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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

History

**Burgesses, Freeman and Strangers:
The Organisation of Industry and Trade in Southampton, 1547 to 1603**

by

Louise Elizabeth Fairbrother

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July, 2018

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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BURGESSES, FREEMEN AND STRANGERS:

THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN SOUTHAMPTON, 1547 to 1603

Louise Elizabeth Fairbrother

This thesis demonstrates how the town government of Southampton organised its industry and trade in the sixteenth century, with specific focus on the way in which it controlled the three groups involved: burgesses, freemen and strangers. It shows how the town council used devices, such as licences, oaths and ordinances, to regulate those who wished to trade or carry on a craft.

By comparing Southampton to several other towns, Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester, the often complex and diverse nature of English administrations is exposed and the individuality of urban environments is revealed. This thesis also shows how the meanings of certain commonplace terms and words could vary in different towns.

This study defines each group – burgesses, freemen and strangers – as three distinct entities before revealing the close collaborations which could exist between them. The status of an individual was often determined by membership of a particular group. Burgesses were undeniably the group with the most power and highest social standing whose members were often of the mercantile crafts. Research for this thesis shows that although only burgesses had access to the higher levels of political power, non-burgesses were permitted to hold some lower offices.

This study also reveals that within some occupations a combination of burgesses, freemen and strangers worked alongside one another, and that these same occupational groups were called upon to help maintain the town's defences at a time of national emergency.

By utilising unique sources which have rarely, if ever, been used in surveys of urban history before, a new in-depth town study is created. By comparing its findings to studies of other towns, new narratives emerge which reveal much about the organisation of industry and trade in late medieval and early modern English towns. In short, this thesis makes a significant contribution not only to Southampton's history but also to the wider field of urban history.

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Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, Louise Elizabeth Fairbrother

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Burgesses, Freemen and Strangers: The Organisation of Industry and Trade in Southampton, 1547 to 1603

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date:

Acknowledgements

I would like to start by thanking Anne Curry, Dean of Humanities at the University of Southampton, whose offer of a Faculty Scholarship started this scholarly endeavour. Over the ensuing years, Professor Mark Stoye and Professor Maria Hayward, my supervisors, have encouraged and supported me, and I am very grateful to them both. I would also like to thank Jon Lightfoot of iSolutions at the University of Southampton for his expertise and patience in guiding me through the intricacies of formatting this thesis.

Enormous gratitude also goes to Professor Tom James who first introduced me to the richness of the Southampton sources. He has made many of his notes and transcripts available to me for this study and I truly appreciate his advice, encouragement and belief in me over the years.

Another huge thank you goes to Tom Olding for his generosity and support and also to my fellow students in the Latin and Medieval Manuscripts Groups. I am very grateful for their companionship and it is always a real pleasure sharing documents with them.

My gratitude also goes to Dr Cheryl Butler whose energy, enthusiasm and knowledge of Southampton's history is an inspiration and to the Tudor Revels Southampton Palaeography Group through which I have been able to access additional source material. Thank you also to the staff at Southampton City Archives, especially Jo Smith, who are always so helpful.

And so to my family. My daughter, Nina, has been my greatest supporter, and with enthusiasm has taken on the role of proof reader, thank you. I also want to thank my husband, Alan, and my sons, Ross and Jack, because although they have never totally understood the nature of my studies, they have nonetheless never questioned my love for learning or my commitment to this project.

Definitions and Abbreviations

HRO Hampshire Record Office

SCA Southampton City Archives

SRS Southampton Records Series

SRSoc..... Southampton Record Society

TBJ Transcripts Unpublished notes and transcripts produced by Professor T.B. James

TNA..... The National Archives

TRS Database *Tudor Revels Southampton Database*

VCH..... Victoria County History

n. a footnote reference

no. an entry number, for example, in the Court Leet records

Wards of Southampton

AS Above All Saints Above

AS Below All Saints Below

AS + BRES All Saints, Bagrow and East Street

BRES Bagrow and East Street

HR..... Holy Rood

SJ St John

SL..... St Lawrence

SM St Michael

SMJ St Michael and St John

Definitions and Abbreviations

Dating

Dates given in the form 1547/8 refer to the mayoral year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

Dates given in the form 1547-8 imply a period from some time in 1547 to some time in 1548.

All other dates are expressed in terms of the modern year beginning on 1 January (New Style).

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis examines aspects of the organisation of industry and trade in Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century, a subject which has been surprisingly neglected in previous studies. The primary aim is to demonstrate how the town government controlled those who were involved in manufacture and trade in the town through an analysis of archival material. This is achieved by studying each of the three groups involved – the ‘burgesses’, the ‘freemen’ and the ‘strangers’ – and the interrelationships between them. This thesis compares the workings of the town government in Southampton to the administrations of other English towns. This reveals the often complex and diverse nature of town governments which were frequently controlled by a small group of powerful men. The structure within occupational groups is also explored and is one of the most important elements of this study. The foremost research questions of this thesis are: How was industry and trade organised in Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century? How did this compare with other English towns? Many of the sources analysed in this thesis have not been used in surveys of urban history before. This thesis therefore makes a contribution not only to the history of Southampton but also to urban history in general. It tells a new story of life in the late medieval and early modern English town.

The present study grew out of an earlier research project based on the Burgess Book of Southampton.¹ Whilst working on this project, it was observed that the words ‘burgess’ and ‘freeman’ had meant different things in different English towns during the late medieval and early modern period, and that in some urban communities, Norwich and York, for example, the term ‘burgess’ had not appeared at all, and that ‘freeman’ had been used in its place.² It remains unclear as to why the terminology had developed in this way, although the evidence from Norwich suggests that here the original term had been ‘burgess’ and that this had evolved into ‘citizen’ and then into ‘freeman’ by the fourteenth century.³ Even in towns which used the same words, the terminology could mean different things; for example, Nottingham retained the word ‘burgess’ throughout the medieval period, but the burgesship here acted differently than that in

¹ See L.E. Fairbrother, 'The Southampton Burgess Book of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Winchester, 2010).

² E. Griffiths and A. Hassell Smith, *Buxom to the Mayor: A History of the Norwich Freemen* (Norwich: 1987), *passim* and F. Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York, 1272-1558*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (London: Surtees Society, Series 96, 1897), *passim*.

³ Griffiths and Hassell Smith, *Norwich*, pp. 12-13.

Chapter 1

Southampton.⁴ This can make comparisons between towns difficult. In York it was the freemen who were privileged both politically and economically,⁵ whereas in Southampton the freemen enjoyed less political power than the burgesses, for both burgesses and freemen were classed as franchised, but only burgesses were eligible for election to municipal office. These anomalies help to illustrate the sheer complexity of the systems of government that had evolved in many English towns by the sixteenth century.

The time-frame for this study, 1547 to 1603, has been chosen for various reasons. It allows for the use of the Southampton Court Leet books which survive from 1549 onwards and are a major archival resource for this study. The period is of sufficient length to show patterns of change over time, but not so long as to make the wealth of archival material which is available for the late medieval and early modern town unmanageable. The time-frame also permits the exploration of the patterns of industry and trade in Southampton during a period in which England was undergoing unprecedented religious and political change, under the rule, successively, of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Indeed, several elite townsmen acquired monastic buildings and lands at the time of the Reformation. It is worth stating here that there is considerable evidence of reformist zeal in Tudor Southampton, and that many of the townspeople were determined to create a truly Protestant community.⁶ On several occasions the time-frame for the thesis has been expanded, for example, for the discussions on the development of town administrations prior to the sixteenth century and for the analysis of the Register of Free Commoners which was introduced in 1613/4. David Palliser rightly states that he could not put his findings concerning his study of York 'in context without on the one hand tracing back the city's history much earlier, and on the other hand by comparing it to other towns both in the medieval and early modern periods'.⁷ This statement is as relevant for Southampton, or indeed for any in-depth town study, as it is for Tudor York.

The organisation of industry and trade in Southampton has never been studied in depth before. Sian Jones, in her thesis of 1997, examined the nature of patriarchy in Southampton through gender relations. She stated that 'the history of Southampton's artisans has yet to be written' when she was attempting to understand both the formal and informal organisation of the various

⁴ See W.H. Stevenson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Nottingham, 1547-1625*, 9 vols, Vol. 4 (Nottingham: 1889), *passim*.

⁵ D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 147.

⁶ S.K. Parkinson, 'The Religion of the People in Winchester and Southampton, c. 1558-c. 1603' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2003), p. 164.

⁷ D.M. Palliser, *Towns and Local Communities in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), 'Introduction', p. vii.

'craft occupations' that existed in the town.⁸ This thesis uncovers much about the organisation of craft and trade groups in Southampton, and therefore this part of the artisans' story is at last being told. It has usually been the more affluent merchants who have been the subjects of previous studies – for example, Alwyn Ruddock's, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600*, published in 1951 – and it is the wealthier merchants whose names appear regularly in the extant port and brokage books.⁹ Andrew Spicer's, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620* (1997) is the exception to this rule, but it focusses exclusively on an immigrant group who brought their new textile productions to the town during the late sixteenth century rather than the members of the indigenous workforce.¹⁰ The present thesis studies a wide range of organisations in Southampton over an extended period.

Although a detailed analysis of the organisation of the town's industries has never been undertaken, aspects of it have been discussed by a surprising number of historians. Unpublished master's and doctoral theses have been produced on such themes as: borough organisation, gender and women, interiors and furnishings, mayors, migration, public houses, religion, trade and taxation in late medieval and early modern Southampton, the authors of which have all looked at industry from their own particular viewpoints.¹¹ Thus, Jones discussed the occupations of those listed in the Muster Book of 1544 with specific reference to women and gender issues, while Tom James, in his doctoral thesis of 1977, analysed in much more detail the occupational structure of the town by using evidence from three town books with specific interest in the mobility of those noted.¹² More recently, in her thesis completed in 2004, Cheryl Butler analysed

⁸ S.E. Jones, 'Keeping Her in the Family: Women and Gender in Southampton, c. 1400-c. 1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1997), p. 94.

⁹ See A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (SRS 1, 1951).

¹⁰ See A. Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620* (SRS 39, 1997).

¹¹ C.E. Boden, 'The Borough Organisation of Southampton in the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1920); K. Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories, 1447-1575' (unpublished doctoral, University of Winchester, 2009); C.B. Butler, 'The Southampton Book of Fines 1488-1540' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2004); T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1977); J.R. Brown, 'The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2007); S.K. Parkinson, 'The Religion of the People in Winchester and Southampton, c. 1558-c. 1603' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2003); J.L. Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Southampton, 1955); E. Rothery, 'National Taxation and Local Rates in mid-Sixteenth Century Southampton' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Winchester, 2007); and S.E. Jones, 'Keeping Her in the Family: Women and Gender in Southampton, c. 1400-c. 1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1997).

¹² Jones, 'Women', pp. 94-7 and James, 'Geographical Origins', *passim*.

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the occupations mentioned in the mayor's Book of Fines, and identified eighty-six crafts being practised in the town between 1488 and 1540.¹³ These wide-ranging research theses on Southampton show the breadth of topics which can be studied by assessing the archival material held on the town. Consequently, the significance of the town is promoted and its place in the wider context of urban history is shown.

1.1 Introduction to the late Tudor town

1.1.1 Topography

Southampton is situated on the south coast of Hampshire on Southampton Water at the confluence of the rivers Itchen and Test.¹⁴ It has from ancient times been recognised for its remarkable combination of natural features, the most significant of which is its unique double tides.¹⁵ The medieval town, the remains of which are situated in the 'Old Town' today, was well-established by 1066, and had developed away from the long-established Saxon community near the church of St Mary's. It is believed, but by no means certain, that the walls which encircled the town were complete by 1382.¹⁶ The plan of the town had developed by the middle of the thirteenth century and remained scarcely unchanged for the next four hundred years or more.¹⁷ It was essentially a 'ladder' pattern typical of many coastal towns.¹⁸ English Street (now High Street) was a broad thoroughfare, running north and south, with French Street and Bull Street (now Bugle Street) running parallel to it to the west and other small service lanes running between. Outside the walled town to the north and north-east lay, as they still do today, the fields of the town: Houndwell and Hoglands. There were also the common arable fields of West and East Marlands, and the common pastures of the salt marshes near God's House Hospital, and the present common north of the town. Southampton also had one of the earliest municipal water supplies having taken over the supply from the Franciscan friars in 1420.¹⁹

¹³ Butler, 'Book of Fines', Vol. 1, p. 128.

¹⁴ See Figures 1 and 2: maps of sixteenth-century Southampton. See also Butler, 'Book of Fines', Vol. 2, pp. 84-86, 'Infrastructure – A Topography of Southampton using the Book of Fines'.

¹⁵ D.H. Macmillan, 'The Hydrography of the Solent and Southampton Water', in *A Survey of Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by F.J. Monkhouse (Southampton: Southampton University Press: 1964), pp. 51-65 (pp. 51, 60).

¹⁶ B.H.St.J. O'Neil, 'Southampton Town Wall', in W.F. Grimes (ed.), *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond* (London, 1951), pp. 242-257 (p. 257).

¹⁷ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), pp. 6, 43.

¹⁸ Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ R.A. Pelham, 'Medieval Southampton', in *A Survey of Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by F.J. Monkhouse (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1964), pp. 208-18 (p. 217).

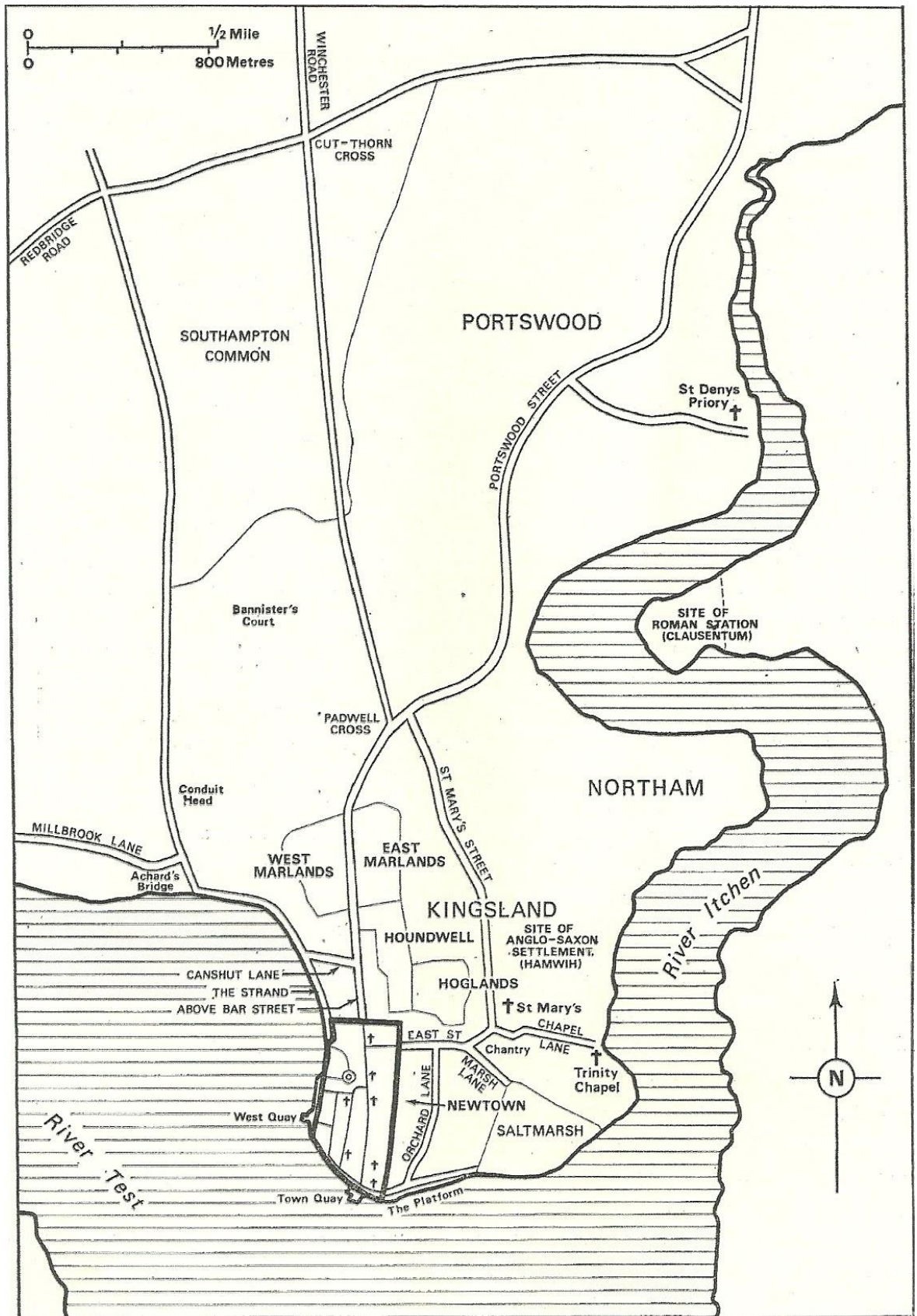


Figure 1 The liberties of the borough of Southampton in the sixteenth century

Source: C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 8.

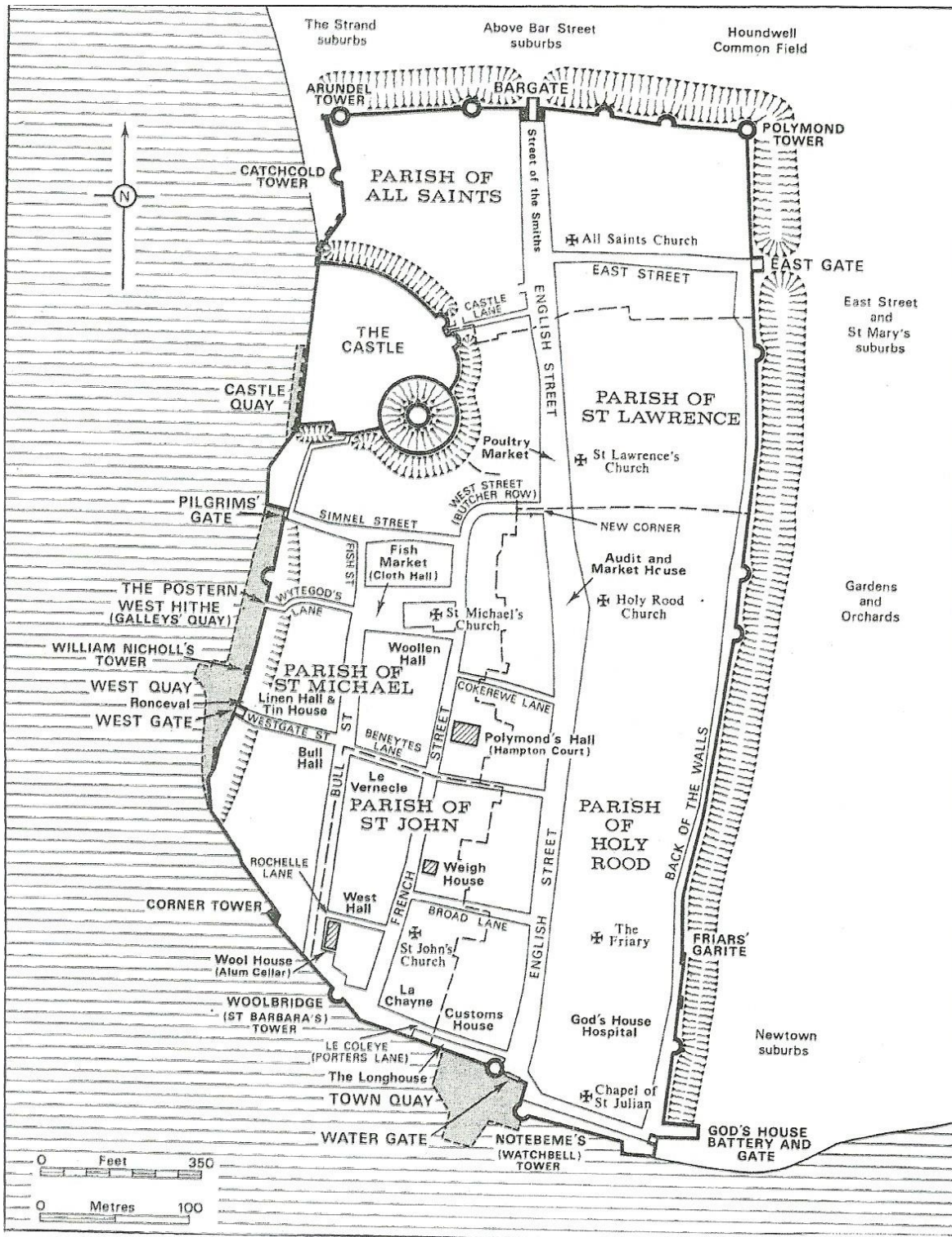


Figure 2 Southampton in the sixteenth century

Source: C. Platt, and R. Coleman-Smith, eds, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953-1969*, 2 vols, Vol. 1, *The Excavation Reports* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975), p. 22.

Although civil and ecclesiastical administrations were separate from one another in the town, the names of the wards had become identified with the ecclesiastical parishes by the sixteenth century. St Mary's was the mother parish of the ecclesiastical administration and was situated

outside the walls to the east. A further five parishes were situated within the walled town: All Saints, Holy Rood, St John, St Lawrence and St Michael. All Saints ward was often subdivided into three: All Saints Above, All Saints Below and Bagrow with East Street. Both All Saints Above and Bagrow with East Street were situated outside the walled town. For administrative purposes, generally, there were only four wards as St Michael and St John were usually combined.²⁰ (An exception is found in the stewards' books where the town rents were listed under the two separate parishes of St Michael and St John. It can only be assumed that this was a hangover from earlier times.) Shops or open stalls were spread through the wards. Colin Platt suggests that too much 'should not be made of the distinction between the retailing and the residential quarters of the town', as a merchant's dwelling was usually his place of manufacture and his shop.²¹ A new covered market hall was built in 1570 under the Audit House next to Holy Rood church, replacing the open market area which had been held outside St Lawrence's church.²² The fish market, with a market house of its own, was held in the square outside the west door of St Michael's church. The butchers had their stalls outside the walls, south of the friary gate.²³

1.1.2 Economy

Southampton's economy flourished during the fifteenth century due to its role as an important centre of European commerce and its burgeoning overseas trade.²⁴ This prosperity was not to last, and although there were periods of revival, the town steadily declined to become a decayed local port during the sixteenth century. Between 1500 and 1530, the town was at the very height of its commercial prosperity with Mediterranean and Iberian trade flourishing following the reduction in visits by the Italian merchant fleet. This reduction was due to two main reasons. Firstly, the ongoing political upheavals and warfare between the Italian states and secondly, the insecurities which arose from the War of the Roses in England.²⁵ From 1530 to 1560 the town's trade collapsed, mainly due to the increased competition from London and the withdrawal from the town of London merchants. Between 1560 and 1585 there was a revival in the town's prosperity aided by the arrival of French-speaking refugees, but then there was a relapse, largely due to the London merchants tightening their hold on the Spanish trade. Finally, between 1585

²⁰ W.J. Connor, ed., *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (SRS 21, 1978), p. 9.

²¹ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 46.

²² Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 222-23; E.R. Aubrey, ed., *The History and Antiquity of Southampton with Some Conjectures Concerning the Roman Clausentum by John Speed* (SRSoc 8, 1909), pp. 37-38; and A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 3, 1955), pp. 110-12.

²³ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 52, n. 40.

²⁴ O. Coleman, 'Trade and Prosperity in the Fifteenth Century: Some Aspects of the Trade of Southampton', *Economic History Review*, 2, 16 (1963-4), 9-22 (p. 21).

²⁵ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants*, p. 207.

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and 1603 the decline worsened with the effects of war and privateering which saw the receipts from customs being lower than at any time in the previous century.²⁶ Even so, some burgesses benefited greatly from privateering activities. Southampton by 1600 has been well-described as 'a regional port serving the Hampshire Basin for general trade and a rather wider area for a specialised trade in wine and woad'.²⁷

1.1.3 Population

The population of the town fluctuated throughout the sixteenth century. In 1524 Southampton is estimated to have had between 1,750 and 1,950 inhabitants, but by 1596 that figure had doubled to 4,200, of whom 297 were classed as aliens.²⁸ This shows Southampton to have been a middle-ranking town, with probably only Norwich, Bristol and York having populations over 10,000 in 1600; London, of course, fell into a different category (see Appendix A).²⁹ Southampton suffered from outbreaks of bubonic plague in 1563/4, 1583/4 and 1604 and from the influenza epidemic in 1558. A large number of wills survive from the autumn of 1558 which could indicate that many people feared impending death.³⁰ Southampton had always benefited from wealthy, ambitious men migrating to the town, men such as Roger Machado, Richmond King of Arms, who was the senior herald for Henry VII,³¹ but as the sixteenth century progressed the town witnessed 'desertion by both the merchant and artisan'. A report of 1588 observed that 'numbers of artisans had left the town, that gentry refused to settle there, coming only for the winter season, and that foreigners recently established ... were not of the wealthy kind'.³² Plague, war and the competition from other towns all helped to explain this unhappy state of affairs. The effects of bad harvests from 1594 to 1598 can also be glimpsed in the records.³³

²⁶ A.L. Merson, 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Survey*, ed. by Monkhouse, pp. 218-22. See also M. Hicks, ed., *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015) for more details about the economy of the town for the years from 1430 to 1540.

²⁷ Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade' quoted in Merson, 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', p. 223.

²⁸ Merson, 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', p. 224 and Platt, *Southampton*, p. 263. Merson incorrectly states that there were 397 aliens.

²⁹ T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. xix. See Appendix A: The rankings and populations of some English towns. The towns listed are those which are most frequently mentioned in this thesis. See also C.M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 237-42 and V. Harding, 'The Population of London, 1550-1700: A Review of the Published Evidence', *The London Journal*, 15, (1990), 111-28 for populations of London.

³⁰ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. xix.

³¹ See G.L. Watson, 'Roger Machado: A Life in Objects' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2013).

³² Platt, *Southampton*, p. 216.

³³ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. xxi.

1.1.4 Jurisdiction

The boundaries of the town's jurisdiction were confirmed at the 'beating of the bounds' at the annual Court Leet.³⁴ These were defined in a charter of 1253 and extended from 'Achard's bridge, [at the south end of Hill Lane] as the road runs by the Crosses to the north as far as Cutthorn [by Bassett crossroads], and from Cutthorn as far as Burleston [on Burgess Road], as far as the aqueduct at Fursewell [in South Stoneham] where it flows into the Itchen'.³⁵ This is an area more or less confined by the River Itchen on the east, the modern line of Burgess Road to the north and Hill Lane to the west. The walled town sat at the southern end of this boundary. The precise extent of the town's boundaries and thus its jurisdictions were often disputed, notably with the tenants of the village of Hill, who, although the town claimed the east part of Hill Farm, owed suit to the lord of the manor of Shirley.³⁶ There was also no attempt to define the common rights of the St Denys tenants, to the north-east. Although an agreement had been reached in 1396 concerning certain disputes between the Priory of St Denys and the town, the common rights of the tenants had not been defined. Consequently, during the sixteenth century, the town persistently denied the priory's tenants access to common land on the grounds that the tenants did not pay town rates, even though they attended the Court Leet and were subject to the town's officials.³⁷

1.1.5 Town government

Southampton was controlled by a long-established, sophisticated town administration which was responsible for both trade and government, the origins of which were rooted in the merchant guild. The details of the evolution of the Southampton guild merchant into a genuine municipal governing body are obscure, although the evidence suggests that this development was virtually complete before the middle of the thirteenth century;³⁸ the terms 'burgess' and 'gildsman' are synonymous in the Tudor records. The office of mayor is first mentioned around 1217.³⁹ The burgesses were governed by the ancient town ordinances, but there were attempts by reforming mayors at self-regulation, namely in 1491 and 1573. In 1491, Thomas Overey set about

³⁴ F.J.C Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction in England* (SRSoc 5, 1908), pp. 228-30.

³⁵ A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 17, 1915), pp. 134-39 quoted in Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 8, 51. See also J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton: Gilbert and Co., 1883), pp. 41-51 for a detailed description of the boundaries including the dispute over the inclusion of the village of Hill. See also Figure 1: The liberties of the borough of Southampton in the sixteenth century.

³⁶ Connor, *Mayor's Book*, p. 6.

³⁷ Connor, *Mayor's Book*, pp. 6-7.

³⁸ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 19.

³⁹ Davies, *Southampton*, p. 163.

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regularising the mayoral accounts, which included establishing the Book of Fines, and he also attempted to reform the ordinances. He wrote that the town was in danger of forgetting its old free customs and falling under oligarchical rule.⁴⁰ Later, in 1573, William Capleyn attempted to reduce the power of the aldermen when he publicly remarked on the tendency of all offices in the town to be restricted to such burgesses who were merchants to the exclusion of others.⁴¹

Southampton, like all boroughs in England, received its authority from the Crown through either charters or letters patent.⁴² From these the burgesses, or more precisely a core group of them, through the town council, were able to control entirely every aspect of daily life, including all trade and industry. The town council, also called the Assembly, essentially consisted of the mayor together with 'twelve assistants' or jurats, whose number varied in fact from thirteen to fifteen. Within this small council there was an inner ring, consisting of the ex-mayors, who dominated the council.⁴³ 'Mr Mayor and his brethren' was just one of the ways that this inner ring referred to themselves in the extant records. The town council was dominated by the mercantile elite: of the eighty mayors who served from 1485 to 1603, seventy-five (or 94 per cent) were merchants although several had dual occupations, for example, the four-time mayor, Walter Baker, was a brewer as well as a merchant.⁴⁴ The percentages of merchants holding the mayoralty in other towns during the Elizabethan period varied; for example in Norwich it was seventy-two per cent, in Bristol eighty-six per cent and in Exeter ninety-two per cent whereas at York the merchants accounted for only fifty per cent of the Elizabethan mayors.⁴⁵

The mayor was chief magistrate, clerk to the market, mayor of the staple, admiral of the port and King's escheator.⁴⁶ During the period under study, the most common progression through the *cursus honorum* to the position of mayor was to serve in all the four offices of steward, water bailiff, court bailiff and sheriff. For the years 1485 to 1603, fifty-five per cent of the mayors served in all four offices.⁴⁷ John Horrocks describes the close control exerted by the council over

⁴⁰ Boden, 'Borough Organisation', p. 62. For the Book of Fines, see Butler, 'Book of Fines', and also C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton*, 3 vols, 1488-1594, (SRS 41, 43, 44; 2007, 2009, 2010).

⁴¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 145-52, entry nos. 318-326.

⁴² For detailed discussions of the development of English boroughs, see M. Bateson, ed., *Borough Customs*, 2 vols, (Selden Society, 18, 21; 1904, 1906) and M. Weinbaum, *British Borough Charters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943).

⁴³ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3 (SRS 8, 1965), p. xix.

⁴⁴ L.E. Fairbrother, 'An Analysis of the Tudor Mayors of Southampton: Deceitful Knaves and Beloved Brethren' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, University of Winchester, 2007), p. 25.

⁴⁵ Palliser, *York*, p. 106.

⁴⁶ Boden, 'Borough Organisation', p. 40.

⁴⁷ Fairbrother, 'Tudor Mayors', p. 47.

the economic interests of the town as broadly threefold.⁴⁸ Firstly, the council set out to protect the trade companies as economic units. This meant ensuring that all persons carrying on a trade were licensed to do so. Those who were not licensed faced having their shop windows shut down by the sergeants, which prevented them from trading. Secondly, they were determined to protect the townsmen as consumers. To this end, the council and justices dealt with complaints such as excessive prices and defective quality. For this work, they were aided by other officers, for example, the four 'discreets' of the market, who had to ensure that all statutory regulations concerning fish, meat and poultry were adhered to. They also administered the statutory requirements against forestalling, regrating and engrossing, and the mayor controlled the assizes of bread and beer. Thirdly, the council acted to protect the town as a municipal unit against newcomers. Newcomers who could support themselves might be allowed to stay if they could come to an arrangement with the established members of the particular craft or trade. If not, they were required to leave.

Oaths were sworn by many of the town's officials, the range of which gives an insight into the workings of the administration. Town oaths are discussed in Chapter 3; the two most relevant oaths for the purpose of this thesis are those for the burgess and the commoner (or freeman). The mayor took his oath of office on St Michael's Day (29 September) in St Michael's church.⁴⁹ The north aisle, traditionally the 'Corporation Chapel', was used for this.⁵⁰ Several of the officials, for example, the discreets of the market, were elected and took their oaths on the day after St Michael's Day.⁵¹

1.1.6 Social structure

The burgesses were a small minority of the inhabitants of the town. As Allan Merson correctly notes, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were the petty traders, minor officials, craftsmen, artisans and labourers who formed the 'commonalty'.⁵² This term 'commonalty' is discussed in Chapter 4. A study of the social stratification of the town's population using the lay subsidy of 1524, shows that wealth belonged to a very few; two per cent in fact, showing that a

⁴⁸ J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1602-1608 (SRSoc 19, 1917), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

⁴⁹ Boden, 'Borough Organisation', p. 40.

⁵⁰ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 191.

⁵¹ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), pp. 42-45.

⁵² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. xix.

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small group of burgesses concentrated power at the top 'constituting an aristocracy of wealth'.⁵³

(See Figure 3 below which depicts this social stratification in pictorial form.)

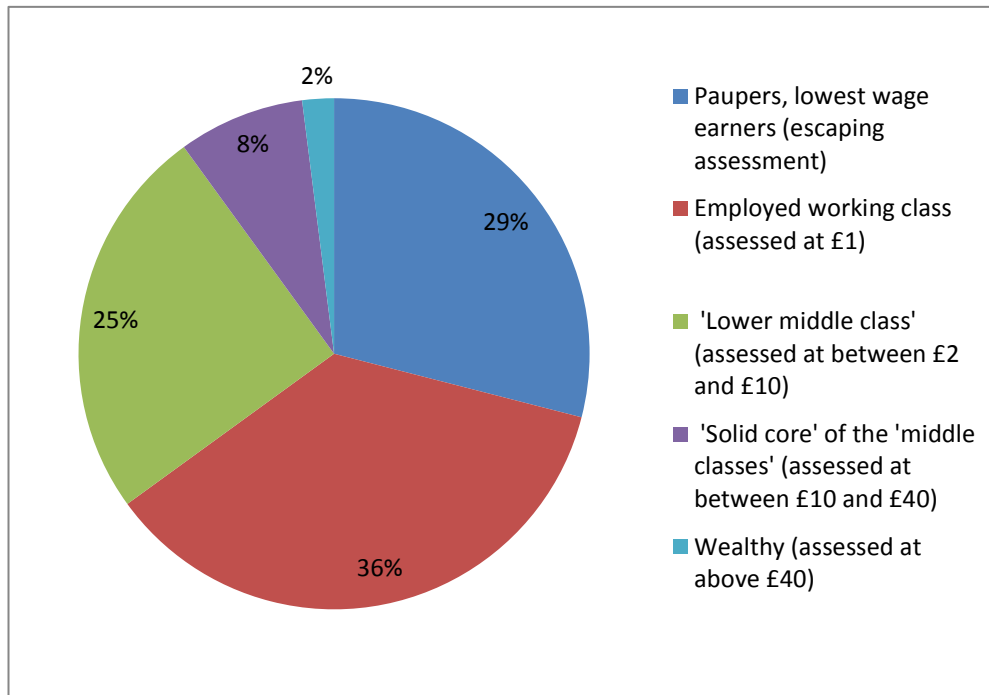


Figure 3 Pie chart showing the social stratification of the population of Southampton based on the subsidy of 1524

Source: Based on C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), pp. 264-65.

The subsidy showed that those paying the higher taxes were concentrated in the southern parishes of St Michael and St John, Holy Rood and St Lawrence, whilst the poorest ward appeared to be All Saints. St Lawrence parish 'showed the lowest percentage of working-class taxpayers, as well as the highest percentage, relatively, of solid-core middle class' people, possibly due to its suitability for retailing.⁵⁴ This is confirmed by the stall and art assessments of 1601, analysed in Chapter 6, which show that those in St Lawrence ward paid the highest amounts on average to carry on their crafts or trades. The stall and art assessments were annual payments for the right to trade or to carry on a craft in the town. It has been plausibly suggested that the northern half of the High Street was lined with the shops of the petty traders and craftsmen within what was almost certainly the older part of the town clustering around the castle.⁵⁵ The count of heads drawn up for the muster of 1596 showed that nearly a quarter of the town's population lived

⁵³ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 265. The lay subsidy returns were based on a person's land holdings, goods and wages.

⁵⁴ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 265.

⁵⁵ Pelham, 'Medieval Southampton', p. 216.

outside the town walls, in the suburbs of All Saints Above Bar, Bagrow with East Street and in the rural surroundings of Portswood and St Mary's.⁵⁶ The vast majority of the people studied in this thesis could be described as the 'middling sort'; that is to say, those 'occupying the social space between the landed elite on the one hand and the poor on the other'.⁵⁷

1.1.7 Industry and trade

In Southampton, those who were manufacturing or trading belonged to one of three groups: burgesses, freemen and strangers. Burgesses were those whose names were recorded in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses and as such they were entitled to certain privileges. Burgesship membership was a prerequisite for election to municipal office; a burgess could therefore have political as well as economic aspirations. Freemen, who were also known as commoners, were those persons who paid a fine to be allowed the freedom to set up a craft or trade in the town and to be admitted to a guild or corporation (if one existed for their occupation). Details of their entry fines appear mainly in the Book of Fines. Burgesses and freemen were classed as franchised. Every burgess was of the franchise of the town, but not every franchiser was a member of the burgess group. The third group were the strangers, either inhabitants of Southampton or those traders who brought goods into the town for sale. Those who arrived from elsewhere in England were generally termed 'foreigners' and those from overseas 'aliens', although these terms varied. Their stall and art payments were listed in the Court Leet books or in the Book of Fines. This study reveals the relationship between the three groups. In her classic study of medieval artisans, Heather Swanson observes that 'ultimately, artisans have to be seen in terms of their relations with the merchants who formed the ruling elite'.⁵⁸ In Southampton the leading merchants, the ruling elite, were those admitted to the burgesship and the artisans, those involved with manufacturing, were generally either freemen or strangers. As mentioned above, the way in which town councils organised their industries varied. In Worcester no person was permitted to carry out any form of trade on his own account without being formally admitted to the freedom.⁵⁹ This strongly suggests that no stranger would be tolerated. A different custom existed in Rye. Here, if a stranger had lived in the town for a year and a day and had occupied an

⁵⁶ Connor, *Mayor's Book*, pp. 6-7 and T.B. James, ed., *Southampton Sources: 1086-1900* (SRS 26, 1983), p. 23.

⁵⁷ J. Barry and C. Brooks, eds, *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 2.

⁵⁸ H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), p. 172.

⁵⁹ A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), p. 124.

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'honest crafte' he could go before the mayor and demand his freedom.⁶⁰ Both of these examples differ from the organisation of the manufacturing and trading groups in Southampton.

Southampton had never been a centre of production on any significant scale, but earned its living by the distribution of merchandise and by the provision of services, thereby functioning as a market centre.⁶¹ This distribution included both coastal shipping and road transport. Coastal shipments to the town included tin from Cornwall, slates from Devon, sailcloth from Dorset, linen and canvas from the Channel Islands, wheat and malt from Sussex and fish from East Anglia.⁶² Well-established carting routes carried every variety of trading commodity to towns and cities all across England.⁶³ This trade was handled almost exclusively by local men. On the other hand, the international trade, which was often in luxury goods, was controlled up until 1534 by the Italian merchants and then by the London merchants until the 1560s, by which time it is described by Platt as having 'fallen to the merest trickle'.⁶⁴ Although the town was dominated by the ship owners and merchants, it did have the usual complement of craftsmen whose numbers were strengthened by the arrival of the French-speaking refugees bringing their 'new draperies' in 1567. At times there was also shipbuilding in the town', although, as J. Thomas shows, there is surprisingly little evidence of this in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ Southampton, like every town, had some section of its workforce devoted to domestic manufacture which can be divided into branches depending on the products and the materials used: leather, textiles, clothing, metalworking, wood and the building sector.⁶⁶ Christopher Dyer suggests that the balance between the different crafts in different places depended on the supply of raw material, local demand, the opportunities for wider distribution, and the traditions of skill that might develop in a town.⁶⁷ Peter Ramsey calculated that across Tudor provincial towns, thirty-five to forty per cent of urban workers were engaged in three major occupations: the clothing trade (for the domestic market), the food and drink trades and the building trades.⁶⁸ This thesis uses the occupational groupings compiled by Merson in his research, published in 1968, into apprenticeships in the town in the seventeenth century, which are explained in more detail below

⁶⁰ G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer: University of Sussex, 1987), p. 106.

⁶¹ Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 152, 159.

⁶² Platt, *Southampton*, p. 159.

⁶³ See Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 159-62 for carting routes and the commodities carried. See also Hicks, *English Inland Trade*, for a detailed discussion on Southampton's inland trade based on the unique series of extant brokage books.

⁶⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 46, n. 2 and Platt, *Southampton*, p. 221.

⁶⁵ Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 193.

⁶⁶ C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 203.

⁶⁷ Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 203.

⁶⁸ P. Ramsey, *Tudor Economic Problems* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1963), p. 83.

(see under 'Methodology').⁶⁹ The registration and regulation of apprenticeships in sixteenth-century towns, like all administration, was controlled by the governing bodies and was an important part of the industrial landscape. Although Southampton did not have a register of apprenticeships until 1609, earlier enrolments were noted in the Books of Instruments, and several apprentices' petitions survive which highlight concerns about those working in the town without having served the relevant apprenticeships.⁷⁰

1.1.8 Methodology

This thesis is both qualitative and quantitative in its approach. The lists of names and occupations generated from primary sources, both archival and printed, lend themselves to tabular summaries. The large amount of data produced was initially recorded on spreadsheets, making it accessible for numerical analysis. The quantitative approach comes from the array of textual sources available which allows not only for the analysis of the industry and trade of Southampton but also for comparisons with other contemporary towns. One reason why Southampton was chosen as the focus for this study was because of its wealth of archival material, much of it published. In all these instances, considered choices have been made as to which sources to use for analyses. A 'Glossary of Terms' is also included.

The primary aim of this study is to understand the organisation of industry and trade in Southampton, not only for its own sake, but also in order to compare the situation in Southampton with that which existed in other towns. Records survive for many towns in England, many of which have been used for general comparisons with Southampton in this thesis. For the discussion of the development of town governments in Chapter 2, however, a more detailed investigation was required. Thus the records of four towns, Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester, were examined and compared with Southampton. The towns of Salisbury and Winchester were chosen because they were the two largest towns nearest to Southampton and along with London dominated the overland trade with Southampton, and Boston and Rye were selected because they were port towns. London, being the capital, stands alone in many ways, and has rarely been used here for the purposes of comparison.⁷¹

⁶⁹ A.L. Merson, ed., *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, compiled by A.J. Willis (SRS 12, 1968), pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

⁷⁰ See 'Introduction' in Merson, *Apprenticeship*, for a discussion on these registers, pp. ix-lxxvi. See SCA, SC 2/6/5-6 Books of Instruments. For an example of a petition, see J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1611-1614 (SRSoc 24, 1924), p. 84.

⁷¹ For recent studies on medieval and Tudor London see publications by C.M. Barron and V. Harding, two historians who have written profusely on the subject. For example; C.M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and V. Harding, *The Dead*

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A key element of any study focussed on urban industry and trade is to identify the occupations of those who were involved in manufacturing and trading. This task is a very time-consuming one, for example, the stall and art list of 1600 contains over 400 names. Fortunately, the biographical evidence, together with the corresponding source details, produced for a previous thesis have very generously been made available for this study.⁷² Although these lists do not contain all the required names, they have helped enormously. Any occupations not noted in these lists have been found by further archival research, by examining the indexes of relevant printed publications or by searching the online database *Tudor Revels Southampton*.⁷³ This database, which is continually being updated, was created to collate the biographical details of every person living in Tudor Southampton. Even so, it has not been possible to find all the required occupations. These names and occupations have been put into spreadsheets for ease of analysis.

To enable further analyses, these occupations needed to be grouped. Merson's occupational groupings, which were originally compiled to show trades to which apprentices were bound in the Southampton General Register, have been used here (see Appendix B).⁷⁴ Even though the data for this compilation relates to the seventeenth century, it is still very relevant for the study of the town's industry and trade during the previous century, due to the continuous nature of the relationship between industry, trade and the apprenticeship system. The ten occupational groups identified by Merson are: mercantile crafts, victualling trades, cloth-making, handicrafts: clothes and shoes, handicrafts: metal-working crafts, handicrafts: buildings crafts, handicrafts: shipbuilding, handicrafts: others, sea-going occupations and services. Each of these groups is subdivided, for example, the mercantile crafts group includes the trades of: apothecary, grocer, haberdasher, mercer, merchant or merchant adventurer, merchant tailor, ironmonger, linendraper and woollendraper. Of course this is only one way of classifying occupations. John Patten discusses three broadly defined groups of occupations in his paper on pre-industrial urban England: 'professions and services', 'merchants and traders' and 'craftsmen and manufacturers'. He suggests that subsequent sub-divisions can be based on raw materials and products taking into account the type of activity, for example, 'distributing', 'manufacturing', 'processing' and

and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). C.M. Barron and V. Harding, 'A Map of Tudor London: England's Capital City in 1520' (The Historic Towns Trust, 2018) has also recently been published.

⁷² The lists were kindly made available by Professor Tom James and were compiled for his thesis, 'Geographical Origins'.

⁷³ The *Tudor Revels Southampton* database was one aim of the 'Tudor Revels Project: From Records to Revels', undertaken by the Tudor Revels Working Group and led by Dr Cheryl Butler. It has over 18,250 names on it to date. (January, 2018) See <http://www.tudorreveals.co.uk/>

⁷⁴ Merson, *Apprenticeship*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii. See Appendix B: Occupational groupings in Southampton in the sixteenth century.

'retailing'.⁷⁵ Merson's classifications have been chosen here because they relate directly to Southampton.

Knowledge of extant archival material is central to any thesis. Depending on the nature of the original sources for Southampton, both qualitative and quantitative methods of research have been used. The three groups involved with manufacture and trading were the burgesses, the freemen and the strangers. Although relevant information can be gleaned from elsewhere, there are certain specific sources which have been used here for each group. The main source for the research on the burgess element of the study (Chapter 3) was the Book of Admissions of Burgesses and its corresponding calendar produced by Miss Sheila Thomson during the early 1990s.⁷⁶ An entry in this book can contain many details surrounding a man's admission to the burgesship. For the two chapters detailing the freemen (Chapters 4 and 5), the Book of Fines and the incorporation documents and petitions have proved the most useful. The incorporation documents survive for five crafts in Southampton: the cordwainers (1477), the bakers (1517, 1546), the brewers (1543), the butchers (1555) and the shearmen (1570).⁷⁷ There are also several petitions which survive relating to the crafts of tailors (1406), coopers (1486), drapers and mercers (c. 1480), shearmen (1504), cutlers and armourers (1599) and blacksmiths (1599).⁷⁸ The Book of Fines was also a main source for the stranger element of the thesis (Chapter 6). It has been used alongside the stall and art assessments which were listed in the Court Leet books.⁷⁹ The fees paid by both freemen and strangers for the right to trade or carry on a craft in the town have been put into tabular summaries. In order to explore the interrelationship between burgesses, freemen and strangers (Chapter 7), three main areas were chosen to illustrate how these three groups lived, governed and worked alongside one another in the town. These areas were: the arrangements concerning the maintenance of the town's defensive walls in 1544, the administrative structure of the Court Leet in 1601 and the composition and size of some of the craft and trade groups that existed during the sixteenth century. The main sources for the first two of these areas were the Muster Book of 1544 and the Court Leet Book of 1601 which enabled detailed analyses to be undertaken which highlighted both the involvement of occupational

⁷⁵ See J. Patten, 'Urban Occupations in Pre-Industrial England', *Institute of British Transactions*, New Series, 2, (3), (1977), 296-313 (p. 307) for a full discussion on the problems of constructing and interpreting pre-industrial occupational designations.

⁷⁶ SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses. Calendar produced by Miss S.D. Thomson (Southampton City Archives, 1992-3).

⁷⁷ SCA, SC 2/7/2-7 Incorporation of Craft Guilds.

⁷⁸ The petitions are recorded in the Black Book, the Book of Instruments, the Book of Remembrance and Miscellaneous Correspondence. Some of the petitions have been published.

⁷⁹ SCA, SC 5/3/1 Mayor's accounts, 1488-1594 and SCA, SC 6/1/1-27 Court Leet Books, 1559-1603.

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groups in the arrangements for defence of the town and also the status of those chosen to serve in an official capacity on the Court Leet.

Several of the books published by the Southampton Record Society and the later Southampton Records Series help to underpin this thesis. In many cases the transcriptions in the earlier Record Society publications have been verified against the original documents which are held in the Southampton City Archives. It is known that some editors were selective in their choice of the material included in the printed editions. For example, F.J.C. Hearnshaw in his transcriptions of the Court Leet books states that the beadles or town sergeants were 'undistinguished men, so their names have not been transcribed'.⁸⁰ The stall and art lists, which appear in these Court Leet books and which are an important resource for this study, were also not transcribed by Hearnshaw. He chose instead to give a summary of their contents before he listed the Court Leet presentments for each year. Other details which are rarely noted in the printed editions are the marginal comments written in the Court Leet books. Often it is here that the decisions of the Assembly, the mayor and his inner circle, are written. Frequently, these decisions involved warnings to be given to specific people or requests for the appearance of offenders before the Assembly at the Audit House. It is here too that the jurors occasionally identified inhabitants of the town who were required to carry out work mentioned in the presentment. By referring to other sources it has been possible to discover the occupations and dwellings of these people and thus learn more about them.

1.2 Literature Review

As has already been stated, the primary aim of this thesis is to understand the organisation of industry and trade in Southampton in order to compare the situation in Southampton with that which existed in other towns. This involves the exploration of various themes and concepts which have been considered by both early and more recent urban historians. The ensuing literature review reflects the many studies which have influenced the present thesis. It initially summarises the relevant historiography of urban history, before discussing the importance of particular urban histories. Finally, it discusses the literature of Southampton and highlights the particular gaps which have been filled by the present study and which enable Southampton to be seen in the context of other towns.

⁸⁰ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SRSoc 1, 1905), p. xiv.

1.2.1 Literature Review: urban history

Studies focussed on the organisation of industry and trade in towns based on both the registers of burgesses and freemen and the records of craft guilds have been published periodically ever since the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸¹ These works often produced theories which James Davis describes as being ‘heavily influenced by the political and economic conditions of their own time’. Davis gives the example of the craft guilds who in the past have often been presented as the ‘forerunners to trade unions’ or as ‘monopolistic and restrictive bodies’, descriptions which today are largely disputed.⁸² Despite these misgivings, many of these studies are still of importance to today’s historians, primarily due to the transcriptions of original records which they often include.⁸³

‘Urban history’ as a separate discipline emerged in the 1960s and H.J. Dyos is often seen as its leading exponent. He was appointed Professor of Urban History at the University of Leicester in 1973 and he founded *The Urban History Yearbook* which began publication in 1974.⁸⁴ During the 1970s and 1980s a major theme of urban historians was late medieval urban decay, a debate which was revisited by Alan Dyer in 2000.⁸⁵ He comments that the issue of urban decline remains unresolved ‘despite the quantity of ink which has been spilled upon it in recent decades’.⁸⁶ His demographic study concluded that there was contraction and expansion in English towns, namely, ‘a regional redistribution of the urban population, with the towns of the north and north-east losing population and those of the south gaining’.⁸⁷ As regards Southampton, the town certainly enjoyed an increase in its population in the second half of the sixteenth century. Two other

⁸¹ For example, studies based on freemen records include: Stevenson, *Nottingham* and F. Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York, 1559-1759*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (London: Surtees Society, Series 96, 1897) and an example of a study based on craft guilds is C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912).

⁸² J. Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 169.

⁸³ For example, G. Unwin’s *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1904) and his *The Gilds and Companies of London* (1908) along with L.F. Salzman’s, *English Industries of the Middle Ages* (1923) and his *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (1931) are useful especially for their lists of manuscripts and sources noted. The illustrations in Salzman’s *Trade*, which are mostly taken from medieval sources, give additional insights into the various techniques used by medieval craftspeople.

⁸⁴ R.C. Richardson and T.B. James, eds, *The Urban Experience: A Sourcebook, English, Scottish and Welsh Towns, 1450-1700*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. xii.

⁸⁵ See A.D. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and his more recent ‘Urban Decline’ in England, 1377-1525’, in *Towns in Decline, AD 100-1600*, ed. by T. Slater (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2000), pp. 266-88. Other studies of late medieval urban decay include: P. Clark and P. Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) followed by their *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) and C. Phythian-Adams, ‘Urban Decay in Late Medieval England’, in *Towns in Societies*, ed. by P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 159-85.

⁸⁶ Dyer, ‘Urban Decline’, p. 266.

⁸⁷ Dyer, ‘Urban Decline’, pp. 266, 281, 282.

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studies of this period, which could be said to complement one another, are the books on medieval craftsmen by John Blair and Nigel Ramsey (1991) and Heather Swanson (1989).⁸⁸ The emphasis in Blair and Ramsey's study is on the methods employed by craftsmen and the artefacts they produced, whereas Swanson's work is on the political and social structure of the craftspeople involved. Davis argues that although 'Swanson rightly asserted the guilds' subordination to municipal authorities, she perhaps goes too far in completely negating their influence'. This was because this assertion 'underestimates the vitality of craft organisations for their members and the degree of semi-autonomous self-governance which they developed'.⁸⁹ The level of independence exercised by the craft companies of Southampton is discussed in this thesis. General studies for the period under study include a work by Lesley Clarkson which describes the composition of the industrial sector, industrial organisation and occupational distribution, in addition to noting the different types of skills needed for economic growth.⁹⁰

In 2000 *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* volumes were published.⁹¹ These represented 'the culmination of a tremendous upsurge of research in British urban history over the last 30 years' and traced 'the complex and diverse evolution of British towns'.⁹² Relevant themes for the present thesis covered in these volumes include papers on port towns, the oligarchic nature of town government and the effects of the Reformation.⁹³ The system of seaports which was in operation during the sixteenth century is discussed by David Harris Sacks and Michael Lynch and includes Southampton in its role as a headport. More recently, David Palliser in *Towns and Local Communities in Medieval and Early Modern England* (2006) has discussed the common theme of

⁸⁸ J. Blair and N. Ramsey, eds, *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991) and Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*. One might also note J. Harvey, *Medieval Craftsmen* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1975) which is more concerned with the building industry and the construction of churches, cathedrals and castles. There are also the works of L.F. Salzman as detailed above.

⁸⁹ Davis, *Market Morality*, p. 169. Davis refers to two works by Swanson: *Medieval Artisans*, pp. 108-20 and 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', *Past and Present*, 121, (1988), 29-48.

⁹⁰ L.A. Clarkson, *The Pre-Industrial Economy in England 1500-1750* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1971), Chapter 4, 'Industry'. See also D.C. Coleman, *Industry in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1975). Examples of general studies include: P. Clark, *The Early Modern Town: A Reader* (1976); C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (1976); and S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (1977).

⁹¹ The two relevant volumes are: D.M. Palliser, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 1, 600-1540 and P. Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 2, 1540-1840.

⁹² Palliser, *Cambridge Urban History*, 1, p. iii.

⁹³ For port towns see: M. Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales, 1300-1540', in *Cambridge Urban History*, 1, pp. 467-94 and D. Harris Sacks and M. Lynch, 'Ports 1540-1700', in *Cambridge Urban History*, 2, pp. 377-424. For town government see: S.H. Rigby and E. Ewan, 'Government, Power and Authority, 1300-1540', in *Cambridge Urban History*, 1, pp. 291-312 and I. Archer, 'Politics and Government, 1540-1700', in *Cambridge Urban History* 2, pp. 235-62. For the effects of the Reformation see: V. Harding, 'Reformation and Culture, 1540-1700', in *Cambridge Urban History* 2, pp. 263-88.

the essays included in his book. If indeed there is a common theme, he suggests, 'it is the importance of towns in national life long before the Industrial Revolution' and therefore he believes his book 'can be seen as a study of long-term continuities'.⁹⁴ In relation to Southampton this is certainly the case as the origins of its industrial organisation lay many centuries before the period covered by the present thesis. As noted above under the heading 'Town government', the town ordinances which are constantly referred to in the sixteenth century were written in the Oak Book in the thirteenth century, but their origins definitely lay even further back in time.

Most recently scholars have revisited themes such as the medieval market trade and monopolies.⁹⁵ G. Richardson states that 'craft guilds simultaneously pursued piety and profit' and wonders why the guilds pursued these seemingly unrelated goals. He recognises that the 'heyday' of guilds was between the Black Death and the Reformation.⁹⁶ Similarly, Davis discusses the complex relationship between morality, law and practice in his book.⁹⁷ Regarding monopolies, Richardson re-examines the sources to demonstrate that guilds were not given legal monopolies in the modern sense of the word.⁹⁸ The way in which the religious element of the guilds was affected by the Reformation is also discussed in the present thesis. It may be noted too that as a result of recent concerns relating to immigrants and refugees overwhelming Europe the 'stranger' is once again the focus of much discussion.⁹⁹

1.2.2 Literature Review: urban histories

A key aim of this thesis is to compare the organisation of industry and trade in late Tudor Southampton with that which existed in other English towns. Urban histories, therefore, are a very important resource for the present study. They are particularly valuable because the methodologies which are employed can be useful as templates for current research and the observations recorded and the conclusions deduced can be used for comparative purposes which

⁹⁴ D.M Palliser, *Towns and Local Communities in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), 'Introduction', pp. 2, 15.

⁹⁵ See, for example, B. Dodds, and C.D. Liddy, eds, *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages* (2011); G. Richardson, 'Craft Guilds and Christianity in Late-Medieval England', *Rationality and Society*, 17, (2), (2005), 139-89; and J. Davis, *Market Morality*.

⁹⁶ Richardson, 'Craft Guilds', pp. 139, 168.

⁹⁷ See also, J. Davis, 'Market Regulation in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages*, ed. by B. Dodds and C.D. Liddy (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), pp. 81-105 (p. 105) where he discusses the relationship between centre and locality and the formulation of market regulation.

⁹⁸ G. Richardson, 'Guilds, Laws, and Markets for Manufactured Merchandise in Late-Medieval England', *Explorations in Economic History*, 41, (1), (2004), 1-25 (p.1).

⁹⁹ The 'Neighbours and Strangers' Day Conference held at the University of Southampton on 21 October 2017 covered themes about identity and interaction in the Middle Ages. This was held at a time when relationships between England and its neighbours was, as it still is, the focus of intense political attention.

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allow Southampton to be seen in the context of other towns. Relevant records survive for many towns, both local and further afield, and considered choices, therefore, have had to be made as to which towns to use.

Towns can be grouped together for comparison for a variety of reasons. One possible group for study could consist of the local towns of Andover, Petersfield, Portsmouth and Winchester which were, in addition to Southampton, the only towns in Hampshire known to have had a guild of merchants.¹⁰⁰ Another group could consist of those towns trading with Southampton as revealed in the town's brokage books.¹⁰¹ The town's overland trade was overwhelmingly dominated by the cities of London, Salisbury and Winchester, but there was also trade with the small Hampshire towns of Alresford, Alton, Andover, Basingstoke, Ringwood and Romsey as well as with many other small towns across England.¹⁰² Port towns could be another possible group to examine, including towns like Boston, Hull, Plymouth, Rye or Sandwich.¹⁰³ Helen Clarke, writing about medieval Sandwich (2010), includes a discussion on the governance of the town in the sixteenth century and the role of craft corporations, including their involvement with the maintenance of the town gates.¹⁰⁴ There are parallels here with some of the craft groups in Southampton who had similar responsibilities, but in Southampton's case the responsibility was for maintenance of the defensive walls (see Chapter 7). Another link between Sandwich and Southampton relates to the French-speaking refugees, some of whom initially took refuge at Sandwich in 1569 before eventually settling in Southampton.¹⁰⁵ Two port towns, Plymouth (1439) and Hull (1440), were the first two boroughs before Southampton (1445) to receive a specific grant of incorporation.¹⁰⁶ It should also be noted that some towns, for example, Canterbury, Hull and Ipswich, had, like

¹⁰⁰ E. Parsons, *Notes on the History of Andover* (Andover: Holmes and Sons, 1925), p. 6.

¹⁰¹ New research on the brokage books underpins the recent publication *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region* edited by M. Hicks (2015).

¹⁰² As identified in Chapter 9 of Hicks, *Inland Trade*. Relevant books include: for Andover, Parsons, *Andover* and more recently, D.K. Coldicott, *Elizabethan Andover* (Andover: Andover History and Archaeology Society, 2004); for Salisbury, C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912) and E. Crittall, ed., *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, Vol. 6 (VCH, 1962); and for Winchester, T. Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963) and D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹⁰³ See for Boston, P. Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (London: Longman, 1856); for Hull, K.J. Allison, ed., *A History of the County of York East Riding: The City of Kingston Upon Hull*, Vol. 1 (VCH, 1969); for Plymouth, R.N. Worth, *The History of Plymouth from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Plymouth: William Brendon and Son, 1873), R.N. Worth, *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records* (Plymouth: William Brendon and Son, 1893) and C. Gill, *Plymouth: A New History* (Tiverton: Devon Books, 1993); for Rye, G Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer: University of Sussex, 1987); and for Sandwich, H. Clarke, M. Mate, K. Parfitt, and S. Pearson, *Sandwich - the 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port from Its Origins to 1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ H. Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 131-45.

¹⁰⁵ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ E. Welch, *Southampton City Charters* (City of Southampton, 1966), p. 13.

Southampton, a class of non-freemen retailers subject to separate fines. In the case of Ipswich these are recorded as 'forrene fynes'.¹⁰⁷ There are also significant works on craftspeople in other provincial towns, for example, Exeter, Norwich, Nottingham, Worcester and York.¹⁰⁸ These either reproduce archival material in a more legible format, of particular relevance being the freemen's registers, or use primary sources extensively to describe the governments and industries of the towns. Online database searches allow access to recent books and theses which are useful both for the research results and the methodologies employed.¹⁰⁹

Although relevant evidence from any town has been used for comparative purposes, four towns in particular, Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester, have been examined here in more detail in relation to the development of their governments (see Chapter 2). Studying these towns has shown how important it is to select material from a variety of sources, both older and more recent, in order to gain an overall understanding of a particular town. To take Winchester for example, by using the works of Derek Keene, Tom Atkinson and J.S. Furley a more complete picture of the development of its government is gained. Keene's *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (1985) is extremely detailed up to c. 1550, and Atkinson's work *Elizabethan Winchester* (1963), although much less detailed than Keene's work, continues the story beyond the mid-sixteenth century. Both these books refer to the works of Furley who, in the early to mid-twentieth century, transcribed and published some of the original sources on Winchester. These included some translations from the Norman French which has made access to the original documents much easier.

1.2.3 Literature Review: Southampton

Fortunately, a range of Southampton primary sources have been edited and published by the Southampton Record Society and the Southampton Records Series. The wide-ranging subject matter of these publications makes them particularly beneficial in studies of the late medieval and

¹⁰⁷ See for Canterbury, J. Patten, 'Urban Occupations', p. 298; for Hull, Allison, *Kingston Upon Hull*, p. 149; and for Ipswich, see J. Webb, ed., *The Town Finances of Elizabethan Ipswich*, Suffolk Records Society (Suffolk Records Society, 1996), pp. 3, 144.

¹⁰⁸ See for Exeter, W.T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) and M.M. Rowe and A.M. Jackson, eds, *Exeter Freemen, 1266-1967*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1973); for Norwich, P. Millican, *The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1934) and more recently, J. Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988); for Nottingham, Stevenson, *Nottingham*; for Worcester, Dyer, *Worcester*; and for York, Collins, *York*, and more recently, Palliser, *York*.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, N.R. Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011) based on his research, 'The Trade and Industry of Late Medieval Ipswich' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2009) and J.R. Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London: Craft, Parish and Neighbourhood' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2011).

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early modern towns. These books have helped to shape the present thesis in many ways, especially those volumes which comprise transcriptions of original documents. The choice of source material in these editions was often chosen, as it still is today, because of the particular interests of the editors. Thus Paul Studer was interested in the French material of the Oak Book (1910, 1911) and Harry Gidden in the Latin records of the charters (1909, 1910) and letters patent (1916, 1919). David Quinn was very much concerned with economic records, and it was his interest in the port books of Southampton which resulted in his work being published by the Record Society (in 1937 and 1938). It was Quinn's work that encouraged several historians to produce their own subsequent works, namely Ruddock's book on Italian merchants (1951) and Olive Coleman's volumes on the brokage books (1960, 1961).¹¹⁰

Between 1905 and 1941 the Southampton Record Society published forty editions, the vast majority of which were transcriptions of original documents. The most useful of these for the purpose of the present thesis are the partial transcriptions of the Court Leet books, as one of the functions of this court was the regulation of trade. These books give details of the presentments made at the court; most of the extant volumes for the years from 1549 to 1624 have now been published.¹¹¹ Many other publications of the Record Society contain details which are valuable for this thesis as they describe both the governance of industry and trade and details of those people employed within the various occupational groups within the town.¹¹² The successor to the Record Society is the Southampton Records Series. It has published forty-seven editions from 1950 to the present day, several of which are also extremely useful for this thesis.¹¹³ Many of these

¹¹⁰ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols (1910, 1911); H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Charters of the Borough of Southampton*, 2 vols (1909, 1910); H.W. Gidden, *The Sign Manuals and Letters Patent of Southampton*, 2 vols (1916, 1919); D.B. Quinn, ed., *The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV*, 2 vols (1937, 1938); A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (SRS 1, 1951); and O. Coleman, ed., *The Brokage Book of Southampton, 1443-1444*, 2 vols (1960, 1961).

¹¹¹ See F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1624*, 3 parts (SRSoc 1, 2, 4; 1905-1907).

¹¹² See E.R. Aubrey, ed., *The History and Antiquity of Southampton* (1909); A.B. Wallis Chapman, *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols (1912-1915); J.W. Horrocks, *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols (1917-1925); R.C. Anderson, *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (1921); R.C. Anderson, *The Assize of Bread Book* (1923); R.C. Anderson, *The Books of Examinations and Depositions*, 4 vols (1929-1936); and H.W. Gidden, *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, 3 vols (1927-30).

¹¹³ The following Southampton Records Series books are of particular relevance: A.L. Merson and T.B. James, *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, 4 vols (1952-1979); A.L. Merson and A.J. Willis, *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740* (1968); L.A. Burgess, *The Southampton Terrier of 1454* (1976); W.J. Connor, *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (1978); T.B. James, *Southampton Sources; 1086-1900* (1983); E. Roberts and K. Parker, *Southampton Probate Inventories, 1447-1575*, 2 vols (1992); A. Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620* (1997); C. Butler, *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1594*, 3 vols (2007-2010); and E. Rothery, *National Taxation and Local Rates in Southampton in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (2013). The next edition is due for publication in 2018. It is edited by T. Olding and it focusses on the Common and Piepowder Courts of Southampton in the sixteenth century.

publications have introductions, appendices and detailed notes which have proved invaluable, for example, by giving biographical details of those mentioned in the documents or by placing the original records in context. Several books published by the Southampton Records Series also draw on primary sources held elsewhere, such as wills and probate inventories held at the Hampshire Record Office and lay subsidy returns and other records held at The National Archives.¹¹⁴

Aside from these publications of the Record Society and Records Series, other important books on the town include those by John Silvester Davies, Colin Platt, Richard Brown and Alan Hardy and Michael Hicks. Although *A History of Southampton* by Davies was published over 130 years ago in 1883, it remains, in the words of Tom James, 'a foundation stone for any student of the history of Southampton'.¹¹⁵ Platt describes his book, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (1973), as 'primarily a social history of the port, with a firm topographical bias'.¹¹⁶ The most relevant chapters for the current thesis are those covering the years 1500 to 1600. They focus on the relationship between central government and the town during the Reformation and on the fluctuating state of the town's economy and pay particular attention to the civic elite.¹¹⁷ Platt's comments on the economy of the town are worth noting; 'Southampton's decline was never absolute. Despite all the talk of utter decay and the pervading sense of irremediable disaster, it kept in being as a market town, a local industrial centre and minor port'.¹¹⁸ More recently Brown and Hardy's monograph (2011) combined the results of archaeological excavations with detailed tenement histories for a site located in the southern central part of the medieval town which is now known as the French Quarter.¹¹⁹ This was the first book of its kind to be published on the town, although Platt gives shorter select tenement

¹¹⁴ See James, *Sources*, for a survey of sources for Southampton.

¹¹⁵ James, *Sources*, p. xiii. The chapters of most relevance are Chapter 4, covering all aspects of the municipal organisation and Chapter 5, which is concerned with the trade of the town. Other chapters include relevant sections, for example, about the markets and the fairs. Davies, *Southampton*, Chapter 4: 'Municipal', pp. 132-247 and Chapter 5: 'The Trade of the Town', pp. 248-92. The markets are described on pp. 125-26 and the fairs on pp. 230-33.

¹¹⁶ Platt, *Southampton*, p. xi.

¹¹⁷ Platt, *Southampton*, Chapter 16: 'Central government and the Dissolution', pp. 202-14 and Chapter 17: 'The economy transformed', pp. 215-24.

¹¹⁸ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 221. Another very useful overview of the period is A.L. Merson, 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *A Survey of Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by F.J. Monkhouse (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1964), pp. 218-272. C. Platt, and R. Coleman-Smith, eds, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953-1969*, 2 vols (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975) is also extremely valuable, not only for the reports of the extensive excavations carried out, but also for the introductory sections on housing and the surviving medieval buildings and for the detailed plans produced.

¹¹⁹ R. Brown and A. Hardy, *Trade and Prosperity, War and Poverty: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation into Southampton's French Quarter* (Oxford Archaeology Monograph No 15: Oxford Archaeology, 2011).

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histories in his work.¹²⁰ Most recently there has been the publication of *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region* (2015) edited by Michael Hicks which is a 'multi-authored monograph' that analyses thirteen of the town's brokage books and describes the overland trade that connected Southampton with a multitude of towns across England.¹²¹

This thesis has been influenced by many previous scholarly works, particularly urban histories of the Tudor period, and by the way in which extant burgess and freeman lists have been used to tell a town's story. By comparing Southampton's history to those of other urban centres, the town's place in the wider English context is shown. Often in the past when Southampton has been cited by historians, it is with references to its ordinances as published by Studer or to the Italian presence in the town as analysed by Ruddock. This might be about to change, however, with the publication of *English Inland Trade* which offers considerable scope for future debate. The current study uses Southampton records to uncover the history and to tell a new story - that of the workings of the town government in relation to the burgesses, the freemen and the strangers. As has already been mentioned, this is a subject about which very little has been previously written. One reason for this could be because few records survive for the freeman element of the study. The only guild or company records *per se* to survive are several incorporation documents and petitions, none of which illustrate the day-to-day workings of the guilds. It should be noted here that the unpublished work of Barry Chinchin who, in the 1970s and 1980s, transcribed many original documents; in particular, his transcribed stewards' books have been most useful.¹²² Another source which has been used extensively for the present study is Butler's *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1594* (2007-10). These books, which have only been published in the last few years, at last allow easy access to the original documents. With his extensive knowledge of Southampton and beyond, the historian who has influenced this thesis more than any other is Professor Tom James.

There now follow short summaries of Chapters 2 to 8. To reiterate, the major questions of this thesis are: How was industry and trade organised in Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century? How did this compare with other English towns? It will be noted that further questions are posed in each chapter, thus enabling a comprehensive exploration of the principal questions.

¹²⁰ Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 267-72.

¹²¹ Hicks, *Inland Trade*, p. v.

¹²² The transcribed works of Barry Chinchin are located in the Hartley Library, University of Southampton.

Chapter 2 explores in depth the development of town government in Southampton including its charters and ordinances. The ways in which courts were used by the town council to implement laws are also shown. These findings are then compared to the towns of Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester, and for each town a number of questions are asked. These include: Did it have a merchant guild? Did the administration contain both burgesses and freemen? Did it hold a Court Leet?

Chapters 3 to 6 consider the burgesses, freemen and strangers as separate groups. In Chapter 3 aspects of the burgesship are discussed through an analysis of the careers of the forty-seven burgesses who were signatories at an important meeting in 1571 in the town. The main questions posed are: How did the ordinances regulate the burgesses in Southampton? What was the composition of the Southampton burgesship in 1571? Was there a hierarchy between greater and lesser burgesses in Southampton? Chapters 4 and 5 are concerned with the lives of the freemen, or 'commoners' of Southampton. Chapter 4 focusses on freemen admissions to the various craft and trade companies of the town and it is argued that an average of five freemen admissions per year took place. The questions addressed in this chapter are: What are the definitions of the terms 'freeman' and 'commoner'? How did the ordinances regulate the freemen in Southampton? How many freemen admissions were there in Southampton between 1546/7 and 1593/4? Chapter 5 analyses the various craft incorporation documents and petitions, and establishes that the protection of livelihoods against outsiders is a common theme noted in many of them. In this chapter the following questions are asked: What are the origins of craft groups in Southampton? What do the incorporation documents and petitions tell us about the craft groups of Southampton? Chapter 6 examines the complex nature of stranger residency and the licensing system which was employed by the town council to control the activities of all strangers. A comparison is made of those inhabitants of Southampton who paid fines in 1600 with those of 1601. The results highlight the shifting nature of the stranger community. An alternative view of the compilation process of the stall and art lists to that stated by Hearnshaw is also suggested. The main questions which are posed in Chapter 6 are: How many names are listed in 1600 and 1601 in Southampton? How many strangers were operating in other towns? Did other towns have an equivalent to the stall and art lists of Southampton?

After analysing in detail the burgesses, freemen and strangers as individual groups in the four previous chapters, the next chapter, Chapter 7, explores the question: What were the interrelationships between the three groups? Three main themes are considered in answer to this question. They are: the involvement of occupational groups in the arrangements for defence in 1544 (a time of unprecedented national emergency); the status of those chosen to serve on the

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Court Leet in 1601; and the composition of many of the craft and trade groups in the sixteenth century. Finally, Chapter 8, the conclusion, draws all the evidence together.

It can be all too easy to generalise about the nature of English towns. This thesis shows that by interrogating the unique sources, both archival and printed, of a town like Southampton, important and original research questions can be addressed. It is only by in-depth study of the kind undertaken in this thesis that a new understanding, and therefore a new story, of life in the late medieval and early modern urban environment can be told. This thesis, in its study of aspects of the organisation of industry and trade in English towns, makes a significant contribution to the field of urban history.

Chapter 2 Control of local industry and trade in Southampton and other towns

Southampton, like many boroughs in England, received its rights and liberties from the Crown through either charters or letters patent. From these, a core group of burgesses were able to control all aspects of daily life within the town, including industry and trade. The first half of the present chapter shows the gradual development of the burgesses' power and examines the town ordinances which were enacted by the town council. It continues by highlighting the structure of the various town courts in which the implementation of these laws took place. The second half of the chapter compares Southampton's town council with the councils of four other English towns, namely, Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester, and for each town a number of questions are asked. These include: Did it have a merchant guild? Did the administration contain both burgesses and freemen? Did it hold a Court Leet? By examining the origins of each town's constitutional arrangements, and seeing how each town developed over time, similarities and differences are discerned, and the diverse nature of English town administration in the sixteenth century is clearly revealed.

2.1 Development of self-government in Southampton

The grant to the burgesses of Southampton of the perpetual farm of the town's revenues in 1199 was in Merson's view 'probably the most important single stage on their road to self-government'.¹ So long as the town paid the annual fee farm it could collect the petty customs from all places within the limits of the port which had formerly belonged to the Crown. Although these limits were disputed over the period, they were generally interpreted as extending from Langston near Emsworth in the east to Hurst Castle in the west.² Two hundred years later, by the middle of the fifteenth century, successive charters had effectively established the right of the burgesses to self-government.³ Pivotal to this development were the charters of 1401, 1445,

¹ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 2, 1952), p. xxi.

² E. Welch, *Southampton City Charters* (City of Southampton, 1966), p. 7.

³ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 167. For detailed discussions on the charters and letters patent of Southampton, see H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Charters of the Borough of Southampton*, 2 vols (SRSoc 7 and 9; 1909 and 1910); *The Sign Manuals and Letters Patent of Southampton, 1240-1422*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 18, 1916); and *The Letters Patent of Southampton, 1415-1612*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 20, 1919) and more recently, Welch, *Charters*. See also Welch, *Charters*, p. 26 for comments on Gidden's publications.

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1447 and 1451.⁴ The most significant points of each of these four charters will now be discussed, and, where appropriate, particular reference will be made to the town's industry and trade.

Of the new privileges which were granted by the charter of 1401, the most important was the appointment of the mayor and eight others as justices of the peace, which made Southampton independent from the county justices.⁵ In relation to the victualling trades, the burgesses were granted the assizes of bread and wine and beer which were to be controlled by the mayor, two aldermen and two others who were to act as clerks of the market.⁶ This, probably, affirmed previous privileges as there was an existing ordinance for the assize of bread and ale written in the fourteenth-century Oak Book. The keeping of these assizes was one of the most important duties of the town authorities everywhere.⁷ The assizes, which were regulated by statute and based on the price of corn, tightly controlled all aspects of the sale of bread, ale and beer, in respect of the price, the quality and the size of the products. The regulation of all trade and industry had, most probably, always been in the hands of the burgesses, but from this date, with the appointment of the two clerks of the market, regulation was most definitely under their control. By virtue of its charter of 1445, according to Edwin Welch, 'Southampton became the third borough in the country to receive a specific grant of incorporation with the five privileges of a corporation seal, perpetual succession, the right to own lands, to make bye-laws and to sue in the law courts'.⁸ These incorporation charters have been well described as 'the nucleus of British self-government'.⁹ The charter of 1447 removed Southampton from Hampshire and made it a separate county with its own sheriff. The charter of 1451 empowered the mayor to act as admiral, marshal, clerk of the market and steward, and mention was also made in this document of the burgesses' right to assess their own taxes. Platt suggests that 'what was achieved in the fifteenth century, in Southampton as elsewhere, was a workable structure of local government in the borough and a highly-prized independence from the county'.¹⁰ In Southampton, this 'workable structure' was rooted in the town ordinances of the fourteenth century.

⁴ Welch, *Charters*, p. 12.

⁵ Welch, *Charters*, p. 13.

⁶ Welch, *Charters*, p. 30.

⁷ P. Studer, P. ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 11, 1911), p. xxi.

⁸ Welch, *Charters*, p. 13. See Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 165-79 and M. Weinbaum, *British Borough Charters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), pp. xxiii-xxviii for discussions about incorporation.

⁹ Weinbaum, *Charters*, p. xxvii.

¹⁰ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 165.

2.2 The town ordinances of Southampton

The earliest ordinances of the guild merchant of Southampton are preserved in the town's 'Oak Book'. The Oak Book was known as the 'Paxbread' in the Tudor period. A paxbread was used in liturgical services and came into use during the thirteenth century as a symbolic substitute for the kiss of peace.¹¹ Evidence from the surviving town oaths strongly suggests that the Oak Book was used as a paxbread for the swearing of oaths. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Other reasons why the Oak Book was originally called a paxbread were quite possibly because of its shape and because it had a handle. Later, it became known as the Oak Book due to its oak board covers. Some ordinances are also found in the volumes known as the Remembrance Books and the Black Book and others are found in loose papers which have been published by R.C. Anderson.¹²

There are several versions of the town's ordinances dating from c. 1300 to the late sixteenth century which are still extant.¹³ Studer carried out extensive studies on all the surviving versions of the ordinances and most of his analyses and interpretations have since been adopted by other scholars of Southampton.¹⁴ It was he who coined the terms 'Ancient Laws' and 'Modern Laws' in his printed editions of 1910 and 1911. The Ancient Laws was another name for the earliest version of the ordinances preserved in the Oak Book. These were the ordinances of the guild merchant which were written in Norman French c. 1300 and consisted of seventy-seven partly numbered ordinances.¹⁵ Studer translated these ordinances into English in his publication. The Modern Laws, on the other hand, were compiled by Studer from several English sources written between 1473 and 1574 and consist of the majority of the Ancient Laws together with eighteen additional orders.¹⁶ In addition to the Ancient and Modern Laws, thirty-eight supplementary ordinances were made by Thomas Overey during his mayoralty of 1491, which were not intended to supersede any of the other ordinances. These are written in English and formed part of Overey's reforming measures along with the introduction of the Book of Fines.¹⁷

¹¹ See P. Studer, *Supplement to the Oak Book of Southampton* (SRSoc 12, 1911), p. 96, n. 1 for a description of the paxbread.

¹² See R.C. Anderson, ed., *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (SRSoc 22, 1921).

¹³ J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton: Gilbert and Co., 1883), pp. 132-34.

¹⁴ See A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 8, n. 2 for an amended date for one of the ordinances.

¹⁵ The Ancient Laws are printed in P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), pp. 24-81.

¹⁶ The Modern Laws are printed in Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 116-50.

¹⁷ The supplementary ordinances are printed in Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 151-60.

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The Ancient Laws cover all aspects of commerce, government and trade within the town. Bakers, brewers, butchers, fishermen, poulterers and publicans were all specifically referred to in connection with general trade, market and sanitary regulations. In addition there were orders relating to weights and measures, regraters, brokers and porters. Merchants were also included, either independently or in connection with the brokers. The Modern Laws, in addition to including all of these aspects, included a regulation concerning the cobblers and the shoemakers.

The ordinances in both the Ancient and the Modern Laws illustrate the important privileges, political and commercial, which were available to the burgesses. For example, they had exclusive rights to trade in certain commodities:

No one shall buy honey, seim [fat], salt herring, or any kind of oil, or millstones, or fresh hides, or any kind of fresh skins, except a gildsman; nor keep a tavern for wine, or sell cloth by retail, except on a market day or fair day; nor keep above five quarters of corn in his granary to sell by retail, if he is not a gildsman...¹⁸

Of the supplementary thirty-eight ordinances which were issued in 1491 and written by Thomas Overey, several relate to the craftspeople. Most noteworthy is ordinance twenty which honours all previous 'constitucions and ordinaunces' of the 'Taillours Craft, Corvisers [shoemakers], and all other grauntes by the Counseill [which] shalbe obserued'.¹⁹ The phrase 'and all other graunts' may refer to the other groups who are noted in the Book of Fines as paying fines from 1488/9 to 1521/2. These payments are discussed in Chapter 5.

Studer observes that the tendency of the Modern Laws was to favour increasingly the burgesses exclusively, to such an extent that by the end of the sixteenth century they alone could buy wholesale and the franchiser, or the freeman, was virtually prevented from trading at all.²⁰ There is evidence to suggest that the Oak Book was used as a working document, as copies of the book were held by four men in 1549.²¹ Other sources show that three out of these four men were burgesses, but no evidence has been found for the fourth man. With so many laws to be upheld, it was most likely used on a regular basis for reference. Only certain people were allowed to keep a copy; in 1502 an unauthorised man had to swear to return the one he had in his possession which had been given to him by a servant of an ex-sheriff. It is unclear, however, as to why he

¹⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14. When both Ancient and Modern Laws are referenced in this thesis, the page number noted relates to the Modern Laws.

¹⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 156.

²⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. xxxix. See Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, 'Introduction', pp. v-xliii for a detailed analysis of the Ancient and Modern Laws.

²¹ See F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SR Soc 1, 1905), p. 19.

had been given this copy.²² There was similar strict control concerning the Court Leet books. In 1549, one of the sergeants allowed someone, who was not a juror or a burgess, to write in the book, much to the anger of the mayor. The officer was deemed to have acted out of 'ignorance' and was, therefore, allowed to remain a burgess. He was still punished, however, as he had to pay a fine of 20d, confess his fault and remain alone in the hall for one day. It is not clear if this incident was related in any way to the outbreaks of popular unrest which occurred in England at this time.²³

Ordinances, often referred to as orders, also appear in the Remembrance Books, the Black Book and among the miscellaneous correspondence printed in Anderson's *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. The Remembrance Books were used mainly for matters arising at, or in connection with, meetings of the town council. These include: orders, decisions, copies of important documents and odd notes.²⁴ As regards the regulation of industry and trade, there are over sixty entries noted in the Third Book of Remembrance from 1519 to 1601. These orders relate to bakers, barbers, brewers, cobblers, fishmongers, glovers, shoemakers, skinnners, tallow chandlers and tappers as well as to the warehousing of linen and woollen cloth in 1564 and to the decision to build a new market house in 1570. The new orders written by William Capleyn in his attempt to reduce the power of the aldermen in 1573 were also noted in the Third Book of Remembrance. One of his orders related to the stricter conditions for admission to handicrafts.²⁵ This stated that an apprenticeship for at least seven years or more must have been served in the town, or if not a payment of five pounds for a licence would be required. The overwhelming majority of orders entered in the Remembrance Books were orders for the brewers, although there are several for the bakers, which reflects the council's control over the assizes of ale and bread. Some of these orders were subsequently entered in the Oak Book.

The Black Book is another town book which was used to record a variety of documents relating to the business of the town; it was so called owing to its black leather cover. It mainly consists of copies of conveyances of land made between burgesses and townspeople.²⁶ It was first used at some time between 1390 and 1400 and last used around 1620. The Black Book also contains a

²² See H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1440-1620*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 27, 1927), p. 12.

²³ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 18, no. 83. See A.C. Jones, 'Commotion Time', the English Risings of 1549' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2003) for a detailed discussion on the significance of these lesser-known risings.

²⁴ See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, pp. xii-xviii for a detailed discussion on the surviving three Remembrance Books. The first and third Remembrance Books have been edited and printed.

²⁵ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 3, 1955), pp. 150-51, no. 323.

²⁶ A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 13: 1912), p. v.

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few town ordinances and memoranda of important transactions, including wills, in which the town was concerned. The most noteworthy ordinance recorded regarding trade and industry is one concerning lighterage charges of 1414, from which is learnt how the various goods were packed. For example; wool was imported by the pack, and woolfells, lamb and calf skins by the bundle.²⁷ Lightermen were the owners of the small boats, called lighters, who transported cargo from the carracks and other large ships to the shore. Other ordinances are mostly of an earlier date.²⁸ A.B. Wallis Chapman believes that the very existence of the Black Book itself bears witness to the respect for local law describing it as 'a volume of evidence [which] has been recorded in order to facilitate the administration of law'. She notes quite rightly that 'the Southampton men would bully aliens, rob the vessels of other countries, cheat the king's officers, and evade his laws as they thought fit. But to their own laws, made in their own town, it is possible they paid more heed, as well they might, seeing that these laws were framed with their own consent and in their own interest'.²⁹ The 'Southampton men' referred to here were of course the ruling elite: the mayor and his fellow town councillors.

Anderson's book, *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, consists of a series of transcripts of miscellaneous correspondence from 1400 to 1599. The book contains 145 documents in all, some of which are from the Privy Council and some of which are purely local. Those relating to the Privy Council illustrate the town's response to royal orders; for example, a letter of 1588 concerned sinews and mentioned bowyers, butchers, saddlers, slaughter men and victuallers.³⁰ This probably relates to hostilities against the Spanish; the sinews being required for the manufacture of bow strings. The order relating to this letter is recorded in the Acts of the Privy Council. This is just one example of many which are found in the Southampton records illustrating the town's implementation of royal statutes.³¹ Some of the presentments in the Court Leet records have the wording 'contrary to the statute'. For example; in 1579, some of the butchers were charged with the offence of killing calves that were under five weeks old.³² This

²⁷ A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 17, 1915), pp. 172-77.

²⁸ See Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, 1, pp. 4-13 for the earlier ordinances relating to court procedure between 1392 and 1413, and see A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 14, 1912), pp. 60-2 for the procedure for debt of 1481 and for an ordinance which records the reforms of the mayoral revenues of 1505.

²⁹ Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, 1, p. xxix.

³⁰ Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 139-40, no. 83.

³¹ See Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 184-85, no. 115 for another example which concerned the eating of meat during Lent.

³² F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), p. 168, no. 7.

probably relates to an act which was enacted in 1529 in order to control the supply of beef; 'Act for the bringing up and rearing of Calves to increase the Multitude of Cattle'.³³

2.3 The town council and courts in Southampton

The numerous orders recorded in the various sources which have been described above were enacted by the town council or Assembly of Southampton. 'Mr Mayor and his brethren' is just one of the ways that they referred to themselves in the extant records. The town council generally consisted of the mayor together with 'twelve assistants' or 'jurats', whose number varied in fact from thirteen to fifteen. Within this small council there was an inner ring, consisting of the ex-mayors, some of whom also enjoyed the powers of justices of the peace under the town's charter of 1401, as mentioned above. The term 'mayor's brethren' referred loosely to this inner circle of ex-mayors who in practice dominated the council.³⁴ Ex-mayors were all termed 'aldermen'. Although councils in many towns in England developed in a similar way to Southampton's, for example from a merchant guild or by becoming incorporated, it appears that no two councils were structured in exactly the same way. Worcester, for example, had two chambers, one called the Twenty-Four and the other the Forty-Eight. The senior chamber was the Twenty-Four and the chief officers were two bailiffs, two aldermen and two chamberlains.³⁵ In Exeter the council was called the Twenty-Four whose members, in 1509, ceased to be elected annually and could thus sit for life, unlike Southampton's council which was elected each year.³⁶ By the second half of the sixteenth century, the mayor in Southampton was most probably elected by the burgesses from two candidates previously selected either by the outgoing mayor or by the aldermen.³⁷ Later in this chapter, the development of four town councils, Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester, are discussed in detail.

Economic control in Southampton was wielded by the mayor, as chief magistrate, and the justices of the peace through the various courts of the town. They administered the Town Court, which consisted of the Common Court and Piepowder Court, as well as the Admiralty, the Coroner and the Leet Courts and the Quarter Sessions. There was also the Sheriff's County Court. There are no surviving records of sessions held before the Coroner or at the Sheriff's County Court for the

³³ Statutes of the Realm, 1101-1713 (London: Record Commission, 1810), 21 Henry VIII, c. 8.

³⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. xix.

³⁵ A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), pp. 190-91.

³⁶ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 17.

³⁷ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 145, n. 1.

