St Peter's even, by the King's Council's commandment, which had in it all the horsemen that should go into Scotland, which were three hundred and more, and seven hundred gunners and morris pikes all in one livery with drums and standards, and thirteen hundred armed men of the Lord Mayor's watch, the King's trumpeters blowing afore him both nights, and he had sixteen gentlemen of the Mercers riding in velvet and chains of gold afore him, every man having three in a livery to wait on them, the sheriffs watch following after my Lord Mayor; it was the goodliest sight (Wriothesley Chronicle II 3)

The watchmen were ordered to be armed and 'well harnessed' and the constables were to be provided with cresset lights. In addition to the formal procession, the watchmen were to pass the through the streets during the vigils from 8pm to 3am. All alehouses were to be closed between 9pm and 4am (253).

The responsibility for raising and equipping the midsummer watch in 1548 fell on the companies, as indeed had the duty of providing men for Scotland (254). The Merchant Taylors, for example, were asked to provide eight bowmen, twenty four cresset bearers and ten bag bearers for the marching watch (255), whilst the Vintners had to raise and equip twelve cresset bearers and four bag bearers (256). Expenses could be considerable: companies had to provide cresset lights, with 'bags' to carry

them in, coats with red crosses on them, straw hats, weapons and armour, which had to be cleaned, and food and drink for two nights. In 1548 the Merchant Taylors' costs for the watch amounted to L7 10s 11d, whilst the Bakers expended L3 19s 10d , the Butchers L2 6s 1d, the Blacksmiths L1 17s 7d, the Carpenters L3 3s 7d, the Ironmongers L2 4s 5d and the Vintners L3 3s 8d (257).

However, the marching midsummer watch was not to be repeated during the reigns of Edward VI or his successor: the watches at midsummer were subsequently limited to standing watches 'without any manner of ministralsy, light or jurnetts using none other thing upon their bodies but only good harness in such quiet manner as at other times of the year' (258). This decision may have been based on the expense of the procession. In 1548 the Corporation had agreed to finance at least part of the companies' costs since they were considered so high (259). However, it might have resulted from fear that the marching watch which was supposed to prevent 'unquietness' actually caused it, through the gathering of crowds to see the procession.

In the intervals between watches, all the citizens had a duty to assist in the maintenance of law and order within the walls, both by the ancient system of hue and cry and through the wardmote inquest, to which offences were supposed to be reported by ward inhabitants (260). There was some concern in 1552 that those impanelled on wardmote inquests should be sufficiently 'good and able' (261). Criminal cases were generally transmitted for trial by the Mayor and Aldermen, acting as Justices of Peace for the City under commissions of oyer and terminer and gaol

delivery (262).

Preventitive measures were obviously preferable to punitive ones. With this in mind, the City Corporation reinforced the watch and the hue and cry system by the issue of precepts to prevent the staging of plays, participation in wrestling, shooting and illegal games and the congregation of unstable elements of the population, especially the poor, the unemployed and the young. These precepts were sent for execution either to the wardens of the companies or the Aldermen of the wards, as considered appropriate. During the reigns of Edward VI and Mary they included instructions to the Aldermen for the removal of play bills by their beadles, the suspension of wrestling at Bartholomew-tide, the prohibition or inspection of interludes, the prevention of buckler-playing, the restraint of minstrels and others singing in inns and taverns, the closure of dancing schools and the punishment of players of illegal games, including one called 'black and white' (263). Offenders were generally imprisoned awaiting their 'submission and repentance' (264). The playing of unlawful games had another dimension - not only were they occasions for disorder, they also led to a decline in archery practice, which was a disadvantage not only to the military strength of the City but also to the economic viability of the manufacturers and suppliers of bows and arrows (265).

Attitudes varied with the political situation. In July 1549, the Lord Mayor sought the advice of the Lord Chancellor 'for the staying of all common interludes and plays' within the City and suburbs (266). This seems to have led to the decision to inspect all interludes before authorising or forbidding them (267).

Subsequently it was decided that no interludes could take place in the City without licence from the King or the King's Council. Common players were to be bound by recognisance to abide by this ruling (268). All plays were forbidden in April 1551, if only 'for a season' (269). At times of political unrest, all gatherings were judged likely to lead to disturbance and were vulnerable to prohibition or closure.

Concern about the unstable elements of the population was also at its height at such times. It has already been noted that during the rebellions of 1549 and 1554 householders were instructed to keep indoors their servants and apprentices. Indeed, in 1549 they were asked to give sureties for the good behaviour of their servants (270). There were periodic searches for and ejections of vagabonds, masterless men, harlots, foreigners and strangers (271). Attempts were also made to provide employment for the unemployed to prevent the evils thought to be engendered by idleness. Thus in June 1550, Thomas Bacon, salter, and Thomas Barthelet, stationer, were authorised to negotiate with Nicholas Davie the Corporation's contribution towards the cost of establishing and maintaining his enterprise for 'setting of vagabonds and idle people a work in making pins'(272). The establishment of Bridewell as a house of correction was an extension of this principle.

In contrast to the reigns of Henry VIII, with the Evil May Day disturbances of 1517, and of Elizabeth I, with the Shrove Tuesday riots of 1595, the period under examination saw no outbreak of apprentice violence in the capital. However the factors which led to these disturbances - xenophobia and economic hardship - were

certainly present in sufficient degree to cause concern. The murmurings against the execution of the Duke of Somerset and defection of certain City troops to Wyatt was evidence of discontent with national policies. Such feelings were able to feed the anti-Spanish and anti-catholic feeling in the City, also witnessed elsewhere (273). Moreover, the occasional 'assembly' and 'affray' reported to the Court of Aldermen (274) reinforced the need for constant vigilance.

The preoccupation of civic and central government with the maintenance of order in the City in the mid-sixteenth century might seem excessive in retrospect. It was not exceptional in a contemporary context. Similar concern about London had been expressed in previous reigns and fear of disorder was present in other towns. Over no other issue were the Crown and City rulers so united as over the need to guarantee order among the citizens, to prevent the entry of rebels and to avoid the influx of large numbers of masterless men. In order to achieve these aims the civic authorities, backed by the Privy Council, made use of the machinery of both wards and companies, employing their inhabitants or members in the watch and to enforce regulations promulgated by both Crown and Corporation. In this, there was no guarantee about the loyalty and obedience of individual citizens. However, the time-tested machinery proved itself able to bring dissenters into line, once the rulers had agreed a course.

3. Conclusion

The levying of men in London, as elsewhere, constituted another form of taxation, largely accepted, in fact if not in principle,

by the civic authorities. The statutes relating to the equipment of troops, requiring individuals and corporations to make adequate and permanent provision of armour and weapons in preparation for emergency, entailed the outlay of considerable sums in peacetime, over and above the expenses of war, which included conduct money and food and drink for the troops. Maintenance of order within the walls and defending the City against attack could be equally expensive.

TABLE 5.7 Incidence of Military Demands on City, 1548-58
(excluding watches - see Table 5.6)

<u>Year</u>	<u>War & naval duty</u>	<u>Rebellion & coup</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1548	<u>Scotland</u> (Jul) Horsemen & soldiers (wards)		Jo15 366v Rep11 470
1549	<u>Scotland</u> (Apr) Horsemen & soldiers (wards)		Rep12i 78
		<u>Ket</u> (Jul) 500 men + 76 for gates (co.s)	Rep12i 108,112
		<u>v Somerset</u> (Oct) watchers for gates + 500 men (co.s)	Jo16 37-8
1554		<u>Wyatt</u> watchers for gates + 600 men (co.s)	Rep13i 116-116v 117,119-9v
	<u>Philip II</u> (Mar) 200 men (Great co.s)		Rep13i 142v
1555	<u>Naval service</u> (Oct) 100 men (co.s)		Jo16 348

1557	<u>France</u> (Jun/Jul) 500 men (co.s)	Rep13i 523v
	<u>France</u> (Aug) 1000 men (co.s)	Rep13ii 533-3vv 536
1558	<u>France</u> (Jan) 500 men (out of 1,000) (co.s)	Rep13ii 580v,582
	<u>France</u> (Apr) seamen	Rep14 24,25v
	<u>France</u> (Jul) 1000 men (wards)	Rep14 57v
	<u>France</u> (Jul/Aug) 150 pioneers (wards)	Rep14 52v,58v
	<u>France</u> (Sep) 50 pioneers	Rep14 63

By the sixteenth century, the civic authorities seem to have decided to delegate most military costs, as well as organisation, to the livery companies. Members were supposed to serve themselves, or to send a worthy substitute in their place. As is to be expected few, if any, of the substantial liverymen served in person (275). They were, however, expected to contribute to expenses, both ordinary, for example the cleaning and maintenance of armour and weapons, and extraordinary, for example conduct money or the purchase of new military equipment. In some companies, special monetary levies were made at time of war (276); others financed the soldiers from their ordinary income or reserves (277).

As with other financial demands, the Corporation appreciated the wisdom of spreading the load. From time to time it reimbursed the companies for at least part of their expenditure on war or

defence (278). Sometimes the companies were allowed to borrow armour and weapons from the civic stock, if their own provision was inadequate (279). Occasionally the Corporation itself passed on such demands to the Privy Council (280). Ordnance was also requested from the Crown to assist in the defence of the City. However, the companies continued to bear the brunt of these demands, a situation acknowledged by the Corporation. It was in response to this that the Mayor ordered the assistance of the inhabitants of the wards, including strangers, to relieve the the livery companies' burden.

CHAPTER FIVE : REFERENCES

- 1 G L Harriss 'Aids, Loans and Benevolences' Historical Journal vol 6 no.1 1963 1-19
- 2 R Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation, 1485-1547' PhD Cambridge 1963 480; 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334-1649' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 18 1965 504,508; Ramsay The City of London 50
- 3 For background to Tudor Parliamentary taxation see Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 3; and 'Taxation and the Political Limits of the Tudor State' in Law and Government under the Tudors ed. C Cross, D M Loades, J J Scarisbrick Cambridge 1988 227-55; J Alsop 'The Theory and Practice of Tudor Taxation' English Historical Review 97 1982 1-32; S Dowell A History of Taxation and Taxes in England: I Taxation from the Earliest Times to the Civil War 3rd ed 1965
- 4 The method of taxing moveables by fractions of their value was brought first brought in with the Saladin Tithe of 1188. Subsequently the fractions varied, from a fortieth to a quarter, becoming eventually standardised at a tenth, for inhabitants of towns and the royal demense, and a fifteenth for other subjects. In the 14th century the assessed tax was commuted into fixed sums due from communities rather than individuals, each parish and urban ward being liable for the sum allocated in the 1334 assessment. See Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 62-3; 'Taxation' 230; and 'Geographical Distribution' 486-7; Dowell A History of Taxation I 61-87
- 5 The City's assessment was L630 8s 8d in the fifteenth century - The Great Chronicle of London ed. A H Thomas and I D Thornley 1938 265-6
- 6 Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 4-5; and 'Taxation' 233. 15ths and 10ths continued to be raised until 1623 - 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 2
- 7 For description of methods of and problems with local collection see Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 64-158
- 8 E359/46 m2. The amount collected was significantly below the City's assessment (see table 5.1)
- 9 L612 14s 5 1/2d - E359/46 m2
- 10 See table 5.2 and below p 253
- 11 For the evolution of the subsidy see Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 160-237
- 12 This trend was to be reversed at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when rates were reduced to 2s 8d, and subsequently to 1s 4d, in the pound on land and 1s 8d (subsequently 1s) on goods. However, the minimum values

- remained low - Schofield 'Taxation' table 2 234
- 13 Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 243-4
 - 14 None of the high collectors of the relief collected 1549 - Henry Saxey, Mercer, Richard Allen, Haberdasher, John Browne, esq., George Allen, Skinner, William Blakewell, gent., Stephen Cobbe, Haberdasher, John Seymour, gent., and John Foster, gent.- were Aldermen
 - 15 For examples of such indentures see E179/145/174
 - 16 In the subsidy of 1555-6, the Carpenters Company paid 39s 4d - GL Ms 4326/2; the Grocers paid L9 6s 8d (twice) on goods rated by the assessors at L140 - GL Ms 11571/6 17v,40v,67v; the Ironmongers paid L6 11s 6d in first payment and L5 14s 8d in second - GL Ms 16988/2 72,86v; and the Merchant Taylors paid L11 12s 5d and L11 13s 8d on 'revenues' assessed at L116 16s 10d per year - GL MF 298 vol 4 339v,369
 - 17 2&3 Edward VI c36. See Dowell A History of Taxation I 152. Gilds had been charged with higher than the normal rate of subsidy in Henry VIII's reign - Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 247
 - 18 Schofield 'Taxation' *passim*; Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 166-71; Archer The Pursuit of Stability 14-15,64-6
 - 19 Dowell A History of Taxation I 154; Schofield 'Taxation' 238-55. For evasion and accuracy in the earlier assessments see Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 295-311,326-37
 - 20 Calculated from Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' table 4.3 206 and see table 5.2 above
 - 21 See table 5.2
 - 22 See table 5.2. In 1556, Gresham had to borrow L2000 on the continent to make good the shortfall in the City's return, in the loan which was to be used to repay the Merchant Adventurers. The Corporation allowed Gresham L23 6s 8d for the costs of the exchange transaction - Rep 13ii 387v
 - 23 It had always been difficult to collect the full amount from London because of its shifting population and the tendency of wealthy Londoners, who owned other property outside the City, to opt to pay on this instead, since it often proved cheaper than their assessment in the capital. An example was Christopher Allen, who was assessed in 1547 at L66 13s 4d in the London assessment and only L8 on his property in Buckinghamshire - Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 268,298
 - 24 Brigden London and the Reformation 496
 - 25 Jo 16 36v quoted Brigden London and the Reformation 496

- 26 2&3 Edward c36
- 27 Rep 12i 249; Rep 12ii 279; E 359/45; Table 5.2. It was apparently common for yields to decline with subsequent payments of relief, probably because of popular resistance to the continuing demands of the Crown - Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 426
- 28 Rep 12i 139v,179v,249
- 29 Rep 12ii 472
- 30 Rep 14 34v
- 31 Rep 12ii 324v See also Rep 12ii 279v; Rep 14 34v
- 32 APC 1556-8 366-7
- 33 See the order of 1555/6 - LBk S 119
- 34 E.g. E359/45,47
- 35 E.g. Francis Donato, Leonard Shore and company, Dominic Gretza and company, John Consyn, Richard Strowde, Nicholas Way and John Wynter all described as strangers resident in Tower ward. Of 37 defaulters for Broad street, Aldersgate, Candlewick, Lime street, Langbourn and Tower wards in 1549, 13 were described as strangers or aliens and 2 as Frenchmen - E359/45 13d
- 36 The Blacksmiths' company - E359/47 13,14d,16d
- 37 E359/45,47 -see table 5.2
- 38 The City's population has been estimated as 80,000 in 1560 for the City excluding the suburbs - Finlay and Shearer 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion' table 2 42. However, not all of these would have been liable for tax, including married women and those with possessions below the taxable level. See below pp 10-11 concerning the problems with population estimates
- 39 Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 295-6
- 40 There is some evidence, in the Exchequer records, of long delays in the payment of taxation by individuals e.g. William Damsell - E405/23 92
- 41 Schofield 'Taxation' 237
- 42 Schofield 'Taxation' 238
- 43 Rep 3 116 - quoted in Schofield 'Taxation' 238. See also Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 335-6. In 1535, Thomas Cromwell revalued the City at two and a half times its own estimate - Ibid. 328
- 44 I understand that Dr Ian Archer is engaged in a study of this nature

- 45 E.g. Rep 13i 82,86v,150,186,188,213v,262v; Rep 13ii 296. In 1554, the High Collectors of the last 15th granted to Edward VI, Roland Heywood ['Hayward'] and Robert Harding, petitioned the Court of Aldermen for some allowance to be paid to them 'for their pains and for such money as they laid out of their own purses for the said xv'.
- Regarding complaints about the burdensome effect of fifteenths on the poor see Archer The Pursuit of Stability 53
- 46 E.g. Rep 13i 172,175
- 47 Rep 11 309v; Rep 13i 145,147v; Jo 16 279,299-9v
- 48 Rep 13i 147v. An Act passed in Henry VIII's reign had confirmed the liability of strangers to contribute to taxation - 32 Henry VIII c16
- 49 Rep 12ii 324v
- 50 Schofield 'Taxation' *passim*; APC 1556-8 397-8, 404 *et passim*
- 51 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 10,12,35
- 52 See below pp 66-89
- 53 E.g. APC 1556-8 178-80,186-8 *et passim*
- 54 Schofield 'Taxation' 229
- 55 See above n1
- 56 See above pp 85-6; Brigden London and the Reformation 496
- 57 See above p 86
- 58 Before the 15th century, loans were generally raised through the ward system, based on the ward tax assessments. It was during the 15th century that Corporation began to employ the agency of the companies to raise money and men - G J de C Mead 'The Financial Relations between the Crown and the City of London in the Reigns of Edward I to Henry VII' London MA 1936 180,184
- 59 E.g. Jo 16 370v-371
- 60 Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 276
- 61 GL Ms 7090/1 50
- 62 Rep 13i 212,245v-246,247-248,249v,279v; Rep 13ii 316v,345,369v,384v,387,427,430v
- 63 See Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 210-12; Schofield 'Taxation' 229
- 64 L500 was raised by the companies at the time of Mary's

accession to secure the Queen's favour for the City - Rep 13i 69. The Carpenters, for example, contributed L10- GL Ms 4326/2 unfoliated a/c 1553-4; the Coopers - L7 8s 8d GL Ms 5606/2 unfoliated a/c 1553-4; the Grocers - L100 and/or L40 -GL Ms 11571/5 429v,449; the Merchant Taylors - L40 ('given by certain of the worshipful Corporation of this city unto the Queen's grace when she lay at New Hall afore her coming to London') - GL MF 298 vol 4 1545-57 286v

- 65 2000 marks was levied through the companies -Rep 13i 138v-9, 142v. The Bakers, for example, raised L15 8s 4d - GL Ms 5174/2 42; the Coopers - L4 GL Ms 5606/2 unfoliated a/c 1553-4; the Merchant Taylors - L100 - GL MF 298 vol 4 1545-57 288v. See below concerning the garrison

- 66 Rep 13i 130,133. There were precedents for raising lesser sums than demanded by the Crown from at least 1340 - Mead 'Financial Relations' 176,179.

In August 1554, the Pewterers' company imposed a 20s fine on 'whosoever speaks any more of the sessing that late was for the payment of the [L30] to the Queen' - GL Ms 7090/1 27v

- 67 E.g. Edward's coronation - Rep 11 308,309v,310v; Jo 15 300v-301v ;GL Mss 4326/2; 5174/1; 5442/3; 11571/1; 15333/1; GL MF 298 vol 4 1545-57. Mary's coronation - Rep 13i 74v; Jo 16 251; GL Mss 4326/2; 5174/2. Philip's entry - Rep 13i 112,166v ; Jo 16 285v ; GL Mss 5174/2; 5442/3; 11571/5. See below pp 397-403

- 68 Slack stresses the importance of the City hospitals in P Slack 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58' 94-115

- 69 Grafton emphasised the King's part in the foundation of the hospitals, stating that he 'required that he might be accounted as the Chief Founder and Patron thereof' - Grafton's Chronicle II 529-31. See also J G Nichols (ed.) Literary Remains of King Edward VI 1857 I clxxx-clxxxv and Stow Annales 1028-9.

In 1553, the Bishop of London wrote to Cecil (and to Gates) asking him to be a suitor to the King on behalf of London's poor, in relation to the acquisition of Bridewell:

Surely I have such good opinion in the King's Majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends, that would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the King's Majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens in this matter to move you because I do take you for one that feareth God and would that Christ should lie no more abroad in the street (BL Lans 3 56)

- 70 St Bartholomew's hospital was founded in 1123 as part of the Priory of Austin Canons in West Smithfield. Although the hospital was not dissolved with the priory, in 1539, the City Corporation was concerned about its future, and petitioned the King to grant the institution to the City. This was secured by letters patent of December 1546 and the

hospital was placed under governors appointed by the Corporation from 1547 - N J M Kerling 'The Relations between St Bartholomew's Hospital and the City of London 1546-1948' Guildhall Miscellany 4 no.1 1971 14

- 71 Bedlam (or Bethlehem) hospital (formerly the Priory of St Mary Bethlehem) was formally acquired by the Corporation from the Crown in 1547, although the Corporation had claimed some jurisdiction over it earlier. It had been used for the custody of lunatics from at least the late 14th century. It was placed under the governance of Bridewell in 1557, although it continued to have its own keeper. See P Allderidge 'Management and Mismanagement at Bedlam, 1547-1633' Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century ed. C Webster Cambridge 1979 141-164; E G O'Donoghue The Story of Bethlehem Hospital from its Foundation in 1247 1914
- 72 Christ's hospital was founded in the former Grey Friars building, which was granted to the Corporation by letters patent of January 1547, preceded by a signed bill and agreement the previous month - C66/760 53; C82/860/258 and CLRO Misc Mss 62.8. I am grateful to Hugo Deadman of CLRO for these references. Although the hospital, for the reception and education of orphans and helpless children, was granted an income, it was soon found insufficient.
- 73 The disused palace of Bridewell was acquired from Edward VI in 1553, after an appeal from the Bishop of London (see above n69) and established as a house of correction in 1556. The King not only conveyed the building but also gave 700 marks and beds and bedding from the Savoy Palace to the institution - Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 451-2
- 74 St Thomas' hospital, Southwark, for the sick and infirm, was acquired by the Corporation in 1551 -Sharpe London and the Kingdom vol I 449-50; CPR 1550-3 130-1
- 75 Jo 15 394v
- 76 Rep 11 347,350v,407,421v; Rep 12i 29; Jo 15 393-4
- 77 Jo 15 394v
- 78 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 53. Assessment of the 15th and 10th on individuals depended almost entirely on local custom - Schofield 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation' 82-99
- 79 Rep 11 486,487v,488v
- 80 Rep 11 487v; Rep 12i 11v,13,19v
- 81 Jo 15 394v-5v
- 82 Including the Cooks, Poulterers, Carpenters, Tylers, Coopers, Blacksmiths, Spurriers, Weavers, Masons, Plasterers, Vintners, Dyers, Brewers, Bakers, Leathersellers, Painters, Pewterers, Curriers, Innholders, Fruiterers, Cordwainers, Butchers, Bowyers, Broderers,

- Butchers and Fletchers -Rep 12i 41v,48v,50v,52,53,53v,54v,59v
- 83 The Bottlemakers and Horners - Rep 12ii 444,507v
- 84 Rep 12i 41v
- 85 Jo 16 370v-371. See also above n73
- 86 Rep 13ii 389v,410,451
- 87 Rep 13ii 449v
- The Pewterers' company, for example, in replying to the Mayor's request for L40 for Bridewell, stated that:
- they are contented to pay their money of benevolence which they do give freely weekly in their several parishes where they do dwell, and for that Alderman Curtis is taken from them, who was want always to bear the one half of such payments, they are not able to pay but desireth to have a lesser sum of them to be had (GL Ms 7090/1 50)*
- The sum was subsequently reduced, to L25 - GL Ms 7090/1 52v
- 88 Rep 13ii 455
- 89 Rep 13ii 405v,430
- 90 Rep 13ii 377
- 91 Rep 13ii 488
- 92 Rep 13ii 506
- 93 Rep 13ii 489v
- 94 E.g. Rep 13ii 491,492v,495,505v,513,572; Jo 17 39a; Rep 12ii 522v
- 95 Rep 12ii 522v; Rep 13ii 572
- 96 Rep 13i 252v
- 97 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 158
- 98 See above pp 194-5
- 99 W Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies 1834-7 I 132-3; Gras The Evolution of the English Corn Market 77-82. Although there had been a number of attempts in the middle ages to ensure the municipal provision of corn in time of scarcity, it was not until the reign of Henry VIII that provision became regular and systematic
- 100 Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies I 132-3
- 101 Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies I 133

- 102 In 1548, one of the Aldermen, Chertsey, objected to having to pay L50 - Rep 11 452. In 1557, the Bowyers were promised gentle treatment in all future financial levies, both wheat money and other subscriptions, presumably in response to pleas of poverty amongst their membership - Rep 13ii 575. The companies' complaint, in 1578, about the levies led to the delegation of grain storage to them - below n105
- 103 For an example of a company order for the provision of corn by its members see GL Ms 7090/1 45 (Pewterers)
- 104 Rep 13ii 523
- 105 Jo 20 436-7v,440v-2,444-6; Archer The Pursuit of Stability 20
- 106 Supplies from the Steelyard merchants - e.g. Rep 12i 135; Rep 12ii 314,317,321v,399,402v,436v; Rep 13ii 303v, 363-364, 468,489. Also the Corporation reached agreements with native merchants to supply grain to City in times of scarcity, although not necessarily for civic stock - e.g. list of names of suppliers from Norfolk and Kent in 1551, who were granted dispensation from the royal proclamation concerning corn Jo 16 99v-100. See also cp4 n73 for references to licences to import wheat from France to supply the City
- 107 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 127-8 - citing Rep 7 134,142,170v,270. In 1547 concern was expressed that the King's purveyors were introducing musty grain into the Bridgehouse store - Rep 11 329v. The City also had to compete with the purveyors for grain supplies
- 108 In 1520-1 several bakers were imprisoned for refusing to bake with it - Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 123
- 109 E.g. Rep 13i 141v
- 110 E.g. in January, March and December 1554 - Rep 13i 108, 111,133v,240 ; Jo 16 276
- 111 Rep 13i 146v
- 112 Rep 13ii 351
- 113 Rep 14 59v,61
- 114 Rep 12ii 307v,309,325
- 115 Rep 13ii 339,340v
- 116 Rep 13ii 387v
- 117 Rep 12ii 324,338v,449v
- 118 E.g. Rep 12ii 327v,330,330v,342,400; Rep 13i 144v,148,150v; GL Mss 11571/5 387v,417v; 16988/2 52v,63; 15333/1 291;

Mercers' reuter wardens' accounts 1538-77 128v; MAC 1527-60 249v - the Mercers actually sponsored two students

- 119 Rep 12ii 342
- 120 Rep 12ii 400
- 121 Rep 13i 262v
- 122 Figures from Schofield 'Taxation' table 1 232
- 123 Rep 13i 105v-6,150; Rep 13ii 296
- 124 See the preambles of the Subsidy Acts - 2&3 Edward VI c36; 2&3 Philip & Mary c23; 4&5 Philip & Mary c11
- 125 H&L II 9-10. According to the Tower Chronicler, the proclamation renouncing the subsidy was received in Cheapside with 'marvellous noises of rejoicing and giving the Queen thanks' - Chronicle of Queen Jane 26
- 126 Concerning the burden of ward and parish rates - see Archer The Pursuit of Stability 83,87,193; 'The Chamber of the Realm : London and the Demands of the State c1550-1603', unpublished paper delivered at the Anglo-American Conference, Institute of Historical Research, 1991. I understand that Dr Archer is intending to publish shortly on the subject of the incidence of local and national taxation in sixteenth century London
- 127 E.g. preamble to 2&3 Edward VI c36; Dowell A History of Taxation vol I 141-3. For discussion concerning the justification used for raising taxation, gifts and loans see also 'The Theory and Practice of Tudor Taxation' 1-32 ; G L Harriss 'The Theory and Practice of Tudor Taxation: Some Observations' English Historical Review 97 1982 811-19; and 'Aids, Loans and Benevolences' 1-19
- 128 As an example, in 1554, a plumber who had dwelt outside the City for seven years and refused to pay 'such duty towards the common charges of this City with his fellowship as he ought to have done' was disenfranchised at the request of the company wardens - Rep 13i 240; whilst a pewterer was dismissed from his company for his refusal to contribute to charges or bear office - GL Ms 7090/1 74v
- 129 W de Gray Birch The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London 1887 51
- 130 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 142-3
- 131 The use of the ward system had become the usual method of raising troops from at least 1338, the City authorities effectively acting as recruiting agents for the Crown - Mead 'Financial Relations' 193-4
- 132 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 136-144. The first evidence of the use of

livery companies in the raising of troops was under Henry VI
- Mead 'Financial Relations' 183-4

- 133 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 142
- 134 Jo 15 366v
- 135 Jo 15 368
- 136 Rep 11 440,470
- 137 Rep 11 486
- 138 Rep 11 462; Rep 12i 78
- 139 Rep 13i 142v
- 140 Rep 13i 146v,147
- 141 Rep 13i 146v,147
- 142 Rep 13i 179v
- 143 Rep 13ii 331v
- 144 Jo 16 348 (gives number of billmen and bowmen required from each company, October 1555)
- 145 Concerning the involvement of the English in the French war of 1557-9 see, for example, CSL Davies 'England and the French War, 1557-9' The Mid-Tudor Polity c1540-1560 ed. J Loach and R Tittler 1980 159-85
- 146 On 23 June, the wardens of the companies were summoned before the Court of Aldermen and instructed to prepare 500 men for the King and Queen's wars - Rep 13i 523v
- 147 Rep 13ii 525v,526,522
- 148 Rep 13ii 523
- 149 Rep 13ii 524
- 150 Rep 12i 222
- 151 In December 1557, the Court agreed that the Bowyers' company 'shall be gently used and intreated according to their ability and power whensoever the companies and fellowships of this city shall be generally charged with setting forth of any soldiers or other common charge or imposition as they conveniently may be ' - Rep 13ii 575
- 152 Rep 13ii 525
- 153 Rep 13ii 531
- 154 For details of their objections to the war - see Loades The Reign of Mary Tudor 309 and CSP Ven 1556-7 1147-51:

