Carpenters in Medieval London
c. 1240 – *c*. 1540

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Doreen Sylvia Leach, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract

Carpenters in medieval London have not previously been the focus of sustained research, either as a group, or as individuals. This thesis contributes fresh understanding to our perspective on London in the later Middle Ages by providing new information about this lesser known craft. The period chosen for review is a wide one starting from when carpenters first began to appear in official records and concluding on the eve of the Reformation and the English Renaissance, both of which were to have a profound impact on the style of, and the demand for, structures made from wood, and on the work available to carpenters.

The thesis starts with a consideration of the current state of knowledge about medieval carpenters. The central role carpentry played in the lives of all medieval people will be emphasised. The second chapter includes an evaluation of the ambivalent evidence for carpenters as an organised craft before the fifteenth century. It will show that the city authorities were happy to make use of the specialist knowledge of some carpenters to assist in enforcing civic regulations relating to the urban environment but that, on the whole, these craftsmen (along with other building workers) were seen as needing to be kept under firm control to maintain order in society. The next two chapters take forward discussion of the organisation of the craft into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and consider the activities of the newly formed company. The range of work undertaken by carpenters and the way in which they obtained their primary source material, timber, will be the focus of the fifth chapter. The following chapter will consider the religious life of these craftsmen and the final chapter will place carpenters and their families in their social and economic context within medieval London.

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Abbreviations

Accounts	*Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. Bower Marsh et al., 7 vols. (Oxford and London 1913-1968). Vol. 2: *Wardens' Accounts, 1438-1516*.
Alford and Barker, *History*	Alford, B. W. E. and T. C. Barker, *A History of the Carpenters' Company* (London, 1968).
Andrews	Andrews, F. B., *The Mediaeval Builder and his methods* (Wakefield, 1925, reprinted 1976).
Assize of Nuisance	*London Assize of Nuisance 1301-1431: A Calendar*, ed. H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway (London Record Society 10, 1973).
Barron, *London*	Barron, C. M., *London in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2004).
Bridge	*London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538*, ed. V. Harding and L. Wright (London Record Society 31, 1995).
Brunskill	Brunskill, R. W., *Timber Building in Britain* (London, 2nd impression, 2004).
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.*
CEMCR	*Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls 1298-1307*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1924).
Chambers and Daunt, *Book*	*A Book of London English*, ed. R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt (Oxford, 1931).
CLB[A-L]	*Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London*, A-L, ed., R. R. Sharpe, 11 vols. (London, 1899-1912).
Court	*Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. Bower Marsh et al., 7 vols. (Oxford and London 1913-1968). Vol. 3: *Court Book, 1533-1573*.
CPMR	*Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls AD 1324-1482*, vols. 1-4, ed. A. H. Thomas; vols. 5-6, P. E. Jones (Cambridge, 1926-1961).
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*.

GL	Guildhall Library, City of London
Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters'	Gee, E. A., 'Oxford Carpenters', 1370-1530, *Oxoniensia*, Vols. 27/28 (1952-3), 112-84 plus 4 plates.
Harvey, *Dictionary*	Harvey, J. H., *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1954, revised 1984).
Harvey, 'Mediaeval Carpenter'	Harvey, J. H., 'The Mediaeval Carpenter and his work as an architect', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd series, XLV (1938), 733-43.
HKW I	*The History of the King's Works,* ed. R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor (London, 1963), Vol. I.
HKW II	*The History of the King's Works,* ed. R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor (London, 1963), Vol. II.
HKW III	*The History of the King's Works, 1485-1660 (Part I)*, ed. H. M. Colvin, D. R. Ransome and J. Summerson (London, 1975), Vol. III.
HKW IV	*The History of the King's Works, 1485-1660 (Part II)*, ed. H. M. Colvin, J. Summerson, M. Biddle et al. (London, 1975), Vol. IV.
Husting	*Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London 1258-1688*, ed. R. R. Sharp, 2 vols. (London: 1889-90).
Jefferson	*The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London*, edited and translated by L. Jefferson, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2009).
Jupp and Pocock, *Historical*	Jupp. E. B. and W. W. Pocock, *An historical account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London.* (London, 2nd. edn. with a supplement, 1887).
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, City of London.
Leach, 'Turners' 2012	Leach, D., *The turners of medieval London: An investigation into their life and social environment* (Worshipful Company of Turners of London, 2012).
Leach, 'Turners' 2013	Leach, D., 'The Turners of Medieval London', *Medieval Prosopography*, 28 (2013), 105-36.
London Eyre 1244	*The London Eyre of 1244*, ed. H. M. Chew and M. Weinbaum (London Record Society 6, 1970).