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period under study.³⁸ A few records do survive however, from the late 1580s, for the Quarter Sessions held before the justices, and there are many more extant records for the Town, Admiralty and Leet Courts.³⁹ At the weekly council meetings, a petty sessional jurisdiction was exercised and persons were bound to appear at the Quarter Sessions.⁴⁰ There are examples of the examinations undertaken by justices in several of the extant records, and these are described in more detail below, as is the very close relationship that existed between the council and courts. There is also evidence of the mayor petitioning the justices at the Winchester assizes.⁴¹

The records of the proceedings of the Town Court, which consisted of the Common and the Piepowder Courts, contain many details concerning craftspeople. This is illustrated by the 'Index of Subjects', noted in the published court books, which lists over fifty occupations and trades.⁴² The Common and the Piepowder Courts could have originated in a single court, but by the 1470s they were quite distinct.⁴³ As far as personal pleas were concerned, the one certain difference between the two courts was that disputes in which process was indeed 'from day to day and hour to hour' were only heard in the Piepowder Court.⁴⁴ For residents of Southampton, if they were defendants, the advantage of being sued in the Common Court was that it only sat once a week and therefore they had more time in which to respond to the complaint against them. The types of legal actions brought in the Town Court in the fifteenth century were for debt, trespass, detinue, covenant, deceit and account.⁴⁵

The Court Leet was held once a year on the fourth Tuesday after Easter Sunday at Cutthorn,⁴⁶ a large earthen mound on Southampton Common, which was capable of accommodating from three to four hundred people. It is situated on the extreme northern boundary of the borough

³⁸ T. Olding, ed., *The Common and Piepowder Courts of Southampton, 1426-1483* (SRS 45, 2011), pp. ix-x.

³⁹ For Quarter Sessions, see SCA, SC 9/4 Quarter Session Papers; for Town Courts, see SCA, SC 7/1 Town Court Books; for Admiralty Court, see SCA, SC 8/1 Admiralty Court Records; and for Court Leet, see SCA, SC 6/1 Court Leet Books.

⁴⁰ J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1609-1610 (SRSoc 21, 1920), p. ix. There is an example of this in H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1483-1563*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 30, 1930), p. 11.

⁴¹ For example, see SCA, SC 2/6/6, fol. 66, Book of Instruments, for the entry relating to William Newell, carpenter, in 1601.

⁴² See Olding, *Courts*, pp. ix and xii-xvii for a discussion on the development of and the relationship between the Common and Piepowder Courts, and see Olding, *Courts*, pp. 407-08 for the 'Index of Subjects'.

⁴³ Olding, *Courts*, p. xiii. Piepowder Courts were originally for travelling merchants.

⁴⁴ Olding, *Courts*, p. xiv.

⁴⁵ Olding, *Courts*, pp. xix-xx.

⁴⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 21, n. 5. The date of the meeting of the Court Leet varied from 14 April to 18 May depending on the date of Easter each year.

precincts, just over two miles from the Bargate.⁴⁷ All the householders of the town were expected to attend this court.⁴⁸ The 'very intimate' relationship between the town council and its courts is revealed once again in the presentments of the Leet Courts. Hearnshaw asserts that 'precisely those things which the ordinances of the guild ordered, the decisions of the court enforced'.⁴⁹

Heading the Court Leet were the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses; the corporation being lord of the Leet, as the lord of the manor would be in a manorial Court Leet.⁵⁰ The Court Leet jury was not an independent body exercising original powers, but was almost completely subservient to the town council.⁵¹ The presentments dealing with the regulation of trade and industry have been aptly described by Hearnshaw as being 'so numerous and so various that it is impossible ... to catalogue them fully'.⁵² There are also many entries in the Court Leet books dealing with such matters as the organisation of the markets; the use of false weights and measures and unsealed measures; and the problems of engrossing, forestalling and regrating. An example of falsifying weights and measures was noted in 1576 when thirty-five people were amerced from between 2d and 40s each.⁵³ An amercement was a penalty payment as opposed to a fine which was a customary payment. Also included in the extant Court Leet records are 'stall and art' lists consisting of names with payments. These 'licences' were annual payments for the right to trade or to carry on a craft in the town, and were granted to non-burgesses, that is, freemen and strangers.

Another court in Southampton was the Admiralty Court which was so close to the Court Leet in its procedure that Welch rightly suggests that it could almost be described as a maritime Court Leet.⁵⁴ Due to the large area covered by the admiralty jurisdiction, the area was divided into five sections at which courts were held. The sections were Southampton, Lepe, Lymington, Keyhaven and Hamble le Rice.⁵⁵ Evidence suggests that they were not held annually. The presentments can be grouped under four main headings: wrecks, navigational obstructions, trade and fishing. Cases

⁴⁷ Records of the Court Leet are printed in three volumes by F.J.C. Hearnshaw. See F.J.C. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction in England* (SRSoc 5, 1908) for a detailed commentary on Leet jurisdiction. See Figure 1: The liberties of the borough of Southampton in the sixteenth century.

⁴⁸ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, pp. 178-79.

⁴⁹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. xx.

⁵⁰ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 173.

⁵¹ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 198. See Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, pp. 206-22 for a comprehensive discussion on the content of the Court Leet presentments.

⁵² Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 209.

⁵³ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 137, no. 66.

⁵⁴ E. Welch, ed., *The Admiralty Court Book of Southampton, 1566-1585* (SRS 13, 1968), p. xxv.

⁵⁵ Welch, *Admiralty*, p. xxviii.

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of piracy and other 'felonies by sea' were dealt with by the justices in their sessions.⁵⁶ The Admiralty Court was chiefly concerned with seafarers and fishermen.

In addition to the control of the courts, it is quite likely that Southampton also offered some form of informal dispute resolution, arbitrations and adjudications, to which the parties in dispute submitted themselves voluntarily. These were heard in private sessions before the mayor and bailiffs.⁵⁷ Evidence for this survives in the later Assembly Books.⁵⁸ The town council imposed fines, awarded damages, ordered punishment, required sureties, effected reconciliation or dismissed suits, all at its regular Friday meetings. As mentioned above, the town had its bench of justices. This consisted of the mayor, four aldermen and four other burgesses who judged minor criminal offences in Petty and Quarter Sessions.⁵⁹ There are many statements made by craftspeople before these justices.⁶⁰ The strongest link between the proceedings in court and in council, however, was the custom under which the beadles brought to the Common Court each Tuesday their rolls of newcomers, inmates and charmaids (women undertaking casual housework) and, most tellingly, notes of any abuses carried out by the inhabitants of their respective wards. Significantly, it was the council, and not the court which made the necessary judgments.⁶¹ This suggests that even though the mayor and his assistants had control of both the court and the council, it was the latter which took precedence.

When all the sources relating to ordinances, orders and Court Leet presentments are amalgamated and studied together, a picture of the control which was exerted by the ruling elite over the various town crafts and trades emerges (see Appendix C).⁶² The occupations specifically named in the orders and ordinances from 1547 to 1603 cover the majority of the crafts and trades that are known to have existed in the town at that time, the exception being the crafts that were involved in the shipbuilding industry, for example, those of shipwright, blockmaker and sailmaster. This is possibly because the town's shipbuilding industry had been sporadic over the centuries. It was thriving in both the early fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the town

⁵⁶ J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1611-1614 (SRSoc 24, 1924), p. viii.

⁵⁷ Olding, *Courts*, p. x.

⁵⁸ J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1602-1608 (SRSoc 19, 1917), p. xliii.

⁵⁹ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, pp. 217-18.

⁶⁰ See G.H. Hamilton and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914) and R.C. Anderson, ed., *The Book of Examinations* (SRSoc 26, 1926) for examples.

⁶¹ Horrocks, *Assembly Books*, 2, pp. viii- ix.

⁶² See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton for a detailed survey of the individual crafts and trades which were involved in the local industries and trades of the town and which were noted in the ordinances, orders and Court Leet presentments.

was associated with the building and the repairing of royal ships.⁶³ In the late sixteenth century, the shipbuilding industry was again reinvigorated when the town became a base for privateering.⁶⁴

2.4 Town halls and markets in Southampton

The craftsmen and tradesmen had various halls and markets in which they could trade. Week to week provisioning was carried out at the meat and fish markets, whereas the trade in cloth and in tin took place at the relevant halls. There was also a 'meale' market where various types of grain were traded.⁶⁵ This market was possibly held in the Bargate.⁶⁶ Platt plausibly suggests that the Bargate was used as a meeting place for merchants.⁶⁷

The market for poultry, butter, cheese, eggs and fruit was relocated in November 1570 from the market cross, known as St Lawrence Cross, which was situated outside the doors of St Lawrence church in the High Street. The main problem with this area was that it was uncovered and therefore offered no protection from the 'rayne and tempeste'.⁶⁸ The new covered market was brick built and was located near to Holy Rood church, at the south end of the Audit House in the High Street, which was south of the old market. The meat or butchers' market was at the Friars Gate. The brokage book of 1443/4 gives a tantalising insight into the organisation and allocation of market stalls at the Friars Gate and elsewhere in the town. Payments for 'showing' or 'for stondynge' [standing] in the market place were noted in the book. The stall holders generally paid for one or two days at a time, at a charge of 1d or 2d respectively, although some did pay by the quarter or for a year. Many payments were from butchers and several were from tanners. Coleman is not clear whether these payments involved actually setting up a stall or were simply for a pitch.⁶⁹ It would appear that seven stalls were at the Friars Gate in 1495 as suggested in the rental details in the terrier for that year. These stalls were probably made of wood as in 1492 a

⁶³ See S. Rose, *The Navy of the Lancastrian Kings: Accounts and Inventories of William Soper, Keeper of the King's Ships, 1422-1427* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982); S. Rose, 'Southampton and the Navy in the Age of Henry V', *Hampshire Papers*, 14 (1998); and Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 203-04.

⁶⁴ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 222.

⁶⁵ See Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1 and 2 *passim* for evidence of this market.

⁶⁶ See SCA, SC 5/12/52 Voucher: Bill for rushes etc. for the town hall, 1577 which includes details concerning scales for the 'melle' market.

⁶⁷ C. Platt, and R. Coleman-Smith, eds, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953-1969*, 2 vols, Vol. 1, The Excavation Reports (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975), p. 58. Platt mentions the series of merchants' marks on the masonry at the Bargate which he suggests could indicate a meeting place for merchants.

⁶⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 110-12, no. 284. See Figure 2: Southampton in the sixteenth century.

⁶⁹ O. Coleman, ed., *The Brokage Book of Southampton, 1443-1444*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 4, 1960), p. xxi.

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carpenter was paid for a day's work to repair them.⁷⁰ The fish market was on the ground floor underneath the Woollen Hall and would have spread out into the open on market days. It moved in 1603 to the High Street near the poultry market but was ordered back in the same year.⁷¹ There was a well near the fish market in St Michael's Square which was used for the washing of the fish.

By 1553 the Linen Hall, the Woollen Hall and the Tin House had become the official sites for all sales of linen, wool and tin brought to the town by non-burgesses. An order of this year, which was reiterated in 1564, stated that all woollen and linen cloth brought into the town for sale must be taken to the respective halls where, if appropriate, it would be measured and the duty paid.⁷² Likewise, the Tin House exclusively stored, weighed and sold all tin coming to the town.⁷³ It was to the Woollen Hall, also known as the Cloth Hall, that all woollen cloth made in the town by non-burgesses was brought to be sold.⁷⁴ The Linen Hall and Tin House shared a single, two-storey building on Westgate Street near the West Gate. The Tin House, also known as the Tin Cellar, was at ground level and the Linen Hall was on the upper-storey. The Woollen Hall shared a single building too, this time with the fish market situated in St Michael's Square. The Woollen Hall was on the upper-storey and records show that at times it was used by other groups, for example, the bakers.

2.5 Local town government in Southampton and in other towns

Similar records survive for numerous towns in England, many of which could be used for comparative purposes with those of Southampton. The towns of Boston, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester have been chosen here, and more specifically, the way in which each town council was organised has been analysed and compared with that of Southampton's council. Boston and Rye were chosen because, like Southampton, they were port towns. Boston was a 'headport' or major seaport for customs purposes at the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign, as was Southampton, and Rye was one of the lesser creeks or havens as recognised for customs purposes during the

⁷⁰ See A. Thick, ed., *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492-93 and the Terrier of 1495* (SRS 38, 1995), pp. 76, 17.

⁷¹ S.D. Thomson, *Southampton in 1620 and the Mayflower* (Southampton: 1970), p. 70.

⁷² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 43, no. 202 and p. 91, no. 259. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 43, n. 1 for details relating to the linen trade and see Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 51, n. 1 for the woollen cloth trade.

⁷³ See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrances*, 3, pp. 77-8 for a detailed discussion on the Tin House in the sixteenth century.

⁷⁴ Thomson, *Southampton in 1620*, p. 70.

same period.⁷⁵ Salisbury and Winchester were chosen because they dominated, alongside London, the overland trade of Southampton during the late medieval period, Southampton having served as an 'outport' for both London and Salisbury.⁷⁶

Industry was controlled by town councils whose customs and laws had evolved over several centuries. By examining this evolution, it is possible to discern both common and uncommon features which, by the second half of the sixteenth century, had helped to establish the individual governments of the various towns. As discussed above, Southampton's administration had evolved from an earlier merchant guild. Many of the guild's ordinances, which had originated in the thirteenth century, were still in use by the town council in the sixteenth century. The town received its charter of incorporation in 1445 by which time it was controlled by a town council led by the mayor who, along with his officials, was chosen by private nomination from the body of burgesses. The freemen paid a fine to be allowed the freedom to set up a craft or trade in the town, but they could not serve on the council. The mayor and justices of the peace administered the various courts of the town, and it is in the Court Leet books that evidence of the increase in the number of newcomers is found for the period under study. It is in these books also that the names of freemen and strangers are listed, under the unique term of 'stall and art' payments.

Unlike Southampton, both Salisbury and Winchester were episcopal towns although the way in which each administration developed differed from one another. In Winchester there were two separate institutions: one for the town and one for the soke. By the late thirteenth century, the mayor and the other officers of the town were no longer accountable to the bishop but to the king, and they had also achieved a higher status than the officers of the soke. The soke was held by the bishop, who appointed a bailiff or steward to administer it for him.⁷⁷ By the sixteenth century the administration of the town had evolved into two groups of citizens which were both led by the mayor. The first group was the Twenty-Four who were the 'elected sworn advisors of the mayor' and the second group, who held the less important position, were the commonalty or community, who were those citizens who enjoyed the franchise but were not members of the Twenty-Four.⁷⁸ This would, at first sight, appear to be similar to the relationship that existed between the burgesses and freemen in Southampton, where both held the franchise but only the burgesses could become council officials, however, a more detailed look into the work of the

⁷⁵ See D. Harris-Sacks and M. Lynch, 'Ports 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 2, 1540-1840, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 377-424 (pp. 386-406) for a discussion of the system of seaports.

⁷⁶ M. Hicks, ed., *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 82-3.

⁷⁷ D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 73.

⁷⁸ Keene, *Survey*, 1, p. 75.

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bailiffs would suggest otherwise. Both towns elected annually two bailiffs. In Southampton both were part of the town council and attended the mayor at his courts; one was the senior or court bailiff and the other was the junior or water bailiff.⁷⁹ In Winchester the two bailiffs acted more as tax collectors collecting fines and rents; one, the high bailiff, otherwise known as the bailiff of the Twenty-Four, represented the Twenty-Four and the other, the low bailiff, or bailiff of the commons, represented the commonalty.⁸⁰ Furley describes the bailiffs as 'the sole magistrates of the City Court' at an early date which suggests that originally their role was similar to that of the bailiffs of Southampton.⁸¹ The freemen of Southampton had no such representation on their town council. It is not clear what advantages, if any, the freemen of Winchester gained from having a designated bailiff, although the mere fact that they had one suggests that the freemen had some say in the government of the town. Alternatively, it is possible that the bailiff in Winchester acted merely as a money collector, ensuring that all dues were paid.

In contrast to Winchester, the whole of the town of Salisbury, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, belonged to the bishop. The exact dates were from 1225, when the founding charter was granted, to 1612, when the town received its independence in a charter of incorporation. For four hundred years the bishops of Salisbury were able to exercise full seigneurial powers over the citizens of the town, who on their side enjoyed the commercial benefits granted by the charter. One such benefit was that all merchants were permitted to come and go freely with their merchandise paying only the lawful customs.⁸² The charter of 1225 stated that the citizens were to enjoy all those liberties enjoyed by the citizens of Winchester, however, the way in which these rights were administered varied due to the different nature of the governments of the two towns.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century in Salisbury, the town had its own officers although they were subordinate to those of the bishop, and it was the bishop who exercised extensive powers of civic and leet jurisdiction within the town.⁸³ By the sixteenth century, two groups of citizens had emerged to form the Assembly. These were the Twenty-Four, who were the senior of the two groups, and the Forty-Eight. Up until the late sixteenth century, the number of men attending the council meetings varied from thirty to fifty. E. Crittall observes that 'comparisons of attendances over short periods show that successive assemblies consisted of almost the same

⁷⁹ Horrocks, *Assembly Books*, 1, p. xvii.

⁸⁰ T. Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 74-6 and Keene, *Survey*, 1, p. 75.

⁸¹ J.S. Furley, *The Ancient Usages of the City of Winchester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 10-11.

⁸² E. Crittall, ed., *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, Vol. 6 (VCH, 1962), p. 94.

⁸³ Much of the content of this paragraph is based on Crittall, *Wiltshire*, pp. 94-5, 195.

men, so that either the Twenty-Four and Forty-Eight were not kept up to their full numbers, or else regularly contained a good proportion of inactive members'. (The numbers present at council meetings in Southampton is discussed in Chapter 3.) Their meetings were held at irregular intervals, generally between four and eight times in any one year. The Assembly met also for its annual meeting on All Souls Day (2 November) to elect the mayor and senior officers. In 1584 it was decided that the mayor and other 'senior citizens' should meet weekly to settle disputes and consider matters relating to the welfare of the city. This would appear to illustrate that the power of the town council in Salisbury was growing at this date. Exactly who these other 'senior citizens' were in Salisbury at this time is difficult to ascertain, although in the incorporation charter of 1612, the mayor, the recorder, twenty-four aldermen and forty-eight assistants were named as the government of the town. As nothing more is heard about these weekly meetings, Crittall plausibly suggests that probably 'the day to day business of the town was carried on informally by the mayor, officers, and leading citizens'. In Southampton, where the Assembly had total control over the administration, weekly council meetings had become the custom from a much earlier date than in Salisbury.

From at least the twelfth century, Salisbury, Southampton and Winchester had all possessed a merchant guild. Atkinson's suggestion that 'the history of the Merchant Gild in its relation to municipal government is very complex' is no exaggeration. Not surprisingly, he writes the following summary, 'as far as Winchester is concerned it is sufficient to note that in the sixteenth century admission to the Gild was the one and only means of becoming a freeman and being admitted to the franchise of the City'.⁸⁴ The simplicity of this statement obscures some important developments within Winchester's merchant guild. Primarily there was a close relationship between the merchant guild and the fraternity of John the Baptist. This relationship was formalised in 1477 when there was an order that all citizens were to be brothers of the fraternity on pain of losing their liberty. The fraternity of St John's was originally the guild of tailors although by the early fifteenth century it was made up of men with a wide variety of occupations including bakers, chandlers, clerks, fullers and merchants.⁸⁵ Keene states that it was clear that while all members of the merchant guild were members of the fraternity, not all members of the fraternity belonged to the guild.⁸⁶ The words 'burgess', 'citizen' and 'freeman' as found in the Winchester records are difficult at times to define and distinguish from one another. Certainly there are examples which strongly suggest that the words 'burgess' and 'freeman' were interchangeable, and there are also instances which equally suggest that 'citizen' could be a

⁸⁴ Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 36.

⁸⁵ D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 818.

⁸⁶ Keene, *Survey*, 2, p. 818.

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substitute for either word. Although by the period under study the word 'burgess' appears infrequently in Winchester records, it does appear in at least one Southampton document of the mid-sixteenth century. This Southampton source refers to a man being a 'burgess of Winchester'.⁸⁷ As expected, 'burgess' as in a 'burgess of parliament' is found in many of the Winchester town records of the period.

The relationship between the freemen and the fraternity in Winchester is illustrated by Keene when he suggests that the membership of the fraternity in the early fifteenth century 'probably approximately represents the number of freemen of the city'.⁸⁸ Atkinson is less clear when he states ambiguously that 'the freemen were those who had been admitted to the Merchant Guild'.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, no freemen rolls survive, and Adrienne Rosen believes that there is no evidence that they were ever kept during this period.⁹⁰ An ordinance of 1519 is noteworthy as it shows that two levels of freemen existed in Winchester, and it is clear that they corresponded to the two types of administration that had developed in the town.⁹¹ There were 'ordinary' freemen, that is to say, those who belonged to the commonalty, and there were the freemen who belonged to 'the Twenty-Four'.

The influence of the merchant guild on the administration in the two towns of Southampton and Winchester varied. Although in both towns admission to the guild could mark the beginning of a career in town government, it was only the merchant guild in Southampton that evolved directly into the government of the town. Indeed according to Furley the Twenty-Four in Winchester was never a council; instead it was 'purely an advisory body which was appointed to strengthen the mayor's hands in what was his prime duty, that of seeing that none of the rights or privileges of the city were lost'.⁹² The thrice-yearly meeting of the burghmote or common convocation of freemen, at which elections took place and where ordinances were disseminated, was described by Furley as the 'Town Council'.⁹³ The Winchester burghmote appears to have been an amalgamation of, or at least to have had some of the elements of, two of the institutions that existed in Southampton: the Court Leet and the Assembly. One difference is that the Winchester burghmote frequently met in a hall and not out in the open. This fact, as Furley convincingly

⁸⁷ See, SCA, SC 5/5/50, fol. 1v, Brokage Book, 1557/8.

⁸⁸ Keene, *Survey*, 1, p. 81.

⁸⁹ Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 34.

⁹⁰ A.B. Rosen, 'Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Winchester, 1520-1670' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1975), p. 7.

⁹¹ W. Page, ed., *A History of the County of Hampshire*, Vol. 5 (VCH, 1912), p. 26.

⁹² J.S. Furley, *City Government of Winchester from the Records of the XIV and XV Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 67.

⁹³ Keene, *Survey*, 2, p. 819 and Furley, *Government*, p. 67.

argues, suggests that it was not a mass meeting of all the citizens.⁹⁴ Southampton's Court Leet, on the other hand, met in the open air, at Cutthorn, in order to accommodate all the householders of the town. Even after Winchester was granted a charter of incorporation in 1588, Furley asserts that the Twenty-Four was still an advisory body only.⁹⁵ It is unclear whether Winchester had the equivalent of Southampton's stall and art lists which are listed in the Court Leet books, however, there is mention of non-freemen, which is another term for strangers, paying an annual fee to set up their occupation or craft within the city.⁹⁶

The merchant guild in Salisbury seems to have had much less influence on town administration than did the merchant guilds of Southampton and Winchester. The merchant guild of 'New Sarum' was re-constituted in 1306, and it consisted of about 300 merchants, craftsmen and other persons.⁹⁷ After 1306 members were admitted to the guild merchant either by the bishop or by the mayor on payment of a fee, the fee being divided equally between the bishop and the commonalty.⁹⁸ Crittall states that there is no evidence of the guild merchant having any administrative functions, however, the mayor and commonalty were joined for religious and social purposes with the guild or fraternity of St George. Crittall goes as far as to suggest that the fraternity of St George was simply the guild merchant in another guise,⁹⁹ which is highly possible considering the links that are known to have existed between other merchant guilds and religious fraternities. The relationship between the merchant guild and the fraternity in Salisbury does not seem to have been nearly as close as the relationship between Winchester's merchant guild and the fraternity of John the Baptist.

Unfortunately, no records survive for the merchant guild of Salisbury, and although there is no direct evidence, it seems likely that the merchant guild of Salisbury did influence the administration of the town in some way. A document of 1248/9, noted by Charles Haskins as an extract of an Assize Roll, shows the relationship that existed at that time between the merchant guild and the burgesses. In this document, a man was able to retain his freedom by proving that he had lived in Salisbury, 'and in the Merchant Gild as free burgess' for ten years.¹⁰⁰ By the sixteenth century the terms 'citizen' and 'freeman' had become synonymous, illustrated by Crittall's comment that 'the corporation had the privilege of making freemen, or free citizens,

⁹⁴ Furley, *Government*, p. 65.

⁹⁵ Furley, *Government*, p. 69.

⁹⁶ See Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 75.

⁹⁷ Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 132.

⁹⁸ Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 132.

⁹⁹ Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 95.

¹⁰⁰ C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912), pp. 20-21.

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who alone could exercise any trade or occupation in the city'.¹⁰¹ It is plausible to suggest that both these terms had almost certainly evolved from the word 'burgess' as is known to have happened in other towns. By this date the word burgess is no longer found in the documents in Salisbury. Crittall states that 'no list of medieval freemen survives and the entries of admissions in the town ledger books are so infrequent as to suggest that these were special admissions of non-residents'.¹⁰² It is possible that admissions of resident freemen were entered in separate guild books rather than in the town books. The surviving ledger and act books for the tailors' guild show that new members were admitted to the guild where they had their names enrolled at their twice-yearly meetings.¹⁰³ An entry in their first ledger, dated 1440, describes a meeting attended by representatives of nineteen guilds encompassing thirty-nine crafts and professions.¹⁰⁴ This shows a flourishing guild system. What is unclear is how autonomous they were. Certainly it was the mayor who could order the punishment of those who had broken guild regulations¹⁰⁵ rather than the wardens of the guilds. This would suggest a close relationship between the mayor and wardens, and with the mayor in the superior role. This seems very similar to the relationship that existed in Southampton, where the activities of the wardens were subordinate to the mayor's authority.

The Court Leet in Salisbury, which was held half-yearly, was under the authority of the bishop. Every inhabitant was expected to attend. In the charter of incorporation in 1612, however, the mayor and Assembly were granted the right to hold Quarter Sessions and much of the work that had been carried out previously at the Court Leet was now also executed by the mayor and the justices of peace.¹⁰⁶ It would appear that no records of the Salisbury Court Leet or any lists which may be equivalent to Southampton's stall and art records survive for the period under study. There is some mention of strangers in the surviving Salisbury records. For example; in 1479 an order was made which stated that 'no master stranger should be received into the Guild unless he paid 40s to the common box'.¹⁰⁷ Another example was in 1598 when the citizens petitioned the bishop asking for his support 'in order to prevent the evils arising from the influx of strangers and foreigners, and so to protect the workmen of Salisbury against the competition of strangers who came to the city to trade'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 105.

¹⁰² Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 124.

¹⁰³ Haskins, *Guilds*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁴ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), p. 69.

¹⁰⁵ See Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁶ F. Street, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury (New Sarum) between 1225 and 1612', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 39, (1915-17), 185-258, 319-68 (p. 355).

¹⁰⁷ Haskins, *Guilds*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁸ Haskins, *Guilds*, p. 76.

The regulations that governed industry in towns were generally written down as town ordinances. For Winchester the customs and laws of the town survive in two different forms: the older 'usages', in the form of a charter and the more recent 'ordinances' in book form. Like Southampton's ordinances, the Winchester usages were written in Norman French. They survive in a copy of the late thirteenth century, although the original is believed to have dated from the beginning of this century.¹⁰⁹ The later ordinances survive in a complete series called the Books of Ordinances covering the period from 1552 to 1835.¹¹⁰ The First Book of Ordinances contains all the enactments of the burghmote for the second half of the sixteenth century, in addition to including extracts from ordinances dating back to 1400 which had been entered in the town's Black Book.¹¹¹ It would seem that this system was adopted as a way of collating the town's laws into one book which could be easily kept up to date.¹¹²

No separate book of ordinances appears to have survived for Salisbury, if indeed one ever existed. In the extant ledger books, however, details of the municipal organisation are given. These include many orders which the mayor and Assembly enacted in relation to the crafts and trades of the town. In 1550, for example, a regulation was made concerning the brewers which stipulated the prices they must charge for their beer.¹¹³ Indeed, the orders contained in Salisbury's ledger books are very similar to the orders and presentments which were written in Southampton's Remembrance and Court Leet books, for example, those concerning the enforcement of various assizes and the regulation of the market.¹¹⁴ Ordinances survive also for some of the craft and trade guilds of Salisbury. The earliest and most detailed ones are for those of the tailors' guild. Their first book, dating from 1444, details 'the Rewles, ordinanncis and constitucions that by longeth to the Tayllours'.¹¹⁵ These books show clearly that the tailors were an influential and wealthy guild, able to build a hall in the early fifteenth century on ground they owned in addition to owning sixteen houses in 1576.¹¹⁶

Regardless of the terminology used, it is clear that there were some groups of men who had more authority and power than others in the town administrations of Salisbury, Southampton and Winchester. Concerning Southampton and Winchester it is difficult to speculate in which town it would have been easier for a man to be elected as mayor, but evidence strongly suggests that the

¹⁰⁹ See Furley, *Usages*, p. 7.

¹¹⁰ Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 12.

¹¹¹ Atkinson, *Winchester*, pp. 34-5.

¹¹² Page, *Hampshire*, p. 26.

¹¹³ Haskins, *Guilds*, p. 316.

¹¹⁴ See Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 97 for more details as to the contents of the ledger books.

¹¹⁵ See Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 133 and Haskins, *Guilds*, p. 109.

¹¹⁶ See Crittall, *Wiltshire*, p. 134 and Haskins, *Guilds*, p. 175.

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mayor of Southampton had more power. It would seem that the mayor of Salisbury, as subordinate to the bishop, held the least power of the three. Also it is unclear as to whether having a bailiff specifically representing the freemen in Winchester was more advantageous than the situation that prevailed in Southampton, where the freemen were at the mercy of the burgesses. It must be remembered, however, that in Winchester the position of bailiff was inferior to that of the mayor. Salisbury with nineteen guilds in 1440 appears to be the leading town as regards the organisation of its crafts and trades. In Winchester the crafts were subordinate to the guild merchant and Keene suggests that although later in the fifteenth century the tailors' and the cobblers' guilds continued to flourish, most of the other guilds had faded away before 1418 and the craft guild structure which emerged during the later sixteenth century, therefore, 'owed little if anything to its medieval predecessor'.¹¹⁷ The craft and trade groups of Southampton are analysed in Chapter 5.

By comparing just these three towns it is apparent that there were as many similarities as there were differences between their relevant administrations. The way in which each town was founded, understandably, had much influence on the development of each government. It is possible that the geographical closeness of each town to one another influenced later developments. An example of this would be the decision in Salisbury in 1584 for the mayor and other senior citizens to hold weekly meetings. They were surely aware that this had been the custom of the council in Southampton for many years. Having made comparisons between Southampton and its two largest neighbours with regard to the organisation of town governments, two port towns, Boston and Rye, will now be likewise compared.

By the sixteenth century, Boston in Lincolnshire had become a small town which had a 'rather fragile urban existence'.¹¹⁸ It had been one of the country's leading ports in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but by the sixteenth century it was increasingly overshadowed by other east coast port towns, such as Hull, King's Lynn and Yarmouth.¹¹⁹ Before its incorporation in 1545, Boston was a manorial jurisdiction, the parish of Boston having been divided mainly between the honours of Richmond and de Croun, with the Earl of Richmond enjoying the greater part of the parish. This meant that the bailiffs and officers of the court were appointed by the lords of the manor.¹²⁰ Although Boston never had a guild merchant, there were nineteen religious guilds in

¹¹⁷ Keene, *Survey*, 1, p. 333.

¹¹⁸ P. Clark, and J. Clark, eds, *The Boston Assembly Minutes, 1545-1575*, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 77 (Woodbridge: Lincoln Record Society, 1987), p. xviii.

¹¹⁹ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. ix.

¹²⁰ J. Clark, A. Nash and K. Giles, *Historic Building Investigation: St Mary's Guildhall, Boston, Lincolnshire* (Boston Borough Council: 2003), pp. 1, 3.

the town, some of which had developed associations with particular trades, for example, the merchants with the guild of St Peter and St Paul, the mariners with St Simon and St Jude, the bakers with Holy Trinity and the cordwainers with St John the Baptist.¹²¹

Rye in East Sussex was classified as a lesser haven, and was one of the Cinque Ports. These ports were 'a confederation of south-eastern port towns', which were of strategic and political value to the Crown, and were located in a position to control the English Channel.¹²² In the early decades of the sixteenth century, Rye grew substantially both in wealth and population, reaching a peak in the middle of the sixteenth century.¹²³ It owed this prosperity to its fishing and mercantile fleets.¹²⁴ From the 1580s, however, the town began to decline and by the end of the sixteenth century, this once major English port was reduced to the status of a 'minor market town'.¹²⁵ As with the other Cinque Ports, Rye was never administered by a merchant guild, and it never received a charter of incorporation.¹²⁶ The governors of the town received their authority from the rights and privileges laid down in the General Charter of the Cinque Ports, although the precise details of how each port was to administer these powers were not specified.¹²⁷

From 1545, the date of its charter of incorporation, the administration in Boston was controlled by the town council which consisted of two elements: the bench of twelve which included the mayor and the aldermen and the common council of eighteen. There were also two bailiffs or chamberlains who were responsible for the town's revenues.¹²⁸ The members of the bench were co-opted from the council,¹²⁹ after which they appear to have been called 'aldermen' and 'burgesses'. These two terms were interchangeable as shown in consecutive dating clauses in the Assembly books in 1577: 'the maior and burgesses and com[m]on counsaill' and 'the maior the

¹²¹ K. Giles, and J. Clark, 'St Mary's Guildhall, Boston, Lincolnshire: The Archaeology of a Medieval 'Public' Building', *Medieval Archaeology*, 55, (2011), 226-56 (228-29).

¹²² M. Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales, 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 1, 600-1540, ed. by D.M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 467-94 (p. 475).

¹²³ G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer: University of Sussex, 1987), p. 7.

¹²⁴ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 14.

¹²⁵ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 269.

¹²⁶ C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890, reprinted 1927), p. 21 and W. Holloway, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town and Port of Rye, in the County of Sussex* (London: C and J Adlard, 1847), p. 50.

¹²⁷ Mayhew, *Rye*, pp. 91-92.

¹²⁸ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. xv.

¹²⁹ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. xiv.

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alldermen and common counsaill'.¹³⁰ The members of the common council were elected by the mayor and aldermen from the most suitable freemen of the borough.¹³¹

Entries in the Assembly Books show that there were two types of freemen who operated in the town; the first group consisted of the men who were chosen to be freemen *and* to be members of the common council and the second group were those men who were made freemen so that they could carry on a trade or craft in the town.¹³² The town council in Boston differed from that of Southampton in so far as that in Boston some of the freemen were permitted to join and govern alongside the burgesses. It appears, however, that the real power still lay with the burgesses in the bench of twelve.

In Rye, by contrast, there is no evidence to suggest that the term 'burgess' was ever used. Rye, like all of the Cinque Ports, administered its affairs in accordance with the usages which were written in the town's custumal, of which various copies survive. As mentioned above, although the ports received their authority from the General Charter of the Cinque Ports, precise details of how each town was to be governed were not stated in the charter. The earliest surviving copy of the Rye custumal dates from the mid-fifteenth century although, as in Winchester, a copy was made in the mid-sixteenth century to gather together in one book the customs and ordinances of the town. The articles of the custumal were written very much for the protection of the freemen. According to the custumal of Rye, the mayor was elected by all of the freemen at a meeting referred to in the Assembly Books as an open hundred.¹³³ Twelve jurats were also chosen to assist him, although the actual numbers fluctuated between eight and twelve and at times went as low as six and seven.¹³⁴ At the Assembly, the commonalty of the town, that is the freemen, met with the mayor and jurats to make ordinances and decrees regulating borough affairs.¹³⁵ There were no regular meetings of the Assembly; it met from time to time as there was need.¹³⁶ During the period between January 1575 and December 1590, Mayhew believes that there was 'a

¹³⁰ J. Bailey, *Transcriptions of Minutes of the Corporation of Boston, 1545 to 1607*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (History of Boston Project, 1980), p. 218.

¹³¹ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. xiv and J. Bailey, *Transcriptions of Minutes of the Corporation of Boston, 1545 to 1607*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (History of Boston Project, 1980), p. xviii. Clark states that they were chosen 'from the body of burgesses or freemen' but the evidence would suggest that they were chosen only from the freemen of the town.

¹³² For example, in 1561 'Anthony Claymonde was sworn a freeman and after was chosen one of the Common Council' and in 1569 'William Colman, tailor, and William Peycock, tailor, were admitted freemen'. Clark and Clark, *Boston*, pp. 36 and 59.

¹³³ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 92.

¹³⁴ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 92.

¹³⁵ R.F. Dell, ed., *The Records of Rye Corporation: A Catalogue* (Lewis: East Sussex County Council, 1962), p. xiii.

¹³⁶ Dell, *Rye*, pp. xiii-xiv.

deliberate attempt by the urban elite further to restrict the franchise within the town'.¹³⁷ A body calling itself the 'common council' took over from the Assembly during these years. This council consisted of twenty-four members appointed by the mayor and jurats 'from the moost wisest, discretest and honest commoners' and were to meet fortnightly. Mayhew rightly describes this as 'a clear example of a self-perpetuating oligarchy'.¹³⁸ For whatever reason, however, this new council of twenty-four was abolished in 1590, and decisions concerning the town reverted to the whole Assembly of mayor, jurats and freemen.¹³⁹ It is possible that the mayor and jurats had observed the governments of other towns before deciding to adopt this form of council in 1575.

With regard to town courts, Boston was entitled to hold a Court Leet twice a year under its incorporation charter of 1545.¹⁴⁰ No indication of its workings is given in the Assembly minutes. Bailey states, however, that 'pitching money' was collected from shops and stalls in the market by aldermen and councillors.¹⁴¹ It is possible that this was similar to the 'stall and art' assessments of Southampton. Unfortunately, a search through the Assembly Book minutes has failed to find any mention of this payment. Strangers are sometimes mentioned in the Assembly Books, often when paying for special licences to trade. Clark writes that regrettably the town is not well served with historical documentation for the sixteenth century,¹⁴² and it appears that no books of ordinances survive, if indeed, any ever existed. A summary of ordinances from 1545 to 1593 was recorded in the Assembly minutes.¹⁴³ They appear to be similar to the orders which were written in the Remembrance Books of Southampton. During Elizabeth I's reign, five 'companies' were established in Boston: the bakers and brewers, cordwainers, glovers, tailors and smiths. Clark asserts that little is known about their activities or organisation, but he believes that it is most likely that they catered mainly for local demand.¹⁴⁴ From the extant Assembly minutes, it can be seen that the matters which the town council had responsibility for were similar to those of many other councils, including Southampton's, for example, 'the assessment of wages, the setting of prices of beer, candle and coals, the regulation of the gilds and markets, and the licensing of alehouses'.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁷ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 103.

¹³⁸ Mayhew, *Rye*, pp. 103-04.

¹³⁹ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 105.

¹⁴⁰ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 256.

¹⁴¹ Bailey, *Minutes of the Corporation of Boston*, p. xx.

¹⁴² Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. ix.

¹⁴³ Bailey, *Minutes of the Corporation of Boston*, pp. 61-83. These were not transcribed in Clark and Clark, *Boston*.

¹⁴⁴ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. xii.

¹⁴⁵ See Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. xvi.

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Although the right for Rye to hold Court Leets was confirmed in a charter of 1547,¹⁴⁶ the records show that the term 'Court Leet' was not used in Rye during this period. As convincingly suggested by Dell, it was 'the annual great session of the Hundred Court' at Rye which had all the characteristics of the Court Leet.¹⁴⁷ Indeed a search through the sixteenth-century court records, as summarised by Dell, turns up very similar presentments to those of the Court Leet books of Southampton, for example, contraventions of the assize of bread, alehouse offences, and forestalling.¹⁴⁸ It was also at these annual hundred courts in Rye that all inhabitants between the ages of fifteen and sixty had to attend.¹⁴⁹ This was a similar arrangement to that which is recorded in the Court Leet books of Southampton. There is no mention in the Rye records, however, of any lists comparable to the stall and art records of Southampton. No register of freemen exists for Rye for the period under study, but details of freemen admissions are given in the Assembly Books and chamberlains' accounts. Of particular note is a list which survives from 1562 containing the names of 103 'freemen inhabiting' the town at this date.¹⁵⁰ Although a similar list for strangers was probably never compiled, the records do give some information concerning strangers. According to the custumal, any stranger having dwelt in the town for a year and a day occupying an 'honest crafte' and being of 'good guydyng and conversation and desyrethe ye franchises' could go before the mayor and jurats in open assembly and demand his freedom, the mayor and jurats deciding what he should pay by way of entry fine. In 1562, the entry fine was fixed by an Assembly at a minimum of 40s for strangers and 20s for those born not free within the town.¹⁵¹ The admission process which operated in Southampton is analysed in Chapter 4. In Rye, several occupational groups were organised into companies, for example, the fishermen and mariners (1567), the tailors and drapers (1571), the mercers (1575) and the cordwainers or shoemakers (1576).¹⁵²

In late sixteenth-century Boston, as in many other contemporary towns, there was a growing problem of 'lower class, subsistence migration'. Clark observes that 'respectable newcomers were rather more welcome', although they had to pay increasingly heavy fines if they wished to trade in the town as freemen.¹⁵³ Like Southampton, Boston had links with French-speaking communities who offered new techniques in cloth manufacture. French-speaking refugees brought their 'new draperies' to Southampton in 1567. In 1573 the corporation of Boston

¹⁴⁶ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁷ Dell, *Rye*, p. xiv.

¹⁴⁸ See Dell, *Rye*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Holloway, *Rye*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁰ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 105.

¹⁵¹ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 106.

¹⁵² Mayhew, *Rye*, pp. 165-67.

¹⁵³ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. x.

obtained a licence to permit forty families from the Low Countries to settle in the town.¹⁵⁴ Rye, too, saw several waves of immigrants from French and Walloon communities during the second half of the sixteenth century,¹⁵⁵ although the town does not seem to have suffered from the problems of overcrowding that were experienced elsewhere. This is suggested by Mayhew's comment that 'by the 1620s Rye's inhabitants numbered little more than a quarter of what they had done at its height'.¹⁵⁶

Many more towns, in addition to the four chosen, could have been selected and used for comparative purposes with Southampton. This would only have given, however, yet more examples of the similarities and the variances that existed in the town governments of the sixteenth century. The sample which has been used, although relatively small, well represents the diverse nature of town administrations of this period. Indeed the fact that such varied councils existed in all of the four towns chosen, well illustrates the diverse nature of the governments that existed across England.

This chapter has shown that towns of the sixteenth century, regardless of their constitutional origins, were led by an assembly of men of varying numbers. Within each assembly there was a smaller, senior group who wielded the most power. As Swanson rightly states, 'no town was going to allow trading privileges to all comers, but they varied considerably in the criteria they set as to which inhabitants should benefit'.¹⁵⁷ By their very nature, strangers were always going to be less privileged and more restricted when carrying out their craft or trade occupations compared with the established burgesses and freemen. What has been shown in this chapter is that Southampton was unique in the way that the organisation of its government ensured the continued separation of the two groups that held the franchise, that is, the burgesses and the freemen. When discussing these two groups in relation to Southampton, the words should not be interchanged. The meaning of the word 'freedom' can also be problematical. In Southampton it is used to describe both groups who held the franchise, however, Swanson's comment that 'not only did the freedom give commercial advantage, it defined those who make up the effective political community in the town' does not hold true in Southampton.¹⁵⁸ As mentioned several times, it was only the burgesses who held political power here. The next chapter of this study focusses on the burgesship, both in Southampton and in other towns.

¹⁵⁴ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. x.

¹⁵⁵ Mayhew, *Rye*, pp. 83-4.

¹⁵⁶ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 233.

¹⁵⁷ H. Swanson, *Medieval British Towns* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1999), p. 71.

¹⁵⁸ Swanson, *British Towns*, p. 71.

Chapter 3 The burgesses of Southampton: the freemen of other towns?

This chapter analyses many aspects of the burgesship both in Southampton and elsewhere. In towns where there were no burgesses, it was freemen who performed a similar role. As mentioned previously in Chapter 2, it would seem that no two late medieval and early modern English towns were organised in exactly the same way. In Southampton it was some of the most powerful and wealthiest men who were admitted to the burgesship, and it was from this exclusive group that members of the town council were chosen. Their authority was rooted in the town ordinances, some of which were repeated and reinforced in their oath; both the town ordinances and the burgess's oath are analysed in this chapter. The hierarchy within the burgesship is revealed and the frictions which could exist within the group are also highlighted. The numbers and methods of those admitted to the burgesship are revealed as is the actual number of burgesses who might have been present at any one time in the town. It is shown that the majority of burgesses were merchants, but there were some who worked in the legal professions and others who were craftsmen. Although it is difficult to make direct comparisons with other towns, admissions of burgesses in Southampton are here compared with similar admissions in Exeter and Hull. These two towns were chosen because, like Southampton, they were ports, and also because of the availability of appropriate comparative data. The main questions posed in this chapter are: How did the ordinances regulate the burgesses in Southampton? What was the composition of the Southampton burgesship in 1571? Was there a hierarchy between greater and lesser burgesses in Southampton?

The burgesses, or at least a core group of them, held the power in Southampton and controlled all aspects of government including its industry and trade. It is not known what qualities a potential burgess was expected to have as these criteria do not seem to have been written down or if they were they are no longer extant. It is suggested here, however, that the qualities of astuteness, honesty, reliability and, most importantly, loyalty to their fellow burgesses was demanded. Evidence extracted from the Book of Admissions of Burgesses strongly suggests that the burgesship was given either as a reward for friendship or to a person who could offer some kind of benefit to the town. The status of an individual within the town could change over time, in both positive and negative ways. On the positive side, it was not only those who had been born in the town who were permitted to enter the burgesship, as both strangers and freemen were admitted. On the negative side, a person could lose the privileges of membership by being degraded, which happened generally as a result of contravening one of the town ordinances.

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In Southampton the burgesses held the franchise; that is, they held the right to carry on a craft or trade in the town, along with the freemen, although it was only the burgesses who were eligible for election to the town council. In some towns the terms 'burgess' and 'freeman' were interchangeable, but in Southampton there was almost always a clear distinction between the burgesses and the freemen even though they both held the franchise. This is not to say that the three groups who were either craftsmen or tradesmen in the town, that is, the burgesses, the freemen and the strangers, did not work together in the day to day life of the town; for example, both burgesses and freemen were named on some of the extant incorporation documents and petitions.¹ As has been stated many times in this thesis, the words 'burgess' and 'freeman' often meant different things in different towns. The next section of this chapter looks at this dilemma and shows how it can hinder direct comparisons between towns.

In some towns there were burgesses in control and in others there were freemen. Often several groups were permitted to carry on a craft or trade in a town, namely burgesses and/or freemen and/or strangers, although it should be stressed that the composition of each group often varied from one town to another which, again, makes it difficult to make direct comparisons. To illustrate this point, the compositions of several town administrations are now given. The town council in Boston consisted of the bench of twelve, who were burgesses, and the common council of eighteen, who were freemen. In addition to these, there were other freemen and also strangers, both resident and non-resident, who were able to trade or to carry on a craft in the town.² In Rye the Assembly or town council consisted of the mayor and the twelve jurats.³ Those who were permitted to trade or carry on a craft in the town were the freemen, the non-free inhabitants and the strangers (the last two groups were similar to the resident and non-resident strangers in Southampton). In Exeter the ruling council was the mayor and the Twenty-Four,⁴ and until 1562 both freemen and non-freemen could trade. After this date, however, it seems that only the freemen were permitted to trade or carry on a craft in the town. In Hull, the town council consisted of the mayor and twelve aldermen, and there were burgesses and non-burgesses who could trade.⁵ In Ipswich the council or Assembly was made up of the Twenty-Four

¹ See Chapter 5 for an analysis of the incorporation documents and petitions and see Chapter 7 which demonstrates some of the ways that the various groups worked together.

² See Chapter 2 for more details about the composition of the town council in Boston and Rye and see Chapter 6 for a discussion about strangers in Southampton and elsewhere.

³ G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer: University of Sussex, 1987), p. 106

⁴ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 29.

⁵ K.J. Allison, ed., 'Medieval Hull', in *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, (VCH, 1969), pp. 11-85. British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1/pp11-85> [accessed 2 February 2017].

who were all burgesses (who incidentally were also called freemen).⁶ It was the burgesses and non-burgesses, both resident and non-resident, who were permitted to trade or to carry on a craft in the town. There was no office of mayor in Ipswich at this time, as it was introduced much later. These examples go some way to emphasize the differences which can be found in the administrations of different towns which make direct comparisons extremely problematic. Nevertheless, some more detailed comparisons have been made below between the burgesses of Southampton, the burgesses of Hull and the freemen of Exeter. Regardless of the composition of the town councils, it is possible to say that all towns had at their core a small group of men who wielded the most power; in some towns these men were called burgesses and in others they were termed freemen. In Southampton it was the burgesses who were privileged above all others, and this is demonstrated in many of the ordinances which were written in the Oak Book. The ordinances which relate specifically to the burgesses are now analysed and some examples taken from the town records to illustrate their use are also given.⁷

3.1 Burgesses and the ordinances

The ordinances which relate to both burgesses and freemen, in other words, to those 'of the franchise', are discussed in Chapter 4, and are, as might be expected, generally those connected with the buying and selling of goods. The ordinances directed specifically at the burgesses are those which set down their obligations, along with certain expectations relating to their behaviour, as well as the benefits that they might enjoy as a member of this exclusive group.

The burgesses were obliged to attend council meetings on specific days. A fine of 2s was imposed on absentee burgesses unless the relevant licence had been obtained or some other reason for non-attendance had been given.⁸ Another ordinance stated that Assembly meetings could be held as and when required, but this ordinance makes no mention of compulsory attendance by all the burgesses.⁹ It was at Assembly meetings that orders and decisions were enacted. Indeed, records show that it was rare for all the burgesses to be assembled and consulted at council meetings. The whole group was usually only required when consent to a formal legal act was needed whose validity might be challenged at law.¹⁰ This is demonstrated in more detail below.

⁶ J. Webb, ed., *The Town Finances of Elizabethan Ipswich* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 1.

⁷ See Chapter 2 for a discussion about the origins and nature of ordinances.

⁸ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), p. 117: Modern Laws, no. 1.

⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 134: Ancient Laws, no. 55/Modern Laws, no. 44.

¹⁰ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. xix.

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The date of the annual election of the officers of the town was given in another ordinance.¹¹ This ordinance also stated that the officials must help, preserve and maintain all the rights, privileges and constitutions of the town and to see common right administered 'as well to poore as to riche, to dwellers and to straungers'.¹² This directive could explain why people's wealth appears to have been taken into consideration in the monetary assessments which are noted in the stall and art lists. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 6. This ordinance also stated that it should be the 'discretiste and moste metest' burgesses who were chosen as officials, a statement which clearly shows that a hierarchy existed within the burgesship.

If a burgess fell into poverty, was unable to work and did not have sufficient funds on which to live, he could receive 13s 4d at the discretion of the mayor and his brethren.¹³ It is not clear whether this should be a one-off or an annual payment. When a burgess died all his fellow burgesses, where possible, must be present at his burial, and a fine of 2s was imposed for burgesses who did not attend.¹⁴ If there were any disagreements between burgesses they were to come before the mayor to make amends so that 'tranquilite, rest, good peace and unities maye daylie be had amonge them'. If one party refused to attend this meeting he would be fined 20s. If he then refused to pay the fine, the ordinance stated that he would be put in prison until it was paid.¹⁵ The records appear to show that these measures did not cover those incidents in which a burgess criticised the mayor or the town council. In these cases there was no mediation and the culprits were discharged of their burgesship immediately and, in one case, the offender was thrown into prison for his comments.¹⁶ A burgess was discharged in 1565 for saying to the mayor, 'Ye make lawes in the Awdit House, against reason and conscience, and ye are not able to abide by them'.¹⁷ This group of ordinances shows that burgesship membership was about showing respect to fellow burgesses in death as well as in life.

No burgess was to strike another burgess. If he used his fist he would lose his burgesship which he could regain only by paying 10s. If he used a staff, knife or other weapon he would lose both the burgesship and the franchise. In order to regain both privileges he would have to be

¹¹ The date given is the Friday before St Matthew's Day. St Matthew's Day is 21 September.

¹² Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 126-27: Ancient Laws, no. 32/Modern Laws, no. 24.

¹³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 122: Ancient Laws, no. 22/Modern Laws, no. 16.

¹⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 117: Ancient Laws, no. 7/Modern Laws, no. 2.

¹⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 134-35: Ancient Laws, no. 56/Modern Laws, no. 45.

¹⁶ The offender was Edward Bishop who in 1559 insulted the mayor and was committed to prison immediately. A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1540-1573 (SRS 3, 1955)*, p. 66, no. 229.

¹⁷ The burgess was Hugh Darvault. Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 95-6, no. 265.

reconciled with the person he had struck and pay a fine of 20s.¹⁸ If a burgess attacked the reputation of another burgess he was to pay 20s. If he was unable to pay (which is a clear indication that not all burgesses were wealthy) he was to lose his burgesship and the franchise.¹⁹ Another ordinance stated that if any two burgesses made a testimony concerning a misdemeanour connected with the statutes or the franchise of the town they would be believed. If their testimony later proved to be false, however, they would be discharged.²⁰ These requirements show that there were expectations concerning the behaviour between burgesses.

An eldest son, being of full age and of good behaviour, could, at no cost, have his father's place as a burgess on the father's death. If his father was still living the eldest son could still receive the burgesship but he would have to pay 10s.²¹ If a man not living in the town was given the burgesship - in other words, if he was an honorary burgess - his heir was not permitted to inherit the burgesship.²² No husband by means of his wife or her ancestors had an automatic right to become a burgess. The husband could enter the burgesship, however, with the agreement of the mayor and with the payment of a fine.²³ There are two examples noted in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses of men who were admitted because they had married an alderman's widow; one paid nothing and the other had his payment reduced from ten pounds to five pounds.²⁴ No burgess could give away or sell his burgesship.²⁵ These ordinances encouraged sons and others to stay in the town as well as insisting that all burgesses live in the town.

If any burgess was imprisoned in England for some reason which was connected with the affairs of the town, the cost of his release would be paid by the other burgesses.²⁶ There was a case in the 1580s of two burgesses who were imprisoned concerning a dispute that had arisen with the Admiralty over the jurisdiction of prizes captured by privateers.²⁷ The records show that at least one of these men did receive the expenses which were incurred during his captivity. There were also two ordinances concerned with personal debt. One stated that all merchants of the town must have sufficient security for their debts so that the town did not suffer as a result of any

¹⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 118-19: Ancient Laws, no. 12/Modern Laws, no. 6.

¹⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 119: Ancient Laws, no. 15/Modern Laws, no. 9.

²⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 135: Ancient Laws, no. 58/Modern Laws, no. 47.

²¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 118: Ancient Laws, no. 9 and 10/Modern Laws, no. 4.

²² Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 135: Ancient Laws, no. 57/Modern Laws, no. 46.

²³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 118: Ancient Laws, no. 9 and 10/Modern Laws, no. 4.

²⁴ The men were William Bowier, in 1557, and John March, in 1562. SCA, SC 3/1/1, fols 78v and 81v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

²⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 118: Ancient Laws, no. 9 and 10/Modern Laws, no. 4.

²⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 118: Ancient Laws, no. 11/Modern Laws, no. 5.

²⁷ The burgesses were the current mayor John Bullicar and an ex-mayor Andrew Studley. See Appendix XI: Southampton's dispute with the Lord Admiral in the 1580s, in Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 89-102 for more details.

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unpaid debts.²⁸ The other specified that if a burgess failed to pay a personal debt, he would lose his burgesship and he would not regain it until the debt had been repaid and he had also paid a fine of 20s. If he refused to pay the debt he would be imprisoned for a day and a night, and then, if he still refused, he would be punished by the laws of the land.²⁹ These ordinances were concerned with the welfare of those burgesses who were working on the town's business as well as ensuring that there were no unnecessary demands for debt payments.

Another ordinance stated that no burgess or freeman was permitted to 'colour' goods.³⁰ This meant that no such individual was permitted to represent or allow to be represented the goods of another as his own.³¹ This was because by colouring the town would be defrauded of income from custom payments. If a burgess did colour he would lose his burgesship. Many examples of burgesses colouring goods can be found in the records. In 1565 it was stated that a merchant was 'lawfully disgraced and deusted of his fredome and burgeashippe' for colouring the goods of a stranger.³² What is of note here is that the merchant lost both his freedom as a franchiser and as a burgess. The entry also stated that for a burgess to have coloured goods was against his oath as a burgess. Another burgess, an alderman, lost not only his burgesship and the franchise but his 'aldermanship' for colouring in 1572. As he promised faithfully not to reoffend, and paid ten pounds, it appears that he regained all three privileges immediately.³³ This differs from the case of another burgess who in 1603 was degraded from his burgesship for colouring but was permitted to keep his freedom to trade.³⁴ The ordinances are unclear on this point, as to whether a burgess should lose both the burgesship and the franchise for the offence of colouring goods. To avoid the colouring of goods by non-burgess innkeepers or victuallers, another ordinance stated that they were not allowed to receive into their houses, shops or cellars any merchandise belonging to foreigners or strangers without the knowledge of the mayor.³⁵ The

²⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 124: Ancient Laws, no. 26 and 27/Modern Laws, no. 19.

²⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 28/Modern Laws, no. 20.

³⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 122: Ancient Laws, no. 22/Modern Laws, no. 16 and p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 30/Modern Laws, no. 22.

³¹ For a discussion on the meaning of 'to colour', see J.G. Harris, 'Usurers of Color: The Taint of Jewish Transnationality in Mercantilist Literature and *the Merchant of Venice*', in *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, ed. by H. Ostovich, M. Silcox and G. Roebuck (Newark, USA: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 129.

³² The merchant was Peter Janverin and the stranger was John Grosses alias Biston. Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 96, no. 266.

³³ The alderman was Raynold House. Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 139, no. 311.

³⁴ The burgess was Andrew Studley. J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1602-1608 (SRSoc 19, 1917), p. 27.

³⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 122-23: Modern Laws, no. 17.

town council felt it necessary to 'reissue' this ordinance in 1564 as an order in the Third Book of Remembrance.³⁶

Another ordinance notes the privileges that burgesses could expect upon admission; only they could buy honey, seim [fat], salt herring, oil, millstones, fresh hides, or any kind of fresh skins. Only burgesses could keep a wine tavern or sell cloth by retail, except on a market day or fair day, or keep more than five quarters of corn in his granary to sell by retail.³⁷ Another ordinance allowed the burgesses to have a favourable price on the purchase of wine, corn, fish or any other victual arriving by ship.³⁸ These ordinances strongly suggest that the burgesses had control of the markets for cloth, grain, hides, wine and certain foodstuffs as well as having oversight of the mills in the town. Burgesses also needed to be resident in the town for much of the time. There are several entries in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses which note the names of those who had lost their burgesship because they had not lived in the town for twelve months and a day.³⁹ In some ways it seems that the obligations noted in many of the ordinances outweighed the benefits gained by entering the burgesship, but, certainly at this time, sufficient men did come forward to take on the responsibilities that membership entailed. This could well have been because a person's reputation and status would have been enhanced by admission to the burgesship. The next section of this chapter looks at the town oaths, focussing on the contents of the burgess oath.

3.2 The town oaths

The town oaths survive in three versions. The earliest surviving version is dated 1478 and consists of fourteen oaths plus the proclamation for the fair.⁴⁰ The two other versions of the oaths are dated to the mid-1570s and are made up of twenty-two oaths, that is, thirteen of the fourteen oaths included in 1478 and nine others.⁴¹ The burgess's oath which is recorded in each of the

³⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 90-1, no. 258.

³⁷ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14.

³⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 136: Ancient Laws, no. 61/Modern Laws, no. 50.

³⁹ See also T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 2, no. 410.

⁴⁰ SCA, SC 2/7/11 Book of oaths of town officers and rules of the burgess guild, first part. The fourteen oaths are for the burgesses, the mayor, the four aldermen, the sheriff, the recorder or town clerk, the bailiff of the court, the water bailiff and broker, the water bailiff and clerk, the steward, the four sergeants, the coroner, the constables, the beadles and the prisoner delivered or such like person. The book is dated 1478 but Davies plausibly suggests that this is not the original but a copy written after the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII (c. 1509). J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton: Gilbert and Co., 1883), p. 133.

⁴¹ The two other copies can be found in: SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses; and SCA, SC 2/7/11 Book of oaths of town officers and rules of the burgess guild, second part. The nine oaths are for the commoner, the constables of the staple, the four discreets of the market, the receiver of custom and

three surviving versions of the town oaths, also survives in a fourth source; the Oak Book.

Uniquely, the burgess's oath is the only oath to have survived in four versions and the only oath to have been written in the Oak Book.

It is not clear why nine of the oaths recorded in the 1570s were omitted from the 1478 copy. At first glance it could be assumed that these oaths related to offices which did not exist in 1478. This assumption proves incorrect once the Ancient Laws in the Oak Book (c. 1300) are examined as several of the offices relating to the oaths are mentioned here; for example, the discreets of the market and the brokers. Of course it is always possible that the oaths were omitted due to a clerical error, but it is perhaps more likely that their inclusion in the later copies of the mid-1570s is an illustration of how the mayor and his assistants had tightened their control of trade in the town during this time, especially as eight of the nine oaths are concerned with trade and only one, that for the alderman of Portswood, is not. It is possible that their inclusion for the first time was connected with William Capleyn's reforms of 1573, especially as one of his reforms was an attempt to tighten up admission to handicrafts.⁴² This reform may well have extended to the tightening up of the town oaths, particularly as many of the oaths which are first referred to in the 1570s related to officials whose roles could have been carried out by freemen. The oath of the burgess is now analysed. The contents of several of the ordinances relating to the burgesses, which have been discussed above, were also stipulated in their oath. Indeed, the oaths and the ordinances were very closely connected and, in Southampton at least, they are always found together in the extant records.

3.3 Oath of the burgess

Some of the oaths, including the oath of the burgess, have been transcribed and printed.⁴³ As mentioned above, the burgess's oath is unique in that four different copies of the text survive. These date from c. 1300 to the mid-1570s.⁴⁴ As regards the content of each version of the text, the two earliest versions are very similar while the two copies of the late sixteenth century are

brokage at the Bargate, the brokers between merchant and merchant, the measurers of cloth, the measurers of salt and corn, the teller of leather and the alderman of Portswood. The oath of the prisoner delivered or such like person is the one oath omitted in the mid-1570s copies.

⁴² This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

⁴³ Three versions of the burgess's oath are printed in Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 22-3, 86 and 116-17 and one version in C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 56. The oaths of the mayor, the recorder, the town clerk, the burgess and the four discreets of the market are printed in Davies, *Southampton*, pp. 168, 185, 189, 197, 211.

⁴⁴ SCA, SC 2/1/1, fol. 9r, Oak Book (c. 1300); SCA, SC 2/7/11 Book of oaths of town officers and rules of the burgess guild, first part (1478 extant in a copy of c. 1509) and second part (c. 1574); and SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses (c. 1560).

almost identical. The Oak Book version (c. 1300) is written in Norman French in red ink, and is the only oath to appear in the Oak Book.⁴⁵ It is written near the beginning of the Oak Book before the ordinances and therefore illustrates the close relationship that existed between the Oak Book, the burgesses and the town ordinances. This version of the oath, and the other earlier version, both include the words 'guild' and 'secret'; they state that the burgess was to 'maintain the franchise of the town and the points of the guild' and add 'you shall keep secret their counsel'.⁴⁶ This reflected the early origins of the town administration which were rooted in the merchant guild. The burgesses may have wanted to give the impression of a united group; for example, they may not have wanted any discussions which had occurred in the council meetings to be repeated in the town. As Studer notes, it seems to have been a common practice to exact an oath of secrecy from burgesses in other towns too.⁴⁷ The two later versions of the oath are phrased rather differently. They do not use the words 'guild' and 'secret', stating, instead, 'obeisante and obedient ye shalbe to the mayor and other officers of this towne' and 'The counsill of the saide towne ye shall faithfullie kepe'. Several of the town oaths written in the version surviving in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses of c. 1560 appear to have had some later alterations. This suggests that it was this version which was referred to and used by the town officials during the sixteenth century. It is the contents of this version, therefore, which are now discussed.

3.4 The contents of the oath

The rubric of the burgess's oath as is recorded in c. 1560 reads: 'The othe for the burgeases of Suthampton taken at their admission into the Burgeashippe therof'. The oath begins with the words 'Ye shall sweare by the contents of this booke' and ends with 'so healpe you god and the contents of this booke'. As the majority of the other town oaths also finish with these words, this strongly suggests the use of an actual book in the oath-taking ceremony. This adds credence to the suggestion that the Oak Book was used as a paxbread for the swearing of oaths (see Chapter 2). This clearly shows the importance of the Oak Book at this time.⁴⁸ This wording also shows that by this time in Southampton, the practice of reading the oath to the person who had to be

⁴⁵ It is worth noting that the rubrics introducing each ordinance are also written in red ink.

⁴⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 23, n. 18.

⁴⁸ See C.M. Barron, 'The Burning of the Jubilee Book', *Guildhall Historic Association*, (2002), 1-11 <<http://www.guildhallhistoricalassociation.org.uk/docs>> [accessed 3 May 2016] for a discussion about the controversies surrounding some new oaths and ordinances in the fourteenth century which were written in a book called the Jubilee Book.

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sworn in had been adopted; as illustrated by the word 'ye' or 'you'.⁴⁹ The oath continues with the swearing of allegiance to the king and obedience to the mayor and the other officers of the town. Several words and sentences at this point are underlined in this version of the oath and this may well have been because they were seen as very important.⁵⁰ The wording of the burgess's oath - unlike the wording of several of the other oaths; for example, that of the mayor - does not have any reference to or addition of the word 'queen', which, as the document is believed to date from the mid-1560s, is a little baffling.

The burgess's oath continues by stating that the franchises, customs and ordinances must be kept, that all contributions to the charges of the town must be paid, and that no one must defraud the town of custom by colouring. It continues that if anyone knows of any foreigners or strangers buying or selling any merchandise from or to any other foreigners or strangers they must warn the mayor or his deputy. The next point in the oath is underlined and states that no one must sue any inhabitants of the town outside the town without a special licence of the mayor. No doubt there would have been a charge for the issuing of these licences which would have contributed to the revenue of the town. The next point is that the burgess must not take any apprentice for less than seven years.⁵¹ During the first year the burgess must enrol the apprentice and at the end of the apprenticeship the burgess must help his former apprentice to set up in the town.⁵² The next point is that no groups should gather to conspire against the king's peace or against the ordinances of the town, and if anyone knows of such meetings he must warn the mayor.⁵³ The last point states that the burgess must attend the mayor at all sessions and assemblies held in the town.

It is a most striking fact that the wording of both the burgess's oath and the commoner's (freeman's) oath is almost identical. The reason for this is probably because both groups held the franchise and the oaths were a way of controlling these craftsmen and tradesmen. The main difference between the two is that the last point in the burgess's oath, concerning attendance at sessions and assemblies, is not noted in the freeman's oath. This is because it was only the

⁴⁹ See Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 22, n. 17 for a note about the form of the earliest surviving copy of the burgess's oath.

⁵⁰ The words, 'our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge etc and to his heires' and 'Obeisannte' are underlined.

⁵¹ This point is most probably the direct consequence of the legislation which was enacted under the Statute of Artificers of 1563, where a seven-year apprenticeship was specified. Statutes of the Realm, 1101-1713 (London: Record Commission, 1810), 5 Elizabeth, c. 4, (19).

⁵² The words, 'trulie served you' are underlined.

⁵³ The word 'kinge' is underlined. This may be to accentuate the word, as above it, crossed out, appears to be the word 'Republique'. It is possible that this is evidence that the oath was used during the seventeenth century at the time of the Commonwealth. In Norwich the oath of the freemen survives which was written and used during the Commonwealth. P. Millican, *The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1934), p. xii.

burgesses who were permitted to have any role on the town council. As the two oaths are so similar, it is quite possible that the burgess's oath was used as a model for the commoner's oath.

3.5 Oaths of other towns

The oaths of several other late medieval and early modern English towns also survive. It appears that Southampton was unique in that there were oaths for both burgess and freeman. As is discussed above, the terms 'burgess' and 'freeman' could mean different things in different towns. Of those freeman's oaths which have been examined from other towns, some reflect the content of the burgess's oath of Southampton, namely the compulsory attendance at council meetings, and some reflect the freeman's, when there is no mention of this. In the case of Norwich, the freeman's oath seems most similar to the burgess's oath in Southampton. Here the ancient freeman's oath clearly stated that a freeman must serve any offices for which he had been chosen. This oath was rewritten in c. 1559-80 and this later version is less clear as it stated 'and all other charges bering your parte as a Freman owght to doe'.⁵⁴ The oaths surviving in Rye, Salisbury and Winchester are similar to the freeman's oath of Southampton as there is no mention of an obligation to attend the mayor at assemblies.⁵⁵ The comparison of the burgess's and freeman's oaths of Southampton with the oaths of other towns shows great similarities between them all. It seems that, generally, each oath reflects the town in which it was produced, thus highlighting the various ways each town organised its trade and industry. In Southampton, once a burgess had taken his oath and been admitted to the burgesship, he was eligible to be elected as one of the officials in the town council.

3.6 Composition of the town council of Southampton

The next section of this chapter analyses the composition of the town council of Southampton. As noted in Chapter 2, the town council consisted of the mayor together with 'twelve assistants' or 'jurats', whose number varied in fact from thirteen to fifteen. Within this small council there was an inner ring, consisting predominantly of ex-mayors. The term 'mayor's brethren', which often appears in the town records, referred loosely to this inner circle of ex-mayors who in practice

⁵⁴ Millican, *Freemen of Norwich*, p. xi-xii.

⁵⁵ For Rye, see W. Holloway, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town and Port of Rye, in the County of Sussex* (London: C and J Adlard, 1847), p. 145; for Salisbury, see C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912), p. 389; and for Winchester, see T. Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 39.

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dominated the council.⁵⁶ All ex-mayors were termed 'aldermen'. The annually elected offices were, in order of seniority, those of the mayor, sheriff, court bailiff, water bailiff, steward and constable. These positions could only be held by burgesses. Generally, a burgess who was destined to become mayor would work his way up through the *cursus honorum* from steward to mayor or, occasionally, from constable, but this was less common. On six occasions, between 1547 and 1603, a burgess went directly into the office of mayor without serving any other office.⁵⁷ At least five or possibly all six of these men were strangers before becoming burgesses having originated in the towns of Poole in Dorset, Farleigh Mortimer in Hampshire and Salisbury in Wiltshire. This illustrates clearly how a man's status could change quite quickly in the town; from being of the lowest standing, that of a stranger, to the highest, that of the mayor. The careers of two such men, John Capleyn and John Crooke, are discussed below. In addition to the elected offices of the town, there were many salaried offices, some of which were considered to be of a higher status than others. Those of a higher standing were the office of recorder, town clerk, water bailiff's clerk (also called the petty customer), Bargate broker and deputy steward. These offices did not have to be held by burgesses although the evidence suggests that they often were. Other salaried offices included those of the schoolmaster and the keeper of the cloth hall.

The Book of Admissions of Burgesses gives the details of those who were admitted to the burgesship from 1496 onwards. This book was probably begun in the 1560s, the earlier entries having been copied from an older book which no longer survives.⁵⁸ Between the years 1496 and 1603, 528 men were admitted to the burgesship. The number of entries per year ranged from nought to twenty-eight which gives an average of five entries per year. Direct comparisons with other towns are difficult to make, mainly because of the different characteristics of the burgesses and/or the freemen within the various town administrations which have been described above. Some general observations can be made, however, and the main one is that the admissions of burgesses for Southampton seem to have been very low. This can be demonstrated by considering admission rates in two other towns: Exeter and Hull.

In both towns, Exeter and Hull, two groups were permitted to carry on a craft or trade in the town: in Exeter they were the freemen and the non-freemen and in Hull they were the burgesses and the non-burgesses. In Hull membership of the burgesship carried with it not only a right to be

⁵⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. xix. Evidence from my own research confirms this statement made by Merson.

⁵⁷ L.E. Fairbrother, 'An Analysis of the Tudor Mayors of Southampton: Deceitful Knaves and Beloved Brethren' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, University of Winchester, 2007), p. 40. Three went directly into the mayoralty in the 1560s and three from the 1590s.

⁵⁸ L.E. Fairbrother, 'The Southampton Burgess Book of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Winchester, 2010), p. 6.

part of the town government, as in Southampton, but also the right to set up in a craft or trade, for which non-burgesses required an annual licence.⁵⁹ In Exeter the ruling council was composed of the mayor and the Twenty-Four, all of whom were freemen, and who again had the right to set up as craftsmen or tradesmen in the town.⁶⁰ The non-freemen in Exeter had to pay a quarterly fine to trade, although by 1562 this seems to have stopped being collected.⁶¹ It is possible that after this date only the freemen had the right to set up a craft or trade. These two examples of Exeter and Hull highlight the difficulties of carrying out direct comparisons with Southampton because both the burgesses in Hull and the freemen in Exeter do not have an exact equivalent in Southampton. To reiterate, in Southampton the burgesses and the freemen were both franchised, that is, they each had the right to carry on a craft or trade in the town, but only the burgesses could serve on the town council. The freemen still had to pay an annual fee to trade along with the strangers who were the third group of craftsmen or traders in the town.

The number of admissions varied between the three towns. In Hull 261 burgesses were admitted between 1580-9 which gives an average of twenty-six per year.⁶² In Exeter 241 freemen were admitted for the corresponding years, which ranged from between sixteen to thirty-nine admissions annually, giving an average of twenty-four per year.⁶³ In Southampton for the same period, fifty-five burgesses were admitted, ranging from two to eleven annually, giving an average of six admissions per year. The total number of freemen admissions in Southampton for this period is not known. This is because the extant records for the sixteenth century only give details of those freemen who paid a fine and not of those who were admitted free. An accurate figure for the freemen admissions in Southampton might have enabled a more accurate comparison to have been made with other towns, as the number of people who were 'of the franchise' would have been known. Research carried out for this thesis shows that a total of thirty-five men paid to set up in their occupation in Southampton between 1580/1 and 1589/90 (see Chapter 4).

The Book of Admissions of Burgesses is ideal for showing the number of burgesses admitted each year into the burgesship, but in order to know how many burgesses were living at any one time in the town, and also to determine the individual status of each burgher, another source is required.

⁵⁹ Allison, 'Medieval Hull', pp. 11-85.

⁶⁰ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, pp. 29-30 and M.M. Rowe and A.M. Jackson, eds, *Exeter Freemen, 1266-1967*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1973), p. xiv.

⁶¹ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, pp. 73-4.

⁶² K.J. Allison, ed., 'Hull in the 16th and 17th centuries', in *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, (VCH, 1969), pp. 90-171. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1/pp90-171> [accessed 9 March 2017].

⁶³ These figures have been extracted from Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freemen*, pp. 96-101. See also Appendix A which shows the ranking of towns by taxpaying population and taxable wealth and approximate populations of some English provincial towns, 1524/5.

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The most obvious source is the Remembrance Books as these record the names of those burgesses who were present at each council meeting. As mentioned above, it was rare for all the burgesses to be assembled and consulted at council meetings. There were, however, three meetings where it appears that the majority of the burgesses were present, and the lists drawn up on these occasions give a very good indication as to the number of burgesses who were living in the town in the early 1570s. The first meeting was held on 31 March 1570 when the decision was taken to build a new market house and forty-one burgesses were present.⁶⁴ The second gathering was on 8 June 1571 and forty-seven signatories were noted at the meeting when the decision was taken to go to law over a disagreement over the common.⁶⁵ The third meeting was held on 4 December 1573 when forty-five signatories or marks were recorded and this meeting related to the Earl of Leicester and the sweet wine farm.⁶⁶ Evidence suggests that there could have been as many as fifty-five surviving burgesses in 1570. An analysis carried out for this study of the twenty-seven council meetings held between January 1570 and December 1573, excluding the three meetings just mentioned, reveals that the number of men present at any one time ranged from between three and fifteen. The most common number was five in attendance which was recorded on nine occasions. These burgesses were either current or ex-elected officers except at one meeting when the recorder, who was a salaried officer, was also present. This strongly suggests, therefore, that, certainly at this date, it was the more important burgesses who were generally present at council meetings and not those of a 'lesser' standing. It should be noted here that in 1573, the mayor, William Capleyn, attempted to reduce the power of the aldermen, and one of his reforming ordinances specifically addressed this problem of too few burgesses attending council meetings. He ordained that no order was to be made or repealed without the consent of the majority of the burgesses.⁶⁷ In addition, he ordered that no burgess was to be admitted or expelled without consent of the majority of the burgesses.⁶⁸ It seems, however, that none of his reforming orders were ever carried out. A similar pattern is visible in other towns. In Hull, for example, assemblies concerning routine business were often only attended by the 'best burgesses', but on special occasions and for 'broadly political purposes' the whole group were assembled.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 110, no. 284.

⁶⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 125-26 and n. 3.

⁶⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 2-3, no. 329 and Appendix V, pp. 70-6, 'The Earl of Leicester and Southampton's sweet wine grant, 1573-1589'. This grant appointed Southampton as the sole place of import of malmsey wine in England.

⁶⁷ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 146-7.

⁶⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 149.

⁶⁹ Allison, 'Medieval Hull', pp. 11-85.

As part of the research carried out for this thesis, an analysis of the forty-seven signatories listed in 1571 has been undertaken in order to establish the composition of the burgesship in Southampton at this time (see Appendix D).⁷⁰ In particular, the method and the cost of the burgesship entry has been analysed, while the occupation and the highest rank obtained by each burgess has been gleaned from other sources. In theory, all burgesses were admitted 'by the assent and consent of the mayor and burgesses' or 'the common assent of the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses' (just two of the phrases recorded in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses during the sixteenth century). It seems unlikely, however, that all the burgesses were consulted for every admission. Indeed there is one entry, that of Sir Hugh Paulet in 1549, which specifically states that he was admitted at the request and commandment of the mayor 'with th[e] advise of his bretherne' and makes no mention of the burgesses.⁷¹ Although it appears that the mayor had considerable influence over the admission process, there were occasions when his authority was overruled. One notable example occurred in 1541/2 when two men lost their burgesship because they had been admitted some years earlier by the then mayor, without the consent of his brethren.⁷²

In Southampton there were three methods of admission into the burgesship: by servitude, in other words, by having served an apprenticeship; by patrimony meaning by being the son of a burgess; or by redemption, that is, by order of the mayor and burgesses. An analysis of the entries in the Burgess Book relating to the sixteenth century shows that this last method, admission by redemption, could be divided into nine sub-groups. Six of these nine methods were noted in the burgesses' admissions of the forty-seven signatories of 1571.⁷³ As mentioned above, analysis of the Burgess Book for the whole of the sixteenth century clearly shows that a person was admitted to the burgesship either as a reward for friendship or because he could offer some kind of benefit to the town.⁷⁴ Generally, in other towns burgesses' admissions (or, where appropriate, freemen admissions) were also by one of these three main methods of admission, that is, by servitude, by patrimony or by redemption.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ See Appendix D: Details of the 47 signatories present at the council meeting held 8 June 1571.

⁷¹ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 75r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁷² SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 66r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁷³ The six methods which were noted in the burgess entries of the signatories of 1571 were: by consent, by custom, by mayor's burgess, by being a servant of a burgess, by service as an officer and by special request. The three methods of entry which did not appear were: by gift, by offering a trade or service to the town and by admittance as an honorary burgess.

⁷⁴ See Fairbrother, 'Southampton Burgess Book' for more details about the Burgess Book of Southampton.

⁷⁵ Several towns have used different names for some of these methods of admission; for example, in Exeter, 'by patrimony' has been termed 'by succession'.

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The admission dates to the burgesship of the forty-seven men noted in 1571 range from 1538 to 1570.⁷⁶ This suggests that within the group as a whole there would have been a wide range of ages and also a high degree of experience as many of the men had held the burgesship for over ten years. As Table 1 shows, the methods of entry noted were: by patrimony (1), by servitude (7), by redemption (37) and not known (2).

Table 1 Highest rank obtained by burgesship entry mode⁷⁷

Highest rank obtained	Burgesship entry mode				Total
	Patrimony	Servitude	Redemption	Not known	
Mayor	1	3	16	2	22
Sheriff		1	4		5
Court bailiff			1		1
Constable			1		1
Recorder			1		1
Town clerk			1		1
Water bailiff's clerk			1		1
Bargate broker			1		1
Keeper of the cloth hall			1		1
Schoolmaster			1		1
None		3	9		12
Total	1	7	37	2	47

The entry method of those admitted by redemption can be divided into the following six sub-groups: by consent (19), as a mayor's burgess (9), by special request (4), in consideration of their service to the town as officers (2), as servants (2) and by custom (1) (see Table 2 below).

⁷⁶ The date of one burgess admission is not known.

⁷⁷ Table compiled from several sources, especially SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses and *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, 1514-1602, 4 vols.

Table 2 Highest rank obtained by burgesship entry mode: redemption sub-groups⁷⁸

Highest rank obtained	Burgesship entry mode: Redemption sub-groups						Total
	Consent	Custom	Mayor's burgess	Officer	Servant	Special request	
Mayor	9		2	1	2	2	16
Sheriff	2		2				4
Court bailiff			1				1
Constable						1	1
Recorder	1						1
Town clerk	1						1
Water bailiff's clerk			1				1
Bargate broker				1			1
Keeper of the cloth hall			1				1
Schoolmaster	1						1
None	5	1	2			1	9
Total	19	1	9	2	2	4	37

The fines paid ranged from nil to ten pounds. Of the forty-seven signatories, twenty-two men held the mayoralty at some time (eight were ex-mayors at the time and fourteen went on to become mayors after June 1571), the mayoralty being the highest rank attainable in the administration. Of these men who held the mayoralty, the majority served only once, but five served twice and one man, Richard Butler, served as mayor three times, in 1551, 1563 and 1564. Five men reached the rank of sheriff, the second highest rank (one before 1571 and four in later years). Of the other eight burgesses who were known to have held a more senior office, seven had occupied that position by this date. Twelve men never attained any of the higher offices, although some did hold other positions such as a supervisor of the common or a surveyor of the highway which were offices of the Court Leet.

As expected, the most common occupation of the burgesses on the 1571 list, where an occupation is known, was that of a merchant. Of the forty-seven signatories, thirty-one were merchants, four were notary publics, two were lawyers, two were woollendrapers and there was one each of the occupations of ale brewer, baker, draper, grocer, innholder, saddler and weaver. The occupation of one of the signatories is unknown. These relate to the following occupational groups: mercantile crafts (35), services (6), victualling trades (3), clothmaking (1), handicrafts: others (1) and not known (1). Several of the men were noted in the records as holding more than one occupation.⁷⁹ Although the origins of every burgess is not known, the evidence shows that

⁷⁸ Table compiled from several sources, especially SCA, SC 3/1/1, Book of Admissions of Burgesses and *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, 1514-1602, 4 vols.

⁷⁹ The occupations and the various combinations noted were as follows: ale brewer (1), baker (1), draper (1), grocer and mercer (1), innholder (1), lawyer (2), merchant (20), merchant and brewer (2), merchant, brewer and mercer (1), merchant and fishmonger (1), merchant and innkeeper (2), merchant, innkeeper, vintner (1), merchant and lawyer (1), merchant and mercer (1), merchant, mercer and tallow chandler (1),

there were a number of immigrants, including men from Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Jersey.⁸⁰

3.7 Admission by patrimony

Only one burgess, Paul Elliott, was admitted due to patrimony and he paid 10s in 1570.⁸¹ He was a merchant and a tallow chandler and he later served as mayor. His payment would suggest that his father was still living as otherwise, according to the town ordinances, he should have been admitted free. The date of his father's death is unclear, but there is evidence, in the entries of other burgesses admitted by this method, of sons who paid a fine even when it was clearly stated that the father was deceased. Elliott had also paid 20s in 1570/1 to become a freeman 'for his freedom for opening of his Windowes before he was burgeas'.⁸² No record of his apprenticeship has been found.

3.8 Admission by servitude

Seven burgesses were admitted by servitude between 1538 and 1570 and each paid 20s.⁸³ Merson rightly states that former apprentices of those burgesses who were 'merchant adventurers' were generally admitted for the reduced fine of 20s.⁸⁴ Five masters noted in the admission entries were termed 'merchant adventurers' and other sources strongly suggest that the remaining two masters were likewise merchants who traded overseas. The fact that it was the apprentices of merchant adventurers who were admitted at this reduced rate is a reflection of the roots of the burgeship, originating as it did from a merchant guild. Of the seven burgesses admitted by servitude, three went on to serve as mayor, one as sheriff and three never held an elected or salaried position. The occupations of six of the burgesses were noted as merchants in the records often with other occupations, and one was recorded as a grocer and mercer who

merchant and tallow chandler (1), notary public (3), notary public and tallow chandler (1), saddler (1), weaver (1), woollendraper (2) and not known (1).

⁸⁰ For details of many of the inhabitants of Southampton, including the burgesses, see T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977).

⁸¹ This equates to 2% of men who were admitted by patrimony. Between the years 1496 and 1603 the number was 60 men or 12% of total admissions.

⁸² C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1571*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 43, 2009), p. 92.

⁸³ This equates to 15% of men who were admitted by servitude. Between the years 1496 and 1603 the number was 28 men or 5% of total admissions.

⁸⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 82, n.3.

undoubtedly could also be termed a merchant.⁸⁵ As all seven men had been apprenticed to a merchant adventurer it may be presumed that they themselves also traded overseas. Apprentices of trades other than that of merchant adventurer could be admitted a free commoner (freeman) of the town. The exclusive admission process adopted by the burgesses for apprentices of merchant adventurers in Southampton was not followed in many other towns.

3.9 Admission by redemption

Thirty-seven men were admitted by redemption.⁸⁶ The largest of the six sub-groups in this entry method was for those who were admitted by consent, with nineteen admissions. As noted above, in theory every admission would have been by the consent of the mayor. These nineteen admissions have been grouped and named in this way, however, because they can be seen as a distinct group. The nineteen admissions were admitted between 1545 and 1570. Twelve men paid no fine and seven paid between 40s and ten pounds. Nine went on to become mayors, two to become sheriffs, one each a recorder, a schoolmaster and a town clerk and five held no official rank of any standing. Regarding the occupations within this group, it is most noticeable that the four notary publics and the two lawyers were all admitted by this method of entry.⁸⁷ This was most likely because, like any town government, there would have been a need for those who were trained in legal matters.

Nine men were admitted as a mayor's burgess between 1542 and 1568 and all were noted as being free from payment in the Burgess Book. This was because each mayor enjoyed the right, as a privilege of office, to nominate a burgess and receive his fine. The fine was regarded as a matter for private negotiation between the mayor and his burgess and was not accounted for in the mayoral accounts. Evidence is therefore lacking as to the sums actually received, except in years in which a mayor died in office and it was necessary to assess the money value of the privilege.⁸⁸ Merson plausibly suggests that the official valuation set on the nomination of a mayor's burgess was £6 13s 4d (or 10 marks). Two from this group went on to become mayors, two served as sheriffs, one each as a court bailiff, a water bailiff's clerk, a keeper of the cloth hall and two held no official position of any standing. The most common occupation in this group was

⁸⁵ The occupations were: four merchants only; one merchant and an innkeeper; one merchant, innkeeper and vintner; and one grocer and mercer.

⁸⁶ This equates to 79% of men who were admitted by redemption. Between the years 1496 and 1603 the number was 440 men or 83% of total admissions.

⁸⁷ The occupations in this group were: merchants (10), four of whom each had another known occupation either as a brewer, an innkeeper, a lawyer or as a mercer; notary publics (4) one of whom was also a tallow chandler; lawyers (2); ale brewer (1); baker (1); and woollendraper (1).

⁸⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 149-50, n. 6.

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that of a merchant with seven men making their living this way.⁸⁹ One of the merchants, Hugh Durvall, had been made a freeman in 1541/2.⁹⁰

Four men were admitted by special request between 1553 and 1570, one was admitted without any payment, two paid 40s each and one paid five pounds. Two went on to become mayor, one a constable and one held no position of any standing. The requests were made by the Earl of Southampton and his mother; an alderman; the current mayor (who was also the father-in-law of the new burgess); and another father-in-law who was also himself a burgess.⁹¹ Of particular note within this group is the saddler, Hugh Booker, who was admitted free in 1553 at the request of the Earl of Southampton and his mother, 'the Lady Jane'.⁹² The Earl was only eight years old at this time,⁹³ so presumably the admission was at his mother's instigation. This is of note for two reasons. Firstly, it illustrates a relationship of some kind existed between the Earl's mother, who was a woman of status, and the saddler, who was of a much lower standing and secondly, it highlights the influence of the Earl's family on the town council.

Two men were admitted free in consideration of their service to the town as officers in 1556 and 1561. One, John Knight, had been the assistant or deputy town clerk in the early 1550s⁹⁴ and went on to serve as mayor. The other, Richard Nutley, was the current Bargate broker and a town gunner who had previously been a sergeant and the keeper of the gaol.⁹⁵ Knight was a merchant and Nutley was a weaver. Two men were also admitted free in consideration of their 'service' to their masters in 1560 and 1564. The wording of the entries suggests that they were servants, although it is possible that they were ex-apprentices.⁹⁶ Both served as mayor and both were merchants.

One man, Richard Stoner, entered the burgesship 'accordinge to the olde laudable customes of this towne' in 1554 paying 10s for the privilege. It is not clear to which custom this entry refers, but it is possible that he was a relative of one of the Stoners who were then prominent in the

⁸⁹ The occupations in this group were: merchants (7), three of whom had other occupations alongside that of merchant. These were as a brewer (1), a fishmonger (1) and as a mercer and tallow chandler (1). There was also a draper (1); and not known (1).

⁹⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 2. No amount was given.

⁹¹ The occupations in this group were: merchants (3), one of whom was also noted as a brewer and a mercer; and saddler (1).

⁹² SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 76v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁹³ Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30072?docPos=1> [accessed 21 March 2017]

⁹⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 159, n. 11.

⁹⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 30, n. 1.

⁹⁶ Some apprentices were compelled by clauses in their indentures to serve their masters as hired servants for a 'covenant year' after the end of their apprenticeships. A.L. Merson, ed., *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, ed. by compiled by A.J. Willis (SRS 12, 1968), p. xxviii.

town; two having already served as mayors. He was an innholder and did not hold an office of any standing.