The resolve made by this kingdom to make war on the French does not greatly please these people as, besides the suppression of their trade, on which the kingdom may be said to subsist, they will have to pay constant subsidies for the maintenance of the war; and what weighs more with them than anything else, is to see that all this is being done for the benefit of aliens whom they detest, and most especially the Spaniards

- 155 See above n130
- 156 Rep 13ii 533-533v
- 157 Rep 13ii 536
- 158 Rep 13ii 580v
- 159 Rep 13ii 582
- 160 Rep 13ii 582v
- 161 Rep 13ii 582
- 162 Rep 13ii 584v; Rep 14 1v
- 163 Rep 14 2,3
- 164 Loades The Reign of Mary Tudor 312-39
- 165 Rep 14 24,25v
- 166 Rep 14 52v
- 167 Rep 14 52v; Jo 17 93
- 168 See below n232
- 169 E.g. Rep 14 28,41,46,49,51,52v,55,57v,59,80,84
- 170 Rep 14 52v
- 171 See above n155 & n130
- 172 Rep 14 52v
- 173 Rep 14 57v
- 174 Rep 14 60
- 175 Rep 14 57v
- 176 Rep 14 52v
- 177 Jo 17 88v
- 178 Rep 14 58v
- 179 Rep 14 63

- 180 4 & 5 Ph & M c2 & c3; Jo 17 89
- 181 Many members of the companies paid for people to go in their stead, including foreigners (e.g the Tallowchandlers - GL Ms 6152/1 25v) or delegated service to the yeomanry (e.g. the Pewterers - GL Ms 7086/2 168v-9)
- 182 I.e. in 1544 - Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 142
- 183 Rep 12i 108
- 184 Rep 12i 108,105
- 185 Rep 12i 112-2v.
- Beer, in his study of London during the 1549 rebellion, implies that this was the first time that companies had been employed in this way - Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 29. However, Gronquist demonstrates that they had been asked to man the gates in Henry VIII's reign - Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 223
- 186 Rep 12i 117v; Jo 16 24v
- 187 Rep 12i 121v; Jo 16 25v
- 188 Rep 12i 117
- 189 Jo 16 24v
- 190 Rep 12i 116v,117
- 191 Jo 16 17v. In May 1549, they had been ordered to keep them indoors from 10pm to 4am from May till Michaelmas to prevent them attending interludes, may games and unlawful assemblies - Rep 12i 91v
- 192 Jo 16 26
- 193 Rep 12i 114
- 194 Rep 12i 127
- 195 Rep 12i 114v
- 196 Jo 16 20v,21
- 197 Jo 16 25v
- 198 Jo 16 25v,32; LBk R 31v
- 199 Jo 16 15v,17v; Rep 12i 117
- 200 Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 32
- 201 There is, however, evidence of collusion with the rebels in

one instance at least. In August 1549 John Wheatley, Saddler was apprehended and imprisoned in Newgate for trying to entice men's servants and apprentices to go with him to assist the rebels at Norwich - Rep 12i 122

- 202 Brigden London and the Reformation 496; Beer 'London and the Rebellions' and see below p 342
- 203 See below pp 343-48
- 204 Rep 12i 149-150v,151v-152; Jo 16 33
- 205 Rep 12i 151v. See pp 343-49
- 206 Jo 16 33,37
- 207 Jo 16 37-37v; LBk R 40v-42v
- 208 Jo 16 37v-8; LBk R 42
- 209 Jo 16 33; Rep 12i 153 See also Wriothesley Chronicle II 26; Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 37; and below cp6. It cost the Pewterers L4 9s 14d to raise and equip ten men to go to Windsor, although they were not actually sent - GL Ms 7086/2 136-6v
- 210 Jo 16 65,91v
- 211 E.g. Rep 12ii 298,319,328v,346,365v,394
- 212 E.g. APC 1550-2 24,27,28,34,90,97,230,260,262,383-4,352,390; Edward VI Chronicle 37,47,59,87-9
- 213 APC 1550-2 256-7; Edward VI Chronicle 59; in April, there was an affray on Holborn bridge in which Captain Drury's men were involved - Rep 12ii 324.
- There was a further alleged conspiracy in October 1551 in support of the Duke of Somerset - Edward VI Chronicle 87-9 However, this was probably fabricated in order to bring charges against the Duke - Jordan Threshold 83
- 214 APC 1550-2 425,432
- 215 Rep 12ii 420,423v
- 216 Rep 13i 66,67v-68; Jo 16 240,240v,246v,247v,248,248v
- 217 Jo 16 248
- 218 Rep 13i 68,72,93; Jo 16 253 -dated 16 August 1554, but must be 1553
- 219 Rep 13i 116-116v,119-119v
- 220 Rep 13i 117,119-119v,125v; Rep 13ii 369v. See also Chronicle of Queen Jane 37-9; Brigden London and the Reformation 537ff; Bod Rawl B102 840

- 221 Rep 13i 117. The author of the Chronicle of Queen Jane recorded that 500 Londoners were sent to Kent - Chronicle of Queen Jane 37-9
- 222 GL Mss 11571/5 446v-7; 5174/2 42-3; SP11/2 33; Brigden London and the Reformation 538; Loades Two Tudor Conspiracies 61; A F Pollard Tudor Tracts 1532-88 1903 230,235
- The author of the Chronicle of Queen Jane suggested that all the Londoners joined Wyatt, a fact that was 'very displeasing' to the Queen and Council - Chronicle of Queen Jane 39.
- 223 Rep 13i 121,122 *et passim*
- 224 Rep 13i 134
- 225 Rep 13i 112,113v; Stow Annales 618-19; Wriothesley Chronicle II 109 ; Brigden London and the Reformation 540
- 226 Rep 13i 121v
- 227 Rep 13i 122v
- 228 Jo 16 124v
- 229 Rep 13i 132
- 230 Rep 13i 130. For further detail regarding the garrison see Brigden London and the Reformation 546
- 231 Rep 13i 130,133,133v. The company wardens were authorised to imprison defaulters - Jo 16 274v-5
- 232 The terms of the patent were transcribed in the Journal of Common Council - Jo 17 69-9v
- 233 Rep 14 28,28v; Jo 17 89
- 234 Rep 14 32v
- 235 Rep 14 34v
- 236 Rep 14 34v,41,46
- 237 Rep 14 49
- 238 Concerning the perceived crisis justifying the garrison see CSP Sp 1554 140,198,228
- 239 See, for example, Hall's Chronicle 586-91,645; Stow Survey I 99 & II 216; Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 255-61; Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 15-17
- 240 Jo 16 17v. See also Rep 11 322v,329v,440; Rep 12i 223,238, 328v,346; Rep13i 40,173
- 241 Rep 12i 102v

- 242 For example, the watchman at one of gates was violently attacked - Rep 12i 118 - and another case of 'misdemeanor' towards the watch took place in St Sepulchre's parish -Rep 12ii 338v
- 243 For example, the freemen of Portsoken ward living outside Aldgate appealed. A decision on their case was postponed - Rep 11 333,375v. One of King's Guard living in Vintry ward lost his appeal for exemption - Rep 12i 245v. The parson of St Matthew, Friday Street, was discharged from night watches - Rep 12i 252. The inhabitants of the hospital in Southwark petitioned for exemption - Rep 13i 35. All the parish clerks in the City were exonerated from watch duties in 1553 - Rep 13i 61
- 244 LBk R 289v - petition of the common beadles to preserve the custom and prerogative to watch in householders' stead
- 245 Rep 12i 103,104
- 246 E.g. Rep 11 316v - A Frenchman was apprehended by the watch in Queenhithe; Rep 12i 93 - the case of Sir William Pickering and Foster, gent. taken in the 'King's watch' was referred to Council; Rep 12i 110 Anthony Roberts of Tonbridge, Kent believed to be involved in the 1549 rebellion; Rep 12i 120v - 5 men (named) were arrested by the watch at Newgate in August 1549 'as wandering persons'; Rep 12ii 324; John Storye, one of Captain Drury's men was taken in Farringdon without in April 1551; Rep 13i 179 - two stranger cordwainers were taken by the watch in Farringdon without as 'idle night walkers'
- 247 E.g. Rep 13i 105v,106v,173,228,284v
- 248 E.g. Rep 12i 113v; Rep 13i 176v. Sometimes they were rounded up and used as 'pioneers' for the Crown -e.g. Jo 17 88v
- 249 See Stow Survey I 101-3. See also CLRO shelf 36C 'The ancient manner and order of setting the watch, 1585'
- 250 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown'148; Stow Survey I 103
- 251 Rep 11 379,440; Jo 16 15v
- 252 Stow Survey I 103; Wriothesley Chronicle II 3; Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 23
- 253 Jo 16 15v
- 254 E.g. Bakers - GL Mss 5174/1 258v; 5174/2 21; Butchers - GL Ms 6440/1 31,52; Blacksmiths - GL Ms 2883/1 90-1,92-3; Carpenters - GL Ms 4326/2 1-2 Edward VI ; Coopers - GL Ms 5606/1 1-2 Edward VI ; Grocers - GL Ms 11571/5 288v; Ironmongers - GL Ms 16988/2 40v, 42 ; Mercers - APMC 1527-60 221; Merchant Taylors - GL MF 298 vol 4 85v; Vintners - GL Ms 15333/1 252

- 255 GL MF 298 vol 4 85v
- 256 GL Ms 15333/1 252
- 257 GL MF 298 vol 4 85v; GL Mss 5174/1 258v; 2883/1 90-1; 6440/1 31; 4326/2 1-2 Edward VI; 5606/1 1-2 Edward VI; 16988/2 40v; 15333/1 252 : these expenses included renewing and replacing armour and weapons, as well as wages, refreshments etc.
- 258 Rep 12i 238
- 259 Rep 11 445v
- 260 In April 1550, the Aldermen were ordered to cause the wardmote inquests to enquire into offences in their wards since January - Rep 12i 218v. Regarding wardmotes see also Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown'; Pearl 'Change and Stability' 15-27; Rappaport Worlds Within Worlds 173-4; Barron 'The Government of London' 39-48
- 261 Rep 13i 4
- 262 [Jones] The Corporation of London 57-9
- 263 Rep 11 315v; Rep12i 91v,100,162; Rep 12ii 294v,319,366v,498v; Rep13i 28,113v,190,272; Rep 13ii 485v; Rep 14 54v
- 264 E.g. eight apprentices and servants were imprisoned in 1548 for playing football in the open streets and released on their submission to the authorities - Rep 11 385 See also Rep12i 56,73v - those accused of playing with false dice and cards were imprisoned; Rep 12i 92 - John Wylkenson, currier, who maintained interludes and plays, was ordered not to continue on pain of imprisonment
- 265 Rep 11 321,358. The Bowyers in particular pleaded poverty in response to demands for levies - see above n150
- 266 Rep 12i 100
- 267 Inspection was to be undertaken by the secondaries of the Counters who were to report to the Lord Mayor, who would 'suffer them to go to ward or to stay' - Rep 12i 162v
- 268 Rep 12ii 294v
- 269 Rep 12ii 328
- 270 E.g. Rep 12i 91v,123v,150v and see above pp 292,296
- 271 See above concerning the privy watch. For examples of vagrants and harlots ejected from the City by the civic authorities see Rep 11 316v,353v,364-364v,413v,451
- 272 Rep 12i 238
- 273 The wardens of the companies were ordered to command members to treat Spaniards well and honestly, at the

request of Mary - Rep 13i 191. For examples of illtreatment of and rumours concerning Spaniards see Rep 13i 190,212v,214v. See also above pp 219-21

To counteract anti-Catholic feeling, in December 1553, the wardens of the companies were ordered to ensure their members prevented the mocking of priests by their servants and apprentices - Rep 13i 103v.

- 274 Examples of 'assemblies and affrays' at this period include: the assembly concerning the water supply in Cheap - Rep 11 325; the assembly for a may-game through the City - Rep 11 326; the affray on Holborn bridge in April 1551 - Rep 12ii 324; the affray in Smithfield in April 1554 - Rep 13i 143v; the affray of masterless men at Old Change, Newgate in July 1554 - Rep 13i 185v; and the affray at Greyfriars August 1555 - Rep 13ii 313v
- 275 See above n181
- 276 E.g. the Pewterers received gifts of money and armour from individual members - GL Mss 7090/1 58,67v-68; 7086/2 170v, 108,108,212v -and the Coopers raised loans and donations towards equipping their 'harnessmen' - GL Ms 5606/1 218v-19- as did the Tallowchandlers - GL Ms 6152/1 60
- 277 E.g. The Vintners' wardens seem to have funded the majority of their expenditure from their ordinary income (including the 'expenses of our breakfasts and dinners in going about this costly and troublesome business') - GL Ms 15,333/1 379-81. The Tallowchandlers also used their company reserves towards military expenditure - GL Ms 6152/1 34
- 278 E.g. Rep 13i 179v
- 279 E.g. Rep 13 117, 119-119v
- 280 E.g. L100 from Privy Council, in June 1549, towards the conduct money, coats and transportation for 100 soldiers - APC 1547-50 292

CHAPTER SIX : HIGH POLITICS

1. Introduction

The City held an important place in national politics throughout this period. Traditionally the ruler of the nation had looked to the capital to endorse the legitimacy and effectiveness of his rule, in return for confirming the City's privileges (1). The regimes of Somerset, Northumberland, Jane and Mary all had particular need of this endorsement; by offering or withholding it the City rulers could help to determine the course of national politics, as in 1549 and 1553.

Once the national government had been established and endorsed, the need to retain the loyalty of the capital remained. This loyalty was to be put to the test on several occasions during our period, in particular during the rebellions of 1549 and 1554, and as the central authorities attempted to impose unpopular policies on the citizens, including religious and economic changes. However, the situation was not one-sided. The civic rulers were aware of the likely consequences of opting for the 'wrong' side or taking an unwise decision. During the 1549 coup, George Tadlowe stressed to the Court of Common Council the need to 'think of things past to avoid the dangers of things to come'(2), reminding them of the result of the City's support of the Barons against Henry III:

Was it forgotten ? No surely. Nor forgiven during the King's life. The liberties of the City were taken away, strangers appointed to be our Heads and Governors, the citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted, such it is to enter the wrath of a prince.

as Solomon saith, the wrath and indignation of a prince is death
(Grafton's Chronicle II 523)

It is significant that Edward VI himself was to take this line to goad the City into action in 1551 (3). Moreover, the biblical reference made by Grafton must have reinforced his case at a time when the godliness and legitimacy of civic government, and its place in the divinely established hierarchy, were used to underpin its authority (4).

Although, in examining the relationship between the Crown and the capital there is a tendency to place emphasis on the important role of the latter, its natural subservience to the national ruler, as symbolised by the sword ceremony practised on the entry of the sovereign into the City, should not be overlooked. As P E Jones pointed out, it is a misconception that the King had to seek permission from the City rulers to enter his capital: the delivery of the sword to the monarch by the Mayor at the City's boundaries symbolised the reverse - the City's acknowledgement of its inferior status and duty to the Crown (5). The oath of allegiance to the monarch taken by the Mayor at the coronation and by the incoming Mayor at his inauguration also emphasised the fact that the City governor derived his authority to rule and the legitimacy of his government from the King (6).

Nevertheless, the political significance of London's support at this period of potentially weak national government cannot be doubted, even if the fear of insecurity and instability was greater than actual circumstances justified (7). London's role will be illustrated below by examining some of the key political events of the period: the chantries legislation of 1548, the

rebellions of 1549 and 1554 and the coups d'etat of 1549 and 1553. These have received considerable treatment in the past (8): coverage here will therefore be confined to the light which they throw on the relation between the Court and the City's rulers, and, in particular, the motivation of the latter in taking sides.

2. Chantries legislation

Although ostensibly a religious measure, designed to undermine any vestiges of belief in purgatory and to eliminate any foundations set up for masses for the dead and other practices condemned by the regime as superstitious, the Act of 1548 (1 Edward VI c14) was clearly a financial expedient (9). Substantiating the earlier Henrician Statute (37 Hen VIII c4) which authorised the dissolution of colleges, chantries and free chapels and vested their possessions in the King, its most obvious effect was to release lands and chattels from the dissolved chantries and fellowships into Crown hands, thus bolstering up its revenues at a time of severe financial embarrassment. Nevertheless, it had other far-reaching consequences. Not only were the chantry establishments and their endowments swept away, but also all fellowships with any involvement in such 'superstitious' practices were threatened by the Act, including trade and craft guilds as well as religious fraternities. Nor should the effects of the measure on lay piety be overlooked (10).

The consequences for the City of the passing of this legislation were four-fold: the large-scale acquisition and resale of

chantry lands, both in London and elsewhere, by wealthy citizens, mirroring the speculation in ex-monastic lands (11); the abolition of numerous chantry foundations attached to St Paul's cathedral and to the City's many churches; the obliteration of a large number of religious fraternities in the capital, which had fulfilled an important charitable, as well as a religious, role (12); and an attack on the endowments, and very existence, of the City's livery companies and related organisations. It is with the last of these that this section of the chapter is concerned.

There has been a tendency to underplay the effects of the Reformation on the City livery companies. George Unwin in his seminal work on the London guilds stressed the continuity in the companies' main activities, despite changes 'in the disposition of their property and the cessation of time-honoured customs' (13). Sherwood, in his thesis on the livery companies in the reign of Henry VIII, concludes that religious changes had 'very little' impact on them (14). They are mentioned only summarily by Brigden in London and the Reformation, on the grounds that 'although the religious life of the trade guilds was still important, it was not now the first reason for their organisation as it had been at their foundation' (15). Yet, in Herbert's view, the effects of the Reformation were 'severely felt' by the companies (16).

It is undeniable that the companies' religious life formed only one of their many functions and that they were prepared to make an outward show of religious conformity, whatever the personal views of individual members (17). Thus, under Edward VI, communion replaced mass on patronal feast days and obits were

abandoned (18). Meanwhile the Mercers, apparently without demur, paid for required alterations to the structure and fabric of their church, whilst converting their old chapel into shops for the 'profit of the company' (19). However, their plan to sell their chalices, altar cloths and vestments was to some extent thwarted by the dishonesty of their sexton, who embezzled most of them (20). The Tallowchandlers gained financially from the sale of their cloths and vestments (21), whilst the Goldsmiths melted down their images of St Dunstan, although they had difficulty finding a broderer willing to alter their hearse cloths to remove 'the triple crown on St Peter's head and the three monks' (22). The only sign of possible dissent from the religious changes was the Drapers' company's mass withdrawal from the communion service at St Michael Cornhill in August 1550, leaving the preacher in the pulpit (23). Nevertheless, despite the obvious insult to the preacher, the incident is better explained by the imminent arrival of the Lord Mayor at Drapers' hall than by religious principle. Similarly, although some anxiety was expressed by the Goldsmiths' company leadership about the effects of the abolition of obits on the membership, it was confined to the loss of opportunity for corporate gatherings (24).

With a similar absence of controversy, in Mary's reign, the companies reverted to mass and the Mercers' company restored its celebrations on St Thomas' day, as well as its altars and statues, at the express wish of the Lord Chancellor (25). Religious conformity was expected of the establishment in order to maintain political stability. It is therefore not surprising that the companies showed apparent willingness to alter their 'time-honoured customs' (26), nor that the Corporation used their agency

to avert religious disturbance, particularly by the youth (27). There was good cause for alarm, if the Imperial ambassador is to be believed (28), and Mary was certainly conscious of the overriding necessity of winning the support of the City establishment for the successful implementation of her religious policy in the capital (29).

However, the chantries legislation of the 1540s could not be so easily accommodated. It was not just that, as Herbert points out, the companies' bequests were almost exclusively charged with religious stipulations, and thus subject to confiscation by the King (30). More fundamentally, their purpose and right to exist were challenged by the Act and their property became subject to detailed investigation by the King's Commissioners. Under the first Chantries Act of 1545, the companies had been forced to render an account of their stewardship of their considerable chantry lands and endowments. However, since the King's Commissioners were empowered to take into the King's hands only those revenues considered seriously misappropriated, the potential damage to the livery companies had been limited. The Merchant Taylors, for example, forfeited only those endowments for obits connected with the Grey Friars, which the King claimed by reason of the friary's recent dissolution (31). In contrast, the bill for the second Act threatened the abolition of all fraternities, brotherhoods and guilds, although the extremity of the measure was probably unintentional (32).

Of particular interest to this thesis was the way in which the machinery of the City Corporation rapidly sprang into action to defend the interests of the guilds. The Lord Mayor and his

colleagues, all livery company members themselves, spoke with the Lord Protector on the matter and instructed the City Recorder to draw up a special proviso to be enacted by Parliament 'for the saving of such corporations of this city as are in danger to pass to the King's majesty by reason of an Act of Parliament that giveth his grace gilds and fraternities' (33). As a result of this lobbying, by London and other towns such as King's Lynn and Coventry (34), a clause was added to the Act (clause VII of 1 Edward VI c4), which reserved the right of trade guilds to remain in existence and provided for the payment of an annual rent-charge to the Crown of that part of their revenues deemed devoted to superstitious uses, rather than the wholesale confiscation of their property.

As a result of the Act, a new commission was appointed to undertake a second survey. Questionnaires or 'bills of articles' were sent to parishes, fraternities and guilds, which were required to return lists of their chantries, stipendiary priests, obits, lights and property charged with the same (35). In contrast to the 1546 survey, when all parish and company officers had had to appear at the Guildhall, together with their chantry and stipendiary priests, the Commissioners in 1548 were prepared to meet with a small number of representatives at a variety of venues, including company halls (36). Nevertheless, the inconveniences and costs incurred by companies in making the returns remained considerable. Records had to be searched and interpreted with legal advice, schedules had to be drawn up and written out, and refreshments provided for those involved in the work. The Corporation assisted the companies by providing them with the services of the Town Clerk, City Recorder and other

officers, although it did not spare them the costs (37). Incidental expenses included the money laid out by the Merchant Taylors to persuade the Commissioners to postpone the date for their return and to transfer the venue to their own hall, where a lavish dinner was provided in the presence of the Lord Mayor (38); the allowance granted by the Ironmongers for the two 'mess of meat' ordered by the wardens for the Commissioners (39); and the sum paid by the Pewterers to the King's Surveyor 'to have his lawful favour that we might not be overcharged' (40).

With the exception of the Parish Clerks' fraternity, which was not a livery company and seems to have been used as a scapegoat, the London companies were treated with considerable leniency by the central authorities. Only about half of them were required to pay an annual rent-charge to the Crown, assessed on the basis of their returns (41). Towards the top of the scale was the Merchant Taylors' company, which in the past had advertised its spiritual benefits and, at the time of the return, had no less than nine priests, twenty obits and two lights, in comparison with the Coopers' single obit (42). These were undeniably 'superstitious' under the terms of the Act. However, in the many cases of ambiguity in bequests, when lands had been left for a combination of religious and charitable purposes, the companies endeavoured to persuade the Commissioners that they were part of their general estates (43). In their anxiety to complete their returns, the Commissioners had little time to investigate fully the accuracy of the company returns, a fact which was to be exploited by Elizabeth (44).

The system of rent-charges did not endure for long. By 1550, the

King's advisers, perennially short of funds, exploited the fact that the annual rent-charge from the livery companies, amounting to a little under one thousand pounds a year in total, could be converted into a large fixed sum (£18,744 11s 2d) by compulsory redemption at twenty years' purchase (45). It is significant that much of the money realised by the Crown from the sales of chantry lands and plate and from the redemption of rent-charges was subsequently used to redeem part of the royal debt in Antwerp and to refund the Staplers and Adventurers for their advances to the Crown (46). Although the enforced purchases were to cause the companies short-term financial embarrassment, the move was doubtless generally welcomed because of the long-term savings and security which redemption offered. However, the Corporation, no doubt lobbied by the companies, felt it necessary to seek the favour of the Lord Chancellor to promote a parliamentary bill 'for the further assurance in such lands as they [Corporation and companies] lately purchased of the King', even after the letters patent granting the rent-charges to the companies had been received (47). In 1553, an Act for the confirmation of the letters patent was, indeed, passed (7 Edward VI c3), albeit at considerable cost the Corporation, despite contributions from the Great Companies towards the cost of their own 'assurances' (48).

What was the effect of the chantries legislation on the companies? Apart from the Parish Clerks' fellowship, which failed to convince the Commissioners of its craft status, the continued existence of the City companies was never seriously in doubt. However, the financial and other consequences of the measure should not be underestimated. The redemption charges were considerable (49). Most companies were forced to sell off company

plate (50), to part with landed estate, usually at less than its market value (51) or to borrow money at interest, repaid by land sales (52). In combination with a number of other external factors, such as inflation and currency manipulation, demands for loans and direct taxation, the redemption charges forced many of the companies into debt at some time during this period, not only lesser companies, such as the Bakers, Butchers and Coopers, but also great companies, including the Clothworkers and Vintners (53). Many were forced into economy measures by their dwindling funds and rising expenditure (54).

In addition, all the companies had to reassess their roles. Since their foundation in the medieval period, they had administered religious observances on behalf of deceased members: it now became necessary, as a result of central government intervention, to alter the emphasis of their endowments towards specific charitable enterprises, deliberately divorced from religious purpose. The fact that this transition appears to have been made relatively smoothly - by the diversion of funds to doles, pensions and civic projects and by the disposition of bequests towards more socially orientated charities, such as almshouses and schools (55) - should not conceal the significant nature of this change. It is perhaps paralleled by a similar enforced change of direction in the nineteenth century (56).

Meanwhile, the resilience of the guild system and the supportive role of the Corporation were shown by the survival of the Parish Clerks' fraternity. Deprived of its hall and its other property, real and moveable, after four years of deliberation following the Act, the fellowship managed to reestablish itself relatively

swiftly (57). It was assisted by the Great Companies which, through the Lord Mayor, contributed towards its legal costs against the Crown and Sir Robert Chester, the subsequent owner, for the restitution of its hall and lands (58). In addition, the Court of Aldermen arranged for the Clerks the use of the church of Bethlem (or Bethlehem), in the former St Mary's hospital, for their assemblies and meetings; sealed and approved the fellowship's revised ordinances; and exempted members from certain civic charges and duties, for example night watches (59). The Corporation also assisted in disciplining recalcitrant members (60) and, in the following reign, granted the Clerks an annual gift of twenty shillings, to be distributed among the poor of the fellowship, in appreciation of services rendered on mayoral election days and in compiling the weekly and monthly bills of mortality (61). Finally, in 1553, the Parish Clerks' were reestablished as a company by the City Corporation (62), although not as a livery company. By the time of Stow's Survey, they were once more in possession of their own hall, albeit not their original one, which had been pulled down by Chester in an attempt to end the company's suit against him (63). Nevertheless, the path to recovery was not entirely smooth. In Mary's reign, *Quo Warranto* proceedings were commenced against the company, although subsequently dropped (64).

3. 1549 rebellions

A combination of concession and leniency had eased opposition from vested interests towards the Chantries Act. However, a different approach was required to meet the next major challenge to Somerset's government. The rebellions which took place from

1548 to 1549 were the most serious uprisings which had occurred in the south of England since the fifteenth century (65). Although the worst disturbances took place in the west country and Norfolk, other areas of the realm were affected and the Mayor and Aldermen, fearing disorder inside the walls and attacks from without, made 'elaborate military and security preparations' to maintain order, which have been described elsewhere (66).

The role of the City's rulers in defending the capital against revolt is not controversial. Their fear of disorder is undeniable and the measures used to maintain order were unusual in their extent, if not in their nature (67). The loyalty of the capital was not in real doubt. This does not mean that there was not a genuine threat to order from within - the high prices in the City in 1549 caused the Council to intervene to enforce some reduction and were of obvious concern to both central and civic government (68). *However, the discontented elements were unlikely to make joint cause with the rebels outside unless they succeeded in marching on the capital as they had at Norwich (69).* The system of watches and other precautionary measures inside the walls made unilateral action by the inhabitants unlikely to succeed. Beer points to the fact that no Londoners were executed after the rebellions as a measure of the success of the civic authorities in maintaining order. Nevertheless, the incident took its political toll; Beer sees a direct link between Somerset's perceived role in fomenting the rebellions and the City rulers' loss of confidence in him (70). This is undeniable although, it will be argued, not the sole consideration in the City's decision in taking sides in the coup staged later that year.