London Eyre 1276	*The London Eyre of 1276*, ed. M. Weinbaum (London Record Society 12, 1976).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online version).
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (online version) .
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
Salzman	Salzman, L. F., *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952, Special edition, 1997).
TNA	The National Archives.
Unwin, *Gilds*	Unwin, G., *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1908, 4th edn., 1963).

Notes on Conventions

Original spelling has generally been retained although some personal names have been slightly adjusted to enable consistency.

All dates are shown in the 'new style' (i.e. with the year beginning on 1 January).

Dates of death are indicated by the symbol †.

It is common practice to refer to a guild as a 'company' only after its incorporation which, in the case of the Carpenters, was 1477. Before that date the term 'craft' or 'mystery' is frequently employed and this practice will be followed in this thesis from the start of the fifteenth century onwards. The fourteenth century organisation of carpenters used the term 'brotherhood' so this term has not been used for the later organisation.

Throughout the thesis there are references to London parishes and wards. Maps showing the location of these can be found at pp. 308-311.

Introduction

> It is surely time that we thought about the people behind the
> buildings and did not treat the buildings just as artefacts.[1]

This statement, from a review of Anthony Quiney's *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* written in 2009, is an accurate summary of the current position with regard to investigations into historic buildings. Much work has been undertaken on the structures that were erected in the medieval period, the majority of which were made from wood, but a lot less thought has been given to the individuals responsible for their design and construction. This is particularly pertinent for historians of London because the size of that city's population and the concentration of wealth enjoyed by its citizens were greater by far than any other town in England. As a consequence much new building work took place there and wooden structures by their very nature required regular maintenance. There was plenty of scope for regular employment and steady rewards for carpenters, thus making it an attractive trade but, while the buildings have been closely scrutinised, the craftsmen themselves have been largely ignored by historians.[2] The aim of this thesis is to redress the balance by producing a social history of carpenters in England's capital city during the later Middle Ages and to answer the question: 'What did it mean to be a carpenter in medieval London?'.

There is no shortage of relevant records. Primary documentary sources for the study of carpenters in later medieval London include: the ordinances of the fourteenth century Brotherhood of Carpenters, the records of the later Carpenters' Company, contracts for work, wills and testaments, probate inventories, administrative and legal records of the Crown and the city of London, writings of contemporaries, and surveys and plans. All of these will be used to construct the thesis. Other sources, such as structures still in place and the findings of archaeological investigations, will be drawn on to provide as full a picture as possible of carpenters in medieval London. The sources will underpin a review of carpenters from two main

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[1] M. Gardiner, 'Review of R. Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*' (New Haven and London, 2003) <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/428>, 2009, 1-3, p. 2 [accessed 28 April 2012].

[2] The main exception to this statement is the work of John Harvey and Louis Salzman and this will be drawn on throughout this thesis.

perspectives. Firstly, carpenters viewed as a group, particularly the way in which the craft was organised and how this developed during the period under study. Secondly, these craftsmen as individuals, including where they lived and worked, their families and associates, and the type of work they undertook with its rewards. The enquiry will begin with a definition of carpentry in a medieval context followed by a review of the historiography of the subject and the sources available before moving on to consider how the craftsmen came to organise together. Later chapters will consider in detail the work undertaken by carpenters and their position in society.

Carpentry was a vital component of everyday life throughout the whole medieval period from at least Anglo-Saxon times because nearly all buildings were constructed of wood but the demand for highly skilled carpenters in the later years was fuelled by important developments in building techniques in the two centuries before *c*. 1300, especially the invention of timber-framing. Population pressures in towns before the mid fourteenth century led to innovations in design such as building upwards and outwards, and infilling, that is constructing on land that had previously been open space, and these developments further led to increasing opportunities for carpenters. Many of the changes in building techniques had a positive impact on society leading to rising standards of accommodation but there were also some drawbacks. The resulting congestion frequently led to conflicts between neighbours who found themselves living in too close a proximity to each other, and building work was not always of a high standard, something that is apparent from official records that contain frequent complaints of poorly constructed dwellings lacking in sanitation and with insufficient access to light and air. Disputes over invasions of privacy from ill-conceived structures were common, and an additional hazard was the regular outbreaks of fire that destroyed many wooden buildings.