As this analysis of the forty-seven signatories has shown, the mayor was generally supported at council meetings in the early 1570s by a small group of burgesses which consisted of men who were either current or ex-elected officers. When more formal consent was necessary regarding an important decision, it appears that many more of the burgesses were required to attend. Thirty-five (75 per cent) of the men admitted to the burgesship, and who were signatories, went on to have positions in the town government, leaving twelve men (25 per cent) who did not. Nearly half (47 per cent) of the forty-seven signatories went on to hold the highest position of mayor. Over half (51 per cent) were admitted free to the burgesship, and the next most common fine was 20s with eight payments. As expected the merchant was the dominant occupation, although, as Tom James has rightly commented, 'the burgess group ... was not entirely composed of merchants'.⁹⁷ There were, for example, several brewers and notaries public. It would seem that admittance to the burgesship in Southampton held opportunities for those men who aspired to serve in the town government, and, as is shown below, these ambitious burgesses were often men of wealth.

This analysis does not show the number of honorary burgesses (one of the sub-groups of admission by redemption) who were admitted with increasing numbers from the 1570s reaching a peak in the late 1590s.⁹⁸ They are not in the analysis because as honorary admissions they were not eligible to serve on the town government and therefore would not have been present at council meetings. Merson accurately describes these men as generally being 'prominent county landowners or lawyers whose influence or advice was useful to the town'.⁹⁹ Sir Walter Raleigh and fellow explorer and circumnavigator Thomas Cavendish were both distinguished, prominent men who were admitted as honorary burgesses in the town in 1586 and 1591 respectively. In many other respects, it is plausible to suggest that the composition of the burgess group, as depicted in the early 1570s, could be a suitable model for other periods of the sixteenth century.

3.10 Comparison with Exeter and Hull

It is difficult to make direct comparisons between towns in relation to the methods of admission. This is partly because of the way in which the information noted in the original entries relating to

⁹⁷ James, 'Geographical Origins', p. 413.

⁹⁸ In all 139 men (26 per cent) were admitted as honorary burgesses between 1497 and 1603. None were admitted in 1571.

⁹⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 82, n. 2.

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other towns has been interpreted and categorised for analytical purposes by other historians. Generally, those entries detailing admissions ‘by patrimony’ and ‘by servitude’ are not problematical, it is those admissions which in Southampton have been grouped ‘by redemption’ that can make comparisons between towns less useful (see Table 3 below). These are not, therefore, discussed in great detail here.

Table 3 Burgesses’ admissions in Hull and Southampton and freemen admissions in Exeter from between 1580/1 and 1589/90¹⁰⁰

Town	By patrimony		By servitude		By redemption		Other		Total
	Number	As a percentage	Number	As a percentage	Number	As a percentage	Number	As a percentage	
Exeter	15	6	91	38	121	50	14	6	241
Hull	38	15	160	61	56	21	7	3	261
Southampton	4	7	1	2	19	35	31	56	55

With regard to those who were admitted by patrimony, the percentages of total admissions for Exeter, Hull and Southampton for the years 1580/1 to 1589/90 are: six per cent, fifteen per cent and seven per cent respectively. In Southampton it has been shown that admissions by patrimony as a percentage of total admissions fell over the longer period and one of the reasons for this could have been migration by some of the sons of burgesses.¹⁰¹ In another study, Ian Archer has stated that urban dynasties were rare and up to a third of officeholders failed to leave male heirs.¹⁰² This undoubtedly affected the numbers being admitted. In Exeter the town council was dominated by a small clique, described by Wallace MacCaffrey as ‘an elaborate family network which tied together the ruling circle of the city’.¹⁰³ Many families contributed more than one member to the mayoralty in Exeter including several sons.¹⁰⁴ The admission numbers for those admitted by patrimony during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Hull are described by Keith Allison as a ‘small proportion of freemen’.¹⁰⁵ He suggests that ‘some fathers appreciated the educational value of apprenticeship for their sons, and that the economy of Hull, unlike that of York, did not depend on established families’.

¹⁰⁰ Source: For Hull, see Allison, ‘Hull in the 16th and 17th centuries’, pp. 90-171; for Exeter, see the entries in Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freemen*, pp. 96-101; and for Southampton, see Fairbrother, ‘Southampton Burgess Book’, pp. 131-33.

¹⁰¹ See Fairbrother, ‘Southampton Burgess Book’, p. 61. The period was from 1496 to 1603; and see also James, ‘Geographical Origins’.

¹⁰² I. Archer, ‘Politics and Government, 1540-1700’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 2, 1540-1840, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 235-62 (p. 243).

¹⁰³ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁴ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, pp. 253-54.

¹⁰⁵ Allison, ‘Hull in the 16th and 17th centuries’, pp. 90-171.

In relation to the numbers of those admitted by servitude in Exeter, Hull and Southampton for the same period, the percentages of total admissions are: thirty-eight per cent, sixty-one per cent and two per cent respectively. In both Exeter and Hull apprentices from all crafts and trades were allowed to become freemen, and this is most likely the reason for the higher percentages. Indeed, this seems to have been the practice in many other towns; Worcester and York being just two examples.¹⁰⁶ The percentage for servitude is low for Southampton because it was only the apprentices of merchant adventurers who were admitted to the burgesship and apprentices of other trades and crafts were admitted as free commoners (freemen) of the town. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

The percentages of total admissions for those admitted by redemption for Exeter, Hull and Southampton are: fifty per cent, twenty-one per cent and thirty-five per cent respectively.¹⁰⁷ For Exeter and Southampton, these are the highest percentages of total admissions of the three methods of admission. This is most likely because this method brought in the most revenue for the town which undoubtedly would have been beneficial, especially during periods of decline. Merson suggests, however, that the purpose of the increase in the standard burgesship entry fee, which was introduced in 1561 in Southampton, 'was not to increase the town's income from admissions fines, but was to restrict the number of persons enjoying exemption from petty custom'.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, evidence shows that there were fewer admissions of burgesses after 1561 by those paying the new standard fee.¹⁰⁹ This strongly suggests that the town council in Southampton was actively attempting to tighten the control of trade in the town.

3.11 Hierarchy within the burgesship

The analysis of those present at council meetings in the early 1570s shows that there were many burgesses who rarely attended these assemblies, and therefore had little influence in the government of the town (further evidence suggests that this was the case in the whole of the sixteenth century). This caused friction at times and Merson rightly claims that the reforming ordinances initiated by William Capleyn in 1573 illustrate 'the division of interests between big

¹⁰⁶ A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), p. 124; and D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 153-59.

¹⁰⁷ In the records of Exeter and Hull these are termed, 'by fine'. For the Southampton percentages, the number of admissions 'by consent' and 'by offering a trade or service', which are two of the sub-groups of 'by redemption' have been used.

¹⁰⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 82-3, n. 3. The fee increased from 66s 8d to £10.

¹⁰⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 82-3, no. 249 and Fairbrother, 'Southampton Burgess Book', p. 41.

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and smaller merchants'.¹¹⁰ In 1582 the grievances of the lesser burgesses against those who Merson describes as 'the mercantile oligarchy' were strongly expressed in two memoranda which were submitted anonymously to the government in London.¹¹¹ Merson gives valid reasons for his suggestion that the author of these documents may have been Richard Etuer who was a prominent merchant in the town at this time.¹¹² The memoranda were discussions on the state of the town and proposals for its improvement, and the writer was clearly unhappy with the way the town was governed. Among the many observations which the writer noted were accusations that the aldermen were obtaining lucrative leases of town property for themselves. He also accused the five or six men who dealt in green woad of 'greediness' because they monopolised the trade by not letting the 'Westerne' men, those from Lyme, Taunton and Bristol, sell their woad in the town. He felt that there would never be good government of the town until a worthy man held the office of recorder. He suggested that this man must be resident in the town and be of such character as to be able both to assist those that governed well and to restrain those who would willingly rule alone.

The lesser burgesses often aired their grievances at the meetings of the Court Leet, indeed, Merson calls the leet jury 'that organ of complaint and criticism by the lesser burgesses'.¹¹³ Such grievances were aired in 1581 and 1582 when the lesser or junior burgesses complained that the brokers did not always inform all the burgesses of the goods brought into the town by non-burgesses that were available to buy.¹¹⁴ According to an ordinance, all the goods brought to the town by non-burgesses could be sold only to burgesses and every such purchase by a burgess must be registered with a sworn broker and made known to the other burgesses so that they might claim a share in it.¹¹⁵ The share each burgess might receive was noted in an order in 1586 and this clearly shows the hierarchy that existed within the burgesship. The current mayor and ex-mayors were to receive double what the sheriff or ex-sheriffs were entitled to; the sheriff and ex-sheriffs were to receive double the entitlement of the 'inferior' burgesses, that is, those who held positions below the office of bailiff; the bailiffs or ex-bailiffs were to get one and a half parts; and thus the 'inferior' burgesses were to have a single part; in addition, a bachelor was to get half

¹¹⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. xvii-xviii.

¹¹¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. xviii. For a full transcript see, J.L. Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Southampton, 1955), Appendix B, pp. 234-41.

¹¹² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 111-12. Richard Etuer was probably born in Southampton, but his family roots were in Jersey.

¹¹³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 112.

¹¹⁴ See F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), p. 220, no. 110 and p. 236, no. 82.

¹¹⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 43, no. 383 and n. 2; and Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 123-24: Ancient Laws, no. 23/Modern Laws, no. 18.

of what a married or widower burgess was to receive. All burgesses were ordered to pay for their goods in three days or else the mayor had the authority to dispose of them as he felt fit.¹¹⁶ It is not known how this system worked in practice and whether a burgess did actually receive his fair share of the bargains.

Caroline Boden suggests that even though the burgesses as a whole probably resented the concentration of power in a few hands they were perhaps obliged to allow the wealthier men to bear the town's responsibilities because as trade and commerce declined, the financial difficulties of the town increased.¹¹⁷ The town's indebtedness to private creditors seems to have grown steadily during the 1550s and in 1561 an ex-mayor, John Capleyn, who was one of the town's wealthiest merchants, was appointed as the administrator of the town's finances.¹¹⁸ He seems to have succeeded in bringing about a gradual improvement in the town's financial position over the next few years.¹¹⁹ Membership of a town council generally meant that financial burdens were placed upon the councillors. In Exeter the repair of the weirs was financed by the council members, and even though the money was repaid MacCaffrey suggests that 'the councillors must have found these demands on their stock of ready cash burdensome'.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, in Southampton the wealthier burgesses did allow relatively poor men to enter the burgesship despite the town's need for financial support; for example, in 1596 Thomas Gavye, a merchant, was admitted as a mayor's burgess but it was stressed that he should not have to pay for a banquet on account of his poverty.¹²¹

In order to get an understanding of the origins and careers of some of the wealthiest burgesses, two men, John Capleyn and John Croke, are now looked at in more detail. It seems that both men were immigrants, and both had wealth before they settled in the town. Capleyn may have originally come from Cornwall as the reason given for his admittance to the burgesship was the hope that he would be able to bring back the tin trade to the town which had recently been lost.¹²² Croke appears to have settled in Southampton from Poole in the 1560s.¹²³ Thomas plausibly suggests 'that the Poole merchants found Southampton a more suitable base for the

¹¹⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 43, no. 383.

¹¹⁷ C.E. Boden, 'The Borough Organisation of Southampton in the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1920), p. 69.

¹¹⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 81-2, no. 248.

¹¹⁹ For a discussion concerning John Capleyn and the town finances, see Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, Appendix III, pp. 161-64.

¹²⁰ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 37.

¹²¹ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 122v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹²² The tin trade had moved to London, but Capleyn was unsuccessful in returning it to Southampton. A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1514-1540 (SRS 2, 1952), p. 60, n. 1.

¹²³ Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', pp. 147-48.

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Spanish trade than their home town' at this time.¹²⁴ Both men served as mayors twice,¹²⁵ and both represented the town in parliament.¹²⁶ Crooke went straight into the mayoralty without progressing through the *cursus honorum* which suggests that he was a man of some standing. Capleyn was appointed to manage the town's finances in 1561, as mentioned above, and this suggests that he too was a man of position in the town. He served all of the four main offices before he became mayor. Each man has been described as being one of the town's wealthiest merchants,¹²⁷ although their lives ended in very different circumstances from one other. John Capleyn died in 1570 leaving much wealth whereas John Crooke probably died between 1596 and 1600 having been described in 1591 as 'having bene a merchant of good welth and trad and now decayed by losses at the seas and other waies'.¹²⁸ He was ruined due to losses incurred by private lawsuits concerning his involvement with privateering, and he served a prison sentence for debt in 1590.¹²⁹ Another detail which connects the two men is that they both married the same woman; Crooke married Capleyn's widow, Margery, sometime after the latter's death in 1570.¹³⁰

MacCaffrey carried out a good deal of research into the wealth of those men who entered the Twenty-Four in Exeter and their varied social origins. It seems that they were all wealthy before entering the town government and many were either from outside Exeter or were sons of newcomers. The family relationships within the Twenty-Four were 'very striking' with a few interrelated families playing leading roles; the Hursts and the Periams being two of the most important.¹³¹ Although Southampton had several important families; for example the Capleyns and the Goddards, they could not be described as urban dynasties unlike the afore-mentioned families in Exeter.¹³² One reason for this is mentioned above and that is the possibility of migration by some of the sons of burgesses, and certainly one, John Huttoft, migrated to London

¹²⁴ Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 101. The two Richard Goddards who, like Crooke, were wealthy merchants and mayors are also believed to have arrived in Southampton from Poole in the 1560s.

¹²⁵ John Capleyn served two consecutive mayoralties in 1552/3 and 1553/4 and John Crooke served in 1568/9 and 1584/5.

¹²⁶ Capleyn served in parliament in 1562 and Crooke in 1571. P.W. Haslar, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981), pp. 535, 676.

¹²⁷ John Capleyn was described as such in Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 81, n. 1 and John Crooke in Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 147.

¹²⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 81, n. 1 and Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 149.

¹²⁹ Haslar, *House of Commons*, 1, p. 676. See also Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, Appendix XI, pp. 89-102, 'Southampton's dispute with the lord admiral in the 1580s' for a discussion on Southampton's involvement in privateering.

¹³⁰ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 93, n. 416.

¹³¹ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, pp. 251, 253, 256.

¹³² See also I. Archer, 'Politics and Government, 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 2, 1540-1840, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 235-62 and W.G. Hoskins, 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter', in *The Early Modern Town*, ed. by P. Clark (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 148-67.

where he was granted the office of clerk of the signet in October 1539, and shortly afterwards he was nominated as secretary to Anne of Cleves.¹³³

This chapter has shown how a small group of men, called burgesses in some towns and freemen in others, controlled all aspects of town government. In Southampton, admission to the burgesship was as a reward for friendship or because a man could bring some kind of benefit to the town. The burgesses were generally wealthy merchants, governed by their oath and the town ordinances, who often worked their way through the *cursus honorum* to reach the mayoralty. They were probably the smallest of the three groups who traded or carried on a craft in the town, possibly averaging around fifty men at any one time. There is also evidence of friction within the hierarchy of the burgesship, mainly due to the presence of a small clique, called the 'mayor's brethren', which dominated the town council, only involving the other burgesses in meetings on the few occasions when consent to a formal legal act was needed. It is worth repeating Platt's comments here about the economy of the town in the sixteenth century. He states that despite all the talk of utter decay, the town still managed to function 'as a market town, a local industrial centre and minor port'.¹³⁴ Surely, the burgesses, in their capacity as town governors, should be given some credit for this, even though many of them, most likely, acted in their own self-interests at times. Although it is difficult to make direct comparisons between towns, often because of the differences in the various administrations, we can be sure that all towns had a small group of powerful men, called either burgesses or freemen, who were in control of their town's finances. The evidence suggests that Southampton was unique among English towns in that it made a clear distinction between the burgess and the freeman, a fact which is illustrated by the existence of two separate oaths, several versions of which survive among the records of the town. Although both the burgesses and the freemen held the franchise, it was the burgesses who wielded the power, dominating both the economic and the political life of the town. The next chapter analyses the commoners or freemen of Southampton who were, as just mentioned, the other group who held the franchise alongside the burgesses.

¹³³ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 245.

¹³⁴ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 221.

Chapter 4 The commoners of Southampton: admission to the freedom

This chapter analyses commoners' or freemen admissions in Southampton in the late medieval and early modern period and demonstrates the difficulties involved in determining accurate figures. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the definitions and the various uses of the terms 'commoner' and 'freeman' are problematical and secondly, a register of freemen admissions was not begun until 1613/4 and therefore details of admissions need to be extracted from other sources. The main questions addressed in this chapter are: What is meant by the terms 'commoner' and 'freeman'? How did the ordinances regulate the freemen in Southampton? How many freemen admissions were there in Southampton between 1546/7 and 1593/4? The first four years of the Register of Free Commoners, 1613/4 to 1616/7, are also analysed. This enables insights into the freemen admissions process in these later years, as well as shedding much needed light on estimated admission numbers for the earlier period.

4.1 Definition of freemen

The freemen of Southampton, who were also known as 'commoners' and later as 'free commoners', were those persons who paid a fine to be allowed the freedom to set up in a craft or trade in the town and to be admitted to a guild or corporation (if one existed for their occupation). To be clear on this point, 'freemen', 'commoners' and 'free commoners' were the three different names which were used in Southampton to describe the same group of people, although, as we shall see, the word 'commoners' could sometimes be used in more general terms. This last point means that on occasions it can be difficult to determine exactly who is being referred to within a particular group. Freemen, along with the burgesses, were classed as 'franchised' which meant, in this case, that they were those who had the right to carry on a craft or trade. Freemen did not have a vote at this time as it was only the burgesses who had the right to elect both town officials and members of parliament.¹ It is difficult to determine exactly who became freemen before the introduction of the Register of Free Commoners because it is not always clear whether those paying to set up in the town all became freemen.

¹ The word 'franchised' was not used in Southampton in its modern sense during this period, that is, to denote those who were eligible to vote.

4.2 Terminology: freeman, commoner and free commoner

The words 'freeman' and 'commoner' do not appear in the Ancient Laws in the Oak Book.² The phrase 'of the franchise' is used instead. The word 'commoner' is used only twice in the Modern Laws and in its place phrases such as 'a town dweller' or 'a dweller within the libertie or franchis of the towne, not being a burgess' are used. The word 'freeman' does not appear in the Modern Laws. The first use of the word 'commoner' in any document appears to be in 1473 in the Modern Laws and the first use of the word 'freeman' appears to be in 1564 in an order given by the mayor. This evidence would suggest that the word 'commoner' was a term which was applied late to this group and that the word 'freeman' was one which was applied much later still. Southampton seems very late in its use of the term 'freeman' when compared with other towns.³ The word 'free commoner' was a name used even later and it is not known when it was first applied, although in 1613/4 it was the term used when the Register of Free Commoners was initiated. Studer plausibly suggests that these franchisers were originally 'the old burgesses who were either unable or unwilling to join the Guild Merchant, with the ascendancy of the latter found their own status considerably lowered'.⁴ In other words, it appears that at one time the burgesses and commoners were one group.

Other records add to the chronological evidence and illustrate the variety of meanings that were associated with the words 'commoner' and 'freeman'. The cordwainers' and tailors' petitions show that the word 'commoner' was being used in 1499, but these are the only examples found of its use in any of the incorporation documents and petitions (see Chapter 5). There were, and still are, lands termed 'commons' in the town. It is worth noting that those who put their animals on these lands were called 'householders' and not 'commoners' in the regulations written in the Court Leet Books of 1566 and 1581.⁵ This is most likely because the majority of those people who put their animals on these lands were burgesses. No strangers were permitted to use the common lands, unless they paid for a licence. It is not clear, however, if the two glovers who obtained a licence in 1575, 'to kepe one nage between them in the comon', were freemen or

² The Ancient Laws were written c. 1300. The Modern Laws were written between 1473 and 1574. See Chapter 2 for details of these laws.

³ See Chapter 1 in which it is stated that Norwich, for example, was using this term by the fourteenth century.

⁴ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), pp. xxx-xxxi.

⁵ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SRSoc 1, 1905), pp. 39-40, nos 19-28 and F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), pp. 221-23, no. 117.

strangers.⁶ The ancient system of ‘commoning’ in the New Forest is still a way of life today.⁷ These ‘commoners’ actually occupy land or property in the New Forest to which privileges known as ‘rights of common’ are attached which is quite a different system to the one established in Southampton.

Christian Liddy discusses in detail the risings in Southampton in 1500 and 1517 in his paper on the enclosure riots in English towns. Those who rioted in 1500 insisted that the salt marsh, which was the land under dispute, should remain ‘opyn Commyn still ffor all burgessys and Commyners of this town’.⁸ Liddy asks the question, ‘Who were the commons?’ In his answer he correctly states that ‘the “burgesses” were evidently the dominant political group within the town, distinct from the commons’.⁹ He goes no further, however, in defining this group called the ‘commyners’. We know that about 300 people were involved in the riot of 1517 and that they were described as ‘dyvers of the comyners of this towne, with many women amongst them’.¹⁰ The riot occurred on the day of the annual Court Leet in 1517 when it seems highly likely that all the men between the ages of sixteen and sixty years of age who lived in the town would have been at this court as it is strongly believed that their attendance was mandatory at this time.¹¹ It is plausible to suggest that some of these men would have taken part in the riot. The question is, therefore, were these men the ‘commoners’ as in the ‘freemen’ of the town or could the use of the word ‘commoners’ be a general term for anyone who was not a burgess? The research undertaken for this thesis would suggest that the answer is not definitive either way. Apprentices, for example, would have been in attendance at the Court Leet in 1517 and could have been involved in the riot, but apprentices would not have been termed ‘commoners’ as in ‘freemen’ as they would not have completed their apprenticeship and therefore would not yet have paid to set up in a craft or trade in the town. On the other hand, the quote noted above concerning the earlier riot of 1500 would suggest that the use of the word ‘commoners’ referred to the freemen of the town as only these two groups, commoners (as in freemen) and burgesses, were permitted to use the common without paying for a licence.

⁶ SCA, SC 9/3/2 Examination Book, 1575/6, (7 October 1575).

⁷ The New Forest is an area of southern England which covers parts of south-west Hampshire and south-east Wiltshire.

⁸ C.D. Liddy, ‘Urban Enclosure Riots: Risings of the Commons in English Towns, 1480-1525’, *Past & Present*, 226, (1) (2015), 41-77 (p. 48). In this paper Liddy also discusses words such as ‘citizen’, ‘burgess’, ‘franchise’, ‘liberty’ and ‘freedom’.

⁹ Liddy, ‘Urban Enclosure Riots’, p. 47.

¹⁰ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1514-1540 (SRS 2, 1952), p. 21, no. 98.

¹¹ This is discussed in Chapter 6.

To add to the general confusion around the definition of the term 'commoner' it is possible to look at the status of some of the men who were involved in the riot of 1517. Of the five men who fled the town after the riots in 1517 and who were described as the 'chefe capteyns' of the riot, we know that there were two coopers, one tailor, one pedlar and a Frenchman.¹² The records show that two of these men, one of the coopers and the pedlar, had paid to set up their crafts in the town before 1517, so they would have been freemen as defined by the word 'commoners'.¹³ Of the further six men who were later committed to the 'Marshall See' in London in 1517 for their part in the riot, one, a mercer, however, did not pay to set up his craft until 1519/20.¹⁴ This means that he would not have been a 'commoner' as in freeman at the time of the riot, even though he was one of those termed 'comyners of this towne' in the town records.¹⁵

John Watts discusses the uses of the words 'common' and 'commons' which he says 'form part of a cluster of words which, in modern English, include "commune", "community", "commonalty" and "commoner"'.¹⁶ His article discusses the origins of these words and how their meanings changed over time. It is plausible, therefore, to suggest that in Southampton the word 'commoner' did indeed have several meanings during the period under study, the origins of which lay much further back in time. Concerning the 'commonalty', Merson suggests that this group comprised 'the petty traders, minor officials, craftsmen, artisans and labourers [who were] the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants'.¹⁷ This definition suggests that this group included both freemen and strangers. The one clear point to make here is that the burgesses were not part of this group. To add to the ambiguity surrounding who was being referred to with these words, we may note an example recorded in 1549 when the 'commeners' who were sworn and examined concerning an enquiry into the salt marsh included the names of burgesses.¹⁸

¹² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 22, no. 99.

¹³ The two men were John Tregas, cooper, and John Skotte, pedlar/hardwareman. C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 41, 2007), pp. 79, 76. No records could be found for the other three men as to whether they had paid to become freemen.

¹⁴ The mercer was Mighill Mardew. Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 98. The Marshalsea was a prison in Southwark, London.

¹⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 22, no. 99. No records could be found for the other five men as to whether they had paid to become freemen.

¹⁶ J. Watts, 'Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of "the Commons", 1381-1549', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. by H. Pryce and J. Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 242-60 (p. 244).

¹⁷ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), pp. xix-xx.

¹⁸ See Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 2, no. 1.

The word 'common' as in 'common baker' or 'common chandler' was also used in the town. It appears to have been used in connection with those people who had been given the monopoly to pursue these crafts in the town. Some towns had 'common councils' and these are discussed in Chapter 2. In Southampton the phrase 'by comon counsaile of the Towne' is noted in the Modern Laws in the Oak Book.¹⁹ There are many other examples of the word 'common' in the Modern Laws; for example, common seal, common coffer, common business and common consent.²⁰

Research for this thesis suggests that the word 'freemen' was first used 1564 in an order enforcing the rule that non-townsmen must sell only to, 'burgises or fremen', meaning men of either group.²¹ The word is used only twice in the incorporation documents and petitions. This was in 1599 when it appeared once in each of the blacksmiths' and the armourers' and cutlers' petitions - although the majority of these documents do mention terms such as 'freedom' or being made 'free'. A surviving document from 1600, written by a town official, also uses the word 'freeman' concerning custom payments. In this document, Michael Netley, the Bargate broker, asked, 'Whether that those which ar not ffremen sending ther goods out to the Towne ought not to pay custom' [?]²²

Although the word 'freeman' appears to have been in use more often as the period progressed, it was the word 'commoner,' in preference to the word 'freeman', which was used by the town when the Register of Free Commoners was started in 1613/4. Thus an entry on the first page of this register states that Andrew Sherwood, grocer, was admitted 'a free commoner' and 'did there uppon this day take his oath of a comoner of this towne'.²³ Of note here is that it was the oath of the 'commoner' which was sworn and not that of a 'free commoner'. At some time before 1614 and after the mid-1570s when the surviving copy of the oath of the commoner is believed to have been written, it seems that the term 'free commoner' started to come into use in the town alongside the words 'commoner' and 'freeman'. This resulted in there being three names to describe the same group of people in the town. In the Register of Free Commoners of 1613/4 the word 'freeman' first appears in the tenth entry when Hugh Newe, a sergemaker, was admitted a free commoner having been apprenticed to Peter Caplyn 'whoe was not a ffreeman himself'.²⁴ It has been observed in the town records that whereas the status of a burgess is

¹⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 137: Ancient Laws, no. 64/Modern Laws, no. 53.

²⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 128, 129, 140.

²¹ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1540-1573 (SRS 3, 1955), p. 90, no. 258.

²² SCA, SC 15/52 Queries (for counsel's opinion?) concerning payment of petty custom at the Bargate with answers, 3 December 1600.

²³ SCA, SC 3/5/1, fol. 1r, Admission of Free Commoners.

²⁴ SCA, SC 3/5/1, fol. 2r, Admission of Free Commoners.

almost always noted after the burgess's name, for example, 'Laurance Grosse one of the burgesses of this towne',²⁵ the status of a freeman is not, and instead it is the person's craft or trade which is noted, for example, 'Thomas Martyne goldsmythe', even though it is clear, as in this example, that the person was a freeman. This shows that this group, called variously 'commoners', 'free commoners' and 'freemen', possibly lacked cohesion as a group, and perhaps were not perceived as a unified, respected group within the town, unlike the burgess group.²⁶

4.3 Freemen and the ordinances

Of those ordinances in the Oak Book which relate either to the burgesses, the freemen or the strangers, the majority, as one might expect, concern the burgesses. Ordinances relating to the freemen are in turn, more numerous than those concerning the strangers. Several of the ordinances relate to both the burgesses and the freemen, and these are generally the ones concerning the buying and selling of goods as both groups were franchised. The ordinances show clearly that the status of a freeman was inferior to that of a burgess, and although the freemen were given some privileges, it was the burgesses who benefited the most. The ordinances relating to the freemen are now analysed along with examples taken from the town records to illustrate their use.

If a freeman was to strike a burgess he was to lose his franchise and was to be imprisoned for a day and a night. He was only to be restored to the franchise by the authority of the mayor and in addition he was to pay a fine of 6s 8d.²⁷ If a freeman was to speak badly of or to abuse a burgess in any way, he was either to pay 5s or to lose his franchise.²⁸ In 1588 a goldsmith was 'dismissid of his fredom and his wyndows presently shout downe' because he had abused a burgess by calling him names.²⁹ This meant that because he had lost his freedom to trade, his shop windows were literally closed, which in effect prevented him from trading. From the evidence of the stall and art payments, the freeman was restored to the franchise sometime before the Court Leet of the following year.³⁰ Another example of an abuse occurred in 1598 when a skinner's wife called

²⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 50-1, no. 391.

²⁶ For ease of clarity, the word 'freeman' has generally been used throughout this chapter rather than any of the other terms that appear in the surviving records.

²⁷ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 119: Ancient Laws, no. 13/Modern Laws, no. 7.

²⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 119: Ancient Laws, no. 16/Modern Laws, no. 10.

²⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 50-1, no. 391. The goldsmith was Thomas Martin and the burgess was Lawrence Grosse (or Groce).

³⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 50-1, n. 9.

an alderman unseemly names as well as spitting in his face many times.³¹ She was put in the cage and the skinner had his shop windows shut down, which were not to be opened again without the consent of the mayor.³² Although the entry does not state that the skinner lost his franchise, the fact that his windows were shut down meant that he was not allowed to trade.

If a freeman wished to sue in a court which was outside the town he had to obtain a special licence from the mayor otherwise he would lose his franchise.³³ This ordinance related both to the freemen and to the burgesses. Another ordinance stated that it was only the burgesses and the freemen who could buy merchandise in the town and sell it again in the same place. There is a discrepancy between the Ancient and Modern Laws in the second part of this ordinance. The Ancient Law states that both the burgesses and the freemen were exempt from petty custom, but the Modern Law states that only the burgesses were.³⁴ An order of 1564, which is discussed below, shows that freemen were exempt from local customs from at least this date.

Burgesses were not permitted to have freemen or strangers as partners in business transactions and, therefore by inference, freemen were not permitted to partner burgesses or strangers.³⁵ In 1593 the records show that a burgess and a freeman became partners and bought from a stranger although, tellingly, it was only the freeman who was penalised.³⁶ No mention is made of any penalty for the burgess, who, perhaps coincidentally, had been a constable in 1590/91 and was to become steward only three months after the entry. By the wording of the ordinance, he should have forfeited his burgesship. By the terms of the ordinance, the freeman should have forfeited the goods and have been disenfranchised, but he was allowed to keep his share of the goods and to keep his freedom. Instead he only paid a 10s fine. This episode illustrates the fact that although the ordinances are referred to constantly in the town records, when a transgression actually took place, the mayor and his assistants were able to bypass the penalties and enact their own. Earlier, in 1591, the same freeman had been caught buying from a stranger and this time he was disenfranchised, but not for long as he was restored the same day 'upon his great petition'.³⁷ Again he was fined 10s for buying goods from a stranger, but he also paid 2s to be restored to the

³¹ T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), pp. 40-1, no. 472. The skinner was Thomas Williams and his wife was not named.

³² It is most likely that the 'cage' was another word for the prison in Southampton. In other towns it was literally a cage made of iron which stood in the street where people were incarcerated.

³³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 120: Ancient Laws, no. 18/Modern Laws, no. 12.

³⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 19/Modern Laws, no. 13.

³⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 21/Modern Laws, no. 15.

³⁶ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 13, no. 428. The burgess was John Maior who went on to serve as mayor in 1600/1 and the freeman was George Gallop who was admitted to the burgesship in 1598.

³⁷ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1572-1594*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRS 44, 2010), p. 178.

franchise. This fine was probably again at the discretion of the mayor because, as the following episode shows, there is evidence of another disenfranchised freeman who was fined 10s to be restored.

In April 1594 the mayor acted upon a petition made by the apprentices of the trade of linen drapers and mercers against Thomas Sherwood, an apothecary, who was a freeman.³⁸ The petition stated that the apothecary was selling the grocery and mercery wares of a foreigner who had not served his apprenticeship in the town. Sherwood defied the mayor's sergeant several times by re-opening his shop windows, so he was put in the Bargate prison overnight and lost his freedom. He repented the next day and paid 10s to be restored to the franchise. The corresponding entry in the Book of Fines stated that the fine of 10s was 'for seting up Nayles without leave', meaning that Sherwood had allowed a man called Nayles to sell his goods in Sherwood's shop without permission.³⁹ This suggests that it was possible to sell the goods of a stranger in the shop of a freeman if a licence or some such payment had been made beforehand. This incident did not deter the mayor from allowing Sherwood to become a burgess only three months later, from which position he worked his way up to the office of mayor in 1603/4. It could be suggested that those burgesses and freemen who were named jointly in some of the incorporation documents and petitions were in effect in a form of partnership with one another, although it would seem that the mayor did not view them in this way. It is possible that he viewed those named on these documents more in terms of their occupational groups rather than as individuals of different social standings.

Another ordinance stated that no burgess or freeman was permitted to 'colour' goods.⁴⁰ If a freeman did colour any goods he would forfeit them and lose his franchise.⁴¹ Although many examples can be found of burgesses being punished for colouring, no examples concerning freemen who coloured have been found. This may be because the records show that few merchants were made freemen, as it tended to be craftsmen who received the freedom. This meant that there would not have been many merchant freemen susceptible to colouring, although the fact that there was an ordinance that specifically mentioned this offence strongly suggests that there was a problem.

³⁸ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 18, nos 436 and 438.

³⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 201. The man was called James Aylor.

⁴⁰ To 'colour' goods is defined in Chapter 3.

⁴¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 122: Ancient Laws, no. 22/Modern Laws, no. 16 and p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 30/Modern Laws, no. 22.

Only burgesses could buy goods coming into the town, with the exception of goods sold in the Tin House, Linen Hall and Cloth Hall. If a freeman did buy goods, however, he would forfeit the goods and lose his franchise.⁴² There is evidence from 1564 recorded in the Third Book of Remembrance that, in practice, regardless of this ordinance, freemen were allowed to buy goods brought into the town by strangers. The order stated clearly that strangers must sell only to burgesses *and freemen*.⁴³ This applied specifically to goods which have been 'sellerlid' or cellared, that is, stored in the town. This shows that the freemen were given much more flexibility in their trading than the ordinance would suggest. The main reason for this order was to stop direct dealing between strangers which denied the town custom duties. The order stated that the goods of strangers were being sold to other strangers without 'anye dewtie therfore to the towne payde, as frely as thowghe he or they were burgises or fremen'. This shows that both the burgesses and the freemen were exempt from petty custom. The order stated also that these goods purchased from a stranger must then be sold to other burgesses and freemen only, unless a licence to the contrary was obtained by the stranger from the mayor. The penalty if a burgess or freeman disregarded this was noted as five pounds for a first offence, ten pounds for a second and the loss of his burgesship or freedom for a third offence. Another ordinance concerning merchant strangers stated that they must sell their goods themselves; presumably these were goods which had not been stored beforehand. If, however, a freeman did sell a stranger's goods, and was therefore guilty of colouring, the freeman would lose his franchise and would not regain it until he had made amends to the town.⁴⁴

There are two ordinances concerning the buying of fish which specifically mention freemen. The first one stated that no one was to buy fresh fish before sunrise or after sunset. If a burgess was found to have done so the penalty was 5s and the loss of his fish, and if a franchiser had done so the penalty was 6s 8d and his fish would be forfeit and given to the poor. In the Ancient Laws the penalty for a burgess was to lose his burgesship and for a franchiser was to lose his franchise and be imprisoned for a day and a night.⁴⁵ This suggests that the penalties had become less severe over time. The second ordinance stated that no one was to go out and buy fish at sea when a ship was at anchor. The penalty for a burgess if he did so was the loss of his burgesship, and for a freeman it was the loss of his franchise and a stay in prison for a day and a night.⁴⁶ These

⁴² Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 123: Ancient Laws, no. 23/Modern Laws, no. 18.

⁴³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 90, no. 258.

⁴⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 30/Modern Laws, no. 22.

⁴⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 137: Ancient Laws, no. 65/Modern Laws, no. 54.

⁴⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 138: Ancient Laws, no. 69/Modern Laws, no. 56.

ordinances probably relate to the rules concerning the use of brokers.⁴⁷ There is also one ordinance concerning the buying and selling of 'blabbe', most probably fish oil, in which it is stated that a freeman was to lose his franchise if he acted contrary to the ordinance.⁴⁸ These ordinances clearly show the control exerted by the town government over the freemen.

In 1573 the current mayor, William Capleyn, attempted to reduce the power of the aldermen, and his reforming ordinances included some relating specifically to the freemen of the town. One of his ordinances dealt with the composition of the burgess body.⁴⁹ He stated that only burgesses could take up the offices of the town ('the mayor, sherif, baylives, stuarde, constables etc.') and that the burgesses who took on the burdens of these offices were generally those who 'do use and occupie sciences & faculties and not men of occupacions, artificers and handie crafts men, who seldome or never attaynethe within this towne to that welthe and abilitie to beare the saide offices'. The sciences, crafts or mysteries to which he is referring are those of the mercer, grocer, goldsmith, linen draper, woollendraper, haberdasher, salter and ironmonger. He suggested that only burgesses should be allowed to set up in these crafts because it would be prejudicial to the town to allow a commoner to do so. This was because the commoner might become very wealthy, and as a non-burgess he would not be able to take up an office and hence not be able to share in the burdens of the town. Another of Capleyn's reforming ordinances stated that, in order to have a sufficient number of burgesses, an apprentice of any of the crafts mentioned above having served an apprenticeship for seven years or more would be able to become a burgess for the reduced sum of 20s, in the same way that the apprentices of merchant adventurers were permitted to do.

Another of the reforming ordinances initiated by William Capleyn called for stricter conditions for admission to the handicrafts of the town.⁵⁰ It stated that no man could set up in any 'handie crafte or ocupacion' unless he had served an apprenticeship in the town for at least seven years or more, or if not a payment of five pounds for a licence would be required. It is worth noting that Capleyn's ordinances made no mention of any of the craft corporations, of which there were several in the town at this date, and also he does not make it clear if those men setting up by licence would be seen as freemen or strangers. C.E. Boden, writing in the 1920s, stated that none

⁴⁷ See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton, 'Mercantile crafts: Merchant or merchant adventurer'.

⁴⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 140: Ancient Laws, no. 75/Modern Laws, no. 61.

⁴⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 147-48, no. 320.

⁵⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 150-51, no. 323.

of Capleyn's ordinances had been carried into effect, and she was probably right.⁵¹ Certainly in the example given above concerning the freeman abusing the burgess in 1588, the freeman, Thomas Martin - who was a goldsmith - should not have been able to trade under Capleyn's reforms of 1573 as he was not a burgess. The next section of this chapter focusses on the oath of the commoner.

4.4 Oath of the commoner

Although the oath of the burgess and some of the other oaths have been transcribed and printed by previous historians, that of the commoner has never been transcribed or analysed.⁵² The contents of several of the ordinances relating to the commoner, which have been discussed above, were also specified in the commoner's official oath. One of the curious things about the commoner's oath is that it does not appear in the earliest surviving copy of the town oaths.⁵³ It does appear, however, in the two copies of town oaths which are dated to the mid-1570s. The wording of these two copies is almost identical with only minor variants in spelling. The rubric of the commoner's oath reads: 'The othe of the commoner that is admitted to set upp in any arte science or occupation within the Towne' (see Appendix E).⁵⁴ To reiterate the point made in Chapter 3, the most striking feature of the burgess's oath and the commoner's oath is that the wording in both is almost identical. This was most likely because both groups held the franchise. In Chapter 3 both oaths are analysed and compared to one another, and therefore to avoid unnecessary repetition the findings are not noted again here.

The commoner's oath was used generically for any freemen of any occupation who were setting up in the town, in other words, no craft or trade had their own oath. This was probably because of the small size of the town. In contrast it appears that in large towns, for example in London, each craft had its own oath. The freeman's oath for the Bakers' Company of London is much shorter than the generic one used in Southampton. The London bakers, too, had to swear their loyalty to the king or queen, although there is no mention of the swearing on a book, and rather than being obedient to the mayor, the bakers had to be true to the 'Master, Wardens, Commonalty of Freemen, of the Mystery of Bakers, of the City of London'. They had to keep to

⁵¹ C.E. Boden, 'The Borough Organisation of Southampton in the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1920), p. 69.

⁵² The burgess oath is printed in Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 22-3 and 116-17. The oaths of the mayor, the recorder, the town clerk, the burgess and the four discreets of the market are printed in J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton: Gilbert and Co., 1883), pp. 168, 185, 189, 197, 211.

⁵³ See Chapter 3 for details concerning the copies of the town oaths.

⁵⁴ SCA, SC 2/7/11 Book of oaths of town officers and rules of the burgess guild, second part. See Appendix E for a transcription of the commoner's oath.

the rules and ordinances and to the secrets of the company, and had to pay all relevant dues.⁵⁵ The baker's oath is a much simpler oath than the one used in Southampton, and clearly shows that the allegiances of the bakers were to their company and not to the mayor as in Southampton.

4.5 An analysis of freemen admissions in Southampton, 1546/7 to 1593/4⁵⁶

The next section of this chapter analyses 'freemen' admissions as entered in the Book of Fines and elsewhere in Southampton from 1546/7 to 1593/4. Inverted commas are used here because it is not possible to know definitively whether all those paying to set up in the town became freemen. When certain words are used in the entries, for example, 'licence', it is possible that the person remained a stranger. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 using evidence from the early seventeenth century. The word 'freemen' is used throughout this chapter to describe those who paid to set up in the town, and therefore this lack of clarity as to whether this also signified that they did actually become freemen of the town should be borne in mind. This is a complex structure to disentangle.

The Southampton officials used numerous different phrases to note the admissions of freemen in the town records. The most common ones include: 'to set up in' or 'to be free of' a particular occupation; 'to set up a shop'; 'for the setting up of his windows'; 'for his fine'; 'for his freedom'; and 'for a licence to set up'. Uniquely, the wording, 'for that none other shuld be suffred to worke in the town but they', was used when referring to two glaziers in 1576/7.⁵⁷ Although this entry does not specifically state that the glaziers were free to set up in the town, it strongly implies it.

A total of one hundred and thirty-one freemen admissions have been extracted from the town records from 1546/7 to 1593/4.⁵⁸ These admissions relate to twenty-eight different occupations which, when sorted into the various occupational groupings, show admissions in eight out of the

⁵⁵ S. Thrupp, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (London: Galleon Press, 1933), facing p. 87. No date is given for the oath.

⁵⁶ The years noted in the Book of Fines were mayoral years, for example, for 1546/7 the year ran from 30 September 1546 to 29 September 1547.

⁵⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 38.

⁵⁸ 128 admissions were extracted from the Book of Fines. Four admissions were noted in the Third Book of Remembrance, but as two of these were also noted in the Book of Fines only the remaining two have been included in the total. There is one admission noted in G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914).

ten occupational classes (see Appendix F).⁵⁹ The two groups which had no admissions were the handicrafts: shipbuilding and sea-going occupations.⁶⁰ Records for several years are missing from the Book of Fines, but of those forty-three years that do survive, there are only four years which do not have any freemen entries.⁶¹ The number of freemen admissions per year ranged generally from between one and six. The most frequent number of entries per year was three, which occurred in twelve years. There were two years, however, where the number of freemen entries were noticeably higher; eleven and twelve entries each in the years 1549/50 and 1586/87 respectively.⁶² The year 1549/50 saw a dispute over common land rights, but it is not clear if this influenced freemen numbers around that time.⁶³ The occupation of cobbler had the most number of admissions of any craft with eighteen men being admitted to work at this trade between 1561/2 and 1591/2 (see Appendix G).⁶⁴ The most common fine overall was 20s (see Appendix H).⁶⁵ Fines varied from as little as 12d in 1580/1 for a glover, to as much as 100s in 1577/8 for a Flemish cooper. This and other evidence suggests that aliens paid more. A person's wealth does seem to have been taken into account by the authorities, as the entries show that poor people as well as the wealthier were admitted. The entries for 1549/50 included the only female recorded as setting up in a craft or trade between the years 1546/7 and 1593/4. She paid to occupy the trade of mercery and her entry is discussed below.

When comparing the fines of different occupations, or even the fines within the same occupation over time, it is important to remember that some of the amounts recorded were the town's portion and a similar amount would have been paid by the freeman to his/her craft or trade group if one existed. This system of dividing an entry fine between the town council and the company seems to have been common practice in other towns. In Salisbury, for example, the

⁵⁹ The occupations were not known in the cases of 17 admissions. See Appendix F: Total number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4.

⁶⁰ There was one entry for 'the new Sailor to sett upp', but the occupation was not stated. Therefore this admission is listed under 'Occupations not known'.

⁶¹ The years which are missing from the Book of Fines are 1551/2, 1553/4, 1562/3 and 1592/3. See the Manuscript and Editorial Notes in Butler, Book of Fines, Volumes 2 and 3 for more information. The four years which had no freemen entries are 1547/8, 1572/3, 1588/9 and 1589/90.

⁶² The occupations for 1549/50 were: tailors (5), shoemakers (2), grocer (1), mercer (1), weaver (1) and not known (1). The entries for 1586/7 comprised: cobblers (4), bakers (3), brewer (1), cooper (1), mason (1), pewterer (1) and shoemaker (1). () indicates the number of admissions for a particular occupation. If details were missing in the original sources, such as an occupation or a name, evidence has been sought elsewhere. For example, in 1557/8, an entry reads, 'for a fyne of Suckerman for his fredome'. Other evidence strongly indicates that this was Robert Suckerman, a butcher.

⁶³ See A.C. Jones, 'Commotion Time', the English Risings of 1549' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2003).

⁶⁴ See Appendix G: Number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4.

⁶⁵ See Appendix H: Admission fines paid to the town by freemen in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4.

corporation received 10s and the craft or trade company received 3s 4d.⁶⁶ In some cases, but not all, the entries in Southampton specifically state 'for the town's part'. Where it is known that an occupation was organised into some form of guild or company, it can generally be assumed that the amount recorded in the town books was the town's part. Concerning the occupations whose numbers were very few, for example, jerkin makers or fletchers, it is assumed that the amount paid to the town was the whole amount due. This is discussed in more detail below. It is also possible that at times the organisational structures of occupations lapsed, in which case the total amount of the fine would have gone to the town. This appears to have been the case with the butchers.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, no internal accounts survive for any of the occupations.

The most revealing feature of the analysis is the low number of admissions recorded. There is considerable evidence in other town records to show that many more freemen were working in the town than the numbers recorded in the Book of Fines and elsewhere would suggest. An entry in 1569/70, for example, states that a glover, James Reding, leased a piece of land to make a glovers' pit.⁶⁸ There was no freeman admission recorded for him, but surely there should have been. An analysis of the early years of the Register of Free Commoners, begun in 1613/4, offers a clue as to the main reason for the low numbers recorded before this date. The analysis clearly shows that those people who served their apprenticeships in the town were not required to pay a fine to become freemen. This is why there was a low number of freemen admissions recorded in the Book of Fines because only payments due to the town were recorded here, and until the initiation of the Register no complete record of freemen entries existed in the town. In the next part of this chapter each occupation within its group will be discussed in order to allow further insights into the admission process (see Appendices G, H, I and J).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912), p. 389.

⁶⁷ In the years 1571, 1593 and 1596 the town records show that two wardens for the butchers were appointed. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 126, no. 299; James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 16, no. 434; and James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 31, no. 460.

⁶⁸ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1571*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 43, 2009), p. 81. James Reding (Reading) was made a burgess in 1576. See SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 91r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁶⁹ It would be useful to refer to the following appendices: Appendix G: Number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4; Appendix H: Admission fines paid to the town by freemen in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4; Appendix I: Freemen admissions by admission date with fines, 1546/7 to 1593/4; and Appendix J: Freemen admissions by occupation with fines, 1546/7 to 1593/4.

4.6 1. Mercantile crafts

There are seven people who are shown in the records as having paid to set up in the town in the mercantile crafts of apothecary (2), woollendrapers (2), grocer (1) and merchant (2). The admissions for mercers, which are also included in this group, are more difficult to ascertain. Seven mercers are definitely known to have paid to set up, but an entry in 1582/3 is not clear as to the number of admissions. It stated that 'agrementes [had been] made by divers to sett upp their trades of Mercerey agreeing with that Company of that Corporacion'.⁷⁰ The mercers of this group paid eight pounds in all. The average payment for mercer admissions appears to have been 20s (or £1) per person, so therefore eight pounds equates to eight mercers. This, however, would be the highest number of any trade to be admitted at any one time over the period analysed. It is possible that there were fewer than eight mercers and they each paid more than 20s, or alternatively there may have been more than eight and each paid less than 20s.⁷¹

Of interest in the other admissions of mercers is that of Dennis Hoare's wife in 1549/50. She was the only female recorded as setting up in a craft or trade, and she paid only 2s. She was not a widow and therefore appears to have been trading independently of her husband.⁷² There was another female mercer who was referred to as simply 'the Glovers Wief' in a list of mercers' fines in 1525/6.⁷³ In 1555/6 Thomas Shuxboro paid 20s to set up as a mercer. He became a burgess in 1557 and rose to the position of mayor in 1573/4. It is most likely that it was his son, one William Shukborow, who also paid 20s for his freedom in 1575/6.⁷⁴ Most unusually, William did not enter the burgesship, which, as a burgess's son, he was entitled to do at a reduced fee. Merson suggests that 'some, perhaps most, of the mercers were petty tradesmen and non-burgesses'.⁷⁵ He may have based this comment on the wording of an order in 1564/5 when Walter Anderson set up as a mercer. The entry stated that Anderson was allowed to set up as a mercer in consideration 'of povertie and good behavior'. He paid 10s.⁷⁶ This entry gives the names of the two men who were then wardens of the mercers' company and who were both burgesses.⁷⁷ It is

⁷⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 83.

⁷¹ As the exact number of mercers admitted in 1582/3 is not known, it has been decided to use one only in the following analysis. The total number of mercers is therefore shown as eight. Entries relating to this are shown in red in the appendices to highlight this lack of evidence.

⁷² Evidence elsewhere shows that her husband, Denis Hoare, was a shipmaster. See TRS Database.

⁷³ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 128.

⁷⁴ The entry suggests that he paid 10s to the town and 10s to the mercers' company.

⁷⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 95, no. 264.

⁷⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 60.

⁷⁷ The wardens were Thomas Torner and Laurence Grose who were serving as court and water bailiffs respectively at this time. As elected town officials they must have been burgesses, indeed they entered the

possible that John Morningson, who became a freeman in 1561/2, was a poor mercer like Walter Anderson as he paid only 5s.

The records show that two people were admitted as apothecaries. Both paid 20s: one in 1577/8 and the other in 1585/6. It is clear that the apothecaries were formed into some kind of company as one of the entries states that the admission was 'with the consent of the wardens'.⁷⁸ It is most likely that they were part of the drapers' and mercers' company, along with the grocers.⁷⁹

In 1590 a woollendraper, Arthur Baker, was made free of his trade; the fine is not given.⁸⁰ The entry gives details of his apprenticeship in the town to Edward Eades, lately deceased.⁸¹ We may note that Eades left instructions in his will that Baker was to serve out his apprenticeship with Eades's wife. This suggests that she was seen as competent in the skills of a woollendraper. Arthur Baker was made a burgess in 1603 and rose to become mayor in 1614/15. The other woollendraper who became a freeman was Richard Saffill in 1581/2. This is most likely the same man called Richard Suffield who became a burgess in 1602.⁸² Only one grocer is noted as being given the freedom, and that was John Hubbart who paid 13s 4d in 1549/50. His entry is revealing in that it shows that the grocers were formed into some kind of company at this date as he paid 3s 4d 'for the townes part'. It is most likely that they were part of the drapers' and mercers' company along with the apothecaries.

There were only two freemen admissions for merchants.⁸³ They were John Quicke in 1555/6 who paid 13s 4d and Robert Ayles in 1587/8 who paid 40s. Robert Ayles was apprenticed to a John Ayles, merchant, in 1576 for nine years.⁸⁴ Robert Ayles is most likely the man who was made a burgess in 1598, and therefore he is an example of an apprentice who gained his freedom and then became a burgess. It seems extraordinary that the records show that only two merchants were admitted as freemen, given the town's reliance on trade. As has been shown in Chapter 3, it

burgesship in 1548 and 1549 respectively. SCA, SC 3/1/1, fols 74v and 75r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁷⁸ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 106.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 5 for details about the drapers' and mercers' company.

⁸⁰ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 1, no. 407. This was probably because he paid no admission fine as he had been apprenticed in the town.

⁸¹ Edward Eydes was made burgess in 1580. See SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 95v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁸² SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 141v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses. Richard Saffill was termed woollendraper/tailor in some records. See TRS Database.

⁸³ There was one other entry where the person was admitted to retail for the year, but no occupation was given. The man in question was a certain 'Broddocke' who paid 20s in 1583/4. His entry is therefore listed under, 'Occupations not known'.

⁸⁴ TBJ Transcripts: SCA, SC 2/6/5 Knaplock's Book of Instruments, 1576 to 1586, (22 November 1576).

is quite possible that many merchants were admitted directly to the burgesship, thus receiving their freedom to trade in that way.

4.7 2. Victualling trades

Four of the occupations listed under victualling trades recorded freemen admissions. They were those of: baker (6), brewer (1), butcher (5) and chandler (1). The bakers paid between 6s 8d and 26s 8d, the butchers between 9s 6d and 26s 8d and both the brewer and the chandler paid 20s each. One baker, John More the Younger, paid only 6s 8d in 1579/80. This was possibly because he had joined with his father and was not baking independently.⁸⁵ In 1586/7 the records suggest that two bakers, Richard Pearce and Philip Loney, were admitted at the same time. They paid 20s each. Henry Massye, who paid 26s 8d in 1574/5, became a burgess in 1587, the only one of the six bakers to do so.⁸⁶ The admission for Adam Velle (alias Adam Baker) to be one of the 'corporacion' in 1583 shows that the bakers were an organised group at this time.⁸⁷

There was only one admission for a brewer; that of John Brooker who probably paid 20s in 1586/7.⁸⁸ He was the son of Thomas Brooker who had been made a burgess in 1564 and had been admitted as an ale brewer in 1570.⁸⁹ John Brooker did not enter the burgesship. Robert Suckerman paid 13s 4d for his freedom to trade as a butcher in 1557/8. He was one of the butchers named as supplying tallow to the town chandlers in 1561 and 1571. Likewise Harry Butcher, who was admitted in 1573/4 paying 10s, was also named as supplying tallow in 1573/4.⁹⁰ George Barton paid 9s 6d in 1573/4 to be able to set up as a butcher, and in the same year Richard Roffe, one of the wardens of the butchers appointed in 1571, was amerced 15s because he had allowed Barton to set up without the knowledge of the mayor.⁹¹ It is unclear why a butcher, unnamed, paid the highest amount for a butcher's admission of 26s 8d in 1559/60. Only one chandler, Paul Elliot, paid to set up and his entry seems to have been recorded retrospectively. He paid 20s in 1570/1 for his freedom for 'opening his Windowes before he was burgeas'.⁹²

⁸⁵ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 87, n. 353. His father, John More Senior, was most likely the John More who was named in the bakers' incorporation document of 1546.

⁸⁶ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 103v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁸⁷ See also Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 26-7, no. 359.

⁸⁸ The entry is a little confusing but the fine was probably 20s.

⁸⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 117-18, no. 290.

⁹⁰ Paul Elliot, chandler, paid 20s to have Harry Butcher's tallow. See Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 8.

⁹¹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 9. Two wardens of the butchers were appointed in 1571; Richard Roffe and Thomas Vaughan the Younger. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 126, no. 299.

⁹² Paul Elliott was made a burgess in 1570. See SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 84v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

4.8 3. Clothmaking

In the clothmaking group there were admissions for fullers (3), shearmen (3) and weavers (4). The fullers paid 13s 4d or 10s, the shearmen paid 13s 4d or 20s and the weavers paid between 3s and 20s. The records suggest that the occupations of clothworker, fuller and shearmen could be interchangeable. Indeed, Heather Swanson states that the work of the fuller and the shearmen 'constantly overlapped'.⁹³ Nicholas Lovell paid 20s in 1569/70 to set up as a shearmen, but other records describe him as a fuller.⁹⁴ He was one of the shearmen named on the shearmen's petition of 1571. William Fuller was admitted as a shearmen in 1580, but in 1583, when he took on an apprentice, he was described as a clothworker.⁹⁵ No admission fee was noted for him in 1580 and this may have been because he was admitted free due to a condition which was attached to his admission. This admission entry stated that he was to educate and bring up one of the poor children of the town. As Merson notes, this is one of the earliest references in the town records to the admission of a person to the freedom of a craft on condition of bringing up a poor child.⁹⁶ This practice was not unique to Southampton as Merson also notes that the apprenticing of poor children appears to have been very much initiated 'by the state as part of its emergency policy for combating vagrancy in the sixteenth century'.⁹⁷ It is known that many people occupied more than one craft and it is worth noting here that John Pescod, who paid 13s 4d in 1558/9 to set up as a fuller, had previously sold cloth in the cloth hall suggesting he was also a merchant.⁹⁸ John Mathy paid 13s 4d on 28 March 1570/1 for his freedom to be a shearmen. This was only two days after the shearmen had paid for the town seal for their incorporation, and Mathy's name was not on the document, which seems surprising.

Four weavers paid to set up between 1549/50 and 1568/9 and three shearmen between 1569/70 and 1580/1.⁹⁹ This number is much lower than the eight weavers and the ten shearmen who

⁹³ H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), p. 40.

⁹⁴ TRS Database.

⁹⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 21, no. 352 and TBJ Transcripts: SCA, SC 2/6/5 Knaplock's Book of Instruments, 1576 to 1586, (15 February 1583).

⁹⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 21, n. 2.

⁹⁷ A.L. Merson, ed., *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, ed. by compiled by A.J. Willis (SRS 12, 1968), p. xlii. See pp. xlii-lxxvi for a detailed discussion about the 'Poor Child Register' of Southampton which was opened in 1609.

⁹⁸ TRS Database.

⁹⁹ There was one entry for a weaver which had been deleted. This entry has not been included in the analysis.

were listed as working in the town in 1520.¹⁰⁰ With the arrival of the French-speaking refugees in 1567, it might have been presumed that more of the occupations involved with clothmaking would be present in the freemen admissions. Evidence which has been unearthed so far, however, suggests that the refugees did not pay to set up as freemen, but paid the annual stall and art payments as strangers. William Terri, who was originally from Normandy and was a presser of serges, was one such person making payments in the 1580s.¹⁰¹

4.9 4. Handicrafts: clothes and shoes

In the handicrafts: clothes and shoes group the following numbers of admissions were made: capper (1), cobbler (18), glover (2), jerkin maker (1), cordwainer/shoemaker (15) and tailor (14). The capper paid 10s in 1550/1 and the jerkin maker paid 20s in 1565/6. Of the two glovers, one paid 5s in 1571/2 and the other paid only 12d in 1580/1. This low amount of 12d was at the request of a Mr Ayles on account of the glover being a 'verie poore man'.¹⁰² Mr Ayles was most likely the ex-mayor.

Fourteen tailors were admitted between 1549/50 and 1585/6, paying between 10s and 60s each.¹⁰³ With fines being as much as 50s and 60s, this means that the tailors paid the highest fines for any occupation within the handicrafts: clothes and shoes group. Five tailors were admitted in 1549/50 which is the most number of admissions of any craft to be admitted in one year.¹⁰⁴ In 1563/4 Leonard Gratley paid 20s. He should have paid 40s but his fine was reduced to 20s at the request of Mr Percey the royal customer. No other reason was given. In 1575/6 Gregory Pawlke paid 50s for his admission. Another source shows that this was for the town's part and a further 50s was given to the 'wardens of that scyence' making a total of 100s or five pounds paid in all. The wardens' names are given but neither of them appear to have received the burgesship.¹⁰⁵ He left the town in June 1577 to live in Blandford. It appears that he was refunded some of his admission fine as another entry showed that he was given 40s 'at his departure' on leaving Southampton. Of the 40s he received, the town paid 26s 8d and the tailors'

¹⁰⁰ H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1483-1563*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 30, 1930), p. 88. Of these men listed in 1520, admissions for only one shearmen and only one weaver have been found.

¹⁰¹ A. Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and Their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620* (SRS 39, 1997), p. 78 and TRS Database. See also Spicer, *Reformed Community*, Chapter 4: The refugees and the production of the new draperies, pp. 71-91.

¹⁰² Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 71.

¹⁰³ Fines for two of the tailors were not given.

¹⁰⁴ The number of mercers admitted in 1582/3 is not known, but it could have been more than five.

¹⁰⁵ The wardens were John White and Richard Jackson. SCA, SC 9/3/2 Examination Book, 1575/6, (28 December).

company paid 13s 4d.¹⁰⁶ The refunding of the admission fine may have been the usual practice when a freeman left the town as there is another example, this time in 1474, when a tailor, Cornelious Clerke, left the town on one of the carracks. His fine of 15s which he had paid to the town was returned to him.¹⁰⁷

Three cordwainers and twelve shoemakers were admitted and these have been grouped together. The fines ranged from 13s 4d to 40s. In 1559/60 a widow, Goodwife Ether, paid the 20s for her husband to set up. Her first husband may have been Christopher Ettore who paid to set up in 1549/50. Another shoemaker, one Kinge, had his fine paid in 1586/7 by Richard Singleton, a burgess and a woollendraper, because Kinge had married Singleton's maid. One of the shoemakers, Thomas Tomson, who was admitted in 1570/1, was appointed for the 'scaling' of leather in 1577, along with another shoemaker called John Adersson, for whom no freeman admission has been found.¹⁰⁸ 'Scaling' meant inspecting the leather to make sure it was of the correct quality and quantity. One admission stated that the shoemaker, one Quinton, had been bound by his master 'by pence' for seven years and not by indenture. The meaning of this is unclear.

The cobblers had the most admissions of any occupation with a total of eighteen from 1561/2 to 1591/2. The fines ranged from 3s 4d to 13s 4d. The entries show that from 1561/2 to 1567/8 the usual fine was 5s and then from 1573/4 to 1591/2 it rose to 6s 8d, by far the lowest fine of any craft.¹⁰⁹ The reason for this could have been that the cobblers were seen as less wealthy than the other craftsmen and therefore they would have been unable to pay higher fines. As mentioned above, the amounts recorded in the Book of Fines were generally the town's part of any fine. In 1590/1 an entry stated that the 'Cobblers made 1 free of their companie for xiijs iiijd. Whereof receivd for the Towne vjs viiid', confirming that the total admission fine was 13s 4d.¹¹⁰ Again some of the cobblers' fines were paid by others. In 1573/4 Charles Graunte, cooper, paid 6s 8d for his kinsman Graunte to set up, and in 1579/80 Thomas Goodgin paid 6s 8d for Nicholas the cobbler. It is quite possible that Thomas Goodgin was the same man as the Thomas Gogin who had paid for his freedom to be a cobbler in 1563/4. Thomas Goodgin (Gogin, Gudgyne) was also

¹⁰⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1440-1620*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 27, 1927), p. 47. The entry is unclear but it is possible that he had another 15s returned to him from the tailors. He also made an oath to the effect that he would never again work as a tailor in the town.

¹⁰⁸ Hamilton and Aubrey, *Examinations*, p. 53. See below '8. Handicrafts: others', for details of the saddler who was appointed as the inspector of leather at the same time as the two shoemakers.

¹⁰⁹ It must be remembered that this was generally the town's part of the admission fine, so the actual fines would have been 10s rising to 13s 4d.

¹¹⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 167.

named in the records when his apprentice, Thomas Exton, was admitted. Exton was permitted to set up as a cobbler in 1577 because he had served an apprenticeship of eight years in the town.¹¹¹ No admission fee is given because as an ex-apprentice he was exempt. In June 1577 a cobbler and his wife were permitted to remain in the town on condition that they took an orphaned girl as an apprentice. Merson plausibly suggests that these were newcomers to the town.¹¹² The four cobblers who were allowed to set up in 1586/7 had all made stall and art payments before their admission. It is possible that they were newcomers, and therefore strangers, who had paid a yearly rate to work in the town but had then been allowed to join the cobblers' company. Why three paid 6s 8d to the town and one paid only 5s is not clear. The cobblers and the shoemakers each had their own company; the shoemakers made new shoes whereas the cobblers were permitted only to make repairs to shoes.¹¹³ It is not known why, therefore, a shoemaker, Richard Daniell, was given permission to set up a cobbler's shop rather than that of a shoemaker's shop in 1608. The evidence suggests that he had not served his apprenticeship in the town although he had worked as a journeyman shoemaker for many years in Southampton and had married the daughter of another shoemaker.¹¹⁴

4.10 5. Handicrafts: metal-working crafts

In the handicrafts: metal-working crafts group there were the following number of admissions: cutler (2), goldsmith (4) and pewterer (5). Only two cutlers paid to set up their occupations in the town. In 1554/5 Richard Pylson paid 5s and in 1580/1 Walter Frame paid 10s. No records of freemen admissions have been found for the three men who were named on the cutlers' and armourers' petition of 1599.¹¹⁵ Very few cutlers were required in the town at any one time, but there were enough to be able to petition the mayor to get protection against others.

One goldsmith, Nicholas Dernall, was admitted in 1559/60 and he paid 26s 8d.¹¹⁶ Two men were admitted in 1582/3. One was not named and the other was named simply as 'Chuchemure' and they both paid 20s. The 'french man', who was also termed a denizen, paid a higher amount of 40s in 1572/3, presumably because he was an alien, although as a denizen he should have been

¹¹¹ Hamilton and Aubrey, *Examinations*, p. 50.

¹¹² Merson, *Southampton Apprenticeship Registers*, p. xlii. Their names were Charles and Collet Poyndexter and the girl was called Elizabeth Darvall whose father had been a goldsmith who had received his freedom to trade in 1559.

¹¹³ There are references in earlier years, for example, 1496/7, of cobblers being fined for making new shoes. See Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, pp. 43, 44.

¹¹⁴ W.J. Connor, ed., *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (SRS 21, 1978), p. 112, no. 264.

¹¹⁵ It must be remembered that the published Book of Fines finishes in 1594/5.

¹¹⁶ This is most likely the same man as Nicholas Darvall whose daughter was apprenticed to cobblers in 1577.

treated as any other English-born man. Letters of denization were issued to those people who were born overseas and who wished to remain in England. In return they had to pay a fee and take an oath of allegiance to the Crown. It appears that generally the fine for a goldsmith or a pewterer to set up in the 1580s was 20s. Four of the five pewterers paid 20s between 1582/3 and 1586/7, and it is possible that the one who paid the lesser amount of 13s 4d in 1584/5 was seen as less wealthy. As with so many of the other crafts, evidence shows that more pewterers were working in the town than appear in the admission records.

4.11 6. Handicrafts: building crafts

In the handicrafts: building crafts group there were the following number of admissions: glazier (3) and mason (1). There are many records of brickmakers, carpenters, helliers, joiners, painters, plumbers and sawyers working in the town but no freemen admissions have been found for them. Henry Foster (alias Henry Hellier) was appointed the town plumber in October 1575 for which he also received cloth for his livery in 1575/6.¹¹⁷ When he took on an apprentice in 1577, he was termed a plumber, but the apprenticeship agreement stated that he would also supply the tools fit for a hellier and a plasterer.¹¹⁸ It would seem that in Southampton, therefore, these three occupations were compatible. Another plumber was mentioned, John Vinsent, in 1569/70, in connection with some work carried out for the town.¹¹⁹ It is possible that he was the previous town plumber. As regards the plumber's livery, one yard and three quarters was issued to Henry Foster in 1583/4.¹²⁰ He was one of a group of officials who received a smaller length of cloth than some others. It appears that those in more senior positions received more cloth; for example, the deputy steward received five yards and three quarters. There are many payments in the records, certainly in the 1570s and 1580s, to a carpenter, George Ecton, for carrying out work for the town. It seems that he was the town carpenter or 'howsecarpenter' which is the term that is used to describe him in 1608.¹²¹

As mentioned above, the admissions for the two glaziers strongly suggest that this craft was never formed into a corporation. In 1576/7 two glaziers paid 10s, presumably 5s each, to be the only glaziers working in the town.¹²² Of note is that one, Peter Foxe, was termed an alien in other

¹¹⁷ SCA, SC 9/3/2 Examination Book, 1575/6, (11 October 1575) and Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 22.

¹¹⁸ Hamilton and Aubrey, *Examinations*, p. 49.

¹¹⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 89.

¹²⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 92.

¹²¹ J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1602-1608 (SRSoc 19, 1917), p. 98.

¹²² Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 38.

town records, and the other, Peter Breme, was noted as the son of an alien.¹²³ It seems surprising that as aliens they paid such small fines. Later in 1590/1, the entry for a glazier named Wharton states that the town 'agreed with Wharton' for his freedom in setting up a glazier's shop. There is no mention of liaising with any wardens of the glaziers, and it is therefore assumed that there were none. It is not known why he paid a much higher fine of 40s. There was only one admission for a mason and this was in 1586/7 when Richard Ivorye paid 13s 4d.

4.12 8. Handicrafts: others

In the handicrafts: others group there were the following admissions: cooper (4), fletcher (1), saddler (1) and smith (1). The fines paid by the four coopers who were admitted between 1561/2 and 1593/4 were 20s or above. Charles Graunte paid 26s 8d in 1561/2;¹²⁴ 'the Fleming Cowper' paid 100s in 1577/8; Henry Arnold paid 20s in 1586/7; and in 1593/4 Thomas Wodford paid 40s. Wodford's entry suggests the possibility that his admission was due to his marrying another cooper's widow as the entry stated 'received of Thomas Wodford that maryed Goodwife Chope to be admitted to the freedom of the Coopers'.¹²⁵ As has been noted above, it seems that aliens sometimes paid more to set up in the town; in this case, the Flemish cooper who paid 100s.

There was only one admission for a fletcher, Richard Inkeley, who paid 5s in 1554/5. There is evidence of another fletcher in the records and he had taken on an apprentice.¹²⁶ There was only one admission for a saddler, a certain Jackeson, who paid 20s in 1558/9. Another saddler, Thomas Bowker, was appointed the inspector of leather in 1577, but no admission for him has been found.¹²⁷ Although there were two entries for the admission of two smiths - Thomas Meller paid 10s in 1563/4 and 'the flemynge smythe' paid 6s in 1564/5 - they probably relate to the same man.¹²⁸ It is unclear as to why there were two entries for the same person, although it is possible that he paid these amounts to work in his occupation each year. This would be most unusual however, as after paying to set up in one year, a person would normally make stall and art payments the next and every successive year.

¹²³ TRS Database.

¹²⁴ In 1573/4 Charles Graunte paid 6s 8d for his kinsman Graunte, cobbler, to set up.

¹²⁵ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 200. John Chope had been a cooper. See TRS Database.

¹²⁶ Thomas Crowder's will of 1580 notes that he had an apprentice, Daniel Drewe. See TBJ Transcripts: HRO, 1580B/27 Will and inventory of Thomas Crowther (Crowder).

¹²⁷ Hamilton and Aubrey, *Examinations*, p. 53. See above '4. Handicrafts: clothes and shoes', for details of the two shoemakers who were appointed alongside Bowker.

¹²⁸ There is an entry in 1564/5 which cites 'Meller Flemynge' which is a combination of the two names that appear in the admission entries. See Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 52.

4.13 10. Services

In the services group there were admissions for one occupation only; that of the barbers (3). The two men who were admitted in the 1540s both paid 6s 8d, whereas 'William' the barber who was admitted later in 1593/4 paid 20s. Another barber, Thomas Hayward, paid 20s in 1571/2 for a licence to make and sell only women's hosen. It is not clear if this meant that he was given his freedom to trade as a barber.¹²⁹

4.14 Occupations not known

There were seventeen admissions where the occupation was not known. One entry refers to a sum of 13s 4d paid by 'the new Sailor to sett upp who mindeth to Departe at next spring', in 1585/6. Although he was named as a sailor it is not clear whether he was paying because he was a sailor or because he was setting up in some unnamed occupation, and he has therefore been listed in this group. It is possible that 'Braddocke' who paid 20s in 1583/4 'for the townes parte of his freedom' to retail for a year, was William, son of John Brodock. John was noted as a merchant, grocer and apothecary in the town records, and it is possible that William likewise pursued these occupations, but there is no direct evidence for this.¹³⁰

As we have seen, the analysis of 'freemen' entries between 1546/7 and 1593/4 has revealed 131 admissions. This figure relates principally to those freemen who paid for the privilege to set up, as only those who paid a fee were entered in the Book of Fines. No complete record was kept by the town of the numbers admitted free of fine until 1613/4 when the Register of Free Commoners was started. The results of an examination of the entries noted in the first few years of the Register now follows. These give valuable insights into various aspects of the entry process including the total number of freemen admissions because, to reiterate, the Register includes both those who paid a fee and also those who did not.

4.15 Analysis of the Register of Free Commoners, 1613/4 to 1616/7

An analysis of the Register of Free Commoners of Southampton from between 1613/4 and 1616/7 shows that generally those people who were apprenticed in the town did not have to pay a fine to become freemen. Fines were paid, therefore, by those who had not been apprenticed in the

¹²⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 2. He became a burgess in 1582. See SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 96v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹³⁰ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 88, no. 362.

town, by those who had been apprenticed to a non-freeman in the town and by those who had not served out their full apprenticeship in the town. By analysing the first few years of entries in the Register, the actual number of freemen admissions can be obtained and this can give some indication of the number of admissions there could have been in the years before the Register was started.

The number of entries in the first year of the Register (1613/4) was high at twenty-seven. This included entries for six men which stated that they had been 'compounded' in previous mayoralities.¹³¹ This meant that these men had become freemen at an earlier date but now wanted this fact to be formally recognised by having the details entered in the newly-established Register.¹³² If this large number for the first year is discounted (to avoid skewing the result), the average number of admissions for the next nine years equates to 4.8 or five entries per year.¹³³ Using this average of five admissions per year for the forty-three years of surviving evidence from between 1546/7 to 1593/4, the total number of admissions would be 215. The number of those men who paid to become freemen over these forty-three years was 131, as discussed above, which leaves, in theory, eighty-four men being admitted free of fine. Although other evidence suggests that this figure of eighty-four could be on the low side, an average of five freemen admissions per year still gives a realistic approximation.¹³⁴

An analysis of the entries of those admitted in the first four years of the Register of Free Commoners shows that the occupational group with the most number of admissions was handicrafts: clothes and shoes with thirty admissions; tailor (17), shoemaker (12) and hosier (1) (see Appendix K).¹³⁵ It was also this group which had the highest number of admissions in the period from 1546/7 to 1593/4. By comparing the names in the Register with the names on the petitions of the clothworkers, the shoemakers and the tailors of 1616, it is clear that several men became freemen only a few days before they petitioned for new articles for their crafts.¹³⁶ Seven

¹³¹ The years noted for when the men were compounded were: 1586/7 or 1587/8, 1592/3, 1598/9, 1602/3 (noted twice) and 1608/9.

¹³² In 1615/6 out of the total of 8 entries, 3 were noted as compounded. In 1616/7 out of the total of 16, 1 was noted as compounded.

¹³³ Those entries which state that they were compounded in earlier years have not been included. The annual admissions used for this average are: 1614/5 = 0; 1615/6 = 5; 1616/7 = 15; 1617/8 = 3; 1618/9 = 2; 1619/20 = 0; 1620/1 = 9; 1621/2 = 4; 1622/3 = 6.

¹³⁴ Evidence for the years 1613/4, 1615/6 and 1617/8 shows that the number of admissions where no fine was paid was higher than the number where a fine was paid.

¹³⁵ See Appendix K: Number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1613/4 to 1616/7.

¹³⁶ The petitions are published in J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1615-1616 (SRSoc 25, 1925), pp. 79, 68-9, 53. The clothworkers, the shoemakers and the tailors petitioned the town council for permission to establish new companies, although as all three groups had formed companies previously, it was more a case of re-establishing their companies.

of the eight shoemakers admitted in 1616/7 are among the sixteen names in their petition. Likewise two of the clothworkers were admitted on the actual day of the confirmation of their articles. As for the tailors, of the twenty-one men named in their petition, seven had been admitted in 1613/4 and a further seven were admitted in 1615/6. This shows the importance which was given to the registration process by these men because as free commoners it seems that they were entitled to be named on any petition presented to the town by their craft group, and they would, therefore, be eligible to receive any of the benefits gained through petitioning. The incorporating and petitioning of the various crafts and trades of the town before the seventeenth century are described in detail in Chapter 5.

In the Register of Free Commoners there are several examples of multiple entries on the same day; the most number of which were seventeen admissions on 4 March 1613/4.¹³⁷ The occupations are: barber (1), brasier (1), joiner (2), sergemaker (3), sergeweaver (1), shoemaker (2) and tailor (7). It is not clear why so many were admitted on this day. Of note here are the admissions of the joiners, the sergemakers and the sergeweaver as none of these occupations are found in the analysis of 1546/7 to 1593/4. Concerning those occupations connected with the clothmaking industry, their appearance in the records is highly likely to be as a result of the influence of the French-speaking refugees of 1567. Although none of the names noted in 1613/4 appear to be of refugee origin, the incomers had been obliged to take on English apprentices as part of their settlement agreement.¹³⁸ The names recorded, therefore, are perhaps a reflection of this agreement. This analysis has shown how difficult it is to be accurate about the number of freemen admissions when no complete records survive, but by looking at the entries in the later Register of Free Commoners it is possible to make plausible approximations.

The obvious benefits of becoming a freeman were for the merchant or trader who would receive the trading privileges that membership included. For both tradesmen and craftsmen who became freemen there was also, in theory, the benefit bestowed collectively on them by the town council which held the power to protect livelihoods against any newcomers who wished to set up in the town. This point is often noted in the incorporation documents and petitions of the period. Another benefit, and one which should not be underestimated, is the heightened status which could be gained by becoming a freeman.

¹³⁷ Other multiple entries on the same day were: 8 entries on 25 February 1613/4; all 8 entries for 1615/6 were on 12 July; 8 entries on 13 December 1616/7; 4 entries on 20 December 1616/7.

¹³⁸ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 31.

This chapter has highlighted the difficulties which can be encountered when defining the terms 'commoner', 'freeman' and 'free commoner' as used in Southampton during the sixteenth century. It has also shown how the town council controlled freemen by use of the town ordinances and an oath. The ordinances show that in terms of status freemen were seen as inferior to their fellow franchisers; the burgesses. By extracting relevant entries in the sources, a detailed analysis of freemen admissions in Southampton has been undertaken for the first time. Although it is difficult to state with total certainty that all those who paid to trade or to carry on a craft in the town subsequently became freemen, it is clear that many did. The analysis of the early years of the Register of Free Commoners (1613/4 to 1616/7) has suggested a plausible figure for the total number of freemen admissions for an earlier period before the Register was started. The next chapter continues this exploration of the freemen and the way in which they were controlled by investigating the earliest evidence for craft groups in the town. This is followed by an analysis of the extant incorporation documents and the petitions of the various crafts and trades which were operating in Southampton.

Chapter 5 The commoners of Southampton: incorporation and petitioning

This chapter examines the earliest evidence for craft and trade groups in Southampton before analysing the incorporation documents and the petitions of the various crafts and trades which were operating in the town, the earliest of which was the petition of the tailors in 1406. It is clear that a major aim of both the incorporation documents and petitions is to secure the protection of livelihoods against outsiders. In this chapter the main questions addressed are: What are the origins of craft groups in Southampton? What do the incorporation documents and petitions tell us about the craft groups of Southampton? The slim evidence for religious affiliations which can be glimpsed in the records is also discussed.

5.1 Evidence for crafts groups, c. 1488/9 to 1521/2

In 1488/9 the Book of Fines was established by Thomas Overey, and in this year the fines of seven craft occupations were listed. It can be assumed therefore, that of all of the craft and trade groups present in Southampton at this time, only these seven were sufficiently organised to be able to petition and negotiate with the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses. These crafts were the barbers, the brewers, the cappers, the coopers, the corvesors (or cordwainers or shoemakers), the shearmen and the tailors.¹ Of these, only the barbers and the cappers do not have either a petition or an incorporation document surviving today. There is evidence to suggest that the barbers were incorporated in 1486 and the cappers in 1488/9.² Later, in 1501/2, the cappers paid a fine of 26s 8d to the mayor for the privilege of not allowing any stranger cappers to set up in the town.³ This was a privilege often granted in the incorporation documents and petitions. Of those petitions and incorporation documents that do survive, two, those of the brewers and the shearmen, are dated 1543 and 1571 respectively, clearly much later than 1488/9, which suggests the later reconstituting of their companies for some reason, although, as is shown below, the

¹ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 41, 2007), p. xv.

² The evidence for the barbers is that in 1486 they paid for the common seal of the town. See H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1483-1563*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 30, 1930), p. 54. The evidence for the cappers is strongly suggested by the wording of their entry relating to their fines in 1488/9 and in another entry concerning the receiving of the town's portion of a capper's fine in 1488/9. This is the earliest date for the town's part of a capper's fine to have been found. See Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 5 and Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 71.

³ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 58.

brewers' annual payments differed from those of the other craft groups. The bakers have two incorporation documents surviving, for 1517 and 1546, which would strongly suggest a reconstituting of their company.

In his supplementary ordinances of 1491, Thomas Overey refers only to the tailors and corvesors when highlighting those crafts which have been granted constitutions and ordinances under the common seal of the town. Perhaps this was because these were the two largest craft groups in the town at this time. It is possible that the other groups who paid fines from 1488/9 as noted in the Book of Fines were included in Overey's phrase 'and all other grauntes by the Counseill shalbe obserued and kept'.⁴ By 1488/9 the only other group known to have petitioned the mayor were the drapers and mercers who were concerned about those men from overseas who were working in the town and threatening the livelihoods of the local tradesmen. It is not known why the drapers and mercers did not pay an annual craft fine in 1488/9, but perhaps because they followed a mercantile craft they were treated differently from those in the victualling trades and the handicrafts.

The seven crafts noted in the Book of Fines paid various fines from 1488/9 to 1492/3, although only the beer brewers paid each year (see Appendix L).⁵ The beer brewers' payments differ from those of the other crafts, insofar as theirs was a fine for the right for each brewer to brew, each person paying 10s. Entries in the steward books show that the beer brewers had paid these yearly fines from at least 1478/9 and probably for many years prior to this date. This is suggested by the comment that they had done so 'of old time accustomed' noted in 1481/2.⁶ There was no reference to ale brewers in the earlier documents, whereas later, in 1543, it was the beer and ale brewers who formed a company. It is not clear how the fines of the other six crafts were compiled or why there were so few years when payments were made.⁷ It is possible that these revenues that were paid to the town were connected with Overey's reforming measures of the period, and for whatever reason they were only collected for a few years.⁸ It is worth noting that between 1488/9 and 1521/2 the mayor received much more revenue from the alien barbers, corvesors and tailors who arrived in the town in the galleys, than he did from the town craftsmen.

⁴ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SR Soc 10, 1910), p. 156.

⁵ See Appendix L: Fines paid by craft groups from 1488/9 to 1529/30.

⁶ B. Chinchin, *Steward Book: 1481/2*, (SCA, SC 5/1/17), p. 8.

⁷ The cappers paid only in 1488/9. The corvesors, the barbers and the tailors paid in 1488/9 and 1489/90. Although the coopers and the shearmen were listed from 1488/9 to 1492/3 they paid nothing.

⁸ A search in the published volumes of the Book of Fines, 1488 to 1594, shows that there were no entries for the craft groups after 1492/3.

At various times, agreements were made between the galley craftsmen and the corresponding town craftsmen and these are discussed in more detail below.

5.2 Incorporation documents and petitions

Five petitions and six incorporation documents survive for ten craft or trade groups operating in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Southampton.⁹ Although the five ‘petitions’ have always been described as such by the historians of Southampton, only one, that of the mercers’ and drapers’ of c. 1480, is an actual petition written by the petitioners themselves. The remaining four ‘petitions’ are not the actual petitions written by the petitioners. They are documents that make references to the original petitions which had previously been brought before the mayor. For example; the tailors’ document of 1406 states that ‘[the] tailors of the town of Southampton ... produced here in court before the said mayor ... a certain petition or bill, of which the substance follows in these words’.¹⁰ In most cases, these documents survive in one of the town books. Although the distinction between the two types of documents, the incorporation document and the petition, has been made here, in reality they were very similar to one another, certainly with regard to the wording which was almost identical in several of them. The major difference between the two was that the incorporation document was an indenture with seals attached. It is very apparent, however, that the provisions written within a petition were as legally binding as those written within an incorporation document. For the purposes of this study, the word ‘petition’ is used when describing these documents because although they may not be the original petitions written by the craftsmen of the town they are documents which refer directly to the original wording of the petitioners.

The petitions relate to the tailors (1406), the coopers (1486), the drapers and the mercers (c. 1480), the cutlers and armourers (1599) and the blacksmiths (1599),¹¹ and the incorporation documents survive for the cordwainers (1477), the bakers (1517, 1546), the brewers (1543), the butchers (1555) and the shearmen (1571).¹² Some of the incorporation documents contain the

⁹ Only three of the petitions and none of the incorporation documents have been published. This is the first time these documents have been analysed in such detail.

¹⁰ A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 13: 1912), pp. 97-8.

¹¹ The petitions survive in the Black Book (SCA, SC 2/6/4); the Book of Instruments (SCA, SC 2/6/6); and as a loose document (SCA, SC 2/9/2). Only three of these original documents have been published. One copy of the tailors’ document is published in Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, Vol. 1, pp. 96-103. The coopers’ document can be found in A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 14, 1912), pp. 144-49. The mercers’ and drapers’ petition is published in R.C. Anderson, ed., *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (SRSoc 22, 1921), p. 30, no. 16.

¹² SCA, SC 2/7/2-7 Incorporation of Craft Guilds.

signatures and the seals of the craftsmen. There are also several petitions and incorporation documents which survive for the seventeenth century which relate mainly to the cloth industry.¹³

A detailed examination of both types of document now follows.¹⁴ The general formats, the contents and the individual peculiarities of each incorporation document or petition are analysed. The names of the petitioners are also discussed, particularly in relation to their social standing. In total eighty-two people are named on the incorporation documents and the petitions. The highest number is listed on the cordwainers' document of 1477 which includes thirteen names and the lowest number is recorded on the cutlers' and armourers' petition of 1599 which includes just three names (see Appendices M and N).¹⁵ The number of names listed for each occupation presumably gives an indication of the size of each craft group. Some of the documents record the payments set by the town council for the privilege of forming a company. In 1517 and again in 1543 the bakers paid ten pounds for this privilege which was the highest amount noted for any occupation. Evidence from other sources shows that some of the brewers were probably the wealthiest and most powerful people of any occupation. A most surprising observation is that burgesses are listed alongside freemen in six of the ten occupations, illustrating the close working relationship between the two groups who held the franchise in the town. It has to be assumed that the mayor did not see these as 'partnerships'; something which was not permitted by the town ordinances. In a number of the incorporation documents those petitioning refer to themselves as 'neighbours' and not, therefore, as two distinct groups of burgesses and freemen. The brewers are referred to on one occasion as 'comburgesys and bretherin' meaning comburgesses (or fellow burgesses) and brethren.

Several of those named in the incorporation documents and petitions who were not burgesses were given roles in the town administration, such as beadles, which suggests that they were trusted men. There is no mention of any religious elements relating to the craft groups in the incorporation documents or the petitions. There are glimpses of these, however, in other town records and these are also discussed below. Apart from those documents relating to the butchers (1555) and the shearmen (1571), all other documents, including both the incorporation

¹³ The clothworkers, the sergemakers, the sergeweavers, the shearman tuckers, the shoemakers, the tailors and the woolcombers, either had new sets of articles approved or previous ones reconstituted by 1617. See J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1615-1616 (SRSoc 25, 1925), p. xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁴ It would be useful to refer to Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton for details of the town ordinances, orders and Court Leet presentments relating to the craft groups which were incorporated.

¹⁵ See Appendix M: Number of people named on the incorporation documents and petitions and Appendix N: Names listed on incorporation documents and petitions.

documents and the petitions, included complaints against strangers, both English and foreign, who were working in the town and putting the livelihoods of the town's craftspeople at risk. The earlier documents of the tailors (1406) and the coopers (1486) name particular foreign countries whose craftsmen arrived in ships and worked in the town 'as the most freest tailor burgesse' or 'as the most freest cooper that has long lived in the town'. The town craftsmen state that previously they had made their profits from these visitors. The tailors also petition against English journeymen. The drapers and mercers (c. 1480) complain of 'duch men Selanders Flemynghis' setting up in the town. They request that no stranger should set up in the town without having first paid a fine and made an agreement with the 'masters' of their craft. It is possible that the 'masters' referred to here were in fact the 'wardens' of their group, as this was certainly what was meant in some of the later documents of other crafts. This stipulation is present in all the documents but with varying penalties. The tailors suggest imprisonment for a first offence and a fine of 100s for a second and any subsequent offences, half of which would go to the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of the town and the other half to the masters of the craft. There is also a provision in the tailors' petition that ships arriving in the port on 'business of friendship' with the king were allowed to work freely in the town. It is presumed that this related to official royal visits as opposed to the visits from merchant fleets.

5.3 The tailors' petition of 1406

The tailors' petition of 1406 survives in two copies and is the earliest of any of the documents.¹⁶ One copy is in the Black Book and, apart from the opening and closing clauses which are in Latin, is written in French. The other copy survives as a single loose document, and is written in English.¹⁷ The latter document is very faded and is difficult to read, but the words 'Black papers' are legible near the beginning of the document. This strongly suggests that the intention was for it to be copied into the Black Book at some time.¹⁸ (As Wallis Chapman notes, many of the deeds and other documents which are written in the Black Book conclude with a request for them to be enrolled 'in commune papera'; an allusion, Wallis Chapman plausibly suggests, to the book that was to be known later as the Black Book.)¹⁹ Indeed, later in 1486, the actual date that the

¹⁶ The only other document to have survived in two copies is the armourers' and cutlers' petition of 1599. Both of these copies are in the Book of Instruments.

¹⁷ SCA, SC 2/6/4, fol. 13, The Black Book, 1388 to 1620. This is transcribed in Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, Vol. 1, pp. 96-103. The copy written in English is SCA, SC 2/7/1 Incorporation of tailors' craft, 7 December 1406.

¹⁸ The Black Book is a book which was used to record a variety of documents relating to the business of the town.