4. 1549 coup d'etat

On 6 October 1549, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City received two letters from the central government. The first, from Protector Somerset, commanded them in the King's name:

to give order with all speed for the defence and preservation of that our City of London for us and to levy out of hand and put in order as many as conveniently you may well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the gates, and to send us hither for the defence of our person 1,000 of that our city of trusty and faithful men to attend upon us and [the Duke of Somerset] (Jo 16 36; LBk R 39v)

The second, from 'a great number of the Lords of the King's Council' under the leadership of the Earl of Warwick (who have since been termed the 'London Lords'), after a long preamble justifying their cause, declared that:

we have again fully resolved with God's help either to deliver the King and the realm from this extreme ruin and destruction or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties so knowing your hearty goodwills and truth to His Majesty and therefore nothing doubting of your readiness to join us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our enterprise and in the King's Majesty's behalf to require you not only to put good and substantial order for watch and ward but also to have an earnest and continual regard to the preservation wthin yo^{ur} City of all harness, weapons and munitions so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said duke [of Somerset] nor any others attending about him and besides that you from henceforth obey no letters proclamations nor other commandments from the said duke (Jo 16 36-36v; LBk 40-40v)

After the letters had been 'read and debated', it was agreed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common Council that they should 'do all in their power to join with the said Lords [i.e. Lords of the Council] for the defence of the King's person and of his City of London and to aid the said Lords within the City' (71). Three days later, in response to the Lords' request,

conveyed by Sheriff Yorke (72), for one thousand men, Common Council further agreed:

to furnish in a good readiness 500 or (in case the King's Council shall not with that number be well contented) 1000 of good and able men well harnessed and weaponed to march forward to Windsor castle where the King is detained by the Duke of Somerset in great danger - there to serve the King's Council to deliver and safeguard the King (Jo 16 37)

The decision of the City's rulers to back the Earl of Warwick and his supporters amongst the Council against the Duke of Somerset was a factor in the former's success; not in terms of military action by the troops raised in the capital (73), but in demonstrating to Somerset the strength of the coalition against him. The Duke's failure to secure the Tower of London (74) and the presence of a large number of horsemen in the capital, apparently in the pay of the Council, caused Somerset to retreat with his charge from Hampton Court to Windsor, instead of returning to the metropolis as he had planned (75). The negative response to his appeal to the City's rulers for aid must have confirmed his loss of the capital, without which it would have been difficult for him to sustain national rule. His surrender followed soon afterwards, and he was symbolically accompanied on his journey to the Tower by the City dignitaries who had failed to support him (76).

Why did London's rulers decide to support Warwick against Somerset ? It was not a decision that would have been taken lightly: it was a dangerous course to back a coup against the King's guardian and uncle, even if it had been justified in the monarch's name. Bridgen attributes the decision principally to the City rulers' gradual loss of confidence in Somerset's regime:

The governors of London, like the Councillors, bitterly blamed Somerset for the social policy which had engendered the rebellions and for his faineance in failing to suppress them (Brigden London and the Reformation 496)

This view coincides with the traditional interpretation of the events leading up to Somerset's downfall, which holds that the Protector had alienated the rich and powerful by his support of the poor (77). Brigden also notes how Somerset's unpopularity had been intensified by his personal extravagance, his failure to manage the economy and his willingness to wage war, which had resulted in high inflation and burdensome taxation (78).

It is undeniable that Somerset's policies had had adverse effects on the capital. High inflation and taxation had hit London with particular ferocity, 'where there was no food to be had unless it were bought' (79), and the civic governors' fear of social unrest in the City had been intensified by both the economic situation and the rebellions (80). It is likely that responsibility for these threats to the establishment was, indeed, attributed to a weak or lenient central government. Moreover, Somerset's personal extravagance, to which the Council had drawn attention (81), was conspicuously evident in the building and furnishing of Somerset house in the Strand (82).

However, the City's case against Somerset should not be overstated, and some of the incidents which have been used to illustrate the deterioration of relations between the Corporation and the Protector are open to more than one interpretation. Brigden, for example, cites, the City's reluctance to contribute to the royal loan requested by the Council in July 1549; 'the flagrant contempt' shown by Somerset for the City's liberties

when he attempted to repudiate Yorke's election as Sheriff in August, and the Court of Aldermen's rejection, during the same year, of Somerset's successive suits and petitions, often it seems, in favour of 'disadvantaged supplicants' (83). Beer, in the same context, mentions Somerset's letter to the Court of Aldermen on behalf of John Armstrong and his companions who had pulled down the altars in St Leonard Cheap, substantiating the governors' fear of the fomentation of religious as well as social disorder (84).

Yet, the reluctance to loan money in July might have had other causes (85); Somerset's attempt to deprive Yorke, a known adherent of Warwick's, of the shrievalty cannot have been unexpected, since Yorke's nomination had been overtly political (86); whilst other courtiers also had their requests for favours rejected periodically, for a number of reasons (87). Also there is no evidence of a general reluctance by the Court of Aldermen to comply with Somerset's requests, even that in favour of the radical Armstrong: the Court simply 'agreed to obey the contents' of the Protector's letter, the details of which remain unrecorded (88). Even if the Corporation had come collectively to distrust and dislike Somerset, it would have considered it unwise to take up arms against him purely on the grounds of a loss of confidence in his ability to govern, because of the threat to order posed by a military coup. The Aldermen were aware, in October 1549, of the likely consequences of backing a failed conspiracy. They were also conscious of the danger of a counter insurrection, in support of Somerset, if he were to be overthrown (89). To avert this latter threat, proclamations were published in London, on both 10th and 30th October, against those distributing letters in

the City urging the Protector's cause (90), whilst security measures were stepped up at Somerset's subsequent arraignment and trial (91).

It is unlikely that the decision of the City rulers rested on principle, either political or religious. The Councillors opposing Somerset claimed to be rescuing the King from his evil tyranny and covetousness - the only grounds on which they could appear to act legitimately - and the City followed this by resting its case on concern for 'the defence, safeguard and maintenance ... of the King's majesty's person'. Yet, the safeguard of 'his grace's City of London' and of the Lords of the Council featured high in their declared list of priorities (92). With regard to religion, it was not clear what direction the putative new regime would take. Rumours abounded in London, dominated by fears of a return to Catholicism under Warwick, which the Council attempted to silence by proclamation and by appeal to the Corporation for action (93). Moreover, as Brigden has shown, London, although predominately Protestant, was deeply divided in religious matters (94).

The most convincing case is therefore one of political expediency: on 6 October, when the City was asked by both sides for its support, it chose what it considered to be the safer option. The majority of the Council was, after all, based in the metropolis, whilst Somerset and the King, with only a handful of supporters, were away in Hampton Court. Meanwhile, the Lords of the Council had gained command of the Tower and brought horsemen and attendants into the capital, in a deliberate display of military strength, as Grafton remarked in his chronicle:

suddenly, of what occasion many marvelled and few knew, every lord and councillor went through the City weaponed and had their servants likewise weaponed, attending on them in new liveries, to the wonderment of many (Grafton's Chronicle II 522)

Warwick was known to be an able and experienced military leader and naval commander (95). It is therefore likely that the same signs of military and political strength which intimidated Somerset and his supporters influenced the City's leaders to favour the cause of the 'London Lords'. This decision might have been influenced by Warwick's careful wooing of the City in 1549: the Council was to hold a number of its meetings within the city walls - at Mercers' hall, Sir John Yorke's house and at the residence of the Lord Mayor (96) - and just outside, at Warwick's house at Ely Place, Holborn (97). Moreover, the summons of the Mayor and Aldermen to appear before the Council, and the presence of Councillors at the decisive meeting of Common Council made it harder to resist the Lords' request for aid (98). Warwick had, moreover, moved into the City from nearby Holborn, to stay with his friend, Sir John Yorke, then Sheriff. It was Yorke whom he dispatched to the Court of Aldermen, three days later, to convey the Council's request for troops (99). The defection from Somerset of Sir William Petre, who had strong connections with London, on 6 October, might also have had a propagandist effect (100). The City's rulers were thus apparently convinced that, in supporting Warwick and the majority of his fellow Councillors, many of whom would have been personally known to them, they were opting for the winning side.

5. 1553 coup d'etat

Political expediency is also evident in the City's decision to support Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, in the coup of 1553. Even if he had the advantage of earlier goodwill from the members of the Corporation (101), the economic mismanagement attributed to Northumberland and to his henchman, Yorke, is likely to have eroded their trust in him and sapped his popularity in the capital (102). Yet the City rulers upheld his cause against that of the legitimate heir. This time they miscalculated.

In 1553, as in 1549, London's rulers (103) faced a difficult choice: on this occasion between Northumberland's protege, Jane, and Edward's sister, Mary. If anything, this decision was harder to take than the previous one, since more was at stake, in terms of both religion and politics. If Mary succeeded, a return to Roman Catholicism of some kind was inevitable, which was bound to cause unrest among London's mainly Protestant population. Yet, if the City rulers supported Jane and lost, the consequences of opposing the legitimate ruler might be constitutionally disastrous.

It is arguable that the City rulers supported Jane principally to ensure the preservation of the reformed faith. Certainly Northumberland subsequently sought to justify the coup in these terms:

God's cause, which is the preferment of His Word and the fear of papistry's re-entrance hath been ...the original ground
(Chronicle of Queen Jane 6-7)

However, the cause of religion had not prompted them to support

Somerset in 1549; nor is it safe to assume that all Londoners were opposed to the return of Catholicism (104). Religious unrest was possible in either case. Political principle can also be ruled out. It would have been difficult for the City fathers to uphold the dynastic claims of Jane over Mary's despite having been persuaded to countersign the King's device for the succession before news of his death had been released (105). Indeed, the fact that the Council had sought the secret endorsement of the Mayor, several prominent Aldermen (106) and representatives of the Merchant Adventurers' and Staplers' organisations for this device is an indication both of the political importance of the London rulers and of the dubious status of the Council's plan. Although it was customary for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to be present at the palace at the signing of the proclamation declaring the royal successor (107), the anxiety of Northumberland and his allies to suppress news of the King's death and to gain the support of the City in this unorthodox manner can only have confirmed the impression of the manipulation rather than the legitimacy of the succession. Moreover, if the chroniclers are to be believed, London's population was reluctant to celebrate the new regime, once it had been proclaimed (108). As Northumberland rode out against Mary, he apparently noted how 'the people press to see us, but not one sayeth God speed us' (109). Meanwhile, Gilbert Potter was arrested and punished with the loss of both his ears, by the commandment of the Queen, for protesting against the usurpation. On July 12, apprentices and servants were warned 'to beware their talk' and to take heed from his example (110).

Nevertheless, the Corporation remained firmly behind

Northumberland until 19 July, when it became clear that his cause was lost and when he was, significantly, absent from the capital (111). The rulers themselves were subsequently to claim that they had complied with Northumberland's regime through fear, and there was at least one citizen who wished to avoid civic office until the political turmoil was over (112). However, it is more likely that the civic governors, in assessing the situation, were persuaded that in supporting Northumberland in 1553, they were once again sponsoring the winning side. The same combination of factors was present as in the earlier coup - Northumberland's supporters were in control of the Tower and of the Council in London, his military reputation was untarnished and he was able to raise a force of six hundred men to ride against Mary (113). It was not until Northumberland left London, and his control over both Tower and Council faltered, that the Aldermen changed sides, and then only after a direct approach from the remaining Councillors:

[19 July 1553] my Lord Mayor riding in the afternoon about the wood wharf westward as he came at Paul's wharf met with the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Mason, clerk of the Council, which spake to the Lord Mayor secretly that he with both the sheriffs should meet with him and the Council at the Earl of Pembroke's place at Baynard's castle within less than an hour

Then they declaring to the Lord Mayor and his brethren that he must ride with them into Cheap to proclaim a new Queen, which was the Lady Mary's grace (Wriothesley Chronicle II 88)

Even if the City rulers did not require much persuasion to endorse this action, which was apparently greeted in the streets with much rejoicing (114), they once again took their lead from the majority of the Council, significantly based within the City. Then with characteristic expediency, they sought and obtained a pardon from the new queen, and deleted her predecessor's name

from the civic records (115). Mary, acknowledging the political and judicial importance of the Mayor and Aldermen, called them before her at the Tower and 'recommended to their care the administration of justice ... and the maintenance of the peace among her subjects' and gave them a 'writing' outlining her intention of leaving 'each one free as to the religion he would follow' until the next Parliament. She also ensured the presence of Aldermen at Northumberland's trial and obtained their endorsement of the verdict (116). A spirit of cooperation and forgiveness seemed to prevail. However, the City rulers were soon to be in need of the Queen's further pardon.

6. 1554 rebellion

In contrast to the 1549 rebellions, London was directly implicated in the uprising of 1554. Following only six months after the capital's disloyalty to Mary in supporting Jane, it was inevitable that there would be repercussions. About forty five Londoners were executed in the wake of Wyatt's rebellion (117), their bodies distributed throughout the City's streets (118); whilst the City's rulers were punished by the threat to withdraw Parliament to Oxford, which would have had serious economic consequences for the City's retailers as well as affecting the status of the metropolis as the seat of government (119). Martial law was subsequently imposed, in the capital and elsewhere (120). However, it is significant that the Queen on this occasion did not apparently threaten to withdraw the City's liberties, the ultimate sanction which the Corporation must have feared (121). Nor did she effect her plan to transfer Parliament to Oxford. Presumably wiser counsel prevailed, although not

solely as a result of the City's lobbying (122). Yet, it is no coincidence that the Crown had particular need of the City at this time, both as underwriter for its loans in Antwerp (123) and as the key for the successful implementation of its religious policy in the capital.

How justified was the Crown's hostility to the City over the Wyatt rebellion? It could be argued that it was the loyalty of the capital which preserved the monarchy. Wyatt, himself, judged London's support crucial to the success of his enterprise and was encouraged to believe 'that the City had been at his commandment' (124). The Spanish Ambassador feared for the consequences of the capital's involvement:

If London rose, the Tower would be lost, the heretics would throw religious affairs into confusion and kill the priests and Elizabeth would be proclaimed Queen (CSP Sp 1554 86)

The Queen also acknowledged the key role of the capital in Wyatt's fate, by riding in person from Westminster to Guildhall on 1 February, with the rebels at the City's gates, to appeal to the citizens to defend her capital on her behalf. She was even prepared to bargain with them at this moment of crisis, promising to call a Parliament to discuss her marriage and not to act without the consent of her subjects (125). The decision to move Parliament to Oxford represented a form of a betrayal of the citizens after this fulsome speech. Mary must have appeared unjustly ungrateful to the capital (126).

Wyatt's cause certainly found supporters in London, and it was in the capital that the conspiracy was hatched (127). News of the Queen's intended Spanish marriage had caused disquiet in the

City. It formed a potentially explosive combination with the displays of opposition to the restoration of the mass and the mocking of priests there, illustrated by the pelting with snowballs of the King of Spain's 'retinue and harbinger' and the 'hemming and hissing' and crab-throwing at priests by the 'London boys' (128). In August 1553, after a fracas had broken out at Dr Bourne's sermon at St Paul's cross, the Privy Council had summoned the Mayor and Aldermen and commanded them to keep better order in the City or else 'the Mayor to yield up his sword' (129). The City establishment took seriously this threat to its liberties. It immediately called a meeting of Common Council to ensure the implementation of the new religious settlement in the City churches and the attendance there of citizens and their journeymen, apprentices and servants. Measures were also taken to prevent disorder, particularly amongst the last two of these groups, who were forbidden to bear weapons within the walls (130).

It is impossible to gauge how widespread was the opposition to the Spanish marriage in the capital, yet when Wyatt raised a band of rebels in Kent, the cause was sufficiently attractive to Londoners for the Council to fear for the loyalty of the capital (131). This fear was substantiated when the majority of the Londoners sent to Rochester to resist Wyatt joined the rebels, apparently at a prearranged signal. Captain Brett, captain of one of the London bands, on reaching Rochester bridge, turned to his whitecoats and proclaimed: 'Masters we go about to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends in a quarrel unrightful and partly wicked'. To which his men responded 'we are all Englishmen' and vowed with their captains to die in that

quarrel (132). Wyatt's trust in the support of the capital must have seemed well-placed, yet, when he reached the City the bridge and city gates were closed against him (133). Why ?

The City rulers' loyalty to the Queen was surely never in doubt. As soon as the news of the rising reached them they armed the capital against the rebels, imposing precautionary measures identical to those employed in 1549 (134). Fearing Wyatt's advance, and the possible defection of Londoners to his side, they ordered the constant manning of the gates and the demolition of the drawbridge to prevent both the entry of the rebels and the loss of 'some light headed citizens and other radical people' to his side (135). Meanwhile, the livery companies tried to recover or to replace the armour and weapons lost to the deserters (136). It is difficult to see how they could have acted otherwise. However much the rulers might have sympathised personally with Wyatt's cause, their main concern was always the maintenance of order and stability (137). Wyatt, after all, had no plausible plan of action except, if he succeeded, in placing Elizabeth on the throne. Nor could the City establishment afford to offend the Queen again so soon after the 1553 coup. Perhaps this time, they heeded the words of Tadlowe during the 1549 coup (138).

It is arguable that the fears for the loyalty of the City's populace were exaggerated in any case. According to the author of the Chronicle of Queen Jane, the majority of the inhabitants lived in dread of a victorious entry by Wyatt:

Then should ye have seen taking in wares off the stalls in a most hasty manner; there was running up and down in every place to weapons and harness; aged men were astonished, many women wept

for fear; much noise and tumult was everywhere; so terrible and fearful at first was Wyatt and his army's coming to the most part of the citizens, who were seldom or never wont before to hear or have any such invasions to their City (Chronicle of Queen Jane 43)

It has also been shown that, of the Londoners arrested as participants in the rebellion, only a small proportion can be proved to be citizens (139). Yet, it would be unwise to conclude too much from this. Substantial Londoners would not have been expected to serve in person amongst the troops sent against Wyatt, and, although many of the sixty-four Londoners indicted were of humble trades, such as watermen and labourers, as Brigden notes, a number of goldsmiths, tailors, saddlers, clothworkers, tallowchandlers, broderers and a pewterer were also included amongst the rebels (140). Moreover, the failure to identify many citizens among the convicted London rebels might derive from a lack of archival evidence (141).

More significant was the non-guilty verdict brought by the jury of substantial citizens at the treason trial in London's Guildhall of one of the conspirators, Throckmorton (142). It was bound to increase royal suspicions of the capital's sympathy. The jurors, selected only after Throckmorton had objected to the first jury appointed, included influential members of the establishment, such as Thomas Offley, merchant taylor and Sheriff, Emmanuel Lucar, Deputy Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, and John Calthorp, probably one of the Calthorp family involved in the insurance industry (143). Throckmorton made a point of appealing to them as fellow citizens and christians, and it is illuminating that, in protesting against the order that they should be bound in L500 to answer matters put to them, they described themselves as 'poor merchant men' (144).

They were apparently reformist in religion and were sufficiently bold to risk imprisonment for thwarting the royal will (145). Nevertheless, it would be unwise to conclude from this incident that the majority of the establishment actively supported Wyatt's rebellion. The verdict of the Throckmorton jury is equally likely to have rested on a desire to exonerate a fellow citizen or to protest against the harsh treatment of Londoners after the rebellion. It might even have been attributable to the convincing nature of Throckmorton's defence (146). This is impossible to prove. Whatever the jurors' motivation, their arrest after the trial was bound to cause tension, and to prompt the intervention of the Mayor and Aldermen, who immediately appealed to the Council for their release, encouraging their relatives to do likewise (147). One is therefore left with the inevitable, if unsatisfactory, conclusion that the loyalty of Londoners in the Wyatt rebellion was divided. For every householder who feared for his shop if the rebels entered the capital, there was probably another who secretly sympathised with the rebels' cause. Amongst the City establishment, there were those who were willing to risk royal wrath in acquitting one of the known conspirators, even as the Corporation sought to appease the Queen. Meanwhile, many of the London and Italian merchants feared the effects of the Spanish marriage on trade, as the Mayor and Aldermen had meekly accepted the news of the intended match (148). Yet Wyatt was unrealistic in assuming that the capital was 'at his command': those entrusted with the City's government would not easily have abandoned their preoccupation with the maintenance of order in the capital.

Fortunately for the Corporation, the immediate crisis passed.

Contribution was made in the welcome given to Philip on his entry into the City and in the attendance of the Mayor and Aldermen at the *Te Deum* at St Paul's in thanksgiving for the Queen's supposed pregnancy (149). Yet the relationship between the Queen and her capital had been strained by the rebellion, and by the continuing presence of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic feeling there. Disloyal rumours abounded (150) and were so explicit that, on 10 May 1554, the City companies were instructed to warn their members 'not to say the Queen loveth not the City, for her grace saith she loveth the City' (151). They were also ordered to scotch rumours that Lord Clynton 'should govern the City', for 'her grace's pleasure is not so but that he shall lie within twenty miles of the City to aid the City if any need shall be' (152). Mutual confidence had apparently reached a nadir. The return of political stability alone could help to alleviate the situation. The public rejoicing and lavish pageantry provided by the City at the accession and coronation of Elizabeth I (153) may well have reflected a genuine wave of enthusiasm at the prospect of a new and happier phase in relations between Crown and capital.

7. Conclusion

London, like all other cities in the realm, was subject to central government policy and royal will. Influence and lobbying could temper unwelcome government measures, such as the chantry legislation of the 1540s, and political crisis could enhance the position of its rulers vis a vis the national government. However, the City remained firmly subservient to the will of the monarch, and of his or her Council, from whom its liberties

and privileges derived. Although a period of relative instability in national politics in the mid-sixteenth century accentuated the importance of the City's loyalty to the Crown, the City fathers would have viewed this situation with anxiety rather than glee. Alderman Jervis cannot have been alone in wishing to avoid civic office 'until the world be better established' (154).

CHAPTER SIX : REFERENCES

- 1 For example, William I 's charter to City, granting that 'they should be law-worthy as in King Edward's day', c.1067 - CLRO CH2A
- 2 R Grafton Grafton's Chronicle or History of England (1569) ed. H Ellis 1809 II 523
- 3 See above p 187. The Privy Council also threatened the City's liberties in this way in 1553 - see below p354
- 4 Smith Treason in Tudor England 119-35
- 5 P E Jones 'The Surrender of the Sword Transactions of the Guildhall Historical Association 3 1963 8-13. It is interesting to note that a 'goodly new sword' was purchased by the City Corporation in July 1554, in preparation for Philip II's entry - Rep 13i 187
- 6 [Jones] The Corporation of London 17,22-4. Horrox makes a similar point in examining the allegiance of towns during the Wars of the Roses - R Horrox 'Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century' Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England ed. R A Griffiths Gloucester 1981 161
- 7 Recent work has challenged the traditional view that the mid-Tudor period was one of major crisis or fundamental threat to state or society. See, for example, D M Loades The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-65 1992
- 8 E.g. in Brigden London and the Reformation; C Kitching (ed.) London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates London Records Society 16 1980; Jordan The Young King and The Threshold of Power; Loades Two Tudor Conspiracies and The Reign of Mary Tudor; Beer Northumberland 79-85 and 'London and the Rebellions of 1548-9' 15-38; Bush The Government of Protector Somerset; Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 420-8; A Fletcher Tudor Rebellions 1968
- 9 Jordan Young King 108-9
- 10 See J J Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People Oxford 1984; H F Westlake The Parish Guilds of Medieval England 1919; E Harper Bill and C M Barron The Church in Pre-Reformation Society 1985
- 11 CPR passim. The largest proportion of Crown lands, both ex-monastic and ex-chantry, sold at this period went to Londoners i.e. 29.19%. This suggests the presence of large aggregates of liquid and speculative capital in the City. It also reflected the fact that negotiations for purchase took place in the metropolis - Jordan Young King 108-9
- 12 On the eve of the Reformation there were apparently at least eighty such guilds still in existence in the City, to which bequests were made, although only about twenty parish guilds are mentioned in the chantry returns of 1546 and 1548 -

- Brigden London and the Reformation 36-9; C M Barron 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' The Church in Pre-Reformation Society ed. C M Barron and C Harper-Bill Woodbridge, 1985 13-37
- 13 Unwin The Gilds and Companies of London 201
 - 14 J E Sherwood 'Religion, Politics and the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London, 1509-47' PhD Pennsylvania State 1972 148
 - 15 Brigden London and the Reformation 36
 - 16 Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London I 113
 - 17 Evidence of religious offences by individual members demonstrates that some, at least, were prepared to risk punishment for their actions. See, for example, Rep 11 338, 431v,477v; Rep 13i 157; Rep 13ii 292v
 - 18 See, for example, T Girtin The Triple Crowns: A Narrative History of the Drapers' Company, 1364-1964 1964 127; MAC 1527-60 231v; GL Ms 7086/2 126v
 - 19 Mercers' reuter wardens' accounts 1538-77 122,126,129-30; MAC 1527-60 234,238
 - 20 MAC 1527-60 243-4. Apparently such embezzlement by church officials was quite common - Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People 93. The company did sell L3 worth - Mercers' reuter wardens' accounts 1538-77 129
 - 21 They realised L6 6s 11d from the sale - GL Ms 6152/1 16
 - 22 The first broderer approached refused - Goldsmiths' minutes 1547-57 (contained within the volume for 1543-67, but paginated separately) 18,19,22)
 - 23 Drapers' minutes 1543-53 992
 - 24 Goldsmiths' minutes 1547-57 33. In the Mercers' company minutes for 7 January 1549, it was noted that on the day traditionally reserved for an obit 'they went not church by reason that there was no mass nor more ado' - MAC 1527-60 231v
 - 25 MAC 1527-60 265,271-271v,286v. In 1554, the wardens were summoned by the Chancellor to explain the disappearance of the statue of Thomas a Becket which had stood over the great church door. Apparently it had been removed some 15 or 16 years earlier by Cromwell's commandment and a maiden's head substituted. The Chancellor required that it be replaced by a new image of Becket - MAC 1527-60 271-271v. See also Brigden 'The Early Reformation in London' 199-201
 - 26 Unwin The Gilds and Companies of London 201
 - 27 In December 1553, the company wardens were ordered to call together their members to ensure that they and their

apprentices and servants ' use and behave themselves quietly and honestly in all things towards all the queen's highness' subjects and namely priests, not giving them any occasion of displeasure either by hemming them or any other lewd demeanor' Rep 13i 103v. See also S Brigden 'Youth and the English Reformation' Past and Present 95 1982 55-7

- 28 CSP Sp 1553 169,187-8
- 29 CSP Sp 1553 169-70,187-8
- 30 Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London I 113
- 31 Unwin The Gilds and Companies of London 208. Compare Sherwood. 'Religion, Politics and the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London' 116-19
- 32 Unwin The Gilds and Companies of London 208. It was probably the result of loose wording rather than deliberate policy : the government was unlikely to have sought the demise of the trade guilds which filled such a vital role in the early modern town, nor of the universities which were also threatened by the Act. See G Parry 'Inventing the Good Duke of Somerset' Journal of Ecclesiastical History 40 1989 370-80
- 33 Rep 11 421v; Rep 12i 49v-50
- 34 Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People 66-7. Scarisbrick was apparently uncertain of London's role in this lobbying, surmising that 'if London MPs had also joined in and added their leadership to the revolt, the confrontation would have been complete' -loc cit
- Loach points out that the MPs opposing the chantries bill were persuaded to pass it by promises of exemptions for particular institutions in their own localities - Loach 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament' 319
- 35 For details of questions asked see Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London I 114
- 36 Kitching London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates x-xi
- 37 E.g. Grocers' accounts - GL Ms 11571/5 263,313v; Ironmongers' accounts - GL Ms 16988/2 53
- 38 Total : L8 3s - GL MF298 vol 4 84v : Kitching London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates xiii
- 39 These cost 40s - GL Ms 16988/2 34v
- 40 3s 4d 'in reward' - GL Ms 7086/2 137
- 41 34 out of c76 companies (the Twelve Great Companies and twenty two lesser ones) - Kitching London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates xxxiii

- 42 Kitching London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates xxxiii.
See also GL MF298 vol 4 104,113v-14,117v-18 *et passim*
- 43 Kitching London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates xvii
- 44 C Kitching 'The Quest for Concealed Lands in the Reign of Elizabeth' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th ser. 24 1974 63-78. In 1558, at the beginning of the new reign, the Pewterers' company was penalised, in the Exchequer, for alleged 'arrearages' from chantry lands - GL Ms 7086/2 216v
- 45 CPR 1549-51 386-401; Unwin The Gilds and Companies of London 210; Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London I 114
- 46 APC 1552-4 123,169,183,221
- 47 Rep 12ii 442v; Rep 12i 215v For copy of earlier Parliamentary bill, c1552, see Jo 16 158-158v
- 48 Rep 12ii 485,488v. 40s each was paid by the Merchant Taylors and the Vintners - GL MF298 vol 4 260v; GL Ms 15333/1 272
- 49 L3,934 from the Mercers and L2,006 from the Merchant Taylors - MAC 1527-60 239 and GL MF298 vol 4 168. Although the demands on the lesser companies were more modest - e.g. L372 from the Brewers and L49 from the Bakers - their funds were proportionally less - GL Mss 5442/3 unfoliated (account 1549-50); 5174/2 25v
- 50 Herbert The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London I 115; GL Ms 15333/1 245
- 51 For example the Mercers - MAC 1527-60 239 and Goldsmiths - Goldsmiths' minutes 1547-57 102. Stow remarked that the companies had been forced to sell their lands 'far cheaper' than they were worth in order to realise the required liquid capital - Stow Annales 1020
- 52 For example the Vintners - GL Ms 15333/1 271. The Grocers sold land worth L1266 - including two manors which were acquired, significantly, by Lord Rich, the Lord Chancellor - GL Ms 11571/1 343v,344
- 53 Bakers 1548-9 -L9 2s; Butchers 1547-8 -L13 7s 3d; 1548-9 - 12s 9d; Coopers 1550-1 -20s 10d; Vintners 1552-4 -L51 7s 5d 1554-6 -L45 13s 3d; Clothworkers 1550-1 -L71 8s (first warden -L79 14s 1d; reuter warden + L8 6s 1d) - GL Mss 5174/2;6440/1;5606/1;15333/1; Clothworkers' wardens' accounts 1520-58 48-9 (All rounded to the nearest penny)
- 54 The Clothworkers, for example, were forced to abandon their general dinners for a period, thus threatening further the sense of communal spirit - T Girtin The Golden Ram: A Narrative History of the Clothworkers' Company, 1528-1958 1958 29. For the importance of communal feasting see Archer The Pursuit of Stability 116-18

- 55 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 120-4; W K Jordan The Charities of London, 1480-1660: the Aspirations and Achievements of the Urban Society 1960 135-41. There has been some revision of Jordan's original work - see Archer loc. cit. and W G Bittle and R T Lane 'Inflation and Philanthropy in England: a Reassessment of W K Jordan's Data' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 29 1976 203-10
- 56 In 1878, in anticipation of a Royal Commission enquiry into the application of their charitable funds, many livery companies combined with the Corporation to set up the City and Guilds of London Institute - C M Clubb 'The Archives of the City and Guilds of London Institute' Journal of the Society of Archivists 8 1986 124-6; and G D Ramsay 'Victorian Historiography and the Guilds of London: the Report of the Royal Commission on the Livery Companies of London 1884' London Journal 10 1984 155-66
- 57 Unwin The Gilds and Companies of London 210
- 58 Rep 12i 142,163; C33/11 112v. Compare APC 1550-2 238
- 59 Rep 12ii 354; Rep 12i 334; Rep 13i 43v-9,61
- 60 See above p 210
- 61 Rep 13i 259
- 62 Rep 13i 43v-4
- 63 After the destruction of the original hall in Bishopsgate, a new hall was purchased in Broad lane, Vintry ward - Stow Survey I 240,170-1; Adams The Parish Clerks of London 29-30
- 64 KB29/189 m18 (Hilary 2&3 Philip and Mary); KB27/1179 m7 (Trinity 2&3 Philip and Mary)
- 65 Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 15
- 66 Beer 'London and the Rebellions' *passim* and see above pp 292-5
- 67 Brigden London and the Reformation 494
- 68 See above p 189. Fletcher emphasises economic factors in discussing the involvement of Norwich in the 1549 rebellion - Fletcher Tudor Rebellions 76
- 69 Fletcher Tudor Rebellions 76
- 70 Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 33
- 71 Jo 16 36v-37
- 72 Rep 12 151v
- 73 Those mustered in Moorfields, 11 October, were returned home as redundant on Somerset's prior surrender - Beer 'London

and the Rebellions' 37

- 74 Edmund Wolfe, one of the privy chamber, was dispatched to take charge of the Tower for Somerset was unable to gain access because it had already been manned by Council supporters - A J A Malkiewicz 'An Eye Witness's Account of the Coup D'etat of October 1549' English History Review 70 1955 606

As the Spanish Ambassador pointed out in 1554, 'if the Tower is lost London is lost' - CSP Sp 1554 152

- 75 Malkiewicz 'An Eye Witness's Account' 606
- 76 Grafton's Chronicle II 523-4; APC 1547-50 343; Jordan Threshold 32; and Young King 519-21
- 77 For example, Jordan Young King 416-38.