¹⁹ Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, Vol. 1, p. vi.

coopers' petition was enrolled in the Black Book is clearly noted at the top of the folio. This shows the importance that was attached to these documents, which in the fifteenth century were copied into the Black Book, and later in the sixteenth century were copied into the Book of Instruments. Concerning the other petitions and incorporation documents, five were written in English with the opening and closing clauses written in Latin.²⁰ The remaining five were written in English only.²¹

The various privileges of the tailors' petition of 1406 were granted on payment of 100s to the town council. It is stated that these privileges were to be enjoyed forever. At the end of this petition there is a memorandum written in English and dated 1499 which states that the burgesses or commoners of these crafts were to take only those journeyman and apprentices who were born under the 'king's obeisance' upon pain of losing their freedoms.²² Of note here is that burgesses and commoners are mentioned together. As well as those born in England this may well have included at this time those born in Normandy, Gascony and Guinne, and Spanish, Breton and German merchants.²³ Also of note is that strangers, that is, those who were not born under the king's 'obeysaunce', were not permitted to set up a shop 'for no manor some'.²⁴ This suggests that even wealthy strangers could not buy themselves a shop in the town at this time. Jessica Lutkin states that the alien subsidies collected between 1440 and 1487 were a result of the growth in tension between the native population and foreigners living and trading in England during the 1430s, but the evidence of the tailors' petition of 1406 indicates that, at least in Southampton, there were grievances being aired many years before this date.²⁵ At the end of the fifteenth century, there was still friction between the town tailors and their foreign counterparts as six galley tailors were made to swear an oath stating that they would only make clothes for people of their own nation.²⁶ Many of the craftspeople stipulated in the incorporation documents

²⁰ These were the documents of the coopers (1486), the bakers (1517 and 1546), the armourers and cutlers (1599) and the blacksmiths (1599).

²¹ These were the documents of the drapers and mercers (c. 1480), the cordwainers (1477), the brewers (1543), the butchers (1555) and the shearmen (1571).

²² This memorandum was also added at the end of the cordwainers' document of 1477.

²³ See J.A. Lutkin, 'A Survey of the Resident Immigrants in Hampshire and Southampton, 1330-1550', *Hampshire Studies, 2015: Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 70 (2015), 155-68 (p. 156).

²⁴ Wallis Chapman plausibly suggests that 'for no manor some' meant 'for no payment of any kind'. See Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, Vol. 1, p. 103, n. 4.

²⁵ Lutkin, 'Resident Immigrants', p. 155. See also A.A. Ruddock, 'John Payne's Persecution of Foreigners in the Town Court of Southampton in the Fifteenth Century: A Study in Municipal Misrule', *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, (1944-47), 23-37.

²⁶ H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1440-1620*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 27, 1927), p. 5. Gidden dates this entry as 1484 whereas J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton: Gilbert

and petitions that they contributed to the ‘great charges, taxes and imposts’ of the town – thus insinuating that the foreign craftsmen did not. This could well be a response to ‘the widely-held belief that aliens resident in England possessed greater wealth than native-born people but were not being taxed proportionately’.²⁷

Only two of the petitioners’ names were given on the tailors’ petition. The two men in question were John Renaud and Ralph Taylour, and they were described as burgesses and tailors. Other tailors were present, but their names were not recorded which strongly suggests that the two who were named were the most important tailors in the town. This also suggests that they were the only tailors who were burgesses at this time, as any other tailor who held the burgesship would surely have been noted too. John Renaud was very wealthy when he died in 1422.²⁸ He was elected as steward the year after this petition and served as mayor in 1415/6.

5.4 The cordwainers’ incorporation document of 1477

The earliest incorporation document to survive is that of the cordwainers, and it is dated 1477.²⁹ From as early as 1399 there is evidence of an apprentice being bound to a cordwainer in the town.³⁰ It is also known that two Dutch cordwainers were working in the town in 1436.³¹ As in most of the other documents, the cordwainers complain about strangers working in the town who do not pay any taxes. This is the earliest surviving document which grants permission for a craft group to elect two masters yearly.³² Only those apprenticed in the town were to be allowed to set up in the craft, a penalty of ten pounds being set for those disobeying the privilege. A fine of six pounds, half going to the town and half to the corporation, was levied on those who made agreement first. All of the apprentices must have been born under the king’s allegiance otherwise a fine of 20s was to be paid for a special licence. No stranger was to make anything relating to the cordwainers’ craft without paying for a licence first or else their wares would be forfeited. This could be a reference to stall and art payments (see Chapter 6). Like the coopers’ petition of 1489, there was a clause at the end of the cordwainers’ document stating that if any of them rebelled

and Co., 1883) *Southampton*, p. 277 states 1498. This discrepancy occurs because the entry appeared in the mayoralty of Vincent They who was mayor in both 1484 and 1498.

²⁷ Lutkin, ‘Resident Immigrants’, p. 156.

²⁸ See C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 267 and TNA, E 327/775, Will of John Renawd, burgess of Southampton, 1422.

²⁹ SCA, SC 2/7/2 Counterpart indenture incorporating the cordwainers’ craft, 11 September 1477.

³⁰ Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, Vol. 1, p. xxxi.

³¹ Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, Vol. 1, p. xxxi. Wallis Chapman states one cordwainer, but the Calendar of Patent Rolls actually names two. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VI*, Vol. 2, 1429-1436, p. 558.

³² The petitions of the coopers (1489), the drapers and mercers (c. 1480) and the tailors (1406) are the only documents which do not request the privilege of electing wardens of their crafts annually.

against the mayor there would be a penalty; in the cordwainers' case this was a fine of five pounds.

Thirteen men were listed on the cordwainers' document, none of whom were noted as being burgesses. Two of the men on the list, Massy Salmon and John Godray, went on to serve as mayor, so they must have been admitted to the burgesship at some time. It is possible that they were burgesses in 1477, although as their names were not the first two to be listed, it is perhaps more likely that they were not burgesses at this time. Several of the cordwainers named on the document appear in the court records concerning various pleas, including ones of debt, which suggests that they were men of at least moderate wealth.³³

5.5 The drapers' and mercers' petition of c. 1480

The petition of the drapers and mercers is in some ways very similar to that of the tailors (1406) and the coopers (1489) especially in the way that the drapers and mercers complained about aliens.³⁴ As mentioned above, it is the only actual petition to survive and as a result the language is markedly different from that of the other surviving documents. It is written in English and the style is much more in the vernacular. This petition is undated although Anderson plausibly suggests a date of composition of c. 1480.³⁵ Once again the petitioners complain about aliens, this time about those occupying their crafts of drapery and mercery in the town to the great damage of the town craftsmen. Jones in her thesis (1997) has understood one of the privileges requested by the drapers and mercers to mean that their wives should be allowed to work in this occupation.³⁶ The evidence suggests, however, that the true meaning of this privilege is that no one in the town was to buy or sell any manner of woollen cloth or mercery except for his own use or that of his wife's, his children's or his servants' use. The penalty for anyone acting against this provision was to lose any woollen cloth or mercery so bought, three quarters of any profit going to the mayor and one quarter to the seizer and finder of the cloth or mercery. This is unusual in two respects. Firstly, it is the only document to survive which has the fine split in this way, as generally it is half and half (although in the bakers' document of 1517 there is a split of two thirds to one third). Secondly, what is normally to go to the masters of the craft, is to go to the finder, and presumably this could be someone who was not of the drapers' or mercers' craft. Another

³³ T. Olding, ed., *The Common and Piepowder Courts of Southampton, 1426-1483* (SRS 45, 2011), *passim*.

³⁴ SCA, SC 2/9/2 (16) Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1400-1599. This petition is printed in Anderson, *Letters*, p. 30, no. 16.

³⁵ Anderson, *Letters*, p. 32, n. 1.

³⁶ S.E. Jones, 'Keeping Her in the Family: Women and Gender in Southampton, c. 1400-c. 1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1997), p. 81.

provision unique to this petition was the statement that if a burgess was to occupy a different craft and was also trading as a draper or mercer, he was to leave his other handicraft and trade only in drapery and mercery.³⁷ This point mentioned 'burgesses' specifically which suggests that it was only they who were permitted to be mercers or drapers. This point is reinforced in an ordinance written in the Oak Book which stated that only burgesses could sell cloth by retail except on a market day or fair day.³⁸ Although this may have been the case theoretically, there is evidence that in practice things were different, certainly at a later date. In 1511/2 a hardwareman, John Skotte, paid a fine to enter into the 'bretherd [brotherhood] of the mercery', the town's part being 3s 4d.³⁹ There is no record of him ever becoming a burgess. Also in 1519/20 Richard Roo should have paid 3s 4d for the town's part of his fine to set up as a mercer, but he only paid 12d as 2s 4d was 'pardoned at the instans of dyvers burgess causa pauperatis', that is, at the request of various burgesses because of his poverty.⁴⁰ Again there is no record of his burgesship, and this strongly suggests that the members of the mercers' craft were a mixture of freemen and burgesses, and that its members were also willing to let the less well-off be admitted to their fraternity. Merson suggests that 'some, perhaps most, of the mercers were petty tradesmen and non-burgesses' when discussing the admission of a mercer in 1565 which is recorded in the Third Book of Remembrance.⁴¹ Two wardens of the mercers' company were named in this entry, and they were Thomas Torner and Laurence Grose. They were court and water bailiffs respectively in 1564/5 and therefore are examples of at least two mercers who were burgesses.⁴² There was also a provision in the petition of c. 1480 that apprentices were not to be strangers. Unfortunately, no signatures were on this petition and no record survives to show when the drapers and mercers presented their petition to the mayor. A reference in the town records for 1486 suggests that at least some of the provisions had been granted by this date. The entry stated that a mercer from Havant was fined for trying to sell his wares in the town 'contrary to the prevalege' of the mercers' craft.⁴³

³⁷ There was a precedent for this in an act of 1363 (37 Edward III, c. 5, 6) which deprived both merchants and handicraftsmen of the right to follow more than one occupation. See S. Kramer, *The English Craft Guilds: Studies in Their Progress and Decline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 1.

³⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 35, 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14.

³⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 76.

⁴⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 98.

⁴¹ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1540-1573 (SRS 3, 1955), p. 95, n. 1.

⁴² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 154-55.

⁴³ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 23.

5.6 The coopers' petition of 1486

In 1486 the coopers presented to the town council a petition almost identical to that presented by the tailors in 1406.⁴⁴ There was an addition in the coopers' petition which stated that it was granted on the proviso that if any of the coopers did anything injurious to the mayor, sheriff, bailiffs, burgesses or the commonalty of the town, their privileges would be completely abolished and nullified. This suggests the possibility that there had been conflicts between the coopers and the mayor in the past. A similar condition was present in the cordwainers' document of 1477. These provisions highlight not only the total control exercised by the town council over the craft groups but also the fears of the town governors.

No fee was noted in the coopers' petition for the granting of their privileges, but in the same year an entry in the Book of Remembrance stated that 20s was received from the coopers 'for their Freedom theyr occupacion and crafte graunted by maister mayre' and for 'ther comyn seall'.⁴⁵ The normal cost for the use of the town seal was 6s 8d which suggests that the coopers paid 13s 4d for the granting of the petition, much less than the 100s paid by the tailors. Eight days after the granting of the coopers' petition in 1486, they paid a further 20s to the town steward for the granting of a livery which meant, presumably, the entitlement to wear a uniform.⁴⁶ This is the only evidence which has been found for any occupational group making such a payment.⁴⁷ These early petitions do not use words such as 'guild' or 'fraternity', but phrases such as the 'coopers and masters of the same craft ... and their successors' are generally used. There is evidence, however, of the use of these words in other documents; for example, in 1492/3 a tailor was admitted to the 'fraternyte of tailours craft'.⁴⁸

Eleven petitioners were named on the coopers' petition. One, James Myrik, was termed a burgess and cooper whilst the others were all described as coopers and inhabitants. James Myrik was the town steward the year after the petition was presented, in 1487/8, and rose to be sheriff in 1497/8 but died in office.⁴⁹ Like the cordwainers, several of the coopers appear in the court

⁴⁴ SCA, SC 2/6/4, fol. 60, The Black Book, 1388 to 1620. This is transcribed in Wallis Chapman, *Black Book*, 2, pp. 144-49.

⁴⁵ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 65. The coopers paid 13s 4d for the fine of a livery and 6s 8d for the town 'Geald', which might mean for the town seal.

⁴⁷ Individuals received cloth for liveries, for example, the newly appointed town plumber in 1575/6. See C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1572-1594*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRS 44, 2010), p. 22.

⁴⁸ The tailor was Thomas Burton and he paid 3s 4d for the town's part. Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 33.

⁴⁹ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 66 and Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 76.

books. Some are also known to have been trading in commodities, such as cloth and wine, which suggests that they were merchants as well as coopers.⁵⁰

5.7 The bakers' incorporation documents of 1517 and 1546

Two incorporation documents survive for the bakers, and they are dated 1517 and 1546.⁵¹ It is plausible to suggest that the provisions of the 1517 document went out of use for some reason and it was decided to reissue them nearly thirty years later, although the later document makes no mention of the earlier one. The brewers' incorporation document is dated 1543 and this may have been an influence for the bakers in 1546. One person, George Vincent, is named on both grants; this is the only occasion that this occurs. Of note is that both the bakers and the brewers paid 6s 8d for the sealing of their corporations in 1546/7, which, for the brewers was three years later than the date of their incorporation.⁵² The reason for this delay is not clear. The wording of the two bakers' documents is more or less the same. There is a correction concerning market days which suggests that the 1546 document was copied from the earlier one. The three victualling trades of bakers, brewers and butchers all become incorporated within a decade, which perhaps suggests that the tradesmen realised the benefits which could be obtained by petitioning the town council.

In the incorporation documents the bakers complain about strangers who do not pay any taxes within the town, but come in and sell bread from house to house, which was much to the impoverishment of the town bakers. They are granted the right to elect two wardens yearly from their number. The documents also state that no stranger is to be allowed to make anything that is of the bakers' craft, and if he does he must pay a fine of 20s each time he offends, half of which is to go the town and half to the craft. There is an exception here which implies that if the offender has been apprenticed to a baker in the town, he will not have to pay. This may reflect a policy towards those who had completed their apprenticeships but had not been made free to bake in the town. No person 'Englysshemen strangers or denisons' is to set up in the town unless he has first agreed both with the mayor and the wardens and paid 20s, half to the town and half to the craft. Those born outside the king's obeisance are to pay 40s. Also all apprentices or journeymen must have been born under the king's allegiance, and a penalty of 6s 8d was to be paid to the town each time an offence occurred. Foreign bakers dwelling out of the town were

⁵⁰ Olding, *Courts, passim*.

⁵¹ SCA, SC 2/7/3 Counterpart indenture incorporating the bakers' craft, 2 October 1517 and SCA, SC 2/7/5 Counterpart indenture incorporating the bakers' craft, 1 October 1546.

⁵² C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1571*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 43, 2009), p. 12.

allowed to bring their foodstuffs in for sale but only on the town's market days, and they must sell their goods in the market and not from house to house. Unfortunately, the penalty fine is illegible. The market days in 1517 are given as Tuesday and Saturday and in 1546 as Thursday and Saturday.⁵³ The foreign bakers are to take any unsold bread home again and are not to leave it with any hucksters to sell, on pain of forfeiture. A similar rule was in force in London where foreign bakers, that is, those country bakers from outlying areas, were not allowed to store bread overnight in the city.⁵⁴ It would be lawful for the wardens to seize any bread which had been left in any hucksters' hands and sell it, half of the profit to the town and half to the bakers. Although the bakers are to sell their bread in the market, it is not clear if there was a specific area for them. Much later, in 1615, the Court Leet jurors complained that the bakers, of both town and country, were pestering the whole market place by selling their wares in unfit places. The jurors requested that a pent house be set up especially for them in the market.⁵⁵

It appears that the bakers were to pay ten pounds for the privileges of their incorporation both in 1517 and 1546, although an entry elsewhere stated that they actually paid only 40s in 1517/8.⁵⁶ It is not known why there is this discrepancy. The bakers are also to be given reasonable warning, by the mayor as clerk of the market, to supply good 'sweet and holsome' bread according to the assize. There is also a stipulation concerning the price of horsebread.⁵⁷ The bakers are granted these provisions provided that they are not in any way prejudicial to the burgesses, merchants or householders who were baking for themselves or any bakers' widows. This is the only document which specifically calls for the protection of the widows of craftsmen, and suggests that widows could be bakers in their own right. This provision could be the reason why Alice Browne was named on the bakers' petition of 1517. She was the only woman to be named on any petition or incorporation document. In time of war or any great 'resort' of the people, the document states that foreign bakers living out of the town might be asked by the mayor to bring their bread in. There was an additional proviso in the 1517 document concerning the sale of ships' biscuits. This may have been added in 1519 when the same order was written in the Third Book of Remembrance. It is to the effect that all bakers were to bring their biscuits and other bread to the hall to be sold all in one place, the penalty for non-compliance was to pay 20s to the town and

⁵³ It appears that the word 'Thursday' was written over an erased word, which suggests that the 1546 document was copied from the earlier one.

⁵⁴ S. Thrupp, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (London: Galleon Press, 1933), p. 56.

⁵⁵ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1603-1624*, Vol. 1, Part 3 (SRSoc 4, 1907), p. 489.

⁵⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 88.

⁵⁷ Studer suggests that this was probably the same as the bread of common wheat which was the coarsest kind of bread baked in the town. P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 11, 1911), p. xxvi.

20s to the craft. This penalty differs from that noted in the Third Book of Remembrance insofar as it was only 10s with 6s 8d going to the town and 3s 4d to the 'light of Seynt Clement'. This reference to a light is evidently concerned with the religious element of the bakers' corporation and is discussed below. There is also a proviso which appears only in the 1546 document, which states that the bakers would undertake a share in the maintenance of the Brewers' Tower.⁵⁸ This is discussed in Chapter 7.

The document of 1517 listed the names of twelve bakers, one of whom had been inserted later and possibly in a different hand. Not one of the bakers was termed a burgess. The first name listed was Alice Browne, widow. She is described as a burgess in another document which may be why she is listed first on the baker's document.⁵⁹ She is the only woman known to have been given the burgesship although her name is not recorded in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses. It is possible that her husband was the baker called John Browne who had been admitted to the burgesship in 1504 and had died around 1508.⁶⁰ It seems remarkable that she was given the privilege of the burgesship. One of the men listed was also a burgess at this time, Robert Raynard. He had been given the burgesship in 1509 and later rose to the position of court bailiff in 1515/16. Two other men entered the burgesship after 1517.⁶¹ All four bakers who are mentioned here as receiving the burgesship: John Browne, Robert Raynard, Roger Wanrige and Jervis Bayly, were all admitted as mayor's burgesses with Walter Baker being the mayor in two instances.⁶² Admission as a mayor's burgess shows the close friendships that existed between these men. Two of the bakers were named in an enquiry into the town's grain supply in 1534, showing that each held a substantial amount of grain in store.⁶³ Several of the bakers named in the document appeared in the town records on other occasions for breaking the assize of bread.

Seven bakers were named in the incorporation document of 1546. Two, George Vincent and Henry Golde, were burgesses. George Vincent rose to the position of mayor in 1557/8. He is unique in that he was named on two documents; the beer brewers of 1543 and the bakers of 1546. It is interesting to note that he had been apprenticed to a merchant and not to a brewer or baker. It is worth asking here the question posed by John Patten: 'What exactly was a

⁵⁸ This was also recorded in the Muster Book of 1544. L.A. Burgess, ed., *The Southampton Terrier of 1454* (SRS 15, 1976), p. 157.

⁵⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, p. 80.

⁶⁰ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1514-1540 (SRS 2, 1952), p. 16, n. 4.

⁶¹ Roger Wanrige in 1522 and Jervis Bayly in 1532.

⁶² For Roger Wanrige and Jervis Bayly.

⁶³ The bakers were Jervis Bayly and George Towell. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, pp. 46-7.

'merchant'? Was he a trader alone, or did he manufacture as well'.⁶⁴ Evidence for Vincent would suggest both. One of the bakers listed was one of the nine men named in an enquiry into the town's grain supply in 1534.⁶⁵ Two bakers were named as two of the nineteen men appointed as horse hirers in 1558.⁶⁶ One, John More, is known to have been a beadle and a surveyor of the highway in the 1570s.⁶⁷ In a document of October 1575, the names of only four town bakers are given. This strongly suggests that at this date the town bakers were fewer in numbers.⁶⁸ One baker named in 1575 was John More and other evidence suggests that it is highly likely that this is the same man who was named in the 1546 incorporation document. Bakers from Andvill (possibly Ampfield), Hursley and Romsey are also named in relation to ameracements concerning violations of weights and measures. These are local settlements situated north-west of the town so these bakers could be termed 'foreigners'.

5.8 The brewers' incorporation document of 1543

The incorporation document of the brewers is dated 1543 and it begins by stating that the brewers, of both ale and beer, have brought a bill of complaint before the mayor (see Appendix O).⁶⁹ The brewers declare that their brewhouses are old, are situated in places which do not inconvenience the townspeople, and that they have always brewed in times of both dearth and plenty. In other words, they are suggesting that they have been very loyal upstanding men for many years. The complaint continues saying that now, however, 'stranngers alyents and foryners' (strangers, aliens and foreigners), who do not pay any taxes, are bringing beer and ale from other brewhouses into the town and are serving not only the town dwellers but the strangers who arrive in the town in ships. The brewers state that they have no other living to help support their wives and children, except beer and ale brewing, and they say that they will have to leave the town if the situation does not improve. In other documents members of craft groups state that their only livelihood is their particular craft, but this is the first time that other family members

⁶⁴ J. Patten, 'Urban Occupations in Pre-Industrial England', *Institute of British Transactions*, New Series, 2, (3) (1977), 296-313 (p. 302).

⁶⁵ The baker was John Forward. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, pp. 46-7.

⁶⁶ The men were Thomas Wanrik (Wandryke) and John Coyte. Two butchers named on the 1555 document were also appointed as horse hirers. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 60-1.

⁶⁷ TRS Database. The duties of the beadles included the maintenance of law and order, the collection of royal taxes, local fines and rates and assisting the constables in organising the watch. See W.J. Connor, ed., *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (SRS 21, 1978), p. 8. The surveyors of the highway supervised work undertaken on the town's roads.

⁶⁸ SCA, SC 9/3/2 Examination Book, 1575/6, (1 October 1575).

⁶⁹ SCA, SC 2/7/4 Counterpart indenture incorporating the brewers' craft, 5 October 1543. See Appendix O: Photograph of the brewers' incorporation document of 1543, SCA, SC 2/7/4.

are mentioned in this way.⁷⁰ This statement is clearly misleading as several of the brewers named are known to have been merchants, for example, George Vincent as mentioned above. Indeed, Merson, referring to the beer brewers in 1553, states that they were some of the wealthiest burgesses at this time.⁷¹ The mayor, bailiffs and burgesses state that they do not want the brewers to fall into ruin, and so with the advice of Sir Richard Lister, chief justice of the king's bench, they agree that the brewers that dwell in the old beer and alehouses can elect two of their honest men to be wardens who will have power and authority within the brewers' company.⁷² It is worth noting here that this is the first use of the word 'company' in a petition or an incorporation document.⁷³ Charles Haskins states that during Elizabeth I's reign 'the Craft Guilds, which had become disorganised on account of the suppression of their Chantries and Chapels by the Council of Edward VI, formed themselves into Companies'.⁷⁴ At first glance the evidence for the brewers would suggest that this restructuring was happening before the reign of Elizabeth in Southampton, however, Thrupp writes that the word 'company' was used very loosely in the middle ages. She states that with regard to the London companies the word 'company' was used both before and after incorporation, interchangeably with the terms 'craft', 'mistry', 'commonalty', 'fraternity', 'fellowship' and 'gild'.⁷⁵ The wardens would also oversee the taking on of apprentices. No one other than those who are named in the document is allowed to bring beer or ale into the town to sell, either by land or sea, unless they have first made an agreement with the mayor and the wardens, upon pain of forfeiture of the beer or ale. This would be sold with one half of the sale going to the town and the other half to the craft. The document stipulates that the brewers' half will be put towards the maintenance of the tower called Brewers' Tower. No one was to set up any new beer or alehouses in the town unless they have first agreed with the mayor and wardens, on pain of a fine of 100s, to be divided half and half, and again the brewers' share is to go towards the repair and maintenance of the Brewers' Tower. The brewers agree to repair and maintain the tower and also to furnish it with ordnance and shot so that it is capable of defending the town against the king's enemies. The bakers' document of 1546 states that they will undertake a share in the maintenance of this tower.

⁷⁰ Wives and families were also mentioned in the petitions of the armourers and cutlers and the blacksmiths in 1599.

⁷¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 36, n. 2.

⁷² Sir Richard Lister had acquired a large house in the town (now Tudor House Museum) through his marriage to Isabel, widow of Sir John Dawtrey, a prominent burgess and collector of royal customs. Sir Richard Lister was consulted by the town on several occasions. See Platt, *Southampton*, p. 238 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 5, n. 1.

⁷³ The phrase is, '... to be wardens and governours of the men and company of the same craft ...'.

⁷⁴ C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912), p. 74.

⁷⁵ Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, p. 5.

The brewers have to provide wholesome beer and ale at all times at reasonable and lawful prices according to the price of grain and the assize set by the mayor. No one is to set up as a common beer or ale brewer unless he was born under the king's obeisance, and likewise all apprentices had to be so born and must serve at least seven years. The penalty for disobedience is ten pounds to the town. There is a provision which does not appear in any of the other documents and its meaning is a little unclear. It appears to state that if any brewer was 'obstynate' (obstinate) towards the mayor or wardens in regard to any of the provisions in the grant, he is to be fined 40s, half going to the town and half to the craft. Presumably this means that if any brewer failed to comply with the provisions concerning the quality or price of the ale or beer that he produced he would be fined. The provisions of the document do not extend to the brewhouse at 'wolston besides Itchin Very' which most likely means Woolston beside Itchen Ferry. Woolston at this time was a manor across the River Itchen east of the town and would have been outside the liberties of the town. The document states that this brewhouse is held by Thomas Welles the Younger who, incidentally, is named as one of the beer brewers. It is presumed that Welles must have another brewhouse situated within the town, otherwise there would be no reason for him to petition for privileges with the other brewers. The grant goes on to say that Welles can only sell beer from London or elsewhere if he pays 40s for the privilege. The final provision appears to have been added at a later date but possibly in the same hand. It states that the brewers' grant must not be prejudicial to any burgess who is brewing for his own use.⁷⁶ It stipulates, however, that these burgesses must not sell any beer they brew; it must be purely for their own households.

Eight beer brewers and five ale brewers are named in the document. Five of the beer brewers were burgesses and one was admitted later in 1546. In all, four rose to the position of mayor, two of whom had already served as mayor by 1543.⁷⁷ One of these, Walter Baker, is one of only two men who served as mayor four times in the sixteenth century. He is termed a merchant adventurer in 1538/9.⁷⁸ Of the five ale brewers, two were already burgesses by 1543 and one was admitted in 1544. Two of these went on to serve as mayor in 1548/9 and 1562/3.⁷⁹ One of

⁷⁶ This is similar to a provision written in the bakers' grant.

⁷⁷ The four who served as mayor with their mayoral dates were: Walter Baker, 1522/3, 1530/1, 1531/2 and 1541/2; Thomas Rigges, 1542/3 and 1549/50; James Stonnard, 1546/7 and George Vincent, 1557/8.

⁷⁸ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 70r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses. Walter Baker was termed a merchant adventurer in the burgess admission of Richard Butler.

⁷⁹ They were Edmonde Bisshopp and Henry Russell (also known as Henry Boyer). See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 154.

these, Henry Russell, was admitted as a common beer brewer in 1553, thus extending his business to beer. Merson suggests that he may have paid 40s to become a beer brewer at this time.⁸⁰

5.9 The butchers' incorporation document of 1555

The butchers' incorporation document of 1555 is unique in that it states that the butchers have complained many times that they do not have a corporation.⁸¹ This means that they do not have good order amongst themselves and because of this the town is not served with good and wholesome victuals. This and the shearmen's document of 1571 are the only ones in which the craftsmen do not claim that strangers are working in the town to their detriment. In relation to the shearmen this is quite surprising as it was only four years after the arrival of the French-speaking refugees and the introduction of their new clothmaking skills.⁸² This is discussed further in Chapter 7. There are more details given in the butchers' document than in any of the previous documents concerning wardens and apprentices. The word 'brotherhood' ('brotherhede') is used for the first time in either a petition or an incorporation document and their document clearly states that this is the first time the butchers have been incorporated.

The document states that, as the butchers pay all their taxes, they are granted the authority to choose yearly two wardens to govern, keep and rule in good order the butchers and their apprentices. If a warden dies or is discharged by the other butchers for bad conduct, he is to be replaced within ten days. Although the grant allows for the appointing of wardens, it must be presumed that this privilege lapses sometime after 1555 because in 1571, 1593 and 1596 the town records show that two wardens are appointed in these years to make sure only 'good and holsome fleshe' is sold.⁸³ No one is permitted to set up as a butcher unless he has first obtained a licence and the goodwill of the mayor and wardens and he has served an apprenticeship with a butcher in the town. The fine for non-compliance is five pounds, half to the town and half to the craft. If anyone sets up without a licence they are to pay ten pounds, again this is divided half and half. Apprentices, who must be born under the king's allegiance, are to be enrolled within six months of starting their apprenticeships and must serve at least seven years. The masters are to bring their apprentices within six days of finishing their apprenticeships to be made free,

⁸⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 36, n. 2.

⁸¹ SCA, SC 2/7/6 Counterpart indenture of the incorporation of the company of butchers, 26 September 1555.

⁸² The shearmen do complain about newcomers, however, in 1609. See J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1611-1614 (SRSoc 24, 1924), pp. 48-9.

⁸³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 126, no. 299; T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 16, no. 434 and p. 31, no. 460.

according to the ancient custom of the town, and every time a master fails to do this he must pay 20s to the mayor. Foreigners and strangers can come into the town on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays with their victuals to the 'fryers bench' or to any other place appointed by the mayor.⁸⁴ In York the butchers' regulations clearly differentiate between shopkeepers and market traders; the former were freemen who were permitted only to sell their meat in their shops or houses whereas the latter were 'forrein' butchers who had the right to trade in the market.⁸⁵ There do not seem to have been the same strict restrictions operating in Southampton (see Appendix C).⁸⁶ The last line of the document states that the company of the corporation of butchers will maintain and keep a brotherhood as other corporations had done. The butchers paid four pounds for the privilege of incorporation in 1554/5.⁸⁷

There are seven butchers named on the incorporation document, none of whom were ever admitted to the burgesship. Two of these butchers are named as two of the nineteen men appointed as horse hirers in 1558.⁸⁸ Several are among those butchers who provided tallow to the chandlers of the town in 1560 and 1561.⁸⁹ One of these, William Fevorell, is described in 1576 as a husbandman when leasing land outside the walled town. It seems highly likely that he was keeping livestock there. He was also fined for overcharging the common on several occasions.⁹⁰ Another butcher, Thomas Hoyskyns, was appointed as one of the surveyors of the highway in 1576.⁹¹

5.10 The shearmen's incorporation document of 1571

The shearmen's incorporation document is dated 1571, and is the first incorporation of a company during Elizabeth I's reign.⁹² The shearmen must have had some kind of agreement with

⁸⁴ The 'fryers bench' was situated outside the walls, south of the friary gate.

⁸⁵ D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 180.

⁸⁶ See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton, 'Victualling trades: Butchers and tallow chandlers'.

⁸⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 25.

⁸⁸ The men were Thomas Hoyskyns and William Fevorell. Thomas Hoyskyns was also appointed one of the two wardens of the horse hirers. Two bakers named on their 1546 document were also appointed as horse hirers. Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 60-1.

⁸⁹ The butchers named in 1560 were: William Fevorell, Thomas Hoyskyns and Thomas Forwarde (out of a total of 14 butchers) and those named in 1561 were: William Fevorell, Thomas Hoyskyns, Thomas Forwarde and John Harryson (out of a total of 10 butchers).

⁹⁰ TRS Database. For the regulations concerning the common, see F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SRSoc 1, 1905), pp. 39-40, nos 19-28 and F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), pp. 221-23, no. 117.

⁹¹ TRS Database.

⁹² SCA, SC 2/7/7 Counterpart indenture of the incorporation of the company of shearmen tuckers, 8 March 1571.

the town council before this as they are one of the crafts listed in 1488/9 in the Book of Fines. Their wardens 'with all their company' are also mentioned in 1504 when they complained to the mayor about galley men who folded woollen cloths. This practice was contrary to the laws of the town and an agreement was reached where the shearmen received fines of 40s if a galley man defaulted on the order, and one halfpenny for every kersey folded.⁹³

The incorporation document states that the four shearmen who were named were to be known as the company of shearmen tuckers, and they were permitted to choose two wardens to have guide, rule and oversight of the company for a year. For the first time in any document, details are given of the financial workings of the company, and it is likely that these requirements also applied to the other craft groups. At the end of year the wardens have to give a just and true account of the company to the mayor, and also to hand over any profit to the next year's wardens. The wardens are also permitted to make their own reasonable orders for the company and to set reasonable penalties. From henceforth, no person is to be a member of the company unless he is a burgess or has made agreement with the company and paid at least four pounds.⁹⁴ An apprentice can join provided that he has served at least seven years with one of the company, and by his indenture he will be free of the shearmen without paying any more, except 12d to the clerk for the enrolling of his freedom. Apprentices are only to be taken on as allowed by the statutes. The apprentice's master must within twenty days after the sealing of his indentures enrol the apprentice's indenture in the Audit House. This is much less than the six months allowed in the butchers' document of 1555.⁹⁵ The penalty for failing to do this is 20s which will go to the town. All other money collected is to be divided half and half. The shearmen paid 6s 8d for the sealing of their corporation in 1571.⁹⁶

None of the four shearmen named on the incorporation document ever entered the burgesship. There is a record of one being made a freeman, Nicholas Lovell who paid 20s in 1569/70.⁹⁷ This is the only freeman admission found for any person who is named on an incorporation document or petition. Three of the shearmen were appointed beadles in the 1570s, which shows that they were men who were trusted by the town council.⁹⁸ One shearman, Waltor Houchine, was also an alehouse-keeper and his name was on the list of those who were scheduled to receive candles in

⁹³ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 19.

⁹⁴ Some of the writing in this sentence is very faded but this appears to be the meaning.

⁹⁵ The burgess oath of the mid-1570s stated that an apprentice must be enrolled within the first year.

⁹⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 93.

⁹⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 81.

⁹⁸ The three men were Waltor Houchine, Nicholas Lovell and Robert Smythe.

the contract made with William Barwick, chandler, in 1577.⁹⁹ Houchine and Robert Smythe were also fined in 1575 for overcharging the common.¹⁰⁰ Nicolas Lovell and Robert Smythe rented a plot of land 'where their rack stands' for 12s in 1578/9.¹⁰¹

5.11 The armourers' and cutlers' petition and the blacksmiths' petition of 1599

Two craft groups petitioned the mayor on the same day in 1599, although neither group mentioned the other's petition in their own. One group was the blacksmiths and the other was the combined group of the armourers and the cutlers. The only other group to have been combined were the mercers and drapers in c. 1480. One copy of the blacksmiths' petition and two copies of the armourers' and cutlers' survive in the Book of Instruments.¹⁰² All copies were written in English except the opening and closing clauses which were in Latin. The last document to be written in this format was the bakers' in 1546. There are other details which suggest that the earlier documents of the 1540s may have been used as a template in 1599. The fact that the petitions are dated the same day and that the wording of both petitions is very similar indicates that a close relationship existed between the two groups, although, as is shown below, this relationship appears less amicable several years later.

As with the earlier petitions, the petitioners stress that whereas they pay all the taxes and dues owed to the town there are many strangers who do not. The armourers and cutlers complain of strangers, notably petty chapmen and pedlars, who come weekly to the market with all manner of wares to sell, such as knives, which is contrary to the orders of both the land and the town. The blacksmiths complain of strangers who work secretly in the town and others who come to buy and sell. Both groups want to be able to hold a yearly election of wardens or masters, who, 'next under Mr Mayor and his brethren', are to have the oversight, rule, and governance of the craft. The cutlers, being a smaller group, suggest one or two wardens whereas the blacksmiths suggest two. Each group want any strangers, English or foreigners, who have not served a seven years'

⁹⁹ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 84.

¹⁰⁰ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, pp. 122-23, no. 88. Houchine had two horses and a cow and Smythe had two kine, a mare and a colt grazing on the common.

¹⁰¹ TRS Database. The racks would have been used for the drying of the cloth after it had been fulled before it was sheared. See H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), p. 40.

¹⁰² SCA, SC 2/6/6, fol. 191r, Book of Instruments, the blacksmiths' petition and SCA, SC 2/6/6, fols 41r-41v and 192r, Book of Instruments, the cutlers' and armourers' petition. These petitions have not been published, but they are summarised in Horrocks, *Assembly Books*, 4, p. xxii.

apprenticeship within the town to a freeman of the craft, to be permitted to practise their craft only after having first made fine and agreement with the mayor and the wardens, one half of the fine to go to the mayor and the other to the company. Both groups mention 'wives and families' who were affected by the strangers who came to the town. Lastly, both groups want to be able to make their own 'good and lawfull orders' without troubling or acquainting the mayor, except for the committing of offenders to prison, which is not to be done without his authority. These are the only documents to have this proviso concerning prison committal.

Ten blacksmiths were named in their petition, only one was a burgess, John Parker, although he was not termed as such in the document. Later, in 1612, one of the petitioners, Gilbert Clements, was working as a gunsmith, and another, Thomas Plower, as a locksmith. In 1612 members of both the cutlers' and the smiths' groups attended an assembly meeting together to request that certain craftsmen work only in their given craft. It was subsequently ordered that Thomas Plowman¹⁰³ must work only in his own trade of locksmith and also that Gilbert Clement must work only in his trade of gunmaker, and neither of them was to do any work that should be carried out by the cutlers of the town. Conversely, the cutlers were not to meddle in any work belonging to the trade of locksmith. Three months later the cutlers were back complaining once more about Plowman and Clement, so it is not clear quite how effective these appeals to the mayor were.¹⁰⁴ These requests show how the work of some of the blacksmiths had diversified over time. One of the blacksmiths, John Parker, had been appointed a beadle in both 1574 and 1585.¹⁰⁵ Several others were at times selected to be drivers of the common and surveyors of the highway.¹⁰⁶

Three men were named on the armourers' and cutlers' petition, none of whom are known to have become burgesses. An entry in the town records showed that by 1612 four men were working in this craft, two of whom had been petitioners in 1599.¹⁰⁷ In 1591 Thomas Lyle was given the contract to clean the town's armour. He would be paid 20s for this first year and then 6s 8d yearly.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ It is believed that Thomas Plower and Thomas Plowman were the same man.

¹⁰⁴ Horrocks, *Assembly Books*, 3, pp. 47, 53.

¹⁰⁵ TRS Database.

¹⁰⁶ John Parker was a driver of the common in 1573 and surveyor of the highway in 1594, Henry Parker was a driver in 1594 and surveyor in 1600 and Gilbert Clements was a driver of the common in 1587. TRS Database.

¹⁰⁷ These were Thomas Lyle and Nicholas Curle. Horrocks, *Assembly*, 3, pp. 47, 53.

¹⁰⁸ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 3, no. 411.

The evidence shows that it was only those people who were named in the documents who had the automatic right to trade or carry on a craft in the town. The principal request of all the petitioners was an appeal for the protection of their occupations from outsiders, although in later years, some requested the right to make their own rules. Strangers, both resident and non-resident, were tolerated, however, upon payment of a fine. It seems hard to believe that those groups who pleaded poverty were actually struggling to make a living, and certainly, on the evidence of the brewers, this was not the case as the brewers were amongst the wealthiest and most powerful burgesses in the town. Unfortunately, as no internal accounts survive for any of the occupations, it is unclear how each craft group used their portions of the fines which were collected, although some of the bakers' fines should have gone towards the maintenance of a tower. It is possible that some were used for communal purposes, for example, the purchase of vessels for table use in communal feasts. There is evidence to show that the shoemakers had such vessels because they loaned them to the mayor for the feast which was held during the Court Leet in 1542/3.¹⁰⁹ This is discussed in more detail below.

The analysis of freemen admissions in the previous chapter shows that some occupations were organised into companies although no incorporation documents or petitions survive to confirm this. These groups were the cobblers and the weavers. The same could be said for the apothecaries, the grocers and the hardwaremen, but it is highly likely that all three were part of the drapers' and mercers' company. Regarding the grocers, Merson states that 'there was no hard and fast line at Southampton between grocers, mercers and merchants trading overseas'.¹¹⁰ Indeed, one of the wardens of the mercers' company in 1565 had been apprenticed to a grocer.¹¹¹ Concerning the hardwaremen, one was permitted to enter the mercers' company in 1511/2, as mentioned above, and with regard to the apothecaries, one was described as an apothecary and a grocer.¹¹² For some other occupations no evidence has been found to suggest conclusively that they were ever incorporated or that they were ever forbidden to form a company.¹¹³ These are the fletchers, fullers, glovers, jerkinmakers, goldsmiths, masons, pewterers and saddlers.¹¹⁴ The chandlers and the glaziers were organised differently. In the case of the chandlers, at various

¹⁰⁹ B. Chinchin, *Steward Book: 1542/3*, (SCA, SC 5/1/40), p. 54.

¹¹⁰ A.L. Merson, ed., *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, ed. by compiled by A.J. Willis (SRS 12, 1968), p. xxi.

¹¹¹ See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 95, no. 264.

¹¹² This was John Brodock who died in 1571. See James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 88, no. 362.

¹¹³ Christopher Dyer notes that at Coventry the daubers and rough masons were forbidden to form a fraternity. C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 316.

¹¹⁴ The fullers may have been included with the shearmen in their incorporation document as the work of these two occupations often overlapped. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

times one or two were given the monopoly of candle production in the town. With regard to the glaziers, two were given a monopoly in 1576/7, although it is not clear how they were organised before this. Numerous other occupations were recorded in various town records of which no evidence has been found to suggest how or if they were ever organised into companies, for example, the curriers, the silkweavers and the tanners.

5.12 Religious affiliations

Sylvia Thrupp states that 'the social life of a medieval company invariably had its religious side'.¹¹⁵ There is very little evidence, however, of religious affiliations within the craft groups in Southampton with only a few references in some of the town books. As we have seen, one such reference related to an order concerning the bakers in 1519 in which part of a fine was to go 'to the light of Seynt Clement'.¹¹⁶ This order was only two years after the bakers' incorporation of 1517 in which there was no mention of any religious association. There is no evidence to prove conclusively that this was a craft fraternity, as opposed to a parish one, but the fact that it was mentioned in relation to the bakers strongly suggests the former. St Clement was mentioned twice again in the steward books concerning the hiring of vessels for the feasts which were held at the annual Court Leet.¹¹⁷ In both 1528/9 and 1539/40 a payment of 6d was made to the 'wardens of St Clements fore the hire of their vessels' and for the 'hire of St Clements vessel' respectively.¹¹⁸ St Clement was associated with the bakers in other towns, for example, he was the patron saint of the Company of Bakers of London.¹¹⁹ Thrupp states that besides being a business organisation, the London Bakers' Company was also 'the guylde of our lady and saint Clement'.¹²⁰ There is evidence of an altar which was dedicated to St Clement in St Mary's church in Southampton and it is possible that the light mentioned in 1519 referred to this altar, but, to reiterate, it is not known whether this altar had any connection with the bakers other than the name. St Mary's church was largely destroyed in 1550, and it is not clear how or why this happened.¹²¹ The only churchwardens' accounts to have survived for the period are those for St Lawrence's church, for the years 1567-1743.¹²² No references to craft guilds or lights have been found in them but it

¹¹⁵ Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, p. 152.

¹¹⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 30, no. 108.

¹¹⁷ For several years between 1492/3 and 1566/7 there are entries in the steward books concerning the hire of vessels from various sources for the feast held at the annual Court Leet. Payments ranged from between 4d and 16d.

¹¹⁸ B. Chinchin, *Steward Books: 1528/9*, (SCA, SC 5/1/36), p. 40 and *1539/40*, (SCA, SC 5/1/39), p. 42.

¹¹⁹ Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, p. 10.

¹²⁰ Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, p. 152.

¹²¹ See Davies, *Southampton*, pp. 337-38 for a discussion about the destruction of St Mary's church.

¹²² SCA, PR 4/2/1 St Lawrence Churchwarden Accounts.

must be remembered that the earliest surviving account was some twenty years after the Reformation by which time all evidence of any earlier practices would have disappeared. Although with regard to the Bakers' Company of London, Thrupp states that while the Reformation put an end to the worship of saints and the holding of services for departed souls, it did not destroy the religious tradition of the company.¹²³

There is evidence to show that the shoemakers had their own vessels because in 1542/3 they loaned them to the mayor for a charge of 6d, again for the feast which was held during the Court Leet. In 1513/4 the mayor paid 4d for the 'hire of St Barbara's vessel'.¹²⁴ There was a chapel and fraternity of St Barbara in St Michael's church, but it is not clear if the two were connected. Platt writes that 'it was probably the fraternity of St Barbara, keeping a chaplain of its own, which maintained the chantry chapel attached externally to the south chancel aisle at St Michael's'.¹²⁵ There is no evidence to show that any craft group was affiliated to the fraternity of St Barbara, although it is worth noting that one of the two towers allocated to the brewers in 1544 was at times called St Barbara's Tower. According to the incorporation documents, this tower was to be maintained by the brewers and the bakers.

There is another reference to a 'lyght' which occurs in the town records of 1502. It relates to a group of women woolpackers who had, until recently, been referred to as 'a guild'.¹²⁶ Jones believes that this description is erroneous and she gives several plausible reasons to substantiate her viewpoint. For example; she compares the 'petitions' of the craftspeople to the 'rules' of the woolpackers, stating that 'the petitions were originated by members of crafts; the rule was originated by the mayor and corporation'.¹²⁷ Also, the two wardens who were appointed did not serve the interest of the women but rather they were appointed to 'serve the merchants'.¹²⁸ A system of fines existed similar to the other crafts, and in the woolpackers' case, half was payable to the town and half 'to the company ... towards their lyght'.¹²⁹ This is unique in that none of the craft incorporation documents or petitions mention any religious element in their groups.

¹²³ For example, St Clement's Day (23 November) continued to mark the end of the company's official and financial year. Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, p. 153.

¹²⁴ B. Chinchin, Steward Book: 1513/4, (SCA, SC 5/1/31), p. 39.

¹²⁵ Platt, *Southampton*, p. 191.

¹²⁶ For more details see Jones, 'Women', pp. 115-22. The woolpackers' work involved stitching canvas to measured weights of wool at the request of any merchant before they were reweighed and sealed for export. They were mentioned in the town documents from 1502 to c. 1550s.

¹²⁷ Jones, 'Women', p. 121.

¹²⁸ Jones, 'Women', p. 116.

¹²⁹ Jones, 'Women', p. 118.

An examination of the bequests noted in a large selection of the existing wills of the period has revealed only one reference to a craft group: in 1558 Richard Mershe left 8d yearly to 'the tailors'.¹³⁰ If the craft groups had had thriving religious affiliations surely there would be more evidence surviving in these wills. It is suggested, therefore, that although there were some religious associations, certainly before the Reformation, they were never as prominent as some which were found in other towns. This was perhaps because of the small size of the craft groups in Southampton. For example, only seven bakers were noted in the incorporation document of 1546 as opposed to the 127 members who were listed on the roll of the Company of Bakers of London in 1559.¹³¹

This chapter has examined the earliest evidence for craft groups in the town as well as analysing in detail the incorporation documents and petitions of the various craft and trade groups which were operating in Southampton. These documents illustrate how the petitioners attempted to protect their livelihoods against outsiders. What is most illuminating is that the incorporation documents and petitions show clearly that both freemen and burgesses often petitioned together to gain privileges for their individual craft groups. On reflection, perhaps this is not so surprising as both freemen and burgesses held the franchise within the town, and they were in effect working together for the mutual benefit of their group members. It was stated in the previous chapter in relation to the ordinances that in terms of social standing freemen were often seen as inferior to burgesses. Evidence from this chapter suggests that those burgesses and freemen who were named together on the incorporation documents and petitions were seen as equals. The analysis of several later petitions of 1616 (of the clothworkers, the shoemakers and the tailors), however, reveals that none of the petitioners were burgesses. This is an obvious change from earlier years, and perhaps shows a widening of the social divide in later years. More research on the evidence for the seventeenth century is needed here. The next chapter looks at strangers, both resident and non-resident. Strangers made up the third group of craftsmen and tradesmen who were manufacturing or trading in Southampton alongside the burgesses and freemen.

¹³⁰ TBJ Transcripts: HRO, 1558U/157 Will and inventory of Richard Mershe. Sources state that he was a cloth merchant or a wealthy mercer. E. Roberts and K. Parker, eds, *Southampton Probate Inventories, 1447-1575*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 34, 1992), p. 124 states that he was a cloth merchant and Platt, *Southampton*, p. 152 states that he was a wealthy mercer. He may have been a merchant tailor.

¹³¹ Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, p. 61.

Chapter 6 The strangers of Southampton: stall and art assessments and other licences

This chapter analyses the strangers, both resident and non-resident, who were manufacturing or trading in Southampton.¹ Strangers made up the third group in the town, along with the burgesses and freemen. Although they were without question the largest group of the three operating in the town, they were also generally the least wealthy and held the least power. Through evidence extracted from several of the town records, namely: the Oak Book, the Court Leet books and the Book of Fines, this chapter demonstrates the control exerted by the mayor and the town council over the activities of all strangers in the town. A detailed analysis of two consecutive years of stall and art lists has also been undertaken. These lists, which were the annual fees paid by both resident strangers and freemen in return for which they could work in the town,² show how the town council kept a firm hold on the resident stranger craftsmen and tradesmen in the years 1600 and 1601. The control which the town council exercised over the non-resident strangers is also shown through the discussion of the policy of the issuing of licences which was mandatory for any who wished to trade in the town. Throughout the chapter comparisons are made with several other towns, namely: Boston, Exeter, Hull, Ipswich, Rye, Salisbury and Winchester. The main questions addressed in this chapter are: How did these towns organise their strangers, both resident and non-resident? Did these towns have an equivalent to the stall and arts lists of Southampton which included both freemen and strangers? How many strangers were operating in these towns? Although some towns controlled their strangers in similar ways to the administration in Southampton, it is shown that other towns took quite different approaches. Due to the level of survival or availability of the sources, it has not always been possible to answer all these questions for each town.

6.1 Definition of strangers: resident and non-resident

Stranger residency is very complicated. Generally, strangers can be divided into those who were resident in the town and those who were resident elsewhere, either in England or overseas. The latter are therefore classed as non-resident in relation to Southampton. Those from other parts

¹ The terms 'resident' and 'non-resident' are not words which are found in the town records. They have been used here as a way of disentangling and simplifying the complexities of stranger residency.

² F.J.C. Hearnshaw stated incorrectly that the people who made stall and art payments were, 'neither burgesses nor of the franchise'. F.J.C. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction in England* (SRSoc 5, 1908), p. 169, n. 2.

of England were sometimes termed 'foreigners' and those from overseas were often termed 'aliens'. The records show, however, that some aliens whilst being from overseas were resident in the town at times. There is a long record of aliens settling in the town, indeed Ruddock describes the Italians living in Southampton in the fifteenth century as 'an alien merchant colony on English soil'.³ Some alien residents received letters of denization; the most notable being Christopher Ambrose, a Florentine, who served twice as mayor in 1486/7 and 1497/8. His rise to the mayoralty is a clear example of how the status or standing of a person could change over time. Resident strangers were not classed as franchised and in order to trade or carry on a craft in the town they had to pay an annual fee. Lists of these so called 'stall and art assessments' for strangers were recorded in the Court Leet books along with those of the freemen. Hearnshaw defines the 'stall' as the place where a person could pursue his occupation and the 'art' as the occupation itself.⁴ Although never termed as such, these payments were in fact a form of licence. Non-resident strangers also had to pay to trade in the town. Their payments, which were often noted as 'licences' or less commonly 'leave' to sell, were more *ad hoc* in nature. There is evidence to show that some resident strangers and some freemen also paid for this type of licence. As discussed in Chapter 4, attempting to distinguish those craftsmen and tradesmen in Southampton who were either freemen or strangers is not straightforward particularly as other terms such as 'commoners' were also used in the records.

6.2 Strangers and the ordinances

Although strangers did not have the franchise of the town, unlike the burgesses and the freemen, some of the town ordinances did relate specifically to them. As one might expect, there were fewer ordinances relating to the strangers than there were to either the burgesses or the freemen. Several of the ordinances related to both freemen and strangers and these are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

If a stranger was to speak badly of or to abuse a burgess in any way, he was to pay 5s.⁵ If a stranger was to strike a burgess he was to be imprisoned for two days and two nights and was to have further punishment according to his trespass.⁶ By inference, strangers were not permitted

³ A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (SRS 1, 1951), p. 2.

⁴ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SRSoc 1, 1905), p. xv.

⁵ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), p. 119: Ancient Laws, no. 16/Modern Laws, no. 10.

⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 119: Ancient Laws, no. 14/Modern Laws, no. 8.

to partner burgesses or freemen.⁷ Strangers were not permitted to sell their goods to other strangers unless a licence had been obtained from the mayor.⁸ This practice was known as 'foreign bought and foreign sold'. Examples of the fines paid for direct dealing between strangers and the types of licences issued are described in more detail below. Another ordinance stated that strangers were always to sell their goods themselves, and another stated that stranger merchants who hired houses or cellars in the town were to keep only their own goods in them.⁹ There was also an ordinance related to the custom payments which were to be paid on certain goods of strangers which had arrived by sea between Hurst and Langstone.¹⁰ It is worth mentioning here that many non-resident strangers were exempt from custom payments whilst some others received favourable rates; for example, in 1554 the 'Northeren Men' who bought cloth by horse were free of custom at the Bargate if they were paying for hallage of the cloth in the town.¹¹ The records show that these men were from Ambleside, Kendal, Leeds, Nottingham and Wakefield.¹² Hallage was the payment due to store the cloth in the town's cloth hall. One ordinance related specifically to the buying of fish at sea; it stated that no one was to go out and buy fish at sea when a ship was at anchor. The penalty for a stranger was to forfeit all that he had bought.¹³ Another ordinance stated that the mayor and his assistants were to ensure that merchants of the town had sufficient sureties for their debts.¹⁴ The phrase, 'as well Straungers as Dwellers' is used which, in this instance, means both strangers and freemen. As has been mentioned elsewhere, it was the burgesses who benefited the most from the town ordinances. The existence of ordinances specifically relating to strangers strongly suggests that there had always been a significant number of them either living in or visiting the town. The next section of this chapter looks in detail at the practice of issuing licences to strangers. It is based on the many entries noted in the Book of Fines which have been extracted and analysed for this thesis.

⁷ The relevant ordinance stated that burgesses were not permitted to have freemen or strangers as partners in business transactions. Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 21/Modern Laws, no. 15.

⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 123: Ancient Laws, no. 23/Modern Laws, no. 18. There was an exception to goods that were sold in the Tin House, Linen Hall and Cloth Hall on permitted days.

⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 30/Modern Laws, no. 22 and p. 130: Ancient Laws, no. 40/Modern Laws, no. 32.

¹⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 136, 136-37: Ancient Laws, no. 62/Modern Laws, no. 51. The limits of the port which were under the town's jurisdiction were generally interpreted as being from Hurst Castle in the west to Langston near Emsworth in the east.

¹¹ See M. Hicks, ed., *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), p. 7 for a discussion about the groups of people who were exempt from custom. See A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1540-1573 (SRS 3, 1955), p. 51, no. 211 for details of the custom concession of the Northern men. See also B.C. Jones, 'Westmorland Pack-Horse Men in Southampton', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, LIX, New Series, (1960), 65-84 for a discussion on the traders from the North of England.

¹² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 51, no. 1.

¹³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 138: Ancient Laws, no. 69/Modern Laws, no. 56.

¹⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 124: Ancient Laws, no. 26 and 27/Modern Laws, no. 19.

6.3 Licences¹⁵

Licences were required for all strangers, in other words, for both those who lived in the town as well as for those who lived elsewhere in England or overseas. Many different activities required a licence and the amount of the fine levied varied with the nature of the activity. For licences enabling the sale of goods in the town, the type and quantity of the commodity was taken into account. It is possible that the mayor referred to the relevant custom rate for a commodity when he calculated the fine due for a particular licence.¹⁶ From the sixteenth century, it would seem that the non-resident strangers who were of the victualling trades and who brought foodstuffs into the town did not have to pay for licences. This is discussed in more detail below. It appears that it was those non-residents of the mercantile crafts who wished to trade their goods in the town who were the main group required to obtain a licence.

6.4 Licences: resident strangers

It is not always clear in the records whether the stranger paying for a licence was a resident or a non-resident of the town. As resident strangers were liable for the annual stall and art payments, it could be assumed that they would not have to pay for any other licences. There is evidence, however, to show that some residents did in fact pay for both.

The records show that licences were issued to resident strangers to sell a variety of commodities including: brassill,¹⁷ bread, figs, iron, millstones, oil, pitch, rosim,¹⁸ sugar, wine and woad. In one case a licence was granted to sell wine for three months only at a fine of five pounds in 1581/2.¹⁹ General licences were also issued for unspecified commodities, for example, James Mershe paid 6s 8d in 1561/2 'for settinge uppe his licyenes'.²⁰ Another example was John Mercher who lived in the town and was described elsewhere as an alien, being French.²¹ He appeared several times in the records as paying for general licences to trade; for example, in 1586/7 he paid 'to sell

¹⁵ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1594*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 43, 2009) and Vol. 3 (SRS 44, 2010) have been examined and the relevant entries extracted for this section of the chapter. The period covered is from 1546/7 to 1593/4.

¹⁶ See P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 11, 1911), pp. 2-17 for the custom payments due on certain goods going out by sea and by land, c. 1300. For example, the custom payment for a 'tun' of woad was 6d. This is the same amount charged for a 'bag' of woad in several of the entries for licences.

¹⁷ Brassill or brazil was a wood used to make a red dye. Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. xlvii.

¹⁸ Rosim is probably rosin which is a solid form of resin obtained from pine.

¹⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 76.

²⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 40.

²¹ TRS Database.

freelye' until Michaelmas; in 1588/9 he was given leave 'to buy and sell his Comodities' and in 1590/1 he paid 'for his occupieing'. The fine was £6 14s 4d (or 10 marks) each time.²² Other records show that he also paid stall and art fines as a resident of the town at times. There are other examples of people who wished to trade or carry on their craft in the town, but who as non-freemen had to pay for licences. In 1546/7, for example, a Venetian paid 3s to be allowed to 'worke in mershes shopp'.²³ It is most likely that this was the shop belonging to Richard Mershe who was quite possibly a merchant tailor.²⁴ Also in 1546/7 fines of 4s were paid by Anne, 'Mr Riggess daughter in law', to keep her 'shepters' craft (shepster was another name for a seamstress) and 13s 4d was paid by John Paynter to keep his shop.²⁵ In 1565/6 William Bocher paid 2s for the 'littell shoppe next [to] his sonne'.²⁶ It is not known whether these entries for strangers to keep their crafts or shops in the town were similar to the entry fees paid by freemen who would often pay an initial large sum for their freedom to work followed by a smaller annual sum for the stall and art. If this was the case, it seems surprising that there were not more similar entries in the records. A barber, Thomas Hayward, paid 20s in 1571/2 for a licence to make and sell only women's hosen.²⁷ No record of a payment being made for his freedom to trade as a barber has been found, unless, of course, this entry is such a record. This is a possibility as some entries do use the word 'licence' when referring to the setting up of a craft. Another possibility is that he had been apprenticed to a barber in the town and had subsequently set up as a freeman free of charge. This would not have been recorded in the Book of Fines because no payment had been made.²⁸ A slightly different licence was issued in 1590/1 to Ralph Robins who paid 53s 4d (or £2 13s 4d) to sell the goods which came into the town on a boat.²⁹ Licences were also issued for the loading or unloading of goods; for example, in 1591/2 Hugh Rider paid 12d in 1591/2 to unload fish.³⁰ He also paid stall and art fees at times. There were numerous entries for licences for the loading or the unloading of goods on religious feast days. Thus in 1563/4 three carters were given a licence to load three carts on 'a hollydaye' for a fine of 3s.³¹ After the Reformation, only certain

²² Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, pp. 121, 153, 169. It appears that John Mercher was Jean le Mercier, one of the French-speaking refugees who had arrived in the town in 1567. See Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 146 and pp. 55-9 for his biography.

²³ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 11.

²⁴ See Chapter 5 for details about Richard Mershe. He was the man who left money to the tailors in his will of 1558.

²⁵ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 11. Mr Riggess may have been the Thomas Riggess who was the mayor in 1542/3 and 1549/50.

²⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 62.

²⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 2.

²⁸ See Chapter 4 for an analysis of those men who are recorded in the Book of Fines as paying to set up a craft or trade in the town.

²⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 166.

³⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 182.

³¹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 46.

feast days were preserved as 'high holy days'.³² From the evidence extant in the records of Southampton, it appears that the saints' days noted were such days and hence the town officials had acted appropriately in collecting the fines to allow work to be carried out on these days.

For the years 1546/7 to 1593/4, licences issued to the tipplers, that is, those who retailed ale and beer, were the most numerous of any occupation. This is most likely because of the statute of 1552 which made it unlawful to keep an ale or tippling house without holding a licence.³³ There are, however, references to payments '*pro tappatto s[er]vicio*' (for tapped service) in the stall and art list for 1550 which suggests that the town officials kept these records from before the enactment of the statute.³⁴ The most common fine for a licence to tipple was 6s 8d, although in a list of the fines paid by thirty people in 1586/7 only twelve actually paid 6s 8d as nine paid 5s, six paid 3s 4d, two paid 6s and one person paid 5s 8d.³⁵ It is possible that these payments were based on the wealth of each person or their ability to pay. An entry in 1559/60 appears to confirm that this was indeed the case as it was noted that Elisabeth Saunterbury paid 3s 4d 'for that she is power' (poor) when the other thirteen tipplers all paid 6s 8d.³⁶ Of course there could have been other factors which influenced the amounts paid by the tipplers, for example, how regularly they sold their ale or beer. In Norwich a regulation of 1415 stated that strangers made payments according to their 'financial ability' when being admitted as freemen,³⁷ which shows that in some towns a person's wealth was taken into account. Evidence from the stall and art assessments appears to show that the tipplers paid an initial larger amount for their licences and then subsequently paid a much lower amount every following year to continue tippling, very similar to the fines paid by the freemen as mentioned above. There is a lack of clarity as to what constituted a 'tippler' as opposed to a 'victualler' and this is discussed in more detail below. In a list of eleven men titled 'Received of Tiplers' in 1593/4, there is one entry which stated 'Received of John Reynoldes for victuelling', 6s 8d.³⁸ In 1585/6 Deonis Rowse paid 6s 8d 'for his

³² The feasts of the Apostles, the Blessed Virgin, St George, the Nativity, Easter day, St John the Baptist, St Michael the Archangel, Ascension day, All Hallows day and Candlemas were the days to be kept holy. D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson Ltd, 1989), p. 5.

³³ The statute was 5 and 6 Edward VI, c. 25 as noted by J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1602-1608 (SRSoc 19, 1917), p. 51, n. 6. See also J.R. Brown, 'The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2007) which includes a detailed analysis of the public houses in Southampton during the sixteenth century.

³⁴ SCA, SC 6/1/2 Court Leet Book, 1550. Hearnshaw translates this as 'tippler [retailer of ale]'. See Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. i.

³⁵ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 118.

³⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 35.

³⁷ P. Millican, *The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1934), p. xviii.

³⁸ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 202.

victuelinge'.³⁹ Other records show that Rowse was also a merchant, a mariner, a shipowner and a shipwright and that he was made a burgess in 1598.⁴⁰ It seems highly likely, therefore, that tipling was not Rowse's primary occupation. There are examples in the records which show similarly that tipling was often a secondary occupation for many people in the town. Swanson's comment that 'artisans seldom restricted themselves to one branch of manufacture ... [they] worked in the service industries, kept livestock, ventured into the victualling trades, in short took any opportunity they could to make a little extra money' seems to have applied to the men of Southampton.⁴¹

In addition to receiving the payments for the issuing of the licences, the mayor also collected money from those people who had failed to obtain one. There are examples of individuals being penalised for not having licences to buy or sell fish, to sell wine, or to sell fish and faggots (of wood) from a house. Others were fined for tipling without leave, or for going aboard ship without a licence.⁴² Quite possibly the most fines were collected from those transactions described as being 'foreign bought and foreign sold', where strangers, both resident and non-resident, dealt directly with one another without having purchased a licence. An order of 1564, which reinforced an earlier ordinance, clearly stated that strangers must sell only to burgesses and freemen.⁴³ The commodities involved with foreign buying and foreign selling included various types of cloth, brown paper, coal, hides, lead, oil, prunes, raisins, tin, wine and woad. An example of such practice was in 1585/6 when Nicholas Huggins of Alderney paid 10s, 'for lead forren bought & forren soule'.⁴⁴ It is quite likely that any type of commodity could be sold in this way in order to avoid the expense of a licence. The costs were incurred when the strangers' trading activities were checked by the town officials. In Norwich a regulation of 1449 stated that 'all enfranchised persons should take out a copy or a letter of freedom, under the official seal, for production at divers fairs and markets'.⁴⁵ Presumably, this was to prove that they had a right to trade. There is no evidence of a similar practice being followed in Southampton.

³⁹ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 106.

⁴⁰ T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), p. 499 and SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 129v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁴¹ H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), p. 6.

⁴² Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2 and 3, *passim*.

⁴³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 90, no. 258.

⁴⁴ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 105.

⁴⁵ Millican, *Norwich*, p. xix.

6.5 Licences: non-resident strangers

The majority of the licences issued to the strangers who arrived from other towns in England were those enabling them to sell their goods to other strangers in the town (see Appendix P).⁴⁶ The most common commodity for sale was woad, although records show that licences were also issued for sale of oil and wine. Strangers from Bastabl (Barnstable), Bristol, Chard, Exeter, Lyme (Lyme Regis), London, Poole, Taunton, Weymouth and the West Country were noted in the records. The fines levied varied from 10s to ten pounds. An example of a 10s fine was noted in 1576/7 when Thomas Browarton of Exeter obtained a licence to sell his twenty bags of woad, and the highest fine of ten pounds was noted in 1575/6 for a young man of Lyme for a licence to sell his thirty 'tonnes' of woad 'at his pleasure' to strangers.⁴⁷ Licences were also issued for the unloading of cargoes. Apart from one entry detailing the sale of woad from a man of Taunton to two men from Newbury in 1572, it is not known where the various commodities were destined.⁴⁸ It is possible that some woad was sold to the French-speaking community in Southampton for use in the making of their 'new draperies'. Spicer notes that these 'refugee merchants' in the town were importing some green woad from the Azores in 1574.⁴⁹ The two men of Exeter noted as trading in Southampton, Thomas Browarton (Brewton) and Simon Knyght were both aldermen of Exeter⁵⁰ and were most likely wealthy merchants. For whatever reason, it must have been considered good business sense for them to bring their goods to sell in Southampton. As for Bristol, their merchants had been visiting Southampton from at least the fifteenth century when they were trading with the Italian merchants.⁵¹

Records show that up until the mid-1520s, some non-resident strangers paid for 'shewying' (showing) or 'standing' (standing) in the market place. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there is also evidence of certain traders, the majority of them being butchers, who paid for this privilege in the 1440s. Generally, they paid for one or two days at a time although some did pay by the quarter or for a year. One example has been found of a baker from Romsey who paid 14d in 1498/9 for his

⁴⁶ Only entries which specifically name the town or country of origin of the stranger have been used for the analysis in this section. Quite possibly, there may have been more non-resident strangers acquiring licences, but as their places of residence have not been noted it is difficult to know with any certainty. See Appendix P: Details of licences issued to non-resident strangers, 1546/7 to 1593/4.

⁴⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, pp. 38, 26.

⁴⁸ See P. Ashford, 'The West Somerset Woollen Trade, 1500-1714', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 151, (2008), 165-80 for a discussion which includes the towns of Chard and Taunton.

⁴⁹ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 40.

⁵⁰ M.M. Rowe, and A.M. Jackson, eds, *Exeter Freeman, 1266-1967*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1973), pp. 99, 94.

⁵¹ Hicks, *English Inland Trade*, p. 107.

'standyng & sellyng' of bread for half a year.⁵² No payments for standing or showing for bakers or butchers or for any of the other victualling trades have been found after this entry of 1498/9. If all non-resident bakers were eligible to pay a fine it seems odd that there are not more examples extant in the records. During the sixteenth century these 'common victuallers' who came with their foodstuffs to sell in Southampton were probably treated like those who visited Winchester, who, certainly from 1563, did not have to pay fines to bring their foodstuffs into the city. In Winchester 'artificers' or 'occupiers' who were not freemen or were not engaged in the various branches of the cloth trade, were required to pay 3s 4d per week to set up their occupations, mysteries or crafts in an ordinance of 1563.⁵³ Although the word 'strangers' was not used in this order, it is clear that the ordinance referred to them. Three shillings and four pence was a large amount to pay weekly, but in 1573 it was 'declared null and void' and was replaced with an annual fine.⁵⁴ This would seem to be very much like the annual assessments recorded in the stall and art lists in Southampton. Three artificers' lists survive for Winchester for the years 1594, 1597 and 1598. In 1594 fifty-three artificers were assessed at a total amount of 85s 7d with payments ranging from between 1d and 20s. In 1597 the number of artificers on the list had fallen to thirty-six and the total collected was 36s 8d, and in 1598 the equivalent figures were thirty-four and 32s 10d.⁵⁵ Of the three artificers' lists which survive for Winchester, only one corresponding stall and art list survives for Southampton; that of 1594. In Southampton in this year 431 people were assessed paying a total of £17 3s with payments ranging from 2d to 13s 4d.⁵⁶ This is significantly more than the corresponding year for Winchester, although it would seem that those in Winchester paid more per head than those in Southampton; approximately 19d and 10d respectively. It must be remembered that the Winchester assessments did not include freemen or any clothier working in the town. Freemen were excluded, probably because this was one of their privileges of admission, and the clothiers were exempted, most likely because the clothing industry of the sixteenth century was still 'by far the most important commercial activity in the city',⁵⁷ and there was a desire by the mayor to support those who worked in it by allowing non-payment of artificers' fines. Dyers who stood in the market to receive cloth for dyeing paid 10s annually in Winchester.⁵⁸

⁵² C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 41, 2007), p. 50.

⁵³ T. Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 43, 182.

⁵⁴ Atkinson, *Winchester*, pp. 182-83.

⁵⁵ Atkinson, *Winchester*, pp. 183-84.

⁵⁶ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), p. 295.

⁵⁷ D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 308.

⁵⁸ Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 75.

The ordinance of 1563 in Winchester specifically stated that the 'common victuallers', that is, those who brought foodstuffs into the city on certain appointed days, were not required to pay artificers' fines.⁵⁹ These victuallers included bakers, butchers and fishmongers.⁶⁰ It is not known if this was a new ordinance or the reinforcement of a previous one. In Southampton it seems that although these victuallers, or non-resident strangers, may have had to pay to sell their foodstuffs in the town at one time, by the sixteenth century they were not required to. This is discussed below particularly in relation to the bakers of Romsey who visited Southampton. On market days, Atkinson states that 'foreign' traders were admitted to Winchester, but he does not say whether they had to pay to trade.⁶¹

Although there is no evidence to suggest that the Romsey bakers were paying for the privilege, they were certainly trading in Southampton in the sixteenth century along with those from some other towns. This is clearly shown by the many entries in the records which note the fines paid for the baking of sub-standard bread. All bakers had to comply with the assize of bread which gave the statute price of corn from which the weight of the various kinds of loaves was calculated.⁶² There is one unusual entry noted in 1559/60 when Robert Sleyton paid 3s 4d for a licence to sell bread.⁶³ This is the only example of a licence being issued for this purpose. The wording of the entry suggests that he was most likely a resident stranger. If he had been a non-resident stranger his home town would almost certainly have been recorded, and if he had been a freeman the phrase used in the entry would most likely have been something like 'for his freedom to bake'.

It was not only the bakers from Romsey who traded in the town. There is an entry concerning a glover from Romsey who was fined for acting contrary to the orders of the town relating to the butchers and some hides in 1545/6.⁶⁴ From 1497/8 to 1525/6 many 'hardwaremen', who were probably related to the mercers' trade and were presumably non-residents, paid from between 1d and 5d a day for standing.⁶⁵ There are no details of the type of goods sold by the hardwaremen in Southampton, but evidence from the court of Henry VIII shows that here they

⁵⁹ Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 182.

⁶⁰ Atkinson, *Winchester*, pp. 194-97.

⁶¹ Atkinson, *Winchester*, p. 195.

⁶² Studer, *Oak Book*, 2, p. xxii.

⁶³ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 35.

⁶⁴ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 2, p. 10.

⁶⁵ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 1, *passim*.

sold a wide range of goods from bonnets trimmed with ribbon to dog chains.⁶⁶ Again, it is unclear as to why these payments appear to have stopped.

As regards overseas strangers, there were entries concerning Flemish, French and Portuguese traders as well as those from Guernsey. Again the most common commodity licensed for sale was woad, but cloth and wine are also noted. The least amount that was paid for a licence was 10s which was in 1571/2. This was issued to a French man to enable him to sell the wine which he could not sell in the 'Contrey', which presumably meant in the countryside surrounding the town.⁶⁷ The highest fine was fifteen pounds which was for the licence to sell the woad of a Portuguese man, Jaspas Gonsalin, in 1577/8.⁶⁸ Records suggest that he was resident in the town in 1571.⁶⁹ Licences were also given for activities other than to trade, for example, four Irish women who paid 12d in 1590/1 were 'licensed by the counsel to gather here'.⁷⁰ The nature of their business in the town is not known. This analysis of the system of licences used in Southampton has demonstrated the way in which the town council controlled and organised its strangers. The next section of this chapter looks more generally at the organisation of industry and trade in several other towns in England again in relation to strangers.

6.6 Comparisons with other towns

In Boston there were both resident and non-resident strangers. The resident strangers are most clearly described by an entry in the Assembly minutes for 1550 when 'the names of the Inhabytance that was not free of the corporacion' were read out.⁷¹ Both resident and non-resident strangers, who were generally termed foreigners in Boston, were grouped together on some occasions. In 1567, for example, it was agreed at an Assembly that all the ships 'beynge straungers or foryners', who were coming to the town with any kind of victuals, such as 'coles, salt fysse corne fruttes or other lyke' must first report to the mayor to get a price for their goods.⁷² As in Southampton, not all craftsmen and tradesmen in the town were admitted as freemen, and therefore as strangers they did not have access to the privileges that were granted to the freemen. An example of this occurred in 1570 when it was ordered that 'no person, being a

⁶⁶ N.H. Nicolas, ed., *The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth from November 1529 to December 1532* (London: William Pickering, 1827), p. 94.

⁶⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 53.

⁶⁹ In the lay subsidy of 1571 he paid £10. TRS Database.

⁷⁰ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 175.

⁷¹ P. Clark and J. Clark, eds, *The Boston Assembly Minutes, 1545-1575*, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 77 (Woodbridge: Lincoln Record Society, 1987), p. 5, no. 30.

⁷² Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. 46, no. 428.

stranger, shall sell gloves or whit-leather ware on the market-days, to the injury of the Glovers, being free-men'.⁷³ Strangers who belonged to a trade company could perhaps have more opportunity to become freemen than those who did not. This is illustrated by an entry in 1606 which stated that several people who had been made free of the tailors' company were then admitted freemen to the borough.⁷⁴ Strangers generally paid higher tolls on goods going through the port. As noted below, the same was true at Rye. In 1573 strangers were ordered to pay 2d on every quarter of corn going out of the port, whereas those freemen who were shipping their own grain or wine in their own ships paid nothing.⁷⁵ An ordinance of 1558 stated that non-resident strangers were required to have a special licence in order to sell their goods in the town.⁷⁶ In 1563 a man of London was fined for 'goodes foren bowght and solde'.⁷⁷ He had obviously failed to get the appropriate licence. As has been shown above, many such fines for non-strangers were noted in the records for Southampton.

In Exeter only two groups were able to trade or to carry on their crafts in the city: freemen and non-freemen. The non-freemen could be either resident or non-resident,⁷⁸ and it was this group who were the equivalent to those who were termed 'strangers' elsewhere. It was the freemen who 'enjoyed a monopoly of all economic opportunity within the city',⁷⁹ and were similar therefore to the burgesses in Southampton. The resident non-freemen were allowed to trade or work only if they paid a quarterly shop fine.⁸⁰ This payment seems to have stopped being collected around 1562 which suggests that only freemen could carry on a craft or trade in the town after this date. (It should be noted that similar quarterly payments were found in the records of Rye and Salisbury.) It appears that most of these non-freemen were 'trading on a small scale', and there is evidence to show that some did subsequently become freemen.⁸¹ Non-resident strangers visiting Exeter had certain rights to sell their goods depending on whether they were Londoners, non-Londoners or Northerners; for example, Londoners could sell only at the four principal fairs held in the town.⁸²

⁷³ P. Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (London: Longman, 1856), p. 159.

⁷⁴ Thompson, *Boston*, p. 158.

⁷⁵ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. 92, nos 779, 780 and Thompson, *Boston*, p. 306.

⁷⁶ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. 27, no. 238.

⁷⁷ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. 44, no. 411.

⁷⁸ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 73.

⁷⁹ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 73.

⁸⁰ MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 74.

⁸¹ Rowe and Jackson, *Exeter Freemen*, p. xx.

⁸² MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 77. MacCaffrey provides details concerning the rights and restrictions of the various categories of non-resident strangers.

The administration in Hull appears to have been similar to that of Exeter in that only two groups of craftsmen or tradesmen were in the town; in this case the burgesses and the non-burgesses. Lists survive in Hull from the fifteenth century of those craftsmen and tradesmen who paid a regular fine. These fines were paid by 'men not burgesses',⁸³ in other words, a group who were equivalent to the non-burgesses noted in the stall and art lists of Southampton. K.J. Allison believes that the origin of these lists may perhaps lie in an ordinance of 1351 which, after listing the local custom payments which were due on a variety of goods in the town, fixed 'the assize for various occupations'. This suggestion is discussed in more detail below.

At Ipswich, as again at Exeter and Hull, only two groups of craftsmen and tradesmen were in the town: burgesses and non-burgesses. Non-burgesses (or strangers), both resident and non-resident, had to pay 'foreign fines' to be allowed to trade in the town.⁸⁴ In Southampton the system was different in as much as it was only the residents of the town who were assessed for stall and art dues. Non-resident strangers who were English nationals could acquire 'foreign' burgess status in Ipswich, 'although within a year and a day they had to buy freehold property within the town or risk forfeiture'.⁸⁵ Something similar is noted in the Court Leet records in Southampton of 1605 when the jurors suggested that no man should be made a burgess unless he had lived in the town for a year. They proposed also in Southampton that if a person intended to live in the town, and thus receive the benefits of admission, he should not be admitted free of fine.⁸⁶

It seems that those carrying on a craft or trade in Rye belonged to one of three groups: freemen, non-free inhabitants and strangers. The latter two are the near-equivalent groups to the resident strangers and non-resident strangers of Southampton. It would appear that it was much easier for strangers in Rye to become freemen than it was in Southampton. This was because, according to the custom, any stranger who had lived in the town for a year and a day and had occupied an 'honest craft' and being of 'good guydyng and conversation and desyrethe ye franchises' could go before the mayor and jurats and demand his freedom.⁸⁷ The freemen of Rye were very similar to the burgesses of Southampton in that they could sit on the town council, and they were also

⁸³ K.J. Allison, ed., 'Medieval Hull', in *A History of the County of York East Riding: The City of Kingston Upon Hull*, Vol. 1 (VCH, 1969), pp. 11-85. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1/pp11-85> [accessed 10 November 2016].

⁸⁴ J. Webb, ed., *The Town Finances of Elizabethan Ipswich*, Suffolk Records Society (Suffolk Records Society, 1996), p. 164.

⁸⁵ N.R. Amor, 'The Trade and Industry of Late Medieval Ipswich' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2009), p. 30.

⁸⁶ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1603-1624*, Vol. 1, Part 3 (SRSoc 4, 1907), p. 431, no. 82.

⁸⁷ G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer: University of Sussex, 1987), p. 106.

similar to the freemen of Southampton in that they were also referred to as 'commons' or 'commoners'.⁸⁸ This was probably because the town council was referred to as the common council. In theory, at least, it seems that it was quite easy for a stranger to become part of the governing body in Rye, as it was only a matter of residency. This was a very different process to the one which existed in Southampton where very few men entered the burgesship and therefore became eligible to sit on the town council, although, as shown in Chapter 3, several strangers did become burgesses and rise to the mayoralty. There was one other group in Rye, one which was found in all the Cinque Ports, which had no equivalent in Southampton. These groups were known as 'foreign' freemen or 'advocants' and they made annual payments to the town.⁸⁹ They did not live in the towns but contributed to the 'Maintenance of the Ports Shipping' thus enabling them to enjoy certain privileges and freedoms of the towns.⁹⁰

In Salisbury two groups had emerged to form the town Assembly by the sixteenth century: the Twenty-Four and the Forty-Eight, the former being the senior of the two. These groups were made up of freemen. The term 'freemen' had most likely evolved from the term 'burgess' and therefore the freemen of Salisbury appear to have been similar to the burgesses of Southampton in so far as they could hold both the franchise and serve on an Assembly. As Salisbury was under the control of the bishop, the freemen of Salisbury would not have had the same level of control over the administration of the town as the burgesses of Southampton would have had over theirs. It seems likely that far fewer strangers were trading or carrying on a craft in Salisbury compared with many other towns. This was because in order to exercise any trade or occupation in the town a person had to be a freeman.⁹¹ Charles Haskins described the admission process for a stranger who wished to gain his freedom as follows:

An artisan or tradesman who wished to work or trade in the city had first to satisfy the officers of one of the Companies as to his good character and his proficiency as a workman. Upon his doing so, he obtained a certificate from the trade company, which he presented, with his application to be made a freeman, to the Corporation. If the Corporation were satisfied with the stranger's credentials, he was, after paying a fee of 10s to the Corporation

⁸⁸ Mayhew, *Rye*, pp. 103, 105.

⁸⁹ R.F. Dell, ed., *The Records of Rye Corporation: A Catalogue* (Lewis: East Sussex County Council, 1962), p. 26.

⁹⁰ S. Jeake, *Charters of the Cinque Ports, Two Ancient Towns and Their Members* (London: Bernard Lintot, 1728), p. 41, n. 2. It is not clear what the phrase, 'Maintenance of the Ports Shipping' entailed.

⁹¹ E. Crittall, ed., *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, Vol. 6 (VCH, 1962), p. 105.

and one of 3s 4d to the Company which had accepted him as a member, admitted a freeman, and had full liberty to work and trade within the City.⁹²

It is not clear when this process came into practice, although it was certainly in use from 1612 when the city received its founding charter. There is evidence which shows that strangers were included in the orders and regulations of some of the craft guilds from earlier years. In 1479, for example, an order of the tailors' guild included the following, 'If an alien remained longer than one quarter in the City, he was to pay 1d per week to the common box of the Guild ... No member was to engage a stranger or alien as an apprentice under a penalty of 20s ... [and] No master stranger should be received into the Guild unless he paid 40s to the common box'.⁹³

This analysis has demonstrated that although there were some similarities in the ways that other towns and cities organised their strangers compared to Southampton, there were also a number of differences. To summarise, the administration in one town, Exeter, seemed to have been determined to squeeze its resident strangers out of the town altogether while the town governors of Salisbury were just as discouraging because, in order to work, strangers had to become freemen. Some towns, like Boston, were similar to Southampton in that non-resident strangers had to pay for licences to trade and others, like Exeter, again were similar to Southampton in that non-residents were given certain rights depending on where they lived. In one town, Hull, it seems that the non-residents lost their privileges altogether to the benefit of the resident strangers.

6.7 Freemen paying for licences in Southampton

Like resident strangers, it could be assumed that freemen in Southampton would not pay for *ad hoc* licences as they paid annual stall and art fines. There are, however, some entries which show that they did have to pay for extra licences. In 1575/6, for example, Paul Eliot paid 30s for a licence to sell candles at his pleasure, 'being not allowed a Chaundler for one yeare'.⁹⁴ It is possible that this meant that he could not be the 'town' chandler for one year. He had previously been appointed a chandler for Holy Rood ward in 1571, and he was also made a burgess in 1570/1.⁹⁵ There is also an example of a burgess paying to set up in his occupation: in 1573/4

⁹² C. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912), pp. 388-89.

⁹³ Haskins, *Salisbury*, p. 122.

⁹⁴ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 25.

⁹⁵ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 84v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses. See also A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), pp. 81-4 for a detailed discussion on the chandlers' contracts at Southampton from 1571 to 1589.

Thomas Brooker paid 20s to 'set up his signe and keepe an Inne'. He had been made a burgess in 1564.⁹⁶ A baker paid 3s for a licence to carry bread to the quay in 1590/1 and a brewer paid 2s to carry his beer likewise in 1591/2.⁹⁷ Their occupations suggest that they would have been freemen. Both entries state that these licences were issued for work to be carried out on a religious feast day, so perhaps this was the reason for the additional licences. There are numerous entries in the town records relating to a wide variety of misdemeanours which were carried out by both freemen and strangers and for which the mayor received amercements and fines.⁹⁸ These are further indications of the high level of control exercised by the mayor and the town council over all aspects of trade and industry in the town.

The next section of this chapter considers the stall and art lists in more depth and offers an alternative view of the compilation process to the one which was suggested by Hearnshaw in the early 1900s. The documents for two years, 1589 and 1590, have been compared to one another to determine some of the systems that were operating in the town. These are the only two years in which both the stall and art lists and a corresponding sergeant's estreat ward list survive.⁹⁹ Also for the purposes of this study, the stall and art lists for two consecutive years, 1600 and 1601, have been transcribed. The list for 1601 has been analysed in detail and certain aspects of it have been compared to the list for 1600. An attempt has also been made to find the occupations of the 300 people who appeared in the lists in both years in order to allow further analysis. The stall and art lists clearly show that the town council, who instigated the careful compiling of these lists, was acutely aware of which craftsmen and tradesmen were living or working in the town. The levels of monetary assessments recorded in the lists also give a strong indication that a person's wealth or ability to pay was taken into account by the town council.

6.8 Stall and art assessments

There are several surviving records that relate to the stall and art assessments: the stall and art lists themselves, the estreat rolls and the ward sergeants' payments noted in the stewards' books. As we have seen the stall and art lists were recorded in the Court Leet books and were the annual

⁹⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 8. SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 82r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

⁹⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, pp. 167, 178.

⁹⁸ Fines were customary payments for licences and amercements were penalty payments for misdemeanours, for example, for false weights and measures.

⁹⁹ SCA, SC 6/1/20 Court Leet Book, 1589 and SCA, SC 6/1/21 Court Leet Book, 1590 and SCA, SC 6/2/6, St Michael and St John estreat, 1589 and SCA, SC 6/2/7 All Saints estreat, 1590. The estreat lists enabled the sergeants to collect the correct revenues.

payments due to the town for the right to trade or to carry on a craft (see Appendix Q).¹⁰⁰ They were paid by non-burgesses, that is, the freemen and the resident strangers and they were often called 'lawday money' or 'lawday silver' in the records.¹⁰¹ There is no record surviving which states definitively who was liable for lawday money; it is only by examining the lists that this can be ascertained. As mentioned above, an ordinance surviving for Winchester states clearly who was exempt from payment of what Adrienne Rosen termed 'artificers' money'.¹⁰² The estreat or lawday rolls were loose sheets that were issued to the sergeants of the wards to enable them to collect both the fines and amercements imposed by the Court Leet. Records also survive for some of the total amounts paid by the four sergeants to the steward of the monies collected in relation to the estreat rolls.¹⁰³ The earliest surviving Court Leet book is from 1549 and the system of collecting the stall and art payments in the town continued until the early 1760s.¹⁰⁴

According to Hearnshaw, before the day of the court, the writing of the formal portion of the Court Leet book, which included the stall and art tables, was carried out.¹⁰⁵ Evidence uncovered during the course of this thesis strongly suggests that this is not entirely correct. Rather, it would appear that the names could have been listed before the court day but the monetary assessments were compiled by a juror *after* the court day. This evidence is found in the stall and art lists for 1577 in which there are two entries where the letter 'B' has been written against each name. This indicated that the two men did not need to pay any stall and art dues as they were burgesses. Other records show that the date these two men entered the burgesship was after the date of the Court Leet that year. It seems highly unlikely that these details could have been written in the book before the court day because the men would not have been burgesses at that time.¹⁰⁶

The evidence of the 1600 and 1601 lists suggests that the stall and art lists were not simply copied from one year to the next but were written anew each year; the sheer number of new names appearing would have rendered the old lists useless. Other lists, for example, those produced by

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix Q: Photograph of the stall and art list for Holy Rood ward noted in the Court Leet Book of 1600 (SCA, SC 6/1/24).

¹⁰¹ 'Lawday' was an earlier name used for the Court Leet in Southampton. The first use of the term 'Court Leet' in the Lawday/Court Leet records was in 1596. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 11, n. 2.

¹⁰² A.B. Rosen, 'Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Winchester, 1520-1670' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1975), p. 105.

¹⁰³ These payments were noted originally in the Book of Fines until reforms of 1509. C. Butler, 'The Southampton Book of Fines, 1488-1540' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2004), p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 169, n. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 228. There are many issues concerning the compilation of the stall and art lists and the collection of the fines which were not addressed by Hearnshaw but are discussed in this thesis.

¹⁰⁶ The two men entered the burgesship on 3 May 1577 and the Court Leet was held on 30 April. SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 93r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses and Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 144.

the beadles detailing every inhabitant of the town by ward, were produced before the court day in order to be presented at the court on the day.¹⁰⁷ It would not have been the beadles who produced the stall and art lists, however, as only burgesses or jurors were permitted to write in any of the sections of the Court Leet book,¹⁰⁸ and it is unlikely that any of the beadles would have been burgesses.¹⁰⁹

The stall and art lists for 1600 are written mainly in one hand with only the list for All Saints Above ward written in a different hand. A few spaces have been left between some of the wards, possibly for the later addition of names, whereas the lists for 1601 run continuously from ward to ward in the same handwriting. The main handwriting in the 1600 book is the same as that of 1601. This is the handwriting of John Friar who was the town clerk at this time and who was also a leet juror. This is confirmed by the words 'Senescall[us] Curie John Friar clericus' (Steward of the court, John Friar clerk) written on the front of both Court Leet books. It is not known if Friar copied these names from a list drawn up elsewhere or whether he himself knew who was to be assessed in each ward and compiled the list accordingly. It is also not clear whether it was John Friar who decided the monetary assessments noted on the lists, although, as town clerk, it is highly likely that he was aware of the various levels of assessments. It was certainly John Friar who made additions to the lists, for example, by adding words such as 'tipler' or 'poor'.

The order in which the wards were listed was different in the two years examined.¹¹⁰ It is possible, however, to work out the routes taken within each ward by comparing names with other known sources.¹¹¹ For Holy Rood ward the route started on the east side of the High Street going south and then returned up the west side in a northerly direction. For St Lawrence, the route started on the west side of the High Street going north and then returned in a southerly direction

¹⁰⁷ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, pp. 178-79. Unfortunately, no beadles' lists survive for the period under study. Surviving beadles' lists from the mid-1700s show that it was only the men aged between 16 and 60 years of age whose names were noted by the beadles and therefore not all the inhabitants of the wards. It is possible that at an earlier date it was men aged between 12 and 60 years of age and who had lived within the liberties of the town for one year and a day whose names were noted. See Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁸ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 18, no. 83.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 7 for an analysis of the Court Leet officials of 1601.

¹¹⁰ In 1600 the order was Holy Rood, St Michael and St John, St Lawrence, All Saints Above, All Saints Below, Bagrow with East Street and in 1601 it was Holy Rood, St Lawrence, All Saints, Bagrow with East Street and St Michael and St John. The traditional order of the rentals for God's House Hospital in the town was Holy Rood, St John, St Michael, St Lawrence, All Saints Below. J.M. Kaye, ed., *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 19, 1976), p. xciv.

¹¹¹ S.D. Thomson, *Southampton in 1620 and the Mayflower* (Southampton: 1970) was the most useful source for this.

on the east side. Although each started on different sides of the High Street, they both went in a clockwise direction (see Figure 2).¹¹²

For several months after the court day, the jurors were engaged in all the tasks that had been identified on the court day.¹¹³ Once these tasks had been completed, the jurors entered the presentments on which they were agreed in the book, and this was then handed over to the municipal Assembly. Each presentment was considered, and as a rule the Assembly's decision was entered in the margin. It was then the task of the four sergeants to collect the fines and amercements as had been recorded in the Court Leet book. For this purpose, each was given a copy of the Court Leet entries, in the form of a lawday or an estreat roll, for his own particular ward. These consisted of the details of the stall and art payments and any amercements levied by the court, including weights and measures defaults. Connor states that it was the town clerk who prepared the leet estreat rolls.¹¹⁴ It seems likely that this was the case, although from the evidence of the surviving documentation for both 1589 and 1590 it is not possible to confirm or contradict this, as the identities of the men who wrote these lists are unknown. If for any reason a sergeant did not collect the amounts noted on his estreat list, there is evidence to show that he was issued with another list detailing those payments which were still to be paid.¹¹⁵ All the revenue collected by the sergeants was given to the steward.¹¹⁶

Court Leet books survive for twenty-seven years from between 1549 and 1603 of which twenty-four years have been partly transcribed by Hearnshaw.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, Hearnshaw did not include the stall and art lists in his publications. He chose instead to give a summary of their contents before he listed the Court Leet presentments for each year. He typically noted just two totals for each ward: the number of people to be assessed and the corresponding amount of money to be paid by them.

Generally, for administrative purposes, there were four wards in the town: All Saints, Holy Rood, St Lawrence and St Michael and St John. In addition, All Saints ward was often subdivided into three: All Saints Above (or Without) the Bargate, All Saints Below (or Within) the Bargate and

¹¹² See Figure 2: Southampton in the sixteenth century.

¹¹³ The opening section of this paragraph is based on Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 230.

¹¹⁴ W.J. Connor, ed., *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (SRS 21, 1978), p. 13.

¹¹⁵ See SCA, SC 5/12/127 Note of moneys to be collected by the sergeant, 1602.

¹¹⁶ The rules of the steward were noted in SCA, SC 5/2/1 Southampton Rental, 1602 (transcribed by B. Chinchin, p. 16). The first rule stated that the steward was to receive the four lawday rolls for stall and art and amercements and estreats from the four sergeants. Some steward books survive for the 1550s and 1560s.

¹¹⁷ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1624*, 3 parts (SRSoc 1, 2, 4; 1905-1907). The years 1558, 1559 and 1565 were not transcribed by Hearnshaw.

Bagrow with East Street. This gave a total of six wards all together. The sergeant responsible for All Saints ward collected payments for all three parts of his ward. Although these three parts were often listed individually in the stall and art lists, they were combined to give one total for All Saints ward in the steward books.¹¹⁸ Hearnshaw's analysis of the stall and art lists in the Court Leet books show that St Michael and St John ward was the biggest ward and All Saints, Bagrow with East Street was the smallest ward in terms of the number of people listed each year (see Appendix R).¹¹⁹ The least amount of money collected for all the wards combined was £5 1s 2d in 1569 and the highest amount was £15 18s in 1580 (see Appendix S).¹²⁰ This did not amount to a very large income for the town, especially when it is compared to other sources of revenue, for example, the standard entry fee to the burgesship was increased to ten pounds in 1561.¹²¹ To give some idea of the town's expenses, £22 3s 1d was paid for the cloth for the town's liveries in 1583/4.¹²² Additional revenue was received from the Court Leet proceedings in the form of the money collected from the amercements which had been levied by the court and were collected by the sergeants as noted on their estreat rolls. A detailed analysis of the weights and measures default lists for 1600 and 1601 shows that a combined total of £1 12s 6d was collected.¹²³ The effort involved in both the compilation of the stall and art lists and the collection of the payments shows that it must have been seen as a worthwhile process to be undertaken by the town council. Hearnshaw notes a Court Leet presentment of 1624 which indicates 'that the payments for stall and art went to provide the feasting and festivities of the Cutthorn ceremony'.¹²⁴ It is quite possible that by this late date the revenue was used in this way. Undoubtedly, as its name suggests, the payments were originally a licence to carry on a craft or trade in the town.

For the purposes of this study, the Court Leet books for two consecutive years, 1600 and 1601, were compared with Hearnshaw's publications so that any omissions could be examined. As already mentioned, Hearnshaw did not include the stall and art lists among his transactions, and there were other details, such as the marginal comments, which were missing from his publications. Often it was here in the margins that the decisions of the Assembly were written.

¹¹⁸ For an unknown reason the list for All Saints Above was included in the list for All Saints Below in 1601.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix R: Number of people assessed for stall and art payments by ward and by year, 1549 to 1603.

¹²⁰ See Appendix S: Monetary assessments for stall and art payments by ward and by year, 1549 to 1603.

¹²¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 82-3.

¹²² Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, pp. 91-2. The cloth purchased for the liveries of 15 named men is listed. Other sources suggest that these liveries were for the town clerk, the deputy steward, the petty customer, the town crier, the minstrel, the crane man, the town plumber, the gunners and the sergeants at this date.

¹²³ In 1600 the amount collected was 13s 8d and in 1601 it was 18s 10d. SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601.

¹²⁴ Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, p. 169, n. 2. 'Cutthorn' was the name of the place where the Court Leet took place at this time.

Frequently, these decisions involved warnings to be given to specific people or requests for the appearance of offenders before the Assembly at the Audit House. The analysis of the stall and art lists was particularly time consuming for a number of reasons. The handwriting overall in the Court Leet books is difficult to read and the lists in particular have additions and crossings out. There were several people with the same name which made it confusing when comparing the two years, and the variations in spelling added to the challenging nature of the lists. The next section of this chapter closely compares the stall and art list for 1601 with the list for 1600.

6.9 Stall and art list of 1601

In the stall and art list of 1601 the names of those being assessed are listed under their corresponding wards (see Appendix T).¹²⁵ Each name is generally followed by the words 'p[ro] stall and art' and then the monetary assessment is recorded. Words such as 'tipler' and 'poor' are usually written in the margin to the left of the name. When studying a selection of the stall and art lists from earlier years, it has been observed that there are notable differences regarding the use of the term 'stall and art' which give further insight into the process employed by the compilers at this time. In the stall and art lists of 1550 and 1559, it appears that there was a distinction made between the 'stall' and the 'art' as there are examples of people who paid for 'stall' only or for 'art' only. In addition, in some cases, neither word was written.¹²⁶

Unfortunately, very few occupations are noted on these earlier lists, but, for those which are, it does seem as though the compilers attempted to make a distinction between the variants of the phrase 'stall and art'. There are examples of those in the occupations of butcher, cobbler, joiner, pewterer and tailor who paid for both 'stall and art' but in the occupation of mason there is an example of a payment for 'art' only which suggests that the mason did not have a stall or shop. The occupations of baker, brewer, draper, mariner, merchant and vintner generally did not have the words 'stall and art' after their names. The reasons for this are not clear, but the very nature of these occupations, except for the mariner, would suggest that they should have paid for either a stall or their art or both. Why, as later, only certain occupations were noted in the lists is unclear. In the lists for the years 1600 and 1601 all the entries state that they were for 'stall and art'.

¹²⁵ See Appendix T: Number of people assessed for stall and art payments by ward, 1600 and 1601. It should be observed that some of these figures differ from those noted by Hearnshaw.

¹²⁶ SCA, SC 6/1/2 and SCA, SC 6/1/4 Court Leet Books, 1550 and 1559.

Four hundred and ninety-one names were noted in the stall and art list for 1601 of which 422 had a corresponding monetary assessment (see Appendices U and V).¹²⁷ This meant that there were sixty-nine people who were listed but did not make a payment as their entries had been crossed out. In some cases the reasons for the deletions were clear and in some other cases the reasons could be deduced from the entries themselves. There were several instances, for example, of people being noted as 'very poor', 'poor' or, in one case, 'beggar'. It is possible that some of those people whose names had been crossed out had either left the town or had died, although as some names appear in other records in later years, this could not have been the case for them all. One person was noted as 'mortag' (dead) in 1600 and his name was replaced by his widow's name in 1601. All the amounts which were noted as nil had their entries deleted by having a line drawn through them. This was not the case in the list for 1600, however, where the nil entries were not crossed out. This evidence, of nil payments and crossings out, strongly suggests that for some reason these people were not eligible for an assessment.

The majority of the entries in the 1601 list had a mark to the left of the name. The list for 1600 had no such marks.¹²⁸ By comparing the two stall and art lists with two corresponding estreat lists it has been possible to determine the system used for the compilation of both the stall and art list and the estreat lists. In terms of the process employed by the town officials, the most important observation was that the estreat lists contain only the names of those people who had a monetary assessment against their names in the stall and art lists. In other words, those people who had marks against their names in the list for 1601 were eligible to pay stall and art dues and the people whose names were crossed out were not. For the list of 1600, only those with monetary assessments were likewise eligible. This clearly shows that the estreat lists were compiled after the stall and art lists had been written.¹²⁹

Out of the total of 422 people in 1601 who had monetary assessments, only four were female and they were all noted as widows and tipplers.¹³⁰ Two paid 6d and two paid 12d. Thirty-three people were noted as aliens and many of these, twenty-eight, lived in Holy Rood ward. It seems

¹²⁷ Although there were 491 entries for 1601, there were actually only 489 different names. This was because two people were listed twice. Ellery Billet was listed in St Michael and St John ward, but this entry had been deleted stating that he was now living in St Lawrence ward and Clement Garrett's first entry was deleted and then re-entered. See Appendix U: Stall and art list, 1601, entry order and Appendix V: Stall and art list, 1601, alphabetical order.

¹²⁸ The list for 1602 had similar marks to those of 1601. The mark was a horizontal line: 'l'.

¹²⁹ Of note is that a definition of 'estreat' is 'the true extract, copy'. This is exactly what the estreat lists of Southampton were; copies extracted from the main stall and art lists. *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 13 January 2017].

¹³⁰ One of the 69 deletions was also a widow.

likely that the vast majority of these aliens would have been the French-speaking immigrants (or their descendants) who had arrived in the town either in 1567 or from 1572. A survey taken of the population in 1596 records that 4,200 people were living in the town, 297 of whom were recorded as aliens.¹³¹ This equates to seven per cent of the population being alien. Forty-one per cent of this alien community lived in Holy Rood ward and thirty per cent lived in St Michael and St John ward.¹³² The two wards which contained the most number of aliens in relation to the total number of inhabitants within that ward were Holy Rood and East Street; with twelve per cent and ten per cent respectively.¹³³ These statistics show that Holy Rood was the most popular ward for the alien community at the turn of the sixteenth century. It is possible that this was because the church which had been made available to them was located in the south of the ward. This church was the chapel of St Julien, a part of the medieval hospital of God's House. Those noted as aliens in 1601 paid between 2d and 6s 8d; the majority of whom, eighteen, paid 2d.

Very few occupations were recorded on the 1601 list; indeed, they were only recorded for sixty-five out of the total of 422 people. The occupations noted were: tipplers (52),¹³⁴ victuallers (4), innholders (3), hucksters (3), a dyer (1) and one man was termed a common bowler.¹³⁵ It would seem that the only occupation that really interested the mayor was that of the tippler, as it was this occupation that was consistently recorded in the stall and art assessments. This was highly likely due to the statute of 1552 as mentioned above. The tipplers paid between 2d and 18d and the majority, thirty-nine, paid 12d. The ward with the most number of tipplers named was St Michael and St John with twenty-five out of the overall total for the town of fifty-two. Several of the tipplers who were listed in 1601 were also named in the Book of Fines in 1591 and 1593 as paying for licences to tipple, generally paying 6s 8d. It appears therefore, that they initially paid a larger amount for their licences and then subsequently paid a much lower amount each year thereafter to continue tipping. Several of the entries show alterations to the payment amounts, the reasons for which were not given. In two cases, however, it is easy to surmise why there was a reduction from 12d to 6d; in one case the word 'poor' had been inserted and in the other case the word 'blind'. This appears to show that the town council were aware of a person's ability to pay and acted compassionately upon this knowledge.

¹³¹ SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹³² The percentages for the other wards were: East Street: 11%; St Lawrence: 7%; All Saints Below: 6%; All Saints Above: 5%.

¹³³ The percentages for the other wards were: St Michael and St John: 6%; St Lawrence: 5%; All Saints Below: 4% and All Saints Above: 3%.

¹³⁴ One tippler was termed tippler and cook.

¹³⁵ One entry also had what appeared to say 'no.trad' (no trade?) in the margin next to the name, the meaning of which is unclear.

The four victuallers named in 1601 all lived in Holy Rood ward and they all paid 12d. One of these, John Reynolds, paid 'for victuelling' in 1593/4 in a list of those paying for licences to tipple. As had already been said, it is unclear as to what constituted being termed a tippler rather than a victualler and vice versa.¹³⁶ In the stall and art list for 1600 there was only one tippler noted alongside twenty-seven victuallers, and some that were termed victuallers in 1600 were called tipplers in 1601. Also two of the three innholders in 1601 were termed victuallers in 1600. Brown plausibly suggests that 'tippling' or 'victualling' houses were synonyms for alehouses.¹³⁷ This disparity may have something to do with what provisions were presumed to be on offer at the various premises; drink only or drink and food (see Appendix C).¹³⁸

The three innholders were all listed in All Saints ward and they all paid 12d each.¹³⁹ Two of the three hucksters lived in All Saints and both paid 4d and the other one lived in St Michael and St John and paid 6d. The dyer, Abraham Anderson, lived in Bagrow and East Street and paid 6d. It is unclear as to why his occupation was noted, although, because his entry had been squeezed in, it may have been to clarify his identity. He was one of the two beadles for this ward this year. The man who was termed a common bowler was Henry Osmand who was noted as a turner in the Court Leet presentment of 1601. He was amerced in several Court Leet presentments and in 1601 he was called 'a most notable Comon player & gamester and breaker of the peace'.¹⁴⁰ It is unusual that it was his reputation for playing bowls rather than his occupation as a turner that was noted. The two men who were noted as newcomers lived in All Saints ward and paid 4d and 6d.

The monetary assessments noted in the stall and art lists for 1601 amounted to £15 2s 1d (see Appendix W).¹⁴¹ St Michael and St John was the largest ward regarding both the number of people listed, at 171, and the amount of money assessed, at £5 2s 8d. The smallest ward was All Saints, Bagrow with East Street with twenty-one people and payments of 17s 4d. A comparison of

¹³⁶ See A.R. DeWindt and E.B. DeWindt, *Ramsey: The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), p. 167 for a helpful discussion on, 'What exactly was a "victualer"?' The definition of a tippler is, 'a retailer of ale and other intoxicating liquor; a tapster; a tavern-keeper'. The definition of a victualler is, 'a purveyor of victuals or provisions; specifically one who makes a business of providing food and drink for payment. *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 12 January 2017].

¹³⁷ Brown, 'Landscape of Drink', p. 23.

¹³⁸ See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton, 'Victualling trades: Publicans', for details concerning the provisioning of inns, taverns and alehouses.

¹³⁹ Evidence from 1600 shows that they all lived in All Saints Above. (In 1601 the All Saints Below figures included those for All Saints Above.)

¹⁴⁰ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 344, no. 32.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix W: Stall and art assessments by ward and by denomination, 1601. The total given by Hearnshaw was £15 5s 1d. Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 340.

the average pence per head for each ward shows that St Lawrence had the highest average at 12.67d per head and St Michael and St John had the lowest at 7.2d per head. In other words, those in St Lawrence ward paid the highest amounts on average to carry on their crafts or trades. This is discussed in more detail below. Apart from Holy Rood and St Michael and St John wards, the most common fine was 12d. Of the various fines assessed, the most amount of money received in every ward was from the 12d fines.

6.10 The comparison of the stall and arts lists of 1600 and 1601

By comparing two consecutive years, 1600 and 1601, the apparent fluidity of the town's population is highlighted. Four hundred and nineteen names were noted in the stall and art list for 1600 of which 353 had a corresponding monetary assessment (see Appendices X and Y).¹⁴² As detailed above, the equivalent list for 1601 noted 491 names, 422 of which had a payment recorded. Analysis has shown that 300 people appeared in both years which was a lower figure than was expected. It is unclear why there were not more people noted in both years. It could be an illustration of the town's fluctuating population as there are many examples in the Court Leet records of newcomers and under tenants arriving in the town from between 1582 and 1618. Another reason could be that it was due to clerical errors. There is evidence to show that some residents did not pay each year. Paul Dewy, a butcher, for example, made stall and art payments before and in 1600, but not in 1601, but then he paid again in 1602.¹⁴³ Although this could have been down to a clerical error, it seems most unlikely that this was the reason for so many people not being listed.

Of the 300 names which appeared in both 1600 and 1601, the monetary assessments varied from nil to 6s 8d. The assessments remained the same in both years in approximately sixty per cent of the entries. Of the remaining approximately forty per cent of assessments that did change, the majority increased rather than decreased. The amount of the increase was generally by 2d or 6d. Some who were assessed at nil in 1600, later, in 1601, were assessed with an amount and vice versa. It is not clear why the assessments varied.

¹⁴² Although there were 419 entries for 1601, there were actually only 418 different names. This was because one person, Nicholas Kekwitt or Kickwitt, was listed twice, his second entry was deleted. See Appendix X: Stall and art list, 1600, entry order and Appendix Y: Stall and art list, 1600, alphabetical order.

¹⁴³ TRS Database.

Of the 300 names which were listed in both years, the occupations of 185 people, or sixty-two per cent, have been confidently identified (see Appendices Z, AA, BB, CC and DD).¹⁴⁴ Many sources have been used for this task, the major ones being the biographical evidence recorded in Tom James's thesis (1977) and in the online database *Tudor Revels Southampton*.¹⁴⁵ This has enabled some general observations to be made about the various locations of industry and trade and also about the assessments of monetary dues for the various crafts and trades. Understandably, the greatest number of occupations identified was for those of the victualling trades (70). This was because the tippers (20) and victuallers (17) had, by statute, to be licensed.¹⁴⁶ The ward of St Michael and St John had the most number of people of the victualling trades (23) partly due to the eight butchers who lived there. These eight butchers had five different fines noted, varying from between 2d and 12d in 1600. The lists give no indication as to why three of these butchers had their payments increased in 1601 by three different amounts: 2d, 4d and 12d. This clearly shows that there was no single or standard rate for the butchers. Many of the other occupations have similar multiple assessments, in fact, there is not one example of an occupation where it is possible to state what the standard rate for their stall and art dues were. It could be assumed, therefore, that whoever calculated these assessments was aware of a person's ability to pay. The fact that words such as 'poor' were written occasionally in the margins strongly supports this assumption.

Twenty-five occupations were identified for those working in the handicrafts: clothes, shoes and furniture sector. The combined numbers for the cobblers (4) and shoemakers (7) meant that they had the most members in this occupational group. Again, as stated above, there was no standard rate for either occupation. The upholsterer's assessment decreased from 8d to 4d. He was one of six people who moved to a different ward between the years, and possibly this was reflected in his assessment, although no evidence has been found to confirm this. Of the other five people

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix Z: Number of people assessed for stall and art payments by occupation and by ward, 1600 and 1601 combined; Appendix AA: Monetary assessments for stall and art payments by occupation and by ward, 1600 and 1601 combined; Appendix BB: Names of people assessed for stall and art payments by occupation, 1600 and 1601 combined; Appendix CC: Names of people assessed for stall and art payments in alphabetical order, 1600 and 1601 combined; and Appendix DD: Names of people assessed for stall and art payments by ward, 1600 and 1601 combined.

¹⁴⁵ James, 'Geographical Origins', Appendices and *Tudor Revels Southampton* at www.tudorreveals.co.uk. Both these databases contain much information which has been taken from published books including those by the Southampton Record Society and the Southampton Records Series. Both databases also contain many details taken from unpublished primary sources. Where possible, all details used in this study have been cross referenced either with the published or the primary sources.

¹⁴⁶ These numbers are for those tippers and victuallers without another primary occupation. There were many examples of people who had more than one occupation, one of which was either a tippler or a victualler. These have not been included here but in the figures for the primary occupation.

who moved wards, two similarly had their assessments decreased, two had their amounts kept the same and one had the payment increased.

The largest assessments were for some of the occupations in the mercantile crafts. A merchant and a woollendraper were both assessed at 6s 8d which was the highest assessment of any craft or trade. Those of the mercantile crafts generally held the highest status in the town with many burgesses occupying one of these crafts and trades.

As mentioned above, St Michael and St John ward was the largest ward and All Saints, Bagrow with East Street was the smallest ward in terms of the number of people listed each year in the stall and art lists. This sample of 185 people reaffirms this, with the most number of people, that is sixty-five, being listed in St Michael and St John ward and the smallest number, that is ten, being noted in All Saints, Bagrow with East Street. The locations of the various crafts and trades were generally spread across the wards with the notable exception of the five shipwrights who were all located in St Michael and St John. This is to be expected as this ward bordered the sea enabling access to the quays for shipbuilding purposes. As already noted from the evidence of the 1601 stall and art list, those in St Lawrence ward paid the highest amounts on average to carry on their crafts or trades. Colin Platt plausibly states that 'the St Lawrence properties had most appeal, perhaps because of their suitability for retailing' when discussing the social stratification revealed by the subsidy returns of 1524.¹⁴⁷ Of the 185 people who appeared on both the 1600 and the 1601 stall and art lists and whose occupations have been identified, only nineteen people lived in St Lawrence ward. Although this is a small number and the evidence is not therefore entirely conclusive, it is worth stating that the occupations most associated with retailing were noted in the ward. These included some from each of the following groups: mercantile crafts, victualling trades and handicrafts, and there was not one occupation noted from the crafts of clothmaking, building, shipbuilding or from sea-going occupations. Several of the other wards, however, did include some of those occupations less connected with retailing which goes some way towards corroborating Platt's comment. This perhaps suggests that little had changed since 1524. With regard to all wards, the analysis shows that in some cases people in the same or similar occupation lived next to each other, namely those occupied as butchers, cobblers, shipwrights, shoemakers and tailors. Nevertheless, there are probably more examples of people of different occupations living in close proximity to one another, for example, in Holy Rood ward, a shearman, a victualler, a butcher and a mariner were near neighbours.

¹⁴⁷ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 265.

The analysis of 1601 shows clearly that there were no standard rates for any of the occupations in relation to the stall and art monetary assessments. There was equally little consistency in the way that another due was calculated; that of the amercements recorded in the weights and measures default lists. Evidence surviving in the Court Leet books of both 1600 and 1601 show that there was little correlation between the type of default noted and the amercement paid. An analysis of the default list for 1601 shows that there was perhaps some consistency in the lower amercements levied. This is shown by the fact that regardless of the type of default recorded, that is, for pots, weights or yards, the defaulter paid 1d for one default, 2d for two defaults and 3d for three defaults. For the higher amercements paid there was a slight tendency for those with unsealed measures to be punished less severely than those with other defaults, such as weights too light or too heavy. It was also noted that a person's status could influence the amercement levied. An example of this was seen in an amercement of 6d for defaults with six weights which seemed exceptionally lenient when compared with similar defaults. It transpired that the defaulter was a merchant, a burgess and, more tellingly, a leet juror who it seems was able to influence the amount of his own amercement. This, along with many other examples, shows that although the burgesses did not have to pay stall and art dues, they were required to pay other fines or amercements, for example, for infringements such as weights and measures defaults.

From the research which has been undertaken for this thesis, it is clear that the resident strangers were the largest of the three groups of craftsmen and tradesmen who were working in Southampton. The stall and art lists note assessments for both freemen and strangers, although there was no differentiation in the way each was recorded at the time. It is shown in Chapter 4 that very few people paid to become freemen. Of those men who did pay and were allowed admission between 1570 and 1593,¹⁴⁸ twelve were noted in the stall and art lists for the year 1600, 1601 or both. This figure appears to reflect the low number of freemen admissions generally, and although the analysis covers twenty-three years only it does give some idea of the number of freemen who were being assessed for stall and art dues. It ought to be remembered, however, that only those people who paid a fine to set up their craft or trade are noted in the records at this time and those who set up for free are not. There may be, therefore, some names in the stall and art lists which refer to freemen of whom no record of their freemen admissions was ever made.

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix I: Freemen admissions by admission date with fines, 1546/7 to 1593/4 and Appendix J: Freemen admissions by occupation with fines, 1546/7 to 1593/4 for details of these admissions.

By comparing the stall and art lists for 1600 and 1601 the seemingly fluctuating nature of the town's population of craftsmen and tradesmen has been revealed. It is not clear what made some people ineligible for assessments or why some people were assessed only in certain years. It is clear, however, that the officials were meticulous in their record keeping and in the collection of the dues levied. The next section of this chapter investigates whether other towns had an equivalent system to the stall and art assessments of Southampton.

6.11 Comparisons with other towns

The Boston historian John Bailey states that 'pitching money' was collected from shops and stalls in the market by aldermen and councillors, although he does not say who was eligible to pay.¹⁴⁹ It is possible that these payments were similar to the 'stall and art' assessments of Southampton if both freemen and resident strangers paid. Unfortunately, a search through the Assembly Book minutes for Boston has failed to find any mention of these payments.

In Exeter the quarterly shop fines may have developed from the earlier 'chepgavel' which Maryanne Kowaleski describes as a 'type of fee for retailing'.¹⁵⁰ She also notes that at this time (the early and mid-thirteenth century) the franchised (that is, the freemen) may have paid this fine alongside the non-freemen. This would have been similar to the custom in Southampton in the sixteenth century as noted in the stall and art lists. The records for Exeter also show that payments called the 'bacgavel' and 'brewgavel', which were basically licences to bake and brew, were still being paid at least until the fifteenth century.¹⁵¹ The quarterly shop fine seems to have stopped being collected around 1562 which MacCaffrey suggests may have been because of 'the general tightening of control over markets after the establishment of the merchants' hall and the Merchant Adventurers Company'.¹⁵² This strongly suggests that after this date only freemen could trade or carry on a craft in the town.

In Hull the fines paid by non-burgesses may have originated in an ordinance of 1351 which fixed 'the assize for various occupations'. These included the occupations of bakers, lightermen, masons, metal workers, porters, shipmasters, shoemakers and tailors. Some groups made a weekly or monthly payment for their shops; for example, the metal-workers paid ½d a week and

¹⁴⁹ J. Bailey, *Transcriptions of Minutes of the Corporation of Boston, 1545 to 1607*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (History of Boston Project, 1980), p. xx.

¹⁵⁰ M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 194.

¹⁵¹ Kowaleski, *Exeter*, p. 194.

¹⁵² MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 74.

the masons, 1d a month. The bakers paid according to the amount of corn they bought, and the tailors and shoemakers paid according to the quantity of goods they made.¹⁵³ It is possible that the stall and art lists of Southampton began in this way, that is, as a system based on occupational groupings which then developed into the later system which seems to have been based on the person's ability to pay. Although, even at this early date in Hull, some were assessed on the amount of goods they produced rather than on a general rate for all those within that group, for example, the shoemakers and the tailors, and this could be seen as being affected, perhaps, by their ability to pay. It is not known when the stall and art lists were first used in Southampton, but it is quite possible that they were introduced in c. 1300 which is the date of the earliest custom payments recorded in the town's Oak Book. It should be noted, however, that, unlike in Hull, there is no mention of assessments for the various occupations in this book.

In Hull the names of more than twenty collectors were noted who were responsible for collecting payments, whereas in Southampton there were just the four sergeants. This gives some idea of the number of payments that were due in Hull.¹⁵⁴ It appears that the non-burgesses who made these payments in Hull were all resident strangers of the town, although Allison states that after 1445/6 [non-resident] strangers were also licensed to sell goods in the town, paying a fine for the privilege. In 1467, however, the system changed and it would seem that only those strangers who were 'tenants of property belonging to the community' were allowed to trade or carry on a craft in the town. Allison plausibly suggests that 'at a period of decline in the town's prosperity, this was apparently a gesture to those among the poorer inhabitants who already paid rent to the town'. This shows clearly that non-resident strangers were not welcomed in the town and hence not permitted to trade. In Ipswich non-burgesses, both resident and non-resident, had to pay 'foreign fines' to be allowed to trade in the town.¹⁵⁵ An analysis of the fifty-one payments noted in the chamberlains' accounts of 1601/2 for Ipswich is discussed below.

The records for Rye show that shopkeepers and certain licensed trades were paying quarterly dues to the town at the end of the sixteenth century 'for the exercise of certain trades'.¹⁵⁶ The names of those who were liable to pay were listed under the following classes: 'shops, beer

¹⁵³ Other groups paid as following: shipmasters or owners paid for cargoes sent elsewhere in England or to Gascony and Flanders, and for coal fetched from Newcastle; keels and small boats going out of the haven were charged, and catchmen, or lightermen, and wool-porters were to pay on the goods they shifted. Allison, 'Medieval Hull', pp. 11-85.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix A for the population figures of various towns including Hull.

¹⁵⁵ Webb, *Ipswich*, p. 164.

¹⁵⁶ Dell, *Rye*, pp. 63, 69.

tipplers, bakers and brewers, fetters, butchers, vintners and occasionally artificers'.¹⁵⁷ In addition, new payments of quarterage by various craftsmen were introduced in 1602: 'master carpenters, shipwrights, masons, tanners and the like'.¹⁵⁸ It is quite possible that these lists were Rye's equivalent to the stall and art assessments of Southampton, especially as it appears that the lists for Rye included both freemen and strangers, just like those of Southampton.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, Mayhew does not analyse the occupational structure of the strangers in Rye. He does, however, show that the freemen generally paid lower rates of maltodes¹⁶⁰ on goods coming into or going out of the town.¹⁶¹ In 1550 the rates of maltodes 'specified that non-free inhabitants should pay at double the freemen's rate and that denizens and foreigners (these were non-residents) who were buying and selling fish should pay treble'.¹⁶² (It was noted above that strangers in Boston also generally paid higher tolls on goods going through the port.)

In the regulations of the shoemakers of Salisbury, dated 1613, and the butchers, dated 1614, there are references to the payment of 'Quarteridge money' or to payments paid 'quarterly'.¹⁶³ It seems highly likely that these fines, which were payable four times a year, were the equivalent of the annual stall and art assessments applicable in Southampton. It also seems that, as in Southampton, both freemen and strangers were eligible to pay. There does appear to be one difference between the Salisbury and Southampton fines in that the payments were to go to the use of the guild or company in Salisbury whereas in Southampton the payments went to the town council. It is not known if any lists of quarterage payments survive or, indeed, if any were ever recorded.

This analysis has shown that many towns had a system comparable to the stall and art lists of Southampton, whether, like Ipswich, they listed 'foreign fines' or like Rye they received 'quarterage' payments. Hull's system appears to be the most similar to Southampton's as both freemen and resident strangers were included in an annual assessment. From the analysis detailed above concerning Southampton, it was shown that 353 people were assessed for stall and art payments in 1600 and 422 people in 1601. In the final part of this chapter, the evidence for other towns will be examined to see whether the numbers of strangers living in these towns can be ascertained.

¹⁵⁷ Dell, *Rye*, p. 63. Fetters were local fishmongers. Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁸ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁹ See Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 111.

¹⁶⁰ Maltodes were dues on goods, passengers and animals passing through the port. Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 25.

¹⁶¹ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 105.

¹⁶² Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 105.

¹⁶³ Haskins, *Salisbury*, pp. 223, 274.

It is difficult to estimate the number of strangers who were operating in Boston, but evidence from the Assembly minutes shows that many men were being admitted as freemen which is a possible indication that there was a low number of strangers operating in the town. Clark observes, however, that in late sixteenth-century Boston, there was a growing problem of 'lower class, subsistence migration'. A similar problem was noted in other contemporary towns. He further notes that 'respectable newcomers were rather more welcome', although if they wished to trade in the town as freemen they had to pay increasingly heavy fines.¹⁶⁴ In Exeter it appears that strangers were not welcome at all from 1562, and in Salisbury strangers wishing to exercise any craft or trade in the town had to become freemen.

In the chamberlains' accounts of 1601/2 for Ipswich there were fifty-one payments of 'forrene fynes'.¹⁶⁵ The occupations listed were baker, butcher, chapman, cheesemonger, clothier, glover, innholder, joiner, linen weaver, maltster, saddler, shearman, smith, tailor, turner, victualler and weaver. For the corresponding year of 1601 for Southampton there were over 400 names listed: eight times as many as for Ipswich. Nicholas Amor suggests, however, that the total number of Ipswich freemen (in Ipswich, 'freeman' was another term for 'burgess') at any one time during the fifteenth century could have been around 300.¹⁶⁶ If this figure is used for the sixteenth century (no figures have been found for this century) it shows that more burgesses than strangers were living in Ipswich, which was opposite to what was found in Southampton. If the figures for both burgesses and strangers are added together for each town, however, they show much more comparable figures; approximately 350 people for Ipswich and 450 for Southampton.¹⁶⁷ The amounts paid in Ipswich for foreign fines ranged from between 12d and 6s 8d. This was generally higher than the amounts paid for the fines in Southampton. In Rye the freemen 'represented approximately one in five of taxpaying adult male householders'.¹⁶⁸ This suggests that the largest group in Rye were the non-free inhabitants. The equivalent group in Southampton was the resident strangers who likewise were the largest group in the town. It is difficult to be precise as to the number of strangers who were living and working in other towns. Certainly in Rye, as in Southampton, the strangers appeared to be the largest group working in the town whereas in

¹⁶⁴ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. x.

¹⁶⁵ Webb, *Ipswich*, pp. 144-45.

¹⁶⁶ Amor, 'Ipswich', p. 80.

¹⁶⁷ For Southampton a figure of 47 is taken for the number of burgesses. This is based on a record of 47 signatures of burgesses noted in 1571 which are described by Merson as, 'probably the fullest list surviving for any date in the sixteenth century.' Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 125-26 and n. 3. Their names are analysed in Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁸ Mayhew, *Rye*, p. 105.

Ipswich very few strangers were noted. The one overriding similarity observed in all the towns was that strangers were the least powerful of any group in that town.

The analyses carried out in this chapter have shown how Southampton and some other towns controlled both their resident and their non-resident strangers. Some town administrations operated in similar ways to the government in Southampton, whilst others took quite different approaches. It would seem that Southampton had a large community of strangers who were trading or carrying on a craft in the town compared with several of the other towns for the period under study. An alternative view of the stall and art compilation process has been described in detail which shows that the town council of Southampton was very aware of the craftsmen and tradesmen who were living and working in the town. It seems quite possible that a person's wealth or ability to pay was taken into account in these stall and art assessments. It also appears that there were no standard rates for any of the occupations with regard to these assessments. The analysis of the names in the stall and art lists of 1600 and 1601 suggests that there was a fluctuating stranger population in Southampton during the late medieval and early modern period. The next chapter draws together the research of this and the previous three chapters to look more deeply into the relationships that existed between burgesses, freemen and strangers.

Chapter 7 The interrelationship between the burgesses, the freemen and the strangers of Southampton

The previous four chapters of this thesis have focussed mainly on burgesses, freemen and strangers as separate entities. This present chapter explores the question: What was the interrelationship between burgesses, freemen and strangers? We know that the organisation of industry and trade in Southampton was ultimately controlled by an intimate circle of burgesses, in the form of the mayor and town council, and this chapter shows how this small group interacted with others as part of that organisation. Three main areas are analysed, the results of which offer some answers to this somewhat complex question of interrelationship. The first is the arrangements concerning the maintenance of the town's defensive walls which show that, certainly from 1544, many craft and trade groups were given responsibility for certain towers. The next is the administrative structure of the Court Leet in 1601 which shows that by this date a clear hierarchical structure had developed which included burgesses, freemen and strangers, and was therefore less restrictive in its choice of officials than the town council, although, ultimately, it was still controlled by that council. The last area analysed is that of the craft and trade groups themselves, in particular the composition and size of some that existed during the sixteenth century. Although the privileged position of those men who were both burgesses and merchant adventurers is clearly discernible at the top of what could be termed a 'hierarchy of occupations', there is much evidence of the interrelationships that existed between burgesses, freemen and strangers, that is, between people of different social standings, in many of the occupational groups. This chapter demonstrates therefore, how, to varying degrees, the three groups lived, governed and worked alongside one another in the town. None of these three areas: the involvement of occupational groups in the arrangements for defence; the status of those chosen to serve on the Court Leet; and the composition of the crafts and trades, has been studied in detail before in relation to Southampton.

This chapter begins with a short overview of England's defence policy which places the Muster Book of 1544 in context. The Muster Book of 1544 is the first of a long sequence of muster books but it differs in form and content from all the later volumes.¹ Later muster books generally list the names of all able-bodied men within a parish along with the type of weapon each possessed. The 1544 Muster Book, which can be divided into two sections, is very different. One section gives

¹ L.A. Burgess, ed., *The Southampton Terrier of 1454* (SRS 15, 1976), p. 7.

details of the various divisions of the town and the names of those men who were in charge of each division. The second section consists of a list of the towers, which were part of the town walls, along with the corresponding name or names of whoever was responsible for the maintenance of that tower. It is quite possible that this system of allocating towers to occupational groups and others was unique to Southampton as, to date, no evidence has been found to show that this responsibility was given elsewhere to anyone other than town authorities themselves. With regard to the maintenance of town gates, there is evidence to show that in Sandwich 'the tailors and drapers, shoemakers and bakers agreed to participate in the maintenance of town gates'. It appears that this was also in the 1540s.² Why were these details relating to the defence of the town written down in 1544? The answer lies with the international crisis of 1538 which followed the excommunication of King Henry VIII by Pope Paul III, as a result of Henry's break with Rome.³ This led to the threat of invasion by Francis I of France and Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. As a result, 'an extensive and carefully considered scheme of coastal defence was put into operation' across both England and in English outposts in France (namely, Calais and Guines).⁴ With regard to the south coast, or more precisely the Solent and Southampton Water, a series of eleven forts were built from between 1539 and 1547 to allow for the control of all shipping approaching this part of the coast either from the east or from the west.⁵ Three forts were built to protect Southampton Water and eight to guard the Solent and the Isle of Wight.⁶ Burgess plausibly suggests that during this period no major new work was carried out on the town walls at Southampton or Portsmouth but rather there was 'a refurbishing of existing walls and towers'.⁷ This would strongly suggest that the allocation of towers for maintenance by various groups which is recorded in Southampton's Muster Book of 1544 was part of this refurbishing process. This situation may have arisen due to the financial position of the town during this period. The town's trade collapsed during the period from between 1530 and 1560, and this would have affected significantly the amount of money available for use by the town. Indeed, Merson states that 'the outbreak of war with France in 1543 dealt the final blow to

² H. Clarke, M. Mate, K. Parfitt and S. Pearson, *Sandwich - the 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port from Its Origins to 1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), p. 134.

³ J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 184.

⁴ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 29 and H.M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works, 1485-1660*, Vol. 4, Part 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), p. 369.

⁵ See map in Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, p. 489.

⁶ The three protecting Southampton Water were: Calshot Castle (1539-40), Netley Castle (1544?) and St Andrew's Castle (1543-44). The eight protecting the Solent and the Isle of Wight were: East Cowes Castle (1539-42), Hurst Castle (1541-44), Sandown Castle (1545), Sharpenode bulwark (1545-47), St Helen's bulwark (c. 1539-45), Southsea Castle (1544), West Cowes Castle (1539-42) and Yarmouth Castle (1547). For details about these defences and their construction see Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, pp. 527-69.

⁷ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 30.

the town's shaken solvency'.⁸ In addition the English siege of Boulogne in 1544 may have prompted the town into action in case of retaliation, and fear of a Franco-Scottish alliance. The new work to build forts across England was financed by central government whereas any work carried out on existing fortifications was to be paid for by the towns themselves. It seems plausible to suggest that this was the reason why some of the occupational groups in Southampton were required to maintain several of the towers during this time of national emergency. Similar preparations for invasion were made in other English towns. In Exeter, for example, in 1545 town councillors agreed to lend money for the purchase of guns to protect the town against the French fleet.⁹ There was also a little-documented incident in 1542/3 when ships from Southampton were involved in a skirmish with six French ships near the Isle of Wight which culminated in the taking of French prisoners.¹⁰ This event might have been another incentive for the town to reassess and strengthen its defences. The town council of Southampton retained the responsibility for five towers and these included those which were adjacent to three main gates of the town: the Bargate to the north and the Water Gate and God's House Gate, both to the south. God's House Tower stored much of the town's armaments and ammunitions, and it was also where the town gunner was based. It is understandable, therefore, that the town council would wish to keep control of it, and similarly the other towers associated with the main gates of the town. In later times, between the 1570s and the end of Elizabeth I's reign, more threats of invasions surfaced as relations with Spain deteriorated. It appears that the defences in Southampton were somewhat neglected and left to deteriorate when the invasion threat was lessened only for them to have to be rebuilt at times of heightened tension. This is illustrated well by the comments in the Court Leet book concerning the decay of the shoemakers' tower mentioned below. Unfortunately, evidence is lacking as to how much work was actually carried out on the towers during this period. This policy of neglect followed by repair was mirrored in other towns along the south coast. In 1578/9 major work was carried out on the decayed walls in Exeter, but it seems that after this period, from between 1585 and 1603, very little work was done.¹¹ Similar circumstances, that is, a threat of invasion, may have been the reason for the compilation of the Southampton Terrier in 1454 as this is shortly after the French victory against the English at Castillon in 1453.¹²

⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance* 1, p. xxxi.

⁹ M. Stoye, *Circled with Stone: Exeter's City Walls, 1485-1660* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2003), p. 77.

¹⁰ Personal communication Dr Cheryl Butler, 19 October 2017. See B. Chinchen, *Steward Book: 1542/3*, (SCA, SC 5/1/40), pp. 39-40.

¹¹ Stoye, *Exeter's City Walls*, p. 83.

¹² Another terrier was compiled around this date. This was for Gloucester in 1455. See W.H. Stevenson, ed., *Rental of All the Houses of Gloucester, AD 1455* (Gloucester: John Bellows, 1890).

7.1 The arrangements for the defence of the town

The arrangements for the defence of Southampton were ultimately the responsibility of the mayor and the town council. In the Terrier of 1454 the town walls were divided between four approximately equal wards for defence purposes. There was no exact correlation between these wards and the division of the town into four wards for civil administration purposes.¹³ This can be confusing as the wards for defence purposes were referred to by parish names. By 1522 an aldermen and an assistant, four vinteners and a sergeant were assigned to each parish.¹⁴ In 1544, in addition to this arrangement, there was a further division of the town into eight 'partes' with a captain and a petty captain being assigned to each part.¹⁵ 'Petty captain' was a new rank which first appeared in England in 1544. It was this rank which later became known as 'lieutenant'.¹⁶ From the evidence which survives for c. 1522, 1548, 1556/7 and 1570, it is clear that it was the burgesses who were predominantly responsible for the organising and the overseeing of the defence of the town.¹⁷ This is because the ward aldermen were all ex-mayors, their assistants were all senior royal customs officers and the vinteners and the captains were either ex-mayors or burgesses (with the exception of two captains in 1556/7 who were merchants but not burgesses).¹⁸ The sergeants were salaried officers and although some of them did join the burgesship, membership was not a prerequisite for their office. Although this clearly shows that the arrangements for the defence of the town were principally in the hands of the burgesses, the records also show that the craftsmen and the tradesmen of the town had responsibilities too. It is these responsibilities which are now discussed.

Two documents are the main focus for this analysis. One, now commonly known as the Southampton Terrier of 1454, was rightly described by Lawrence Burgess as 'a complete and comprehensive record for a single year of the whole of the properties within the town walls'.¹⁹ Burgess observed that 'the purpose of this record is to allocate to each property responsibility of a

¹³ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 10. See also pp. 16-19, 'The wards for defence and civil administration', for a detailed description of the arrangements for the defence of the town during the 1400s and 1500s. The terms 'parish', 'part' and 'ward' were interchangeable in the text of the *Southampton Terrier*. The wards were: All Saints, Holy Rood, St Lawrence, St Michael and St John.

¹⁴ A vintener was an officer in command of 20 men. See Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 32, n. 34.

¹⁵ For maps of the town which show the changes in the divisions of the wards between the late thirteenth century and 1570, see Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, Plates 3-7.

¹⁶ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 18.

¹⁷ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1514-1540 (SRS 2, 1952), pp. 34-5, no. 117; A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1540-1573 (SRS 3, 1955), pp. 8-12, no. 168; pp. 56-8, no. 219; and pp. 118-20, no. 291.

¹⁸ The two captains were John Quicke and Richard Eston. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 57, n.1.

¹⁹ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 8.

specific sector of the town wall ... according to the value of the property.’ The second document is the Muster Book of 1544, a significant date in national defence policy, which notes the names of all those who were held responsible for the maintenance of a specific tower or towers within the town wall.²⁰ Those responsible were either individuals or craft and trade companies or, in some cases, the town itself. The allocation of those towers to the craft and trade companies will now be analysed because this information shows how the various companies were involved in the defensive arrangements of the town. The process used by the mayor and the town council to allocate the different craft and trade groups to the various towers is not known. This investigation, therefore, allows for some insights to be gleaned from the entries.

Twenty-six towers are mentioned in the 1544 Muster Book, thirteen of which are the responsibility of the crafts and trades of the town, five of the town itself, one of a named individual, Mr Baker, (two other individuals are noted and these are discussed below in relation to the drapers and tailors) while seven towers are not given any allocation. In all twenty-five crafts and trades, divided into nine groups, are assigned to the thirteen towers (see Figure 4 and Table 4).²¹ In most cases the way in which the occupations have been grouped together is quite logical. One group is made up of leather workers. These are the shoemakers, the curriers, the cobblers and the saddlers. Another group is the metal workers: the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the locksmiths, the pewterers and the tinsmiths. A third group contains those occupations which all work with cloth: the weavers, the fullers and the cappers. The bakers and the brewers are grouped together. These two occupations are often paired with one another in the records, most likely because both groups used grain and both were governed by the assizes, either of bread or of ale and beer. Another group is the ‘fyschers’, the butchers and the chandlers.²² The latter two occupations often did work together; for example, when the butchers supplied the tallow for the chandlers’ candles, but it is not clear why the fishers were included (there is no evidence of fish oil being used for candle making in the town at this time). Similarly, it is not clear why the vintners are grouped with the mariners and lightermen. Vintners ran taverns selling wine and hot food whereas mariners and lightermen worked with boats; large and small respectively. One possible connection, however, could be that lightermen unloaded the barrels of wine used by vintners. The organising into two groups of the four occupations of the mercantile crafts (drapers with tailors and mercers with grocers) is different from the earlier partnership of the drapers and mercers noted in the petition of c. 1480. Having said that, as has been illustrated in Chapter 4,

²⁰ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, pp. 153-57.

²¹ See Figure 4: The wards of Southampton and the allocation of towers in 1544 and Table 4: Craft and trade groups and their allotted tower(s). The numbered towers on the map are named in the table.

²² The term ‘fyschers’ is used in the text. This could mean either fishermen or fishmongers.

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the work carried out by all of these occupations often overlapped. Unusually in the entry for the drapers and tailors in the Muster Book, the names of two men are also noted: William Knyght and John Capleyn. It is possible that they were the two senior men or perhaps the wardens of the group, although this would be the only example of this occurring in the book. Another possibility is that these two men had full responsibility for the tower.²³ The only other tower to have an individual's name assigned to it was the West Gate which was the responsibility of Mr Baker. This was Walter Baker, the brewer, who had served as mayor four times by 1544. He is mentioned in Chapter 5 and it is his name which appears first on the brewers' incorporation document of 1543. He had paid rent for the tower, or loft, over the West Gate from at least 1525/6.²⁴ The coopers are the only group which is listed on its own.

It is not known what factors were taken into account to determine the number of towers allocated to any particular group. Four of the nine groups are responsible for two towers each and the remaining five groups were allotted only one tower each. It is not clear how many craftsmen and tradesmen belonged to each occupation at this time so it is difficult to say whether the size of a group was a contributing factor. We can perhaps get some idea of the numbers, however, from the incorporation documents of the bakers (1546) and the brewers (1543) who together totalled twenty men and who were allocated two towers in 1544. In the earlier Terrier of 1454 the value of the properties whose occupants were responsible for a section of wall was taken into account. If this was still the case in 1544 and the wealth of a group was a deciding factor, it would suggest that the groups of the shoemakers, the drapers, the goldsmiths and the bakers were wealthier than the groups of the mercers, the coopers, the vintners, the weavers and the butchers, due to the larger number of towers assigned, but this suggestion is very difficult to substantiate and is therefore only speculation.

²³ The career of John Capleyn is summarised in Chapter 3 and William Knyght could be the man who became the controller of customs in the late 1540s. See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 10, n. 3.

²⁴ TRS Database.

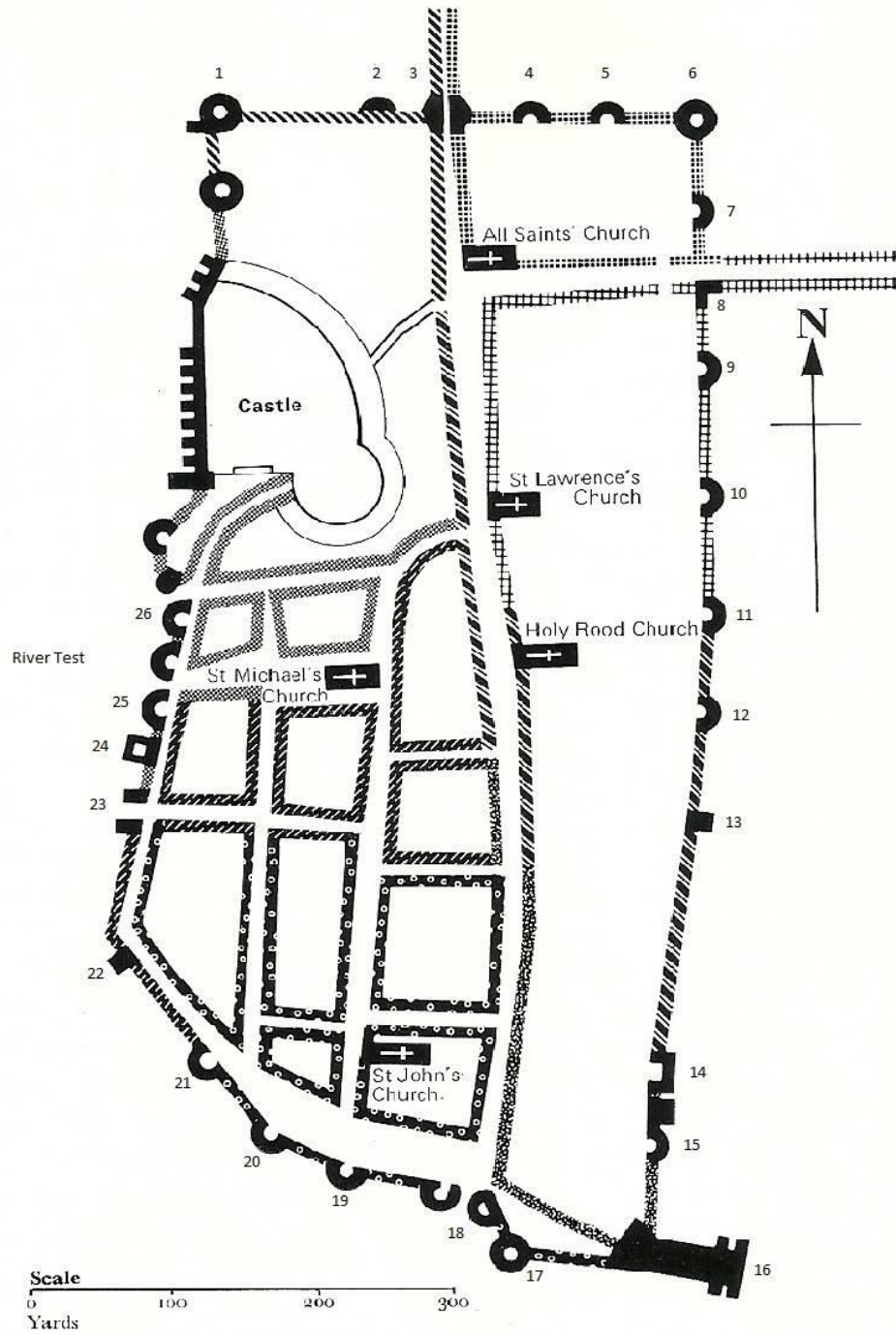


Figure 4 The wards of Southampton and allocation of towers in 1544

Source: Adapted from L.A. Burgess, ed., *The Southampton Terrier of 1454* (SRS 15, 1976), plate 6.

Table 4 Craft and trade groups and their allotted tower(s)²⁵

Name of craft or trade occupation (in groups)	Names noted	No. of towers (no. shown on map)	Name of tower(s) ²⁶	Location of tower(s)
Shoemakers		2 (1,2)	Arundel	NW corner
Curriers			Another	North wall
Cobblers				
Saddlers				
Drapers	William Knyght	2 (5, 6)	Second (north wall)	North wall
Tailors	John Capleyn		Polymond	NE corner
Goldsmiths		2 (7, 8)	Next	East wall
Blacksmiths			East Gate	East wall
Locksmiths (lokiers)				
Pewterers				
Tinsmiths (tynkers)				
Mercers		1 (19)	Next the Long House	South wall
Grocers				
Bakers		2 (20, 21)	Wool Bridge ²⁷	South wall
Brewers			Small Corner	SW corner
Coopers		1 (22)	Near the Latrine	West wall
Vintners		1 (24)	William Nycoll	West wall
Mariners				
Lightermen				
Weavers		1 (25)	Second (west wall)	West wall
Fullers				
Cappers				
Butchers		1 (26)	Fish	West wall
Fishermen or fishmongers ²⁸				
Chandlers				
Total		13		

It is quite possible that this was the first time the towers had been assigned to the craftsmen and tradesmen in this way. The Muster Book of 1544 may well have been compiled as a result of the national military reforms of Henry VIII which were introduced at this time which included plans

²⁵ Source: Compiled from L.A. Burgess. ed., *The Southampton Terrier of 1454* (SRS 15, 1976), pp. 156-57.

²⁶ The names of the towers are taken from Burgess, *Terrier of 1454*, loose map, 'Southampton in 1454'.

²⁷ Wool Bridge Tower was also known as St Barbara's Tower.

²⁸ The term 'fyschers' is used in the text.

for England's invasion of France. Burgess suggests that 'every crucial reform or reappraisal of Southampton's defences was motivated by a crisis in national defence'.²⁹ This is discussed in more detail above. There was also a need, post-Dissolution, to re-assign two of the towers which had previously been allocated to religious institutions. Polymond and East Gate towers had originally been allotted for repair to the Prior and Convent of Saint Denys and to the Precentor and Clerks of St Mary's Collegiate Church respectively.³⁰

It is also not clear how long the arrangements of 1544 lasted, although evidence, which is detailed below, suggests that as early as the 1570s at least one of the occupational groups, the drapers, was no longer responsible for the maintenance of its towers. By the second half of the sixteenth century, there was still a need for the town to maintain its walls and towers in spite of the defensive castles which had been built to protect the south coast. There is evidence, however, that in Southampton and other towns there was an overall decline in the condition of town defences at this time. Evidence in the Court Leet books shows that some of the towers were still assigned to craftsmen in these later years. In 1579, 1580 and 1581 the jurors noted that the shoemakers' tower was in decay and, specifically in 1581, they stated that the wardens of the shoemakers were ordered to be called before the mayor concerning the matter.³¹ References to three other towers are noted in the records: the mercers', the coopers' and the brewers' towers. In 1548, 1556/7 and again in 1570 the mercers' tower is mentioned with regard to the division of the wards.³² In 1565/6 the town paid a total of £1 16s 2d for the repairs of the coopers' tower.³³ This suggests that the town had taken over the responsibility for the tower's maintenance, although there is a possibility that the money was repaid to the town by the coopers at a later date. The coopers' tower and the brewers' tower are both noted in relation to the town wall in 1571 and 1574 respectively.³⁴ The coopers' tower was still recorded as such as late as 1611.³⁵ There is always the possibility that the towers retained the names of the craftsmen and tradesmen even though they were no longer maintained by them.

Both in 1581 and 1582 the Court Leet jurors made complaints about the town towers in general. They declared that for a long time the towers had been maintained by the 'divers corporations',

²⁹ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 19.

³⁰ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, pp. 47, 49.

³¹ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), p. 177, no. 56; p. 195, no. 47; and p. 209, no. 39.

³² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 10, no. 168; p. 57, no. 219; and p. 119, no. 291.

³³ B. Chinchin, *Steward Book: 1565/6*, (SCA, SC 5/1/46), p. 23.

³⁴ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SRSoc 1, 1905), p. 74 no. 55 and p. 96, no. 7. It is not clear which of the brewers' towers this is referring to.

³⁵ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1603-1624*, Vol. 1, Part 3 (SRSoc 4, 1907), p. 442, no. 40.

that is, the various craft and trade companies of the town, but that now the towers were in a state of decay and in need of repair and the old arrangements needed to be renewed.³⁶ In 1571 the drapers' tower and in 1601 the shoemakers' tower were no longer referred to by these occupational names but had reverted to their previous names of Polymond and Arundel Towers respectively, so it would seem that by these dates these towers were no longer the responsibility of the craftsmen and tradesmen.³⁷

We have some idea of the cost of the repair of a tower from the reference to the coopers' tower mentioned above, but this may not have been the only costs incurred. From the evidence of the brewers' incorporation document of 1543, it would seem that the brewers were not only responsible for the fabric of the tower to which they were assigned but also for the cost of furnishing it with ordnance and shot. These costs were shared by the bakers as detailed in their incorporation document of 1546.³⁸ Although the Muster Book assigned two towers to the bakers and the brewers, the incorporation documents only mentioned one and this was referred to as the 'Brewers tower'. This anomaly remains unexplained. None of the other incorporation documents or petitions note any responsibilities for towers.

It is not known what the deciding factors were with regard to the allocation of the towers or what the relevance of the location to the allotted craft or trade might be. In the analysis of the stall and art lists of 1600 and 1601 (see Chapter 6), the locations of the various crafts and trades were generally spread across the wards, however, there are some general observations that can be made from the Muster Book of 1544. The most obvious relationship was that which existed between Fish Tower, along the west wall, and the fishermen or fishmongers who were assigned to it. This tower was situated on West Quay near to Pilgrims' Gate and this strongly suggests that it was near this tower and adjacent gate that fish were landed. This gate was also the largest gate closest to the fish market which was held in St Michael's Square. The butchers were also assigned to Fish Tower and although they had stalls outside the Friary Gate at the south end of the High Street there were also butchers' shops not far from the Fish Tower, to the east at Butchers' Row.³⁹ It is possible, therefore, that this was why they were allotted this particular tower. The tower of the mariners and lightermen was also situated on the west wall on West Quay and had direct access to the sea which therefore seems an appropriate allocation. In 1569/70 a glover, James

³⁶ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 209, no. 38 and p. 231, no. 41.

³⁷ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 71, no. 40 and Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 348, no. 57.

³⁸ The incorporation documents and the petitions are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

³⁹ See Figure 2: Southampton in the sixteenth century. Butchers' Row was between the junction of Simnel and French Streets and New Corner.

Reading, leased a piece of land to make a glovers' pit, and it appears that this land was close to the shoemakers' tower.⁴⁰ As mentioned above, this tower was allocated to leather workers and therefore it is possible that this land was chosen because of both its proximity to their tower and its use in a leather-working activity. The bakers and brewers were assigned to Wool Bridge Tower which appears to have been renamed St Barbara's Tower around the time of the Muster Book of 1544 as it is referred to there as 'the towre callyd now St Barbaras Towre'.⁴¹ This or the other tower assigned to them, Small Corner Tower, was later termed the Brewers' Tower, but no obvious reason for the allocation of these two towers to these crafts has been found. St Barbara was believed to have been enclosed in a tower and was the patron saint of artillery, gunpowder and all things associated with explosions. It seems appropriate, therefore, for the tower to have been dedicated to her at a time of threatened invasion and war. She was a popular saint and if this dedication did occur around 1544 it would have been before the sweeping religious reforms of the reign of Edward VI after which it may have been unwise for the town government to invoke a saint's name in this way. The compositions of many of the craft and trade groups mentioned here in relation to the towers are discussed below with particular reference to the numbers of burgesses, freemen and strangers who may have belonged to these groups at various times.

The arrangements for the defence of the town concerning the allocation of the towers clearly show that an interrelationship existed between the burgesses of the town council on the one side and the members of the craft and trade groups on the other. The social standing of the members of some of these groups is discussed below. The next section of this chapter analyses the men who were chosen to be the Court Leet officials in 1601. It shows that there was a hierarchy amongst the administrative personnel of this court with, as expected, burgesses taking on the more senior roles but, significantly, freemen and strangers being chosen for some lesser roles.

7.2 The officials of the Court Leet in 1601

The officials who were chosen at the annual Court Leet in Southampton were the jurors, the overseers of the common, the beadles, the drivers of the common and the surveyors of the highway.⁴² In other towns it seems that there were equivalent offices to those of Southampton as well as some more specific officials such as the 'overseer of fruit' which was introduced in

⁴⁰ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1571*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 43, 2009), p. 81.

⁴¹ Burgess, *Southampton Terrier*, p. 157.

⁴² Hearnshaw lists only the names of the jurors in his publications. For names of the jurors in 1601, see Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 339. Other details in this section are obtained from several sources.

Manchester in 1567.⁴³ In Southampton there were generally between thirteen and fifteen jurors; four overseers of the common; twelve beadles (two for each ward); twelve drivers of the common (two for each ward); and eight surveyors of the highway (two for each ward).⁴⁴ Although the jurors formed the most important group, the jury was not, as Hearnshaw states 'an independent body exercising original powers' because it was 'almost completely subservient to the municipal assembly, which controlled the panel, which received the book of presentments, which decided whether a presentment should be enforced or not, which retained all executive authority'.⁴⁵ An analysis of the men who were chosen as the various officials at the Court Leet of 1601 is now provided, in order to give some insights into the organisation of this court.

An analysis of the fifteen men who were chosen to be the Court Leet jurors of 1601 shows that these men were all burgesses (see Appendix EE).⁴⁶ Of particular note is that many of these men had only recently entered the burghership. This suggests that the office of juror in the Court Leet was similar to that of a constable in the town council in as much as both could be described as 'junior' offices (a constable was the lowest of the elected offices within the town council). It is quite possible that the work undertaken as a juror was thought to have been good preparation for the future when a man could advance and progress through the *cursus honorum* of the town council. Of the other officials chosen at the Court Leet, the overseers of the common were also selected from within the burgher group, and this was seen, most probably, as a more prestigious position to hold than that of the beadles, the drivers of the common and the surveyors of the highway. As their name suggests, the 'overseers' supervised the drivers of the common.⁴⁷

Of the fifteen men chosen as jurors in 1601, six rose to the position of mayor, two to sheriff, one to court bailiff, four to constable, one to the town clerk and there was one who did not serve in any position in the council. This last man was the blacksmith and merchant, John Parker, and it may be that it was his illiteracy, suggested by his mark and lack of a signature, which hindered his further progress. He had been appointed to several of the other Court Leet offices before he had

⁴³ J. Harland, ed., *A Volume of the Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester in the Sixteenth Century* (The Chetham Society, 1864), p. 109.

⁴⁴ The duties of the jurors are discussed in Chapter 6. The wards were: All Saints, Holy Rood, St Lawrence and St Michael and St John. Often All Saints ward was subdivided into three: All Saints Above (or Without) the Bargate, All Saints Below (or Within) the Bargate and Bagrow with East Street. This is why the total number of officials was either 8 or 12 men.

⁴⁵ F.J.C. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction in England* (SRSoc 5, 1908), p. 198.

⁴⁶ See Appendix EE: Details of Court Leet senior officials, 1601.

⁴⁷ See S.D. Thomson, *Southampton Common: Its Place in the Life of Southampton over the Centuries* (Southampton: 1979), pp. 3-4 for a description of the work of the drivers of the common.

entered the burgesship in 1596.⁴⁸ David Morrell, another juror of 1601, was a close neighbour of John Parker, and had served previously as an overseer of the common.⁴⁹ James Reading, William Lynch, William Marinell and George Gollopp also served as overseers of the common in some years. James Reading and George Gollopp both served as beadles at some time, and James Reading also served as a surveyor of the highway.⁵⁰ It seems that the men who served the offices of beadle, driver of the common and surveyor of the highway generally did not progress beyond constable within the town council. The indications are that these three inferior positions in the Court Leet were almost always given to those men who were never to progress beyond the rank of constable. The reason for this may have been that these men were seen as not having the relevant abilities to progress further or perhaps the men themselves chose not to serve. Regarding the occupations of the jurors, as expected, those of the mercantile crafts were noted the most frequently, and several of the jurors were also noted as having more than one occupation. The fact that five jurors are known to have been shipowners highlights the wealth of some of these men.⁵¹ John Friar was the clerk to the Court Leet in 1600 and 1601, and possibly in more years too, so it seems natural for him to have been a juror. One juror was always chosen to be the foreman of the jury and in 1601 it was Thomas Sherwood. One of the jurors, William Lynch, also attended the Admiralty Court for several years between 1567/8 and 1584, and he was also an Admiralty Court juror.⁵² This may have been in his capacity as a shipmaster and shipowner. Edwin Welch states that only the more important mariners and fishermen were summoned to this court and probably those who owned their own boat.⁵³ William Foxall is an example of a non-resident stranger, originally from Lewes in Sussex, who was made a burgess and then served as a Court Leet juror. The condition of his burgesship, which was quite unusual, was that he must live and trade in the town.⁵⁴ The jurors often served at the Court Leet on several occasions.

⁴⁸ As noted in Chapter 5, he had served as a beadle, a driver of the common and a surveyor of the highway in addition to his name being noted first on the blacksmiths' petition of 1599.

⁴⁹ John Parker and David Morrell appear as close neighbours in the taxation records of 1602. J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1602-1608 (SRSoc 19, 1917), p. 8.

⁵⁰ Not every name of those who served as a Court Leet official is known due to the records for some years no longer extant.

⁵¹ The jurors who were shipowners were: William Lynch, John Ellzie, William Marinell, Henry Carpenter and William Foxall.

⁵² E. Welch, ed., *The Admiralty Court Book of Southampton, 1566-1585* (SRS 13, 1968), *passim*.

⁵³ Welch, *Admiralty*, p. xxx.

⁵⁴ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 137r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

Chapter 7

The four overseers of the common chosen in 1601 were Philipp Tolderveighe, William Marinell, John Elliott (Senior) and Robert Ayles.⁵⁵ One of these men, William Marinell, went on to serve as mayor, and he is mentioned above as he also served as a juror in 1601. Two men were chosen for both an office in the Court Leet and one in the town council in 1600/1; Robert Ayles was elected as an overseer of the common and as a constable and Henry Carpenter was chosen as a juror and as a constable. This means that these men would have seen the workings at first hand of both the town council and the Court Leet which would have given them useful insights for any future career in the town government. It is interesting to note that both men, Robert Ayles and Henry Carpenter, entered the burgesship on the same day in 1598. It will never be known how far Robert Ayles might have progressed in his municipal career as he died of the plague in 1604 having only achieved the rank of constable by this date.

The offices of beadle, driver of the common and surveyor of the highway were not undertaken by burgesses although some men who were appointed to these roles did become burgesses at a later date (see Appendix FF).⁵⁶ As mentioned above, this may have been due to the perception that they lacked the relevant abilities. Out of the thirty-one men who were appointed to these three positions in 1601, only four progressed further, all having entered the burgesship after 1601; one was appointed as a constable, two as sheriffs and one as a mayor. Only one man, Walter Barlinge, was not listed in the stall and art list for either 1600 or 1601. It is not known why his name was omitted. As noted above, the vast majority of the jurors and the overseers of the common were merchants, but the occupations of the three lesser offices were more varied and included more from the victualling trades as well as some from the clothmaking occupations. This was presumably because there was a wider variety of occupations amongst the non-burgesses than there were in the burgess group. With around only fifty burgesses active in the town at any one time, it would appear necessary for the mayor to look outside the burgesship in order to fill various offices. At some time it must have been decided that it was acceptable for the less prestigious offices to be held by non-burgesses or perhaps it had always been so.

The duties of the beadles were generally concerned with the maintenance of law and order and assisting the constables in organising the watch. Twelve men were chosen as beadles to serve six wards in 1601; two men per ward. Two of the men entered the burgesship after 1601, Christopher Cornellis and Charles Dervall, and they both went on to serve as sheriffs in the town council. Two of the beadles were also noted as aliens, Charles Dervall and James Wharton (the

⁵⁵ There were several men with the name John Elliott in the town records at this date so it has not been possible to clearly identify which one was the overseer of the common in 1601.

⁵⁶ See Appendix FF: Details of Court Leet junior officials, 1601.

former may have been from the Channel Islands). Furthermore, Christopher Cornellis was termed 'late of Andiver' in his burgess entry.⁵⁷ This is another example of the town council being open to strangers taking up offices in the town although in the case of Cornellis it seems to have been a case of nepotism. This was because the mayor in 1601/2 was his brother, Richard, and it was Richard who personally requested his brother's burgess admission. The men chosen to be beadles must have been literate as one of their tasks was to list the names of the inhabitants of their wards in preparation for the Court Leet. The occupations of the men chosen as beadles were barber, butcher, dyer, mercer, sergemaker/woolcomber, shearman, shoemaker, tippler and victualler. Only one, the mercer, Christopher Cornellis, was of a mercantile craft, and several were from the victualling trades and the clothmaking occupations. As mentioned above, the occupations of the beadles were very different from those of the jurors. It is quite possible that some of these men were freemen, although no evidence has been found for this. One man, James Edmondson, a shoemaker, did become a free commoner, but not until 1614.⁵⁸

As with the beadles, twelve men were chosen to be the drivers of the common in 1601; two per ward. None of these men entered the burgesship.⁵⁹ A high number of men were from the victualling trades with six being tipplers and one a butcher. The tailor, Thomas Gander, paid to become a freeman in 1608.⁶⁰ He is also listed as one of the twenty-one tailors on the tailors' petition of 1616 that complained about foreign tailors entering and working in the town. One man of a building craft, a joiner, Thomas Fletcher, was one of those also chosen to be a driver of the common. It would seem that the office of a driver of the common was the least prestigious of all the Court Leet offices.

Eight men were appointed as surveyors of the highway in 1601, two per ward (All Saints ward included all three sub-divisions).⁶¹ They supervised the work undertaken on the town's roads. Three became burgesses after 1601 and two of these went on to serve on the town council, one as a constable and the other as a mayor. The constable, Richard Masey, took on an apprentice in 1613 and the records state that he was to instruct him in the trade of mercer and chandler 'or any

⁵⁷ SCA, SC 3/1/1 fol. 140r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses. Andover is a town 30 miles north of Southampton.

⁵⁸ SCA, SC 3/5/1, fol. 1r, Admission of Free Commoners.

⁵⁹ It is possible that one, Thomas Nicholls, entered the burgesship as there were several men with this name in the town records but it has not been possible to clearly identify which one was the driver of the common in 1601.

⁶⁰ Horrocks, *Assembly*, 1, p. 66.

⁶¹ There were several men named Thomas Williamses in the records and it is not clear which one was a surveyor of the highway in 1601.

other trade'.⁶² This strongly suggests that there was an overlap in the skills required for certain trades. The phrase 'any other trade' may be a reference to what could be termed a 'general merchant'. Later in 1625 when Masey took on another apprentice he is described simply as a merchant.⁶³ Another surveyor of the highway was Arthur Baker. He became a freeman in his occupation of a woollendraper in 1590, entered the burgesship in 1603 and rose to the mayoralty in 1614.

The analysis of the officials appointed at the Court Leet of 1601 highlights the interrelationship that existed between burgesses, freemen and strangers, both resident and newly-arrived. There was a hierarchy of offices with those of juror and overseer of the common being the two most prestigious with the men having been chosen from the burgess group. Generally, the lesser offices of beadle, driver of the common and surveyor of the highway were filled with literate non-burgesses (both freemen and strangers) who were of the clothmaking and handicrafts occupations as well as the victualling trades but were seldom of the mercantile crafts. The next section of this chapter analyses, amongst other details, the status of those who worked in the various occupations of the town.

7.3 The composition of the craft and trade groups

This section addresses some questions concerning the size and composition of various craft and trade groups, and by doing so identifies interrelationships which existed between burgesses, freemen and strangers within specific groups. Three main questions are considered: How many members were there at any one time in a particular craft or trade? Were there burgesses, freemen and strangers working in that occupation and, if so, how many of each? It is quite difficult to answer these questions with total accuracy although the surviving incorporation documents and the petitions can be a useful guide. Fortunately, other records survive which give the numbers of people belonging to some of the occupations in specific years. Research undertaken by previous historians of Southampton to calculate the numbers within various occupations has been based on specific town books. Tom James (1977) listed the known occupations of those noted in three books: the 1454 Terrier, the 1524 lay subsidy and the 1585 Muster Book and Cheryl Butler (2004) noted the numbers within each occupation which were

⁶² A.L. Merson, ed., *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, ed. by compiled by A.J. Willis (SRS 12, 1968), p. 5.

⁶³ Merson, *Apprenticeship Registers*, p. 15.

recorded in the Book of Fines from 1488 to 1540.⁶⁴ Research for the present thesis has looked widely across many sources which has enabled realistic figures to be given for many of the occupations. Further to the discussion above concerning the arrangements for the defence of the town, this section also looks at how certain groups worked together.⁶⁵ It should be noted here that within most occupations there were people with all levels of wealth. Swanson discusses this issue and plausibly suggests that at the bottom level there were the 'semi-skilled and underemployed artisans who merged into the mass of the urban poor', and at the higher level there were the most prosperous artisans who 'aspired to join the merchant class'.⁶⁶

7.4 1. Mercantile crafts

It appears that merchants within the mercantile crafts group were the largest group of any in the town. This is because there were so many 'types' of merchant including both the general and the specialised trader. Many specialised merchants, such as drapers and mercers, by the very nature of their trades could be described as merchants, and there is evidence of other trades, for example, grocers who are termed 'grocers' in one record but then as 'merchants' in another. Also in the sixteenth century the idea of the 'merchant tailor' developed leaving the traditional tailor to carry on the 'artisanal work of making up clothes'.⁶⁷ As noted in Chapter 1, the interpretation and classification of pre-industrial occupations is problematical. Generally, the wealthiest merchants were the merchant adventurers who traded overseas, all of whom should have been burgesses. Thomas states, however, that a 'considerable number of small merchants' were engaged in the trade with Normandy and Brittany and that 'these included a large number of the lesser Southampton men, both burgesses and non-burgesses'.⁶⁸

It is known that twenty-five men were noted as merchant adventurers of Southampton in 1609 when these men put their names forward for the future establishment of the Company of

⁶⁴ T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), Appendices, B, C and D and C. Butler, 'The Southampton Book of Fines, 1488-1540' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2004), Appendix V.

⁶⁵ See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton for more details about various occupations.

⁶⁶ H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), p. 2.

⁶⁷ M. Davies and A. Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds: Maney, 2004), p. 64.

⁶⁸ J.L. Thomas, 'The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Southampton, 1955), p. 86.

Merchants who were to trade with France.⁶⁹ In a hierarchy of occupations, this group is at the top. Some of these men have been mentioned already in this chapter because they were officials of the Court Leet: Edward Barlow, Robert Chambers, John Cornish, John Ellzie, William Marinell, William Nevie (all jurors), Phillip Tolderveighe (an overseer of the common), and Christopher Cornellis and Charles Dervall (both beadles). By 1609 many of these men had served either as sheriff or as mayor. Those merchants wishing to be part of this new company had to be 'mere merchants using the trade of merchandise only and not being retailers shopkeepers clothiers [or] handicraftsmen'.⁷⁰ This shows that there were indeed various 'types' of merchant existing at this time. Surprisingly, not all of the merchants named were burgesses. One such non-burgess was John Hersante the Younger whose father had been a French-speaking refugee and had also been a successful merchant. It is worth noting here that none of the French-speaking refugees had been made burgesses by this date. This is discussed below under the clothmaking section.

As regards the lesser merchants, one, a non-burgess, Edward Bishart in 1576/7, was amerced for selling fish and wood in his house without having a licence.⁷¹ This means that either he had not paid his stall and art fees for this year or that he had not purchased a licence to sell goods from his house. It seems highly likely that there were many lesser merchants who sold goods either from their houses or at the market and paid stall and art fees for the privilege. These people were probably never wealthy enough to become burgesses or freemen. There must have been a number of merchants who were freemen working in Southampton however, because they are mentioned in the ordinances concerning the sale of their goods. With regard to female merchants, a married woman was refused permission to open a shop to 'sell smale wares by retayle' in 1607 illustrating once again the control exerted by the mayor over retailing in the town.⁷² No reason was given for this decision.

7.5 2. Victualling trades

This section looks at the victualling trades of baker, brewer, butcher, chandler, cook, fishmonger and publican. In 1517 and 1546 twelve and seven names respectively were noted on the bakers' incorporation documents and it would seem plausible to suggest that these were the numbers of

⁶⁹ J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1609-1610 (SRSoc 21, 1920), p. 35, n. 2.

⁷⁰ C.T. Carr, ed., *Select Charters of Trading Companies A.D. 1530-1707*, Vol. XXVIII (Selden Society: 1913), p. 68.

⁷¹ See C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1572-1594*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRS 44, 2010), p. 38.

⁷² See W.J. Connor, ed., *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (SRS 21, 1978), p. 102.

common or town bakers who were operating in the town in these years. Of these bakers, two are known to have been burgesses in 1517 and one in 1546. Evidence would suggest that in other years there were fewer bakers working in Southampton. Of all the occupations operating in the town, it is that of baker in which women are represented the most. Jones plausibly explains this phenomenon by noting the fact 'that the craft was based on a domestic skill and that baking was regarded as an appropriate activity for both men and women'.⁷³ One woman, Alice Browne, was termed a burgess and another, 'William Abrees Wife', entered the craft of bakers in 1533/4.⁷⁴ Abree's wife would not have been called a freeman because this term was not used at this date. It seems most likely that at this time the bakers saw themselves as 'neighbours' of their craft rather than freemen; 'neighbours' being a word noted in several of the incorporation documents. It would seem that William Abree's wife, Alice, was a very wealthy widow at her death in 1565. In a 'rich list' compiled by Karen Parker of the probate inventories of one hundred and twenty-five Southampton residents from 1447 to 1575, Alice is noted as the fifth wealthiest person with the sum of £568.⁷⁵ It is not clear how this wealth had been accumulated.

The bakers were granted the provisions detailed in their incorporation documents provided that they were not in any way prejudicial to the burgesses, merchants or householders who were baking for themselves or any bakers' widows. Mention of this last group is quite possibly another explanation as to why there were several women bakers working in the town, all of them seemingly widows. In her thesis, Jones discusses the problems of locating single women who may have been working in the town. She states that 'women who remained single have proved difficult to resurrect from the archives, so marginal were they to the community'.⁷⁶ Most of the single women she found she 'assumed' were single for various reasons. It is possible that single women were prohibited from baking, brewing or using other trades in the town although, unlike the records for other towns, no specific presentment has been found for Southampton. In Manchester in 1583/4, for example, it was presented that no single women were permitted to

⁷³ S.E. Jones, 'Keeping Her in the Family: Women and Gender in Southampton, c. 1400-c. 1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1997), p.101. See Jones, 'Women', pp. 92-105 for a discussion on women and craft production.

⁷⁴ For details about Alice Browne, see Chapter 5. For William Abree's wife see, C. Butler, C. ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 41, 2007), p. 152.

⁷⁵ K. Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories, 1447-1575' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Winchester, 2009), p. 377. This is based on information noted in E. Roberts and K. Parker, eds, *Southampton Probate Inventories, 1447-1575*, 2 vols (SRS 34, 35, 1992).

⁷⁶ Jones, 'Women', p. 209.

bake, brew or trade due 'to the great hurt of the poor inhabitants having wives and children' and the fact that single women did not have 'any man to control them'.⁷⁷

Very few bakers appear to have entered the burgesship. The most notable was George Vincent who was not only noted on the bakers' incorporation document of 1546 but on that of the brewers' dated 1543.⁷⁸ The fact that he was termed a 'merchant' at times perhaps shows him to have been an entrepreneur. It is possible that he owned a bake house in which he 'employed' bakers. This would be similar to those men of wealth who owned mills in the town of which the day-to-day running was carried out by millers. Indeed with regard to Vincent's brewing activities, it is possible that it was 'organised on capitalist lines', a phrase used by Merson when describing some brewing activities at this time.⁷⁹ Christopher Dyer suggests that even before the year 1300 entrepreneurs who used the putting-out system in the clothmaking industry made the weavers virtually their 'employees'.⁸⁰ Some indication of the control exerted by the town officials over the milling of the bakers' corn is noted in the town records in 1600 after a new windmill began operating. The bakers were instructed by the Court Leet jurors to grind their corn at this new windmill or at least 'such part of their corne as the sayd mylle can conveniently grynde'.⁸¹

Six bakers paid to be freemen between 1546/7 and 1593/4 and one baker is noted in the Register of Free Commoners from 1613/4 to 1616/7 (see Chapter 4). A theory relating to the progression of some strangers to the higher status of freeman, with the example of some bakers, is discussed below. As regards the non-resident stranger bakers, it seems that the town had relied upon them for many years as there is an ordinance in the Ancient Laws concerning bread being brought in by carts or upon horses.⁸² These non-resident stranger bakers (or country or foreign bakers as they are often termed in the records) were allowed to bring their foodstuffs in for sale but only on the town's market days, and they were instructed to sell their goods in the market and not from house to house. Bakers did not only supply bread, and it seems that biscuits which were supplied to ships, could be made on an industrial scale. In 1577 over sixty-six hundred weight of biscuits

⁷⁷ Harland, *Manchester*, pp. 157-58.

⁷⁸ For details about George Vincent see Chapter 5.

⁷⁹ Merson, *Apprenticeship Registers*, p. xl.

⁸⁰ C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 325.

⁸¹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 333, no. 57.

⁸² P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), p. 137: Ancient Laws, no. 68/Modern Laws, no. 55.

had been either delivered or were due to be delivered by eight people, including one woman, to four ships in the port.⁸³

In 1543 eight beer brewers and five ale brewers were named on their incorporation document. Nine of these thirteen men entered the burgesship at some time. It would seem that after the occupation of merchant it was that of brewer which had the most number of burgesses. This was probably because of the capital expenditure required to set up as a brewer and it was generally only the wealthier burgesses who could afford this outlay. From the terms of their incorporation, no one was to bring ale or beer to sell in the town which had been produced outside, unless an agreement had first been made with mayor and the wardens of the craft. Also anyone setting up a new brew or alehouse in the town had to make an agreement first. This seems to have applied to resident as well as non-resident strangers.

In 1574 five men were named at the Court Leet for baking and brewing in their houses,⁸⁴ three of these men are known to have been burgesses. If an arrangement had previously been made with both the mayor and the other craftspeople this probably would not have been a problem. The difficulty seems to have been that these men were also selling their ale and beer directly to their customers. This was contrary to one of the ordinances of the town which clearly stated that the brewers were not to sell their ale or beer in their own houses (see Appendix C).⁸⁵ The combining of these two crafts, baking and brewing, most likely had much to do with each process requiring yeast.⁸⁶ A significant number of the men who served as mayor during the sixteenth century brewed alongside their occupation as merchants. Four of the forty-seven signatories of 1571 as discussed in Chapter 3 were brewers, three of whom are known to have combined this with other occupations. It appears that brewing was carried out by burgesses, freemen and strangers.

A schedule dated 1577 lists the publicans or the 'inholders, taverners and tipling howses' in the town.⁸⁷ Forty-five names were listed. The first seven were names of innkeepers, the next three were keepers of wine taverns (often termed vintners) and the remaining thirty-five were names of tiplers or alehouse-keepers. It is plausible to suggest that these were the numbers of each

⁸³ G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914), p. 26.

⁸⁴ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 103, no. 54.

⁸⁵ See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton, 'Victualling trades: Brewers'.

⁸⁶ Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 21.

⁸⁷ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), pp. 83-4.

type of publican in Southampton at this date. It is clear that there was a hierarchy within the publican group with taverner at the top followed by innkeeper and with tippler at the bottom.

The three taverners were all burgesses which is no surprise as an ordinance specifically notes that only burgesses could hold taverns. This was most likely because taverners 'were licensed by the central authority under the terms of a 1553 act where the privilege was farmed out to favourites and patentees'.⁸⁸ One taverner served as mayor.⁸⁹ Of the seven innkeepers, four were burgesses, two of whom later served on the town council, one as the mayor and another as the sheriff.⁹⁰

Two of these burgesses had been apprenticed to merchant adventurers and a third was termed a merchant in other records which strongly suggests that these men did not run the inns themselves. It seems very likely that they were the owners of the inns and that they 'employed' others to manage the inns for them. There is evidence of this happening at the Dolphin Inn which was owned by John Jeffery in 1602. Jeffery was the mayor in 1598/9 and was clearly a very important man in Southampton during this period, having been knighted by James I in 1603.⁹¹ It seems that another man, Thomas Beele, who was made a burgess in 1601, ran the inn.⁹² John Jeffery also had a brewhouse in the parish of All Saints Above which most likely supplied the inn with ale or beer.⁹³

No burgesses were among the thirty-five tipplers but there were at least two men who had paid to be freemen: Charells Graunte paid to set up as a cooper in 1561/2 and Vincent Raynoldes as a cobbler in 1567/8. Waltor Houchine, a shearman whose name was on the shearman's incorporation document of 1571, was also listed as one of the thirty-five. The fact that many men had more than one occupation is no surprise and it has been mentioned elsewhere that tippling was often combined with other occupations. Two females were listed: Widow Folliat and Widow Quicke. Many of these tipplers were probably resident strangers. In his thesis of 2007, James Brown plots the number of alehouse-keepers in Southampton for the years in which records survive. For the period from 1559 to 1603 the numbers vary from as low as six in 1559 to as high as sixty-nine in 1603, although, generally, the number of tipplers at any one time was in the

⁸⁸ J.R. Brown, 'The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2007), p. 26.

⁸⁹ The taverners were William Capelin (mayor in 1572/3), Richard Daye and Richard Stoner.

⁹⁰ The burgesses were Thomas Brooker, John Errington (mayor in 1585/6), Peter Janverin (sheriff in 1581/2) and John Sedgewicke.

⁹¹ Horrocks, *Assembly*, 1, p. 2, n. 1.

⁹² See SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 138v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses and SCA, SC 6/1/24 Court Leet Book, 1600, fol. 14v

⁹³ Horrocks, *Assembly*, 1, p. 20.

thirties or forties.⁹⁴ As mentioned above the occupation of tippler was not one which was seen as prestigious. This is illustrated in a presentation in 1571 when two men were caught selling beer without a licence. The Court Leet jurors suggested that they should not be given licences because they were both personable young men and selling beer would make them 'lyve iddilly' which would be 'pety' [a pity].⁹⁵

Fifteen butchers are known to have been assessed for stall and art payments in both 1600 and 1601 which gives some indication of the numbers of butchers living in the town at this date (see Chapter 6). There were probably seven butchers' stalls at the Friary Gate outside the walls and at least six butchers were living at New Corner in 1575/6.⁹⁶ Of the fourteen butchers listed in 1560 who were to supply tallow to the town chandlers, ten were town butchers and four were non-resident stranger butchers from local settlements. This suggests that the town butchers on their own, very much like the town bakers, were unable to supply enough of their products for the townspeople.

Very few, if any, butchers entered the burgesship. Only one possible example of this has been found in the records. This was John Vaughon who was made a burgess in 1530 and rose to become sheriff in 1543/4. It is possible that he is the same person as John Vaughan alias Walschewan, butcher, who was noted in 1519.⁹⁷ In Southampton it would appear that the status of a butcher was considered unsuitable for burgesship admission. In some towns butchers were able to participate in local government. In York, for example, butchers were represented in the junior council of the Twenty-Four although not in the senior body consisting of the mayor and aldermen.⁹⁸ This shows that even in York the civic life of a butcher was restricted. Five butchers were made freemen between 1546/7 and 1593/4 and their incorporation document of 1555 mentions the serving of apprenticeships. It is not clear why therefore, 'there is not a single case in the entire register of apprenticeships to a local butcher'.⁹⁹ As mentioned above, the butchers liaised with the chandlers over the supply of tallow for the chandlers' candles. The butchers also worked with other craftsmen, for example, in 1575 two butchers were chosen to appraise 208

⁹⁴ Brown, 'Landscape of Drink', p. 25.