This view of the events leading up to the coup has since been disputed - see J Berkman 'Van der Delft's letter: a reappraisal of the attack on Protector Somerset' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 53 1980 247-52. See also M L Bush 'Protector Somerset and Requests' Historical Journal 17 1974 451-64 and The Government Policy of Protector Somerset 77

- 78 Brigden London and the Reformation 490-500
- 79 Brigden London and the Reformation 490. Concerning the Council's concern for prices in the City in September 1549 - see above p 189
- 80 Plays and interludes were banned in the City in 1549 and other precautionary measures were taken for the maintenance of order there, before, during and after the rebellions - see above pp 292-5, 310-11
- 81 Council's letter to the City, 6 October - Jo 16 36
- 82 The construction of Somerset House involved the destruction of a number of London landmarks and the seizure of the contents of various recently dissolved religious institutions, including the library at Guildhall - Jordan Young King 498; Stow Survey I 275
- 83 Brigden London and the Reformation 496, 499, 491
- 84 Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 17. See Rep 12i 2
- 85 See above pp 85-6
- 86 Yorke had not served in the normal progression of company offices before standing for the shrievalty, and was, in any case, technically exempt from civic office, as an officer of the Royal Mint - C M Clode 'Memoir of Sir John Yorke' Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries 2nd ser. 13 1889-91 285, 297

- 87 For example, Cecil's request in favour of Philip Moryce LBk R 266 and see pp 379-91. For the argument against Somerset's supposed favour towards petitions from the poor see Bush 'Protector Somerset and Requests' 451-64
- 88 Rep 12i 2
- 89 A handbill was circulated in the name of 'Henry A', warning citizens against Somerset's opponents and reminding them of Merlin's prophecy that in London 'called Troy untruetwenty three Aldermen of hers shall lose their heads on one day. God grant to be shortly' - SP 10/9 12-14 - reminded of the danger of counter-revolution, even if the pamphlet was a fabrication - Brigden London and the Reformation 499
- 90 Jo 16 37,38v,39; LBk R 43; SP10/9 70; Brigden London and the Reformation 499
- 91 For an examination of Somerset's apparent popularity amongst the poor and youth in London - see Brigden 'Youth and the English Reformation' 47-8; Grey Friars' Chronicle 64.

Contemporary chroniclers stressed Somerset's popularity amongst the ordinary people, emphasising the popular distress expressed at Somerset's trial and execution see, for example, Wriothesley Chronicle II 65; Stow Annales 607; BL Harl 253 121v; Machyn Diary 14; Jordan Threshold of Power 92-105.

Certainly the civic authorities were concerned about the public reaction to Somerset's arrest, trial and execution, taking security measures to prevent disorder on these occasions - see pp 295-6. In October 1551, the Mercers' wardens ordered that none should discuss Somerset's captivity, on instruction from the Lord Mayor - MAC 1527-60 251.

- 92 Jo 16 36-37. See also Jordan Young King 510
- 93 LBk R 43v; APC 1547-50 336
- 94 Brigden London and the Reformation *passim*
- 95 Beer Northumberland 13-18,20,28-33,62-4. Northumberland had, for example, played a leading role in the suppression of the rebellions in East Anglia in 1549 Ibid 82-6
- 96 APC 1547-50 333,337; Grafton's Chronicle II 522
- 97 APC 1547-50 330-2
- 98 APC 1547-50 332,336; Grafton's Chronicle II 522-3. There is no evidence in the Journal of Common Council to indicate the presence of Councillors at the meeting of 6 October. However, it may be that the fact was deliberately omitted from the civic records to disguise the degree of influence exerted by the Council

- 99 Rep 12i 151v; APC 1547-50 331-2. The key role played by Yorke in the coup has been noted by Beer 'London and the Rebellions' 37 and Brigden London and the Reformation 500. Significantly, Warwick also went to Yorke's house in January 1550 'to have the City on his side'- CSP Sp 1550-2 13
- 100 Jordan Young King 510; F G Emmison 'Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and at Home 1961 75-6; SP10/9 30-1,41,42
- 101 In February 1550 he was granted gift by the Corporation for past and future favours to the City - Rep 12i 194,197 and see below pp 388-9
- 102 The Spanish ambassador commented on the unpopularity of Northumberland and Yorke in 1551 - CSP Sp 1550-2 279
- 103 19 out of the 26 Aldermen in 1553 had been members of the Court of Aldermen in 1549 i.e. 73% - Beaven Aldermen I passim
- 104 Brigden London and the Reformation 525
- 105 Stow Annales 609-10; Wriothesley Chronicle II 85; Chronicle of Queen Jane 2, 115-121; Jordan Threshold 520; Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials III ptI 5
- 106 Including Sir George Barne, Sir John Gresham, Sir Andrew Judde, Thomas Offley, Augustine Hynde and Richard Dobbes - Sharpe London and the Kingdom I 453-4; Chronicle of Queen Jane 91-100
- 107 [Jones] The Corporation of London 23
- 108 See below pp 399-400
- 109 Chronicle of Queen Jane 8
- 110 Rep 13i 65v; Grey Friars Chronicle 79; Machyn Diary 35-6; Wriothesley Chronicle II 86-7; Drapers' minutes 1552-7 15; Brigden London and the Reformation 520-1
- Gilbert Potter, vintner, was subsequently to be rewarded by Mary for his courageous stand, with the gift of lands in Norfolk - CPR 1553-4 168
- 111 Northumberland was apparently aware of the political dangers of leaving the capital - Chronicle of Queen Jane 6
- 112 On 10 June , Aldermen Jervis, presumably fearing the imminent death of Edward VI had pleaded to be excused from serving his turn as Mayor 'unt[il] the world be better established ' - MAC 1527-60 261-261v - cited Brigden London and the Reformation 523. See also Rep 13i 65v and Jo 16 254v,261
- 113 CSP Sp 1553 87,89. Noailles and the recently arrived Imperial Ambassador were convinced, by Northumberland's possession of the instruments of force, that he would triumph - E H Harbison Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary Princeton, New Jersey 1940 47

- 114 For example, BL Harl 353 139 - reproduced in Chronicle of Queen Jane 11
- 115 Rep 13i 65v-66; cited Brigden London and the Reformation 526-7
- 116 CSP Sp 1553 169-70,184
- 117 Fletcher estimates that 45 Londoners out of 76 convicted were executed in contrast to the more lenient treatment of Kentish men. Fewer than 30 out of 350 Kentish men indicted were executed. Fletcher Tudor Rebellions 85. But see below n 139-41 concerning numbers of those indicted. Brigden also emphasises the harshness of the treatment meted out to the London rebels - London and the Reformation 547.
- 118 Machyn Diary 54-5,65
- 119 Brigden London and the Reformation 546. The Spanish Ambassador commented - 'Many people here are well aware of the Londoners' dissatisfaction about Parliament being held elsewhere' - CSP Sp 1554 152
- 120 See above pp 302-3
- 121 In contrast to the threat to the City liberties in August 1553 - APC 1552-4 319. See below p 354
- 122 On 22 February the Lord Mayor and certain Aldermen were assigned to *meet the Lord Chancellor 'to know his Lord's advice whether he think it good that they shall move the whole Council in the City's behalf for the holding of the Parliament here if it may be obtained'*. Yet, five days later it was 'absolutely agreed' by the Court of Aldermen that the order taken at the last court 'for the moving of the Chancellor' concerning the Parliament 'shall utterly cease and nothing be done further therein' - Rep 13i 127,128v. Although it is tempting to conclude from the intense nature of the wording that the Court had been instructed by central government to cease its campaign, there is no evidence for this. However, it would seem to belie the interpretation that 'only embassies from the Mayor and Aldermen prevented this dishonour to the City' - Brigden London and the Reformation 546. The Pewterers assumed, on 26 February, that Parliament might be held in Oxford, and made provision accordingly - GL Ms 7090/1 24v
- Practical considerations might have prompted the decision to hold Parliament in London - the Spanish Ambassador pointed out that Oxford was unable to feed or house so many - CSP Sp 1554 125,133.
- 123 See above pp 66-73
- 124 Bod Rawl 102 84
- 125 Rep 13 i 121; Machyn Diary 52-3; CSP Sp 1554 79; Pollard Tudor Tracts, 1532-88 239-40; Grafton's Chronicle II 539-40; Bod Rawl B 102 84v; Grey Friars' Chronicle 86;

- Wriothesley Chronicle II 108-9; Brigden London and the Reformation 540-1; Loades Two Tudor Conspiracies 66-7
- 126 Compare Mary's apparent ingratitude to the Protestant Gentlemen Pensioners, Underhill for example claiming that 'none of us got anything, although she was very liberal to many others that were enemies to God's word' Narratives of the Reformation 163-8 quoted Brigden London and the Reformation 546
- 127 Loades Two Tudor Conspiracies 15; KB27/1174
- 128 Chronicle of Queen Jane 34. See also the Spanish ambassador's comments about the hostility to restoration of the mass in London and to the Spanish marriage - CSP Sp 1553 169, 187-8; CSP Sp 1554 31
- 129 APC 1552-4 319
- 130 Jo 16 251v-2; Rep 13i 71v-72 ; Wriothesley Chronicle II 98-9; APC 1552-4 319; Brigden London and the Reformation 259
- 131 On 25 January, Southwell wrote to the Council: 'it is thought no good policy to suffer him to come near unto London where it is thought there is expectation of meeting by friends' - SP 11/2 33. Quoted Brigden London and the Reformation 539
- 132 Chronicle of Queen Jane 38-9
- 133 For detailed coverage of the course of the rebellion see contemporary accounts -e.g. Bod Rawl B102 82-84v; Chronicle of Queen Jane 36-51; Machyn Diary 52-6 - and modern commentaries e.g. Loades Two Tudor Conspiracies; Fletcher Tudor Rebellions 78-90; Brigden London and the Reformation 534-45
- 134 Rep 13i 116-116v; see also above pp 298-301
- 135 Grafton's Chronicle II 541 - quoted Brigden London and the Reformation 539
- 136 Chronicle of Queen Jane 39; GL Mss 5174/2 42v; 16988/2 62; 15333/1 187v
- 137 Loach also emphasises the identification of interests between central government and the property owning 'classes' 'based on mutual need and on fear of social instability', which overrode considerations of policy - Loach 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament, 1553-8' v
- Although the Spanish Ambassador had pointed out that the Mayor, Thomas White, was a loyal Catholic - CSP Sp 1553 331- it is likely that considerations of order and security rather than religion dictated the actions of the Corporation
- 138 See above n2
- 139 Brigden London and the Reformation 547. Using principally the

- King's bench indictment rolls (KB8), Brigden identifies, in addition to the leaders, 6 gentlemen, 14 yeomen and 35 'mostly lowly trades'. Of these, seven could be identified in the freedom admission lists of 1551-3 (see n141)
- 140 See cp5 n181; Brigden London and the Reformation 547. For lists of those convicted, with their occupations, see the King's Bench controlment rolls - KB 29/187 m12d,19,31,32,33, 43d; KB 29/188 58,59
- 141 The only surviving city freedom records at this period are two fragments of a freedom admission register which span between them 1551-3 - GL Ms 512 (recently transferred to CLRO) & BL Egerton 2408. To be able to identify in these as many as seven out of the thirty five tradesmen convicted suggests a high proportion of freemen among the rebels - see above n139
- 142 For details of the Throckmorton trial see contemporary accounts (e.g. Bod Rawl C408) and modern commentaries, in particular, Loach 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament' 325-30; and Parliament and the Crown 227-8
- 143 Concerning the jurors see Brigden London and the Reformation 552-4; concerning Lucar see above p 35; concerning the Calthorp family members involved in insurance see Appendix 3.2
- 144 Bod Rawl C408. My underlining
- 145 Brigden London and the Reformation 552-4
- 146 Grafton's Chronicle II 547
- 147 Rep 13i 184v,186v,187v,190v
- 148 The Queen felt it necessary to declare her intention of marrying Philip directly to the Mayor and Aldermen, in January 1554 - CSP Sp 1554 31; Machyn Diary 51. Although the news was accepted meekly by the deputation, it was not well received by a number of London merchants, nor by the Italians :
- The Florentine, Genoese and Venetian merchants, as well as several merchants of London, have murmured, declaring that it would mean their ruin (CSP Sp 1554 31)*
- 149 Concerning Philip's entry see below pp 401-3. A new ceremonial sword was purchased by the City for the occasion - see n5. Concerning the *Te Deum* see Machyn Diary 76; Wriothesley Chronicle II 123-4; Loach 'Opposition to the Crown in Parliament' 117
- 150 Brigden London and the Reformation 548-58
- 151 Drapers' minutes 1552-4 62. Quoted Brigden London and the Reformation 555

152 Drapers' minutes 1552-4 62. Concerning the garrison see
above pp 301-2

153 See below p 401

154 MAC 1527-60 261-261v

CHAPTER SEVEN : PATRONAGE AND PAGEANTRY

PART ONE : PATRONAGE AND INFLUENCE

1. Links between courtiers and citizens

It is difficult to trace the networks of patronage and influence which connected those at Court with those prominent in the City. Willan, Ramsay and Bridgen have contributed to our knowledge of these relationships in sixteenth century London, whilst Horrox has emphasised the importance of royal favour to English towns in the late middle ages (1). This chapter aims to explore the subject further, although its results are limited by the paucity of written evidence.

The residence of a many prominent courtiers and royal officials in the City and its suburbs, because of its proximity to the seat of government, must have endowed them with an interest in civic issues and some sense of community with other London inhabitants. Notable among these were Sir William Petre (Principal Secretary from 1543 to 1557), and his colleague, Peter Osborne (Keeper of Privy Purse from 1552 and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer from 1553), who were both involved with London's role as a financial centre (2), and resided in the City on a regular basis. Petre leased and subsequently bought and enlarged a house in Aldersgate Street, as well as purchasing monastic land in Essex, whilst Osborne had a house in Wood street and was to be buried in the City, in St Faith under St Paul (3).

Several other members of the Privy Council and royal office

holders had town houses within the city walls. William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester (Great Master of the Household, 1545-50, and Lord Treasurer, 1550-1572) acquired a house in Austin Friars (4), whilst in 1549 the Earl of Arundel obtained a messuage in the parish of St Olave, Mark lane, confiscated from Sir William Sharrington, and a messuage in Botolph lane (5), although he did not necessarily use either of them as a residence. Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, resided in the great mansion of Baynards Castle, which acted as a key venue in the events of 1553 (6), and it is possible that Thomas Smith (Principal Secretary, 1548-9) owned property near Bridewell: in 1549, a complaint was made about the dunghill created by his servants near the Emperor's Ambassadors' lodging in Bridewell (7). Sir Richard Sackville owned a house near the conduit in Fleet street, which was used, in 1554, to lodge two overseas visitors to the capital, Monsieur Curryor and Chancellor Nigro (8). Sir William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, contributed to the subsidy of 1559 in relation to property which he owned in St Katherine's Creechurch parish, Aldgate ward, as did Sir Walter Mildmay from fees in Tower Ward (9). Mildmay lived in a house in Bartholomew Close in the parish of St Bartholomew the Great, when not in Northamptonshire, alongside a number of fellow officials from the Court of Augmentations, including Lord Rich, Sir Edward North, Sir John Williams and Thomas Burgoyne. Indeed, Petre's garden and stables adjoined Mildmay's house and land owned by Rich, who allowed Petre, out of friendship, to lay a lead pipe under a wall to convey water to his house (10).

Other financial and legal officials also owned property in the City. The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer obtained a lease of

a house on London Bridge in 1550 and Sir Richard Southwell, Master of the Rolls, purchased property in St Dunstan Fleet street parish (11). In 1551, William Thorpe, Groom of the Privy Chamber was granted the remainder of a lease of a messuage called Shales Inn, in Vintry ward, confiscated from a Londoner who had fled to Louvain in Flanders, whilst Thomas Egerton, one of the Undertreasurers of the Mint, who was imprisoned in 1556 for fraud, paid his fine largely from the sale of his house in London (12). Adjacent to the City, in Holborn, lived John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, in Ely place and Lincoln's place respectively (13). Property, in particular ex-monastic and ex-chantry land, was also purchased by a number of courtiers in nearby Middlesex, whilst others lived in Southwark, formally part of the City from 1551 (14). Although the residence of courtiers and royal officials in the City might have been seen as a burden on the other citizens, since they were generally exempt from civic and parish office and usually contributed to royal subsidies elsewhere, the advantages of their presence was clearly acknowledged by the City Corporation. An Act of Common Council, in 1554, to enforce all inhabitants to contribute to charges in the capital ended with the proviso that 'nothing shall extend or be prejudicial to any of the Queen's Council or Lords of the Parliament that shall inhabit or keep any house in the liberties' (15).

These physical links with the City were reinforced in some cases by grants of citizenship and livery company membership and by ties of kinship and marriage. Those admitted to the honorary freedom of the Mercers' company at this period included Sir Thomas Sackville, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations (1549)

and Sir John Gage (1553). In Elizabeth's reign, these were joined by the Queen's Solicitor (1559), the Earl of Bedford (1562), Lord William Cobham (1571), Sir James Crofts (1571), Sir Robert Dudley (1562), Sir Walter Mildmay (1573) and the Earl of Pembroke (1562) (16). The Cofferer of the Household was also made free, in the Fishmongers' company (1556), and one of the servants of the 'vestry', in the Grocers' company (17). The importance of family ties between courtiers and civic dignitaries has been pointed out by Ramsay and Willan (18). The most significant of these were William Paulet's marriage to the daughter of a former Lord Mayor, Sir William Capel (19); Sir John Thynne's marriage to the daughter of Sir Richard Gresham and subsequently to the daughter of Sir William Wroughton (20); Sir Richard Sackville's marriage to the daughter of Sir John Bruges, who subsequently became the second wife of Paulet (21); and Sir Francis Walsingham's marriage to the daughter of a Lord Mayor (22). Sir Nicholas Bacon's brothers' involvement in business in the City has also been cited by Ramsay to illustrate the point (23).

Willan points out another type of link between founder members of the Russia company, who, as has been noted (24), included both courtiers and citizens in their ranks. Citing examples of bequests in wills to fellow members, he concludes that 'even if these circles intersected rather than coincided, they suggest a considerable group of members bound together by real if intangible ties of common friendship' (25). This view seems to be reinforced by other connections between courtiers and citizens, of trusteeship, marriage settlement and property ownership. In January 1549, for example, Roland Hill and Robert Kelewaye (Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries) were licensed to

hold the manor of Monkesham to the use of Sir John Thynne and his wife to be, Christiana Gresham (26). Sir William Petre acted as trustee for uses for William Wilde of London, Merchant Taylor, whilst the brother of Lord Rich, the Lord Chancellor, was granted the wardship and marriage of the children of Sir Ralph Warren, in the event of the latter's death (27). Sir William Cecil witnessed one of Giles Isham's obligations, and Warren and Broke acted as witnesses for the Earl of Oxford's recognisance to the Duke of Somerset (28).

Business and property transfer also brought courtiers and prominent citizens into personal contact, however superficially. A number of courtiers, including Sir James Croftes, Thomas Lord Darcy, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir William Paget, obtained import or export licences and were apparently active in overseas trade through the City (29). Examples of conveyancing include Paget's sale to John Machell, citizen and clothworker, of lands in Lancashire, Cornwall and elsewhere in 1547; Sir Richard Gresham's grant of land to Sir John Thynne; Sir John Gresham's sale of land in Yorkshire to Sir John Yorke in 1552 and the Marquis of Dorset's purchase of property in Leicestershire from Sir Andrew Judde (30). Indeed, many of the leading City merchants must have made substantial profits from speculative buying and selling of ex-monastic and ex-chantry lands, presumably assisted in their initial purchase by their proximity to and contacts at court (31).

There were also official occasions for social and political interaction. It is noticeable that the deputations of citizens periodically sent by the Court of Aldermen to the Court and

Council were restricted to a small coterie of prominent Aldermen, usually former Lord Mayors (32), who must have become familiar faces at Court. Prominent citizens also came into contact with courtiers as fellow Commissioners, both on subsidy and *ad hoc* Royal Commissions. This probably accounts for some of the Aldermen being charged in the 'Council book' for the 1548 levy of horses and demi-lances, rather than in the London assessment (33). The Council dined on occasion at the Guildhall (34) and at the houses of several Londoners during their terms of office, including those of the two of the sheriffs, Sir John Yorke and Richard Turke (35). The Mercers invited the King to dine at their hall in 1548, an invitation which he appears to have declined (36). The citizens also played an important role in the Court's Christmas festivities of 1552 and 1553, which will be described below (37).

Evidence of more intimate relationships between Aldermen and courtiers survives only in rare instances. It is known, for example, from 'the chance survival of an account-book' that Sir William Garrarde was a personal friend of Petre's (38). More notorious were the close alliances between Sir John Thynne, a prominent Londoner, and the Duke of Somerset, which resulted in Thynne's imprisonment in the Tower in 1549 and 1551 (39), and between Sir John Yorke and the Duke of Northumberland (40). Thomas Gresham and the Marquis of Winchester were in frequent communication in servicing the royal debt and on other financial matters, including foreign exchange (41). However, there is no direct evidence of a personal friendship (42). Similarly, the significance of Cecil's relationship with John Marsh, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers has been noted, but remain difficult to

qualify (43).

2. Favours

The links between Court and City were reinforced by the network of patronage, which was of mutual benefit. The City had long acted as a useful source of favours for the Crown, to augment its own supply of offices and honours. The pressure on the monarch to win and reward supporters was constant and demands had to be addressed in order to maintain political control in the Kingdom (44). By approaching the City Corporation, livery companies and individual civic officer-holders for grants of office and city and company freedoms, the monarch was often able to satisfy the wishes of its adherents outside its own resources. However, in its eagerness to exploit this additional patronage source, the Crown on some occasions sought to bestow civic favours by royal prerogative, treating them as its own and omitting to go through the correct channels. This practice, particularly common in Henry VIII's reign, was bound to lead to friction between City and Crown. As well as the monarch, courtiers and Privy Councillors sought civic privileges and offices for their own supporters and servants. In return for favours granted, the Mayor, Aldermen or individual citizens periodically approached Court and Council seeking licences, positions or other gifts for individuals or groups of citizens. This section will examine the frequency and success rate of such requests from both sides in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary (45) and attempt to assess the importance of patronage in the wider relationship between Crown and City.

a. *Court : favours from City*

The most common request for favours made by the Court to the Corporation was for entry for individuals to the freedom of the City, generally on advantageous terms (46). During this period at least seventy-six such requests were received from Crown and courtiers (47). The success rate was high - only three of these seem to have met with refusal (48) - which is perhaps not surprising since freedom admission was a favour which could be granted by the City at no cost to the Corporation (49) and with little challenge to vested interests. The only reason for friction was the Crown's periodic attempt to claim the privilege of granting entry to the freedom by royal prerogative (50). However, once Edward VI had been reminded, on at least two occasions in 1550, that he had no such right, the freedom was granted to his chosen nominee (51). Unlike his father, Edward seems to have been content thereafter to relinquish any such claim in his future requests for citizenship, and Mary is not recorded as having claimed the freedom by prerogative during her reign. Indeed, the City showed itself anxious to grant her servant, Thomas Dove, favourable admission to the freedom in 1553 in order 'to gratify her highness in this her first request' (52), no doubt to make up some of the political goodwill lost by their support for Queen Jane in the recent succession crisis.

The pursuit of civic offices, or the reversion thereof, left more room for controversy and friction. On the thirty-eight separate occasions that can be identified in this period when civic positions were sought by Crown and courtiers for their followers or servants, only twelve requests were definitely conceded, eight

were granted the Court of Aldermen's 'reasonable favour' and at least ten were refused (53). The fate of the remainder is not clear from the records and there may have been additional requests that were not recorded at all. Of the unsuccessful ones, some were turned down on the grounds of previous grant, and some out of principle. There was a limited pool of such offices and reversions, and a large number of suitors for them. The Corporation itself wished to maintain the political advantage of its own patronage network, without having to harness it to the wishes of the Crown (54). Moreover, the question of the right to present to certain posts had never been resolved, and the Crown's demands not infrequently revived latent patronage disputes between Corporation, livery companies and individuals.

An example of this, which comes from a little beyond our period, in 1561, but which illustrates the points at issue, involved the civic office of the metership of linen cloth, to the appointment of which the Mercers' company laid claim. When the post became vacant in 1561, on the illness of the occupant, the Court of Aldermen assumed the right of presentation. According to the account of the incident in the Mercers' court minutes, the Mayor, Sir William Chester, claimed 'the gift and property of the same to be only in them [the Mayor and Aldermen] and not in this fellowship by an Act of Common Council very late made for the same office and other offices in the City, to be only in the gift of the Lord Mayor and the Brethren and none other'(55). The Mercers, however, insisted that the nomination of the office, and its appointment and correction, lay with them and that, significantly, when the post had previously become void, the King's letters for the same room had been directed to them.

Indeed, William Blackendale, one of the clerks of the King's spicery and free of the Drapers' company, and Roger Younge, haberdasher, had both renounced their former companies to become mercers to enjoy the office (56). The court of assistants therefore resolved to appoint Jerome Mosseley, mercer, to the post in 1561 and to present him in customary manner to the Mayor and Aldermen, with documentary evidence of the length of time that the company had enjoyed the gift of the metership. However, 'this prevailed nothing at all, for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen gave the same room to John Gonne, salter, which was never so done heretofore' (57). Similar disputes periodically took place in the sixteenth century between the Grocers' company and the Corporation over the garbellorship of spices and common weighership (58). Such disputes were made more intense by the intervention of courtiers seeking posts for those who were generally not qualified by experience or freedom. Indeed, in May 1558, the Court of Aldermen itself moved that no-one should bear office in the City unless he be a freeman of the same (59). Fortunately for some office holders, the order was not retrospective.

Nevertheless, during this period, only two significant cases of friction between City and Court over civic office seem to occurred - in relation to Somerset's ally, Sir John Thynne, and to Thomas Norton. The first concerned the packership of strangers' goods and struck right at the heart of the City's dispute with the Crown over office - the prerogative claimed by the Crown to grant certain offices by letters patent (60). It appeared, in 1552, that Thynne claimed the post of the packership of London by royal patent. In that year, he was bound by

recognisance to the King to deliver this patent with all interest in it discharged to the King and to stand the fine laid down by the Privy Council (61). Although this may have been as part of a wider forfeiture of all his goods and offices, the existence of such letters patent had particular significance for the City.

In 1547, the King and Protector Somerset had written to the Corporation on Thynne's behalf for the said office, which was, indeed, granted to him by the Mayor and Aldermen with the consent of Common Council. However, there was an important proviso. Thynne must obtain the annulment of the earlier letters patent granted by Henry VIII to the previous office-holder, Roland Dee (62), and:

also find the means that neither the King nor the Lord Protector shall at any time write any such letters to this house for the same room or any other such like at the time of the vacation of the same or any other time and he shall also do the best he can that the King shall make his highness grant for the same to this City in writing under his signet and that Thynne shall surrender to this court his whole interest in the said office by reason of his grant in case he can lawfully cause the said Dee's grant to be avoided to the intent that the City shall grant again to him the whole office of packership for his life with all fees, profits and advantages ... (Rep 11 342-2v)

This method of obtaining the surrender of letters patent in order for the City to grant the office again by its own prerogative had been common in the reign of Henry VIII (63): it was designed to demonstrate the point that it was City's sole right to appoint to civic office.

Meanwhile, Thynne was admitted to the freedom of the City by redemption in the Mercers' company, laying down L6 13s 4d which was immediately returned to him. He then acknowledged that his grant of the office would be only by grant of Common Council, by

an indenture to be given to him by the City Chamberlain 'and by no other means or title'(64). He also agreed to set his hand to the draft of the 'grant to be made by Mr Thynne's promise to this City by the King's Majesty under his grace's signet for not soliciting or moving from henceforth the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commoners for the giving of the office of packership or any other like and also the Act of the Court here concerning the said promise' (65). However, it appears from the Acts of the Privy Council, that Thynne did subsequently lay claim to the office by royal letters patent (66), although no evidence has been found of their issue in the Calendars of Patent Rolls. It is interesting that when, in 1550, a subsequent request was received from Edward VI for the packership to be granted to Edward Lewkenor, gentleman, it was turned down flatly, on the grounds that the office had already been given 'for the use of the poor' (67).

Another incident connected to the surrender of letters patent involved Thomas Norton, grocer (68). He had been awarded the common garbellorship of spices by a patent of Henry VIII, and enlisted the Duke of Somerset's support in attempting to have the office guaranteed to him for forty years. He also tried to obtain a bill to this to effect in Parliament (69). This raised again the issue of the right to nominate to civic office. The Court of Aldermen tried to solve the problem by insisting, in December 1547, on the withdrawal of the Parliamentary bill and, in July 1548, on the surrender of Henry's letters patent, whilst offering the office back to Norton for life. However, the matter remained unresolved a year later, when the Duke of Somerset wrote again in Norton's favour (70).

Also at issue during this period was the measurage or metership of linen cloths. This office had been granted to Mr Godsalve, Clerk of the Signet, some time before October 1548, when Thomas Colsell, mercer, petitioned the Corporation for it. Aldermen Warren and Bowes were delegated to visit Godsalve, 'who occupies the same and attempt to restore it again to the City' before answer could be made to the petition. Frustratingly, the outcome of this negotiation is not recorded (71). In contrast, William Dowley, the King's servant, who had obtained a grant of the measurage of grain, salt and coal on the Thames under Henry VIII's letters patent was prepared 'freely' to surrender the said letters in return for an annuity of five marks of the 'free gift' of the City and admission to the city freedom *gratis*, at the 'contemplation' of the Council's petition in his favour (72)

Other posts sought by Edward VI included the keepership of the Compters (73), the reversion of the portership of the Bridgehouse (74) and the office of City Chamberlain (75). Mary, as Princess, unsuccessfully requested the saltmetership in 1547 (76) and, as Queen, two other meterships in 1554 (77). Her choice of Ralph Cholmeley for Recorder the same year was awarded 'reasonable favour' by the Court, and proved successful, albeit not necessarily because he was her nominee (78). Her request for William Damsell to be relieved from the shrievalty was received with some concern: the Council were to be 'moved on the City's behalf', presumably about the inconvenience which this would cause (79). Nevertheless, after the Thynne episode, it is noticeable that none of the King's or Queen's interventions gave rise to questions of principle, in contrast to the continuing frictions over civic office in Henry VIII's reign (80). It is

likely that the monarch's enhanced need of the City's support at this period, both politically and financially, made Edward and Mary more wary of challenging the City's rulers over nomination rights than their father had been.

Royal courtiers also sought offices for their supporters and other favours including leases, monopolies, licences to trade, access to the water supply and discharge from civic duties, for themselves and their adherents. Most prominent among these suitors were Protector Somerset and William Paulet, as Lord St John and subsequently as Marquis of Winchester. Some were more successful in obtaining favours than others and it is interesting to speculate whether their success rate reflected their 'popularity' with the City rulers. Yet other factors, such as genuine inability to grant a favour because of a previous grant, or a matter of principle over right to nomination, might prove decisive in a refusal of a request. On the reverse side, willingness to comply might reflect more a wish to increase influence at court than a genuine desire to oblige. However, with these caveats, it is possible to gain some idea of which courtiers the City rulers seem to have been particularly anxious to accommodate, and which were less favourably treated, by an examination of the circumstances in which the request was accepted or refused. 'Popularity' with the Aldermen does not seem necessarily to have coincided with the success rate.

William Cecil, for example, was not very successful in obtaining favours at this time (82). He made four known requests during this period, in 1552 and 1553: for a car-room for William Sherbourne, barber-surgeon; for the office of attorney in the

sheriffs' court for Thomas Cesyll; for the enrolment of the City's charters by Mr Nelson; and for a monopoly for Philip Morrice to make inventories of all freemen's goods after their deaths (83). Of these, only the first was granted. Yet it would be unwise to conclude that Cecil was therefore out of favour with City's rulers. It seems that the second was denied because of several prior grants of reversions of the office and the third because the contract had been issued elsewhere. Indeed, a consolation gift of five marks was offered to Nelson for the sake of Mr Cecil and Mistress Clarentius who had written on his behalf, which he refused to accept, presumably out of pique. Only the last request was 'utterly denied'. However, this refusal was no doubt attributable to its unorthodox nature and effects on the vested interests of others. It is clear, both from the City's need of his patronage (84) and from evidence in the reign of Elizabeth I (85), that Cecil built up close connections with the City, in which there is no evidence of personal or other animosity.

In contrast to Cecil, William Paulet, Great Master of the Household, 1545-50, and Lord Treasurer, 1550-72, was relatively successful in obtaining favours from the City at this period. His letters on behalf of seven of his employees, including his secretary, his carpenter, his cook, his chaplain and several servants, to be admitted to the freedom on favourable terms all received a positive response, as did his requests for leases, including one for his brother, for a repair grant and for the loan of the City's mould of a great water pipe (86). Only his sponsorship of Thomas Bacon, brother of Nicholas Bacon, for the office of City Chamberlain in 1550, met with failure (87). It may

be that Paulet was successful because the requests that he was making were easy to grant, without affecting vested interests. However, his connections with the City were reasonably close, at least in terms of residence there and of a common interest in high finance. It is unlikely to be mere rhetoric that prompted the Corporation to record in the Repertories that one such suit, in 1548, had been agreed at the request of 'the right honorable and singular good lord to this City' (88).

The frequency of Paulet's demands on the City were rivalled only by those of the Duke of Somerset, both during his period of office as Lord Protector and subsequently. Again, he was reasonably successful. Of eight requests for the freedom, seven were accepted and the other was to be referred to the Chamberlain on a technicality (89). It is notable that, unusually, half of these were to be by apprenticeship rather than redemption (90). He also promoted candidates for the offices of Bridgemaster, Garbellor, Keeper of Ludgate and Secondary of one of the Compters (91). Of these requests, the last achieved its aim - the others were all respited and their outcome could not be traced (92). Various other requests, for leases, for a water supply to his house in the Strand, and for favours for individual suitors were either successful or respited by the Court (93). There is no evidence of a definite refusal by the City of any favour required by Somerset, except his suit for Yorke's dismissal from the shrievalty (94); nor is there any indication of annoyance by the City at the nature or number of such requests, although it is arguable that they were unusual in their social bias (95). It is interesting to note that his wife made her own appeal to the Corporation in 1548, on behalf of certain diseased watermen, for

their admittance to the house of the poor (96).

John Dudley, as Earl of Warwick, seems to have had considerable success in courting the goodwill of the City's rulers. In February 1550, he was given a gift of 'two goodly gilt pots' worth between fifty marks and fifty pounds 'for the good will, favour and goodness' that he had 'always hitherto borne and showed to this city in their affairs and that this court trusteth that his lordship will hereafter bear and show to the same' (97). His part in winning the City's rulers to support him in the coup of the previous year has already been mentioned, together with his friendship with Sir John Yorke, and the subsequent unpopularity of both (98). Interestingly, Dudley did not ask many personal favours of the City during his regency. Only two requests for the freedom are recorded in the Repertories, in 1551 and 1552 (99). Both were successful, but, significantly, the admission of the second person to the City's liberties was to be stayed by the Chamberlain 'until he give certain knowledge to the Lord Mayor that he caused the Duke [Northumberland] to understand the favour herein to him showed for their sakes' (100). This message does appear to have been conveyed to the Duke, who, a few days later, wrote to the Court of Aldermen 'giving of thanks for the favour showed by this court for his grace's sake to Thomas Cicell' (101). Whilst the outcome of Northumberland's letter at this time on behalf of John Wrothe, gentleman, for a lease, is not known (102), it is noteworthy that, when the Duke came to the City in September of that year, several leading civic dignitaries - Mr Amcots, Mr Hill, Mr Barne and the Recorder - were instructed to repair to him and 'to salute him in the name of this house and the whole city' (103). The practice of welcoming important

visitors to the City was not unprecedented. However, the apparent warmth of this welcome was unusual. Although circumstances had obviously changed between September 1552 and August 1553, when he was executed, the clear evidence of Dudley's earlier success in winning the favour of the City's rulers belies the oft conveyed impression of his general unpopularity in the City before this date (104).

Northumberland's wife, like Somerset's, applied to the City governors for an act of mercy: in this case to secure the release of Swayne, a vintner, from prison, in conjunction with letters from Lord Darcy and the Archbishop of Canterbury (105). Unfortunately, the fate of the prisoner is not revealed. Her husband also appealed for fair play in a largely domestic matter - he complained to the Court of Aldermen, in 1552, against Thomas Chapell, Merchant Taylor, who he claimed had supplied him with short measure in the 'costly and rich stuff' with which he had made some beds for the Duke (106). The culprit was duly placed in the stocks at Leadenhall.

The Privy Councillors en groupe, as well as individually, were moderately successful with their requests. Of the four men promoted for the freedom, two were definitely accepted, one only after respite (107). The fate of the other two is unrecorded (108). Although Jervys' suit for his discharge from the mayoralty was heard before the Privy Council, the Court of Aldermen 'would in no wise agree thereunto' (109), and the Council's request, in 1556, for George Holland, Barber-surgeon, to be made one of the Bridgemasters, was referred to Common Council (110).

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had reasonable success in approaching the Corporation - two requests for the freedom and one for a licence to assign were accepted, whilst suits for the reversion of the yeomanry of the waterside for his servant and 'for some benefit' for Sir George Howard were turned down, if only after an apology (111). Apparently the yeomanry of the waterside had already been given by ancient order to officers in the Lord Mayor's household (112), and the Corporation was unable to grant any favour to Howard because 'at this present the city is so sore burdened with manifold charges concerning their weighty affairs that they are not able to accomplish his lordships request wherefore they are right sorry' (113)

Arundel found similar favour for his suits (114). Others seeking office, leases and freedom from the City for their servants and proteges included Mistress Clarentius (115); the Earl of Derby (116); the Marquis of Dorset (117); Sir John Gage, Chamberlain of the Household (118); Lord Montague (119); Sir Edward North, Lord North (120); the Marquis of Northampton (121); Peter Osborne (122); Lord Paget (123); Lord Rich, Chancellor (124); Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller of the Household (125); the Earl of Rutland (126); the Duke of Suffolk (127); Sir Anthony Wingfield, Comptroller of the Household (128); the Master of the Rolls (129); the Lord Admiral (130); the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (131); Robert Broke, former City Recorder, as the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas (132); the Clerk to the Star Chamber (133); the Master of the Horse (134); Sir Anthony Darcy, Lord Lieutenant of the Tower (135); and the Constable of the Tower (136).

Of these, only Lord Rich was noticeably unsuccessful. It seems that he tended to approach the City establishment through inappropriate channels - in 1547 he tried to obtain the freedom through the Lord Mayor's supposed 'prerogative', rather than through the Court of Aldermen as he should have done, and, in 1549, the Lord Mayor was instructed to talk with him about his request for freedom for one of his servants 'to stay him making any such claim if he can' (137). However, it would perhaps be unwise to deduce from this a definite sense of coolness towards him on the part of the civic rulers. Conversely, there is evidence of the City's desire for his support, as Chancellor (138).

In summary, it appears that despite the occasional refusal of the appointment to office or admission to the freedom or other privilege, the City Corporation attempted to accommodate the requests of monarch and courtiers wherever possible during this period. It is notable that, after his initial lack of tact in approaching the City for favours, Edward VI's later requests appear to have phrased in an more acceptable tone: nor did Mary's suits appear to have caused offence. It is significant that the main cases of dispute involved the surrender of letters patent issued by their less conciliatory father.

b.City : favours from Court

The reasons for the City's apparent willingness to grant such favours to the court are self-evident. The reciprocal benefits, of patronage and influence at Court, in Parliament, and in the Law Courts, made such accommodation worthwhile. These were

acknowledged in the gifts, both occasional and regular, to Crown, royal officials and individual courtiers. Examples include the coronation gifts to the Crown (139); new year's gifts to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Great Master and others of the Privy Council (140); the gift of a ton of wine to the Lord Chancellor (141); the grant of L6 13s 4d to the Attorney General in 1553 for his 'lawful favour' and the gift to the Queen's Solicitor and Attorney in 1555 (142); the hogshead of wine given to the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1553 for his favour and goodwill (143); and the reward to the Lord Admiral, Sir Edward Bray and Mr Palmer in 1554, for their pains in putting down the recent rebellion (144). Offerings were also given on a regular basis to Parliamentary officials, to ease the passage of City bills (145). There was nothing exceptional in this: contemporary custom made the practice both essential and commonplace (146).

Other, more direct, moves were made by the City authorities to obtain support and favours from the central government and advice was sought concerning a variety of civic problems, particularly from the Chancellor. His assistance and opinion were enlisted in November 1547, when the Lord Mayor and two Aldermen attended on him for his support for the City's causes (147) and he was given a ton of wine for his 'lawful favour' in the City's legal suit against John Vandernote (148). In 1552, he was moved for his assistance to secure the assurance of chantry lands (149). He was subsequently to be asked to help the Beerbrewers in their Parliamentary bill against strangers and the Vintners in their Parliamentary campaign (150); to ensure that Parliament be held in Westminster, rather than Oxford, in 1554 (151); to ascertain the Privy Council's opinion of the role of Common Council (152);

to discharge the City from raising two hundred soldiers and concerning the keeping of a garrison (153); to advise about the disobedience of Thomas Curtes and 'other weighty causes' (154); to resolve a probate dispute (155); to arbitrate in the variance between the City and the Lord Admiral (156); and to settle internal disputes concerning the shrievalty (157). In October 1557, the Lord Mayor, six Aldermen, the Recorder and Mr Southcote, a legal counsellor, attended on the Chancellor regarding an unspecified matter (158).

The Protector/regent was also approached directly on a number of occasions during Edward's minority (159), although it appears to have been more common for the Corporation to appeal to the Privy Council with regard to the City's affairs (160). In addition, legal advice was sought from a number of justices, most notably the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, whose opinion was requested on the vexed matter of the Steelyard (161), and whose assistance was required in controlling the behaviour of the gentlemen of Court and Chancery, who were accused of unlawful assemblies and 'walking at Smithfield at inconvenient times' (162). In 1553, the Attorney General was informed by the City authorities against Alan Bourne, founder, for a misdemeanor against an unspecified Act of Parliament (163). However, it is not clear whether this was an appeal by the Court of Aldermen for legal advice or simply a fulfilment of its statutory duties.

Paulet was a favoured source of advice and assistance, both as Lord Great Master and as Lord Treasurer. In 1547, his support was desired for the 'affairs of the City', and also on the subject of the King's 'musty corn' (164). More significantly, his

advice was requested on the question of the City's bonds for the royal debt (165). The following year his help was enlisted in obtaining proclamations against the eating of flesh on fishdays and against 'railing' against the sacrament (166). His success in such suits may have earned the epithet 'singular' good lord to the City (167). As Lord Treasurer, he was approached in the case of Thomas Warde, who, in 1551, was enticing apprentices to Italy to serve Cardinal Pole (168); in the battle against the Steelyard and other merchant strangers (169); concerning Thomas Curtes and other 'weighty causes' before Parliament (170); and in answering the Council's commission for aiding Lygons to raise three hundred harquebutters in the City (171). It was Paulet who was chosen to act as Lieutenant for the capital in 1558. This choice may have softened the blow for the Corporation of the imposition of martial law there (172).

Of other courtiers, Cecil was approached concerning the export of 12,000 French crowns on a licence obtained by the Lord Mayor, John Gresham, Roland Hill, George Barne and William Garrarde in 1552; and Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton's favour was sought, in November 1547, for the 'City's causes' (173). Individual livery companies also sought to exploit the patronage network, including the Vintners, who lobbied Sir William Petre, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Chancellor in pursuing their Parliamentary campaign in 1553 (174), and there were doubtless other courtiers to whom appeal was made both by the civic authorities and by other interest groups within the City. The examples that do survive clearly indicate the reciprocal nature of the networks of patronage and influence.

PART TWO : PAGEANTRY AND ENTERTAINMENT

1. Introduction

The most graphic demonstration of London's connections with the Court was the involvement of the City in royal pageantry. As with patronage, this interaction was of mutual benefit, although the City had to bear the financial burden. Staging pageants and processions for the Crown, like providing troops was, in effect, a form of additional taxation on the already burdened capital. Although other cities also incurred expenditure on royal visits (175), royal entries to London were far more frequent. Nevertheless, the political advantages of such involvement, in raising the profile of London nationally and in demonstrating to its inhabitants the pre-eminence and goodly rule of the civic rulers, were seen to outweigh the disadvantages of the expense incurred and disruption caused by such displays (176).

The civic year provided its own occasions for pageantry, which by the end of the sixteenth century had become largely centred on the Lord Mayor's Show, the procession, by water or by land, of the newly elected Lord Mayor to Westminster on his inauguration (177). It is significant in this context that the chief annual event for civic pageantry linked the City to the Court : the purpose of the Lord Mayor's progress to Westminster was to swear loyalty to the Crown and to receive endorsement for the incumbency of the office (178). The description of the event in Machyn's diary reveals an additional royal association: the King's trumpeters took part in the procession from Baynards castle through St Paul's churchyard, accompanying the Mayor and

his retinue on their return from Westminster (179).

Civic pageantry and procession gave the opportunity to both Corporation and livery companies to emphasise to the population, both citizens and non-citizens, natives and aliens, the dignity and status of their governors, the virtues of good order and of strong civic rule and the place of particular social groups within the civic hierarchy (180). This hierarchy was illustrated by the order of precedence of individuals and corporations within the procession. The Mayor's company, for example, provided a pageant and took first place in the progress, by land or water, during his year of office (181). The importance attached to the relative status allotted to the different crafts in civic processions is demonstrated by the the perennial disputes between them in Henry VIII's reign, which had led to the establishment of an official list of precedence, which was to endure in subsequent reigns (182). In addition, those company liverymen who were not actually participating in the procession were generally required to line the streets along its route, standing behind specially constructed railings, for the expense and transportation of which they were responsible (183). These 'standings' emphasised their elevated status (184), as well as protecting them against the horses riding past (185). The crafts also played an essential part in the annual mayoral convoy by water to Westminster, for which they needed to maintain or hire barges, at considerable expense to themselves (186).

The significance of the companies' involvement in civic pageantry is self-evident (187). However, its financial cost was high, both for companies and for individual members. Participants might not

only have to pay 'barge money'(188) but also to purchase new livery gowns (189) and to contribute towards the related feasting (190). This might explain the reluctance of some company members to be involved in the proceedings (191).

2. Royal entries and coronation processions

The outgoings on regular civic events appear modest, however, in comparison to the financial demands placed on the citizens on the formal royal entries and coronation processions into the City (192). These expenses were of such magnitude that the City Corporation was required to raise special civic taxes, in the form of fifteenths, from inhabitants, both to subsidise the pageantry and decorations and to provide monetary gifts to the monarch as part of the ceremony (193). Moreover, it appears that in order to furnish sufficient costumes and scenery, the City was forced to borrow certain items from the King's Revels Office (194). In addition to providing props for the pageants and costumes for the participants, the Corporation also had to pay for the cleansing of the streets and painting and repair of conduits and gates along the route (195).

The short period under examination witnessed several royal entries, two coronation processions and a number of ambassadorial visits. Of these, three were made the occasion of formal parades, whilst the others were confined to riding through the streets. Despite the fact that they do not appear to have been of great literary merit (196), the pageants staged during the three formal processions are worthy of note for their political significance. In addition, the ceremonial marching watch was

reintroduced in 1548, at the express wish of the Court (197), and the Lord of Misrule visited the City from the Court twice in Edward's reign.

Edward VI's coronation celebrations included, in traditional fashion, a stately progress through the City the day before the formal anointing ceremony and coronation feast which took place at Westminster (198). The City dignitaries and companies were involved on both days. The procession from the Tower to Westminster palace on the eve of the coronation was accompanied by pageants, staged both by the City authorities and certain of the stranger communities resident in the capital. These emphasised the dignity of the boy king and the virtues of just, strong and yet merciful rule, and were based largely on the pageant series first used to welcome another child monarch into London (199). Underlying the display was a clear message of the importance of the duty that the King had to the City and its citizens and of the loyalty which they owed to him in return (200). In addition, there were religious overtones. The citizens used the opportunity to demonstrate their desire for the maintenance of Henry VIII's religious settlement (201). The show was obviously designed for the notice of outsiders, as well as to impress the inhabitants of the metropolis. The involvement of the overseas ambassadors in the proceedings (202), and the presence there of a number of chroniclers ensured that reports of the ceremonies, together with their didactic message, would spread beyond the city walls, even if their comments were not always entirely complimentary (203) and reached only a comparatively small audience (204).

The role of the civic rulers on the national stage was reinforced by the involvement of the Mayor and Aldermen in the more formal events of the following day. They participated in the procession through Westminster and dined with the party at Westminster Hall on coronation day. The Mayor, in traditional manner, offered wine to the king at the end of the feast, and was rewarded by the gift of the gold cup for his services (205). It is significant that the first knight created by the new monarch was the Lord Mayor of London, following a tradition dating from 1519 (206). Thus the coronation celebrations on both days emphasised the mutual dependence of City and Crown and the need for 'good lordship' on both sides (207). There was nothing new in this: nor was there anything controversial in the City's willingness to demonstrate loyalty to the King as the legitimate ruler.

In contrast, the occasions of Queen Jane's succession to the throne and Queen Mary's entry and coronation procession were overlaid with special political significance. Jane was never crowned, but was received in the Tower, on 10 July, by 'a great company' of lords and nobles, with her mother as train-bearer, after conveyance there by water (208). She was proclaimed by heralds in the City that afternoon, on the announcement of the King's death (209). However, the ceremony was confined to her immediate political supporters. Whilst the absence of public show might be explained by the shortness of the reign, it is likely to have been deliberate (210). The shaky foundation of the regime made it unwise to celebrate the succession in due fashion until its legitimacy had been firmly established. It was not to be. According to the chroniclers, there was silence at her proclamation in the capital, rather than the usual shouts of 'God

Save the Queen', broken only by Gilbert Potter, who cried out against the 'ignoble creatures whose English blood was not stirred by the indignity thus shown to the true heirs' and that Mary 'had the right title' (211). However, it is worth emphasising that the chroniclers' accounts, no doubt written after the deposition of Jane, are unlikely to be without bias. This might also account for the extravagant descriptions of praise for the proclamation of Mary as Queen (212). Whilst the latter might reflect genuine enthusiasm of the populace for the restoration of the legitimate succession, the propagandist nature of a number of the Tudor chronicles (213) should not be underestimated.

Nevertheless, the celebrations staged by the City in relation to the accession and the coronation of Mary were bound to be taken seriously. A clear political statement needed to be made: that the City rulers, having erred in supporting the Northumberland regime, now placed their full political and military support at the disposal of the legitimate monarch, whose accession they both welcomed and feted. Thus the virtues of the Queen and the legitimacy of the succession were represented in the pageantry in the City's streets, on 30 August 1553 (214). Two days previously, Mary had travelled to the Tower by water, in traditional fashion, in preparation for the progress through her capital. Unusually, the City Corporation and companies used this occasion, as well, to demonstrate their loyalty and welcome to the Queen (215). This was reciprocated in traditional manner on the day of the enthronement, when the Mayor was given the customary cup at the coronation feast (216).

Yet, the quality of the pageantry provided by the City on this occasion was criticised, in contrast to lavish displays provided by the alien population in the capital. It has already been noted how the stranger communities in the City, in particular the Hanse merchants of the Steelyard, capitalised on the occasion of the traditional street procession to demonstrate their loyalty to the new regime (217). At least one commentator felt that the only pageant arches worth noticing were those of the Genoese and Florentines (218). Nor can it be a coincidence that the only detailed descriptions which survive of the event relate to the strangers' contributions (219). As with Edward's procession the quality of the Londoners' own performance might have been marred by a shortage of preparation time as much as by a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the civic authorities (220). However, the contrast with Elizabeth's coronation procession, in 1559, is striking. Apart from the additional care lavished by the City on their own part in the ceremony, Elizabeth herself was a more active participant in the pageantry than Mary, using the occasion to seek rapport with the inhabitants of her capital in a way which would have been alien to her more reserved elder sister (221).

The pageantry provided by the City and stranger communities for the entry of Philip II into the City, in August 1554, was, in fact, more impressive than that for Mary's coronation procession. The City rulers no doubt felt obliged to express their support for the Crown after the involvement of a number of citizens and inhabitants in the recent Wyatt's rebellion (222). They had, indeed, claimed to be delighted to hear of the safe arrival of Philip on English soil (223), a message reiterated by the two

giants 'guarding' London Bridge at Philip's entry:

*Unica Caesarea stirpis spes inclite princeps,
Cuideus imperium totius destinat orbis,
Gratus et optatus nostras accedis adoras,
Ecce sagitti potens tibi tota Britania dextra
Porrigit, et gremium tibi nobilis anglia pudit
Te tamen in primis urbs Londoniensis honorat,
Incolumemque suum gaudet venisse Philippum.
Ipsa suis sentit charum te civibus esse,
Et fore felicem tali se principe credit
Cuius mens, studium, vox, virtus, atque voluntas
Gaudet, et in clari consentit amore Philippi*

(J Elder 'The Copie of a Letter sent into Scotland...'1555 13v-14) (224)

On this occasion the City was able to produce pageants more splendid than at the time of the Queen's coronation, perhaps because of the time which they were given to prepare them (225) or because of their particular need to please. Fifteenths were again raised from the inhabitants to finance the proceedings, whilst companies also contributed in the accustomed way (226). The stranger merchants, who had been 'made privy' to the City's plans on 2 June (227), also put on a magnificent show. The Hanseatic merchants, in particular, desired Philip's support for their cause with the Queen (228). The pageantry which resulted stressed the value of the marriage between Spain and England (229), in contrast to the handbills and rumours passing in the streets (230). However, although it has been seen more as a panegyic to Philip II than as an attempt to influence future royal policy (231), the show planned by the City was not without controversy. Surprisingly, and perhaps defiantly, the Court of Aldermen selected two former royal printers of known Protestant sympathies to devise the pageantry for the occasion and, in what has been described as a 'bold gesture' on their part, the designers arranged for the representation of Henry VIII at the

conduit in Gracechurch street to hold a copy of the English bible (*Verbum Dei*) in his hand. It was subsequently removed, at the command of the Bishop of Winchester, and replaced by a pair of gloves, but apparently only after the royal procession had passed by. The significance of this incident has been noted by Sydney Anglo (232). It is also interesting that the Queen, who cannot have been unaware of the general unpopularity of the match in the metropolis, even if ignorant about the strength of anti-Catholic sentiment there, expressed her gratitude and appreciation to the City for its part in welcoming her husband, whilst simultaneously requesting the companies to ensure that order was maintained within the walls (233).