⁹⁵ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 72, no. 45.

⁹⁶ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 23 and A. Thick, ed., *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492-93 and the Terrier of 1495* (SRS 38, 1995), p. 76.

⁹⁷ See H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1483-1563*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 30, 1930), p. 88.

⁹⁸ D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 61, 106.

⁹⁹ Merson, *Apprenticeship Registers*, p. xl.

green salt hides along with two shoemakers of the town and one tanner of Swaythling.¹⁰⁰ The tanner was a non-resident stranger and the others were either freemen or resident strangers. This shows that both freemen and strangers worked together in the leather industry. One of the butchers, Richard Roffe, had been appointed as one of the wardens of the butchers in 1571.¹⁰¹ This would suggest that he was a man who was trusted. It is worth remembering here that as one of their privileges it was only burgesses who were permitted to deal in hides.

As for the town chandlers, there were four in 1571.¹⁰² Three of these had become burgesses by this date and the fourth joined them in 1572; two men went on to become mayors. In 1577 one of these, William Barwick, became the sole chandler in the town thus attaining a monopoly. It is clear that to be a tallow chandler in the town was a prestigious role. Non-resident strangers could be appointed as town chandlers as noted in 1548 when a Winchester man was selected.¹⁰³ Merson states that it is unclear as to whether, in the early sixteenth century, other chandlers could sell candles, possibly on market days, provided they sourced their tallow from outside the town.¹⁰⁴

In 1550 seven men, who were termed 'vittayllers (fishmongers)', were appointed for the year to supply good and wholesome fish to the town, and as no one else in the town was allowed to sell salt-fish or herring, it very much suggests that these men had a monopoly.¹⁰⁵ For six of these men, Merson lists their other known occupations. They were a fletcher, a merchant, a tallow chandler, a tippler and two porters which reinforces the point made elsewhere that many people had more than one occupation. At least one of these, the merchant, was a burgess and evidence elsewhere shows that several other burgesses were fishmongers. It seems likely that both non-resident strangers and alien fishmongers, that is, those from other towns and those from overseas, had always been permitted to sell their fish in Southampton as long as they had paid for a licence to do so (see Appendix C).¹⁰⁶ Fish had to be sold in the fish market, although evidence

¹⁰⁰ SCA, SC 15/24 Presentment of the appraisers of 208 green salt hides, 1575. Swaythling is a settlement just north of the town.

¹⁰¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 126.

¹⁰² See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, Appendix VIII 'Chandlers' contracts at Southampton, 1571 - 1589', pp. 81-4. The chandlers were: William Barwick who entered the burgesship in 1567, and rose to the mayoralty in 1582/3; Thomas Wadlow who became a burgess in 1569, and was also a notary public; Paul Elliott who was made a burgess in 1570, and became mayor in 1595/6; and John Markes who entered the burgesship in 1572. SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses and various sources.

¹⁰³ See Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 17, no. 173.

¹⁰⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 12, n. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 25, no. 183.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix C: Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton, 'Victualling trades: Fishermen and fishmongers'.

suggests that it could be sold elsewhere if a licence had been obtained.¹⁰⁷ This probably related to small quantities only. Fishermen were permitted to sell their catches themselves to the townspeople provided that the fish was inspected first to ensure that it was fit to eat. Although no evidence has been found to date of any fishmonger becoming a freeman, there is an ordinance which states the penalties for burgesses, non-burgesses and strangers concerning fish bought at sea.¹⁰⁸ This shows clearly that there were freemen (non-burgesses) who dealt in fish and who could lose their franchises. The ordinance shows that burgesses, freemen and strangers all dealt in fish, but as the ordinance does not specifically name the occupation of those to whom it refers, it is possible that the men were merchants rather than fishmongers. Also included in this group of victualling trades is the town cook. Edward Phillater, cook, received cloth for a livery in 1607. He was given the monopoly of managing the town's oyster beds in 1615 for which he promised to bring five hundred oysters a year to the mayor's fish dinners.¹⁰⁹ There is no evidence to show that he entered the burgesship or became a freeman.

7.6 3. Clothmaking

The clothmaking industry in Southampton was really an industry of two parts: the 'old' draperies and the 'new' draperies. Although several cloths were manufactured in both industries, the main cloths of the old draperies were the Hampshire and Winton kersies and those of the new draperies were the says or serges.¹¹⁰ A pivotal date in cloth production in the town is 1567; the year in which the French-speaking refugees arrived bringing with them their new clothmaking skills of the new draperies. As discussed in Chapter 5, the old draperies had been manufactured in the town prior to 1567 as the craftsmen of the clothworking industry (the clothworkers, the fullers, the shearmen and the weavers) were present in the earliest records of the town. It is very difficult to determine the extent of cloth production and trade in Southampton. It is not clear whether cloth was produced purely for domestic use, either for sale in the town or in the local area, or whether some of it was exported. It is known that much of the cloth which was exported from the port had been imported from elsewhere.¹¹¹ An ordinance stated that only burgesses

¹⁰⁷ Butler, *Book of Fines*, 3, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 138: Ancient Laws, no. 69/Modern Laws, no. 56.

¹⁰⁹ Connor, *Mayor's Book*, p. 110 and J.W. Horrocks, ed., *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1615-1616 (SRSoc 25, 1925), pp. 24-5.

¹¹⁰ See Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', pp. 75-6 and A. Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and Their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620* (SRS 39, 1997), p. 72.

¹¹¹ M. Hicks, ed., *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 153-54. Much of the cloth of the 'old draperies' which was exported in the 1570s seems to have come from Winchester and Salisbury. See Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', pp. 74-7.

could sell cloth by retail, except on a market or fair day.¹¹² There is evidence to show that at least one shearman and two weavers were made burgesses in the early half of the sixteenth century, but it has not been possible to determine where their cloth was sold.¹¹³

A number of men in the records were noted with the occupation of 'clothier', the definition of which is difficult to determine accurately. It seems to have had close links with the occupation of merchant, and certainly in Wiltshire some large-scale clothiers were involved with both production and trade.¹¹⁴ In Southampton the burgess John Wilmot was termed 'merchant and clothier'. He is known to have traded in cloth in the Netherlands and it seems most likely that he was not involved in the manufacture of cloth.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the freeman Adrian Netley was termed both 'weaver' and 'clothier', and he does seem to have been involved in cloth production.¹¹⁶ As he was not a burgess, he may well have traded domestically on market days only, although as noted above, there is evidence to show that some non-burgesses did trade overseas. Relating to this, Merson discusses the problem which exists when looking at the apprenticeships of those in the clothmaking crafts as it is often difficult to know if 'they were being prepared for the career of a merchant-clothier or of a simple workman'.¹¹⁷

The number of craftsmen involved in producing the old draperies is not known although only four shearmen were named in their incorporation document of 1571 which suggests a small industry at this time. The exact number of refugees who came to Southampton in 1567 to begin the manufacture of the new draperies is also not known. Permission had been given for up to 360 adult men with their families to settle in the town but Spicer states that 'the Southampton community never seems to have fulfilled its potential'.¹¹⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 6, the vast majority of the 297 aliens noted in a survey taken of the population in 1596 were most probably related to the refugees of 1567 in some way. With regards to the organisation of their industry, Spicer states that the refugees enjoyed a 'privileged status' although they were restricted at a local level by the town ordinances.¹¹⁹ 'No person of refugee stock' entered the burgesship until 1630,¹²⁰ and there were no obvious refugee names recorded in the first few years of the Register

¹¹² Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14.

¹¹³ The shearman was William Bernarde in 1503 and the weavers were Richard Blandforde in 1516 (water bailiff in 1525/6) and Leonard Colman in 1531.

¹¹⁴ J. Hare, *A Prospering Society: Wiltshire in the Later Middle Ages* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2011), p. 192.

¹¹⁵ See SCA, SC 6/1/6 Court Leet Book, 1566, fol. 5v and Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 105.

¹¹⁶ TRS Database.

¹¹⁷ Merson, *Apprenticeship Registers*, p. xxxv.

¹¹⁸ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 160.

¹¹⁹ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 141.

¹²⁰ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 147.

of Free Commoners (from 1613/14 to 1616/7). In order to trade, it seems that for many years after their arrival the refugees were treated as strangers, paying either for special licences or the stall and art fees. Spicer states that it is unclear whether the sale of the new draperies was regulated by the town council as it was in Sandwich and Norwich.¹²¹ After the arrival of the refugees, the occupation of 'sergemaker' is noted for the first time and it appears that this was another word for 'clothier'.¹²² The refugee community suffered heavy losses due to the outbreaks of plague in 1583/4 and 1604 which would have seriously affected the production of new draperies in the town.¹²³

7.7 4. Handicrafts: clothes and shoes

Two of thirteen shoemakers named in their incorporation document of 1477 were burgesses and both went on to serve as mayor. None of the sixteen men named on their petition of 1616 were burgesses, in fact they call themselves 'freemen shoemakers' on this document.¹²⁴ This is perhaps an indication that the occupation of shoemaker became less prestigious over time. Evidence for three shoemakers who did become burgesses in the sixteenth century have been found, however, two of whom went on to serve an elected office. One, Lawrence Sedy, was termed shoemaker and fishmonger in 1550 but in his will of 1570 his occupation was given as merchant.¹²⁵ He is perhaps an example of a prosperous artisan being permitted to join the merchant class as suggested by Swanson above. He was indeed a man of wealth as his will indicates that he owned five properties in the town.

Records survive which give some insight into the supply and the quality control of leather in the town. In 1577 two shoemakers were appointed by the mayor as 'scalers' of leather along with a saddler who was to be the inspector.¹²⁶ Their appointment may well have been a result of the Leather Act of 1563 which required that searchers and sealers of leather should be appointed from the members of the leather guilds in municipal areas.¹²⁷ The oath of the teller of leather, which survives in the town records, states that the tellers must pack, seal and keep a note and

¹²¹ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, p. 143.

¹²² A list of 'clothiers' noted in January 1616 includes many of the names which are later listed as 'sergemakers' on the sergemakers, sergeweavers and woolcombers petition in December 1616. See Horrocks, *Assembly*, 4, pp. 37, 74-5.

¹²³ Spicer, *Reformed Community*, pp. 59, 165.

¹²⁴ Horrocks, *Assembly*, 4, p. 69.

¹²⁵ Nicholas Berill was made a burgess in 1527 (sheriff in 1532/3); Robert Mawdelyn in 1546/7; and Lawrence Sedy in 1560 (water bailiff in 1566/7). James, 'Geographical Origins', p. 381; Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 27; and TBJ transcripts: HRO, 1570B/152 Will of Lawrence Sedy.

¹²⁶ Hamilton and Aubrey, *Examinations*, p. 53. See also Chapter 4.

¹²⁷ L.A. Clarkson, *The Pre-Industrial Economy in England 1500-1750* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1971), p. 103.

number of all leather which had been 'shipte' within the port so that it can be viewed by the mayor and justices as and when required.¹²⁸ The fact that the word 'shipped' was used seems to refer to leather which was for export. A presentment in the Court Leet of 1550 shows that the tellers were also permitted to sell any leather which was brought into the town on market days.¹²⁹ It seems likely that this leather was for domestic use, and that it had been produced locally. At least one glover entered the burgesship, James Reading in 1576, but no evidence has been found to show that any cobbler was made a burgess.¹³⁰

7.8 9. Sea-going occupations

A shipping list survives for 1582 which gives some insight into those men who occupied sea-going occupations. It states that at this date there were forty-six masters, two hundred and forty-one mariners and one hundred and eighty-three fishermen belonging to the port of Southampton of which eighteen were masters and thirty-nine were mariners who came from the town. Thomas lists the names of the eighteen masters.¹³¹ By analysing the biographical evidence for these men, some understanding of the social standing of master mariners at this date can be gained.

One of these men had become a burgess in 1579 and three others entered the burgesship after 1582.¹³² Two of these burgesses served as Court Leet jurors in 1601 as noted above. Nicholas Roche is described as a merchant and Thomas Lynch as a mariner in their burgess entries and others in the list are known to have been merchants. Many of the mariners paid stall and art fees before their admissions, as did Roche and Lynch, but it is unclear as to whether these fees were paid because they were merchants or mariners or both. Many of these master mariners are noted as attending admiralty courts of the period and many appear to have owned their own boats. There is evidence of involvement in privateering of at least one of these master mariners during the 1590s when John Cornish brought in a prize of salt in 1598.¹³³ It is possible that more of these master mariners were involved in privateering during the period from 1585 to 1601.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 10v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses. The words 'teller', 'scaler' and 'searcher' appear to refer to the same office.

¹²⁹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 32.

¹³⁰ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 91r, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹³¹ Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 194.

¹³² Nicholas Roche entered the burgesship in 1579; William Lynch in 1585; Thomas Griston in 1587; and John Cornish in 1593. SCA, SC 3/1/1, fos 94r, 100v, 103r, 112v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹³³ Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 147.

¹³⁴ The years from 1585 to 1601 is the period which Thomas suggests privateering was being carried out actively through the port. Thomas, 'Seaborne Trade', p. 145.

7.9 Other occupational groups

With regard to the occupations in the occupational groups which have not yet been discussed, it is possible to make some observations concerning several of them. In the handicrafts: metal-working crafts group, some of the cutlers, goldsmiths and pewterers were made freemen but it seems that none progressed to the burgesship. In the handicrafts: building crafts group, there was both a town carpenter and a town plumber (see Chapter 4). Neither of these men were made burgesses although another plumber, Edmonde Power, was permitted to enter the burgesship in 1520 provided that he promised to remain in the town.¹³⁵ A mason, William Lutman, was made a burgess in 1534 and he paid part of his admission fine in labour.¹³⁶ Some glaziers paid to be free of their craft in 1576/7 and 1590/1, and two joiners became free commoners in 1613/4. It is highly likely that the majority of those working in the building crafts, including many 'unskilled' labourers, were strangers who paid stall and art fees.

It is known that in the handicrafts: others group, a blacksmith, a bowyer and a saddler became burgesses.¹³⁷ No evidence has been found for any coopers entering the burgesship although several are noted as becoming freemen. In 1575 ten coopers were sworn in 'for the trew vewing and packing of heringe'.¹³⁸ One of those named was a woman, Widow Clarke, and so it appears that she was allowed to carry on working in the cooper's craft after her husband's death. A similar example of this occurred in 1511/2 when a barber's widow paid to set up in her own right in the barber's craft.¹³⁹ In the services group, at least five barbers were made burgesses including John Warener in 1544 who was admitted after promising to be ready at the mayor and burgesses' command to exercise his craft.¹⁴⁰ Other barbers were made freemen. Regarding the services of a town paviour, John Brene was appointed in 1580 when he was given the monopoly of all paving work in the town.¹⁴¹ Like the town cook, there is no evidence to show that he entered the burgesship or became a freeman.

¹³⁵ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 60v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹³⁶ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 65v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹³⁷ The blacksmith was John Parker in 1596. The bowyer was Henry Russell in 1544. He was also a brewer and he went on to serve as mayor in 1562. The saddler was Hugh Boker in 1553. SCA, SC 3/1/1, fols 122r, 73r and 76v.

¹³⁸ SCA, SC 9/3/2 Examinations Book, 1575/6, (9 December 1575).

¹³⁹ See Butler, *Book of Fines* 1, p. 77.

¹⁴⁰ SCA, SC 3/1/1, fol. 72v, Book of Admissions of Burgesses.

¹⁴¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 18-19, no. 348. See A.B. Wallis Chapman, ed., *The Black Book of Southampton*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 13: 1912), p. 12 in which is noted an order of 1482 which states that the town paviour was to receive 'yerely a gowne', but no record of a livery being issued to the town paviour has been found.

This analysis of craft and trade groups has shown that many were composed of burgesses, freemen and strangers, thus illustrating how interrelationships flourished, although how the various associations actually functioned is complex and not easy to understand. Observations made in previous chapters show that freemen and burgesses often petitioned together to gain privileges for their individual craft groups, and also that freemen and strangers paid stall and art fees in order to trade or carry on a craft in the town. This shows that various groups could be combined for different purposes. The progression from stranger to freeman in the sixteenth century has been difficult to fully understand, but using records from the next century a plausible theory has emerged. Evidence from the Register of Free Commoners for 1614 indicates that for some men there was a period when they were seen as strangers, that is, paying stall and art fees to work in their particular craft or trade, before they were permitted to become freemen. Some of these men may originally have been non-resident strangers who had moved into the town having served their apprenticeships elsewhere. Indeed one such person was Abraham Warde, a baker, who became a free commoner in 1613, 'havinge longe dwelled in this Towne and used his occupacon thier, not beinge bounde apprentice in the said Towne'.¹⁴² Warde is one of six men noted in 1606 as 'the bakers',¹⁴³ only three of whom had paid previously for the privilege of becoming freemen. The use of the collective term 'the bakers' shows clearly that freemen and strangers worked alongside one another and were seen by the town administrators as a coherent group. In the bakers' incorporation documents of 1517 and 1546 it is stated that no stranger was to set up in the town unless he had first agreed both with the mayor and the wardens and paid 40s. The evidence for Warde suggests that although strangers could indeed set up in the town on payment of a fine, they did not automatically become freemen. This research has also shown that there were hierarchies both *between* and *within* occupations. A hierarchy of occupations based on the social standing of individuals, would most likely rank the various types of merchant at the top and immigrants working in the new draperies of the clothmaking industry at the bottom. The social standing is reflected here by the number of burgesses in a particular occupation.

By focussing on three main areas, the arrangements for the defence of the town, the officials of the Court Leet and the compositions of the occupational groups, it has been shown how the lives of burgesses, freemen and strangers were interlinked as they lived, governed and worked alongside one another. It is difficult to know how people themselves saw these interrelationships although we can get some indication from the sources. The town ordinances clearly note three different groups, burgesses, freemen (as in commoners) and strangers, but other forms of

¹⁴² SCA, SC 3/5/1, fol. 2r, Admission of Free Commoners.

¹⁴³ Connor, *Mayor's Book*, p. 53.

classification are also apparent elsewhere; for example, burgesses and non-burgesses, franchisers and non-franchisers or, in the case of the brewers, comburgesses and brethren. Although the organisation of trade and industry was dominated by men, there are also glimpses of women in the records. It is important to remember that regardless of these interrelationships, it was the mayor and the town council who controlled all aspects of life in the town. It was the mayor and his brethren who oversaw the admissions of burgesses and freemen as well as the issuing of licences to strangers for the purposes of both craft production and trade. It was also the mayor and the council who chose the town officials. The mayor would have been very aware of each person's occupation and wealth and hence their status within the town; factors which may well have been considered when issues such as the annual appointment of Court Leet officials or the maintenance of town defences were discussed.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

This thesis has brought to life a part of Southampton's history which has lain buried in the archival record of the town for centuries. By exploiting these rich sources and by comparing them to those of several other English towns, a new story has been revealed which contributes not only to Southampton's past but also to the existing histories of these other towns. At the core of this thesis lie two main questions. How was industry and trade organised in Southampton in the second half of the sixteenth century? How did this compare with the situation in other English towns? The answers to these two seemingly straightforward questions have highlighted the nature of the often complex relationships that existed between the inhabitants of English urban communities.

This thesis has demonstrated in detail how the town administration of Southampton organised and controlled those craftsmen and tradesmen who were involved in industry and trade in the late medieval and early modern period. It has also highlighted patterns of change over the period. Research undertaken for this study has shown that although there were three distinct groups in Southampton – burgesses, freemen and strangers – frequently two or more of these groups worked or governed alongside one another. Although the group with the most power and with the highest social standing in the town was undeniably the burgesses, this thesis has shown that at times there was parity between all three groups. This suggests that the regulations inscribed in the early town ordinances, which show clear demarcations between the groups, may have been more flexible in practice than they seemed in principle. This thesis has also explored the names of these groups; their origins and evolutions over time and particular consideration has been given to the ambiguous use of the term 'commoner'. This study has researched many of the occupations of the townspeople, and estimations of the compositions and sizes of a variety of occupational groups have been made. This has led to the creation of a theoretical 'hierarchy of occupations', based on social standings, which infers that some occupational groups were treated more favourably than others. Throughout this study, the administrative structure which had developed in Southampton has been compared to that of other English towns. This has highlighted the often complex and diverse nature of urban governments. Regardless of their constitutional origins, towns were led by an assembly of men, of varying numbers, within which was a smaller, senior group who wielded the most power. It was these men who controlled trade and industry by overseeing the admission processes of those who wished to work within a town's jurisdiction.

Burgesses and freemen were termed franchisers in Southampton. It is possible that at one time they were essentially one group, but at some date before c. 1300 the group split into two and as a consequence the merchants took the ascendancy over the craftsmen. In very general terms, merchants were burgesses and craftsmen were freemen. This development very much agrees with Swanson's suggestion that 'the fourteenth century brought the polarization of merchant and artisan'.¹ Research for this thesis has shown that on the evidence of the Southampton Register of Free Commoners, which was introduced in 1613/4, the distinction between burgesses and freemen continued well into the eighteenth century. It has been shown that strangers were never termed 'franchisers', not even those who paid for licences to carry on a craft or trade in the town. Strangers had to be admitted as freemen (or free commoners) of the town before they could be termed franchisers. One of the most surprising conclusions to emerge from this thesis is that even though sources show that freemen were one of the three groups involved in industry and trade in Southampton they were not, it seems, at least in the sixteenth century, very visible as a unified group in the town, unlike freemen in many other English towns. It is possible that due to the earlier split, and the subsequent domination by the burgesses, any sense of collective identity they might have possessed had been lost over time, and with it the capability to have any real influence or power in the town. Indeed, the impression given by the sources is that strangers were often treated in a similar manner to freemen, even though freemen possessed certain privileges which should have elevated them above strangers.

Although the burgesses were the elite group in the town, there was a clear hierarchy within the burgesship. In Chapter 3 the rules governing the apportioning among burgesses of certain goods brought to the town for sale have been explained, as it is here that the word 'inferior' was used to mean 'lesser' burgesses. Newcomers of the wealthier kind were welcomed in the town, illustrated by the number of strangers who entered the burgesship and then rose to the position of mayor; men like John Capleyn and John Crook. In Southampton the town council was made up of an inner circle of ex-mayors, and although this Assembly was open to burgesses only, research for this thesis, detailed in Chapter 7, has shown that several of the offices at the Court Leet were accessible to non-burgesses. Burgesses served as jurors and overseers of the common whereas non-burgesses were permitted to serve as beadles, drivers of the common and surveyors of the highway. The important discovery here is that non-burgesses were permitted to serve alongside burgesses in these roles, and this is one example of the interrelationships that existed between the three groups. As an administrative body, the Court Leet was less powerful than the town

¹ H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), p. 113.

council and always deferred to it, and this may have been the reason why men of lesser standing were permitted to hold office on it. As Swanson shrewdly points out, 'responsibility does not necessarily mean power'.² Another reason may have been the unavailability of sufficient numbers of burgesses to fill the offices of the Court Leet thus allowing non-burgesses to serve.

The fact that burgesses did not have to pay stall and art fees is another indication of their elevated status. Similarly, the fact that freemen paid these fees alongside strangers, as shown in Chapter 4, suggests strongly that, at least in this instance, freemen were not seen as a discrete group distinct from strangers. This is in spite of freemen holding the franchise alongside burgesses. One area where burgesses and freemen are noted together is in some of the incorporation documents and petitions appertaining to individual occupations, and these have been analysed in Chapter 5. Research for this chapter has shown that, certainly up to the end of the sixteenth century, burgesses and freemen often petitioned together for the mutual benefit of their members. Analysis of the names on several of the petitions of 1616, however, has shown that this situation had changed by this date as none of the petitioners was a burgess. The establishment of the Register of Free Commoners in 1613/4 is perhaps another indication that the freemen of Southampton were becoming more of a discrete group in the seventeenth century, and that they had at last found their collective voice. Indeed, the fact that the shoemakers refer to themselves as 'freemen shoemakers' in 1616 is strong evidence of this. This appears to show that the shoemakers, and possibly other occupations in Southampton, were very late in finding their collective spirit. This also suggests a widening of the social divide between the burgesses and freemen in later years.

It has become clear from evidence found in various sources, certainly those from the early sixteenth century, that within many occupations there was a mix of burgesses, freemen and strangers. This is perhaps the reason why so many crafts and trades of the town, twenty-five in fact, were permitted to maintain thirteen towers in the town wall as recorded in the Muster Book of 1544, as discussed in Chapter 7. It would seem that these groups acted as financial benefactors of the town at a time when those in government were looking for ways to ease their economic responsibilities.

Further evidence to show that by the early seventeenth century freemen and strangers in some occupations were still working alongside one another has emerged in Chapter 7 which explained the status of those collectively termed 'the bakers'. Unlike the 'freemen shoemakers' of 1616, 'the bakers' of 1606 included both sworn freemen and strangers; an obvious change from earlier

² Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 113.

times when the bakers' incorporation documents of 1517 and 1546 also included burgesses. Under certain conditions, foreign bakers had always been permitted to sell their bread in the town, so perhaps this was a continuation of that policy. It is not clear, however, if both freemen and strangers were treated equally within the bakers' group. Dyer terms the strangers of Worcester 'wage-earners' and the freemen 'self-employed traders', descriptions which initially would seem to apply well to the craftsmen and tradesmen of Southampton.³ Taking the bakers' group as an example, however, this description would seem to be less appropriate. These bakers of Southampton were most likely all to have been self-employed traders even though it is clear that there were strangers among their number.

Research for this study has shown that resident strangers, on payment for a licence, could set up in their chosen crafts or trades in Southampton, although this did not lead automatically to them becoming freemen. Generally, non-resident strangers also had to pay for licences in order to trade in the town. In comparison with other towns, Southampton seems to have treated its strangers in what could be described as 'a satisfactory manner'. Strangers who could contribute to the town in some way were generally welcomed on payment for a licence. This was not so in Exeter where from 1562 it appears that strangers were actively discouraged from settling in the town. On the other hand, there was no automatic right for strangers to become freemen after a certain period in Southampton as there was in Rye.

Research carried out for this thesis has provided insights into the numbers of burgesses, freemen and strangers who were living in Southampton, and has revealed that the vast majority of those carrying on some kind of craft or trade were strangers. The analyses of the stall and art lists for 1600 and 1601, described in Chapter 6, has shown that these lists contain over 400 names in each year, 300 of which are the same in both years. This reveals that there was a fluctuating stranger population in the town. These lists contain not only the names of craftsmen and tradesmen working in the town but also others such as labourers and mariners. It is fairly straightforward to estimate burgess numbers in Southampton in the sixteenth century, by examining entries noted in the Book of Admissions of Burgesses. Burgesses' admissions averaged five per year and there were probably around fifty burgesses alive at any one time. It is very difficult to make direct comparisons with admissions in other towns due to the nature of the records, although comparisons have been made with Exeter and Hull in Chapter 3. A similar admission figure of five per year has been estimated for freemen in Southampton in Chapter 4, although this figure may

³ A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), pp. 173, 176.

be an underestimation as only the details of those freemen who paid a fee were entered in the records before the introduction of the Register of Free Commoners in 1613/4. These figures strongly suggest that very few people were franchised in Southampton. This is a clear indication of the level of control exerted by the town council who were responsible for sanctioning the admissions of all those who wished to live and work in the town.

Another subject which has been analysed in this study is the way in which certain words evolved during the late medieval and early modern period in Southampton. It has been shown that the words 'burgess', 'commoner' and 'freeman' had their origins in the earlier medieval government of the town. Alan Dyer correctly states that 'the medieval government ... is an issue which is of vital importance to our understanding of the later system, which was firmly set on medieval foundations and was in many ways simply a continuation of it'.⁴ In Southampton, the earlier ordinances of the merchant guild of c. 1300 were still at the core of the laws which regulated the town government in the sixteenth century. The word 'burgess' developed from the earlier term 'gildsman'. Research for the present work has shown that the word 'freeman' went through several changes. In the Ancient Laws the phrase 'of the franchise' is recorded which is replaced by 'dweller' or 'commoner' in the Modern Laws. 'Freeman', a word used so frequently and from an early date in many other towns, does not appear in the Southampton record until much later, in the 1560s, and the term 'free commoner' appears much later still. It is unclear why Southampton adopted the term 'freeman' so late in comparison to many other towns.

Research into the term 'commoner' has shown that its meaning changed over time. It is difficult to know with any certainty what qualified a person to be called by this name due to its ambiguous use in the records. Initially, it would seem that 'commoner' was simply another word for the group who held the franchise alongside the burgesses, and this was reflected in the existence of the commoner's oath which was very similar to that of the burgess. In Chapter 4 it was shown how the word 'commoners' could be used in a general or casual way to describe a group of townspeople consisting of non-burgesses. By the late sixteenth century, however, both 'commoner' and 'free commoner' were terms which had come to mean 'freeman'. John Watts has emphasised the point that the 'languagae of "common" had become associated with the lower classes' by this time.⁵ In Southampton those who held the status of burgess were

⁴ Dyer, *Worcester*, p. 189. In Worcester, Dyer had to contend with the complexities of the inter-related functions of four different bodies: the Merchant Guild, the Trinity Guild, the governing body of the city before its incorporation, and the corporation set up in 1555.

⁵ J. Watts, 'Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of "the Commons", 1381-1549', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. by H. Pryce and J. Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 242-60 (p. 257).

undeniably seen as of a higher social standing and were therefore never termed 'commoners'. The term 'commoners' was reserved instead for non-burgesses only. It is possible, as was argued in Chapter 7, that the townspeople identified themselves not so much as one of three groups, as in burgess, freeman (commoner) or stranger, but more as one of two; for example, as in burgess and non-burgess. When making comparisons between towns, it must be remembered that the words 'burgess' and 'freeman' often meant different things in different urban environments.

Another focus of this thesis has been the analysis of the compositions and sizes of many of the occupational groups in Southampton. (By composition is meant here the number of burgesses, freemen and strangers in each group.) In Chapter 7 the explanatory phrase 'hierarchy of occupations' has been coined and it has been suggested that merchant adventurers would be at the top of any such ranking for Southampton. For such a hierarchy to be precisely defined, each occupation would need to be examined in detail in order to ascertain its ranking, a task which has not been possible within the scope of this thesis. It has been suggested, however, that the brewers would be near the top of the hierarchy as many of them are known to have been wealthy burgesses, certainly in the 1550s. Investment was required to set up a brewery and burgesses were the wealthiest group of the three in the town. Near the bottom of a hierarchy of occupations would most likely be both the cobblers and the immigrants working in the new draperies of the clothmaking industry, as research for this study has shown that neither group appeared to have burgesses among their numbers. The French-speaking refugees were welcomed in several towns in England in the second half of the sixteenth century in the hope that the introduction of their new draperies would bring economic benefits. In later years, however, there was friction in Southampton concerning the trading practices of the refugees.⁶ It would seem that the plight of aliens in English towns has been a focus of debate for centuries as even today, in the twenty-first century, immigration control is under close scrutiny in many countries. It has also been shown here that another group, the butchers, rarely, if ever, had any burgesses among their members, but unlike the cobblers it seems that some of them may have had some wealth, for example, William Fevorell, who was both a butcher and a husbandman. The non-burgesses who served on the Court Leet were of the clothmaking and handicrafts occupations and the victualling trades but were seldom of the mercantile crafts. As has been mentioned many times, the burgesses who controlled the town council in Southampton were generally of the mercantile crafts. This was the case in many other towns in England too, though not in all. In

⁶ See F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1603-1624*, Vol. 1, Part 3 (SRSoc 4, 1907), pp. 413-14 no. 99.

York, for instance, even though the town council was 'dominated by merchants, they shared power with a considerable number of mere craftsmen'.⁷

The incorporation documents of the butchers (1555) and the shearmen (1571) both stated that those apprenticed in the town were eligible to become freemen on completion of their apprenticeships, and it seems highly likely that other crafts would have had this arrangement too. Those occupations which formed companies were, at times, able to protect themselves against unfair competition from outsiders by petitioning the town council. Davis argues that although 'Swanson rightly asserted the guilds' subordination to municipal authorities, she perhaps goes too far in completely negating their influence'. This was because Swanson's assertion 'underestimates the vitality of craft organisations for their members and the degree of semi-autonomous self-governance which they developed'.⁸ As records for individual groups have not survived, it has been difficult to determine how semi-autonomous the craft organisations were in Southampton. No craft organisation consisting purely of freemen appeared to have held much power and no examples of a craft company successfully asserting itself have been found. Even though it has been suggested that at the beginning of the seventeenth century some occupations which consisted entirely of freemen may have found their collective voices, there is no evidence to suggest that these groups had gained any real power. Indeed the evidence of an incident concerning the shoemakers in 1616 seems to confirm their lack of influence. This involved a complaint made by the shoemakers about a newly-made freeman shoemaker who they wanted to 'be putt downe' or in other words have his freedom taken away.⁹ The reason for their complaint was not given, but significantly the original decision of the town council to allow him his freedom was upheld, thus overriding the wishes of the majority of the shoemakers.

Some occupations appear to have obtained monopolies. The chandlers, who were generally burgesses, and the glaziers, who all seem to have been freemen, obtained monopolies to supply their goods and skills. Other monopolies were held by the town carpenter and the town plumber who were appointed to carry out work in the town. There is no evidence to show that the two men who were employed in these positions during the 1570s ever paid to become freemen, although, like many others, if they had been apprenticed in the town they could have been given this privilege automatically.

⁷ D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 106.

⁸ J. Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 169.

⁹ W.J. Connor, ed., *The Southampton Mayor's Book, 1606-1608* (SRS 21, 1978), p. 62, no. 82.

Another subject which has been considered in this thesis is the religious affiliations within craft groups. The time-frame of this study covers a period of extraordinary religious and political change in England. As Vanessa Harding rightly states, 'between 1540 and 1580, many of the basic institutional structures of medieval urban society were abolished or fundamentally altered' due to the Reformation.¹⁰ In relation to the craft and trade guilds in England, this meant principally the loss of their religious components, but very little of this change has been found in the town records of Southampton. As Chapter 5 has shown, there is scant evidence of religious affiliations within the craft and trade groups in the town before the Reformation. This may be because the relevant sources have not survived or, more likely, because the religious element of these groups was never great in Southampton, and any changes that might have occurred after the Reformation would have been very slight and therefore difficult to observe. This lack of association with religious elements is perhaps not so surprising when seen in the context of the merchant guild of the town. The merchant guild of Southampton, which later became synonymous with the town council, appears never to have had a close relationship with a religious fraternity, unlike many other towns, for example, the merchant guild of Winchester with its strong connection to the fraternity of John the Baptist. It has been suggested here, therefore, that although there are glimpses of religious affiliations between some groups and their associated fraternities, namely in the form of 'lights', there was generally never a strong link between a guild, merchant or otherwise, and a religious body in Southampton.

This lack of any obvious religious element within the various occupational groups contributes to our wider picture of religious beliefs in the town at the time of the Reformation. In her thesis of 2003, Susan Parkinson stated that 'the majority of the laity in Southampton required no persuasion to readily accept the Elizabethan Protestant Church, and hence the Reformation was virtually complete in Southampton in 1559'.¹¹ She plausibly suggests that this may have been because of the town's role as a port and its history of accepting new people and new ideas. The incorporation documents and petitions of the 1540s and 1550s certainly appear to have been written purely for economic reasons and not in response to the Reformation. Of course religious sentiment was still a powerful force in sixteenth-century Southampton, but it would seem that the economy, administered by the leading burgesses who were generally wealthy merchants, was the driving force of the town.

¹⁰ V. Harding, 'Reformation and Culture, 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 2, 1540-1840, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 263-88 (p. 263).

¹¹ S.K. Parkinson, 'The Religion of the People in Winchester and Southampton, c. 1558-c. 1603' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2003), p. 188. Evidence obtained from wills is used extensively in this thesis.

There is of course great scope beyond this thesis for further study to uncover more about life in late medieval and early modern English towns. This present work has shown glimpses of the lives of craftsmen and tradesmen in the early seventeenth century, primarily in references to the Register of Free Commoners. Further study of the early Stuart period could well reveal how the interrelationships which have been analysed here, continued to shift and evolve during the tumultuous years leading up to the execution of Charles I in 1649.

Another potential subject of study could be merchant bonds which might well reveal some of the day-to-day workings of commerce and trade in Southampton and elsewhere. These bonds were a common way of recording debts in which the borrower promised to pay by a certain date. It seems highly likely that the majority of these bonds recorded in Southampton would have involved burgesses but it is possible that the names of freemen and strangers were also noted among the records. This would add still further to our understanding of the relationships which existed between the three groups.

A third line of enquiry might be to investigate how raw materials were sourced. At present it is unclear how certain supply chains operated in Southampton. It is known, for example, that the chandlers received their tallow from both resident and non-resident butchers and that some grain for the bakers and brewers was brought in from other towns. It is not clear, however, who supplied the butchers with livestock or how much grain the town was able to grow itself. Another area which is rarely, if ever, discussed by historians of Southampton is the leather industry. This is partly due to the quality of the records which, beyond showing that substantial quantities of hides were moved through the port, give very few details.¹² These suggestions for further study would inevitably lead to new stories about individual townspeople being uncovered, thus enhancing the biographical details which are a significant part of the present thesis.

This thesis has shown that despite all the upheavals of the Reformation period, the hierarchy which had developed in Southampton during previous centuries was sustained. This hierarchy was in some ways a contradiction. It is clear that there were three distinct groups in the town, and yet this study has revealed that at times there were interrelationships which show, at least on the surface, that there was a degree of parity between them. It would seem that no amount of turmoil in England could affect the institutional structures which had already evolved in Southampton.

¹² J. Hare, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', in *English Inland Trade: 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by M. Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 161-68 (p. 163).

Chapter 8

This thesis has scrutinised sources which have rarely, if ever, been used in surveys of English urban history. By exposing their often unique nature, aspects of the organisation of industry and trade in Southampton over a period of more than half a century have been revealed for the first time. This has made it possible for Southampton to be seen in the context of other late medieval and early modern towns. In short, this thesis has demonstrated not only that in-depth studies of individual communities have new stories to tell about English urban environments of the past but also that these narratives are well worth telling today.

Appendix A The rankings and populations of some English towns

Ranking of towns by taxpaying population: subsidy of 1524/5¹

Town	Rank
Norwich	2
Bristol	3
York	5
Exeter	6
Salisbury	8
Winchester	15
Worcester	22
Ipswich	25
Southampton	29
Hull	40
Rye	41
Nottingham	50
Boston	51
Sandwich	not listed

¹ Source: Extracted from A.D. Dyer, 'Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 1, 600-1540, ed. by D.M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 747-70 (pp. 761-64).

Appendix A

Ranking of towns by taxable wealth: subsidy of 1524/5²

Town	Rank
Norwich	2
Bristol	3
Exeter	6
Salisbury	7
Ipswich	9
York	11
Worcester	16
Rye	21
Boston	26
Hull	28
Southampton	32
Winchester	41
Nottingham	not listed
Sandwich	not listed

² Source: Dyer, 'Ranking Lists', pp. 765-67.

Populations of English provincial towns in 1524/5³

Town	Population (000s)	Population in later years
Norwich	9250	
Bristol	7579	
Exeter	6825	
Salisbury	5753	
York	5662	
Winchester	3874	
Worcester	3224	
Ipswich	3146	
Southampton	2925⁴	4200 in 1596⁵
Boston	2243	c. 2000 in 1563 ⁶ c. 2200 in 1603 ⁷
Hull	2197	
Nottingham	1918	
Rye	not listed	c. 4000 in 1550s ⁸
Sandwich	not listed	

³ Source: Extracted from A.D. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 72-4.

⁴ Platt suggests that the population in 1524 was between 1,750 and 1,950 inhabitants. C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 263.

⁵ A.L. Merson, 'Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *A Survey of Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by F.J. Monkhouse (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1964), pp. 218-27 (p. 224).

⁶ P. Clark and J. Clark, eds, *The Boston Assembly Minutes, 1545-1575*, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 77 (Woodbridge: Lincoln Record Society, 1987), p. x.

⁷ Clark and Clark, *Boston*, p. x.

⁸ G. Mayhew, *Tudor Rye* (Falmer: University of Sussex, 1987), p. 6.

Appendix B Occupational groupings in Southampton in the sixteenth century¹

1.Mercantile Crafts	2.Victualling Trades	3.Clothmaking	4.Handicrafts: clothes and shoes	5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts
Apothecary	Baker	Occupations connected with woollen cloth making*	Capper	Armourer
Draper, linen	Brewer	Silkweaver	Cobbler	Cutler
Draper, woollen	Butcher		Feltmaker	Goldsmith
Grocer	Chandler, tallow		Glover	Pewterer
Haberdasher	Fishmonger		Hosier	Tin-foil beater
Hardwareman	Huckster		Jerkin maker	
Ironmonger	Poulterer		Pouchmaker	
Mercer	Publican		Shoemaker or cordwainer or corvesor	
Merchant or merchant adventurer			Tailor	
Merchant tailor				
6.Handicrafts: building crafts	7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding	8.Handicrafts: others	9.Sea-going occupations	10.Services
Brickmaker and bricklayer	Shipwright	Basketmaker	Fisherman	Barber
Carpenter	Blockmaker	Blacksmith	Sailor and mariner	Barber surgeon or surgeon
Glazier	Sailmaster	Bowyer		Notary
Hellier		Brasier		Paviour
Joiner		Cooper		
Mason		Currier		
Painter		Locksmith		
Plumber		Miller		
Sawyer		Saddler		
		Skinner		
		Tanner		
		Turner		
*This group includes: clothier, clothworker, dyer, fuller, presser of serge, sergemaker, weaver, woolcomber, shearman, etc.				

¹ Source: Based on A.L. Merson, ed., A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740, compiled by A.J. Willis (SRS 12, 1968), p. xxxvi-xxxviii.

Appendix C Law and enforcement of occupational groups in Southampton

In the following survey the ordinances and orders relating to individual crafts and trades in Southampton are examined, and it is revealed that few occupations went unregulated. Merson's ten occupational groupings have been adopted. These groupings are:

1. Mercantile crafts
2. Victualling trades
3. Clothmaking
4. Handicrafts: clothes and shoes
5. Handicrafts: metal-working crafts
6. Handicrafts: building crafts
7. Handicrafts: shipbuilding
8. Handicrafts: others
9. Sea-going occupations
10. Services

1. Mercantile crafts (including: apothecary, grocer, haberdasher, ironmonger, linendraper, mercer, merchant or merchant adventurer, merchant tailor¹ and woollendraper). Only the merchants were named in the town ordinances.

Merchant or merchant adventurer. It could be said that as the town ordinances were rooted in the ancient 'merchant' guild, the ordinances were, in effect, written with the merchants at their heart. In other words, the term 'merchant' could, in most cases, replace the words 'burgess' or

¹ In his occupational groupings, Merson lists 'merchant tailor' under mercantile crafts and 'tailor' under handicrafts: clothes and shoes. It has not always been possible to distinguish between these two occupations in the records, although the evidence suggests that there would have been more 'tailors' at this time in Southampton and therefore they are discussed below under 'Handicrafts: tailors'. An ordinance stated that only burgesses were to sell cloth by retail and an entry in the Court Leet records confirms this regulation by stating clearly that only burgesses could be merchant tailors. P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (SRSoc 10, 1910), p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14 and F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (SRSoc 1, 1905), p. 13, no. 60. See also M. Davies and A. Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Tailors' Company* (Leeds: Maney, 2004), 'Tailors into Merchant Tailors', pp. 64-6.

'gildsman' in many of the ordinances. Several ordinances specifically used the word 'merchant'.² Some were issued in connection with the town brokers whose work involved regulating agreements between merchants. Merson believes that the ordinances relating to the brokers were probably little observed, and there are several complaints about the brokers in the Court Leet records of the 1580s which would indeed suggest this.³ One ordinance states that brokers were to deal only with those merchants, either town dwellers or strangers, who had sufficient funds to be able to pay for the goods that they were intending to buy. The penalty for not doing so was the loss of the broker's office.⁴ Another ordinance stated that no broker should be a merchant or a partner of a merchant, again the penalty was the loss of his office.⁵ One other ordinance, which was only written in the Modern Laws, stated that no merchant was to have any dealings with merchants out at sea, unless it was through a broker. This ordinance was probably enacted in 1519 when it was also recorded in the Third Book of Remembrance. This related to ships out at sea as far as the Isle of Wight and was designed to stop 'redy money' from leaving the country, which was contrary to the law. Any merchant that disobeyed this ordinance would be amerced 6s 8d.⁶ There was also an order of 1566 which was concerned with regulating the fees of the brokers between merchants.⁷ Another ordinance specified that stranger merchants who hired houses or cellars were to keep only their own goods in them.⁸

There are several orders in the Third Book of Remembrance concerning agreements with merchants from the Channel Islands and elsewhere. In 1515 it was agreed that the men of Guernsey would get a reduction in custom rates on their trade in cloth.⁹ This concession was withdrawn in 1553 and other privileges granted to merchants of both Guernsey and Jersey were withdrawn in 1572.¹⁰ There were two further orders relating to custom payments for merchant clothiers. One related to all Northern men, that is, clothiers from the north of England in 1554 (see Chapter 6) and the other one was for the clothiers from Lymington, Hampshire in 1592.¹¹ In

² Some of these ordinances are analysed in Chapter 3 concerning burgesses and therefore are not noted here.

³ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 1, 1514-1540 (SRS 2, 1952), p. 30, n. 5.

⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 135: Ancient Laws, no. 59/Modern Laws, no. 48.

⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 139: Ancient Laws, no. 74/Modern Laws, no. 60 and Davies, *Southampton*, p. 212.

⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 140: Modern Laws, no. 63 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 30, no. 109.

⁷ A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2 (SRS 3, 1955), pp. 97-8, no. 267.

⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 130: Ancient Laws, no. 40/Modern Laws, no. 32.

⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, pp. 27-8, no. 105.

¹⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 39, 138-39, nos 197, 310.

¹¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 51, no. 211 and T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), 4, p. 10, no. 423.

1553 and 1564 there were two orders relating to the merchants who dealt in linen and woollen cloth (see Chapter 2). There were few references to merchants in the Court Leet presentments.¹²

2. Victualling trades (including: baker, brewer, butcher, chandler, fishmonger, poulterer and publican). Of these, only the chandlers were not specifically referred to in the ordinances.

Bakers. Two ordinances related to the bakers and they both appear in the Ancient and the Modern Laws. The first concerned the assizes of bread, ale and beer and stated that every month, or at least four times a year, the assize was to be ‘holden in all pointes’, in relation to the price of corn.¹³ This related to the practice of proclaiming the statute price of corn, in Southampton’s case, at least four times a year, and was used to calculate the weight of the various kinds of loaves.¹⁴ From entries surviving in the Book of Fines, it appears that when the assize changed and a new one was issued, the bakers had to pay a fee.¹⁵ The second ordinance stated that bread brought to the market for sale, either in carts or upon horses, must be sold only by the baker or his wife or his servants. No other person must sell it either at the market or before the market opened. The penalty for disobeying this ordinance was a payment of 12d and the confiscation of the bread.¹⁶ Bakers were also generally compelled to have their own personal seal clearly marked on every loaf so that it was clear which baker the bread belonged to. It was hoped that this would stop regrating by middle men, that is, the practice of buying produce in order to sell it again at a higher price at the same market. Another reason for a clear baker’s mark on the bread was that any baker breaking the assize could be easily identified.¹⁷

There are several orders relating to the bakers in the Third Book of Remembrance. One of these orders in 1597 stated that the bakers were to make only ‘howshold leavened bread’ because of the dearth of corn. Three different types of bread that were being baked in the town at this time were noted: ‘white, wheaten and howsholde’. Household bread was coarse brown bread made of unbolted, or not sifted, flour. Any other bread that was baked contrary to this order and the statutes would be forfeited and distributed to the poor of the town.¹⁸ At various times the bakers leased the Woollen Hall, over the fish market for 20s a year. There are records of the bakers’

¹² See F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), p. 185, no. 95 for one example of a presentment in 1580 concerning the details of an ancient custom relating to the tin merchants which had fallen out of use.

¹³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 29/Modern Laws, no. 21. Only ale is mentioned in the Ancient Laws, not beer.

¹⁴ P. Studer, ed., *The Oak Book of Southampton*, 2 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 11, 1911), p. xxii.

¹⁵ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 41, 2007), p. 127.

¹⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 137: Ancient Laws, no. 68/Modern Laws, no. 55.

¹⁷ Studer, *Oak Book*, 2, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁸ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 36, no. 464 and Studer, *Oak Book*, 2, p. xxvi.

lease of this hall in the steward's books for 1525/6 and 1533/4 and it is likely that they also held it in 1519 when an entry for the sale of ships' biscuits was noted in the Third Book of Remembrance (see Chapter 5).¹⁹

An enquiry into the town's grain supply of January 1534 was related to one of the most important of the council's duties; that of having sufficient grain and malt supplies for the keeping of the assizes of bread and ale. Merson observes that this enquiry could have been as a result of a fleet of three galleys which is known to have visited the town in the early months of 1534.²⁰ This is a very plausible reason as a galley, with a crew of about 200, would have meant a large addition to the population of the town for several months. The entry is noteworthy because it gives the amount of grain held by certain bakers and it mentions grain being imported from Rye and Hull. The brewers promised that they had sufficient malt for the town.

There are many references in the Court Leet records to the bakers failing to observe the assize of bread and other violations of the town ordinances. One noteworthy presentment gives a glimpse of ordinary life in the town in 1579. At a specified hour each week (11 o'clock) the common baker was supposed to bake the dough belonging to the inhabitants of the town, but because he did not keep to this specific time, dough and bread was being spoiled.²¹ An earlier presentment of 1549 shows that at this date the baker was expected to do this three times a week and was to send a boy around the town beforehand to alert everyone.²²

Brewers. Six ordinances related to the brewers; five of which were in the Modern Laws only which would suggest that there were increasing problems with the brewers. The first, which was included in both the Ancient and Modern Laws, concerned the control of the assizes of bread, ale and beer and is mentioned above under 'Bakers'.²³ The remaining five, which only appear in the Modern Laws, probably date from between 1531 and 1562. The first one stated that common brewers of ale or beer were not allowed to sell their produce in their own houses.²⁴ They were expected to sell their ale or beer to the alehouse-keepers and others in the town.²⁵ The penalty was 10s for every offence committed. Brewers in other towns were similarly forbidden to sell their products in their own houses. Brewers in Worcester, for example, were forbidden by their

¹⁹ B. Chinchin, *Steward Book: 1525/6*, (SCA, SC 5/1/34), p. 9 and 1533/4, (SCA, SC 5/1/38), p. 8.

²⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 46, no. 138.

²¹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 2, p. 184, no. 89.

²² Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 7, no. 21.

²³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 125: Ancient Laws, no. 29/Modern Laws, no. 21. Only ale is mentioned in the Ancient Laws, not beer.

²⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 142: Modern Laws, no. 67.

²⁵ See J.R. Brown, 'The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2007), p. 36.

corporation.²⁶ This ordinance appeared three times in the records which strongly suggests that it was not being followed by the brewers. Equally it illustrates the determination of the council to enforce the town's regulations. The second mention of it is in an entry of 1531 written in the Third Book of Remembrance which was very similar, except that the fine was the lesser amount of 3s 4d. Here, an addition to the order stated that night-watchmen were to be appointed to root out the problem of unlawful games being played at night by brewers, tappers and lodging house keepers. The reason given for the problem in the first place was that 'every other howse is a bruer or a tapper'.²⁷ According to Merson, tappers and tipplers were one and the same, that is, retailers of ale and beer.²⁸ The third mention of this ordinance, again in the Modern Laws, stated that the fine was now 40s and this was probably enacted in 1553 when it was also recorded in the Third Book of Remembrance along with another order detailing the costs of the different types of beer.²⁹

Another ordinance, which Merson convincingly dates to 1551, stated that common brewers were not allowed to buy their wood, for fuel, from carts or wains but from boats that brought wood to the town by water. This may relate to the problems of high prices and the scarcity of wood-fuel around this time. The penalty was 10s. The brewers were, however, permitted to buy wood and coal for use in their houses.³⁰ A final ordinance, most probably of 1562, ordered the beer brewers not to use carts with iron-covered wheels on the town's roads as they caused too much damage.³¹ This is another illustration of how the council controlled all aspects of life in the town.

It is worth noting that nearly half of the sixty orders noted in the Third Book of Remembrance regarding the regulation of industry and trade concern the brewers. The vast majority were concerned with the price, often in relation to the price of malt, and the quality of the beer. Other matters included an order of 1553 which stated that two brewers were to serve Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney from time to time and an entry of 1562 noted that the brewer in St Mary's Street was to supply free beer for the Court Leet each year.³² In 1596 there was a 'dearth and scarcitie'

²⁶ A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), p. 140.

²⁷ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 44, no. 135.

²⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 1, no. 1.

²⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 144: Modern Laws, nos 74 and 75 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 47, no. 206.

³⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 143: Modern Laws, no. 73 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 34, no. 192.

³¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 145: Modern Laws, no. 78 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 87, no. 254.

³² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 36, 88, nos 194, 255.

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of corn and restrictions on brewing were ordered.³³ A town official, the court bailiff, was found guilty of acting contrary to this order and was discharged from the burgesship.³⁴ W.G. Hoskins describes 1596 as a year of 'dearth' in England, which very much correlates with the Southampton evidence.³⁵

There are dozens of presentments for the brewers in the Court Leet records. Many are concerned with the price and the quality of their ales and beers, for example, in 1575, when the price of malt had fallen the brewers were presented for keeping the price of their beer too high.³⁶ Another presentment concerned the digging of clay in the salt marsh, which they used to fill the bung holes in their casks. In 1566 they were commanded to fill in any holes that they had made.³⁷

Butchers and tallow chandlers. The tallow chandlers have been paired with the butchers for the purposes of discussing the regulatory ordinances and orders. This is because the tallow chandlers were totally reliant on the butchers for the supply of tallow. The butchers, on the other hand, had various other products to market, such as meat for food and hides for leather. Wax candles were made by the barbers and are discussed below under 'Services: Barbers'.

Seven ordinances related to the butchers; four of which appear in both the Ancient and Modern Laws; one in the Ancient Laws only and two in the Modern Laws only. The first ordinance, which was written in both Laws, stated, amongst other things, that only a burgess could buy fresh hides or any kind of fresh skins, except on market or fair days.³⁸ This illustrates one of the privileges of a burgess and although the butchers were not specifically named here, due to the nature of their work, it was relevant to them. Another ordinance details the four discreets of the market. These were the men who were chosen to oversee the correct enactments of the statutes concerning fish, meat and poultry; two were elected to supervise the trade in fish and two for the meat and poultry market. In the Ancient Laws these men were to be responsible also for the regulations concerning bread which was brought to market from out of the town. The Modern Laws go further in that the regulations concerned not only bread but beer and ale and were to be overseen by four aldermen who were chosen to be the mayor's assistants. They had to ensure that the 'statutes and ordinances' concerning the regulations for bread, beer and ale were adhered to. This related to all bread, beer and ale 'comminge to the towne, or baked or brued

³³ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 29, no. 457.

³⁴ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, pp. 34-6, no. 463.

³⁵ W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480-1619', *Agricultural History Review*, 12 (1964), 28-46 (p. 46).

³⁶ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 122, no. 85.

³⁷ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet*, 1, p. 38, no. 18.

³⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14.

within the Towne'.³⁹ The discreets of the markets for meat and poultry were specially mentioned in an order concerning sheep heads, which is mentioned below. A third ordinance stated that butchers, or any other seller of victuals, were to sell only goods that were 'holle, cleane, well ordered and holsome'. The punishment for disregarding this order was payment of 2s plus the penalty noted in the statutes. The fourth ordinance, noted in both the Ancient and Modern Laws, said that no butcher or cook was to leave any filth or fowl thing in the streets, the penalty for disobedience being 12d.⁴⁰

Of the two ordinances that appeared only in the Modern Laws, the first stated that no butcher living Above Bar, that is, outside the north walls, was allowed to sell meat from his shop. He was only to sell it at the market, which was at the Friars Gate, or at the shops of other butchers in the town. Also, all foreign butchers, that is, butchers who did not live in the town, were only to sell their produce on the market day at the Friars Gate and they must bring with them all the tallow and hides of all the cattle and other animals that they had killed. The penalty for non-compliance was 6s 8d. This order was almost certainly written in the Oak Book in 1548 which is the date in which it appears in the Third Book of Remembrance.⁴¹ There is evidence in the Court Leet records in 1550 of a butcher being permitted to sell his meat from his shop which stood Above Bar. It seems that this was allowed because he sold his meat at reasonable prices to the poor people of the town.⁴²

The second ordinance in the Modern Laws only concerned the sale of sheep's heads which were to be sold with their 'henges' attached, between certain dates of the year. The 'henge' of an animal was the 'pluck' consisting of the heart, liver, lungs etc. which, in the dressing of sheep, were supposed to be kept attached by the windpipe to the head. The ordinance also stated that the discreets of the market must observe the henges attached to the heads before they could be cut off by the butchers. This order probably dates from 1556 as it appeared in the Third Book of Remembrance at this date. The penalty given in the Oak Book for failure to observe the order was 6s 8d and imprisonment at the mayor's discretion. The penalty given in the Third Book of

³⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 126: Ancient Laws, no. 31/Modern Laws, no. 23.

⁴⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 130, 131: Ancient Laws, no. 41/Modern Laws, no. 33 and Ancient Laws, no. 42/Modern Laws, no. 34.

⁴¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 142: Modern Laws, no. 69 and Merson and *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 13-4. See Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 69: Ancient Laws, no. 67 for details of an ordinance which was written in the Ancient Laws only and was probably the forerunner of this later, more comprehensive one. It stated that a butcher, or any other person, so presumably both town dweller and foreigner alike, could only sell the hide of a beast within the town.

⁴² Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 30, no. 49.

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Remembrance was 40s.⁴³ Both of these later ordinances in the Modern Laws were most likely enacted not only to ensure quality and control prices, but also to make it easier for the town council to collect tolls on the separate sale of all parts of the animal, for example, meat, hide and tallow.⁴⁴ This was obviously an on-going problem, as there was another order relating to it noted in the Third Book of Remembrance in 1599. This was an agreement between the butchers and the town which stated that the butchers must bring their meat, tallow and hides to sell in their shops or stalls on every market day; 'to sett in the open shew of there market shopps and stales for and duringe the time of there market in publique view'.⁴⁵

After the brewers, the butchers have the most orders noted in the Third Book of Remembrance, although unlike the orders for the brewers, the majority were not concerned with prices. Merson observes that the price of meat does not appear normally to have been fixed, however, there is at least one order fixing the price of 'beffe and mutton', in 1549. The penalty for non-compliance was 5s and imprisonment at the discretion of the mayor. The timing of this order was possibly connected with Lent when meat tended to become scarce and rise in price.⁴⁶ It is possible, however, that this order which regulated the price of meat was connected with the outbreaks of popular unrest that occurred in 1549.⁴⁷

An order issued in 1571 stated that on market days the butchers at Friars Gate and 'all other strainge butchers' must not sell any kind of meat after one o'clock. The penalty for disobedience was 3s 6d. It also stated that two butchers were to be appointed as wardens of all of the butchers of the town in order to ensure that only good and wholesome meat was sold by all the butchers 'according to the statutes'.⁴⁸ In 1593 and 1596 two wardens were again appointed for this same reason; to prevent the sale of bad meat. Each pair was to serve for a year.⁴⁹

There are at least ten orders concerning both the butchers and the tallow chandlers in the Books of Remembrance. Throughout the sixteenth century the council attempted to control the price and supply of candles in an effort to prevent profiteering. This was often in times of tallow shortages. Regularly one or two tallow chandlers would be appointed under contract to supply

⁴³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 144: Modern Laws, no. 76 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 54, no. 216.

⁴⁴ M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 300.

⁴⁵ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 45, no. 481.

⁴⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 19, no. 175.

⁴⁷ See A.C. Jones, 'Commotion Time', the English Risings of 1549' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2003) for a detailed discussion on the significance of these lesser-known risings.

⁴⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 126, no. 299.

⁴⁹ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, pp. 16, 31, nos 434, 460.

the needs of the town at a fixed price for a certain period. In return they were given a monopoly of the tallow derived from animals slaughtered in the town or brought to the town for sale as meat, and the butchers were required to deliver it to the official chandlers at a fixed price. Sometimes weekly quotas were fixed for each butcher and on other occasions each chandler was assigned certain butchers and ordered to supply a particular ward or wards. Merson is unclear as to whether the official chandlers had a monopoly, but suggests that possibly other chandlers could sell candles, on market days at least, provided they sourced their tallow from outside the town.⁵⁰

Much of the content of these orders in the Books of Remembrance is similar, containing details of both the prices to be paid to the butchers for their tallow and the prices that the chandlers can charge for their candles. The names of the individual chandlers who were appointed to supply the town are sometimes mentioned. There are some additional comments which add to our understanding of the tallow and candle industry. An order of 1548, for example, noted that if there was insufficient tallow in the town the chandlers were to 'make provision yn the country'.⁵¹ This presumably meant in the surrounding countryside. Another order of 1548 noted that a man from Winchester was appointed to be the town tallow chandler. It is unclear as to why a non-townsmen was chosen, but his contract did not last long as there were problems with his craftsmanship.⁵² In 1554 the appointed town chandlers were ordered to bring their candles (or possibly tallow) to be inspected by the steward every Tuesday and Friday, by one o'clock. Merson suggests that Tuesdays and Fridays were the market days. The butchers were also ordered not to cut or 'jadge' any sheep as it was felt that this could in some way improve the appearance of the sheep.⁵³ In 1560 the names of fourteen butchers were noted alongside the quantities of tallow that each must supply to the chandlers each week. The total amount of tallow was nearly sixty-six stone. It is worth noting that the men included in this list were not all town butchers; there was one from Sholing, one from Hamble, and two from another village.⁵⁴ Sholing and Hamble, both to the east of the town, would have been villages at this time. There is a similar list for 1561 listing ten names.⁵⁵

In 1571 an order was made appointing tallow chandlers to each ward and the butchers supplying the tallow were named. Each of the four wards was allocated two butchers except Holy Rood

⁵⁰ Much of the content of this paragraph is based on Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 12, n. 6.

⁵¹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 12, no. 169.

⁵² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 17, no. 173 and p. 25, n. 3.

⁵³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 49-50, no. 209.

⁵⁴ H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1483-1563*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 30, 1930), pp. 95-6.

⁵⁵ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 96.

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ward where 'Harye Graye, Thomas of Mylbroke, Roberte Suckerman and the rest at Fryers being forryners' were allocated.⁵⁶ The total for Holy Rood ward could have been as many as eight which would have brought the overall total to fourteen butchers, the same total as in 1560. It is unclear why more butchers were allocated to Holy Rood ward compared with the other wards in 1571. Holy Rood was not the largest ward in relation to the number of householders, although it was the second largest (St Michael and St John ward was the largest as identified in a survey of 1589)⁵⁷ so it therefore seems unlikely that more than two butchers would have been needed, unless it was known that the butchers allocated to Holy Rood ward were not able to supply sufficient quantities of tallow. Records suggest that there was at least one freeman in this group of butchers named for Holy Rood ward, and they were not, therefore, all foreign men. In 1577 only two chandlers were appointed; both had served in 1571.⁵⁸

The length of contracts awarded to the town chandlers varied, the contract drawn up in 1577 was for twenty-one years. Records show, however, that the contracts did not always run for the scheduled length of time, and indeed by late 1577 another contract had been drawn up and this time just one chandler was to serve the town 'thus attaining a monopoly'.⁵⁹ This contract of 1577 survives and attached to it is a schedule which lists the 'inholders, taverners and tipling howses' and the amount of candles, in pounds (lb), that each was to be supplied with each week. Forty-five names were listed, each requiring between 2 lb and 8 lb of candles, totalling 124 lb (or nearly nine stones). The chandler, William Barwick, a prominent burgess, must have had a substantial workforce which was capable of supplying not only those premises selling ale and beer but also the whole town.

In 1587 yet another order was made for the regulation of the sale of tallow which reaffirmed the responsibilities of both the town chandler, to supply the candles at an agreed price, and the butchers, to supply the tallow to him without embezzling or selling any part of the animals they killed against the regulations.⁶⁰ In 1596 two types of tallow were mentioned: ship tallow and kidney tallow.⁶¹ It is possible that ship tallow referred to the tallow that was used for waterproofing ships' hulls and kidney tallow was the fat from around the kidneys of cows which, even today, is seen as the best quality fat for culinary purposes. The town chandler was dismissed

⁵⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 127, no. 300.

⁵⁷ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 279, no. 94.

⁵⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 12, no. 340.

⁵⁹ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 82 and see pp. 81-4 for a detailed discussion on the chandlers' contracts at Southampton from 1571 to 1589.

⁶⁰ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 46, no. 385.

⁶¹ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 31, no. 460.

in 1597 because of the quality of his candles and another chandler replaced him. In 1599 yet another different chandler was appointed.⁶²

In addition to the orders concerning agreements between the butchers and the tallow chandlers, there was also one between the butchers, the chandlers and the glovers. In 1517 the butchers promised to deliver all their sheep fells to the glovers and all their tallow to the chandlers.⁶³

Presentments in the Court Leet books concerning the butchers are plentiful and show clearly how the Court Leet jurors enforced the ordinances and orders of the council. The presentments relate, amongst other matters, to the prices and the quality of their meat, the slaughtering of animals in the street and the disposal of waste meat in the streets. For example; in 1549 the butchers at the Friars Gate were presented for throwing 'oxe hedds to theire doges' and other filth into the streets and in 1602 they were presented for having shops at places other than at the Friar's Gate.⁶⁴ The chandlers were presented several times for the price and quality of their candles, and in 1571 they were accused of using inferior wicks in their candles.⁶⁵

Fishermen and fishmongers. The fishermen and fishmongers have been grouped together for the purposes of discussing the ordinances and orders which related to them. This is because in some cases it is difficult to tell which of these occupations the ordinance or order was referring to. Whereas fishmongers are one of the victualling trades, fishermen are listed under sea-going occupations.

Eight ordinances related to fishermen or fishmongers, of which one was in the Ancient Laws only and one was in the Modern Laws only.⁶⁶ The first ordinance which appeared in both the Ancient and Modern Laws was one which is discussed above under 'Butchers and tallow chandlers' and relates to the four discreets of the market. In the case of the fishermen and the fishmongers, two discreets were to be appointed annually to oversee the fish market.⁶⁷ The fish market, with its own market house, was situated in St Michael's Square outside the west door of the parish church St Michael. This building still survives and was moved to its present position, next to the West Gate, in 1634. It is now called Tudor Merchants Hall (previously Westgate Hall). Another ordinance stated that no fisherman was to sell fish that came into the port in a ship or large boat without the fish having been inspected first by the mayor or his deputy to make sure that they

⁶² James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, pp. 40, 44, nos 471, 479.

⁶³ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 84-5.

⁶⁴ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 12, no. 52 and Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 369, no. 74.

⁶⁵ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 76, no. 70.

⁶⁶ Two of these ordinances are analysed in Chapter 4 concerning freemen and therefore are not noted here.

⁶⁷ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 126: Ancient Laws, no. 31/Modern Laws, no. 23.

were good and wholesome. It also stated that this order was to be extended to salt-fish and indeed to any other merchandise, presumably, that arrived by sea.⁶⁸ In his reforming ordinances of 1491, Overey added that imported salt-fish could not be sold until a proclamation had been made throughout the town stating the time of the sale.⁶⁹ A third ordinance stated that only the fisherman who had caught the fish or had bought it 'without Calshot', presumably in the waters beyond Calshot, were allowed to sell it in the market or the street. They were to bring all their fish to the market immediately on arrival in the town and were not to leave any in their boats or give any of it to another person for him to sell. If there was any regrating, that is, buying produce in order to sell again at a higher price at the same market, it would all be confiscated.⁷⁰ Studer suggests that this last point was to discourage and outlaw the middle man.⁷¹ This is most definitely the case as several of the ordinances were detrimental to middle men, such as the hucksters, whose livelihoods depended on the buying and the re-selling of goods. Another ordinance was concerned with the price of salt-fish and herring brought to the town.⁷²

There is one ordinance that is recorded only in the Ancient Laws and it concerned the fishermen of Millbrook, but it is unclear as to whether this was the Millbrook village nearby to the west of the town or Millbrook in Cornwall. The meaning of the ordinance is also unclear.⁷³ There was an agreement, however, with the fishermen of Millbrook, Cornwall in 1560 which was noted in the Third Book of Remembrance and is discussed below. One ordinance appeared only in the Modern Laws, although almost identical versions appeared in both the Book of Remembrance and in 1549 in the Third Book of Remembrance. This order concerned the measuring of Newfoundland fish, and noted the standard size of fish used for counting, for example, a fish measuring between twenty-seven and twenty inches was counted as one.⁷⁴

There are several agreements made between the town and fishermen or fishmongers of other towns. In 1559 there was an agreement with a London fishmonger for the sale of fish in the town. The fish noted were ling and salmon and the prices were given.⁷⁵ In March 1560 there was another agreement for the supply of fish, this time with a man of Teignmouth in Devon. He was to sell to no one else or he would forfeit five pounds. It is not clear whether he was a fisherman

⁶⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 133: Ancient Laws, no. 52/Modern Laws, no. 41.

⁶⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 155: Overey's Law: no. 19.

⁷⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 137: Ancient Laws, no. 64/Modern Laws, no. 53.

⁷¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 66, n. 25. See 'Bakers' above for another example of an ordinance against regrating.

⁷² Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 140: Ancient Laws, no. 77/Modern Laws, no. 62.

⁷³ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 67: Ancient Laws, no. 66.

⁷⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 142: Modern Laws, no. 70; Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 97; and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 23, no. 180.

⁷⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 67, no. 231.

or fishmonger as in the records he was just named as the 'master' of a ship. This time the fish was ling and 'mywel', which is possibly haddock.⁷⁶ Two days later in March 1560 another agreement was made with some fishermen of Millbrook, Cornwall. The fish were again ling and 'myllwell'.⁷⁷ Later in 1560, portage rates for transporting fish from West Quay to either St Michael's or Holy Rood parishes were recorded. The types of fish mentioned were: Ling, 'Scarborowe myllwell', Newfoundland and stockfish, and the rates varied from 1d to 3d.⁷⁸

There are just two presentments for the fishermen in the Court Leet records. The first one, in 1566, concerned the nets which they were using which the Court Leet jurors believed were contrary to the statutes.⁷⁹ The other one was in 1601 and concerned the fish market. It would appear that the fishermen were selling their fish whenever they wished to do so and not on the allotted days and times.⁸⁰ There were several presentments relating to the fishmongers either causing nuisances by casting dirty water in the streets or by 'watering' their fish in their houses, in other words, using their homes as shops, which was an inconvenience to the inhabitants of the town. They were only allowed to sell fish in the fish market where there was a well. This was such a problem that in 1577 the jurors of the Court Leet suggested that three or four small shops should be built under the Woollen Hall each with locks and keys so that the fishmongers could keep their fish there.⁸¹ It is unclear whether these shops were ever built, although there is evidence that they were still selling fish from their homes in the early 1580s.

Poulterers. The poulterers are mentioned in two ordinances. The first one concerned the four discreets of the market along with the butchers and fishermen. Two discreets were to be appointed annually to oversee the meat and poultry market.⁸² The market for poultry, butter, cheese, eggs and fruit was held outside the door of St Lawrence's church until 1570, after which a new covered market was built at Holy Rood, under the Audit House (see Chapter 2).⁸³ The second ordinance was directed towards both hucksters and poulterers. They were not to buy kids, lambs, birds, geese, capons, hens, chickens, eggs, cheese, fresh butter or any other manner of victual until after 11 o'clock. They were also not to go out of the town and buy any victuals destined for

⁷⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 68, no. 232.

⁷⁷ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 68, no. 233.

⁷⁸ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 71-2, no. 238.

⁷⁹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 46, no. 54.

⁸⁰ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 349, no. 64.

⁸¹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 162, no. 105.

⁸² Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 126: Ancient Laws, no. 31/Modern Laws, no. 23.

⁸³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, pp. 110-12, 122, nos 284, 295 and Platt, *Southampton*, pp. 222-23.

the town market. If they did the penalty was to lose what they had bought.⁸⁴ In Overey's reforming ordinances of 1491, he states that they may buy the victuals in the market to be sold again after 9 o'clock.⁸⁵ This suggests more leniency on Overey's part. The fact that poulterers were grouped with hucksters in this ordinance suggests that they were considered of low status within the town. There are also no orders which specifically relate to them in the Books of Remembrance, which again suggests this. It was most likely the poulterers who supplied the cooks of the town as well as the townspeople. With regard to hucksters, there was an order in 1517 which stated that they must sell candles at the same price as the tallow chandlers.⁸⁶ It is the hucksters only who appear in the Court Leet records, generally for forestalling eggs, butter and cheese.

Publicans. Brown states that 'at the apex of the victualling hierarchy were the inns' operated by innholders, followed by the taverns and the alehouses.⁸⁷ In the Southampton records, both 'innholders' and 'innkeepers' are noted and it is presumed that these two terms are interchangeable. Taverns, run by taverners, who were possibly the same as vintners, were licensed by the central authority under the terms of an act of 1553, in which Southampton was granted three. The names of three burgesses were grouped separately in the chandlers' contract of 1576/7 and it is highly likely that these were taverners. Under the terms of a 1552 licensing act, alehouses, which were run by alehouse-keepers, had to be formally licensed by the local justices. Inns on the other hand, unlike alehouses and taverns, were not targeted by regular licensing initiatives. According to Brown, 'the provision of drink, food and lodgings represented the core constituents of the victualling triad'. Each type of establishment offered different provisions: thus inns offered a full range of alcoholic drinks and diversified menus and could lodge both pedestrians and horses; taverns offered a range of wines as well as hot food, although they offered no accommodation for travellers; and alehouses, also known as tipping or victualling or lodging houses, offered cold food, ale and beer and lodging for pedestrians but not for travellers on horseback.⁸⁸

Taverns and innkeepers were both mentioned in the ordinances. Taverns were noted in relation to the rights of the burgesses as only they could hold a tavern of wine.⁸⁹ In another ordinance, it was stressed that innkeepers along with other victuallers were not to receive any merchandise

⁸⁴ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 138: Ancient Laws, no. 70/Modern Laws, no. 57.

⁸⁵ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 155: Overey's Laws' no. 18.

⁸⁶ Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 85.

⁸⁷ Brown, 'Landscape of Drink', p. 27.

⁸⁸ Brown, 'Landscape of Drink', pp. 23-7, 113.

⁸⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 121: Ancient Laws, no. 20/Modern Laws, no. 14.

belonging to foreigners or strangers into their houses, shops or cellars.⁹⁰ This order was probably related to consignments of cloth which the council ordered to be stored in the town halls where they could collect 'hallage' payments. Two other ordinances were concerned with wine. One of these related to custom payments, the other one emphasised that no one was to buy wine when the ship was at anchor in the port.⁹¹

In the Third Book of Remembrance two orders were noted for tappers or tipplers. The first one was in 1531 and is mentioned above under 'Brewers'. This was directed at brewers, tappers and lodging house keepers and their playing of unlawful games at night. Also in this order was an additional regulation which stated that no aliens arriving in galleys, carracks, ships or barks were to be housed in the town, except in two specific houses that were named; both of which were the homes of Italians.⁹² The second order was dated 1573 and stated that tipplers operating licensed lodging houses were to have a sign at their door painted with the town's arms. This was so that any 'fotemen and maryners' who came to the town would know where they might lodge at whatever time of day or night.⁹³

As mentioned above, under the terms of a 1552 licensing act, alehouse-keepers had to be formally licensed. It was probably in this connection that a list of licensed tipplers was compiled and written in the Third Book of Remembrance at some time between 1548 and 1558. It lists the names of twelve people, including women, who had been admitted as tipplers, along with the names of their corresponding sureties.⁹⁴ The council also issued licences concerning wine. In 1564 three townsmen were licensed to become vintners. It appears that only one of these men was a burgess which suggests that a vintner and a taverner were not one and the same, as taverners were supposed to be burgesses. It is possible that both dealt in wine, but perhaps the vintner was not allowed to hold a tavern. In 1585 a licence was issued for a merchant, possibly of London, to be able to sell his wine to any person in the town.⁹⁵ Licensing in general is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Publicans appeared with regularity in the Court Leet books, often in relation to unlicensed alehouses and unsealed measures. There was also a presentment in 1569 that requested that all

⁹⁰ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 122: Modern Laws, no. 17.

⁹¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, pp. 136, 136-7: Ancient Laws, no. 62/Modern Laws, no. 51 and Ancient Laws, no. 63/Modern Laws, no. 52.

⁹² Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 44, no. 135.

⁹³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 151, no. 324.

⁹⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 1, no. 1.

⁹⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 93, no. 262 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 36, no. 371.

innkeepers, taverners and alehouse-keepers wash their pots and it is suggested that a Guernsey man was nearly poisoned because of an unclean pot.⁹⁶

3. Clothmaking. The majority of occupations concerned with clothmaking were connected with 'woollen' clothmaking. These included, amongst others: clothier, clothworker, dyer, presser of serge, sergemaker, shearmen, weaver and woolcomber. A silkweaver was the other occupation concerned with clothmaking. Of these occupations only two were mentioned in the ordinances: dyers and shearmen, although sergemakers and a silkweaver were mentioned in the Court Leet records.

Dyers and shearmen. Dyers and shearmen were named alongside three other occupations – coopers, painters and corvesors – in Overey's supplementary ordinances of 1491. The ordinance stated that aliens and foreigners, specifically Italians, who were occupied in one of these crafts, could only be employed by certain denizens. The phrase used in the ordinance was 'Janneyes, aliens nor estraungiers'.⁹⁷ Studer states that the word 'Janneyes' meant Genoese, a term which he plausibly suggests applied loosely to the various Italian settlers in the town.

Sergemakers and silkweavers. French-speaking refugees introduced sergemade and silkweaving to Southampton on their arrival in 1567. The sergemakers made an important contribution to the local economy, but due to their relatively late arrival in the town they were not mentioned in the ordinances. They are found, however, in a few presentments in the Court Leet records. One example is from 1574 when the Court Leet jury requested that aliens should not be permitted to sell wholesale as it was detrimental to those with retailing shops in the town. A silkweaver and sergemakers were mentioned here along with a tin-foil beater who was found to be selling canvas.⁹⁸

4. Handicrafts: clothes and shoes (including: capper, cobbler, glover, pouchmaker, shoemaker, and tailor). With regard to the cappers and/or hatters, Swanson says that the choice of the term capper or hatter to describe the makers of headgear depended on the 'vagaries of fashion'.⁹⁹ There are references to both terms in the records. The names 'corvesor' and 'cordwainer' appear in the Southampton records and they have been taken as synonyms for shoemaker. The majority of these occupations in this grouping involved the use of leather. There was extensive national legislation to minimise unfair competition throughout the whole process of leather production

⁹⁶ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 57, no. 50.

⁹⁷ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 156: Overey's Law: no. 21.

⁹⁸ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 106, no. 68.

⁹⁹ Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 50.

which culminated in the statute of 1563, known as the Leather Act. The legislation was enacted to control the quality of each stage of the production of leather objects and no one craftsman had control of the whole leather-making operation from the raw skin to the finished product.¹⁰⁰

Locally, in 1577, the jurors requested that the council instruct the sealers of leather to seal only leather which was sufficiently tanned.¹⁰¹

Glovers. As mentioned above under 'Butchers and tallow chandlers', there was an agreement in the Book of Remembrance in 1517 between the butchers, the chandlers and the glovers, whereby the butchers promised to deliver all their sheep fells to the glovers.¹⁰² There was one other order in the Third Book of Remembrance dated 1523. This order forbade the white tawyers or glovers to encroach on the business of the skimmers.¹⁰³ The glovers were ordered not to buy or taw the lamb skins killed within the town or to fur any garments as the skimmers depended on the dressing and manufacture of skins for their livelihood. It appeared that the glovers could *buy* lamb skins of those animals killed outside the town, but only the skimmers could *taw* them. The glovers could sell lamb skins but only by the 'kyppe' which according to Merson was a bundle of hides, sometimes of thirty skins.¹⁰⁴

These two orders of 1517 and 1523 seem to make a distinction between sheep skins and lamb skins, the latter, being the softer, were reserved for the skimmers for use in the preparation of furs. It would appear that before the order of 1523 both the glovers and the skimmers tawed their own skins. Tawing was the preparation of leather for the 'light' trade and used alum and oil. The light trade involved the manufacture of gloves, purses, bags, etc.¹⁰⁵ An order of 1560 forbade the glovers from selling yarn outside the town.¹⁰⁶ Merson plausibly suggests that the glovers bought sheep skins for leather and put the wool out to be spun as a by-product of their craft. The glovers were presented at the Court Leet several times for the washing and the soaking of their skins in the town ditches which was a nuisance to the inhabitants of the town. This would have been carried out as part of the tawing process. In 1580 a glover was presented for having ten calf skins in his lime pits. This probably related to the statute which was enacted in 1529 prohibiting the

¹⁰⁰ J. Cherry, 'Leather', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. by J. Blair and N. Ramsey (London: The Hambleton Press, 1991), pp. 295-318 (p. 298).

¹⁰¹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 151, no. 35.

¹⁰² Gidden, *Book of Remembrance*, 3, pp. 84-5.

¹⁰³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 36, no. 119.

¹⁰⁴ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 36, n. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Cherry, 'Leather', pp. 299 and 308.

¹⁰⁶ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 2, p. 70, no. 235.

killing of calves that were under five weeks old and is mentioned above. In 1581 a glover was ordered to stop selling wares in his shop which were not of his craft.¹⁰⁷

Shoemakers and cobblers. There was one ordinance which related to both the shoemakers and the cobblers. Each group was only allowed to sell leather or tallow to members of the shoemakers' company. The penalty for disobedience was 20s; half of which was to go to the town and the other half to the shoemakers' company. This order probably dated from 1573, the date in which it also appeared in the Third Book of Remembrance, and was most likely enacted in order to protect the livelihoods of the shoemakers.¹⁰⁸

As noted above under 'Clothworking', the shoemakers (corvesors) were one of the occupations named in Overey's reforming ordinances of 1491 concerning the employment of aliens and foreigners.¹⁰⁹ This must have extended to the cobblers because in 1518 they were fined 3s 4d for employing aliens.¹¹⁰ Corvesors were also mentioned along with the tailors in another of Overey's ordinances. This stated that the town council would honour all previous agreements made with both the corvesors and the tailors.¹¹¹

The cobblers were presented to the Court Leet several times for using 'slitting' leather.¹¹² This was leather that was not well tanned or well curried and using it was contrary to the statutes. The shoemakers appeared several times in the Court Leet records in connection with their 'tower' on the town walls which was in need of repair (see Chapter 7). Some of the shoemakers were also presented in 1601 for opening their shops at prohibited times.¹¹³

Tailors. Tailors were mentioned once in the ordinances. They were noted together with the corvesors in one of Overey's supplementary ordinances of 1491. This stated that the town council would honour all previous agreements made with both the tailors and the corvesors.¹¹⁴ There was one mention of the tailors in the Court Leet books. In 1549 the tailors were reminded that it was unlawful for any tailor, who was not a burgess, to sell wholesale any broadcloth, upon penalty of forfeiture of the cloth and a payment of 20s. They were also not to sell any mercery

¹⁰⁷ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 216, no. 82.

¹⁰⁸ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 146: Modern Laws, no. 80 and Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 3, p. 1, no. 328.

¹⁰⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 156: Overey's Law: no. 21.

¹¹⁰ H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1303-1518*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (SRSoc 28, 1928), p. 75.

¹¹¹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 156: Overey's Law: no. 20.

¹¹² Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, pp. 137, 151, nos 68, 34.

¹¹³ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 353, no. 82.

¹¹⁴ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 123, no. 90.

wares, on penalty of a payment of 40s.¹¹⁵ According to Anne Sutton, ‘mercery was silk, linen, piece-goods of many kinds with an emphasis on dress accessories, small luxuries and bedding’.¹¹⁶ These were large penalty payments and were clearly intended to act as a deterrent. The town ordinances stated that only a burgess was to sell cloth by retail. This presentment, along with others, highlights the council’s determination to control retailing in the town.

5. Handicrafts: metal-working crafts (including: armourer, cutler, goldsmith and pewterer).

There were no ordinances for this group and only one order which was for the cutlers.

Cutlers. A cutler, Thomas Lyle, was given the contract to clean the town’s armour in 1591. He was to ‘dresse scowre and make cleane’ thirty swords, twenty-four daggers and twenty-four burganetts.¹¹⁷ The cutler was also to make new scabbards for those that wanted them. He would be paid 20s for this first year and then 6s 8d yearly. James rightly observes that this is an example of the town’s preoccupation with the Spanish threat following the Armada incident of 1588.¹¹⁸

Pewterers. The pewterers were mentioned in one presentment in the Court Leet books. In 1575 they were reminded of the sizes that their wine measures should be.¹¹⁹ All weights and measures were standardized by statute. The Court Leet books contain lists each year of the names of the many people who used inaccurate weights and measures and therefore had to pay appropriate penalties.

6. Handicrafts: building crafts (including: bricklayer, brickmaker, carpenter, glazier, hellier, joiner, lime burner, mason, plumber, painter and sawyer). There was only one ordinance that specifically named one of these occupations and that was for the painters. There was an order, however, relating to the transport of bricks, sand, clay and gravel which is relevant to some of these crafts. There were also Court Leet presentments for both the brickmaker and the sawyers. The use of lime is mentioned many times in the steward books in connection with building works carried out by the masons. Lime kilns were built at the West Quay in 1555/56.¹²⁰ There is also mention of a lead house in 1575/6 which presumably was used by the plumber for either the melting and/or storing of lead.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 13, no. 60.

¹¹⁶ A. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005), p. xv.

¹¹⁷ A burganett was a kind of metal helmet.

¹¹⁸ James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 3, no. 411.

¹¹⁹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 123, no. 90.

¹²⁰ B. Chinchen, *Steward Book: 1555/6*, (SCA, SC 5/1/41), p. 56.

¹²¹ C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1572-1594*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRS 44, 2010), p. 30.

Brickmaker. In 1600 a man was given the contract for three years to transport all the bricks, sand, clay and gravel which were required by the inhabitants of the town. The rates he must charge were noted in the order. They were: to carry one thousand bricks, 2s; a load of sand and clay, 8d; and a load of gravel, 6d. He was to pay 10s yearly for the privilege of having this monopoly. This was made up of 6s 8d for the rent or use of the sand pit and 3s 4d for the use of the clay pits.¹²² It is unclear where these clay and sand pits were, although clay was permitted to be taken from 'behynd the george'.¹²³ The inn, *The George*, was situated outside the walls of the town on the west side of the High Street. Although clay was extracted from the common and the salt marsh, presentments in the Court Leet records suggest that it was not permitted to be taken from the salt marsh and it was only permitted on the common if the holes made by the removal of clay were filled in with soil. In 1582 the brickmaker, who made his bricks in a brick kiln on the common, was accused of spoiling the ground in this way.¹²⁴ The brickmaker was also presented several times for the quality of his bricks. A presentment in 1569 indicates that the transporting of bricks, sand, clay and gravel was previously carried out by the town porters.¹²⁵

Painters. As noted above under 'Clothworking', the painters were one of the occupations named in Overey's reforming ordinances of 1491 concerning the employment of aliens and foreigners.¹²⁶

Sawyers. During the 1590s sawyers were presented for the illegal digging of saw pits which they had dug too near to the walls and at the West Quay.¹²⁷

7. Handicrafts: shipbuilding (including: shipwright, blockmaker and sailmaster). There were no ordinances or orders for any of the occupations involved in this handicraft. There was, however, at least one presentment in the Court Leet books. In 1600 a shipwright was accused of removing piles from the West Quay, digging a saw pit and building boats on the town land without permission.¹²⁸

8. Handicrafts: others (including: basketmaker, blacksmith, cooper and wine cooper, currier, locksmith, miller, saddler, skinner, tanner and turner). There was one ordinance concerning the coopers and one order referring to the skimmers. Coopers, tanners and a miller were mentioned in the Court Leet books.

¹²² James, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 4, p. 47, no. 484.

¹²³ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 49, no. 6.

¹²⁴ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 237, no. 91.

¹²⁵ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 58, no. 56.

¹²⁶ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 156: Overey's Law: no. 21.

¹²⁷ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, pp. 289, 311, nos 51, 43.

¹²⁸ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 328, no. 26.

Coopers. The coopers were named in one of Overey's supplementary ordinances of 1491, and concerned the employment of aliens and foreigners.¹²⁹ In 1566 the coopers were instructed to put their marks on all of their casks. This was to make identification easier for the Court Leet jurors who could then issue a penalty if the casks were not of the correct measure.¹³⁰ In 1575, the coopers, like the pewterers, were reminded that all their barrels must conform to the statute sizes.¹³¹

Millers. A man, possibly the miller, who worked at the windmill in the town in 1600, adulterated a sack of flour with sand, and for this 'great hurte and damage' was put in the town pillory.¹³²

Skinner. An order of 1523 related to the skinner and is discussed above in 'Handicrafts: clothes and shoes: Glovers'. The order forbade the glovers to encroach on the business of the skinner.¹³³

Tanners. In 1577 tanners were mentioned in relation to the standard of leather which they had supplied to the cobblers which was considered to be of an inferior quality.¹³⁴

9. Sea-going occupations (including: fishermen, mariners and sailors). In this group there were only orders and ordinances for the fishermen. See 'Victualling trades: Fishermen and fishmongers' above for the discussion relating to the fishermen.

10. Services (including: barber, barber-surgeon, notary and surgeon). There were no ordinances and only one order referring to one of these occupations; that of the barbers.

Barbers. An order of 1519 regulating the making of wax candles indicates that the wax chandlers were barbers. Wax candles and tapers were made for the churches of the town and the order stated that the curates had complained that 'rosyn and turpyntell', presumably resin and turpentine, had been added to them. Seven wax chandlers were named and they were ordered to make new tapers with clean wax to which they were to add their identification marks. Failure to act accordingly would result in the following penalties: for a first offence all wax would be forfeited and the barber would be imprisoned for six days; for a second offence the barber would have to sit openly in the stocks for three market days; and for a third offence he would be banished from the town.¹³⁵ These are probably the strictest penalties so far seen of any of the

¹²⁹ Studer, *Oak Book*, 1, p. 156: Overey's Law: no. 21.

¹³⁰ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 45, no. 49.

¹³¹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 123, no. 89.

¹³² Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 2, p. 336, no. 71.

¹³³ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 36, no. 119.

¹³⁴ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records*, 1, p. 151, no. 34.