3. Other occasions for pageantry and entertainment

There were other, more informal, entries into and passages through the capital by members of the royal family during this period. These were noted by the chroniclers, and usually prompted the lining of the streets by inhabitants to welcome the royal personage and his or her retinue. They included Princess Mary's journeys through the City, in 1551 and 1552, on the way to and from her house at St John's, Clerkenwell (234); and Elizabeth's rides through London, in 1552, on her way to visit her brother at St James, accompanied by at least two hundred horsemen, and in 1553 and 1554, on her visits to the Queen (235). Mary was also feted on her first entry into the City after her proclamation as Queen, on 3 August 1553, as were Philip and Mary on their second official visit there, on 26 August 1555 (236). The significance of the surrender of the sword to the sovereign on these occasions cannot have been missed by contemporaries (237).

The arrival, in November 1551, of the Dowager Queen of Scots at Baynards castle, where she was met by various nobles, must also have been of interest to the local population. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen acknowledged her 'stop-over' in the City, on her way from France to Scotland, with a great number of consumable gifts, including wine, beer, meat, spices, salmon and fuels (238). She then progressed through the capital, accompanied by the Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Pembroke and a retinue which included at least one hundred horsemen to Bishopsgate, where she received a gift of one hundred marks from the hands of the City Chamberlain (239). Ambassadorial visits were also worthy of note (240), the livery companies in particular being called upon for their hospitality. These occasions were not universally popular with the company members (241). In 1554, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had to be 'first admonished and desired' by the Queen before 'freely' giving gifts to the Ambassadorial visitors (242). However, there was no equivalent to the lavish state reception of Charles V and of the French ambassadors in Henry VIII's reign (243).

An additional opportunity for civic participation in court ceremonies was provided by the unprecedented visit of the royal Lord of Misrule (George Ferrers) to the City in 1552 and 1553, as part of the Christmas festivities, designed, it has been conjectured, to distract the young king's attention from the execution of his uncle earlier in 1552 (244). These occasions entailed the erection of a scaffold in Cheap, from which the Lord of Misrule made a proclamation, and feasting at the houses of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and certain Aldermen. Alderman Curtes (245)

caused a certain commotion in 1553 by his absence from his home, which was supposed to be one of the venues for dinner (246). However, other arrangements appear to have gone smoothly, and the festivities, which were costly both to Court and City, were generally acknowledged to be a success (247). The importance of London's role in the proceedings is demonstrated by the anxiety of Ferrers that the councillors that were to accompany him to the capital should be properly dressed (248).

TABLE 7.1 : Frequency of royal demands for pageantry and entertainment 1547-58

EDWARD VI

1547	Henry VIII's funeral - procession (to Windsor)
1547	Coronation - procession
1548	Marching watch
1551	Dowager Queen of Scotland's visit - procession & gift
1552	Lord of Misrule's visit
1553	Lord of Misrule's visit

MARY

1553	Coronation - procession & gift
1554	Philip II's entry - procession
1555	Mary & Philip II's entry - procession

4. Conclusion

The provision of ceremony and entertainment by the City was of obvious benefit to the Crown, not only financially, in sparing the monarch the expense of such displays, but also politically,

in validating the regime. The gains to the City from its contribution to royal pageantry were less tangible and were only attained at considerable cost of time, money and effort. Moreover, if the civic authorities had hoped to influence royal policy by the imagery employed in their pageants, they were generally to be disappointed (249). Yet tradition, and self-interest, dictated the City's participation in coronation ceremonies and royal entries: it was only the level of that involvement and expenditure that were negotiable. Although, in this period, the City would have been unwise to stint on its contribution if it wished to convince the monarch of its continuing loyalty in difficult circumstances, it appears that the show provided was not without controversy, was not appreciated by all the spectators and was not fully exploited by the sovereign. The willingness of the stranger communities to provide pageants must have been of significant financial benefit to the Corporation and may have tempered the natural hostility towards them, although possibly causing resentment by their lavish show. Nevertheless, the frequent calls on the citizens' pockets, both for gifts and pageantry for the Crown, cannot not have been welcomed with the joy that was claimed on their presentation to their royal recipients.

CHAPTER SEVEN : REFERENCES

- 1 See Willan Muscovy Merchants; Ramsay The City of London; Brigden London and the Reformation; Horrox 'Urban Patronage and Patrons'
- 2 For Petre's role see Emmison Tudor Secretary

Osborne's involvement in foreign exchange in the City in Elizabeth's reign is illustrated by a series of letters addressed to him by Lord Burghley, keeper of the exchange, 1575-6, now held in Guildhall Library - GL Ms 21,607/1-11
- 3 Emmison Tudor Secretary 52, 82-5; Drapers' minutes 1543-53 1077,1080; Dictionary of National Biography ed. L Stephen and S Lee 63 vols. 1885-1900 (henceforth DNB) (entry for Osborne)
- 4 Ramsay The City of London 55,150; Stow Survey I 176; II 300. He also obtained a lease of a house in the City for his brother - see below n86
- 5 CPR 1548-9 180-1
- 6 Rep 13ii 422. See above p 351 and Brigden London and the Reformation 522
- 7 Rep 12i 37
- 8 Jo 16 273
- 9 GL Ms 2589
- 10 Emmison Tudor Secretary 84. North acquired additional property in St Botolph Aldersgate parish and a channel from the conduit - APC 1550-3 61
- 11 Rep 12i 268v; CPR 1549-51 349; CPR 1550-3 171-2
- 12 APC 1554-6 210,233,300,331-2; CPR 1550-3 171-2
- 13 DNB (Dudley); CPR 1547-8 183-4
- 14 Middlesex : e.g. the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer had a house called 'Canbery' [Canonbury], from which he was accused of interrupting and corrupting the water supply - Rep 13ii 564; land in Canonbury, Islington and Kilburn, was acquired by John Dudley - CPR 1547-8 222,252; Hackney manor was purchased by Herbert and subsequently sold to Sir Ralph Sadler - CPR 1547-8 209-10; lands in Clerkenwell and the City were granted to Sir Edward North - CPR 1547-8 201

Southwark : in December 1556, Lord Montague was reprimanded by the Recorder for interrupting the City's liberties with regard to property in St Mary Overies parish - Rep 13ii 460v. The Chancellor also had a 'great house' in Southwark in 1557 - Rep 13ii 472v
- 15 Jo 16 299v. William Damsell, royal agent, for example, was

- exempted from the shrievalty see below n79
- 16 MAC 1527-60 233,264v, 313v; Rep 13i 83; Ramsay Isham lxxi,lxxiii
 - 17 Rep 13ii 442,278
 - 18 Ramsay The City of London 55 and Isham lxx; Willan Muscovy Merchants passim
 - 19 Ramsay The City of London 55
 - 20 DNB (Thynne); CPR 1547-8 331-2
 - 21 DNB (Sackville)
 - 22 Ramsay The City of London 55
 - 23 Ramsay The City of London 55. Concerning Thomas Bacon, salter see CPR 1547-8 113; Rep 12i 286 (Paulet acted on Thomas Bacon's behalf); Rep 11 367 (Mr Bacon, salter gave advice to the Mayor and Aldermen concerning their Parliamentary bill against strangers)
 - 24 See above p 166
 - 25 Willan Muscovy Merchants 19-20
 - 26 CPR 1547-8 331
 - 27 CPR 1549-51 59-60,303
 - 28 Ramsay Isham xii; CPR 1550-3 376
 - 29 Crofts - CPR 1548-9 341; Lord Darcy - L&P Hen VIII 1546-7 xxi ii 422; Hoby - CPR 1547-8 250; Sir Nicholas Bacon - Willan Muscovy Merchants 77; Paget - CPR 1557-8 402-3
 - 30 CPR 1547-8 144,331-2; CPR 1549-51 245; CPR 1550-3 432
 - 31 For an impression of magnitude of this speculation see CPR passim. See also Jordan Young King 108-9
 - 32 E.g. Rep 11 313; Rep 12ii 524v
 - 33 Sir John Gresham, Sir Richard Gresham, Sir Roland Hill, Sir Ralph Warren and Sir Martin Bowes were charged in the 'Council book' (SP 10/5 17), instead of the London assessment (SP 10/5 18), probably because they were High Commissioners for the levy. The subsidy assessment for the royal household included the High Commissioners of each shire - SP46/1 213-22
 - 34 Generally Councillors dined at Guildhall at the feast provided by the outgoing Lord Mayor. Although there is no direct evidence of this occurring during this period, Jones points out that the presence of high officers of state on such occasions was 'usual'. Indeed, in 1580, the Privy Council demanded the reason for the omission of the feast

- that year - [Jones] Corporation 17-18. See also R A Bellinger 'City Banqueting' Transactions of the Guildhall Historical Society 3 1963 128-9
- 35 See cp6 n99 regarding Yorke; Stow Annales 1011-12.
- 36 MAC 1527-60 220. Cf Elizabeth's planned visit to Mercers hall Ibid 326v-7v. Elizabeth dined in the City to celebrate the opening of the Royal Exchange, at Thomas Gresham's house at Bishopsgate - Bellinger 'City Banqueting' 128
- 37 Below pp 404-5
- 38 Ramsay The City of London 55; Emmison Tudor Secretary 70, 199
- 39 Beer Northumberland 75-8; APC 1547-50 343; APC 1550-2 411,413,425-6,490. He seems to have received favourable treatment : for example his wife was permitted 'to lie with him' during his confinement in the Tower
- 40 CSP Sp 1550-2 13. See also Clode 'Memoir of Sir John Yorke' 278-299
- 41 See, for example, E101/520/14a 122,155v,156 and APC passim
- 42 Ramsay Isham lxx-lxxi
- 43 Ramsay The City of London 54
- 44 See Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 62-65. For the political significance of crown patronage see R A Griffiths ed. Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England Gloucester 1981
- 45 For a similar analysis for Henry VIII's reign see Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 62-113
- 46 I.e. *gratis* or at reduced rates of payment. For background see Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 67-9
- 47 Repts *passim*: see appendix 5
- 48 One failed on a technicality, one for no obvious reason and one because of the unpopularity of the request, which was in favour of a Steelyard merchant - Rep 12i 57, 161v; Rep 13i 104v,131v,132,134,140 See also Rep13ii 439v
- 49 There was no cost to the City apart from the loss of fees. The fees remitted varied from the whole 'hanse' of L40 to circa L6 - Repts *passim*. However, honorary grants of the freedom did lead to friction. By Act of Common Council, of 1 Henry VIII, the consent of Common Council was required for *gratis* freedoms. Even this did not prevent resentment on the part of the citizens - Gronquist - 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 69-77

- 50 For example in 1550 - Rep 12i 197v,278
- 51 Rep 12i 197v,278, 286v,287. Indeed in 1551, the freedom was granted *gratis* to John Gipkyn, alien born stationer, ' in most loving wise' at the King's request - Jo 16 104v
- 52 Rep 13i 92
- 53 Repts *passim* (see notes below for references). See appendix 5
- 54 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 62-5
- 55 MAC 1560-95 21-21v
- 56 MAC 1560-95 21-21v See Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 87-91
- 57 MAC 1560-95 21-21v
- 58 For example, Kennedy 'The City of London and the Crown' 87-128
- 59 Rep 14 29. This order was repeated in 1572 - Archer The Pursuit of Stability 34
- 60 See Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 65
- 61 APC 1552-4 84
- 62 Problems concerning Roland Dee's claim to the office continued well into 1549, when Dee was ordered to compensate the Chamberlain for the City's costs - Rep 12i 174
- 63 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 65
- 64 Rep 11 342-3; Jo 15 318-318v
- 65 Rep 11 343v. Significantly, Common Council agreed to the grant of the office at the 'contemplation' of letters from the King and Lord Protector and 'in consideration of the singular favour and friendship of the said Thynne by him presently in right earnest wise promised to be at all times hereafter showed to the City as well in their private as common causes' - Jo 15 318
- 66 See above n61
- 67 Rep 12i 208
- 68 Thomas Norton was subsequently appointed City Remembrancer and elected as one of the City's MPs - M A R Graves 'Thomas Norton, the Parliament Man, an Elizabethan MP, 1559-81' Historical Journal 23 1980 17-35
- 69 Rep 11 372v,373v,456v-7

- 70 Rep 11 456v-7; Rep 12i 103v
- 71 Rep 11 489
- 72 Rep 11 371,374
- 73 In 1547. The request was to be given the favour of the court - Rep 11 330v
- 74 In 1548. Answer was respited, then the request was agreed - Rep 11 443v,447v
- 75 Edward VI's candidate, in 1550, was nominated as one of the two contenders, but was not elected - Rep 12i 286
- 76 The request was refused because the reversion had already been granted - Rep 11 316v
- 77 The request for two men to be granted one of the meterships, of coal, salt or corn, or yeomanship of waterside was refused by the Court of Aldermen on the grounds that the gift lay in hands of the Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor subsequently granted the reversion of the coalmetership to John Scary, at the request of the Queen and Mistress Clarentius - Rep 13i 108v,125
- 78 Rep 13i 208,210,212
- 79 Rep 13i 190v. See also above pp 74-5 concerning Damsell
- 80 Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 80-113 and Kennedy 'The City of London and the Crown' 55-128
- There appears to have been no repetition of Henry VIII's heavy-handed intervention, for example, concerning the weighership of the 'weigh house', in which he forced the Grocers' wardens to renounce all claim to the nomination of the office and to surrender their letters patent - STAC2/24/50
- 82 Nor were Cecil's requests always successful in the reign of Elizabeth - Archer The Pursuit of Stability 35
- 83 Rep 12ii 551; Rep 13i 25,102v; LBk R 266
- 84 E.g. Rep 12ii 454
- 85 Archer The Pursuit of Stability 34
- 86 Rep 11 482,493v; Rep 12i 3,402,405,; Rep 12ii 512v,548 (respited); Rep 13i 21,22v,206v,270v; Rep 13ii 333,367,376v; Rep 14 74
- 87 Rep 12i 286. See also n23
- 88 Rep 11 482
- 89 Rep 11 363v,445,447; Rep 12i 40v,41v,42,44,57v97v,117;

- Rep 12ii 117v,407
- 90 Noted also by Brigden London and the Reformation 490
- 91 Rep 11 338v, 456v,468v; Rep 12i 103v,222,260; Rep 12ii 263
- 92 It appears that the request for the post of Bridgemaster failed since Warwick's nominee, rather than Somerset's, was successful - Rep 11 330v. There was, however, more than one post of Bridgemaster - Foster The Politics of Stability 22,25
- 93 For example, Somerset's requests for leases for named petitioners; on-behalf of a Frenchman for a licence and in favour of Vandernot, another Frenchman; on behalf of two strangers 'to live in peace as denizens'; and in favour of Armstrong, who had pulled down the altars in St Leonard Eastcheap - Rep 11 326,338,468v,485; Rep 12i 2,35,41v,60v,89,97,250v
- 94 Rep 12i 120v and see above p 346
- 95 Brigden London and the Reformation 490 and see cp6 n83
- 96 Rep 11 411v
- 97 Rep 12i 194. Sir Martin Bowes was delegated to buy the pots, for which he was to be reimbursed thirty six pounds 'and odd' by the Chamberlain - Rep 12i 197
- 98 See cp6 n86,n99 & n102
- 99 In favour of Edward Welton to enter the freedom in the Vintners' company, which was approved for a fee of L20 - Rep 12ii 407; and for Thomas Cecil, Clerk to Mr Goodrycke, Attorney of Augmentations to be made free of the Drapers' company and of the City *gratis*, which was agreed and his L20 returned to him - Rep 12ii 475v
- 100 Rep 12ii 475v
- 101 Rep 12ii 476v.
- 102 April 1552 - Rep 12ii 471v
- 103 Rep 12ii 524v
- 104 The Spanish ambassador emphasised the unpopularity of Northumberland in 1551 - CSP Sp 1550-2 279. But see D Hoak 'Rehabilitating the Duke of Northumberland' The Mid-Tudor Polity c1540-1560 ed. J Loach and R Tittler 1980 29-51
- 105 Rep 12ii 422
- 106 Rep 12ii 491v
- 107 Rep 13i 280v,327,516v,518
- 108 APC 1552-4 409 (11 March 1553); Rep 13i 257

- 109 Rep 13i 54,59
- 110 Rep 13ii 433v. Nothing is recorded in the appropriate place in the relevant Journal -i.e. Jo 17 7v
- 111 Rep 12ii 294,; Rep 13i 329v,333v; Rep 13ii 222; Rep 12ii 489; Rep 13ii 451
- 112 Rep 12ii 489
- 113 Rep 13ii 451
- 114 Rep 12i 94v; Rep. 13i 208,451
- 115 Rep 13i 98,125,225,263v
- 116 Rep 13i 161v,165,253,265
- 117 Rep 12ii 352v,386v
- 118 Rep 13i 20,83
- 119 Rep 13i 245
- 120 Rep 11 379,384v; Rep 12ii 550v; Rep 13ii 553v,556. The last was agreed 'in consideration of the goodwill and favour that his lordship hath always hitherto borne and showed to the City and that the Court fully trusteth that his lordship will still bear and show to the same City' - Rep 13ii 556
- 121 Rep 12i 272v
- 122 Rep 13ii 530
- 123 Rep 11 492v; Rep 13i 213; Rep 13ii 314v. After the first of these requests, Paget's candidate was offered a consolation payment of 26s 8d and goodwill for a house and for office, although his original request was refused on the basis of previous grant - Rep 11 492v
- 124 Rep 11 359v; Rep 12i 52v,57;62v,161v,194,197v,205v; Rep 12ii 352v
- 125 Rep 13i 197v,202
- 126 Rep 14 2,4
- 127 Rep 12ii 403v
- 128 Rep 12ii 371. Cf Rep 12ii 378v,398,441
- 129 1549 - Rep 12i 60
- 130 Edward Fiennes de Clinton, Lord Admiral - Rep 13ii 493v; Rep 14 24,31
- 131 Rep 12i 4,36v,206,268v,447,456 The last request was 'lovingly granted', but only on certain conditions,

- subsequently dropped
- 132 Rep 13i 212,239,273; Rep 13ii 425,469,541
- 133 It was 'lovingly granted' - Rep 13ii 481
- 134 Rep 13ii 420v,458,511,514v. The last request was refused because it had already been given - 'but the court offered to gratify his mastership gladly in any other thing that shall lie in them to do' - Rep 13ii 514v
- 135 Rep 11 472; Rep 12ii 422; Rep 13i 4v
- 136 Rep 14 9,10v
- 137 Rep 11 359v; Rep 12i 161v
- 138 See below pp 392-3
- 139 Concerning coronation gifts to the Crown - see n193
- 140 E.g. in December 1548, 1550, 1552, 1553 - Rep 12i 18; Rep 12ii 293,431,556 ; Rep 13i 105v
- 141 See n148
- 142 Rep 13i 59v,290
- 143 Rep 13i 59v
- 144 Rep 13i 126
- 145 E.g. Rep 11 391; Rep 13i 92
- 146 Horrox emphasises the importance of gifts of wine etc by towns to urban patrons - Horrox 'Urban Patronage' 153-4
- 147 Rep 11 370
- 148 Rep 12i 304v. Cf the Protector's letter in Vandernote's favour in 1548, which the City Corporation agreed to honour- Rep 11 485; and the Council's letter, in 1552, ordering the City to make redress to Vandernote, physician - APC 1552-4 150
- 149 Rep 12ii 442v
- 150 Rep 13i 126v; Green 'The Vintners' Lobby' 48
- 151 Rep 13i 127
- 152 Rep 13i 129
- 153 Rep 13i 142v,137v
- 154 Rep 13i 248. Concerning Thomas Curtis see above cp5 n61 and below n170 &n245
- 155 Rep 13i 165

- 156 Rep 13i 233v
- 157 Suits were commenced against Alderman Altham, for refusing the office in 1557, and against Harper and White, former sheriffs, for allowing Perry out of their custody during their year of office - Rep 13ii 538v; Rep 14 6
- 158 Rep 13ii 547
- 159 For example, for his assistance in securing the chantry lands, in April 1548 - Rep 11 427; for unspecified affairs of the City, in February 1549 - Rep 12i 50; and, in 1550, to stay tallow which Roger Chaloner, mercer, planned to export under a licence granted to Warwick by Henry VIII, in 1550 - Rep 12i 221
- 160 E.g. Rep 11 313,315,330,391,426; Rep 13i 244v.
- 161 Rep 13i 286v. The matter of the Steelyard, which involved appeals from both sides, is examined above - pp 135-55. See also Rep 13i 244v,285,307; Rep 13ii 490,497v,509v,555,565
- 162 Rep 13ii 401v
- 163 Rep 13i 41. The King's attorney's assistance had been sought to enforce a toll on the inhabitants of Kingston in 1548-9- Rep 12i 20v,39
- 164 Rep 11 321,329v
- 165 Rep 11 337v
- 166 Rep 11 379v
- 167 Rep 11 482
- 168 Rep 12i 340
- 169 Rep 13i 244-244v
- 170 Rep 13i 248
- 171 Rep 13ii 571
- 172 See above p 300
- 173 Rep 12ii 454; Rep 11 370
- 174 Green 'The Vintners' Lobby' 48
- 175 See D Bergeron English Civic Pageantry 1971; E K Chambers. The Medieval Stage Oxford 1903 II 174-6
- 176 Concerning the authorities' fear of disorder at ceremonial occasions see Berlin 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London' 19
- 177 Concerning the enhancement of the status of the Lord Mayor

of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the growing significance of the Lord Mayor's Show see Berlin 'Civic Ceremony' 15-27. See also Bergeron English Civic Pageantry 123-39; S Williams 'The Lord Mayors' shows in Tudor and Stuart Times' Guildhall Miscellany 1959 3-18

The Reformation had caused the widespread abandonment of religious processions in London, in which some livery companies, particularly the Skinners, Fishmongers and Goldsmiths, had featured prominently. These included the annual Corpus Christi, Rogation day and Whitsun processions. There was a brief revival of these in the reign of Mary, but it was short-lived and piecemeal. See Grey Friars Chronicle 56,59,77,89; Machyn Diary 59,63,65; Berlin 'Civic Ceremony' 20-1; Chambers Medieval Stage II 118-19,121,165-6; M James 'Ritual, Drama and the Social Body in the late Medieval English Town' Past and Present 98 1983 3-29. Compare Phythian Adams' work on Coventry, in particular 'Ceremony and the Citizen', and D Palliser on York, for example, 'The Trade Guilds of Tudor York' Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700 ed. P Clark and P Slack Oxford. 1972 110-11

- 178 [Jones] The Corporation of London 17
- 179 In 1553 - Machyn Diary 47-8
- 180 Compare Phythian Adams 'Ceremony and the Citizen' and James 'Ritual, Drama and the Social Body'
- 181 For preparations by the Mercers' company when the Mayor was a Mercer see MAC 1527-60 216-216v,234-234v,298v-300 and for the expenses incurred by the Merchant Taylors during the period when the Mayor was a Merchant Taylor see R T D Sayle Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 1931 15-17,19-32. The Grocers' company paid L14 for pageants when Laxton was Lord Mayor (1542-3) - GL Ms 11571/5 179v
- 182 *There had been periodic attempts in the past to lay down an order of precedence e.g. the Billesden Award of 1484 - J Lang Billesden Award Westerham press 1984. These disputes continued into Henry VIII's reign, when a final order of precedence was laid down - Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 156-7. This stabilised the situation, although the relative places of the Merchant Taylors and the Skinners has never been decided - they alternate between sixth and seventh position, hence the expression 'at sixes and sevens' - Clode The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors I 137*
- 183 The Bakers' company at the coronation of Edward VI paid 20s for a standing 'made and set' of 60 foot between the Bishop's Head and Cardinal's Hat in Cornhill, and 15s for a standing in Cornhill at Mary's coronation - GL Mss 5174/1 253; 5174/2 253; the Coopers' company paid 11s 4d in 1547 for their standing in Gracechurch street and a surprising 50s 8d in 1553, including construction and carriage of the

same - GL Ms 5606/1 unfoliated. In 1559, the Mercers' company decided to reduce the number of their railings from two to one, and to sell the one surplus to requirements. Previously they had had one standing for the livery, and one for the yeomanry - MAC 1527-60 319-319v

184 See for example MAC 1527-60 319-319v.

Compare the castles employed by guilds in Beverley to stand in to view processions - A F Leach Beverley Town Documents Selden Society 14 1900 lviii .

185 BL Egerton 3026 8 :

First the streets through all the way where the King should pass were well gravelled in every place thereof and railed on the one side from Gracechurch street to the little conduit in Cheap to the intent that the horses should not slide on the pavement nor the people should not be hurt by the said horses in the high streets within which rails stood the crafts along in their order till the little conduit aforesaid where as [recte at] stood the aldermen.

At Edward's coronation, the Court of Aldermen ordered all the crafts to prepare themselves for the procession in order to receive the King 'in most comely wise'. As many of them as they should 'think it good and necessary' should prepare themselves 'rails where their places are to stand for their own ease' - Rep 11 311

There also appears to have been a need for 'comely personable' liverymen with white staves to act as 'whifflers' and 'to keep the people from the company that no "preast" be had there' - MAC 1527-60 304v.

186 The Bakers' company's costs in barge hire and rewards to bargemen increased significantly over this period, from 22s in 1547 to 26s 8d in 1551 and subsequently to 23s 6d GL MSS 5174/1 252v; 5174/2 26,30,38v,66. In contrast the Drapers spent L2 6s 8d on barge hire in 1547, L1 19s 4d in 1549/50 and L1 13s 13s 4d in 1550/1 - Drapers' account 1547-62 unfoliated.

There was some rivalry between companies to maintain appearances e.g. in 1559 the Mercers' company purchased new benches for their barge 'to be handsome as other companies' MAC 1527-60 318. They had bought new streamers and flags for the barge in 1553 Ibid 265. It seems that the Mercers' yeomanry had their own barge - Ibid 216v,299v.

Most companies did not possess their own barge until seventeenth century. See, for example, T D Whittet 'The barges of the Society of Apothecaries' Pharmaceutical Historian 10 1980; R T D Sayle The Barges of the Merchant Taylors' Company ... Reading 1933

187 For the role of the crafts in the Lord Mayor's show see Machyn Diary 47-8, 72-3; D J Gordon and J Robertson (ed.) 'A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery

Companies of London 1485-1640' Malone Society Collections 3
1954 1-16 ; A Lancashire 'London Craft Guild Records'
Records of Early English Drama Newsletter 1978 2 1-9;
J Nevinson 'Crowns and Garlands of the Livery Companies'
Guildhall Studies 1 1974 66-81

- 188 For example, the Butchers raised 8d or 6d, depending on status, on each member every year as 'barge money' - GL Ms 6440/1 *passim*
- 189 Livery gowns were paid for by individual company members and made from patterns supplied by the company - e.g. GL Mss 11571/5 459; 7086/2 166v; 6152/1 8,15,23v-4,59v,61; see also Drapers' minutes, 1543-53 965
- 190 E.g. the Bakers' stewards bills for dinner in the hall rose from 16s 8d in 1547/8 to 20s in 1548/9 and 40s in 1550/1 - GL Ms 5174/1-2; in 1547-9, the Blacksmiths' company paid 25s 2 1/2d for dinner at the George inn - GL Ms 2883/1 91
- 191 In 1559 the Mercers threatened non-attenders with disenfranchisement - MAC 1527-60 307v-308
- 192 For background to earlier royal entries into the City see R Withington 'The Early Royal Entry' Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 32 1917 616-23. See also Chambers Medieval Stage II 166-74; and 'A Select List of Printed Items in Guildhall Library relating to Pageants, Entertainments and Other Special Occasions in the City of London' Guildhall Miscellany 2 1964 257-69
- 193 E.g. Portsoken ward's contribution for the 1547 coronation costs was 30s -Rep 11 310v. The 'accustomed present' of 1000 marks was given both to Edward VI and to Mary as part of the ceremony - Jo 15 302; Jo 16 251. Mary was given an additional gift, of L500, at the time of her accession, presumably to win her forgiveness - Rep 13i 69.

It is significant that at the time of Edward's coronation, the question of the liability of strangers and other non-freemen to contribute to wards 15th was once again raised - Rep 11 309v

- 194 See A J Kempe The Loseley Manuscripts 1836 67-9, which contains a transcript of the 'memorandum of costumes lent by the Office of Revels to the City of London for the coronation of Edward VI' (Folger Lib Ms L b268), cited in C E McGee and J Meagher 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments: 1485-1558' Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 25 1982 31-114, from which the majority of references contained in the remainder of this chapter are derived. I am grateful to Gervase Hood for pointing out this valuable reference work. However, this need to borrow might perhaps be explained by lack of time rather than lack of funds - S Anglo Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy Oxford 1969 283
- 195 Payments were made for the cleansing of the streets and painting and repair of conduits and gates along the route.

For example, before Edward's coronation, surveyors were appointed to survey and 'trim' the conduits ' and other places of the City' i.e Fenchurch, Cornhill conduit, the Great Conduit, the Standard and Cross in Cheap, the Little Conduit, Ludgate, Fleetstreet conduits and Temple Bar - Rep 11 309v-10

196 In Edward's coronation procession 'recourse was had to the dastardly expedient of cribbing material wholesale from a major fifteenth century London pageant series', namely John Lydgate's pageants for the boy king, Henry VI's entry in 1432. Anglo Spectacle 283-3. Although Anglo concedes that this was not entirely inappropriate, it obviously worked badly in practice - 'it was not a bad idea; but it was marred in the execution'- Anglo Ibid 294. Certainly the Imperial Ambassador, Van Der Delft, did not rate the performance highly, commenting to the Queen Dowager'. We were quite four hours on the way from the Tower to Westminster There was, however, no very memorable show of triumph or magnificence'- CSP Sp 1547-9 47. However, the ambassador's opinion might have been clouded by his own unhappy experience of the procession and coronation - Anglo Ibid 294. Moreover, Edward VI and his retinue seemed anxious to speed past the pageants themselves, whilst lingering to watch the acrobat by St Paul's steeple - Anglo Ibid 291-3

197 See pp 305-7. For examples of companies' costs at midsummer 1548 see the livery company accounts. The Blacksmiths, for example, spent 18s 7d on 4 bowmen, 6 cresset bearers, 2 bagbearers and their equipment and refreshment - GL Ms 2883/1 91. The Mercers assisted in devising the Lord Mayor's and Sheriff's pageants for Midsummer - MAC 1527-60 220.

The Midsummer Watch had been abandoned in 1539. Although attempts were made to revive it, in 1548, 1564, 1569, and 1585, it was not to be repeated after 1585 - Berlin 'Civic Ceremony' 18-19. See also CLRO shelf 36C 'A Book containing the Manner and Order of the Watch' cited Berlin *loc.cit.*

198 For descriptions see BL Egerton 3026 ; College of Arms Ms I 7 32ff and I 18 74-96 reproduced in Literary Remains of King Edward VI ed. J G Nichols 1857 I cclxxviii-cccliii; Rep 11 309v-11, 333-4; Jo 15 305; LBk Q 195; Kempe Loseley Manuscripts 67-9, 73; Edward VI Chronicle 5 and Jordan Young King I 66 n2; Society of Antiquaries Ms 123.1 & 2 and CA Vincent: I am grateful to Gervase Hood for these last two references. Unfortunately, a wall painting which depicted the procession was lost in the fire at Cowdray House in 1793. Although, copies of the painting do survive, these are 'useless' as a record of events according to Anglo - Anglo Spectacle 283

199 Henry VI- see n196

200 Pageantry concerning the boy king included a young crowned lion and crowned child in Cheap - BL Egerton 3026 15v-16; concerning the duty of the king - children representing grace, nature, fortune and charity and regality, justice,

truth and mercy in Cheap and truth, faith and justice in Fleet street Ibid 16,19v-20; concerning the loyalty to due to the king - pageant of Urson and Valentine who promised to 'clout with great confusion' all the King's enemies and to keep the city gate against them Ibid 12v-13. The last of these appears to have been a 'new' pageant - Anglo Spectacle 285-6. For other examples of pageants and their significance, see Anglo Spectacle 283-94 and primary sources cited above n198

201 Anglo Spectacle 355-7

202 BL Egerton 3026 8v-9v

203 For the Imperial ambassador's comments - see n196

204 Anglo, in his recent work on the subject, emphasises the limited didactic effect of civic pageantry and royal processions, in contrast to his earlier writings and to the work of others, including Roy Strong and John Norman King - S Anglo Images of Tudor Kingship 1992 98-112,120

205 Edward VI Literary Remains ccxcii-ccxciii; BL Egerton 3026 21-33

The Lord Mayor and citizens appear to have had to make a formal claim for the cup and cover 'for the reward and fee of the said Lord Mayor for such services as he the said Lord Mayor and citizens owe to do at the time of the King's Majesty's coronation'- Rep 11 310v

Twelve commoners, representing the Twelve Great Companies, were also involved in the coronation celebrations at Westminster, as attendants to the Lord Chief Butler of England - Rep 11 309v,310v

206 On 6 February -BL Egerton 3026 5. Concerning the origins of the tradition of knighting the Lord Mayor annually see Berlin 'Civic Ceremony' 18

207 This was emphasised by the *delivery of the sword and mace* and the ceremony at Temple Bar - see Jones 'The Surrender of the Sword' 8-13; H Johnson Temple Bar and State Pageants 1879 4

208 Machyn Diary 35

209 Machyn Diary 35; Chronicle of Queen Jane 3; Grey Friars' Chronicle 78-9

210 For example, only a small number of heralds and no civic officials were present at the proclamation in contrast to the announcement of Mary's accession - see n212

211 Quoted D Hay 'The Narratio Historica of P Vincentius, 1553' English Historical Review 63 1948 354; Machyn Diary 35-6; Rep 13i 65v.

212 Chronicle of Queen Jane 11; Grey Friars' Chronicle 80;

- 213 See D M Loades (ed.) The Chronicles of the Tudor Kings 1991.

Chronicles had been used for the purpose of propaganda from the late fifteenth century - C Ross 'Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion During the Wars of the Roses' Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces ed. Griffiths 1981 24 - although Anglo questions the sophistication and effectiveness of Tudor propaganda - Anglo Images 120-30

- 214 E.g. C V Malfatti ed. The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor Barcelona 1956 (reproducing Escorial Ms X iii 8 133-204) 32. For descriptions of the coronation procession see Holinshed Chronicle IV 6-7; Stow Annales 1043-4 (for identical account); Chronicle of Queen Jane 27-31; Machyn Diary 43-5; Grey Friars' Chronicle 84; Malfatti Accession 31-2, 151-2; LBk R 263.

Anglo claims that it is 'impossible to discern any plan or underlying theme' for the pageantry. However, he points out the importance of the Judith/Holfernes and Tomyris/Cyrus analogy with the Mary/Northumberland situation. In all three cases, the tenacious and brave heroine had led her people to victory by conquering and decapitating her powerful adversary - Anglo Spectacle 320-1. He argues that it was less didactic than either Edward or Elizabeth's procession pageantry - Anglo Ibid. 354-7

- 215 Machyn Diary 44-5 :

the Queen[']s] grace removed from Saint James, and so to White Hall, and there her grace took her barge unto the Tower, and there all the crafts and the Mayor and the Aldermen in barges with streamers and minstrels, as trumpets, 'wettes, shames and regalls', and with a great [shooting] of guns till her grace came into the Tower

The companies' involvement in the proceedings is confirmed by the payments for barge hire in their wardens' accounts e.g. the Bakers' company paid 26s 8d for their barge hire, plus 12d reward to the bargemen, 8d for the hire of a cloth and 5s for minstrels to play in the barge and for a new streamer - total 12 - 'to set the Queen's grace from Westminster to the Tower' - GL Ms 5174/2 37v; the Brewers expended 22s 10d on barge hire on 28 September - GL Ms 5442/3; the Butchers paid 20s - GL Ms 6440/1 134; and the Grocers 52s 10d - GL Ms 11571/5 446.

- 216 Holinshed Chronicle IV 7

- 217 See above cp3 n118. Holinshed noted the extravagance of the strangers' pageants in Fenchurch street (Genoese) and Gracechurch (Hanse and Florentines) - Holinshed Chronicle IV 6. See also Malfatti Accession 31. For Florentines request for involvement see LBk R 263

- 218 Malfatti Accession 31

- 219 A point also made by Anglo Spectacle 319
- 220 Anglo Spectacle 319-22. However, the strangers had no more time to prepare. This may mean that lack of money, or unwillingness to raise sufficient funds, was more to blame. Yet, there is no evidence in the City's own records to suggest that it was staged in a deliberately half-hearted manner. Politically, it would have been unwise for the City appear reluctant or parsimonious in its welcome in the light of recent events.
- 221 Anglo Spectacle 345-58; Bergeron English Civic Pageantry 12-23
- 222 Made graphic by the bodies of rebels hanging up in the street, which were removed in time for Philip's entry - Machyn Diary 54-5,65
- 223 LBk R 303v
- 224 In contemporary translation :

*O noble Prince, sole hope of Cesar's side,
 By God apointed all the world to gyde,
 Right hartely welcome art thou to our land,
 The archer Britayne yeldeth the hir hand,
 And noble England openeth her bosome
 Of hartie affection for to bid the welcome.
 But chiefly London doth her her love vouchsafe,
 Rejoycing that her Philip is come safe.
 She seith her citizens love thee on eche side,
 And trusts that they shal be happy of such a gide.
 And al do think thou art sent to their citie
 By thonly meane of God's paternall pitie,
 So that their minde, voice, study, power and will
 Is only set to love the, Philippe, still*

(J Elder 'The copie of a letter sent into Scotland of the arivall and... marryage of Philippe prynce of spaine to the ... princes Marye quene of England .. and of his ... entries... in London' London 1555 14)

The message was reiterated in an oration at Temple Bar - Elder Ibid. 20v

- 225 Preparations were ordered by the Court of Aldermen as early as 22 May - Rep 13i 162v - and arrangements were wholly delegated to Richard Grafton in June Ibid 169. For contemporary comment and description of pageantry see Elder 'The copie of a letter'
- 226 Jo 16 285v; Rep 13i 112,166v. The Bakers, for example, paid 10s contribution to the fifteenth, as well as L10 15s 5d for 'new making' of two streamers and a banner, and 20s for the construction and setting up of a standing of 80 foot between the conduit and Bishops head in Cornhill and 4d in reward - GL Ms 5174/2 43. The Brewers spent only 7s 11d on the carriage of rails, forms and banners, for cloth of blue

to cover the railings, and for removing rubbish afterwards -
GL Ms 5442/3 unfoliated

- 227 Rep 13i 166; Elder 'The copie of a letter' 14v
- 228 Elder 'The copie of a letter' 14v-15 and see cp3
- 229 E.g. the Steelyard's pageant included two female figures, Hispania and Britannia - Anglo Spectacle 330
- 230 E.g. Chronicle of Queen Jane 81-2; CSP Sp 1554-8 49
- 231 Anglo Spectacle 358
- 232 Anglo Images 108-9; Spectacle 330
- 233 LBk R 304v
- 234 Machyn Diary 4-5,20-1,30-1
- 235 Machyn Diary 16,38,57
- 236 Mary's entry (August 1553) - Machyn Diary 38; Jones 'The Surrender of the Sword' 11; See also, for example, GL Ms 5606/1 unfoliated (account for 1553).
- Philip and Mary's 2nd visit -see, for example, GL Mss 5174/2 52; 5442/3 unfoliated (account for 1554-5)
- 237 Jones 'The Surrender of the Sword' 13
- 238 Machyn Diary 11-12; Grey Friars' Chronicle 72.
- 239 Machyn Diary 11-12
- 240 For example, Machyn Diary 50,66; Grey Friars' Chronicle 69; LBk R 288
- 241 For examples of the companies' objections to this enforced hospitality see Drapers' minutes 1543-53 982,999,1029,1035 & GL MF 298 vol 4 168,199. The entry of the Ambassadors sent over to negotiate the Spanish marriage, together with their retinue and harbingers, was particularly unpopular in London - Chronicle of Queen Jane 34
- 242 Jo 16 273
- 243 See Gronquist 'The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown' 159-164
- 244 Grey Friars' Chronicle 73,76; Machyn Diary 13-14,28-9; Grafton's Chronicle II 526-7. For the significance of these festivities see Anglo Spectacle 301-9 and Chambers Medieval Stage I 403-19
- 245 Curtes had been in trouble with his fellow Aldermen in the past, for his reluctance to translate to one of the Great Companies on his election to the Bench - see above n154 and cp5 n61

246 Grey Friars' Chronicle 76

247 Anglo Spectacle 309

248 When the Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, failed to produce adequate clothing for them, Ferrers, the Lord of Misrule, returned it and complained to Northumberland. Ferrers declared that Cawarden must have:

mistaken the persons that should wear them, as Sir Robert Stafford and Thomas Wyndesor, with other gentlemen that stand also upon their reputation, and would not be seen in London, so torch-bearer disguised, for as much as they are worth or hope to be worth (Kempe Loseley Manuscripts 28)

Northumberland subsequently declared to Cawarden that Ferrers 'remaineth disappointed of his going to London with such honour as behoveth'. Eventually Cawarden delivered the goods, albeit at the considerable cost of L299 5s 5d - Kempe Ibid 28; A Feuillerat Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary: the Loseley Manuscripts 1914 56,60,77-81, cited in Anglo Spectacle 305-6

249 Anglo Images 108

CONCLUSION

The significance of the relationship between Crown and capital city was accentuated during the brief reigns of Edward VI and Mary by the political challenges and financial difficulties which beset the central government. Whilst the instability of the period should not be exaggerated, it is undeniable that the two rebellions and two coups d'etat which took place under the mid-Tudors did represent a threat to the political regime, already weakened by the incumbencies of a boy-king and a female ruler. Meanwhile, the debts inherited from Henry VIII and increased by substantial war expenditure against the traditional enemies of France and Scotland threatened to undermine the financial viability of the mid-Tudor monarchy. Politically, the capital's support, or opposition, could be decisive in the outcome of coup or rebellion, a factor appreciated above all by *Northumberland*, who deliberately, and successfully, courted the City in 1549 and 1553. Whoever held both the Tower and the loyalty of London's rulers was likely to hold sway in the nation. Financially, the Crown was equally dependent on the capital's support. For nearly thirty years, from 1545 to 1574, the City occupied a unique position vis a vis the monarchy, as sole guarantor for Crown borrowing on the continent, whilst the Merchant Adventurers and Staplers, whose membership comprised a high proportion of London merchants, played a crucial role as short-term creditors to bridge royal loans. Meanwhile, the Crown's agents in Antwerp, the centre of foreign borrowing, were drawn principally from the City of London, which itself was developing an increasingly important role as a financial centre. Moreover, the state had a number of concerns in common with the capital. It was in the Crown's own

interest to ensure the stability and prosperity of the City. Disorder in the capital might threaten political instability in the nation, whilst interruption to London's important overseas trade would mean direct financial loss to the Crown, in reduced customs revenue, in addition to its adverse effects on the national economy and on individual wealth.

The Crown's urgent need for resources reinforced the significance of the City's role as the major contributor to central government customs, taxation, forced loans and military levies. Indeed, it has been shown that the combined burden fell with particular severity on the capital at this period. It was in acknowledgement of the rich financial pickings available from the London-based cloth trade that the new customs rates were introduced by Mary's government in 1558, over-ruling, on this occasion, the objections of the London merchants. Other central government demands also proved costly for the citizens, both corporately and individually. The enforced redemption of rent-charges on former chantry lands severely diminished livery company funds, whilst compulsory contributions towards pageantry staged, with some frequency, on behalf of the Crown fell heavily on individual citizens as well as companies. Coming in tandem with growing civic levies, in particular for poor relief, it is scarcely surprising that the repeated royal demands led to periodic protests of ineligibility or inability to make financial contributions or to produce military contingents. In such instances, the City was in a strong bargaining position, despite the acknowledged need to assist the Crown in time of national emergency along with the rest of the nation, because of the monarch's obvious dependence on its resources. Not only did the

City Corporation succeed in reducing the scale of such requests, it was also able to influence central government policy and attitude on other occasions. The relatively lenient treatment of the City livery companies by the Chantry Commissioners in Edward's reign and the hardening of Mary's policy towards the Hanse may be attributed to the strength of the London lobby. Although other cities in the realm offered a similar combination of attractions to the Crown - political support, financial and military resources, pageantry at royal entries, civic patronage and so forth - London was unique in its wealth, its political importance and its proximity to the seat of government. No monarch could afford to ignore or alienate the City's rulers, particularly not the regimes of Edward VI and Mary.

In emphasising the monarch's need of the City, and the strong bargaining position in which this placed the capital, the natural subservience of the latter should not be overlooked. Far from welcoming the increase in political powers brought by a period of relatively weak central government, the City rulers appear to have disliked it. In particular, the need to take sides in the two coups d'etat placed the City Corporation in an unenviable position. It had chosen unwisely in the past, during the reign of Henry III, and had suffered as a consequence. It was to make a similar mistake in 1553, with unfortunate, if not disastrous, results. Although Mary did not punish the citizens for their support of Jane by the confiscation of their charters, as Henry III had done, she found it hard to trust the City's inhabitants after their disloyalty, despite their apparently genuine welcome to her at her accession and coronation. This situation was compounded by further suspicions over their allegiance during the

Wyatt rebellion and by the continuing displays of anti-catholic and anti-Spanish feeling in the capital. Her threat to withdraw Parliament to Oxford was followed, several years later, by the imposition of martial law in the capital and elsewhere. It is scarcely suprising that rumours abounded that 'the Queen loveth not the City', or that the citizens appeared to show genuine enthusiasm at the arrival of her successor. The City establishment wanted, above all else, stable, strong but non-interventionist central government, to enable it to continue to govern and its merchants to continue to trade. It is ironic that Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, in providing the stable and long-lasting rule that the citizens required to function effectively, interfered more in the internal affairs of the City than the politically weaker mid-Tudor monarchs. In particular, Henry VIII had been able to show a high-handedness with regard to civic patronage which his children apparently felt unwise.

Yet, even the more dependent regimes of Edward and Mary were prepared to intervene in the internal affairs of the City if they felt threatened by the apparent unwillingness of the civic authorities to take decisive action. In particular, the central government showed concern about the effects of its economic and religious policy on the citizens. Carefully monitoring both price levels and signs of religious disorder in the capital, it was willing to intervene, by means of royal proclamation or direct appeal to the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens, when crisis appeared to loom. It is significant that the two occasions during this period when the Crown threatened to withdraw the City's liberties, in 1551 and 1553, were related to the perceived failure of the Corporation to control prices during the coinage

debasement and to keep order within the walls after a controversial religious sermon. Although the City Corporation might have resented such interference, social and economic stability were preoccupations shared by both central and civic government.

The City Corporation and its other institutions, including its mayoralty, its many livery companies and its embryonic trading companies, needed royal endorsement and support. Not only did they require confirmation of their rights by charter or other ratification, they also needed influence at Court to ensure favourable conditions in which to operate. The City merchants, in particular, stood to benefit from royal backing. Trading agreements, such as that negotiated with Russia, peace treaties, such as that with France in 1550, trade monopolies, such as that given to the Russia company, and dispensations from trade embargoes, such as that imposed on the French wine trade, could all be to their advantage. Conversely, the vacillating policies of the monarchy towards the Hanseatic merchants, the revival of the wars with France and the adverse effects of coinage manipulation on the exchange rate all interrupted the smooth running of overseas trade. Internal trade and manufacture could be assisted or hindered in a similar way by central government measures. On the positive side, royal proclamations and Acts of Parliament could be procured to ensure adequate supplies of victuals for the city markets and to introduce or maintain favourable trading conditions for individual interest groups, whilst the central law courts (equity jurisdiction in particular) could assist in enforcing livery company monopolies and search rights granted by royal charter. Indeed, the proximity and

accessibility of Parliament and the central law courts to City interests ensured that a considerable volume of London business was transacted at Westminster. In addition, the local effect of national Parliamentary measures could be tempered by the operation of the strong London Parliamentary lobby. The need to cultivate influential contacts in Parliament, the central law courts and at Court is self-evident. It is also worth recalling that the Crown stood at the centre of an important patronage network, which London, like other towns in the kingdom, was anxious to tap:

Since most of the patronage which towns sought lay in the King's gift, the loss of royal favour meant at best the refusal of further grants, at worst the suspension of existing liberties

(Horrox 'Urban Patronage' 161)

However prosperous and prominent the capital and however dependent the central government on its support and resources, the City of London could not afford to forget its position of subservience in the natural hierarchy nor the need for royal endorsement of its rights, its privileges and, indeed, its civic government.

APPENDIX 1.1 : CROWN BORROWING IN ANTWERP 1547-1558

EDWARD VI

DATE*	DUE*	LENDER**	AMOUNT***	REPAID*	SOURCE
<u>Inherited debt</u>					
27/6/46	15/2/47	AF	383,040CF	1/48	REP11 388 <u>APC 1547-50</u> 159
28/6/46	16/2/47	ES	76,421Crowns [L24,200FL]	-	REP11 387v-8 <u>APC 1547-50</u> 80,159
-	15/2/47	ES&AF	383,014CF	24/3/47	SP68/1 162 <u>APC 1547-50</u> 80 REP11 419
-		AB	L370	4/47	<u>APC 1547-50</u>
		LS	L400	4/47	84-5
		AB	L500	6/47	<u>APC 1547-50</u> 101
-		AF	-	9/47	REP11 349v
<u>Edward VI</u>					
7/47	-	AF	129,750CF	3/48	REP11 338v-9 REP11 419
29/9/47	8/52	GS	72,000CF	10/52	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 152
3/48	-	AF(2 bonds)	-	4/49	REP11 400, 403,406 REP12i 78,83
12/4/48	-	LT	167,218CF	8/49	REP11 422,427v REP12i128v <u>APC 1547-50</u> 310
-	15/5/49	LT	-	5/49	SP68/3 655, 699 (No.137 & 146)
13/9/48	1/9/49	JR&FvH	56,000CF	1/50	REP11 467v 472v REP12i184
10/48		(4 bonds)	-	-	REP11 493
30/4/49	15/5/50	ES	288,000CF	7/50	REP12i 253
5/49	-	ES	188,160CF	-	REP12i 78,82 SP68/3 699 (No. 146)

20/5/49	20/5/50	LT	150,000CF	-	SP68/3 719- 21 (No.150)
16/8/49	9/50	JR&FvH	62,720CF	11/50	REP12i130 REP12ii284v
11/9/49	15/7/50 (or 15/8/50)	AF	328,800CF	7/50 (part)	REP12i250v SP68/3 1097 (No.199&207) <u>APC 1550-2</u> 26 & 33
5/50	-	ES(3 bonds) -	-	-	REP12i 231
8/6/50	-	AF	233,856CF &127,200CF (or 127,000)	2/51	REP12i243,245v <u>APC 1550-2</u> 219
5/9/50	1/9/51	JR&FvH	70,246CF	11/51	REP12i258v REP12ii265v REP12ii411v <u>APC 1550-2</u> 408
4/51		AF(4 bonds) :			REP12ii323,324v
16/4/51	8/52	AF	271,918CF	1/53	REP13i 6v
-	16/4/52 (or 30/4/52)	AF	84,000CF	5/52	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 27,40-1
-	16/4/52	AF	272,743CF	7/52	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 99
				3/52	REP12ii458v
				10/52	REP12ii540
-	28/2/52	AF	381,440CF	3/52	<u>APC 1550-2</u> 505 REP12ii458v
3/9/51	1/9/52 (or 20/8/52)	GS	72,000CF	1/53	REP12ii370,384 REP13i 6v
-	31/5/52	JS	L6180FL	5/52	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 58
5/52	15/5/53	AF	41,800 Fr crowns		REP12ii480 <u>APC 1552-4</u> 29
28/5/52	15/12/52	WF	64,200CF	1/53	REP12ii489 REP13i 6v
29/5/52	15/11/52	AF	160,500CF	2/53	REP12ii489 <u>APC 1552-4</u> 218-19
29/5/52	15/12/52	JS	64,200CF	5/53	REP12ii489 <u>APC 1552-4</u>

7/52	20/7/53	GS	44,640CF	-	REP12ii505v
	"	CR	36,870CF	-	
				8/53	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 334
9/52		AF, FvH, JR (4 bonds) :			REP12ii532, 540 <u>APC 1552-4</u> 129
9/52	15/8/53	AF	164,116CF	9/53	REP13i77v <u>APC 1552-4</u> 344
9/52	2/53	AF	128,400CF	2/53	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 229
9/52	9/53	JR	18,506CF	12/53	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 376
9/52	8/53	FvH	104,560CF	12/53	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 376
12/52	Cold mart (i.e.2/53)	WR	103,707CF	5/53	REP12ii551 <u>APC 1552-4</u> 269
4/4/53		AL&TF	69,084CF		SP68/12 (No. 647)

Cancelled bonds not identified with loans taken out :

AF&ES REP12ii 337v,384; REP13i 100v

MARY

DATE*	DUE*	LENDER**	AMOUNT***	REPAID*	SOURCE
28/11/53	31/10/54 (or 1/11/54)	LT	113,000CF	1/55	SP69/2 70-1, 96(No.85&99) REP13i104v,106v REP13i246,270 SP69/6 16-17 (No.319-20)
11/53	31/10/54	LT	113,000CF (or 114,000CF)	-	REP13i100v SP69/2 28,82, 96,107(No.69, 98,99,104) SP69/6 16-17 (No.319-20)
1/54	1/1/55	AL&TF JS	67,800CF 67,800CF	2/55	REP13i109r-v REP13i270 SP69/2 131 (No.111) SP69/6 16 (No.319)
1/54	25/1/55 & Cold mart (i.e.2/55)	MD	56,000CF	- 2/55	REP13i114, 157 SP69/2 70-1 (No.85) SP69/3 15 (No.130) SP69/6 17 (No.320) REP13i270
5/54	20/4/55 & Pasche mart (Easter)	JS	66,000CF 125,937CF	6/55	REP13i157v-8 <u>APC 1554-6</u> 149
"	"	JL	45,600CF		SP69/4 102 (No.
"	"	OL	60,800CF		210I) SP69/6 15(No.319)
"	"	AF	214,225CF		E101/520/14a
"	"	JM	28,500CF		Prolonged
"	"	AS&FI	45,710CF		SP69/6 52-3v (No.338)
6/54	Pasche (Easter)	JS(3bonds)	119,780CF: i.e.65,060 27,120 27,600	6/55	REP13i168v,170 <u>APC 1554-6</u> 149
6/54	Various	JS(5 bonds)	312,270CF	-	REP13i178-v

11/54or 12/54	1/10/55	TP	33,150CF	- 11/55	REP13i244,246 <u>APC1554-6</u> 190 SP69/7 126 (No.438)
"	1/10/55	AL&TF	33,150CF [L5,525FL]	12/55	REP13i244,246 <u>APC1554-6</u> 199 REP13ii340 SP69/7 27 (No.403)
"	20/10/55	AL&TF	31,440CF (or 31,144CF)	11/55	REP13i 340 <u>APC 1554-6</u> 190 SP69/7 27 (No.403)
1/55	25/1/56	MD&AB	62,620CF (or 62,720CF)	3/56	REP13ii374v <u>APC1554-6</u> 244 SP69/7 27 (No.403)
4/55		(13 bonds):		-	REP13i284,285
-	31/7/55	LT	L4,280FL	-	SP69/7 27 (No.403)
-	31/7/55	LT	105,024CF	12/55	REP13ii 355v,356
-	31/10/55	LT	619,560CF		<u>APC 1554-6</u> 199; REP13ii 355v
4/55	20/10/55	AS	28,044CF	12/55 11/55	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 193; REP13ii 347; SP69/7 27
-	20/10/55	AF	114,610CF	12/55	SP69/7 27 REP13ii 355v
-	30/10/55	OL	43,357CF	12/55	SP69/7 27 REP13ii 355v
-	"	AL&TF	40,145CF	12/55	SP69/7 27 REP13ii 355v
-	"	JS	37,396CF	12/55	SP69/7 27 REP13ii 355v
4/55	20/4/56	JL	51,984CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7 27
4/55	20/4/56	JM	32,490CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7 27
4/55	20/4/56	JB	32,490CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7 27
4/55	20/4/56	JS	20,854CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7

4/55	20/4/56	AF	122,108CF	6/56	27 <u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7 27
4/55	20/4/56	AL&TF	40,190CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7 27
4/55	20/4/56	AL&TF	42,772CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 286; SP69/7 27
11/55	20/4/56	OL	22,985CF	6/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u>
	30/4/56	LT	64,200CF		195,286-7
	1/4/56	AL&TF	50,922CF		REP13ii 347
	20/4/56	AF	70,620CF		
	20/4/56	GS	20,754CF		
2/56	8/56	AvD	L15,000FL (+7%interest)		SP69/8 53 (No.474)
3/56					REP13ii382, 467
	30/9/56	AvD	53,723CF	1/57 or 12/56	<u>APC1556-8 36</u>
	"	AvD	77,040CF	1/57 or 12/56	REP13ii467 <u>APC1556-8 36</u>
	1/10/56	AL&TF	76,787CF (or 77,787CF)	1/57 or 12/56	REP13ii467 <u>APC1556-8 36</u>
	"	JS	21,254CF	11/56	<u>APC1556-8 23</u>
	20/10/56	JM	12,840CF	11/56	<u>APC1556-8 23</u>
	"	AF	141,240CF	5/56	<u>APC1554-6 269</u>
	"	JSa	12,840CF		
	"	JL	17,382CF	1/57 or 12/56	REP13ii 467 <u>APC1556-8 36</u>
	31/10/56	LT	62,274CF	1/57 or 12/56	REP13ii 467 <u>APC1556-8 36</u>
-	20/10/56	JCD	12,840CF	5/56	<u>APC 1554-6</u> 269
8/5/56					REP13ii 395
	20/10/56	AF	154,859CF (or 154,806CF)	1/57 or 12/56	REP13ii 467 <u>APC1556-8 35</u>
	"	JB	29,778CF (or 29,718CF)	11/56	<u>APC1556-8 23</u>
	"	JP	21,997CF (or 21,097CF)	1/57 12/56	REP13ii 467v <u>APC1556-8 35</u>
12/56	20/4/57	AF	107,704CF	- 5/57	REP13ii 457 <u>APC1556-8 94</u>
	20/4/57	AL&TF	115,560CF		REP13ii 457
	(or 1/4/57)	"	(or 115,060CF)	5/57	<u>APC1556-8 94</u>
	1/4/57	"	74,408CF	5/57	<u>APC1556-8 94</u>
	1 or 20/4/57	JP	12,840CF	5/57	<u>APC1556-8 94</u>
	"	AvD	54,955CF	5/57	<u>APC1556-8 94</u>
	30/4/57	LT	47,824CF	5/57	<u>APC1556-8 94</u>