¹³⁵ Merson, *Third Book of Remembrance*, 1, p. 31, no. 110.

Appendix C

orders and the ordinances and are doubtless a reflection that the offence was made against the church. It is assumed that the wax used was beeswax.

Appendix D Details of the 47 signatories present at the council meeting held 8 June 1571¹

Entry order ²	First name (standardized)	Surname (standardized)	Rank noted	Date of entry to burgeship (actual year)	Burgesship entry mode	Burgess fine	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation	Place of origin
1	Raymond	House	mayor	1542	mayor's burges	free	mayor	1570	merchant	
2	Richard	Goddard		1565	consent	free	mayor	1569	merchant, lawyer	Poole
3	John	Hooper		1561	consent	free	recorder	Christmas 1565 to April-May 1572	lawyer	Salisbury
4	William	Staveley		1544	servitude	20s	mayor	1561, 1580	merchant	
5	John	Crooke		1565	consent	free	mayor	1568, 1584	merchant, brewer	Poole
6	John	Marche		1562	consent	£10	mayor	1567	merchant	
7	Nicholas	Capleyn		1553	consent	free	mayor	1560, 1577	merchant	Poole
8	Richard	Butler		1538	servitude	20s	mayor	1551, 1563, 1564	merchant	
9	John	Gregory		1546	not known	20s	mayor	1558	merchant	Beaulieu, Hampshire
10	Thomas	Shuxboro	sheriff	1557	consent	40s	mayor	1573	merchant, mercer	

¹ Source: Compiled from several sources, mainly SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses and *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, 1514-1602, 4 vols.

² A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 2, 1540-1573 (SRS 3, 1955), pp. 125-26, no. 298.

Appendix D

Entry order ²	First name (standardized)	Surname (standardized)	Rank noted	Date of entry to burgeship (actual year)	Burgesship entry mode	Burgess fine	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation	Place of origin
11	John	Aylls	bailiff	1560	servant	free	mayor	1576	merchant	
12	Barnard	Courtmill	bailiff	1556	special request	£5	mayor	1579	merchant, brewer, mercer	
13	William	Jeffries		1545	consent	free	mayor	1572	notary public	Somerset
14	William	Capleyn		1553	consent	free	mayor	1572	merchant	
15	Thomas	Turner		1548	servitude	20s	sheriff	1568, 1569	grocer, mercer	
16	John	Knight		1556	officer	free	mayor	1571, 1589	merchant	
17	Thomas	Dingley		no record	no record	no record	mayor	1574	woollendraper	
18	Hugh	Durvall		1546	mayor's burgess	free	sheriff	1574	merchant	
19	Thomas	Austin		1553	consent	£4	none		merchant	
20	Robert	Knaplock		1561	consent	free	mayor	1575	notary public	Dorset
21	Peter	Janvrin		1564	consent	free	sheriff	1581	merchant, innkeeper	Jersey
22	John	Errington		1561	servitude	20s	mayor	1585	merchant, innkeeper, vintner	
23	Richard	Waterton		1565	consent	free	town clerk	Michaelmas 1566 to ?1588	notary public	
24	James	Webb		1560	mayor's burgess	free	court bailiff	1574	not known	
25	Thomas	Moore		1566	consent	free	none		merchant	
26	John	Sedgewick		1561	servitude	20s	none		merchant, innkeeper	

Entry order ²	First name (standardized)	Surname (standardized)	Rank noted	Date of entry to burgeship (actual year)	Burgesship entry mode	Burgess fine	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation	Place of origin
27	Richard	Etuer		1567	mayor's burges	free	none		merchant, fishmonger	
28	William	Barwick		1567	mayor's burges	free	mayor	1582	merchant, mercer, tallow chandler	
29	Richard	Goddard		1570	special request	40s	mayor	1583	merchant	
30	John	Jackson		1557	consent	40s	mayor	1578, 1590	woollendraper	
31	Richard	Stoner		1554	custom	10s	none		innholder	
32	Hugh	Booker		1553	special request	free	constable	1555	saddler	
33	William	Nutshawe		1568	mayor's burges	free	none		merchant	
34	John	Mills		1561	servitude	20s	none		merchant	
35	Matthew	Mauhaut		1564	consent	£5	none		merchant	
36	William	Singleton		1550	mayor's burges	free	keeper of cloth hall	Michaelmas ?1562 to Michaelmas 1575 or later	draper	
37	John	Favor		1550	mayor's burges	free	sheriff	1576	merchant, brewer	
38	Emery	Lakes		1553	mayor's burges	free	water bailiff's clerk, 1570 to 1592/3	Michaelmas 1570 to 1592/3	merchant	

Appendix D

Entry order ²	First name (standardized)	Surname (standardized)	Rank noted	Date of entry to burgeship (actual year)	Burgeship entry mode	Burges fine	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation	Place of origin
39	Thomas	Wadlow		1569	consent	free	schoolmaster	Midsummer 1567 to Michaelmas 1569	notary public, tallow chandler	
40	John	Carew		1570	servitude	20s	none		merchant	
41	Andrew	Harris		1570	special request	40s	none		merchant	
42	John	Bullicar		1564	servant	free	mayor	1588	merchant	
43	Paul	Elliott		1570	patrimony	10s	mayor	1595	merchant, tallow chandler	
44	Richard	Cowde		1560	consent	66s 8d	none		common baker	
45	Richard	Nutley		1561	officer	free	Bargate broker	March 1559 to 1575/6	weaver	
46	Thomas	Broker		1564	consent	£5	none		common alebrewer	
47	Thomas	Goddard		1570	consent	free	sheriff	1588	lawyer	

Appendix E Transcription of the commoner's oath¹

The othe of the commoner that is admitted to set upp in any art science or occupacion within the Towne

Ye shall swere by the contents of this booke that ye shall from hence forw[arde]² be good and trew to our Soveraigne Lord the King etc and to his heir[s] and successors Obeisannte and obedient ye shalbe to the mayor and other officers of this Towne. The ffranchises costumes and ordinannces t[hereof] ye shall well mainteyne to your power and keepe harmeles in that that [you] maye. Ye shalbe contributory to all manner of charges w[i]thin this To[wne] as sommons, watches wards contributions taxes tallages lot and s[cot] and all other charges bering y[ou]r p[ar]te thereof as a commoner oughte to doe, y[e shall] not coulor or beare the name of any forriners or stranngers goods [whereby] the King or the Towne might lose any custome brocage or adva[ntage ye] shall knowe no forriner or strannger w[i]thin this Towne to b[uye or sell] any merchandizes with any other forriner or strannger w[i]thin [this Towne] and the Franchises thereof. But ye shall warne the mayo[r for the time] Beinge or his deputie of the same. Ye shall impleade or sue no Inhabitante of this towne out of this towne without the special licence of the mayor and his assistants or the most part of them for that time being. ye shall take no apprentice for no lesse terme than for seven yeres within the first yere whereof ye shall cause him to be inroled and at his termes end, you shall consent and procure him to sett uppe as muche as in you lieth within the Towne yf he have well and trulie served you ye shall knowe no gathering of people conventicles confederacies or conspiraces made against the Kings peace, or the ordinannces of this Towne but ye shall warne the mayor thereof and let yet to your powre . And the counsell of the saied towne ye shall faithfully keep All thes things shall ye well and trulie p[er]forme, so healpe you god and the contents of this booke.

¹ Source: SCA, SC 2/7/11 Book of oaths of town officers and rules of the burgess guild, second part. This oath is believed to date to the mid-1570s.

² The edge of this page is torn with [these words] missing.

Appendix F Total number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4¹

1.Mercantile Crafts	No.	2.Victualling Trades	No.	3.Clothmaking	No.
Apothecary	2	Baker	6	Fuller	3
Draper, woollen ²	2	Brewer	1	Shearman	3
Grocer	1	Butcher	5	Weaver	4
Mercer	8	Chandler	1		
Merchant	2				
Total	15	Total	13	Total	10
4.Handicrafts: clothes and shoes	No.	5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts	No.	6.Handicrafts: building crafts	No.
Capper	1	Cutler	2	Glazier	3
Cobbler	18	Goldsmith	4	Mason	1
Glover	2	Pewterer	5		
Jerkin maker	1				
Shoemaker, cordwainer	15				
Tailor	14				
Total	51	Total	11	Total	4
7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding	No.	8.Handicrafts: others	No.	9. Sea-going occupations	No.
		Cooper	4		
		Fletcher	1		
		Saddler	1		
		Smith	1		
Total	0	Total	7	Total	0
10.Services	No.	Occupations not known	No.		
Barber	3		17		
Total	3	Total	17		
Grand total	131				

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1594*, 2 vols (SRS 43, 44; 2009, 2010), *passim*; G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914), p. 50; T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 1; and A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 21.

² Including one woollendraper and tailor.

Appendix G Number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4¹

	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	Total
1.Mercantile Crafts													
Apothecary								1		1			2
Draper, woollen									1			1	2
Grocer	1												1
Mercer	1		2	1	1			2		1			8
Merchant			1								1		2
Total	2		3	1	1			2	1	2		1	15
2.Victualling Trades													
Baker								1	1	1	3		6
Brewer											1		1
Butcher			1	1			2					1	5
Chandler							1						1

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1594*, 2 vols (SRS 43, 44; 2009, 2010), *passim*; G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914), p. 50; T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 1; and A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 21.

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	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	Total
Total			1	1			3	1	1	1	4	1	13
3.Clothmaking													
Fuller				2			1						3
Shearman						1	1		1				3
Weaver	1	1				2							4
Total	1	1		2		3	2		1				10
4.Handicrafts: clothes and shoes													
Capper		1											1
Cobbler				2	2	2	2	2	2		4	2	18
Glover							1		1				2
Jerkin maker					1								1
Shoemaker, cordwainer	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	3			1		15
Tailor	5		1	1	1	1		3	1	1			14
Total	9	2	2	5	5	4	4	8	4	1	5	2	51
5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts													
Cutler			1						1				2
Goldsmith				1			1			2			4
Pewterer										4	1		5

	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	Total
Total			1	1			1		1	6	1		11
6.Handicrafts: building crafts													
Glazier								2				1	3
Mason													1
Total													4
7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding													0
8.Handicrafts: others													
Cooper				1				1			1	1	4
Fletcher			1										1
Saddler				1									1
Smith					1								1
Total			1	2	1			1			1	1	7
9.Sea-going occupations													0
10.Services													
Barber	2											1	3
Total	2											1	3

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	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	Total
Occupations not known	2	2	2	3	2				3	3			17
Total	2	2	2	3	2				3	3			17
Grand total	16	5	10	15	9	7	10	15	11	13	13	7	131

Appendix H Admission fines paid to the town by freemen in each occupational group, 1546/7 to 1593/4¹

	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	No. of freemen
1.Mercantile Crafts													
Apothecary								20s		20s			2
Draper, woollen									40s			?	2
Grocer	3s 4d												1
Mercer	2s		20sx2	5s	10s			20sx2		£8			8?
Merchant			13s 4d								40s		2
Total													15
2.Victualling Trades													

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1594*, 2 vols (SRS 43, 44; 2009, 2010), *passim*; G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914), p. 50; T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 1; and A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 21.

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	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	No. of freemen
Baker								26s 8d	6s 8d	13s 4d	20sx3		6
Brewer											20s		1
Butcher			13s 4d	26s 8d			9s 6d, 10s					10s	5
Chandler							20s						1
Total													13
3.Clothmaking													
Fuller				13s 4d x 2			10s						3
Shearman						20s	13s 4d		?				3
Weaver	4s	3s				10s, 20s							4
Total													10
4.Handicrafts: clothes and shoes													
Capper		10s											1
Cobbler				5sx2	3s 4d, 5s	4s, 5s	6s 8d, 13s 4d	6s 8d, ?	6s 8dx2		5s, 6s 8dx3	6s 8dx2	18
Glover							5s		12d				2
Jerkin maker					20s								1
Shoemaker, cordwainer	13s 4dx2, 26s 8d, ?	13s 4d	20s	20sx2	20s	40s	13s 4d	13s 4d, 26s 8d,			40s		15

	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	No. of freemen
								33s 4d					
Tailor	10s, 13s 4dx2, ?x2		26s 8d	20s	20s	30s		20s, 50sx2	60s	40s			14
Total													51
5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts													
Cutler			5s						10s				2
Goldsmith				26s 8d			40s			20sx2			4
Pewterer										20sx3, 13s 4d	20s		5
Total													11
6.Handicrafts: building crafts													
Glazier								5sx2				40s	3
Mason											13s 4d		1
Total													4
7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding													0

Appendix H

	1546-9	1550-3	1554-7	1558-61	1562-5	1566-9	1570-3	1574-7	1578-81	1582-5	1586-9	1590-3	No. of freemen
8.Handicrafts: others													
Cooper				26s 8d				100s			20s	40s	4
Fletcher			5s										1
Saddler				20s									1
Smith					6s, 10s								1
Total													7
9.Sea-going occupations													0
10.Services													
Barber	6s 8dx2											20s	3
Total													3
Occupations not known	6s 8d, 13s	13s 4d, 30s	6s, 13s 4d	6s 8dx2, 26s	13s 4d, 20s				10s, 20sx2	6s 8d,13s 4d, 20s			17
Total													17
Grand total													131

Key: ? amount not given.

Appendix I Freemen admissions by admission date with fines, 1546/7 to 1593/4¹

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	11	1546/7	Richard	Holte		barber	6	8
2	11	1546/7	Thomas	Whettle		not known	6	8
2	14	1548/9	Rafe	[blank]		barber	6	8
2	14	1548/9	Benedict	Cayne		cordwainer	13	4
2	14	1548/9	Thomas	Ryche		cordwainer	26	8
2	17	1549/50	John	Androws		tailor		
2	17	1549/50	Richard	Ankyns		tailor		
2	17	1549/50	Anthony	Bonaventour		weaver	4	0
2	17	1549/50	Antony	Browne		tailor	13	4
2	17	1549/50	Christopher	Etture		shoemaker		
2	17	1549/50	Giles	Etture		not known	13	0
2	17	1549/50	William	Flecher		tailor	10	0
2	16	1549/50	Gilbert	Hethe		shoemaker	13	4

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1594*, 2 vols (SRS 43, 44; 2009, 2010), *passim*; G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914), p. 50; T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 1; and A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 21.

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Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	17	1549/50	Dennis	Horres wife	yes	mercier	2	0
2	16	1549/50	John	Hubbart		grocer	3	4
2	16	1549/50	John	Vyrkyll		tailor	13	4
2	20	1550/1	Richard	Browne		capper	10	0
2	20	1550/1		Cornelys		not known	30	0
2	20	1550/1	Robert	Forde		weaver	3	0
2	20	1550/1	John	Taylor		not known	13	4
2	22	1552/3	a	shoemaker		shoemaker	13	4
2	25	1554/5	Bernard	Holte		tailor	26	8
2	24	1554/5	Richard	Inkeley		fletcher	5	0
2	23	1554/5	Richard	Pylson		cutler	5	0
2	27	1555/6	John	Champyan		mercier	20	0
2	27	1555/6	the	midwife's son		not known	6	0
2	27	1555/6	John	Quicke		merchant	13	4
2	27	1555/6	Thomas	Shuxborowghe		mercier	20	0
2	30	1556/7	Thomas	Prynce		cordwainer	20	0
2	31	1557/8	John	Marsyde		not known	13	4
2	31	1557/8	Robert	Suckerman		butcher	13	4
2	34	1558/9		Jackeson		saddler	20	0
2	33	1558/9	James	Maur		fuller	13	4
2	34	1558/9	John	Pescod		fuller	13	4

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	34	1558/9	James	Phibbord		not known	6	8
2	34	1558/9	Peter	Taylor		not known	26	0
2	37	1559/60	a	bocher		butcher	26	8
2	36	1559/60	Nicholas	Dernall		goldsmith	26	8
2	37	1559/60	Goodwiffe	Ether	yes	shoemaker	20	0
2	38	1560/1	John	Addyson		tailor	20	0
2	40	1561/2	William	[cody?]		not known	6	8
2	41	1561/2		Cornelis		cobbler	5	0
2	41	1561/2	Charelles	Graunte		cooper	26	8
2	40	1561/2	John	Laurens		cobbler	5	0
2	41	1561/2	John	Morningson		mercier	5	0
2	40	1561/2	John	Olge		shoemaker	20	0
2	45	1563/4	Thomas	Gogin		cobbler	5	0
2	46	1563/4	Lenard	Gratley		tailor	20	0
2	46	1563/4	Mr	Halle		shoemaker	20	0
2	46	1563/4	Thomas	Meller		smith	10	0
2	60	1564/5	Walter	[blank]		mercier	10	0
2	59	1564/5	the	Flemynge		smith	6	0
2	59	1564/5	Ullanell	Wedooere		not known	20	0
2	63	1565/6	John	Demes		not known	13	4
2	62	1565/6	William	Haulle		cobbler	3	4

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Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	63	1565/6	Henry	the Jurkenmaker		jerkin maker	20	0
2	65	1566/7	Lawrence	Smithe		weaver	10	0
2	66	1566/7	John	Stokelie		tailor	30	0
2	69	1567/8		Charles		shoemaker	40	0
2	69	1567/8	Peter	Dunstone		cobbler	5	0
2	69	1567/8	Vincent	Rainolles		cobbler	4	0
2	73	1568/9	[blank]	weaver		weaver	20	0
2	81	1569/70	Nicholas	Lovell		shearman	20	0
2	92	1570/1	Paul	Elliot		chandler	20	0
2	93	1570/1	John	Mathy		shearman	13	4
2	92	1570/1	Graunte	the cobler		cobbler	13	4
2	92	1570/1	Thomas	Tomsone		shoemaker	13	4
3	1	1571/2	a	glover		glover	5	0
3	3	1571/2	William	Reding		fuller	10	0
3	15	1572/3	the	French man		goldsmith	40	0
3	9	1573/4	George	Barton		butcher	9	6
3	10	1573/4	Harry	Butcher		butcher	10	0
3	8	1573/4		Graunte		cobbler	6	8
3	18	1574/5	a	Garsonge		shoemaker	33	4
3	18	1574/5	Henry	Massye		baker	26	8
3	18	1574/5	John	Shakle		tailor	50	0

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
3	20	1574/5		Vyncentes		shoemaker	13	4
3	25	1575/6	Roger	Longe		mercier	20	0
3	25	1575/6	Thomas	Osmonde		cobbler	6	8
3	24	1575/6	Gregory	Pawlke		tailor	50	0
3	24	1575/6		Quintin		shoemaker	26	8
3	25	1575/6	William	Shukborow		mercier	20	0
3	38	1576/7	Peter	Breme		glasier	5	0
3	38	1576/7	Peter	Foxe		glasier	5	0
3	52	1577/8	a Fleming	Cowper		cooper	100	0
Ham	50	1577/8	Thomas	Exton		cobbler		
3	53	1577/8	John	Jervice		apothecary	20	0
3	53	1577/8	Birde	the Tailour		tailor	20	0
3	65	1579/80	John	More the Younger		baker	6	8
3	66	1579/80	Anthonie	Mr Steres kinsman		cobbler	6	8
3	71	1580/1	Walter	Frame		cutler	10	0
Rem 3	21	1580/1	William	Fuller		shearman		
3	71	1580/1	a	glover		glover	0	12
3	76	1581/2	William	Bartelmew		not known	10	0
3	76	1581/2	John	Croft		not known	20	0
3	77	1581/2	John	Crosse		not known	20	0
3	76	1581/2	Richard	Saffill		wdraper/tailor	20	0

Appendix I

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
3	77	1581/2	Richard	Seffill		wdraper/tailor	20	0
3	76	1581/2	Charles	Suderley		tailor	60	0
3	83	1582/3		Chuchemure		goldsmith	20	0
3	83	1582/3	a	goldsmith		goldsmith	20	0
3	83	1582/3	John	Leweys		pewterer	20	0
3	83	1582/3		Littell		pewterer	20	0
3	83	1582/3	John	Moore		not known	6	8
3	83	1582/3	Trades	of mercerey		mercier	160	0
3	87	1583/4		Braddocke		not known	20	0
3	87	1583/4	George	Constaunce		pewterer	20	0
3	87	1583/4	Adam	Velle		baker	13	4
3	99	1584/5		[blank]		pewterer	13	4
3	106	1585/6	[blank]	apothecary		apothecary	20	0
3	105	1585/6		Greenawaye		tailor	40	0
3	106	1585/6	the new	Sailor		not known	13	4
3	121	1586/7	Henry	Arnolde		cooper	20	0
3	118	1586/7	Robert	Best		cobbler	6	8
3	118	1586/7	John	Brooker		brewer	20	0
3	119	1586/7	Coudrint	Browne		cobbler	5	0
3	119	1586/7	George	Destar		pewterer	20	0
3	121	1586/7	John	Guilbert		baker	20	0

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
3	119	1586/7	Richard	Ivorye		mason	13	4
3	120	1586/7		Kinge		shoemaker	40	0
3	117	1586/7	Philip	Loney		baker	20	0
3	119	1586/7	John	Pavier		cobbler	6	8
3	117	1586/7	Richard	Pearce		baker	20	0
3	119	1586/7	John	Vibard		cobbler	6	8
3	138	1587/8	Robert	Ayles		merchant	40	0
Rem 4	1	1590/1	Arthur	Baker		wdraper		
3	167	1590/1	a	cobbler		cobbler	6	8
3	169	1590/1	John	Ralfe		butcher	10	0
3	169	1590/1		Wharton		glasier	40	0
3	182	1591/2	Thomas	Blisset		cobbler	6	8
3	201	1593/4	William	the barber		barber	20	0
3	200	1593/4	Thomas	Wodford		cooper	40	0

Appendix J Freemen admissions by occupation with fines, 1546/7 to 1593/4¹

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
3	53	1577/8	John	Jervice		apothecary	20	0
3	106	1585/6	[blank]	apothecary		apothecary	20	0
3	18	1574/5	Henry	Massye		baker	26	8
3	65	1579/80	John	More the Younger		baker	6	8
3	87	1583/4	Adam	Velle		baker	13	4
3	121	1586/7	John	Guilbert		baker	20	0
3	117	1586/7	Philip	Loney		baker	20	0
3	117	1586/7	Richard	Pearce		baker	20	0
2	11	1546/7	Richard	Holte		barber	6	8
2	14	1548/9	Rafe	[blank]		barber	6	8
3	201	1593/4	William	the barber		barber	20	0
3	118	1586/7	John	Brooker		brewer	20	0

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1594*, 2 vols (SRS 43, 44; 2009, 2010), *passim*; G.H. Hamilton, and E.R. Aubrey, eds, *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570-1594* (SRSoc 16, 1914), p. 50; T.B. James, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 4, 1590-1602 (SRS 22, 1979), p. 1; and A.L. Merson, ed., *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, 4 vols, Vol. 3, 1573-1589 (SRS 8, 1965), p. 21.

Appendix J

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	31	1557/8	Robert	Suckerman		butcher	13	4
2	37	1559/60	a	bocher		butcher	26	8
3	9	1573/4	George	Barton		butcher	9	6
3	10	1573/4	Harry	Butcher		butcher	10	0
3	169	1590/1	John	Ralfe		butcher	10	0
2	20	1550/1	Richard	Browne		capper	10	0
2	92	1570/1	Paul	Elliot		chandler	20	0
2	41	1561/2		Cornelis		cobbler	5	0
2	40	1561/2	John	Laurens		cobbler	5	0
2	45	1563/4	Thomas	Gogin		cobbler	5	0
2	62	1565/6	William	Haulle		cobbler	3	4
2	69	1567/8	Peter	Dunstone		cobbler	5	0
2	69	1567/8	Vincent	Rainolles		cobbler	4	0
2	92	1570/1	Graunte	the cobler		cobbler	13	4
3	8	1573/4		Graunte		cobbler	6	8
3	25	1575/6	Thomas	Osmonde		cobbler	6	8
Ham	50	1577/8	Thomas	Exton		cobbler		
3	66	1579/80	Anthonie	Mr Steres kinsman		cobbler	6	8
3	118	1586/7	Robert	Best		cobbler	6	8
3	119	1586/7	Coudrint	Browne		cobbler	5	0
3	119	1586/7	John	Pavier		cobbler	6	8

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
3	119	1586/7	John	Vibard		cobbler	6	8
3	167	1590/1	a	cobbler		cobbler	6	8
3	182	1591/2	Thomas	Blisset		cobbler	6	8
2	41	1561/2	Charelles	Graunte		cooper	26	8
3	52	1577/8	a Fleming	Cowper		cooper	100	0
3	121	1586/7	Henry	Arnolde		cooper	20	0
3	200	1593/4	Thomas	Wodford		cooper	40	0
2	14	1548/9	Benedict	Cayne		cordwainer	13	4
2	14	1548/9	Thomas	Ryche		cordwainer	26	8
2	30	1556/7	Thomas	Prynce		cordwainer	20	0
2	23	1554/5	Richard	Pylson		cutler	5	0
3	71	1580/1	Walter	Frame		cutler	10	0
2	24	1554/5	Richard	Inkeley		fletcher	5	0
2	33	1558/9	James	Maur		fuller	13	4
2	34	1558/9	John	Pescod		fuller	13	4
3	3	1571/2	William	Reding		fuller	10	0
3	38	1576/7	Peter	Breme		glasier	5	0
3	38	1576/7	Peter	Foxe		glasier	5	0
3	169	1590/1		Wharton		glasier	40	0
3	1	1571/2	a	glover		glover	5	0
3	71	1580/1	a	glover		glover	0	12

Appendix J

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	36	1559/60	Nicholas	Dernall		goldsmith	26	8
3	15	1572/3	the	French man		goldsmith	40	0
3	83	1582/3		Chuchemure		goldsmith	20	0
3	83	1582/3	a	goldsmith		goldsmith	20	0
2	16	1549/50	John	Hubbart		grocer	3	4
2	63	1565/6	Henry	the Jurkenmaker		jerkin maker	20	0
3	119	1586/7	Richard	Ivorye		mason	13	4
2	17	1549/50	Dennis	Horres wife	yes	mercier	2	0
2	27	1555/6	John	Champyan		mercier	20	0
2	27	1555/6	Thomas	Shuxborowghe		mercier	20	0
2	41	1561/2	John	Morningson		mercier	5	0
2	60	1564/5	Walter	[blank]		mercier	10	0
3	25	1575/6	Roger	Longe		mercier	20	0
3	25	1575/6	William	Shukborow		mercier	20	0
3	83	1582/3	Trades	of mercerey		mercier	160	0
2	27	1555/6	John	Quicke		merchant	13	4
3	138	1587/8	Robert	Ayles		merchant	40	0
2	11	1546/7	Thomas	Whettle		not known	6	8
2	17	1549/50	Giles	Etture		not known	13	0
2	20	1550/1		Cornelys		not known	30	0
2	20	1550/1	John	Taylor		not known	13	4

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	27	1555/6	the	midwife's son		not known	6	0
2	31	1557/8	John	Marsyde		not known	13	4
2	34	1558/9	James	Phibbord		not known	6	8
2	34	1558/9	Peter	Taylor		not known	26	0
2	40	1561/2	William	[cody?]		not known	6	8
2	59	1564/5	Ullanell	Wedooere		not known	20	0
2	63	1565/6	John	Demes		not known	13	4
3	76	1581/2	William	Bartelmew		not known	10	0
3	76	1581/2	John	Croft		not known	20	0
3	77	1581/2	John	Crosse		not known	20	0
3	83	1582/3	John	Moore		not known	6	8
3	87	1583/4		Braddocke		not known	20	0
3	106	1585/6	the new	Sailor		not known	13	4
3	83	1582/3	John	Leweys		pewterer	20	0
3	83	1582/3		Littell		pewterer	20	0
3	87	1583/4	George	Constaunce		pewterer	20	0
3	99	1584/5		[blank]		pewterer	13	4
3	119	1586/7	George	Destar		pewterer	20	0
2	34	1558/9		Jackeson		saddler	20	0
2	81	1569/70	Nicholas	Lovell		shearman	20	0
2	93	1570/1	John	Mathy		shearman	13	4

Appendix J

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
Rem 3	21	1580/1	William	Fuller		shearman		
2	17	1549/50	Christopher	Etture		shoemaker		
2	16	1549/50	Gilbert	Hethe		shoemaker	13	4
2	22	1552/3	a	shoemaker		shoemaker	13	4
2	37	1559/60	Goodwiffe	Ether	yes	shoemaker	20	0
2	40	1561/2	John	Olge		shoemaker	20	0
2	46	1563/4	Mr	Halle		shoemaker	20	0
2	69	1567/8		Charles		shoemaker	40	0
2	92	1570/1	Thomas	Tomsone		shoemaker	13	4
3	18	1574/5	a	Garsonge		shoemaker	33	4
3	20	1574/5		Vyncentes		shoemaker	13	4
3	24	1575/6		Quintin		shoemaker	26	8
3	120	1586/7		Kinge		shoemaker	40	0
2	46	1563/4	Thomas	Meller		smith	10	0
2	59	1564/5	the	Flemynge		smith	6	0
2	17	1549/50	John	Androws		tailor		
2	17	1549/50	Richard	Ankyns		tailor		
2	17	1549/50	Antony	Browne		tailor	13	4
2	17	1549/50	William	Flecher		tailor	10	0
2	16	1549/50	John	Vyrkyll		tailor	13	4
2	25	1554/5	Bernard	Holte		tailor	26	8

Butler: Vol	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Female	Occupation	Fine (s)	Fine (d)
2	38	1560/1	John	Addyson		tailor	20	0
2	46	1563/4	Lenard	Gratley		tailor	20	0
2	66	1566/7	John	Stokelie		tailor	30	0
3	18	1574/5	John	Shakle		tailor	50	0
3	24	1575/6	Gregory	Pawlke		tailor	50	0
3	53	1577/8	Birde	the Tailour		tailor	20	0
3	76	1581/2	Charles	Suderley		tailor	60	0
3	105	1585/6		Greenawaye		tailor	40	0
3	76	1581/2	Richard	Saffill		wdraper/tailor	20	0
3	77	1581/2	Richard	Seffill		wdraper/tailor	20	0
Rem 4	1	1590/1	Arthur	Baker		wdraper		
2	17	1549/50	Anthony	Bonaventour		weaver	4	0
2	20	1550/1	Robert	Forde		weaver	3	0
2	65	1566/7	Lawrence	Smithe		weaver	10	0
2	73	1568/9	[blank]	weaver		weaver	20	0

Appendix K Number of freemen admissions in each occupational group, 1613/4 to 1616/7¹

	1613/4	1614/5	1615/6	1616/7	Total
1.Mercantile Crafts					
Draper, linen	1				1
Grocer	1				1
Total	2				2
2.Victualling Trades					
Baker	1				1
Total	1				1
3.Clothmaking					
Clothworker				6	6
Sergemaker	3				3
Sergeweaver	1				1
Total	4			6	10
4.Handicrafts: clothes and shoes					
Hosier			1		1
Shoemaker	4			8	12
Tailor	8		7	2	17
Total	12		8	10	30
5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts					
Goldsmith	2				2
Total	2				2
6.Handicrafts: building crafts					
Joiner	2				2
Total	2				2
7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding					
8.Handicrafts: others					
Basketmaker	1				1
Brasier	1				1
Smith	1				1
Total	3				3

¹ Source: SCA, SC 3/5/1 Book of Admissions of Free Commoners.

Appendix K

	1613/4	1614/5	1615/6	1616/7	Total
9.Sea-going occupations					
10.Services					
Barber	1				1
Total	1				1
Grand total	27	0	8	16	51

Appendix L Fines paid by craft groups from 1488/9 to 1529/30¹

Craft	1488/9	1489/90	1490/1	1491/2	1492/3	1493/4	1494/5, 1495/6	1498/9	1501/2	1503/4	1505/6
barbers	6s 8d	10s	nihil								
beer brewers	40s	30s	30s	30s	30s						
cappers	6s 8d	nihil	nihil	nihil	nihil						
corvesors or shoemakers	20s 10d	35s	nihil								
coopers	nihil	nihil	nihil	nihil	nihil						
shearmen	nihil	nihil	nihil	nihil	nihil						
tailors	34s 2d	47s 6d	nihil								
barbers of the galleys				6s 8d	9s 6d	6s 8d		7s 2d		6s 8d	13s 4d
corvesors of the galleys	20s			33s 2d	33s 4d			15s 5d	18s	29s	4s
tailors of the galleys	60s			40s	66s 8d		13s 4d*	33s 10d	35s	33s 4d	33s 4d

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, 3 vols, Vol. 1 (SRS 41, 2007), *passim* and H.W. Gidden, ed., *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1483-1563*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (SRSoc 30, 1930), p. 70.

Appendix L

Craft	1507/8, 1508/9	1518/19	1519/20	1520/1	1521/2
barbers					
beer brewers					
cappers					
corvesors or shoemakers					
coopers					
shearmen					
tailors					
barbers of the galleys	9s	6s 8d	8s 4d		6s 8d
corvesors of the galleys	23s	15s	9s 8d		12s 6d
tailors of the galleys	46s 8d	25s 6d	16s 8d	6s 8d	20s

*amount includes fines of strangers and galley men.

No entries in the following years: 1496/7, 1497/8, 1499/1500, 1500/1, 1502/3, 1504/5, 1506/7, 1509/10, 1510/1, 1511/2, 1512/3, 1513/4, 1517/8, 1522/3 to 1529/30.

Appendix M Number of people named on incorporation documents and petitions¹

Craft	Year	No. of people	No. of burgesses named on documents	No. of burgesses who were not named as such on documents	No. of people made burgesses after document date
tailors	1406	2+	2		
cordwainers	1477	13	0	2?	
drapers and mercers	c. 1480	not noted	no names noted		
coopers	1489	11	1		
bakers	1517	12		2	2
brewers	1543				
beer		8		5	1
ale		5		2	1
bakers	1546	7		2	
butchers	1555	7			
shearmen	1571	4			
armourers and cutlers	1599	3			
blacksmiths	1599	10		1	

¹ Source: SCA, SC 2/7/1-7 Incorporation of Craft Guilds, 1406 to 1571; SCA, SC 2/6/4 The Black Book, fols 13 and 60; SCA, SC 2/6/6 Book of Instruments, fols 191r, 192r and 41r-41v; and SCA, SC 2/9/2 (16) Miscellaneous Correspondence.

Appendix N Names listed on incorporation documents and petitions¹

Craft	Year	No. of people	First name	Surname	Date of burgesship
tailors	1406	2+	John	Renaud	not known
			Ralph	Taylour	not known
cordwainers	1477	13	Walter	Danyell	
			John	Amore	
			John	Maryner	
			Massy	Salmon	not known
			John	Blampayn	
			John	Godfray	not known
			John	Joy	
			Gefferey	Staveley	
			Folke?	Staveley	
			Nicolas	Deperesse	
			Stephan	Marner	
			Petre	Joy	
John	Galcioner				
drapers and mercers	c. 1480	not noted	no names noted		
coopers	1489	11	James	Myrik	not known
			Nicholas	Chesemon	
			Ito	Ango	
			Thomas	Lese	
			Walter	Lese	
			Roumett	Ango	
			Richard	Kebill	
			John	Cheseman	
			John	Godfray	
			Thomas	Focawte	
			Davy	Grene	
			bakers	1517	12
Roger	Wanrige	1522			
Robert	Haus				
Robert	Raynard	1509			
Robert	Medley				

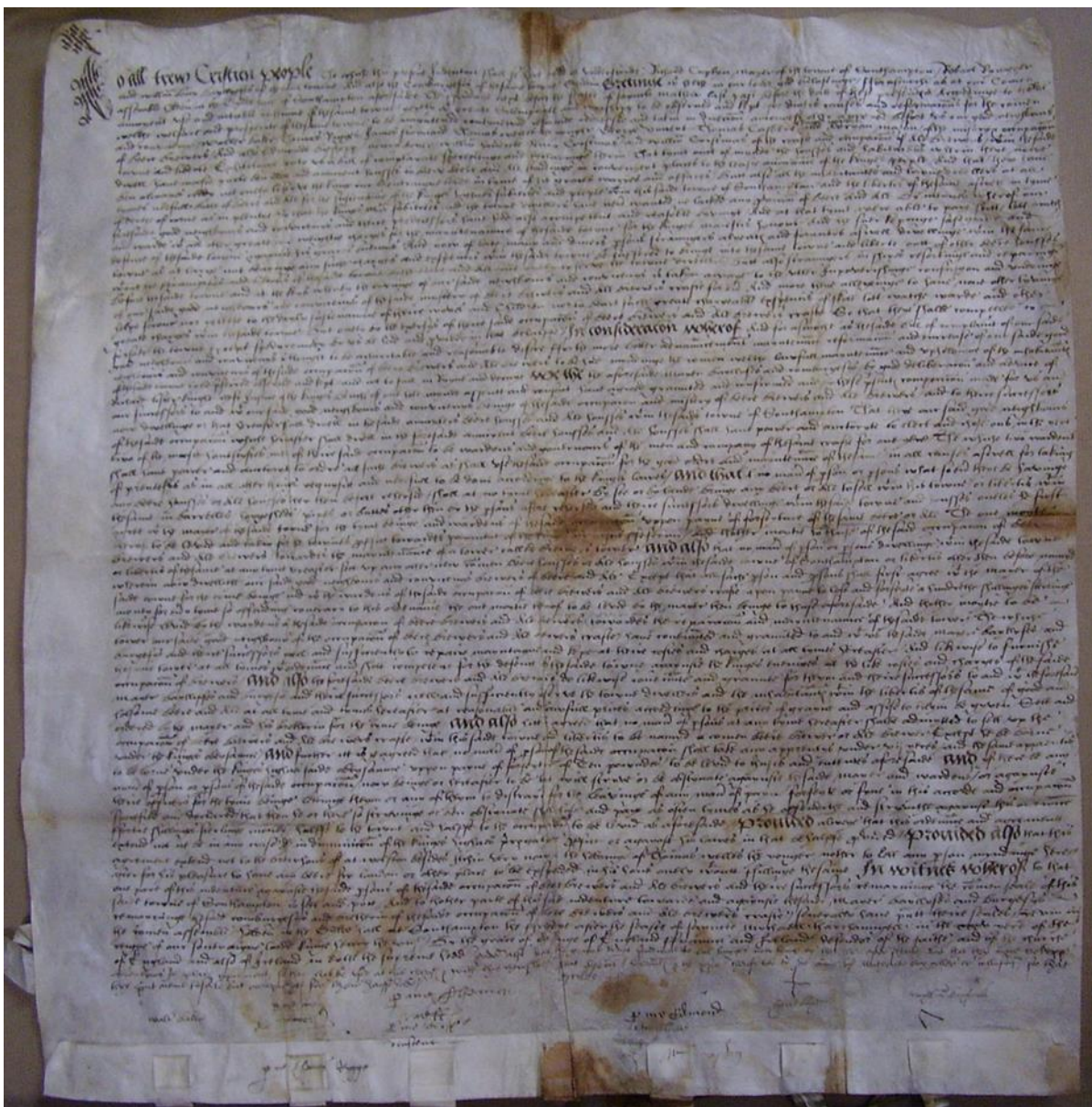
¹ Source: SCA, SC 2/7/1-7 Incorporation of Craft Guilds, 1406 to 1571; SCA, SC 2/6/4 The Black Book, fols 13 and 60; SCA, SC 2/6/6 Book of Instruments, fols 191r, 192r and 41r-41v; SCA, SC 2/9/2, (16) Miscellaneous Correspondence; and SCA, SC 3/1/1 Book of Admissions of Burgesses, *passim*.

Appendix N

Craft	Year	No. of people	First name	Surname	Date of burgesship
			Rawlinne	Cane	
			John	Terraunt	
			John	Burges	
			George	Towell	
			John	Jenycotte	
			William	Sejer	
			Jervis	Bayly	1532
brewers	1543				
beer		8	Walter	Baker	1506
			Thomas	Rigges	1534
			James	Stonnard	1518
			Thomas	Wells	1535
			George	Vincent	1546
			Thomas	Casberd	1538
			Edmond	Wallyn	
			Adryan	Mason	
ale		5	Edmonde	Bisshopp	1521
			Henry	Boyer	1544
			William	Handcoke	
			Henry	Christmas	1526
			William	Christmas	
bakers	1546	7	George	Vincent	1546
			Henry	Golde	1543
			John	Forward	
			Thomas	Wanrik	
			John	Coyte	
			John	More	
			William	Leche	
butchers	1555	7	William	Fevorell	
			Thomas	Hoyskyns	
			Thomas	Forwarde	
			William	Rowtrell	
			Hugh	Sharpe	
			Roger	James	
			John	Harryson	
shearmen	1571	4	James	Maior	
			Walter	Houchine	
			Nicholas	Lovell	
			Robert	Smythe	
armourers and cutlers	1599	3	Thomas	Lile	
			Nicholas	Curle	
			John	Ward	

Craft	Year	No. of people	First name	Surname	Date of burgesship
blacksmiths	1599	10	John	Parker	1596
			Henry	Parker	
			Gilbert	Clements	
			Richard	Hancock	
			Edward	Simondes	
			Thomas	Plower	
			William	Tuker	
			Andrew	Smithe	
			Andrew	Cowper	
			Richard	Clevid	

Appendix O Photograph of the brewers' incorporation document of 1543 (SCA, SC 2/7/4)



Copyright: Southampton City Archives.

Appendix P Details of licences issued to non-resident strangers, 1546/7 to 1593/4¹

Volume	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Town of origin (source spelling) or nationality	Reason for licence	Cost: £sd
2	44	1563	John	Norris	Barnstable (Bastabl)	to sell 300 'kyntalls' of woad	£2 0s 0d
2	59	1564	Merchants	of Bristol	Bristol	to 'pick' [pack?] their woad	£7 0s 0d
3	3	1571	Richard	Scowebudge	Bristol	to sell woad	£6 13s 4d
3	18	1574	Mr	Alworth	Bristol	to sell woad	£6 13s 4d
3	53	1577	Gitto	of Bristol	Bristol	to sell 4 tons of woad	£2 6s 8d
2	69	1567	Mr	Michell	Chard	to sell woad	£3 0s 0d
2	69	1567	Mr	Michell	Chard	'at an nother time for selling woad'	£2 5s 0d
2	93	1570	Simon	Knyght	Exeter	to sell woad	£3 0s 0d
3	15	1572	Mr	Brewton's servant	Exeter	to sell 8 tons of oil	£1 13s 4d
3	38	1576	Thomas	Browarton	Exeter	to sell 20 bags of 'Tholos' (Toulouse?) woad	10s 0d
2	45	1563	One	of London	London	to sell wines	10s 0d
3	99	1584	Lawrence	Englebirt	London	to sell 40 tons of wine	£8 0s 0d

¹ Source: C. Butler, ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1540-1594*, 2 vols (SRS 43, 44; 2009, 2010), *passim*.

Appendix P

Volume	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Town of origin (source spelling) or nationality	Reason for licence	Cost: £sd
3	181	1591	Mr	Bond	London	to unload oils on a feast day (25 July, St James)	2s
3	26	1575	Young man	of Lyme	Lyme	to sell 30 tons of woad at 6s 8d a ton	£10 0s 0d
3	36	1576	Thomas	Davage	Lyme	to sell 15 tons of woad at 6s 8d a ton	£5 0s 0d
3	37	1576	John	Jones	Lyme	to sell 9 tons of green woad at 6s 8d a ton	£3 0s 0d
3	52	1577	Richard	Davidge	Lyme	to sell 5 tons of woad	£1 13s 4d
2	45	1563	Croke	of Poole	Poole	to sell woad	£2 15s 4d
2	45	1563	Mr	Goddard	Poole	to sell woad 'at a nothe tyme'	£1 10s 0d
3	3	1571	One	of Taunton	Taunton	to sell woad	£5 0s 0d
3	15	1572	Man	of Taunton	Taunton	to sell 200 'kyntalle' of woad to 2 Newbury men	£1 0s 0d
3	19	1574	William	Brenne	West Country	to sell woad	£4 4s 0d
3	70	1580	Mr	Pyttes	Weymouth	to sell 6 tons of 'bastards' (wine?)	£3 0s 0d
2	44	1563	Grackes	the Fleming	Flemish	to sell woad	£10 0s 0d
2	46	1563	Andrew	a Fleming	Flemish	to sell 'basterdes' (cloth?)	£6 6s 8d
3	2	1571	A	French man	French	to sell 3 tons of French wine which he could not sell in the country	10s 0d
2	65	1566	Mountis	of Guernsey	Guernsey man	to sell 32 bags of woad at 6d per bag	16s 0d

Volume	Page No	Year	First name	Surname	Town of origin (source spelling) or nationality	Reason for licence	Cost: £sd
3	119	1586	Peter	Pellyers sonn	Guernsey man	to pass 5 pipes of dry fish for Guernsey or Poole	4s 0d
3	175	1590	Four	Irish women	Irish	to gather here	1s 0d
2	21	1550	A	Portuguese	Portuguese	'for the sale of ii portingalle shypps ladyn with ode' ²	40s 0d
3	54	1578	The	Portuguese	Portuguese	for the 'lading' of 25 tons of woad	£8 6s 8d
2	37	1559	A	Portuguese	Portuguese	to sell woad	£12 0s 0d
2	40	1561	Salis	Canstayia	Portuguese	to sell 700 'kentalles' of woad	£2 10s
2	40	1561	Francis	Leffons	Portuguese	to sell 500 'kentalles' of woad	£1 10s
3	53	1577	Jaspar	Gonsalin	Portuguese	to sell woad	£15 0s 0d
3	71	1580	Manuell	Dyes	Portuguese	to sell 30 tons of woad	£10 0s 0d

² Presumably, this means that the licence was to sell the woad and not the ships.

Appendix R Number of people assessed for stall and art payments by ward and by year, 1549 to 1603¹

Year	Ward								Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SM	SMJ	BRES	AS + BRES	
1549		64	25	57	85 ²				231
1550		71	25	54	84				234
1566	36 ³		26	41		97			200
1569	18	17	19	37		67	10		168
1571	26	45	25	47		96	21		260
1573	27	28	17	46		95	18		231
1574	35	30	21	59		103	14		262
1575	42	29	21	48		114	19		273
1576	40	49	20	56		126	24		315
1577	36	37	26	65		135	37		336

¹ Source: F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1624*, 3 parts (SRSoc 1, 2, 4; 1905-1907, *passim*).

² In 1549 and 1550 the SM figures probably included those of SJ.

³ In 1566 the AS Below figure probably included those of AS Above and BRES.

Appendix R

Year	Ward								Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SM	SMJ	BRES	AS + BRES	
1579	50	74	25	80		174	53		456
1580	44	40	26	104		165	30		409
1581	60	61	24	101		160	47		453
1582	46	59	27	97		160	38		427
1585	Incomplete								
1587	41	39	29	90		191	51		441
1589	34	29	41	66		117	15		302
1590			39	71		148		166 ⁴	424
1594	53	58	49	93		131	47		431
1596	64	52	43	89		128	37 ⁵		413
1600	46	58	41	109		129	24		407
1601	95 ⁶		42	110		161	23		431
1602			35	95		119		151	400
1603			44	112		155		132	443

⁴ In 1590, 1602, 1603 the figures for AS and BRES were included in one list.

⁵ In 1596 BRES was termed St Mary's and East Street.

⁶ In 1601 the AS Below figures included those of AS Above.

Appendix S Monetary assessments for stall and art payments by ward and by year, 1549 to 1603¹

Year	Ward						Total	
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES		AS + BRES
1549	Not given							
1550	Not given							
1566	19s		£1 9s 6d	£1 10s 10d	£1 10s 6d			£5 9s 10d
1569	9s 10d	11s 10d	18s 2d	£1 4s 2d	£1 12s 8d	4s 6d		£5 1s 2d
1571	15s 4d	9s 10d	£1 16s 10d	£2 12s 8d	£3 1s 4d	7s 6d		£9 3s 6d
1573	17s 2d	15s 2d	£1 4s	£2 1s 2d	£4 9s 4d	6s 8d		£9 13s 6d
1574	17s 2d	15s 6d	£1 2s 4d	£3 11s 10d	£6 3s	6s 2d		£12 16s
1575	£1 4s 2d	£1 8d	£1 7s 8d	£3 9s 10d	£6 6s 10d	7s 8d		£13 16s 10d
1576	£1 8s	£1 6s	£1 4s 10d	£3 1s 8d	£6 19s 10d	8s 6d		£14 8s 10d
1577	£1 12s 8d	£1 9s 4d	£1 13s 6d	£3 9s 7d	£6 19s 8d	13s		£15 17s 9d
1579	£1 7s 2d	£1 12s	£1 3s	£2 7d	£6 18s 10d	9s 10d		£13 11s 5d
1580	£1 5s 8d	£1 7s	£1 7s 8d	£3 7s 2d	£7 16s 2d	14s 4d		£15 18s
1581	£1 8s 8d	£1 10s 8d	£1 1s 6d	£3 4s 6d	£5 18s 8d	12s 6d		£13 16s 6d
1582	£1 5s 8d	£1 11s 10d	£1 7s 2d	£3 7s 8d	£7 4s	12s		£15 8s 4d

¹ Source: F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1550-1624*, 3 parts (SRSoc 1, 2, 4; 1905-1907, *passim*).

Appendix S

	Ward							
Year	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	AS + BRES	Total
1585	Incomplete							
1587	£1 9s	18s 10d	14s 10d	£2 13s 2d	£4 16s 4d	8s		£11 2d
1589	£2 2d	£1 8s 10d	£1 12s	£3 1s 4d	£7 2s 8d	15s 4d		£16 4d
1590			£1 2s 10d	£1 13s 8d	£5 18s 8d		£3 12s 2d	£12 7s 4d
1594	£2 10s	£2 3s 8d	£2 6s 8d	£4 4s 2d	£4 16s 8d	£1 1s 10d		£17 3s
1596	£1 16s 2d	£1 16s 6d	£2 2s	£2 5s	£3 1s 4d	£1 1s 10d		£12 2s 10d
1600	£1 5s 8d	18s 6d	£1 5s 4d	£3 11s 10d	£3 6s 4d	11s 2d		£10 18s 10d
1601	£3 7s		£1 11s 8d	£4 5s 11d	£5 3s	17s 6d		£15 5s 1d
1602			£1 14s	£4 6s 8d	£4 2s 6d		£4 16s 6d	£14 19s 8d
1603			£1 9s 10d	£3 13s 8d	£4 11s 2d		£4 13s	£14 7s 8d

Appendix T Number of people assessed for stall and art payments by ward, 1600 and 1601¹

Year	Ward						Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
1600							
payments	35	48	36	102	113	19	353
non-payments	11	12	5	7	26	5	66
Total	46	60	41	109	139	24	419 ²
1601							
payments	90 ³		30	110	171	21	422
non-payments	20		17	16	13	3	69
Total	110		47	126	184	24	491 ⁴
Totals noted by Hearnshaw⁵							
1600	46	58	41	109	129	24	407
1601	95		42	110	161	23	431

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601.

² This total of 419 included one person who was listed twice, leaving 418 different people.

³ In 1601 the figure for AS Below figure included that of AS Above.

⁴ This total of 491 included two people who were each listed twice leaving 489 different people.

⁵ Source: F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed, *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), pp. 324, 340.

Appendix U Stall and art list, 1601, entry order¹

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
1	HR	Thomas	Beele			3	4		
2	HR	John	Crosse				6		
3	HR	William	Merritt				18		
4	HR	John	Payne				8		
5	HR	Gilbert	Clement				18		
6	HR	Thomas	Smith				6		
7	HR	Thomas	Smith				6		
8	HR	William	Readinge				12		
9	HR	James	Readinge				6		
10	HR	Matthew	Craddocke				12		
11	HR	William	Fleete				6		
12	HR	Thomas	Titer				4		
13	HR	Robert	Moore				4		
14	HR	Henry	Painton				4		
15	HR	Daniel	Dugard				2		
16	HR	John	Browne				nll	deleted	

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Book, 1601.

Appendix U

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
17	HR	Richard	Flurrye				4		
18	HR	Andrew	Flurry				6		
19	HR	John	Walker				2		
20	HR	Giles	Austin				4		
21	HR	Matthew	Cattle	alien			4		
22	HR	John	Vibert	alien and very poor			2	deleted	
23	HR	Abraham	Enough	alien			2		
24	HR	Philip	Mahalt	alien			4		
25	HR	William	Vallett	alien			2		
26	HR	James	Mayett	alien			2		
27	HR	Thomas	Robinson		victualler		12		
28	HR	John	Mortimer		victualler		12		
29	HR	Thomas	Williams			5	0		
30	HR	Leonard	Mills				12		
31	HR	Richard	Suffeild				8		
32	HR	Thomas	Nicholls				12		
33	HR	Abraham	Warde				4		
34	HR	Edward	Johnson				2		
35	HR	Walter	Yeustis				4		
36	HR	Garrett	Linnbart				2		
37	HR	Walter	Fashin			2	0		
38	HR	Thomas	Lessy				4		
39	HR	Adrian	Burse	alien			2		
40	HR	James	Provot	alien			2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
41	HR	John	Lehaies	alien			2		
42	HR	Deonis	Dugard	alien			2		
43	HR	Morrell	Dugard	alien			2		
44	HR	Symon	Mersom	alien			2		
45	HR	John	Deemes				12		
46	HR	Henry	Petchy				12		
47	HR	William	Mayior				2		
48	HR	Richard	Amoone	alien			12		
49	HR	Robert	Decane	alien			2		
50	HR	William	Berrye				2		
51	HR	Gilla	De Plue	alien			3		
52	HR	John	Hersant	alien		5	0		
53	HR	Peter	Trevooe	alien			2		
54	HR	John	Boyes				2		
55	HR	John	Hollicome				4		
56	HR	Antony	Blancke	alien			2		
57	HR	Clement	Cattrege				2		
58	HR	Humphry	Cade				2		
59	HR	Edward	Malsurt	alien			2		
60	HR	William	Blashfeild				4		
61	HR	Matthew	Mollart				4		
62	HR	Stephen	Hewes				2		
63	HR	John	Pratt		tippler		12?		
64	HR	Robert	Groner				2	deleted	

Appendix U

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
65	HR	Thomas	Smithe				nyhill	deleted	
66	HR	Richard	Cornishe				nyhill	deleted	
67	HR	Robert	Clarke				nil	deleted	
68	HR	John	Lebee	alien			2		
69	HR	Thomas	Cooke				2		
70	HR	Thomas	Heryfeild				2		
71	HR	Thomas	Holbrooke				4		
72	HR	John	Foster				2		
73	HR	Robert	Foster				2		
74	HR	Henry	Foster				2	deleted	
75	HR	Olliffa	Addison		tippler		12		
76	HR	Peter	Kevelder	alien			2		
77	HR	Peter	Bonman	alien			nil	deleted	
78	HR	John	Rusforde	alien		2	0		
79	HR	William	Godfry				2		
80	HR	William	Mullens				4		
81	HR	Widdow	Davies				nil	deleted	female
82	HR	John	Reynolds		victualler		12		
83	HR	Richard	Allen				6		
84	HR	Peter	Fox				6		
85	HR	Thomas	Ecton		victualler		12		
86	HR	John	Merchier	alien		2	0		
87	HR	Peter	Legay	alien		6	8		
88	HR	Isacke	Legay	alien			12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
89	HR	Isacke	Lamoyes	alien			2		
90	HR	William	Greene		tippler		12		
91	HR	Richard	Hancocke				12		
92	HR	Thomas	Fletcher				18		
93	HR	John	Jeames		tippler		12		
94	HR	Clement	Garrett	alien			nll	deleted	
95	HR	Clement	Garrett	alien			6		
96	HR	John	Feverell				[blank]	deleted	
97	HR	Thomas	Nicholls		tippler		12		
98	HR	Thomas	Grannt				nll	deleted	
99	HR	Christopher	Cornellis				12		
100	HR	Richard	Pye				nll	deleted	
101	HR	Thomas	Crumpe		tippler		12		
102	HR	George	Edmonds				nll	deleted	
103	HR	William	Dewe				nll	deleted	
104	HR	Thomas	Ralph				12		
105	HR	John	Smith				2		
106	HR	John	Reade				2		
107	HR	Ellis	Mosiewr	alien			2		
108	HR	Hugo	Davies				12		
109	HR	John	Collins				2		
110	HR	Richard	Mase				12		
111	HR	Peter	Thudet	alien			12		
112	HR	Thomas	Childerly				2	deleted	

Appendix U

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
113	HR	John	Sparrow				2		
114	HR	John	Deane				4		
115	HR	Richard	Deane		tippler		12		
116	HR	John	Browne				6		
117	HR	John	Mayior	Junior		4	0		
118	HR	Treamor	Thringe				12		
119	HR	Deonis	Edwards			2	0		
120	HR	Edward	Henshaw				6		
121	HR	William	Herne				12		
122	HR	James	Caplin			2	0		
123	HR	John	Woodyer				18		
124	HR	James	Edmunds				12		
125	HR	Thomas	Jackson				12		
126	HR	Thomas	Stovye				4		
127	SL	Peter	Linch		tippler		12		
128	SL	Angell	Stoner				6		
129	SL	John	Vibert				4		
130	SL	Roger	Collingwood				nll	deleted	
131	SL	John	Janvrin				nll	deleted	
132	SL	Matthew	Tiblin				nll	deleted	
133	SL	Thomas	Lyle				12		
134	SL	Arthur	Baker			6	8		
135	SL	William	Faussett				6		
136	SL	Thomas	Beake				nll	deleted	

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
137	SL	Thomas	Tompson				12		
138	SL	Edward	Crosse				12		
139	SL	James	Stager		huckster		nll	deleted	
140	SL	Francis	Sewell				12		
141	SL	Henry	Lavendor		tippler		12		
142	SL	Antony	Cooke				4		
143	SL	John	Grundy		tippler		12		
144	SL	William	Camming				6		
145	SL	Moses	Dodson				nll	deleted	
146	SL	Symon	Wickham				6		
147	SL	Thomas	Poyntexter				nll	deleted	
148	SL	John	Clarke		tippler		12		
149	SL	William	Chaplin?				2	deleted	
150	SL	John	Flud				nll	deleted	
151	SL	George	Flud				nll	deleted	
152	SL	William	Macham				nll	deleted	
153	SL	John	Jackson				6		
154	SL	John	Clarke				2	deleted	
155	SL	Hurnewell	Humfres				2		
156	SL	Peter	Welsh				12		
157	SL	John	Tanner				nll	deleted	
158	SL	Thomas	Dolbye				nll	deleted	
159	SL	William	Brise				2		
160	SL	Abraham	Tiblin				2		

Appendix U

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
161	SL	Roger	Willson				nll	deleted	
162	SL	John	Higgins				nll	deleted	
163	SL	Thomas	Daye				2		
164	SL	Nicholas	Rowse				12		
165	SL	Thomas	Rowse				6		
166	SL	John	Dowse				4		
167	SL	Richard	Brickfeild			3	4		
168	SL	Peter	Frier				6		
169	SL	Richard	Masey			2	6		
170	SL	Nicholas	Allen				12		
171	SL	William	Lyle				6		
172	SL	Thomas	Browne				nll	deleted	
173	SL	Hillarie	Billett			2	6		
174	AS	John	Steptoe				4		
175	AS	Thomas	Branker	newcomer			6		
176	AS	Ellis	Beckery?				nll	deleted	
177	AS	John	Goldvier	newcomer			4		
178	AS	John	Anderson				6		
179	AS	Philip	Loney				6		
180	AS	Roger	Moores				4		
181	AS	William	Michell		huckster		4		
182	AS	Richard	Robarts	alien			12		
183	AS	Robert	Baker				8		
184	AS	George	Alden				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
185	AS	John	Gilbert			2	6		
186	AS	Thomas	Smith				12		
187	AS	Widdow	Seale	widow	tippler		6		female
188	AS	William	Warton				6		
189	AS	Nicholas	Webster				4		
190	AS	Nicholas	Ellyett				nll	deleted	
191	AS	George	Sharpe		tippler		6		
192	AS	Charles	Dervall				6		
193	AS	Henry	Smith			2	0		
194	AS	John	Elliott			2	0		
195	AS	Stephen	Latelas			3	4		
196	AS	Thomas	Sutton		tippler		12		
197	AS	Richard	Curtis				2		
198	AS	Richard	Hellier				2		
199	AS	John	Hellier				2	deleted	
200	AS	John	Dale				12		
201	AS	Christopher	Cornellis			3	4		
202	AS	Matthew	Langley				2		
203	AS	John	Perry				nll	deleted	
204	AS	Thomas	Perry				nll	deleted	
205	AS	Thomas	Day				2	deleted	
206	AS	Thomas	Stockwell				12		
207	AS	Michael	Manfeild				4		
208	AS	Peter	Grenaway		tippler		12		

Appendix U

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
209	AS	James	Procter				4	deleted	
210	AS	Christopher	Langmere				6		
211	AS	Robert	Strugnel		tippler		6		
212	AS	Henry	Cussens		tippler		12		
213	AS	William	Lovett				nll	deleted	
214	AS	William	Masters				2		
215	AS	Robert	Russell				2		
216	AS	William	Nightingall				2	deleted	
217	AS	Thomas	Ritch		tippler		12		
218	AS	James	Wharton				4		
219	AS	John	Sutton				12		
220	AS	Moses	Poyntdexter				2		
221	AS	Robert	Forman				2		
222	AS	Morris	White				2		
223	AS	John	Brumfeld				2		
224	AS	Stephen	Arthur				2	deleted	
225	AS	Thomas	Lord				2	deleted	
226	AS	Robert	Benham				2	deleted	
227	AS	Richard	Yewstis				4		
228	AS	Christopher	Sturgis				2	deleted	
229	AS	Burlady	Durvall		tippler		12		
230	AS	Nicholas	Janvrin				12		
231	AS	John	Ellery				2		
232	AS	John	Rysinge		innholder		12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
233	AS	Richard	Nettley				6		
234	AS	John	Kinge			2	0		
235	AS	William	Currant				2	deleted	
236	AS	William	Tucker		tippler		6		
237	AS	William	Ward				4		
238	AS	John	Jones		tippler		4		
239	AS	George	Tompson			2	0		
240	AS	John	Wyatt				2	deleted	
241	AS	James	Ayler	alien		2	0		
242	AS	Edward	Symonds				12		
243	AS	Richard	Tiller				12		
244	AS	John	Mylles				nll	deleted	
245	AS	John	Smith				nll	deleted	
246	AS	William	Taylor				nll	deleted	
247	AS	Thomas	Griste				nll	deleted	
248	AS	Henry	Richardson		innholder		12		
249	AS	John	Griste		innholder		12		
250	AS	Nicholas	Keckwitt				6		
251	AS	Richard	Yeedes				nll	deleted	
252	AS	John	Jurden		tippler		12		
253	AS	William	Barnard				6		
254	AS	Thomas	Sanders				4		
255	AS	Andrew	Smith				2		
256	AS	William	Maye				12		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
257	AS	Symon	Reston				6		
258	AS	Richard	Weekham				4		
259	AS	John	Lee				4		
260	AS	William	Newell				4		
261	AS	William	Rawlins				4		
262	AS	Andrew	Cowper				4		
263	AS	William	Hackfeild				2		
264	AS	Sampson	Thomas				6		
265	AS	Michael	Wandricke		huckster		4		
266	AS	Richard	Archer		tippler		12		
267	AS	William	Currier				12		
268	AS	Richard	Nevey				4		
269	AS	Robert	Lattman				2	deleted	
270	AS	Nicholas	Hinde				4		
271	AS	Richard	Barnard				12		
272	AS	George	Ecton		tippler		12		
273	AS	Thomas	Thorne			2	0		
274	AS	George	Gardner				4		
275	AS	Robert	Warfard				4		
276	AS	John	Peerse				12		
277	AS	Henry	Osmand	common bowler			6		
278	AS	Stephen	Rolphe		tippler		12		
279	AS	Christopher	Arnold				6		
280	AS	William	Frye				6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
281	AS	Robert	Hollyhocke				4		
282	AS	Nicholas	Craddocke				6		
283	AS	Thomas	Lee				6		
284	BRES	Peter	Caplin			2	0		
285	BRES	John	Marrea	alien			2		
286	BRES	John	Sprage				2		
287	BRES	Roger	Heare				4		
288	BRES	William	Wattson				4		
289	BRES	Nicholas	Arnold				12		
290	BRES	Abraham	Anderson		dyer		6		
291	BRES	William	Dale				2		
292	BRES	Thomas	Stoner				2	deleted	
293	BRES	Thomas	Gander				6		
294	BRES	William	Smith		tippler		4		
295	BRES	Richard	Hardinge				4		
296	BRES	John	Hardinge				2		
297	BRES	John	Grannte				12		
298	BRES	William	Parmett			5	0		
299	BRES	Thomas	Heath				12		
300	BRES	Robert	Haylocke				2	deleted	
301	BRES	Hillary	Arthiors				2	deleted	
302	BRES	Edward	Dervall				12		
303	BRES	Parsivall	Nayler				6		
304	BRES	Peter	Shullinge				12		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
305	BRES	John	Cattlin				6		
306	BRES	Lewis	Hibberd	alien			4		
307	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens		tippler		12		
308	SMJ	Daniell	Lyle			2	0		
309	SMJ	George	Dent alias Barton				12		
310	SMJ	Thomas	Weekham				4		
311	SMJ	John	Ralphe		tippler		6		
312	SMJ	John	Bathe				4		
313	SMJ	Dennis	Mercer				12		
314	SMJ	Adam	Veale				6		
315	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman				12		
316	SMJ	John	Gasson				6		
317	SMJ	John	Pavier				2		
318	SMJ	William	Martin		tippler		12		
319	SMJ	Richard	Persons				2	deleted	
320	SMJ	William	Hall				2		
321	SMJ	Robert	Peertin				6		
322	SMJ	John	Favor				4		
323	SMJ	George	Graunger				2		
324	SMJ	Robert	Hicks				2		
325	SMJ	William	Markett			3	4		
326	SMJ	Sipriam	Lancaster				4		
327	SMJ	Henry	Parker			2	0		
328	SMJ	George	Barnes				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
329	SMJ	Thomas	Michell				2		
330	SMJ	William	Cade				2	deleted	
331	SMJ	William	Lowdy				4		
332	SMJ	Thomas	Friar		tippler		12		
333	SMJ	John	Johnson				2		
334	SMJ	Roger	Parker				6		
335	SMJ	John	Manfild				12		
336	SMJ	Edward	Baseel				4		
337	SMJ	David	Harris				6		
338	SMJ	Peter	Poche				12		
339	SMJ	Condrict	Browne				2	deleted	
340	SMJ	Robert	Paye			2	6		
341	SMJ	Thomas	Howchen				4		
342	SMJ	William	Pitt		tippler		12		
343	SMJ	Robert	Gillett			2	6		
344	SMJ	Arum	Comes				6		
345	SMJ	William	Foster		tippler		12		
346	SMJ	Richard	Platterer				4		
347	SMJ	Gregorie	Younge				2		
348	SMJ	William	Governor				18		
349	SMJ	John	Breede				4		
350	SMJ	Thomas	Kires		tippler		12		
351	SMJ	Richard	Snelgrove				6		
352	SMJ	William	Beckley				8		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
353	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor		tippler		18		
354	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton				6		
355	SMJ	Peter	Higgins				4		
356	SMJ	William	Bourne		tippler		12		
357	SMJ	Robert	Merritt				6		
358	SMJ	Andrew	Arkens				2		
359	SMJ	George	Davis				2		
360	SMJ	John	Feverell	Senior			12		
361	SMJ	John	Feverell	Younger			12		
362	SMJ	David	Hewes				2		
363	SMJ	Guilbert	Pearman				4		
364	SMJ	Michael	Knight				4		
365	SMJ	James	Frier				12		
366	SMJ	William	Ubley				4		
367	SMJ	James	Foster		tippler		12		
368	SMJ	William	Hacke				6		
369	SMJ	William	Pratt				4		
370	SMJ	Peter	Hibbert				2		
371	SMJ	John	Slaughter				4		
372	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge				6		
373	SMJ	Richard	Revett				2		
374	SMJ	Richard	Pye			2	6		
375	SMJ	James	Desart				8		
376	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre	alien		3	6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
377	SMJ	Robert	Barnes				2		
378	SMJ	Edward	Harries				6		
379	SMJ	John	Griffen				2		
380	SMJ	William	Graye				2		
381	SMJ	Jenken	Holliday				2		
382	SMJ	John	Deven				2		
383	SMJ	Richard	Beare				2		
384	SMJ	Christopher	Ubley				2		
385	SMJ	John	Harvie				2		
386	SMJ	John	Burtche				12		
387	SMJ	Philip	Connent				2		
388	SMJ	Nicholas	Laurannce				2		
389	SMJ	Daniel	Daniell				4		
390	SMJ	Olliva	Painter	widow	tippler		6		female
391	SMJ	John	White				2		
392	SMJ	Thomas	Browne				2		
393	SMJ	Thomas	Webb				2		
394	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill			3	4		
395	SMJ	Richard	Harvie		tippler		12		
396	SMJ	James	Lewis	blind	tippler		6		
397	SMJ	Philip	Jones	poor	tippler		6		
398	SMJ	John	Cornishe				2		
399	SMJ	Richard	Longe				2	deleted	
400	SMJ	Francis	Mathew				12		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
401	SMJ	Thomas	Woodis				2		
402	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	Senior			12		
403	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	Junior			4		
404	SMJ	John	Read		tippler		6		
405	SMJ	Richard	Trent				2		
406	SMJ	Robert	Leywood	beggar			2	deleted	
407	SMJ	Lawrence	Redriffe				4		
408	SMJ	Richard	Awstin				2		
409	SMJ	Robert	Frye				2		
410	SMJ	Rowland	Carpenter				2		
411	SMJ	Thomas	Mitten				4		
412	SMJ	Cuttbert	Johnson				2		
413	SMJ	William	Currant				2	deleted	
414	SMJ	Robert	Tegg				2		
415	SMJ	Roger	Graye				2	deleted	
416	SMJ	Thomas	Rawnsone				2		
417	SMJ	John	Barthollomew				2		
418	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer				6		
419	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott				6		
420	SMJ	William	Courtmill		tippler		12		
421	SMJ	Christopher	Greane				8		
422	SMJ	Guilbert	Lambert				6		
423	SMJ	James	Cowell				2	deleted	
424	SMJ	Edward	Melberrie				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
425	SMJ	Richard	Fuller				12		
426	SMJ	Agnes	Chawlden	widow	tippler		12		female
427	SMJ	Owin	Sharffe				2		
428	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston				12		
429	SMJ	Edward	Hackwell				2		
430	SMJ	Flassett	Roberts				12		
431	SMJ	William	Wilkins				6		
432	SMJ	Edward	Warwicke				4		
433	SMJ	Henry	Browne				2		
434	SMJ	George	Sidberie				2		
435	SMJ	Peter	Herevill				2		
436	SMJ	Richard	Carrell				2		
437	SMJ	Henry	Ayres				6		
438	SMJ	John	Pawloner				2		
439	SMJ	Nicholas	Callawaye				2		
440	SMJ	John	Allin				2		
441	SMJ	William	Hinckly				2		
442	SMJ	Lyonell	Awstin				12		
443	SMJ	Condrict	Whithorne				6		
444	SMJ	Peter	Edwards				6		
445	SMJ	Essaias	Whittiffe			3	4		
446	SMJ	John	Warricke				4		
447	SMJ	Richard	Rocheforde		tippler		12		
448	SMJ	Peter	Henricke		tippler		12		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
449	SMJ	John	Stanner				4		
450	SMJ	Nicholas	Saneforde				4		
451	SMJ	Christopher	Saneforde				4		
452	SMJ	William	Russell	very poor			4	deleted	
453	SMJ	John	Hueson				4		
454	SMJ	Robert	Herwood				2		
455	SMJ	Arthur	Burberbe				2		
456	SMJ	Thomas	Grosse	poor			2	deleted	
457	SMJ	Richard	Vibert				4		
458	SMJ	William	Ghoste				12		
459	SMJ	Bonaventure	Bigott		tippler		12		
460	SMJ	Peter	Cornishe				2		
461	SMJ	Hugo	Spencer				2		
462	SMJ	David	Targatt				12		
463	SMJ	Peter	Masson				2		
464	SMJ	Richard	Johnson				2		
465	SMJ	George	Guilbert				6		
466	SMJ	Widow	Sharpp	widow	tippler		12		female
467	SMJ	Henry	Barton				12		
468	SMJ	Hillarie	Hackwell				6		
469	SMJ	John	Engwell				6		
470	SMJ	Roger	Newes				6		
471	SMJ	John	Deane				2		
472	SMJ	Richard	Overie				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
473	SMJ	Benett	Vincent				6		
474	SMJ	Peter	Faver	poor			2	deleted	
475	SMJ	Michael	Alley		tippler		12		
476	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges				6		
477	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow		huckster		6		
478	SMJ	Nicholas	Davis				6		
479	SMJ	Thomas	Callawaye				6		
480	SMJ	George	Dennis				4		
481	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan			2	0		
482	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan				6		
483	SMJ	John	Vaughan				4		
484	SMJ	George	Perrie		tippler and cook		12		
485	SMJ	Regniold	Bowndie				4		
486	SMJ	John	Moore		tippler		6		
487	SMJ	Oliver	Foster		tippler		12		
488	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert				2		
489	SMJ	William	Meads				[blank]	deleted	
490	SMJ	Thomas	Osmande		tippler		12		
491	SMJ	Hillarie	Billett			2	6	deleted	

Appendix V Stall and art list, 1601, alphabetical order¹

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
75	HR	Olliffa	Addison		tippler		12		
184	AS	George	Alden				12		
170	SL	Nicholas	Allen				12		
83	HR	Richard	Allen				6		
475	SMJ	Michael	Alley		tippler		12		
440	SMJ	John	Allin				2		
48	HR	Richard	Amoone	alien			12		
290	BRES	Abraham	Anderson		dyer		6		
178	AS	John	Anderson				6		
266	AS	Richard	Archer		tippler		12		
358	SMJ	Andrew	Arkens				2		
279	AS	Christopher	Arnold				6		
289	BRES	Nicholas	Arnold				12		
301	BRES	Hillary	Arthiors				2	deleted	
224	AS	Stephen	Arthur				2	deleted	
20	HR	Giles	Austin				4		

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Book, 1601.

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
442	SMJ	Lyonell	Awstin				12		
408	SMJ	Richard	Awstin				2		
241	AS	James	Ayler	alien		2	0		
437	SMJ	Henry	Ayres				6		
134	SL	Arthur	Baker			6	8		
183	AS	Robert	Baker				8		
271	AS	Richard	Barnard				12		
253	AS	William	Barnard				6		
328	SMJ	George	Barnes				2		
377	SMJ	Robert	Barnes				2		
477	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow		huckster		6		
417	SMJ	John	Barthollomew				2		
467	SMJ	Henry	Barton				12		
336	SMJ	Edward	Baseel				4		
312	SMJ	John	Bathe				4		
136	SL	Thomas	Beake				nll	deleted	
383	SMJ	Richard	Beare				2		
176	AS	Ellis	Beckery?				nll	deleted	
352	SMJ	William	Beckley				8		
1	HR	Thomas	Beele			3	4		
428	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston				12		
226	AS	Robert	Benham				2	deleted	
50	HR	William	Berrye				2		
459	SMJ	Bonaventure	Bigott		tippler		12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
173	SL	Hillarie	Billett			2	6		
491	SMJ	Hillarie	Billett			2	6	deleted	
56	HR	Antony	Blancke	alien			2		
60	HR	William	Blashfeild				4		
77	HR	Peter	Bonman	alien			nil	deleted	
356	SMJ	William	Bourne		tippler		12		
485	SMJ	Regniold	Bowndie				4		
54	HR	John	Boyes				2		
175	AS	Thomas	Branker	newcomer			6		
349	SMJ	John	Breede				4		
167	SL	Richard	Brickfeild			3	4		
476	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges				6		
159	SL	William	Brise				2		
339	SMJ	Condrict	Browne				2	deleted	
433	SMJ	Henry	Browne				2		
16	HR	John	Browne				nll	deleted	
116	HR	John	Browne				6		
172	SL	Thomas	Browne				nll	deleted	
392	SMJ	Thomas	Browne				2		
223	AS	John	Brumfeld				2		
455	SMJ	Arthur	Burberbe				2		
39	HR	Adrian	Bursey	alien			2		
386	SMJ	John	Burtche				12		
58	HR	Humphry	Cade				2		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
330	SMJ	William	Cade				2	deleted	
439	SMJ	Nicholas	Callawaye				2		
479	SMJ	Thomas	Callawaye				6		
144	SL	William	Cammings				6		
122	HR	James	Caplin			2	0		
284	BRES	Peter	Caplin			2	0		
410	SMJ	Rowland	Carpenter				2		
436	SMJ	Richard	Carrell				2		
21	HR	Matthew	Cattle	alien			4		
305	BRES	John	Cattlin				6		
57	HR	Clement	Cattrege				2		
149	SL	William	Chaplin?				2	deleted	
426	SMJ	Agnes	Chawlden	widow	tippler		12		female
112	HR	Thomas	Childerly				2	deleted	
148	SL	John	Clarke		tippler		12		
154	SL	John	Clarke				2	deleted	
67	HR	Robert	Clarke				nil	deleted	
5	HR	Gilbert	Clement				18		
130	SL	Roger	Collingwood				nll	deleted	
109	HR	John	Collins				2		
344	SMJ	Arum	Comes				6		
387	SMJ	Philip	Connent				2		
142	SL	Antony	Cooke				4		
69	HR	Thomas	Cooke				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
99	HR	Christopher	Cornellis				12		
201	AS	Christopher	Cornellis			3	4		
398	SMJ	John	Cornishe				2		
460	SMJ	Peter	Cornishe				2		
66	HR	Richard	Cornishe				nyhill	deleted	
420	SMJ	William	Courtmill		tippler		12		
423	SMJ	James	Cowell				2	deleted	
262	AS	Andrew	Cowper				4		
10	HR	Matthew	Craddocke				12		
282	AS	Nicholas	Craddocke				6		
138	SL	Edward	Crosse				12		
2	HR	John	Crosse				6		
101	HR	Thomas	Crumpe		tippler		12		
235	AS	William	Currant				2	deleted	
413	SMJ	William	Currant				2	deleted	
267	AS	William	Currier				12		
197	AS	Richard	Curtis				2		
212	AS	Henry	Cussens		tippler		12		
200	AS	John	Dale				12		
291	BRES	William	Dale				2		
389	SMJ	Daniel	Daniell				4		
108	HR	Hugo	Davies				12		
81	HR	Widdow	Davies				nil	deleted	female
359	SMJ	George	Davis				2		

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
478	SMJ	Nicholas	Davis				6		
205	AS	Thomas	Day				2	deleted	
163	SL	Thomas	Daye				2		
51	HR	Gilla	De Plue	alien			3		
114	HR	John	Deane				4		
471	SMJ	John	Deane				2		
115	HR	Richard	Deane		tippler		12		
49	HR	Robert	Decane	alien			2		
45	HR	John	Deemes				12		
376	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre	alien		3	6		
480	SMJ	George	Dennis				4		
309	SMJ	George	Dent alias Barton				12		
192	AS	Charles	Dervall				6		
302	BRES	Edward	Dervall				12		
375	SMJ	James	Desart				8		
382	SMJ	John	Deven				2		
103	HR	William	Dewe				nll	deleted	
145	SL	Moses	Dodson				nll	deleted	
158	SL	Thomas	Dolbye				nll	deleted	
166	SL	John	Dowse				4		
15	HR	Daniel	Dugard				2		
42	HR	Deonis	Dugard	alien			2		
43	HR	Morrell	Dugard	alien			2		
229	AS	Burlady	Durvall		tippler		12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
272	AS	George	Ecton		tippler		12		
85	HR	Thomas	Ecton		victualler		12		
102	HR	George	Edmonds				nll	deleted	
124	HR	James	Edmunds				12		
119	HR	Deonis	Edwards			2	0		
444	SMJ	Peter	Edwards				6		
231	AS	John	Ellery				2		
194	AS	John	Elliott			2	0		
190	AS	Nicholas	Ellyett				nll	deleted	
469	SMJ	John	Engwell				6		
23	HR	Abraham	Enough	alien			2		
37	HR	Walter	Fashin			2	0		
135	SL	William	Faussett				6		
474	SMJ	Peter	Faver	poor			2	deleted	
322	SMJ	John	Favor				4		
361	SMJ	John	Feverell	Younger			12		
96	HR	John	Feverell				[blank]	deleted	
360	SMJ	John	Feverell	Senior			12		
402	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	Senior			12		
403	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	Junior			4		
11	HR	William	Fleete				6		
92	HR	Thomas	Fletcher				18		
151	SL	George	Flud				nll	deleted	
150	SL	John	Flud				nll	deleted	

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Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
18	HR	Andrew	Flurry				6		
17	HR	Richard	Flurrye				4		
221	AS	Robert	Forman				2		
74	HR	Henry	Foster				2	deleted	
367	SMJ	James	Foster		tippler		12		
72	HR	John	Foster				2		
487	SMJ	Oliver	Foster		tippler		12		
73	HR	Robert	Foster				2		
345	SMJ	William	Foster		tippler		12		
84	HR	Peter	Fox				6		
332	SMJ	Thomas	Friar		tippler		12		
365	SMJ	James	Frier				12		
168	SL	Peter	Frier				6		
409	SMJ	Robert	Frye				2		
280	AS	William	Frye				6		
425	SMJ	Richard	Fuller				12		
293	BRES	Thomas	Gander				6		
274	AS	George	Gardner				4		
94	HR	Clement	Garrett	alien			nll	deleted	
95	HR	Clement	Garrett	alien			6		
316	SMJ	John	Gasson				6		
458	SMJ	William	Ghoste				12		
185	AS	John	Gilbert			2	6		
343	SMJ	Robert	Gillett			2	6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
79	HR	William	Godfry				2		
177	AS	John	Goldvier	newcomer			4		
348	SMJ	William	Governor				18		
98	HR	Thomas	Grannt				nll	deleted	
297	BRES	John	Grannte				12		
323	SMJ	George	Graunger				2		
415	SMJ	Roger	Graye				2	deleted	
380	SMJ	William	Graye				2		
421	SMJ	Christopher	Greane				8		
90	HR	William	Greene		tippler		12		
208	AS	Peter	Grenaway		tippler		12		
379	SMJ	John	Griffen				2		
249	AS	John	Griste		innholder		12		
247	AS	Thomas	Griste				nll	deleted	
64	HR	Robert	Groner				2	deleted	
456	SMJ	Thomas	Grosse	poor			2	deleted	
143	SL	John	Grundy		tippler		12		
465	SMJ	George	Guilbert				6		
368	SMJ	William	Hacke				6		
263	AS	William	Hackfeild				2		
429	SMJ	Edward	Hackwell				2		
468	SMJ	Hillarie	Hackwell				6		
320	SMJ	William	Hall				2		
91	HR	Richard	Hancocke				12		

Appendix V

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
296	BRES	John	Hardinge				2		
295	BRES	Richard	Hardinge				4		
378	SMJ	Edward	Harries				6		
337	SMJ	David	Harris				6		
385	SMJ	John	Harvie				2		
395	SMJ	Richard	Harvie		tippler		12		
300	BRES	Robert	Haylocke				2	deleted	
287	BRES	Roger	Heare				4		
299	BRES	Thomas	Heath				12		
199	AS	John	Hellier				2	deleted	
198	AS	Richard	Hellier				2		
448	SMJ	Peter	Henricke		tippler		12		
120	HR	Edward	Henshaw				6		
394	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill			3	4		
435	SMJ	Peter	Herevill				2		
121	HR	William	Herne				12		
52	HR	John	Hersant	alien		5	0		
454	SMJ	Robert	Herwood				2		
70	HR	Thomas	Heryfeild				2		
362	SMJ	David	Hewes				2		
62	HR	Stephen	Hewes				2		
306	BRES	Lewis	Hibberd	alien			4		
370	SMJ	Peter	Hibbert				2		
324	SMJ	Robert	Hicks				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
162	SL	John	Higgins				nll	deleted	
355	SMJ	Peter	Higgins				4		
441	SMJ	William	Hinckly				2		
270	AS	Nicholas	Hinde				4		
71	HR	Thomas	Holbrooke				4		
55	HR	John	Hollicome				4		
381	SMJ	Jenken	Holliday				2		
281	AS	Robert	Hollyhocke				4		
341	SMJ	Thomas	Howchen				4		
453	SMJ	John	Hueson				4		
155	SL	Hurnewell	Humfres				2		
153	SL	John	Jackson				6		
125	HR	Thomas	Jackson				12		
131	SL	John	Janvrin				nll	deleted	
230	AS	Nicholas	Janvrin				12		
93	HR	John	Jeames		tippler		12		
412	SMJ	Cuttbert	Johnson				2		
34	HR	Edward	Johnson				2		
333	SMJ	John	Johnson				2		
464	SMJ	Richard	Johnson				2		
238	AS	John	Jones		tippler		4		
397	SMJ	Philip	Jones	poor	tippler		6		
252	AS	John	Jurden		tippler		12		
250	AS	Nicholas	Keckwitt				6		

Appendix V

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
76	HR	Peter	Kevelder	alien			2		
234	AS	John	Kinge			2	0		
350	SMJ	Thomas	Kires		tippler		12		
364	SMJ	Michael	Knight				4		
422	SMJ	Guilbert	Lambert				6		
488	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert				2		
89	HR	Isacke	Lamoyes	alien			2		
326	SMJ	Sipriam	Lancaster				4		
202	AS	Matthew	Langlely				2		
210	AS	Christopher	Langmere				6		
195	AS	Stephen	Latelas			3	4		
269	AS	Robert	Lattman				2	deleted	
388	SMJ	Nicholas	Laurannce				2		
141	SL	Henry	Lavendor		tippler		12		
68	HR	John	Lebee	alien			2		
259	AS	John	Lee				4		
283	AS	Thomas	Lee				6		
88	HR	Isacke	Legay	alien			12		
87	HR	Peter	Legay	alien		6	8		
41	HR	John	Lehaies	alien			2		
38	HR	Thomas	Lessy				4		
396	SMJ	James	Lewis	blind	tippler		6		
406	SMJ	Robert	Leywood	beggar			2	deleted	
127	SL	Peter	Linch		tippler		12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
36	HR	Garrett	Linnbart				2		
179	AS	Philip	Loney				6		
399	SMJ	Richard	Longe				2	deleted	
225	AS	Thomas	Lord				2	deleted	
213	AS	William	Lovett				nll	deleted	
331	SMJ	William	Lowdy				4		
308	SMJ	Daniell	Lyle			2	0		
133	SL	Thomas	Lyle				12		
171	SL	William	Lyle				6		
152	SL	William	Macham				nll	deleted	
24	HR	Philip	Mahalt	alien			4		
59	HR	Edward	Malsurt	alien			2		
207	AS	Michael	Manfeild				4		
335	SMJ	John	Manfild				12		
325	SMJ	William	Markett			3	4		
285	BRES	John	Marrea	alien			2		
318	SMJ	William	Martin		tippler		12		
110	HR	Richard	Mase				12		
169	SL	Richard	Masey			2	6		
463	SMJ	Peter	Masson				2		
214	AS	William	Masters				2		
400	SMJ	Francis	Mathew				12		
256	AS	William	Maye				12		
26	HR	James	Mayett	alien			2		

Appendix V

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
117	HR	John	Mayior	Junior		4	0		
47	HR	William	Mayior				2		
489	SMJ	William	Meads				[blank]	deleted	
424	SMJ	Edward	Melberrie				12		
313	SMJ	Dennis	Mercer				12		
86	HR	John	Merchier	alien		2	0		
357	SMJ	Robert	Merritt				6		
3	HR	William	Merritt				18		
44	HR	Symon	Mersom	alien			2		
329	SMJ	Thomas	Michell				2		
181	AS	William	Michell		huckster		4		
30	HR	Leonard	Mills				12		
411	SMJ	Thomas	Mitten				4		
61	HR	Matthew	Mollart				4		
486	SMJ	John	Moore		tippler		6		
13	HR	Robert	Moore				4		
180	AS	Roger	Moores				4		
28	HR	John	Mortimer		victualler		12		
107	HR	Ellis	Mosiewr	alien			2		
80	HR	William	Mullens				4		
244	AS	John	Mylles				nll	deleted	
303	BRES	Parsivall	Nayler				6		
233	AS	Richard	Nettley				6		
268	AS	Richard	Nevey				4		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
260	AS	William	Newell				4		
470	SMJ	Roger	Newes				6		
32	HR	Thomas	Nicholls				12		
97	HR	Thomas	Nicholls		tippler		12		
216	AS	William	Nightingall				2	deleted	
277	AS	Henry	Osmand	common bowler			6		
490	SMJ	Thomas	Osmande		tippler		12		
472	SMJ	Richard	Overie				2		
390	SMJ	Olliva	Painter	widow	tippler		6		female
14	HR	Henry	Painton				4		
327	SMJ	Henry	Parker			2	0		
334	SMJ	Roger	Parker				6		
298	BRES	William	Parmett			5	0		
317	SMJ	John	Pavier				2		
438	SMJ	John	Pawloner				2		
340	SMJ	Robert	Paye			2	6		
4	HR	John	Payne				8		
363	SMJ	Guilbert	Pearman				4		
276	AS	John	Peerse				12		
321	SMJ	Robert	Peertin				6		
484	SMJ	George	Perrie		tippler and cook		12		
203	AS	John	Perry				nll	deleted	
204	AS	Thomas	Perry				nll	deleted	

Appendix V

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
319	SMJ	Richard	Persons				2	deleted	
46	HR	Henry	Petchy				12		
419	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott				6		
342	SMJ	William	Pitt		tippler		12		
346	SMJ	Richard	Platterer				4		
418	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer				6		
315	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman				12		
338	SMJ	Peter	Poche				12		
220	AS	Moses	Poyntdexter				2		
147	SL	Thomas	Poyntexter				nll	deleted	
63	HR	John	Pratt		tippler		12?		
369	SMJ	William	Pratt				4		
209	AS	James	Procter				4	deleted	
40	HR	James	Provot	alien			2		
100	HR	Richard	Pye				nll	deleted	
374	SMJ	Richard	Pye			2	6		
104	HR	Thomas	Ralph				12		
311	SMJ	John	Ralphe		tippler		6		
261	AS	William	Rawlins				4		
416	SMJ	Thomas	Rawnsone				2		
404	SMJ	John	Read		tippler		6		
106	HR	John	Reade				2		
9	HR	James	Readinge				6		
8	HR	William	Readinge				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
407	SMJ	Lawrence	Redriffe				4		
257	AS	Symon	Reston				6		
373	SMJ	Richard	Revett				2		
82	HR	John	Reynolds		victualler		12		
248	AS	Henry	Richardson		innholder		12		
217	AS	Thomas	Ritch		tippler		12		
182	AS	Richard	Robarts	alien			12		
430	SMJ	Flasset	Roberts				12		
27	HR	Thomas	Robinson		victualler		12		
447	SMJ	Richard	Rocheфорde		tippler		12		
278	AS	Stephen	Rolphe		tippler		12		
164	SL	Nicholas	Rowse				12		
165	SL	Thomas	Rowse				6		
78	HR	John	Rusфорde	alien		2	0		
215	AS	Robert	Russell				2		
452	SMJ	William	Russell	very poor			4	deleted	
232	AS	John	Rysinge		innholder		12		
254	AS	Thomas	Sanders				4		
451	SMJ	Christopher	Sanefорde				4		
450	SMJ	Nicholas	Sanefорde				4		
187	AS	Widdow	Seale	widow	tippler		6		female
140	SL	Francis	Sewell				12		
427	SMJ	Owin	Sharffe				2		
191	AS	George	Sharpe		tippler		6		

Appendix V

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
466	SMJ	Widow	Sharpp	widow	tippler		12		female
304	BRES	Peter	Shullinge				12		
434	SMJ	George	Sidberie				2		
371	SMJ	John	Slaughter				4		
255	AS	Andrew	Smith				2		
193	AS	Henry	Smith			2	0		
105	HR	John	Smith				2		
245	AS	John	Smith				nll	deleted	
186	AS	Thomas	Smith				12		
6	HR	Thomas	Smith				6		
7	HR	Thomas	Smith				6		
294	BRES	William	Smith		tippler		4		
65	HR	Thomas	Smithe				nyhill	deleted	
351	SMJ	Richard	Snelgrove				6		
372	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge				6		
354	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton				6		
113	HR	John	Sparrow				2		
461	SMJ	Hugo	Spencer				2		
286	BRES	John	Sprage				2		
139	SL	James	Stager		huckster		nll	deleted	
449	SMJ	John	Stanner				4		
174	AS	John	Steptoe				4		
206	AS	Thomas	Stockwell				12		
128	SL	Angell	Stoner				6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
292	BRES	Thomas	Stoner				2	deleted	
126	HR	Thomas	Stovye				4		
211	AS	Robert	Strugnel		tippler		6		
228	AS	Christopher	Sturgis				2	deleted	
31	HR	Richard	Suffield				8		
219	AS	John	Sutton				12		
196	AS	Thomas	Sutton		tippler		12		
242	AS	Edward	Symonds				12		
157	SL	John	Tanner				nll	deleted	
462	SMJ	David	Targatt				12		
246	AS	William	Taylor				nll	deleted	
353	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor		tippler		18		
414	SMJ	Robert	Tegg				2		
264	AS	Sampson	Thomas				6		
273	AS	Thomas	Thorne			2	0		
118	HR	Treamor	Thringe				12		
111	HR	Peter	Thudet	alien			12		
160	SL	Abraham	Tiblin				2		
132	SL	Matthew	Tiblin				nll	deleted	
243	AS	Richard	Tiller				12		
12	HR	Thomas	Titer				4		
239	AS	George	Tompson			2	0		
137	SL	Thomas	Tompson				12		
405	SMJ	Richard	Trent				2		

Appendix V

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
53	HR	Peter	Trevooe	alien			2		
236	AS	William	Tucker		tippler		6		
384	SMJ	Christopher	Ubley				2		
366	SMJ	William	Ubley				4		
25	HR	William	Vallett	alien			2		
483	SMJ	John	Vaughan				4		
482	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan				6		
481	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan			2	0		
314	SMJ	Adam	Veale				6		
22	HR	John	Vibert	alien and very poor			2	deleted	
129	SL	John	Vibert				4		
457	SMJ	Richard	Vibert				4		
473	SMJ	Benett	Vincent				6		
19	HR	John	Walker				2		
265	AS	Michael	Wandricke		huckster		4		
237	AS	William	Ward				4		
33	HR	Abraham	Warde				4		
275	AS	Robert	Warfard				4		
446	SMJ	John	Warricke				4		
188	AS	William	Warton				6		
432	SMJ	Edward	Warwicke				4		
288	BRES	William	Wattson				4		
393	SMJ	Thomas	Webb				2		
189	AS	Nicholas	Webster				4		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
258	AS	Richard	Weekham				4		
310	SMJ	Thomas	Weekham				4		
156	SL	Peter	Welsh				12		
218	AS	James	Wharton				4		
391	SMJ	John	White				2		
222	AS	Morris	White				2		
443	SMJ	Condrict	Whithorne				6		
445	SMJ	Essaias	Whittiffe			3	4		
146	SL	Symon	Wickham				6		
431	SMJ	William	Wilkins				6		
29	HR	Thomas	Williams			5	0		
161	SL	Roger	Willson				nll	deleted	
401	SMJ	Thomas	Woodis				2		
123	HR	John	Woodyer				18		
240	AS	John	Wyatt				2	deleted	
251	AS	Richard	Yeedes				nll	deleted	
35	HR	Walter	Yeustis				4		
307	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens		tippler		12		
227	AS	Richard	Yewstis				4		
347	SMJ	Gregorie	Younge				2		

Appendix W Stall and art assessments by ward and by denomination, 1601¹

Fine (d)	Ward											Total No. of fines	Total (d)
	HR		SL		AS Below		BRES		SMJ				
	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)			
2	36	72	4	8	13	26	4	8	57	114		114	228
3	1	3										1	3
4	18	72	3	12	22	88	5	20	29	116		77	308
6	11	66	8	48	20	120	4	24	35	210		78	468
8	2	16			1	8			3	24		6	48
12	29	348	11	132	25	300	6	72	36	432		107	1284
18	4	72							2	36		6	108
24	5	120			6	144	1	24	2	48		14	336
30			2	60	1	30			3	90		6	180
40	1	40	1	40	2	80			3	120		7	280
42									1	42		1	42
60	2	120					1	60				3	180

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Book, 1601.