12/56 -3/58 NO RECORD OF NEW LOANS ****

29/3/58	15/5/59	AL&TF	69,084CF	-	SP69/12 99, 157 (No.751 & 776)
9/4/58	25/5/59	Schetz	L2,000FL	-	SP69/12 157
"	"	LT	L2,000FL	-	"
13/4/58	1/5/59	JRe	41,450CF (or 61,450CF)	-	REP14 25v SP69/12 99,157 165v (No.751, 776,782)
24/4/58	20/5/59	LT	75,992CF	-	REP14 27,27v SP69/12 157, 183v (No.751, 782)
24/4/58	25/5/59	CF&SF	L1,200	-	SP69/12 157
5/58	20/5/58	JG	20,724CF	-	REP14 30v <u>APC 1556-8</u> 314; SP69/12 157,183v
5/58	20/5/59	MF	20,724CF	-	<u>APC 1556-8</u> 314; SP69/12 157,183v
5/58	Pasche mart (Easter)	BK	28,633CF	-	<u>APC 1556-8</u> 314; SP69/12 157,183v
5/58	31/11/58	BS&CS	54,035CF	-	SP69/12 158,183v
5/58	15/5/59	PvG	17,871CF	-	SP69/12 157,183v
5/58	Paiz mart	PvD	36,844CF	-	SP69/12 158
	-	(2 bonds)	-	-	REP14 32
	-	(2 bonds)	-	-	REP14 34
6/58	-	(1 bonds)	-	-	REP14 35
7/58	31/1/59	BS&CS	30,259CF		REP14 50v SP69/12 183
11/58	-	(2)	-	-	REP14 82v

Cancelled bonds not identified with loans taken out :

REP 13ii 297v (10)- 6/55; REP13ii 395(2) -5/56;

NOTES

* DATES

Generally approximate. 3 dates given :

- 1 Date of loan - either exact date of bond or month derived from the date on which the City received request for bonds
- 2 Date due - date agreed for repayment of loan in Antwerp by Crown
- 3 Month repaid - generally derived from the date on which the City received back its bonds and returned counter bonds

**LENDERS

AF Anthony Fugger (and nephews)
AB Anthony/Alexander Bonvisi
AL Alexander Lixshalls/Lyxalls
AS Anthony Spinola
AvD Art van Dalle
BK Balthazar Kyning
BS Balthazar Schetz
CF Christopher Fletchamore
CR Conrad Raylenger (and sons)
CS Conrad Schetz
ES Erasmus Schetz (and sons)
FI Frederick Imperiali
FvH Francis van Halle
GS Gaspar Schetz (and nephews)
JB John Baptiste de la Fetata
JCD John Carolo Daffitadi
JL John Loppo (Gallo)
JG James Gotteshem
JM John Mantansye
JP James Petters
JR John Ransome
JRe Jerome Rechenigre
JS Jasper Schetz (and brethren)
JSa John Sarlowe
LS Leonard Shorer
LT Lazarus Tucher
MD Michael Deodatti
MF Martin Flenezorne
OL Octavian Lomlymio
PvD Paul van Dalle
PvG Paul van Gymer
SF Sebastian Fletchamore
TF Thomas Fletchamore
TP Theobald Prynne
WR Wolfe Reylynger/Wolfgang Rechlyng

*** AMOUNT

CF Caroline Florins Crowns : imperial (or French where
L (FL) Flemish pounds specified)

Note: only whole florins given (extra stuffers excluded)

1 florin = 20 stivers/stuffers = 10 denier

6 carolus florin/gulden = 1 pound Flemish

1 Crown (Imperial or French) = 38 stuffers (6s 4d Sterling)

**** There is no extant correspondence between Gresham and the Council from March 1556 to March 1558 - a point made made Burgon (Burgon Gresham I 180-1) - nor any references in the Repertories

APPENDIX 1.2 : CROWN BORROWING IN ANTWERP 1547-1558
(CONVERSION INTO FLEMISH POUNDS)

Note: 6 carolus florin/gulden = 1 pound Flemish
All figures rounded to nearest pound
For references see Appendix 1.1
For London/Antwerp exchange rate see Gould The Great Debasement Table IX 89

EDWARD VI

DATE	DUE	LENDER	AMOUNT (Flemish pounds)
INHERITED DEBT			
27/6/46	15/2/47	AF	63,840
28/6/46	16/2/47	ES	24,200
	15/2/47	ES&AF	63,836
-		AB	370
		LS	400
		AB	500
EDWARD VI'S DEBT			
7/47	-	AF	21,625
29/9/47	8/52	GS	12,000
3/48	-	AF(2)	-
12/4/48	-	LT	27,870
-	15/5/49	LT	-
13/9/48	1/9/49	FvH	9,333
30/4/49	15/5/50	ES	48,000
5/49		ES	31,360
20/5/49	20/5/50	LT	25,000
16/8/49	9/50	JR&FvH	10,453
11/9/49	15/7/50 (or 15/8/50)	AF	54,800
5/50	-	ES(3)	-
8/6/50	-	AF	38,976 21,200
5/9/50	1/9/51	JR&FvH	11,708
16/4/51	8/52	AF	45,320
4/51	16/4/52	AF	45,457

16/4/51	28/2/52	AF	63,573
4/51	16/4/52 (or 30/4/52)	AF	14,000
3/9/51	1/9/52	GS	12,000
-	31/5/52	JS	6,180
5/52	15/5/53	AF	13,237
28/5/52	15/12/52	WF	10,700
5/52	15/11/52	AF	26,750
29/5/52	15/12/52	JS	10,700
7/52	20/7/53	GS	7,440
	"	CR	6,145
9/52	15/8/53	AF	27,353
9/52	2/53	AF	21,400
9/52	9/53	JR	3,084
9/52	8/53	FvH	17,427
12/52	2/53	WR	17,285
4/4/53	-	AL&TF	11,514

Total borrowed by Edward VI (minimum) : L671,890 (Flemish)
(excluding inherited debt)

MARY

DATE	DUE	LENDER	AMOUNT (Flemish pounds)
28/11/53	31/10/54	LT	18,833
11/53	31/10/54	LT	18,833
1/54	1/1/55	AL&TF JS	11,300 11,300
1/54	25/1/55	MD	9,333
5/54	20/4/55 & Pasche	JS	11,000 20,990
5/54	20/4/55	JL OL AF JM AS&FI	7,600 10,133 35,704 4,750 7,618
6/54	Pasche	JS(3)	19,963
6/54	Various	JS(5)	52,045
11/54or 12/54	1/10/55	TP	5,525
	1/10/55	AL&TF	5,525
	20/10/55	AL&TF	5,240
1/55	25/1/56	MD&AB	10,437
4/55	31/7/55	LT	4,280
-	31/7/55	LT	17,504
-	31/10/55	LT	103,260
4/55	20/10/55	AS	4,674
-	"	AF	19,102
-	30/10/55	OL	7,226
-	"	AL&TF	6,691
-	"	JS	6,233
4/55	20/4/56	JL	8,664
	"	JM	5,415
	"	JB	5,415
	"	JS	3,476
	"	AF	20,351
	"	AL&TF	6,698
	"	"	7,129
11/55	20/4/56	OL	3,831
	30/4/56	LT	10,700
	1/4/56	AL&TF	8,487
	20/4/56	AF	11,770
	"	GS	3,459

2/56	8/56	AvD	c15,000
3/56			
	30/9/56	AvD	8,954
	"	AvD	12,840
	1/10/56	AL&TF	12,798
	"	JS	3,542
	20/10/56	JM	2,140
	"	AF	23,540
	"	JSa	2,140
	"	JL	2,897
	31/10/56	LT	10,379
-	20/10/56	JCD	2,140
5/56			
	20/10/56	AF	25,810
		JB	4,963
		JP	3,666
12/56	20/4/57	AF	17,951
	"	AL&TF	19,260
	1/4/57	"	12,401
	1or20/4/57	JP	2,140
	"	AvD	9,159
	30/4/57	LT	7,971
29/3/58	15/5/59	AL&TF	11,514
9/4/58	25/5/59	Schetz	c2,000
"	"	LT	c2,000
13/4/58	1/5/59	JRe	6,908
24/4/58	20/5/59	LT	12,665
24/4/58	25/5/59	CF&SF	1,200
5/58	20/5/58	JG	3,454
5/58	20/5/59	MF	3,454
5/58	Pasche mart	BK	4,772
5/58	31/11/58	BS&CS	9,006
5/58	15/5/59	PvG	2,978
5/58	Paiz mart	PvD	6,141
7/58	31/1/59	BS&CS	5,043
11/58	-	(2)	-

Total borrowed by Mary (minimum): L801,320 (Flemish)

APPENDIX 2 : CROWN BORROWING FROM ADVENTURERS AND STAPLERS, 1552-8

Date	Amount	Reference
Dec 1552	L40,000 borrowed from Ads ? borrowed from Staps	<u>APC1552-4</u> 199 <u>EdVI Chron</u> 146-7 SP 10/15 13 Stow <u>Annales</u> 1028
Jan 1553	L8000 repaid to Ads; L4,000 to Staps	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 207
Feb 1553	L8000 repaid to Ads	217,221,225
Apr 1553	L61,798 borrowed from Ads & Staps	E364/120 68d
May 1553	L36,371 borrowed from Ads L25,000 borrowed from Staps (to be paid in Antwerp in 3 months)	<u>APC 1552-4</u> 267, 268,275
Dec 1553	L18,051 repaid to Staps L61,798 repaid to Ads & Staps	E364/120 67d E364/120 68d
Jan 1554	L14,407 repaid to Ads & Staps	E364/120 67d
Apr 1554	L546 repaid to Ads & Staps	E364/120 67d
Aug 1554	L8,400 repaid to Ads & Staps	E364/120 67d
Feb 1555	L12,000 repaid to Ads L8000 repaid to Staps	E351/19 E101/520/14a
Apr 1555	L2000 repaid to Ads & Staps	E364/120 67d
June 1555	L10,000 borrowed from Ads & Staps	E364/120 67d
Oct 1555	L11,428 12s borrowed from Staps	E364/120 67d
Nov 1555	L10,909 repaid to Ads & Staps	E364/120 68d
Apr 1556	cL25,000 repaid to Ads L11,428 repaid to Staps	E364/120 67d E405/121 37d, 48, 52, 60, 92, 118
Easter 1558	L20,000 borrowed from "merchants"	E405/123 15d
Jun-Jul 1558	L33,705 repaid to Ads [L30,000 7mths @ 7%]	E364/120 74
Michaelmas 1558	L5,000 borrowed from "merchants"	E405/123 42d

Notes

Ads = Adventurers Staps = Staplers

Amounts are assumed to be Flemish currency

This table is incomplete, compiled only from the sources indicated above. However, it gives some indication of the minimum amount borrowed by the Crown from the merchants

APPENDIX 3.1 : LIST OF KNOWN INSURERS IN LONDON, 1547-58

Name	Nationality	Company	Reference
Richard Andrew	?English		HCA24/29 no.45 HCA24/30 no.151
Edmund Askewe	?English		HCA24/18 no.131-2
John Blackman	?English		HCA24/29 no.45
John Broomiche	?English		HCA24/29 no.45
Thomas Browne	English	(MM)	HCA24/29 no.45
Thomas Castell	English	Draper(MM)	HCA24/18 no.131-2 HCA24/30 no.151
Baptist Cavalcant	Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
Stiootto Cavalcant	Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
Thomas Chamber	English	?Grocer(MM)	HCA24/18 no.131-2 HCA24/30 no.151
Edward Colkes	?English		HCA24/29 no.45
Nicholas Dinale	?		HCA24/35 no.135
Domyon Doffi & brethren	Florentine		HCA24/29 no.45
Robert Dove	English	MT (MM)	HCA24/30 no.151
John Dymocke	English	(MM)	HCA24/18 no.131-2
Bartholomew Fortyne (Fortune) & co.	Florentine		HCA24/29 no.45
Gabriel Galvani	Italian		HCA24/35 no.135 HCA24/30 no.151
Gabriel Goelveenide	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
John Gresham	English	Mercer	HCA24/35 no.135 HCA24/30 no.151
Thomas Hale	?English		HCA24/29 no.45
Edmund Hogan	?English		HCA24/35 no.135 HCA24/30 no.151
George Hopton	English	Draper(MM)	HCA24/31 no.152
Hans von Horne	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
James de Hoven	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
Thomas Laws	?English		HCA24/18 no.131-2

Roger Lightfoote	?English		HCA24/30 no.151
Thomas Lodge	English	Grocer(MM)	HCA24/27 no.147
Derick Lylly	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
William Maynard	English	Mercer	HCA24/18 no.131-2 HCA24/24 no.147
William Meredith	English	Mercer	HCA24/29 no.45 HCA24/35 no.135
William Merycke	English	MT(MM)	HCA24/18 no.131-2
Albert de Moroori & brethren	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
John de Poez	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
Lewis de Poez	Spaniard		HCA24/29 no.45
Andreas de la Poena	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
Walter Portaer	?		HCA24/18 no.131-2
John Robyns	?English		HCA24/30 no.151
Donato de Sagnani & co.	Alien		HCA24/30 no.151
Blase Saunders	English	Grocer(MM)	HCA24/18 no.131-2
George Smith & co.	?English		HCA24/30 no.151
Roland Stiper	?English		HCA24/29 no.45
John Watkins	?English		HCA24/29 no.45
Thomas Wetts	?English		HCA24/30 no.151
Richard Whethill	?English		HCA24/29 no.45 HCA24/30 no.151
Peter de Whooderiaga	?Alien		HCA24/29 no.45
Roger Whoorffe	?		HCA24/29 no.45
John Wilford	?English	MT(MM)	HCA24/29 no.45
William Wood	?English		HCA24/18 no.131-2
William Yonge	?English		HCA24/29 no.45

Summary

Aliens - 7	English - 12	Unidentified	Total -
?Aliens - 8	?English - 18	(?) - 3	
Total : 15	30	3	48
% 31%	63%	6%	100%

APPENDIX 3.2 : LIST OF KNOWN INSURERS IN LONDON, 1559-73

Edmund Ansell	English	Skinner(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/37 no.74 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Thomas Bannester	English	Skinner(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
George Barne (Berne)	English	Haberdasher (MM)	HCA24/35/283 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
John Barnes (Barne)	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Ansell Beckett	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20
Francis Bennyson	English		HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.19
Richard Billam	English		HCA24/39 no.20
William Bodie (Body)	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
George & William Bond(e)	English	Wm=Haberdasher (MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Robert Bra[bt]one	English		HCA24/39 no.20
John Branche (Branch)	English	Draper(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Pieter Briet (Pierre)	Alien		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Anthony Brincellow (Brynkcklowe/Brincklowe)	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20
John Brook (Broke)	English	Draper(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
Francis Brochoo	?Alien		C3/32/4
Humfrey Browne	?English		HCA24/39 no.19
Thomas Browne	English	(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/37 no.74 HCA24/39 no.16

Anthony Calthrope	English		C3/100/56
Edmund Calthrope	English		C3/26/78 C3/100/56 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 [no.15] HCA24/39 no.19
Martin Calthrope	English		C3/26/78 C3/100/56 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Thomas Castelyn	English	Mercer	HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.20
Robert Cocks	?English		C3/100/56
Matthew Colcloughe	English	Draper	HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
William Coppinger (Coppynger)	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
Nicholas Culverwell	English		HCA24/35/283 C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Arthur Dawbeny (Dawbeney)	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Robert Dove (Dowe)	English	Merchant Taylor (MM)	HCA24/35/283 C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Thomas Elliot (Elyot)	English	Mercer(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 [no.15] HCA24/39 no.19
Paul Fortini	Florentine		C3/32/4
William Fox	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Robert Fryer	English	Draper	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20
Anthony Gammage (Gomage)	English	Ironmonger (MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
Richard Goddard (Godarde)	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 [no.15] HCA24/39 no.19

Edmund Gresham	?English		HCA24/39 no.19
John Gresham	English	Mercer (MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 [no.15]
William Gybbins	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
John Harbie	?English		C3/100/56
John Hardinge (Hardyng)	?English		C3/100/56 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Thomas Hartup (Hartoppe)	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20
Thomas Heron	English	(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Edmund Hogan	?English		HCA24/37 no.74 HCA24/39 [no.15] HCA24/39 no.19
Christopher Huddeson (Hoddesdon(n))	English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Edmund Hudgan [?Hogan]	?English		C3/100/56
John Hutton	English	Stapler	HCA24/39 no.20
Henry Isham	English	Mercer	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 [no.15] HCA24/39 no.19
John Isham	English	Mercer	HCA24/39 no.20
William Jervys	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20
William Jevyns	?English		HCA24/37 no.74
Francis Knightley (Knyghtly)	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
John Lacy(e) (Lacie)	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 [no.15] HCA24/39 no.19
William Layer	?English		C3/100/56
Richard Liplen	?		C3/26/78
William Lodington	?English		C3/100/56

Nicholas Lodyngton	?English		HCA24/37 no.74
Thomas Longston	English	Grocer	HCA24/39 no.20
Thomas Lorowne	?English		HCA24/39 no.19
Richard Lister	?English		HCA24/39 no.19
William Meredith	English	Mercer	HCA24/35/283 C3/32/4 HCA24/37 no.74 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
William Merycke	English	Merchant Taylor(MM)	HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
James Morley	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Hector Nones	Portuguese		HCA24/35/283
Hugh Offley	English		HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Richard Offley	English	(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Edward Osborne	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16
John Payne	English		HCA24/39 no.20
Thomas Quarles	English	Draper(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 [no.15]
Pierre de Reux	?Alien		C3/32/4
Robert Ridolphi & co.	Italian		HCA24/35/283
Roger Sadler	English		HCA24/35/283 C3/26/78 HCA24/37 no.74 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
William Sherrington	English		C3/26/78 C3/100/56 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 no.16
Richard Smyth	English		C3/100/56 HCA24/39 no.20

John Spencer	?English		HCA24/35/283 C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
Richard Springham	English	Mercer(MM)	HCA24/35/283
Richard Staper	?English		HCA24/37 no.74
William Strete	English	?Draper(MM)	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.19
John Symcot	?English		HCA24/37 no.74
John Talor	English	Haberdasher	HCA24/39 no.20
Mark Warner	?English		HCA24/39 no.16
Edmund Warsopp (Worsepp/Worsopp)	English	Mercer	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 [no.15]
John Whitbroke	English		HCA24/39 no.20
John White (& co.)	English	Grocer	C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.20 HCA24/39 [no.15]
George Wilsdon	?English		HCA24/39 no.16
William Wintrop	?English		C3/100/56
Thomas Witton (Wytton)	?English		C3/26/78 HCA24/39 no.16 HCA24/39 no.19
William Wrothe	?English		HCA24/39 no.19

MM= Muscovy merchant

Information re nationality and livery company from insurance policies (see above references) or from the following: Willan Muscovy Merchants ; Kirk & Kirk Returns of Aliens.

Queried nationality (?English/?Alien) deduced from surname

Summary 1558-73

Aliens - 4	English - 48	Unidentified	Total -
?Aliens - 2	?English - 29	(?) - 0	
Total : 6	77		83
% 7%	93%	0%	100%

APPENDIX 4.1 : ALDERMEN NOVEMBER 1554

	MAAd	MSt	RuCo (1555)
AYLIFFE J Grocer			
BARNE G Haberdasher	Y		Y
BOWES M Grocer			
CHAMPNEYS J Skinner			
CHESTER W Draper	Y	Y	Y
CURTES, T Pewterer (Fishmonger 1556)	Y		
DOBBYS R Skinner			
GARRARDE W Haberdasher	Y		Y
GRESHAM J Mercer	Y		Y
HARPER W Merchant Taylor	Y		
HERDSON H Skinner	Y		Y
HEWET W Clothworker			
HILL R Mercer			
HUBBERTHORNE H Merchant Taylor		Y	
JUDE, A Skinner		Y	Y
LAXTON W Grocer	Y		
LEIGH T Mercer	Y	Y	
LODGE T Grocer	Y	Y	Y
LYON J Grocer	Y		
MACHELL J Clothworker			
OFFLEY T Merchant Taylor		Y	Y
RANDALL V Mercer	Y		
WHYTE J Grocer	Y		
WHYTE T Merchant Taylor	Y	Y	Y
WOODROFFE D Haberdasher		Y	Y
WYTHERS L Salter	Y		
TOTAL MEMBERS IDENTIFIED :	13 (50%)	8 (31%)	11 (42%)

APPENDIX 4.2 : LORD MAYORS OF LONDON 1544-1558

		MAds	MSt
1544	LAXTON W	Y	
1545	BOWES M		
1546	HUBBERTHORNE H		Y
1547	GRESHAM J	Y	
1548	AMCOTTS H		
1549	HILL R		
1550	JUDDE A		Y
1551	DOBBYS R		
1552	BARNE G	Y	
1553	WHYTE T	Y	
1554	LYON J	Y	
1555	GARRARDE W	Y	
1556	OFFLEY T		Y
1557	CURTES T		
1558	LEIGH T	Y	Y
TOTAL:	15	7	4

Y = yes

Sources: Beaven Aldermen I(Aldermen); E101/520/14a(Adventurers); E122/84/3 & CPR 1557-8 300-1(Staplers); Willan Muscovy Merchants

APPENDIX 5 : TABLE OF REQUESTS FOR CIVIC PATRONAGE, 1547-58

Patron	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558
Edward	OO fy	FFO yyy	FF yy	FFOO yymn	F y		F ?					
Mary	O n						F(18) y FL n?	FOOO ?yf? OLL ?fy?		F f		
Dowager Queen	FFF fyy											
Arundel			F y							LL ny		
Cecil					L y		OLL nnn					
Mrs Claren- tius							L n	OL y?				
Clinton										L y	F y	
Derby								FO yf	F y			
Dorset				O ?								
Gage							FF yy					
Heath										L ?	FL yn	
Montague								F y				
North	L y				F y					L y		
Northam- pton			L ?			F y						
Osborne										F y		
Paget	O f							O n	L f			O f
Pembroke						OF ny		L y	F y	L n		

Patron 1547 1548 1549 1550 1551 1552 1553 1554 1555 1556 1557 1558

Rich F FFL OO O
y nn? nn ?

Rochester F F
y y

Rutland F
y

Somer- FOO FOO FFFFF OL
set ?fy yy? yyyyy y?
LL LLL LLLL
?y yyf ??y?

Suffolk O
?

Warwick/ O L F FOL
Northum- y ? y y??
berland

Winchester FFO O F FL L F FL LL F
yyy n y y? y y yy yy y

Wingfield O L
? ?

Privy L L F FF OL F
Council ? n ? y? ?y y

Other officials

Cofferer F
y

Master L
of rolls f

Chief Baron F L L O
of Exchequer y y ? y

Chief Justice O O L FL
of Common Pleas y y f y?

Clerk of L
Star Chamber y

Master of Horse O O
f n

Lieutenant L L L
of Tower y ? ?

Constable FF
of Tower yy

Key

F Freedom request
O Request for civic office
L Request for lease, licence or other favour
y Granted
n Refused
f Favoured
? Outcome unknown

Summary

Freedom requests

Granted : 66
Refused : 3
Favoured : 3
Unknown : 4
—
Total : 76

Office requests

Granted : 12
Refused : 10
Favoured : 8
Unknown : 8
—
Total : 38

Other requests

Granted : 18
Refused : 7
Favoured : 6
Unknown : 20
—
Total : 49

Note: information derived from the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen - see chapter 7 footnotes for individual references

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES: MANUSCRIPT

Corporation of London Records Office

Rep 4-5,9-16 Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, 1519-24,1533-70
Jo 13-20 Journals of the Court of Common Council, 1527-78
LBk R,S,X,Y,Z Letter books R,S,X,Y,Z
Shelf 36C 'The ancient manner and order of setting the watch,
1585'

Guildhall Library, London

Armourers' company

12071/1 Court minutes, 1413-1559
12073 Yeomanry court minutes, 1552-1604
12065/1 Wardens' accounts, 1497-1563
12079/1 Apprentice bindings and freedom admissions, 1535-
1602

Bakers' company

5177/1 Court minutes, 1537-61
5174/1-2 Wardens' accounts, 1508-86

Blacksmiths' company

2883/1 Court minutes, 1495-9,1547-65

Brewers' company

5445/1-2 Court minutes, 1531-63
5442/3 Wardens' accounts, 1547-62

Butchers' company

6440/1 Wardens' accounts, 1543-88

Carpenters' company

4329/1 Court minutes, 1533-73
4326/2 Wardens' accounts, 1546-73

Coopers' company

5603/1 Rough court minutes, 1552-67
5606/1 Wardens' accounts, 1529-71

Curriers' company

14346/1 Wardens' accounts, 1557-94
14347 Wardens' accounts (fragments)

Founders' company

6303/1 Wardens' accounts, 1497-1558

Grocers' company

11588/1 Court minutes, 1556-91
11571/5-6 Wardens' accounts, 1534-78

Ironmongers' company

16967/1 Court minutes, 1555-1602
16988/2 Wardens' accounts, 1541-92

Merchant Taylors' company
MF298 Wardens' accounts vol. 4, 1545-57 (microfilm)

Pewterers' company
7090/1-2 Court minutes, 1551-89
7086/2 Wardens' accounts, 1530-72
7094 Yeomanry wardens' accounts, 1494-1635
7099 Membership list
7114 Charter and ordinance book
7110 Inventory and record book

Saddlers' company
5384 Wardens' accounts, 1555-1822

Tallowchandlers' company
6152/1 Court minutes, 1549-85
6155/1-2 Yeomanry wardens' accounts, 1519-49

Vintners' company
15333/1 Wardens' accounts, 1522-82

Weavers' company
4646 Memorandum and account book, 15th-19th cent.

Other
2589 Subsidy assessment, 1559
21,607 Burghley letters concerning exchange, 1575-6
22,281-2 Corsini papers (insurance policies)

Clothworkers' Hall

Orders of court (court minutes), 1536-58
Quarter and renter wardens' accounts, 1520-58

Drapers' Hall

Court minutes, 1543-60
Wardens' accounts, 1547-62

Goldsmiths' Hall

Court minutes, G-K, 1543-66

Mercers' Hall

Acts of court (court minutes), 1527-60
Renter wardens' accounts, 1538-77
Gresham's daybook, 1546-52
Miscellaneous manuscripts 2.10

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Additional manuscripts - 5752, 5755, 5935, 5498, 6193, 6195, 6197,
35,831, 35,837, 35,840, 48,019
Cottonian manuscripts - Faustina CII, Galba BXII, Otho EX
Egerton manuscripts - 2063, 3026
Harleian manuscripts - 194, 253, 540, 660
Lansdowne manuscripts - 3, 8, 10, 12, 22, 24, 26, 63, 113, 170
Sloane manuscripts - 365, 2103, 2177

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C1-3	Chancery proceedings
C24	Chancery, town depositions
C33	Chancery, entry books of decrees and orders
C66	Chancery, patent rolls
C78	Chancery, decree rolls
C103-15,127-9	Chancery, masters' exhibits
E12	Exchequer of Pleas, decrees and orders
E13	Exchequer of Pleas, plea rolls
E34	Exchequer, loan agreements
E101	Exchequer, King's remembrancer, accounts various
E111	Exchequer, King's remembrancer, early bills, answers and depositions
E122	Exchequer, King's remembrancer, customs accounts
E159	Exchequer, King's remembrancer, memoranda rolls
E163	Exchequer miscellanea
E179	Exchequer, subsidy rolls
E190	Exchequer, port books
E207	Exchequer, King's remembrancer, <i>bille</i>
E351	Exchequer, Pipe office, declared accounts
E356	Exchequer, Lord treasurer's remembrancer, enrolled customs accounts
E359	Exchequer, Lord treasurer's remembrancer, enrolled subsidy accounts
E364	Exchequer, foreign accounts
E401	Exchequer of Receipt, receipt rolls
E403	Exchequer of Receipt, issue rolls
E305	Exchequer of Receipt, receipt and issue
E407	Exchequer of Receipt, miscellanea
HCA1	High Court of Admiralty, proceedings, oyer and terminer
HCA3	High Court of Admiralty, acts
HCA13	High Court of Admiralty, examinations
HCA14	High Court of Admiralty, exemplifications
HCA24	High Court of Admiralty, libels
KB8	King's Bench, Baga de Secretis, files
KB9	King's Bench, ancient indictments
KB27	King's Bench, coram rege rolls
KB29	King's Bench, controlment rolls
PROB11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury, will registers
SP1	State papers domestic, Henry VIII
SP10-12	State papers domestic, Edward VI-Elizabeth I
SP46	State papers domestic, supplementary
SP68-9	State papers foreign, Edward VI-Mary
STAC2-4	Star Chamber proceedings, Henry VIII-Mary

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