Appendix W

	Ward												
	HR		SL		AS Below		BRES		SMJ				
Fine (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)	No. of fines	Total (d)		Total No. of fines	Total (d)
80	1	80	1	80								2	160
Total	110	1009	30	380	90	796	21	208	171	1232		422	3625
Total £ s d		£4 4s 1d		£1 11s 8d		£3 6s 4d		17s 4d		£5 2s 8d			£15 2s 1d

Ward	Pence (d) per head
HR	9.17
SL	12.67
AS Below	8.84
BRES	9.9
SMJ	7.2

Appendix X Stall and art list, 1600, entry order¹

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
1	HR	Thomas	Beele			3	4		
2	HR	Younge	Asteler				8		
3	HR	John	Crosse				6		
4	HR	Roger	Norce				2		
5	HR	William	Merrett				18		
6	HR	John	Paine				8		
7	HR	William	Grantam					deleted	
8	HR	Gilbert	Clement				18		
9	HR	William	Readinge				12		
10	HR	John	Mortemer				12		
11	HR	Matthew	Craddocke				12		
12	HR	Thomas	Titer				2		
13	HR	Thomas	Smith				4		
14	HR	Henry	Penton				4		
15	HR	Robert	Moore				4		
16	HR	Richard	Flurry				4		

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 Court Leet Book, 1600.

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
17	HR	John	Walker				2		
18	HR	Daniel	Dugard				2		
19	HR	Gyles	Awstin				4		
20	HR	John	Vibert				2		
21	HR	Philip	Mateete				2		
22	HR	William	Vallet				2		
23	HR	James	Michell				2		
24	HR	Robert	Provost				2		
25	HR	Abraham	Ennoffe				2		
26	HR	Thomas	Williams			3	4		
27	HR	Leonard	Milles				18		
28	HR	Richard	Suffeild				8		
29	HR	Thomas	Nicholls				12		
30	HR	Edward	Johnson				2		
31	HR	Walter	Yewstis				4		
32	HR	Walter	Fashin			2	0		
33	HR	Thomas	Lacy				4		
34	HR	Deonis	Dugard				2		
35	HR	Peter	Dugard				2		
36	HR	John	Dehay				2		
37	HR	James	Prevee				2		
38	HR	Adrian	Bossye				2		
39	HR	Simon	Mercy				2		
40	HR	John	Deemes				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
41	HR	John	Boomer				2		
42	HR	Henry	Peeche		victualler		12		
43	HR	Nicholas	Osman				12		
44	HR	William	Osman				2		
45	HR	John	Horssome			4	8		
46	HR	John	Leme				2		
47	HR	John	Stow				2		
48	HR	Hughe	Kake				2		
49	HR	Humphry	Cade				2		
50	HR	William	Crackthorne				2	deleted	
51	HR	Matthew	Mollard				4		
52	HR	Edward	Mallshart				2		
53	HR	Ellis	Becker				2		
54	HR	Robert	Grover				2		
55	HR	Garratt	Lombert				4		
56	HR	Thomas	Smithe				nill	deleted	
57	HR	John	Pratt				2		
58	HR	John	Labee				2		
59	HR	Thomas	Cooke				2		
60	HR	Thomas	Holbrooke				2		
61	HR	John	Foster				2		
62	HR	Robert	Foster				2		
63	HR	Henry	Foster				2		
64	HR	John	Chapman				nill		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
65	HR	John	Rushford				12		
66	HR	Nicholas	Hueratt				2		
67	HR	Cardin	Bulmayne				2		
68	HR	Francis	Carpenter				4		
69	HR	Thomas	Ambrose				2		
70	HR	John	Venell				2		
71	HR	William	Godfry				2		
72	HR	William	Mollens				4		
73	HR	Richard	Stephens				nill	deleted	
74	HR	William	Davies	mortag				deleted	
75	HR	John	Reynoldes		victualler		12		
76	HR	Richard	Allen				6		
77	HR	Peter	Fox				6		
78	HR	Madam	Cock				4		female
79	HR	Robert	Clarke				4		
80	HR	John	Merchier			2	0		
81	HR	Peter	Prieres				12		
82	HR	Peter	Legay			6	8		
83	HR	Richard	Hancoke				12		
84	HR	Thomas	Fletcher				12		
85	HR	John	Jeames				12		
86	HR	John	Skidmore				nill	deleted	
87	HR	Henry	Bassell				2		
88	HR	Thomas	Nicholls				6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
89	HR	Thomas	Grannt				nill	deleted	
90	HR	Christopher	Cornellis				6		
91	HR	Richard	Pye	Senior			4		
92	HR	Nicholas	Webster				8		
93	HR	Thomas	Rallfe				12		
94	HR	John	Warde				4		
95	HR	Hugo	Davies				6		
96	HR	John	Collins				2		
97	HR	Richard	Masey				12		
98	HR	Peter	Tither				12		
99	HR	Thomas	Childerley				2		
100	HR	John	Adeane				12		
101	HR	Richard	Arters				6		
102	HR	John	Mayior			3	4		
103	HR	Tremor	Thringe				12		
104	HR	Deonis	Edwards			2	0		
105	HR	Edward	Henshaw				6		
106	HR	Thomas	Jackson				12		
107	HR	James	Edmondess				6		
108	HR	John	Wodyer				12		
109	HR	William	Lyle				12		
110	SMJ	Daniel	Lyle				12		
111	SMJ	George	Barton				12		
112	SMJ	Thomas	Wecome				2		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
113	SMJ	John	Ralphe		victualler		6		
114	SMJ	John	Bathe				2		
115	SMJ	Thomas	Callaway				2		
116	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman				12		
117	SMJ	John	Gasson				4		
118	SMJ	Adam	Veale				4		
119	SMJ	James	Roffe				2		
120	SMJ	William	Hall				2		
121	SMJ	John	Favore				2		
122	SMJ	Siprian	Lankester				2		
123	SMJ	Henry	Parker				16		
124	SMJ	George	Barnes				nill	deleted	
125	SMJ	Thomas	Peteet				nill	deleted	
126	SMJ	Thomas	Higgins				nill	deleted	
127	SMJ	William	Carde				nill	deleted	
128	SMJ	John	Jones				2		
129	SMJ	Roger	Parker				4		
130	SMJ	John	Manfeild				18		
131	SMJ	Edward	Bassell				2		
132	SMJ	David	Harris				4		
133	SMJ	Peter	Poche				12		
134	SMJ	Contrict	Browne				nill	deleted	
135	SMJ	Robert	Paye			2	0		
136	SMJ	Robert	Vibert				nill	deleted	

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
137	SMJ	William	Pitt				2		
138	SMJ	Henry	Trashe				mil	deleted	
139	SMJ	William	Foster				6		
140	SMJ	Christopher	Blake				mil	deleted	
141	SMJ	William	Governor				12		
142	SMJ	William	Beckley				6		
143	SMJ	Thomas	Crumpe		victualler		12		
144	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor		victualler		12		
145	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton				2		
146	SMJ	Robert	Jackson				2		
147	SMJ	Peter	Higgins				2		
148	SMJ	William	Bourne		victualler		12		
149	SMJ	William	Garnige				nll	deleted	
150	SMJ	John	Plone				2		
151	SMJ	Peter	Breed				2		
152	SMJ	Stephen	Breede				2		
153	SMJ	Richard	Hibberd				2		
154	SMJ	Thomas	Pressman				2	deleted	
155	SMJ	John	Feverell				8		
156	SMJ	David	Vesey				2		
157	SMJ	John	Able				4		
158	SMJ	Jeames	Fryer				2		
159	SMJ	William	Ubley				4		
160	SMJ	James	Foster				4		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
161	SMJ	William	Hackes				2		
162	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge				2		
163	SMJ	John	Pinte				2		
164	SMJ	Richard	Pye			2	0		
165	SMJ	Edward	Slanders				2	deleted	
166	SMJ	Thomas	Jones				2	deleted	
167	SMJ	James	Desart				8		
168	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre			2	6		
169	SMJ	Robert	Barnes				2		
170	SMJ	Edward	Harrisse				6		
171	SMJ	John	Griffin				2		
172	SMJ	Edward	Delamoyis				2	deleted	
173	SMJ	John	Pawloner				2		
174	SMJ	John	Burtche				12		
175	SMJ	John	Meadcote				nll	deleted	
176	SMJ	Peter	Breame				4		
177	SMJ	Lewes	Langley				nll	deleted	
178	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges				4		
179	SMJ	Nathaniell	Shaves				2	deleted	
180	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow				4		
181	SMJ	Richard	Deane		victualler		12		
182	SMJ	Thomas	Oseman				4		
183	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert				2		
184	SMJ	Oliver	Foster		victualler		8		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
185	SMJ	Richard	Sharpe		tippler		4		
186	SMJ	John	More				4		
187	SMJ	George	Perry				6		
188	SMJ	Renold	Bowndy				4		
189	SMJ	David	Hancocke				12		
190	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan				12		
191	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan				6		
192	SMJ	Ralph	Vaughan				2	deleted	
193	SMJ	John	Vaughan				4		
194	SMJ	Richard	Silver				4		
195	SMJ	Bonnaventure	Biggott				12		
196	SMJ	Peter	Masson				2		
197	SMJ	Richard	Johnson				nll	deleted	
198	SMJ	David	Targett				12		
199	SMJ	William	Ghoste				12		
200	SMJ	Peter	Cornishe				2		
201	SMJ	Thomas	Redmore				2	deleted	
202	SMJ	William	Jeames				2		
203	SMJ	Thomas	Slanders				2		
204	SMJ	Henry	Perry				2		
205	SMJ	Richard	Vibert				4		
206	SMJ	Richard	Rochford				4		
207	SMJ	Richard	Hastine				nll	deleted	
208	SMJ	Bennett	Vincent				12		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
209	SMJ	John	Deane				2	deleted	
210	SMJ	Roger	Newes				12		
211	SMJ	Thomas	Beare				nll	deleted	
212	SMJ	John	Engwell				6		
213	SMJ	Ellery	Hackwell		victualler		12		
214	SMJ	John	Dewy				nill	deleted	
215	SMJ	Henry	Barton				6		
216	SMJ	Thomas	Nutt				6	deleted	
217	SMJ	John	Waricke				2		
218	SMJ	Essay	Whittiffe			2	6		
219	SMJ	Peter	Edwards				6		
220	SMJ	Constrict	Whithorne				6		
221	SMJ	Lionell	Awstin				12		
222	SMJ	Peter	Hendricke				6		
223	SMJ	Richard	Beare				2	deleted	
224	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill			2	6		
225	SMJ	Richard	Harvey				2		
226	SMJ	Philip	Jones		victualler		4		
227	SMJ	Morgame	Veale				2		
228	SMJ	Walter	Feverell				12		
229	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	his son			2		
230	SMJ	Laurence	Reddriffe				nll	deleted	
231	SMJ	Thomas	Mitten				2		
232	SMJ	Cuttbert	Johnson				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
233	SMJ	William	Currant				2		
234	SMJ	John	Sowton				2		
235	SMJ	Thomas	Ransome				2		
236	SMJ	Francis	Mathew				2		
237	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer				6		
238	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott				6		
239	SMJ	William	Courtney				6		
240	SMJ	Christopher	Greene				4		
241	SMJ	Gilbert	Lambert				8		
242	SMJ	Edward	Melbery				12		
243	SMJ	Richard	Fuller				12		
244	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston				6		
245	SMJ	Edward	Kinge				2		
246	SMJ	Ellery	Billett			3	4		
247	SMJ	Flassett	Roberts				12		
248	SMJ	William	Wilkins				6		
249	SL	Peter	Linche		victualler		6		
250	SL	Angell	Stoner				6		
251	SL	John	Vibert		victualler		4		
252	SL	Roger	Collingwood				nll	deleted	
253	SL	Thomas	Lyle				12		
254	SL	Arthur	Baker			6	8		
255	SL	William	Fausset				4		
256	SL	John	Lea alias Stone				4		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
257	SL	Thomas	Tompson				12		
258	SL	Edward	Crosse				12		
259	SL	James	Steagar				2		
260	SL	John	Elliott				12		
261	SL	Francis	Sewell				12		
262	SL	Henry	Lavendor		victualler		6		
263	SL	John	Grundy		victualler		12		
264	SL	Dennis	Mercer				4		
265	SL	Simon	Wickham				6		
266	SL	Robert	Reynoles				2		
267	SL	John	Clarke		victualler		6		
268	SL	William	Macham				nll	deleted	
269	SL	John	Garson				nll	deleted	
270	SL	James	Warton				2		
271	SL	Emanuell	Humphry				2		
272	SL	Peter	Welche				6		
273	SL	William	Brisse				2		
274	SL	Samuell	Berde				nll	deleted	
275	SL	John	Woods				nll	deleted	
276	SL	Thomas	Banister				6		
277	SL	Thomas	Daye				2		
278	SL	Thomas	Rowse				6		
279	SL	John	Dowse				4		
280	SL	Peter	Fryer				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
281	SL	Richard	Masey			2	6		
282	SL	Nicholas	Allen				6		
283	SL	Widdow	Cotmore		victualler		4		female
284	SL	Francis	Borey				6		
285	SL	William	Fossell				2		
286	SL	John	Foder				2		
287	SL	Thomas	Foder				2		
288	SL	Thomas	Browne		victualler		6		
289	SL	James	Cowell				2		
290	AS Above	Thomas	Nightingall				nll	deleted	
291	AS Above	Morgaine	Blundell				nll	deleted	
292	AS Above	Peter	Burrell				2		
293	AS Above	John	Kinge			2	0		
294	AS Above	Moris	Mortimer				2		
295	AS Above	Henry	Freeman				2		
296	AS Above	William	Tucker				4		
297	AS Above	Paul	Dewy				12		
298	AS	William	Warde				2		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
	Above								
299	AS Above	John	Jones				11		
300	AS Above	John	Guphill				2		
301	AS Above	George	Tompson				12		
302	AS Above	Thomas	Painter				4		
303	AS Above	Edward	Rogers				nll	deleted	
304	AS Above	Jeames	Nayler				12		
305	AS Above	Richard	Tiller				12		
306	AS Above	Thomas	Beiston				nll	deleted	
307	AS Above	Edward	Symonds				6		
308	AS Above	William	Taylor				nll	deleted	
309	AS Above	Thomas	Griste				nll	deleted	
310	AS Above	Henry	Richardson		victualler		12		
311	AS Above	John	Griste		victualler		12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
312	AS Above	Nicholas	Kekwitt				6		
313	AS Above	Richard	Edds?				nll	deleted	
314	AS Above	John	Jurdeyne		victualler		12		
315	AS Above	Thomas	Lee				2		
316	AS Above	Peter	Trunchin				nll	deleted	
317	AS Above	William	Barnerd				6		
318	AS Above	Peter	Culverdin				2		
319	AS Above	Richard	Dyer				nll	deleted	
320	AS Above	William	Newell				2		
321	AS Above	Andrew	Smith				2		
322	AS Above	William	Cooke				nll	deleted	
323	AS Above	William	May				12		
324	AS Above	Clement	Smith			starke	naughte	deleted	
325	AS Above	George	Edmonds				12		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
326	AS Above	Simon	Reston				6		
327	AS Above	John	Payne				6		
328	AS Above	William	Feverell				6		
329	AS Above	Nicholas	Kickwitt				6	deleted	
330	AS Below	William	Greene				6		
331	AS Below	Richard	Hellier				2		
332	AS Below	John	Dalle				12		
333	AS Below	Gilbert	Pereman			2	0		
334	AS Below	Matthew	Langley				2		
335	AS Below	Thomas	Stockwell				12		
336	AS Below	Roger	Pedley				12		
337	AS Below	George	Alden				12		
338	AS Below	Peter	Grenaway				12		
339	AS Below	Christopher	Langmere				6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
340	AS Below	Henry	Cossens		victualler		6		
341	AS Below	William	Berry				nll	deleted	
342	AS Below	William	Nightingall				2		
343	AS Below	Robert	Russell				2		
344	AS Below	Richard	Pursse				nll	deleted	
345	AS Below	Roger	Lame				2	deleted	
346	AS Below	Thomas	Ritche		victualler		6		
347	AS Below	John	Sowton				6		
348	AS Below	Moses	Pointdexter				2		
349	AS Below	James	Harforde				nll	deleted	
350	AS Below	Robert	Benam				2	deleted	
351	AS Below	Richard	Yewstis				2		
352	AS Below	Christopher	Sturgis				2		
353	AS Below	Charles	Darvol		victualler		12		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
354	AS Below	Nicholas	Janvrin				6		
355	AS Below	John	Risinge				6		
356	AS Below	Marke	Browne				nll	deleted	
357	AS Below	Peter	Favor				nll	deleted	
358	AS Below	William	Humber				nll	deleted	
359	AS Below	John	Steptoe				4		
360	AS Below	John	Anderson				6		
361	AS Below	Philip	Loney				6		
362	AS Below	William	Sanders				nll	deleted	
363	AS Below	John	Reade				4		
364	AS Below	James	Caplin				12		
365	AS Below	Robert	Baker				8		
366	AS Below	Richard	Roberts				12		
367	AS Below	John	Guilbert			2	6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
368	AS Below	Thomas	Smithe				12		
369	AS Below	Giles	Sharpe				nll	deleted	
370	AS Below	George	Sharpe				nll	deleted	
371	AS Below	Henry	Smithe				12		
372	AS Below	Estien	Latelas			3	0		
373	AS Below	Thomas	Sutton		victualler		6		
374	AS Below	Richard	Cortes				2		
375	AS Below	Paul	Latelais				12		
376	AS Above	Nicholas	Craddocke				12		
377	AS Above	William	Frye				6		
378	AS Above	Robert	Hollyhocke				4		
379	AS Above	Richard	Hoskins				2		
380	AS Above	Stephen	Roffe				12		
381	AS Above	Henry	Osmande				2		

Appendix X

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
382	AS Above	John	Peerse				12		
383	AS Above	George	Gardner				2		
384	AS Above	Thomas	Thorne				12		
385	AS Above	George	Ecton		victualler		12		
386	AS Above	Richard	Barnard				6		
387	AS Above	Nicholas	Hinde				4		
388	AS Above	John	Tull				2		
389	AS Above	Richard	Nevy				2		
390	AS Above	William	Cheppman				6		
391	AS Above	Richard	Archer		victualler		12		
392	AS Above	Michael	Wandricke				4		
393	AS Above	Robert	Hopkins			2	0		
394	AS Above	Andrew	Cooper				4		
395	AS Above	William	Rawlings				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
396	BRES	Roger	Heare				4		
397	BRES	John	Sprage				2		
398	BRES	Peter	Caplin			2	0		
399	BRES	Nicholas	Caplin				6		
400	BRES	Henry	Caplin				nll	deleted	
401	BRES	Richard	Gore				nll	deleted	
402	BRES	Walter	Burlinge				2		
403	BRES	John	Hardinge				2		
404	BRES	Stephen	Karman				2		
405	BRES	William	Wastson				4		
406	BRES	Nicholas	Arnolde				6		
407	BRES	William	Dale				2		
408	BRES	Thomas	Stoner				nll	deleted	
409	BRES	Richard	Hardinge				4		
410	BRES	John	Grannt				12		
411	BRES	Thomas	Malsear				nll	deleted	
412	BRES	William	Parmett			5	0		
413	BRES	Robert	Helocke				nll	deleted	
414	BRES	Michael	Netley				12		
415	BRES	Edward	Darvall				6		
416	BRES	Persivall	Naylor				6		
417	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens		victualler		12		
418	BRES	Thomas	Gounder				6		
419	BRES	Thomas	Heath				8		

Appendix Y Stall and art list, 1600, alphabetical order¹

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
157	SMJ	John	Able				4		
100	HR	John	Adeane				12		
337	AS Below	George	Alden				12		
282	SL	Nicholas	Allen				6		
76	HR	Richard	Allen				6		
69	HR	Thomas	Ambrose				2		
360	AS Below	John	Anderson				6		
391	AS Above	Richard	Archer		victualler		12		
406	BRES	Nicholas	Arnolde				6		
101	HR	Richard	Arters				6		
2	HR	Younge	Asteler				8		
19	HR	Gyles	Awstin				4		
221	SMJ	Lionell	Awstin				12		
254	SL	Arthur	Baker			6	8		
365	AS Below	Robert	Baker				8		
276	SL	Thomas	Banister				6		

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 Court Leet Book, 1600.

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
386	AS Above	Richard	Barnard				6		
317	AS Above	William	Barnerd				6		
124	SMJ	George	Barnes				nill	deleted	
169	SMJ	Robert	Barnes				2		
180	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow				4		
111	SMJ	George	Barton				12		
215	SMJ	Henry	Barton				6		
131	SMJ	Edward	Bassell				2		
87	HR	Henry	Bassell				2		
114	SMJ	John	Bathe				2		
223	SMJ	Richard	Beare				2	deleted	
211	SMJ	Thomas	Beare				nill	deleted	
53	HR	Ellis	Becker				2		
142	SMJ	William	Beckley				6		
1	HR	Thomas	Beele			3	4		
244	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston				6		
306	AS Above	Thomas	Beiston				nill	deleted	
350	AS Below	Robert	Benam				2	deleted	
274	SL	Samuell	Berde				nill	deleted	
341	AS Below	William	Berry				nill	deleted	
195	SMJ	Bonnaventure	Biggott				12		
246	SMJ	Ellery	Billett			3	4		
140	SMJ	Christopher	Blake				mil	deleted	
291	AS Above	Morgaine	Blundell				nill	deleted	

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
41	HR	John	Boomer				2		
284	SL	Francis	Borey				6		
38	HR	Adrian	Bossye				2		
148	SMJ	William	Bourne		victualler		12		
188	SMJ	Renold	Bowndy				4		
176	SMJ	Peter	Breame				4		
151	SMJ	Peter	Breed				2		
152	SMJ	Stephen	Breede				2		
178	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges				4		
273	SL	William	Brisse				2		
134	SMJ	Constrict	Browne				nill	deleted	
356	AS Below	Marke	Browne				nill	deleted	
288	SL	Thomas	Browne		victualler		6		
67	HR	Cardin	Bulmayne				2		
402	BRES	Walter	Burlinge				2		
292	AS Above	Peter	Burrell				2		
174	SMJ	John	Burtche				12		
49	HR	Humphry	Cade				2		
115	SMJ	Thomas	Callaway				2		
400	BRES	Henry	Caplin				nill	deleted	
364	AS Below	James	Caplin				12		
399	BRES	Nicholas	Caplin				6		
398	BRES	Peter	Caplin			2	0		
127	SMJ	William	Carde				nill	deleted	

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
68	HR	Francis	Carpenter				4		
64	HR	John	Chapman				nill		
390	AS Above	William	Cheppman				6		
99	HR	Thomas	Childerley				2		
267	SL	John	Clarke		victualler		6		
79	HR	Robert	Clarke				4		
8	HR	Gilbert	Clement				18		
78	HR	Madam	Cock				4		female
252	SL	Roger	Collingwood				nll	deleted	
96	HR	John	Collins				2		
59	HR	Thomas	Cooke				2		
322	AS Above	William	Cooke				nll	deleted	
394	AS Above	Andrew	Cooper				4		
90	HR	Christopher	Cornellis				6		
200	SMJ	Peter	Cornishe				2		
374	AS Below	Richard	Cortes				2		
340	AS Below	Henry	Cossens		victualler		6		
283	SL	Widdow	Cotmore		victualler		4		female
239	SMJ	William	Courtney				6		
289	SL	James	Cowell				2		
50	HR	William	Crackthorne				2	deleted	
11	HR	Matthew	Craddocke				12		
376	AS Above	Nicholas	Craddocke				12		
258	SL	Edward	Crosse				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
3	HR	John	Crosse				6		
143	SMJ	Thomas	Crumpe		victualler		12		
318	AS Above	Peter	Culverdin				2		
233	SMJ	William	Currant				2		
407	BRES	William	Dale				2		
332	AS Below	John	Dalle				12		
415	BRES	Edward	Darvall				6		
353	AS Below	Charles	Darvol		victualler		12		
95	HR	Hugo	Davies				6		
74	HR	William	Davies	mortag				deleted	
277	SL	Thomas	Daye				2		
209	SMJ	John	Deane				2	deleted	
181	SMJ	Richard	Deane		victualler		12		
40	HR	John	Deemes				12		
36	HR	John	Dehay				2		
172	SMJ	Edward	Delamoyis				2	deleted	
168	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre			2	6		
167	SMJ	James	Desart				8		
214	SMJ	John	Dewy				nill	deleted	
297	AS Above	Paul	Dewy				12		
279	SL	John	Dowse				4		
18	HR	Daniel	Dugard				2		
34	HR	Deonis	Dugard				2		
35	HR	Peter	Dugard				2		

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
319	AS Above	Richard	Dyer				nll	deleted	
385	AS Above	George	Ecton		victualler		12		
313	AS Above	Richard	Edds?				nll	deleted	
107	HR	James	Edmondes				6		
325	AS Above	George	Edmonds				12		
104	HR	Deonis	Edwards			2	0		
219	SMJ	Peter	Edwards				6		
260	SL	John	Elliott				12		
212	SMJ	John	Engwell				6		
25	HR	Abraham	Ennoffe				2		
32	HR	Walter	Fashin			2	0		
255	SL	William	Fausset				4		
357	AS Below	Peter	Favor				nll	deleted	
121	SMJ	John	Favore				2		
155	SMJ	John	Feverell				8		
228	SMJ	Walter	Feverell				12		
229	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	his son			2		
328	AS Above	William	Feverell				6		
84	HR	Thomas	Fletcher				12		
16	HR	Richard	Flurry				4		
286	SL	John	Foder				2		
287	SL	Thomas	Foder				2		
285	SL	William	Fossell				2		
63	HR	Henry	Foster				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
160	SMJ	James	Foster				4		
61	HR	John	Foster				2		
184	SMJ	Oliver	Foster		victualler		8		
62	HR	Robert	Foster				2		
139	SMJ	William	Foster				6		
77	HR	Peter	Fox				6		
295	AS Above	Henry	Freeman				2		
377	AS Above	William	Frye				6		
158	SMJ	Jeames	Fryer				2		
280	SL	Peter	Fryer				12		
243	SMJ	Richard	Fuller				12		
383	AS Above	George	Gardner				2		
149	SMJ	William	Garnige				nll	deleted	
269	SL	John	Garson				nll	deleted	
117	SMJ	John	Gasson				4		
199	SMJ	William	Ghoste				12		
71	HR	William	Godfry				2		
401	BRES	Richard	Gore				nll	deleted	
418	BRES	Thomas	Gounder				6		
141	SMJ	William	Governor				12		
410	BRES	John	Grannt				12		
89	HR	Thomas	Grannt				nill	deleted	
7	HR	William	Grantam					deleted	
240	SMJ	Christopher	Greene				4		

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
330	AS Below	William	Greene				6		
338	AS Below	Peter	Grenaway				12		
171	SMJ	John	Griffin				2		
311	AS Above	John	Griste		victualler		12		
309	AS Above	Thomas	Griste				nll	deleted	
54	HR	Robert	Grover				2		
263	SL	John	Grundy		victualler		12		
367	AS Below	John	Guilbert			2	6		
300	AS Above	John	Guphill				2		
161	SMJ	William	Hackes				2		
213	SMJ	Ellery	Hackwell		victualler		12		
120	SMJ	William	Hall				2		
189	SMJ	David	Hancocke				12		
83	HR	Richard	Hancoke				12		
403	BRES	John	Hardinge				2		
409	BRES	Richard	Hardinge				4		
349	AS Below	James	Harforde				nll	deleted	
132	SMJ	David	Harris				4		
170	SMJ	Edward	Harrisse				6		
225	SMJ	Richard	Harvey				2		
207	SMJ	Richard	Hastine				nll	deleted	
396	BRES	Roger	Heare				4		
419	BRES	Thomas	Heath				8		
331	AS Below	Richard	Hellier				2		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
413	BRES	Robert	Helocke				nll	deleted	
222	SMJ	Peter	Hendricke				6		
105	HR	Edward	Henshaw				6		
224	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill			2	6		
153	SMJ	Richard	Hibberd				2		
147	SMJ	Peter	Higgins				2		
126	SMJ	Thomas	Higgins				nll	deleted	
387	AS Above	Nicholas	Hinde				4		
60	HR	Thomas	Holbrooke				2		
378	AS Above	Robert	Hollyhocke				4		
393	AS Above	Robert	Hopkins			2	0		
45	HR	John	Horssome			4	8		
379	AS Above	Richard	Hoskins				2		
66	HR	Nicholas	Hueratt				2		
358	AS Below	William	Humber				nll	deleted	
271	SL	Emanuell	Humphry				2		
146	SMJ	Robert	Jackson				2		
106	HR	Thomas	Jackson				12		
354	AS Below	Nicholas	Janvrin				6		
85	HR	John	Jeames				12		
202	SMJ	William	Jeames				2		
232	SMJ	Cuttbert	Johnson				2		
30	HR	Edward	Johnson				2		
197	SMJ	Richard	Johnson				nll	deleted	

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
128	SMJ	John	Jones				2		
299	AS Above	John	Jones				11		
226	SMJ	Philip	Jones		victualler		4		
166	SMJ	Thomas	Jones				2	deleted	
314	AS Above	John	Jurdeyne		victualler		12		
48	HR	Hughe	Kake				2		
404	BRES	Stephen	Karman				2		
312	AS Above	Nicholas	Kekwitt				6		
329	AS Above	Nicholas	Kickwitt				6	deleted	
245	SMJ	Edward	Kinge				2		
293	AS Above	John	Kinge			2	0		
58	HR	John	Labee				2		
33	HR	Thomas	Lacy				4		
241	SMJ	Gilbert	Lambert				8		
183	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert				2		
345	AS Below	Roger	Lame				2	deleted	
177	SMJ	Lewes	Langley				nll	deleted	
334	AS Below	Matthew	Langley				2		
339	AS Below	Christopher	Langmere				6		
122	SMJ	Siprian	Lankester				2		
375	AS Below	Paul	Latelais				12		
372	AS Below	Estien	Latelas			3	0		
262	SL	Henry	Lavendor		victualler		6		
256	SL	John	Lea alias Stone				4		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
315	AS Above	Thomas	Lee				2		
82	HR	Peter	Legay			6	8		
46	HR	John	Leme				2		
249	SL	Peter	Linche		victualler		6		
55	HR	Garratt	Lombert				4		
361	AS Below	Philip	Loney				6		
110	SMJ	Daniel	Lyle				12		
253	SL	Thomas	Lyle				12		
109	HR	William	Lyle				12		
268	SL	William	Macham				nll	deleted	
52	HR	Edward	Mallshart				2		
411	BRES	Thomas	Malsear				nll	deleted	
130	SMJ	John	Manfeild				18		
97	HR	Richard	Masey				12		
281	SL	Richard	Masey			2	6		
196	SMJ	Peter	Masson				2		
21	HR	Philip	Mateete				2		
236	SMJ	Francis	Mathew				2		
323	AS Above	William	May				12		
102	HR	John	Mayior			3	4		
175	SMJ	John	Meadcote				nll	deleted	
242	SMJ	Edward	Melbery				12		
264	SL	Dennis	Mercer				4		
80	HR	John	Merchier			2	0		

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
39	HR	Simon	Mercy				2		
5	HR	William	Merrett				18		
23	HR	James	Michell				2		
27	HR	Leonard	Milles				18		
231	SMJ	Thomas	Mitten				2		
51	HR	Matthew	Mollard				4		
72	HR	William	Mollens				4		
15	HR	Robert	Moore				4		
186	SMJ	John	More				4		
10	HR	John	Mortemer				12		
294	AS Above	Moris	Mortimer				2		
304	AS Above	Jeames	Nayler				12		
416	BRES	Persivall	Naylor				6		
414	BRES	Michael	Netley				12		
389	AS Above	Richard	Nevy				2		
320	AS Above	William	Newell				2		
210	SMJ	Roger	Newes				12		
29	HR	Thomas	Nicholls				12		
88	HR	Thomas	Nicholls				6		
290	AS Above	Thomas	Nightingall				nll	deleted	
342	AS Below	William	Nightingall				2		
4	HR	Roger	Norce				2		
216	SMJ	Thomas	Nutt				6	deleted	
182	SMJ	Thomas	Oseman				4		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
43	HR	Nicholas	Osman				12		
44	HR	William	Osman				2		
381	AS Above	Henry	Osmande				2		
6	HR	John	Paine				8		
302	AS Above	Thomas	Painter				4		
123	SMJ	Henry	Parker				16		
129	SMJ	Roger	Parker				4		
412	BRES	William	Parmett			5	0		
173	SMJ	John	Pawloner				2		
135	SMJ	Robert	Paye			2	0		
327	AS Above	John	Payne				6		
336	AS Below	Roger	Pedley				12		
42	HR	Henry	Peeche		victualler		12		
382	AS Above	John	Peerse				12		
14	HR	Henry	Penton				4		
333	AS Below	Gilbert	Pereman			2	0		
187	SMJ	George	Perry				6		
204	SMJ	Henry	Perry				2		
125	SMJ	Thomas	Peteet				nill	deleted	
238	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott				6		
163	SMJ	John	Pinte				2		
137	SMJ	William	Pitt				2		
237	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer				6		
150	SMJ	John	Plone				2		

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
116	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman				12		
133	SMJ	Peter	Poche				12		
348	AS Below	Moses	Pointdexter				2		
57	HR	John	Pratt				2		
154	SMJ	Thomas	Pressman				2	deleted	
37	HR	James	Prevee				2		
81	HR	Peter	Prieres				12		
24	HR	Robert	Provost				2		
344	AS Below	Richard	Pursse				nll	deleted	
91	HR	Richard	Pye	Senior			4		
164	SMJ	Richard	Pye			2	0		
93	HR	Thomas	Rallfe				12		
113	SMJ	John	Ralphe		victualler		6		
235	SMJ	Thomas	Ransome				2		
395	AS Above	William	Rawlings				2		
363	AS Below	John	Reade				4		
9	HR	William	Readinge				12		
230	SMJ	Laurence	Reddriffe				nll	deleted	
201	SMJ	Thomas	Redmore				2	deleted	
326	AS Above	Simon	Reston				6		
75	HR	John	Reynoldes		victualler		12		
266	SL	Robert	Reynoles				2		
310	AS Above	Henry	Richardson		victualler		12		
355	AS Below	John	Risinge				6		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
346	AS Below	Thomas	Ritche		victualler		6		
247	SMJ	Flassett	Roberts				12		
366	AS Below	Richard	Roberts				12		
206	SMJ	Richard	Rochford				4		
119	SMJ	James	Roffe				2		
380	AS Above	Stephen	Roffe				12		
303	AS Above	Edward	Rogers				nll	deleted	
278	SL	Thomas	Rowse				6		
65	HR	John	Rushford				12		
343	AS Below	Robert	Russell				2		
362	AS Below	William	Sanders				nll	deleted	
261	SL	Francis	Sewell				12		
370	AS Below	George	Sharpe				nll	deleted	
369	AS Below	Giles	Sharpe				nll	deleted	
185	SMJ	Richard	Sharpe		tippler		4		
179	SMJ	Nathaniell	Shaves				2	deleted	
194	SMJ	Richard	Silver				4		
86	HR	John	Skidmore				nll	deleted	
165	SMJ	Edward	Slanders				2	deleted	
203	SMJ	Thomas	Slanders				2		
321	AS Above	Andrew	Smith				2		
324	AS Above	Clement	Smith			starke	naughte	deleted	
13	HR	Thomas	Smith				4		
371	AS Below	Henry	Smithe				12		

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
368	AS Below	Thomas	Smithe				12		
56	HR	Thomas	Smithe				nill	deleted	
162	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge				2		
145	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton				2		
234	SMJ	John	Sowton				2		
347	AS Below	John	Sowton				6		
397	BRES	John	Sprage				2		
259	SL	James	Steagar				2		
73	HR	Richard	Stephens				nill	deleted	
359	AS Below	John	Steptoe				4		
335	AS Below	Thomas	Stockwell				12		
250	SL	Angell	Stoner				6		
408	BRES	Thomas	Stoner				nill	deleted	
47	HR	John	Stow				2		
352	AS Below	Christopher	Sturgis				2		
28	HR	Richard	Suffeild				8		
373	AS Below	Thomas	Sutton		victualler		6		
307	AS Above	Edward	Symonds				6		
198	SMJ	David	Targett				12		
308	AS Above	William	Taylor				nill	deleted	
144	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor		victualler		12		
384	AS Above	Thomas	Thorne				12		
103	HR	Tremor	Thringe				12		
305	AS Above	Richard	Tiller				12		

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
12	HR	Thomas	Titer				2		
98	HR	Peter	Tither				12		
301	AS Above	George	Tompson				12		
257	SL	Thomas	Tompson				12		
138	SMJ	Henry	Trashe				mil	deleted	
316	AS Above	Peter	Trunchin				nll	deleted	
296	AS Above	William	Tucker				4		
388	AS Above	John	Tull				2		
159	SMJ	William	Ubley				4		
22	HR	William	Vallet				2		
193	SMJ	John	Vaughan				4		
192	SMJ	Ralph	Vaughan				2	deleted	
191	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan				6		
190	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan				12		
118	SMJ	Adam	Veale				4		
227	SMJ	Morgame	Veale				2		
70	HR	John	Venell				2		
156	SMJ	David	Vesey				2		
20	HR	John	Vibert				2		
251	SL	John	Vibert		victualler		4		
205	SMJ	Richard	Vibert				4		
136	SMJ	Robert	Vibert				nill	deleted	
208	SMJ	Bennett	Vincent				12		
17	HR	John	Walker				2		

Appendix Y

Entry No.	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Status	Occupation (standardized)	Fine (s)	Fine (d)	Entry deleted	Female
392	AS Above	Michael	Wandricke				4		
94	HR	John	Warde				4		
298	AS Above	William	Warde				2		
217	SMJ	John	Waricke				2		
270	SL	James	Warton				2		
405	BRES	William	Wastson				4		
92	HR	Nicholas	Webster				8		
112	SMJ	Thomas	Wecome				2		
272	SL	Peter	Welche				6		
220	SMJ	Constrict	Whithorne				6		
218	SMJ	Essay	Whittiffe			2	6		
265	SL	Simon	Wickham				6		
248	SMJ	William	Wilkins				6		
26	HR	Thomas	Williams			3	4		
108	HR	John	Wodyer				12		
275	SL	John	Woods				nll	deleted	
417	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens		victualler		12		
351	AS Below	Richard	Yewstis				2		
31	HR	Walter	Yewstis				4		

Appendix Z Number of people assessed for stall and art payments by occupation and by ward, 1600 and 1601 combined¹

Occupation	Ward					Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	
1.Mercantile Crafts						
Draper, woollen ²			2	1	1	4
Grocer				1		1
Haberdasher ³				1		1
Mercer ⁴	1			2		3
Merchant ⁵	1			2	2	6
Total	2		2	7	3	15

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601 and several other sources, mainly, T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), Appendices and *Tudor Revels Southampton* at www.tudorrevels.co.uk.

² Including one woollendraper and tailor, and one woollendraper and sergemaker.

³ Also termed haberdasher, feltmaker and hatmaker.

⁴ Also one mercer and chandler.

⁵ Including one merchant and sergemaker, and one merchant and clothier.

Appendix Z

	Ward						
Occupation	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	Total
2.Victualling Trades							
Baker	2		1		2		5
Brewer				1		3	4
Butcher		5		1	8	1	15
Chandler, tallow				1			1
Fishmonger			1				1
Huckster		1	1				2
Innholder ⁶	1	2		1			4
Tippler ⁷	2	5	1	3	8	1	20
Victualler	2	2	5	3	5		17
Vintner		1					1
Total	7	16	9	10	23	5	70

⁶ Including one innholder and vintner.

⁷ Including one tippler and cook.

	Ward						
Occupation	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	Total
3.Clothmaking							
Dyer					1		1
Fuller					1		1
Sergemaker	1			2	3		6
Shearman ⁸				2	1		3
Weaver					1		1
Woolcomber				1			1
Total	1			5	7		13

⁸ Including one shearman and sheargrinder, and one shearman and clothier.

Appendix Z

Occupation	Ward						Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
4.Handicrafts: clothes, shoes and furniture							
Capper ⁹		1					1
Cobbler				1	3		4
Glover	2	1					3
Lacemaker				1			1
Shoemaker, cordwainer ¹⁰	1		2	3	1		7
Tailor	4		2	2			8
Upholsterer				1			1
Total	7	2	4	8	4		25
5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts							
Brazier			1				1
Cutler			1				1
Goldsmith ¹¹				2			2
Total			2	2			4

⁹ Capper also termed hatmaker.

¹⁰ Including one shoemaker and cobbler.

¹¹ Including one goldsmith and clothier.

Occupation	Ward						Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
6.Handicrafts: building crafts							
Bricklayer		1					1
Carpenter		3			2		5
Glazier				1			1
Hellier					2		2
Joiner	1			1			2
Mason					1		1
Total	1	4		2	5		12
7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding							
Shipwright					5		5
Total					5		5

Appendix Z

Occupation	Ward					Total
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	
8.Handicrafts: others						
Basketmaker		1				1
Blacksmith		1		2	2	5
Cooper				2	4	6
Fletcher ¹²	1					1
Locksmith					1	1
Pulleymaker				1		1
Ropemaker		1				1
Turner		1				1
Total	1	4		5	7	17
9.Sea-going occupations						
Mariner ¹³				2	6	1
Shipmaster	1			1	3	5
Total	1			3	9	14

¹² Also termed fletcher and bowyer.

¹³ Including one mariner and huckster.

Occupation	Ward					Total	
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ		BRES
10.Services							
Attorney				1			1
Barber, barber surgeon or surgeon	1		1	1	1		4
Gardener						1	1
Scrivener			1				1
Total	1		2	2	2	3	10
Grand Total	21	26	19	44	65	10	185

Six people out of the total of 185 moved to another ward between 1600 and 1601. The ward shown in the table is for 1600. Details of the moves are: one cooper moved from HR to AS; one goldsmith moved from HR to SL; one tippler moved from AS Below to HR; the upholsterer moved from HR to AS and two victuallers moved from SMJ to HR.

Appendix AA Monetary assessments for stall and art payments by occupation and by ward, 1600 and 1601 combined¹

Occupation	Ward						Total no. of people
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
1. Mercantile Crafts							
Draper, woollen ^a			6d, 6s 8d	4d	2s 6d, 3s 6d		4
Grocer				18d			1
Haberdasher ^b				6d			1
Mercer ^c	12d, 2s			2d, 3s 4d, 2d, 4s			3
Merchant ^d	3s, 3s 4d			2s, 6s 8d	12dx2, 12d, 18d	2s	6
Total no. of people	2		2	7	3	1	15

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601 and several other sources, mainly, T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), Appendices and *Tudor Revels Southampton* at www.tudorrevels.co.uk.

Appendix AA

Occupation	Ward						Total no. of people
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
2. Victualling Trades							
Baker	6d, 2s 6d		2s 6d		2d, 4d, 6dx2		5
Brewer				3s 4d		8d, 12d, 5s, 12dx2, 5s	4
Butcher		2d, 6d, 12dx3, 6dx2, 12dx3		12d	2d, 4d, 6dx2, 8d, 12dx3, 4dx2, 6dx2, 12dx3, 2s	6d, 12d	15
Chandler, tallow				12d			1
Fishmonger			12d				1
Huckster		4d	2d, 0d				2
Innholder ^e	6d, 12d	12dx2		18d, 12d			4
Tippler ^f	0d, 6d, 6d, 12d	4dx3, 11d, 12d, 4dx3, 6d, 2s	2d	2d, 6d, 12d, 2d, 12dx2	2d, 4dx3, 6dx4, 6dx2, 8d, 12dx5	4d	20

Occupation	Ward						Total no. of people
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
Victualler	6d, 12d, 6d, 12d	12dx2	4d, 6dx3, 12d, 0d, 4d, 12dx3	12dx3	4d, 12dx4, 4d, 6d, 12dx2, 18d		17
Vintner		12d					1
Total no. of people	7	16	9	10	23	5	70
3.Clothmaking							
Dyer					8d		1
Fuller					12d		1
Sergemaker	12d			2dx2	2d, 12d, 2s 6d, 2d, 12d, 3s 4d		6
Shearman ^g				4d, 12d, 0d, 12d	4d, 6d		3
Weaver					12d		1
Woolcomber				4d			1
Total no. of people	1			5	7		13

Appendix AA

Occupation	Ward						Total no. of people
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
4.Handicrafts: clothes, shoes and furniture							
Capper ^h		12d					1
Cobbler				2d	0d, 4d, 8d, 2d, 12dx2		4
Glover	2d, 12d	0d					3
Lacemaker				0d			1
Shoemaker, cordwainer ⁱ	6d, 12d		6dx2, 6d, 12d	4d, 6d, 12d, 4d, 12d, 18d	2d		7
Tailor	2d, 6dx2, 12d, 2d, 6d 12dx2		4d, 6d, 4d 12d	4d, 12d, 0d, 12d			8
Upholsterer				8d, 4d			1
Total no. of people	7	2	4	8	4		25
5.Handicrafts: metal-working crafts							
Brazier			6d				1
Cutler			12d				1
Goldsmith ^l				12dx2, 6d, 12d			2
Total no. of people			2	2			4

Occupation	Ward					Total no. of people	
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ		BRES
6.Handicrafts: building crafts							
Bricklayer		2d, 4d					1
Carpenter		6dx2, 12d			2d, 4d, 6d, 12d		5
Glazier				6d			1
Hellier					6d, 4d, 12dx2		2
Joiner	2d			12d, 18d			2
Mason					12d		1
Total no. of people	1	4		2	5		12
7.Handicrafts: shipbuilding							
Shipwright					2dx3, 6d, 2s 6d, 2d, 4d, 6d, 12d, 3s 4d		5
Total no. of people					5		5

Appendix AA

Occupation	Ward					Total no. of people	
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ		BRES
8.Handicrafts: others							
Basketmaker		4d					1
Blacksmith		2d		12d, 18d	6d, 16d, 6d, 2s		5
Cooper				2d, 4d, 0d, 4d	2d, 4d, 6d, 18d, 6dx2, 12dx2		6
Fletcher ^k	12d						1
Locksmith					12d		1
Pulleymaker				4d			1
Ropemaker		12d, 2s					1
Turner		2d, 6d					1
Total no. of people	1	4		5	7		17

Occupation	Ward						Total no. of people
	AS Below	AS Above	SL	HR	SMJ	BRES	
9.Sea-going occupations							
Mariner ^l				2dx2, 2d, 4d	2d, 4d, 6dx2, 12dx2, 6dx2, 12dx4	4d	9
Shipmaster	12d			4d	2d, 6d, 12d, 6dx2, 12d		5
Total no. of people	1			3	9	1	14
10.Services							
Attorney				12d			1
Barber, barber surgeon or surgeon	4d		4d, 6d	6d	6d, 12d		4
Gardener						6d	1
Scrivener			12d				1
Yeoman or husbandman					12d, 6d	4d, 12d	3
Total no. of people	1		2	2	2	3	10
Grand total no. of people	21	26	19	44	65	10	185

Where an amount did not change from 1600 to 1601, it has been noted in black once. Where an amount did change, however, the figures for 1600 have been shown in red followed by the figure for 1601 shown in black. For example; for draper, woollen, there was one assessment in HR of 4d for both 1600 and 1601 and for SMJ there was one assessment of 2s 6d in 1600 which rose to 3s 6d in 1601.

Appendix BB Names of people assessed for stall and art payments by occupation, 1600 and 1601 combined¹

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
106	HR	Thomas	Jackson	attorney	125
115	SMJ	Thomas	Callaway	baker	479
118	SMJ	Adam	Veale	baker	314
281	SL	Richard	Masey	baker	169
361	AS Below	Philip	Loney	baker	179
367	AS Below	John	Guilbert	baker	185
105	HR	Edward	Henshaw	barber	120
359	AS Below	John	Steptoe	barber	174
255	SL	William	Fausset	barber surgeon	135
378	AS Above	Robert	Hollyhocke	basketmaker	281
8	HR	Gilbert	Clement	blacksmith	5
83	HR	Richard	Hancoke	blacksmith	91
123	SMJ	Henry	Parker	blacksmith	327
238	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott	blacksmith	419
321	AS Above	Andrew	Smith	blacksmith	255
262	SL	Henry	Lavendor	brazier/tinker, victualler, tippler	141
1	HR	Thomas	Beele	brewer	1
410	BRES	John	Grannt	brewer	297
412	BRES	William	Parmett	brewer	298
419	BRES	Thomas	Heath	brewer	299
298	AS Above	William	Warde	bricklayer	237
11	HR	Matthew	Craddocke	butcher	10
111	SMJ	George	Barton	butcher	309
155	SMJ	John	Feverell	butcher	360
190	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan	butcher	481
191	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan	butcher	482
205	SMJ	Richard	Vibert	butcher	457
228	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	butcher	402
229	SMJ	Walter	Feverell (the Younger)	butcher	403

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601 and several other sources, mainly, T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), Appendices and *Tudor Revels Southampton* at www.tudorrevels.co.uk.

Appendix BB

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
305	AS Above	Richard	Tiller	butcher	243
315	AS Above	Thomas	Lee	butcher	283
323	AS Above	William	May	butcher	256
376	AS Above	Nicholas	Craddocke	butcher	282
386	AS Above	Richard	Barnard	butcher	271
406	BRES	Nicholas	Arnolde	butcher	289
113	SMJ	John	Ralphe	butcher, tippler, victualler	311
162	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge	carpenter	372
312	AS Above	Nicholas	Kekwitt	carpenter	250
329	AS Above	Nicholas	Kickwitt	carpenter	250
377	AS Above	William	Frye	carpenter	280
206	SMJ	Richard	Rochford	carpenter, tippler	447
385	AS Above	George	Ecton	carpenter, victualler, tippler	272
20	HR	John	Vibert	cobbler	22
134	SMJ	Constrict	Browne	cobbler	339
182	SMJ	Thomas	Oseman	cobbler, tippler	490
184	SMJ	Oliver	Foster	cobbler, victualler, tippler	487
53	HR	Ellis	Becker	cooper	176
72	HR	William	Mollens	cooper	80
130	SMJ	John	Manfeild	cooper	335
132	SMJ	David	Harris	cooper	337
158	SMJ	Jeames	Fryer	cooper	365
170	SMJ	Edward	Harrisse	cooper	378
253	SL	Thomas	Lyle	cutler	133
167	SMJ	James	Desart	dyer	375
258	SL	Edward	Crosse	fisherman, fishmonger	138
337	AS Below	George	Alden	fletcher, bowyer	184
221	SMJ	Lionell	Awstin	fuller	442
416	BRES	Persivall	Naylor	gardener	303
77	HR	Peter	Fox	glazier	84
308	AS Above	William	Taylor	glover	246
331	AS Below	Richard	Hellier	glover	198
332	AS Below	John	Dalle	glover	200
109	HR	William	Lyle	goldsmith	171
98	HR	Peter	Tither	goldsmith, clothier	111
5	HR	William	Merrett	grocer, apothecary	3
3	HR	John	Crosse	haberdasher, feltmaker, hatmaker	2
380	AS Above	Stephen	Roffe	hatmaker, tippler	278

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
139	SMJ	William	Foster	hellier, tippler	345
160	SMJ	James	Foster	hellier, tippler	367
259	SL	James	Steagar	huckster	139
392	AS Above	Michael	Wandricke	huckster	265
409	BRES	Richard	Hardinge	husbandman	295
355	AS Below	John	Risinge	innholder	232
310	AS Above	Henry	Richardson	innholder, victualler	248
311	AS Above	John	Griste	innholder, victualler	249
27	HR	Leonard	Milles	innholder, vintner	30
84	HR	Thomas	Fletcher	joiner	92
334	AS Below	Matthew	Langley	joiner	202
89	HR	Thomas	Grannt	lacemaker	98
116	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman	locksmith	315
12	HR	Thomas	Tiler	mariner	12
71	HR	William	Godfry	mariner	79
198	SMJ	David	Targett	mariner	462
199	SMJ	William	Ghoste	mariner	458
212	SMJ	John	Engwell	mariner	469
244	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston	mariner	428
405	BRES	William	Wastson	mariner	288
180	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow	mariner, huckster	477
137	SMJ	William	Pitt	mariner, tippler	342
148	SMJ	William	Bourne	mason, victualler, tippler	356
96	HR	John	Collins	mercier	109
102	HR	John	Mayior	mercier	117
371	AS Below	Henry	Smithe	mercier, chandler	193
80	HR	John	Merchier	merchant	86
141	SMJ	William	Governor	merchant	348
398	BRES	Peter	Caplin	merchant	284
82	HR	Peter	Legay	merchant, clothier	87
372	AS Below	Estien	Latelas	merchant, sergemaker	195
195	SMJ	Bonnaventure	Biggott	merchant, tippler	459
31	HR	Walter	Yewstis	pulley maker	35
384	AS Above	Thomas	Thorne	ropemaker	273
261	SL	Francis	Sewell	scrivener	140
34	HR	Deonis	Dugard	sergemaker	42
133	SMJ	Peter	Poche	sergemaker	338
196	SMJ	Peter	Masson	sergemaker	463
224	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill	sergemaker	394
366	AS Below	Richard	Roberts	sergemaker	182
18	HR	Daniel	Dugard	sergemaker	15
79	HR	Robert	Clarke	shearman	67
9	HR	William	Readinge	shearman, clothier	8

Appendix BB

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
117	SMJ	John	Gasson	shearman, sheargrinder	316
16	HR	Richard	Flurry	shipmaster	17
145	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton	shipmaster	354
219	SMJ	Peter	Edwards	shipmaster	444
247	SMJ	Flassett	Roberts	shipmaster	430
335	AS Below	Thomas	Stockwell	shipmaster	206
169	SMJ	Robert	Barnes	shipwright	377
217	SMJ	John	Waricke	shipwright	446
218	SMJ	Essay	Whittiffe	shipwright	445
236	SMJ	Francis	Mathew	shipwright	400
237	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer	shipwright	418
19	HR	Gyles	Awstin	shoemaker	20
95	HR	Hugo	Davies	shoemaker	108
108	HR	John	Wodyer	shoemaker	123
183	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert	shoemaker	488
282	SL	Nicholas	Allen	shoemaker	170
354	AS Below	Nicholas	Janvrin	shoemaker	230
265	SL	Simon	Wickham	shoemaker, cobbler	146
215	SMJ	Henry	Barton	surgeon	467
91	HR	Richard	Pye (Senior)	tailor	100
93	HR	Thomas	Rallfe	tailor	104
272	SL	Peter	Welche	tailor	156
279	SL	John	Dowse	tailor	166
339	AS Below	Christopher	Langmere	tailor	210
348	AS Below	Moses	Pointdexter	tailor	220
338	AS Below	Peter	Grenaway	tailor, tippler	208
373	AS Below	Thomas	Sutton	tailor, tippler, victualler	196
97	HR	Richard	Masey	tallow chandler	110
57	HR	John	Pratt	tippler	63
85	HR	John	Jeames	tippler	93
88	HR	Thomas	Nicholls	tippler	97
142	SMJ	William	Beckley	tippler	352
178	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges	tippler	476
185	SMJ	Richard	Sharpe	tippler	466
186	SMJ	John	More	tippler	486
222	SMJ	Peter	Hendricke	tippler	448
225	SMJ	Richard	Harvey	tippler	395
239	SMJ	William	Courtney	tippler	420
273	SL	William	Brisse	tippler	159
296	AS Above	William	Tucker	tippler	236
299	AS Above	John	Jones	tippler	238
301	AS Above	George	Tompson	tippler	239
330	AS Below	William	Greene	tippler	90

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
370	AS Below	George	Sharpe	tippler	191
387	AS Above	Nicholas	Hinde	tippler	270
394	AS Above	Andrew	Cooper	tippler	262
396	BRES	Roger	Heare	tippler	287
187	SMJ	George	Perry	tippler and cook	484
381	AS Above	Henry	Osmande	turner	277
92	HR	Nicholas	Webster	upholsterer	189
10	HR	John	Mortemer	victualler	28
42	HR	Henry	Peeche	victualler	46
75	HR	John	Reynoldes	victualler	82
213	SMJ	Ellery	Hackwell	victualler	468
251	SL	John	Vibert	victualler	129
288	SL	Thomas	Browne	victualler	172
353	AS Below	Charles	Darvol	victualler	192
143	SMJ	Thomas	Crumpe	victualler, tippler ²	101
144	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor	victualler, tippler	353
181	SMJ	Richard	Deane	victualler, tippler	115
249	SL	Peter	Linche	victualler, tippler	127
263	SL	John	Grundy	victualler, tippler	143
267	SL	John	Clarke	victualler, tippler	148
340	AS Below	Henry	Cossens	victualler, tippler	212
346	AS Below	Thomas	Ritche	victualler, tippler	217
391	AS Above	Richard	Archer	victualler, tippler	266
226	SMJ	Philip	Jones	victualler, tippler	397
314	AS Above	John	Jurdeyne	vintner, tippler, victualler	252
243	SMJ	Richard	Fuller	weaver, tippler	425
51	HR	Matthew	Mollard	woolcomber, tippler	61
250	SL	Angell	Stoner	woollendraper	128
254	SL	Arthur	Baker	woollendraper	134
168	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre	woollendraper, sergemaker	376
28	HR	Richard	Suffeild	woollendraper, tailor	31
208	SMJ	Bennett	Vincent	yeoman	473
417	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens	yeoman, tippler, victualler	307

² These people were termed victualler in 1600 and tippler in 1601.

Appendix CC Names of people assessed for stall and art payments in alphabetical order, 1600 and 1601 combined¹

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
337	AS Below	George	Alden	fletcher, bowyer	184
282	SL	Nicholas	Allen	shoemaker	170
391	AS Above	Richard	Archer	victualler, tippler	266
406	BRES	Nicholas	Arnolde	butcher	289
221	SMJ	Lionell	Awstin	fuller	442
19	HR	Gyles	Awstin	shoemaker	20
254	SL	Arthur	Baker	woollendraper	134
386	AS Above	Richard	Barnard	butcher	271
169	SMJ	Robert	Barnes	shipwright	377
180	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow	mariner, huckster	477
111	SMJ	George	Barton	butcher	309
215	SMJ	Henry	Barton	surgeon	467
53	HR	Ellis	Becker	cooper	176
142	SMJ	William	Beckley	tippler	352
1	HR	Thomas	Beele	brewer	1
244	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston	mariner	428
195	SMJ	Bonnaventure	Biggott	merchant, tippler	459
148	SMJ	William	Bourne	mason, victualler, tippler	356
178	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges	tippler	476
273	SL	William	Brisse	tippler	159
134	SMJ	Constrict	Browne	cobbler	339
288	SL	Thomas	Browne	victualler	172
115	SMJ	Thomas	Callaway	baker	479
398	BRES	Peter	Caplin	merchant	284
79	HR	Robert	Clarke	shearman	67
267	SL	John	Clarke	victualler, tippler	148
8	HR	Gilbert	Clement	blacksmith	5
96	HR	John	Collins	mercier	109
394	AS Above	Andrew	Cooper	tippler	262
340	AS Below	Henry	Cossens	victualler, tippler	212
239	SMJ	William	Courtney	tippler	420
11	HR	Matthew	Craddocke	butcher	10

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601 and several other sources, mainly, T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), Appendices and *Tudor Revels Southampton* at www.tudorrevels.co.uk.

Appendix CC

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
376	AS Above	Nicholas	Craddocke	butcher	282
258	SL	Edward	Crosse	fisherman, fishmonger	138
3	HR	John	Crosse	haberdasher, feltmaker, hatmaker	2
143	SMJ	Thomas	Crumpe	victualler, tippler	101
332	AS Below	John	Dalle	glover	200
353	AS Below	Charles	Darvol	victualler	192
95	HR	Hugo	Davies	shoemaker	108
181	SMJ	Richard	Deane	victualler, tippler	115
168	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre	woollendraper, sergemaker	376
167	SMJ	James	Desart	dyer	375
279	SL	John	Dowse	tailor	166
34	HR	Deonis	Dugard	sergemaker	42
18	HR	Daniel	Dugard	sergemaker	15
385	AS Above	George	Ecton	carpenter, victualler, tippler	272
219	SMJ	Peter	Edwards	shipmaster	444
212	SMJ	John	Engwell	mariner	469
255	SL	William	Fausset	barber surgeon	135
155	SMJ	John	Feverell	butcher	360
228	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	butcher	402
229	SMJ	Walter	Feverell (the Younger)	butcher	403
84	HR	Thomas	Fletcher	joiner	92
16	HR	Richard	Flurry	shipmaster	17
160	SMJ	James	Foster	hellier, tippler	367
184	SMJ	Oliver	Foster	cobbler, victualler, tippler	487
139	SMJ	William	Foster	hellier, tippler	345
77	HR	Peter	Fox	glazier	84
377	AS Above	William	Frye	carpenter	280
158	SMJ	Jeames	Fryer	cooper	365
243	SMJ	Richard	Fuller	weaver, tippler	425
117	SMJ	John	Gasson	shearman, sheargrinder	316
199	SMJ	William	Ghoste	mariner	458
71	HR	William	Godfry	mariner	79
141	SMJ	William	Governor	merchant	348
410	BRES	John	Grannt	brewer	297
89	HR	Thomas	Grannt	lacemaker	98
330	AS Below	William	Greene	tippler	90
338	AS Below	Peter	Grenaway	tailor, tippler	208
311	AS Above	John	Griste	innholder, victualler	249
263	SL	John	Grundy	victualler, tippler	143
367	AS Below	John	Guilbert	baker	185
213	SMJ	Ellery	Hackwell	victualler	468

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
83	HR	Richard	Hancoke	blacksmith	91
409	BRES	Richard	Hardinge	husbandman	295
132	SMJ	David	Harris	cooper	337
170	SMJ	Edward	Harrisse	cooper	378
225	SMJ	Richard	Harvey	tippler	395
396	BRES	Roger	Heare	tippler	287
419	BRES	Thomas	Heath	brewer	299
331	AS Below	Richard	Hellier	glover	198
222	SMJ	Peter	Hendricke	tippler	448
105	HR	Edward	Henshaw	barber	120
224	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill	sergemaker	394
387	AS Above	Nicholas	Hinde	tippler	270
378	AS Above	Robert	Hollyhocke	basketmaker	281
106	HR	Thomas	Jackson	attorney	125
354	AS Below	Nicholas	Janvrin	shoemaker	230
85	HR	John	Jeames	tippler	93
299	AS Above	John	Jones	tippler	238
226	SMJ	Philip	Jones	victualler, tippler	397
314	AS Above	John	Jurdeyne	vintner, tippler, victualler	252
312	AS Above	Nicholas	Kekwitt	carpenter	250
329	AS Above	Nicholas	Kickwitt	carpenter	250
183	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert	shoemaker	488
334	AS Below	Matthew	Langley	joiner	202
339	AS Below	Christopher	Langmere	tailor	210
372	AS Below	Estien	Latelas	merchant, sergemaker	195
262	SL	Henry	Lavendor	brazier/tinker, victualler, tippler	141
315	AS Above	Thomas	Lee	butcher	283
82	HR	Peter	Legay	merchant, clothier	87
249	SL	Peter	Linche	victualler, tippler	127
361	AS Below	Philip	Loney	baker	179
253	SL	Thomas	Lyle	cutler	133
109	HR	William	Lyle	goldsmith	171
130	SMJ	John	Manfeild	cooper	335
281	SL	Richard	Masey	baker	169
97	HR	Richard	Masey	tallow chandler	110
196	SMJ	Peter	Masson	sergemaker	463
236	SMJ	Francis	Mathew	shipwright	400
323	AS Above	William	May	butcher	256
102	HR	John	Mayior	mercier	117
80	HR	John	Merchier	merchant	86

Appendix CC

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
5	HR	William	Merrett	grocer, apothecary	3
27	HR	Leonard	Milles	innholder, vintner	30
51	HR	Matthew	Mollard	woolcomber, tippler	61
72	HR	William	Mollens	cooper	80
186	SMJ	John	More	tippler	486
10	HR	John	Mortemer	victualler	28
416	BRES	Persivall	Naylor	gardener	303
88	HR	Thomas	Nicholls	tippler	97
182	SMJ	Thomas	Oseman	cobbler, tippler	490
381	AS Above	Henry	Osmande	turner	277
123	SMJ	Henry	Parker	blacksmith	327
412	BRES	William	Parmett	brewer	298
42	HR	Henry	Peeche	victualler	46
187	SMJ	George	Perry	tippler and cook	484
238	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott	blacksmith	419
137	SMJ	William	Pitt	mariner, tippler	342
237	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer	shipwright	418
116	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman	locksmith	315
133	SMJ	Peter	Poche	sergemaker	338
348	AS Below	Moses	Pointdexter	tailor	220
57	HR	John	Pratt	tippler	63
91	HR	Richard	Pye (Senior)	tailor	100
93	HR	Thomas	Rallfe	tailor	104
113	SMJ	John	Ralphe	butcher, tippler, victualler	311
9	HR	William	Readinge	shearman, clothier	8
75	HR	John	Reynoldes	victualler	82
310	AS Above	Henry	Richardson	innholder, victualler	248
355	AS Below	John	Risinge	innholder	232
346	AS Below	Thomas	Ritche	victualler, tippler	217
366	AS Below	Richard	Roberts	sergemaker	182
247	SMJ	Flasset	Roberts	shipmaster	430
206	SMJ	Richard	Rochford	carpenter, tippler	447
380	AS Above	Stephen	Roffe	hatmaker, tippler	278
261	SL	Francis	Sewell	scrivener	140
185	SMJ	Richard	Sharpe	tippler	466
370	AS Below	George	Sharpe	tippler	191
321	AS Above	Andrew	Smith	blacksmith	255
371	AS Below	Henry	Smithe	mercier, chandler	193
162	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge	carpenter	372
145	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton	shipmaster	354
259	SL	James	Steagar	huckster	139
359	AS Below	John	Steptoe	barber	174

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
335	AS Below	Thomas	Stockwell	shipmaster	206
250	SL	Angell	Stoner	woollendraper	128
28	HR	Richard	Suffeild	woollendraper, tailor	31
373	AS Below	Thomas	Sutton	tailor, tippler, victualler	196
198	SMJ	David	Targett	mariner	462
308	AS Above	William	Taylor	glover	246
144	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor	victualler, tippler	353
384	AS Above	Thomas	Thorne	ropemaker	273
12	HR	Thomas	Tiler	mariner	12
305	AS Above	Richard	Tiller	butcher	243
98	HR	Peter	Tither	goldsmith, clothier	111
301	AS Above	George	Tompson	tippler	239
296	AS Above	William	Tucker	tippler	236
191	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan	butcher	482
190	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan	butcher	481
118	SMJ	Adam	Veale	baker	314
205	SMJ	Richard	Vibert	butcher	457
20	HR	John	Vibert	cobbler	22
251	SL	John	Vibert	victualler	129
208	SMJ	Bennett	Vincent	yeoman	473
392	AS Above	Michael	Wandricke	huckster	265
298	AS Above	William	Warde	bricklayer	237
217	SMJ	John	Waricke	shipwright	446
405	BRES	William	Wastson	mariner	288
92	HR	Nicholas	Webster	upholsterer	189
272	SL	Peter	Welche	tailor	156
218	SMJ	Essay	Whittiffe	shipwright	445
265	SL	Simon	Wickham	shoemaker, cobbler	146
108	HR	John	Wodyer	shoemaker	123
417	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens	yeoman, tippler, victualler	307
31	HR	Walter	Yewstis	pulley maker	35

Appendix DD Names of people assessed for stall and art payments by ward, 1600 and 1601 combined¹

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
378	AS Above	Robert	Hollyhocke	basketmaker	281
321	AS Above	Andrew	Smith	blacksmith	255
298	AS Above	William	Warde	bricklayer	237
386	AS Above	Richard	Barnard	butcher	271
376	AS Above	Nicholas	Craddocke	butcher	282
315	AS Above	Thomas	Lee	butcher	283
323	AS Above	William	May	butcher	256
305	AS Above	Richard	Tiller	butcher	243
377	AS Above	William	Frye	carpenter	280
312	AS Above	Nicholas	Kekwitt	carpenter	250
329	AS Above	Nicholas	Kickwitt	carpenter	250
385	AS Above	George	Ecton	carpenter, victualler, tippler	272
308	AS Above	William	Taylor	glover	246
380	AS Above	Stephen	Roffe	hatmaker, tippler	278
392	AS Above	Michael	Wandricke	huckster	265
311	AS Above	John	Griste	innholder, victualler	249
310	AS Above	Henry	Richardson	innholder, victualler	248
384	AS Above	Thomas	Thorne	ropemaker	273
394	AS Above	Andrew	Cooper	tippler	262
387	AS Above	Nicholas	Hinde	tippler	270

¹ Source: SCA, SC 6/1/24 and SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Books, 1600 and 1601 and several other sources, mainly, T.B. James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), Appendices and *Tudor Revels Southampton* at www.tudorrevels.co.uk.

Appendix DD

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
299	AS Above	John	Jones	tippler	238
301	AS Above	George	Tompson	tippler	239
296	AS Above	William	Tucker	tippler	236
381	AS Above	Henry	Osmande	turner	277
391	AS Above	Richard	Archer	victualler, tippler	266
314	AS Above	John	Jurdeyne	vintner, tippler, victualler	252
361	AS Below	Philip	Loney	baker	179
367	AS Below	John	Guilbert	baker	185
359	AS Below	John	Steptoe	barber	174
337	AS Below	George	Alden	fletcher, bowyer	184
332	AS Below	John	Dalle	glover	200
331	AS Below	Richard	Hellier	glover	198
355	AS Below	John	Risinge	innholder	232
334	AS Below	Matthew	Langley	joiner	202
371	AS Below	Henry	Smithe	mercener, chandler	193
372	AS Below	Estien	Latelas	merchant, sergemaker	195
366	AS Below	Richard	Roberts	sergemaker	182
335	AS Below	Thomas	Stockwell	shipmaster	206
354	AS Below	Nicholas	Janvrin	shoemaker	230
339	AS Below	Christopher	Langmere	tailor	210
348	AS Below	Moses	Pointdexter	tailor	220
338	AS Below	Peter	Grenaway	tailor, tippler	208
373	AS Below	Thomas	Sutton	tailor, tippler, victualler	196
330	AS Below	William	Greene	tippler	90
370	AS Below	George	Sharpe	tippler	191
353	AS Below	Charles	Darvol	victualler	192
340	AS Below	Henry	Cossens	victualler, tippler	212
346	AS Below	Thomas	Ritche	victualler, tippler	217
410	BRES	John	Grannt	brewer	297
419	BRES	Thomas	Heath	brewer	299

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
412	BRES	William	Parmett	brewer	298
406	BRES	Nicholas	Arnolde	butcher	289
416	BRES	Persivall	Naylor	gardener	303
409	BRES	Richard	Hardinge	husbandman	295
405	BRES	William	Wastson	mariner	288
398	BRES	Peter	Caplin	merchant	284
396	BRES	Roger	Heare	tippler	287
417	BRES	Nicholas	Yewens	yeoman, tippler, victualler	307
106	HR	Thomas	Jackson	attorney	125
105	HR	Edward	Henshaw	barber	120
8	HR	Gilbert	Clement	blacksmith	5
83	HR	Richard	Hancoke	blacksmith	91
1	HR	Thomas	Beele	brewer	1
11	HR	Matthew	Craddocke	butcher	10
20	HR	John	Vibert	cobbler	22
53	HR	Ellis	Becker	cooper	176
72	HR	William	Mollens	cooper	80
77	HR	Peter	Fox	glazier	84
109	HR	William	Lyle	goldsmith	171
98	HR	Peter	Tither	goldsmith, clothier	111
5	HR	William	Merrett	grocer, apothecary	3
3	HR	John	Crosse	haberdasher, feltmaker, hatmaker	2
27	HR	Leonard	Milles	innholder, vintner	30
84	HR	Thomas	Fletcher	joiner	92
89	HR	Thomas	Grannt	lacemaker	98
71	HR	William	Godfry	mariner	79
12	HR	Thomas	Tiler	mariner	12
96	HR	John	Collins	mercier	109
102	HR	John	Mayior	mercier	117
80	HR	John	Merchier	merchant	86
82	HR	Peter	Legay	merchant, clothier	87
31	HR	Walter	Yewstis	pulley maker	35
34	HR	Deonis	Dugard	sergemaker	42
18	HR	Daniel	Dugard	sergemaker	15
79	HR	Robert	Clarke	shearman	67
9	HR	William	Readinge	shearman, clothier	8
16	HR	Richard	Flurry	shipmaster	17
19	HR	Gyles	Awstin	shoemaker	20
95	HR	Hugo	Davies	shoemaker	108
108	HR	John	Wodyer	shoemaker	123
91	HR	Richard	Pye (Senior)	tailor	100
93	HR	Thomas	Rallfe	tailor	104
97	HR	Richard	Masey	tallow chandler	110
85	HR	John	Jeames	tippler	93
88	HR	Thomas	Nicholls	tippler	97
57	HR	John	Pratt	tippler	63
92	HR	Nicholas	Webster	upholsterer	189
10	HR	John	Mortemer	victualler	28
42	HR	Henry	Peeche	victualler	46
75	HR	John	Reynoldes	victualler	82

Appendix DD

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
51	HR	Matthew	Mollard	woolcomber, tippler	61
28	HR	Richard	Suffield	woollendraper, tailor	31
281	SL	Richard	Masey	baker	169
255	SL	William	Fausset	barber surgeon	135
262	SL	Henry	Lavendor	brazier/tinker, victualler, tippler	141
253	SL	Thomas	Lyle	cutler	133
258	SL	Edward	Crosse	fisherman, fishmonger	138
259	SL	James	Steagar	huckster	139
261	SL	Francis	Sewell	scrivener	140
282	SL	Nicholas	Allen	shoemaker	170
265	SL	Simon	Wickham	shoemaker, cobbler	146
279	SL	John	Dowse	tailor	166
272	SL	Peter	Welche	tailor	156
273	SL	William	Brisse	tippler	159
288	SL	Thomas	Browne	victualler	172
251	SL	John	Vibert	victualler	129
267	SL	John	Clarke	victualler, tippler	148
263	SL	John	Grundy	victualler, tippler	143
249	SL	Peter	Linche	victualler, tippler	127
254	SL	Arthur	Baker	woollendraper	134
250	SL	Angell	Stoner	woollendraper	128
115	SMJ	Thomas	Callaway	baker	479
118	SMJ	Adam	Veale	baker	314
123	SMJ	Henry	Parker	blacksmith	327
238	SMJ	Thomas	Phillpott	blacksmith	419
111	SMJ	George	Barton	butcher	309
155	SMJ	John	Feverell	butcher	360
228	SMJ	Walter	Feverell	butcher	402
229	SMJ	Walter	Feverell (the Younger)	butcher	403
191	SMJ	Richard	Vaughan	butcher	482
190	SMJ	Thomas	Vaughan	butcher	481
205	SMJ	Richard	Vibert	butcher	457
113	SMJ	John	Ralphe	butcher, tippler, victualler	311
162	SMJ	Thomas	Snellinge	carpenter	372
206	SMJ	Richard	Rochford	carpenter, tippler	447
134	SMJ	Constrict	Browne	cobbler	339
182	SMJ	Thomas	Oseman	cobbler, tippler	490
184	SMJ	Oliver	Foster	cobbler, victualler, tippler	487
158	SMJ	Jeames	Fryer	cooper	365
132	SMJ	David	Harris	cooper	337
170	SMJ	Edward	Harrisse	cooper	378
130	SMJ	John	Manfeild	cooper	335
167	SMJ	James	Desart	dyer	375
221	SMJ	Lionell	Awstin	fuller	442
160	SMJ	James	Foster	hellier, tippler	367
139	SMJ	William	Foster	hellier, tippler	345
116	SMJ	Thomas	Plowman	locksmith	315
244	SMJ	Oliver	Beiston	mariner	428

Entry No. in 1600	Ward	First name (standardized)	Surname	Occupation	Entry No. in 1601
212	SMJ	John	Engwell	mariner	469
199	SMJ	William	Ghoste	mariner	458
198	SMJ	David	Targett	mariner	462
180	SMJ	Dominic	Barrow	mariner, huckster	477
137	SMJ	William	Pitt	mariner, tippler	342
148	SMJ	William	Bourne	mason, victualler, tippler	356
141	SMJ	William	Governor	merchant	348
195	SMJ	Bonnaventure	Biggott	merchant, tippler	459
224	SMJ	Isaac	Herevill	sergemaker	394
196	SMJ	Peter	Masson	sergemaker	463
133	SMJ	Peter	Poche	sergemaker	338
117	SMJ	John	Gasson	shearman, sheargrinder	316
219	SMJ	Peter	Edwards	shipmaster	444
247	SMJ	Flassett	Roberts	shipmaster	430
145	SMJ	Edward	Sowlton	shipmaster	354
169	SMJ	Robert	Barnes	shipwright	377
236	SMJ	Francis	Mathew	shipwright	400
237	SMJ	Thomas	Platterer	shipwright	418
217	SMJ	John	Waricke	shipwright	446
218	SMJ	Essay	Whittiffe	shipwright	445
183	SMJ	Nicholas	Lambert	shoemaker	488
215	SMJ	Henry	Barton	surgeon	467
142	SMJ	William	Beckley	tippler	352
178	SMJ	Anthony	Bridges	tippler	476
239	SMJ	William	Courtney	tippler	420
225	SMJ	Richard	Harvey	tippler	395
222	SMJ	Peter	Hendricke	tippler	448
186	SMJ	John	More	tippler	486
185	SMJ	Richard	Sharpe	tippler	466
187	SMJ	George	Perry	tippler and cook	484
213	SMJ	Ellery	Hackwell	victualler	468
143	SMJ	Thomas	Crumpe	victualler, tippler	101
181	SMJ	Richard	Deane	victualler, tippler	115
144	SMJ	Yewstis	Taylor	victualler, tippler	353
226	SMJ	Philip	Jones	victualler, tippler	397
243	SMJ	Richard	Fuller	weaver, tippler	425
168	SMJ	Baltaster	Demastre	woollendraper, sergemaker	376
208	SMJ	Bennett	Vincent	yeoman	473

Appendix EE Details of Court Leet senior officials, 1601

First name	Surname	Date of entry to burgesship (actual year)	Office held in 1600/1	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation
Jurors¹						
Thomas	Sherwood	1594	court bailiff	mayor	1603	apothecary, grocer
William	Nevie	1591	water bailiff	mayor	1604, 1612	merchant
Robert	Chambers	1585	none	mayor	1605	merchant
John	Cornish	1593	steward	mayor	1606	merchant, shipmaster, shipwright,
David	Morrell	1573	none	constable	1575	mercier
James	Reading	1576	none	constable	1577, 1592	glover

¹ Source: Names listed in F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (SRSoc 2, 1906), p. 339. Other details obtained from several sources.

Appendix EE

First name	Surname	Date of entry to burgesship (actual year)	Office held in 1600/1	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation
William	Lynch	1585	none	court bailiff	1603	merchant, shipmaster
Edward	Barlow	1593	none	mayor	1607	brewer, merchant adventurer
John	Ellzie	1594	none	mayor	1624	merchant, shipmaster
William	Marinell	1592	none	sheriff	1609	merchant
George	Gallopp, sen.	1598	none	constable	1598	mercier
John	Parker	1596	none	none		blacksmith, merchant
Henry	Carpenter	1598	constable	sherriff	1611	merchant
John	Friar	1595	town clerk	town clerk	c. 1595- c. 1608	notary public
William	Foxall	1600	none	constable	1601	brewer, grocer

First name	Surname	Date of entry to burgesship (actual year)	Office held in 1600/1	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation
Overseers of the common²						
Phillip	Tolderveighe	1594	none	mayor	1609	merchant
William	Marinell	1592	none	sheriff	1609	merchant
John	Elliott, Sen.	not known	none	not known ³	not known	not known
Robert	Ayles	1598	constable	constable	1600 ⁴	merchant

² Source: Names listed in SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Book, 1601. Other details obtained from several sources.

³ No John Elliott ever progressed beyond the rank of constable.

⁴ Robert Ayles died in 1604.

Appendix FF Details of Court Leet junior officials, 1601

First name	Surname	Ward	Date of entry to burgeship (actual year)	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation
Beadles¹						
James	Edmondes	Holy Rood		none		shoemaker
Christopher	Cornellis	Holy Rood	1602	sheriff	1610	mercier
William	Brise	St Lawrence		none		tippler
James	Wharton	St Lawrence		none		not known
John	Gasson	St Michael & St John		none		shearman
John	Bathe	St Michael & St John		none		not known
Charles	Dervall	All Saints Below	1609	sheriff	1618, 1627	victualler
John	Steptoe	All Saints Below		none		barber

¹ Source: Names listed in SCA, SC 6/1/25 Court Leet Book, 1601. Other details obtained from several sources.

Appendix FF

First name	Surname	Ward	Date of entry to burgesship (actual year)	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation
James	Ayler	All Saints Above		none		not known
Richard	Tillier	All Saints Above		none		butcher
Abraham	Anderson	All Saints Bagrow & East Street		none		dyer
Walter	Barlinge	All Saints Bagrow & East Street		none		sergemaker/woolcomber
Drivers of the common						
Thomas	Fletcher	Holy Rood		none		joiner
Thomas	Nicholls	Holy Rood		none		not known
Peter	Linche	St Lawrence		none		tippler
John	Grundy	St Lawrence		none		tippler
George	Perrye	St Michael & St John		none		tippler and cook
William	Martin	St Michael & St John		none		tippler
Roger	Moores	All Saints Below		none		not known
John	Sutton	All Saints Below		none		not known
Richard	Tiller	All Saints Above		none		butcher

First name	Surname	Ward	Date of entry to burgeship (actual year)	Highest rank obtained	Date highest rank obtained (mayoral year)	Occupation
John	Jourdain	All Saints Above		none		tippler
Roger	Heare	All Saints Bagrow & East Street		none		tippler
Thomas	Gannder	All Saints Bagrow & East Street		none		tailor
Surveyors of the highway						
Thomas	Williames	Holy Rood		not known		not known
Richard	Masey, sen.	Holy Rood	1605	constable	1609	mercier
Arthur	Baker	St Lawrence	1603	mayor	1614	woollendraper
Peter	Friar	St Lawrence	1605	none		merchant
Lyonell	Awstin	St Michael & St John		none		fuller/shearman
Walter	Feverell	St Michael & St John		none		butcher
George	Tompson	All Saints		none		tippler
John	Guilbert	All Saints		none		baker

Glossary of Terms

The main sources used for this glossary are: T. Olding, ed., *The Common and Piepowder Courts of Southampton, 1426-1483* (SRS 45, 2011) and F.J.C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Supplement to Court Leet Records, 1550-1624* (SRSoc 6, 1908).

account	(a type of legal action brought in the Town Court) to oblige the defendant to render account for moneys or other assets allegedly received on the plaintiff's behalf
amercement	a penalty payment (from the Latin meaning 'at the mercy of the court')
debt	(a type of legal action brought in the Town Court) the action brought to recover sums of money owed
colouring	representing or allowing to be represented as his own, the goods of others and thereby defrauding the town of customs and duties
covenant	(a type of legal action brought in the Town Court) to enforce broken agreements
deceit	(a type of legal action brought in the Town Court) a form of trespass, one in which the wrong allegedly done had involved some sort of deception and the plaintiff was attempting to recover payment or losses resulting from, for example, goods not being as described
denizen	a person who comes to England from foreign lands, either permanently or temporarily, who pays a fee and takes an oath of allegiance to the Crown, and in return was to be treated and considered in the same way as any English subject born within the realm
detinue	(a type of legal action brought in the Town Court) the action that would appropriately be employed to recover assets, including sums of money when handed over for safekeeping, if the defendant allegedly refused to give them back
engrossing	to buy up goods in large quantities

Glossary of Terms

estreat	a document which lists ameracements and fines imposed by the court to be collected by one of the town officials
fine	a customary payment
forestalling	to buy up goods before they reach the market
paxbread	a symbolic substitute for the kiss of peace used in liturgical services
regrating	to buy up provisions in order to sell again at a higher rate in the same market
stall and art	an annual payment for the right to trade or to carry on a craft in Southampton
trespass	(a type of legal action brought in the Town Court) the civil action brought when the plaintiff alleged that the defendant had done him some sort of personal injury
vinterer	an officer in command of twenty men

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