The bedrock of this research is the men who practised the carpentry trade and all London carpenters will form the focus of the study although it is important to keep in mind that these craftsmen were never a single, homogenous group. At the top of the scale were men employed by the king or other rich patrons, individual or institutional, such as the church, who received correspondingly high rewards and who frequently worked on projects outside the city as well as within it. At the opposite extreme some carpenters seem to have died, if not as paupers, then certainly

owning very few possessions. The majority of craftsmen can be placed somewhere between these two groups. Their efforts to protect their living standards and working conditions will be examined as will the contribution made to society by practitioners of the craft, including their role in controlling the urban environment through helping to define poor workmanship. Another factor to be considered is the relationship of carpenters with the broader spectrum of building workers, in particular masons, but also other woodworking craftsmen, such as joiners, carvers and the various wrights.

Chapter 1   The current state of knowledge about medieval carpenters

1.1 Medieval Carpentry: a definition

There is clear evidence that 'the oldest trade in building concerns was that of the carpenter'.[1] Although the origins of the craft of carpentry are lost in pre-history they can be traced back firmly to at least biblical times where Joseph, foster-father of Christ and husband of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was a carpenter who passed on his trade to his son. But men who fashioned structures and other items from wood existed way before that.[2] By the period covered in this study carpenters were long-established, skilled craftsmen. For the purposes of this research the *OED*'s definition of a carpenter as an 'artificer in wood' and 'one who does the heavier and stronger work in wood, as the framework of houses, ships, etc.' will be used.[3] This is a good description of the work of the carpenter in the Middle Ages and draws a distinction between these particular craftsmen and other skilled woodworkers, for instance joiners and carvers, who usually worked with lighter pieces of wood, creating smaller objects, such as furniture and/or furnishings, rather than constructing whole buildings.[4] The demarcation was not always clear-cut and the same man might turn his hand to both carpentry and joinery as required. Although the definition given in the *OED* refers to ships, shipwrights were a largely distinct group by the later medieval period and they will be mentioned only briefly in this research. Few qualified shipwrights lived in London as was evident in 1512 when Henry VIII was constructing a large ship and three galleys at Woolwich and men had to be conscripted to work on the project from as far afield as Cornwall and Yorkshire.[5]

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[1] Andrews, p. 72.

[2] Carpenters are mentioned in 2,500 year old Buddhist scriptures e.g. 'carpenters control their timber' in, *Buddha's Teachings*, trans. from the Pali by J. Mascaro (London, 1973), p. 16.

[3] Carpenter, *n*. Definition 1. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 27 May 2012].

[4] For a description of the work undertaken by joiners see J. Lutkin, 'The London Craft of Joiners, 1200-1550', *Medieval Prosopography*, 26 (2005), 129-64, esp. p. 135.

[5] I. Friel, *The Good Ship: Ships, Shipbuilding and Technology in England* (London, 1995), p. 41. Damian Goodburn has suggested that in an earlier period, *c*. 890-1180, there were fewer technological differences between 'land structural woodwork' and boat-building but the distinction widened after this time. D. M. Goodburn, 'London's Early Medieval Timber Buildings. Little Known Traditions of Construction' in G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe ed., *Urbanism in Medieval Europe, Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference, Volume 1 (conference preprints)* (Zellik, Belgium, 1997), 249-57, p. 251. For further information about medieval boat building and shipwrights see Friel, *Good Ship*, esp. Chapter 3, 'Building a Ship', pp. 39-67 and P. Marsden ed., *Mary Rose: Your Noblest*

Chapter 1   The current state of knowledge about medieval carpenters

Contemporary documents generally described a carpenter by the Latin term, *carpentarius*, which, in line with the definition quoted above, can be said to be, 'a craftsman who frames and joins timber in buildings'.[6] This word, *carpentarius*, has a French origin and it has been suggested that it was employed to label those who used the new construction technique of timber-framing which was introduced into England by the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. The Old English description for a woodworker was the less specific designation: *treow wyrhta*, or *trywwyrhta* i.e. 'treewright'.[7] A less common word in use in the later Middle Ages was that of *domifex*, 'maker of houses', again indicating what was probably seen as the primary role of these craftsmen.[8] That this was understood can be demonstrated by the example of John Carpenter, London's Common Clerk, who, in a letter describing the reception of Henry VI into London in February 1432 after his coronation in Paris, made a pun on his own name by referring to himself as *domifex*. Carpenter may have been boasting that through his promotion of the dual monarchy of England and France he was a creator of a new royal dynasty or 'house'. He ends his letter with the subscript: *Per Fabrum, sive Domificem, vestrum, Johannem, ejusdem urbis Secretarium indignissimum*, which can be translated as 'By yours, John Woodwright, or Housemaker, most unworthy Secretary of the same city'.[9]

An example of the commonly shared understanding of what carpenters did can be seen from an illustration in a fourteenth century English manuscript, the *Omne Bonum*, where the letter 'A' (standing for *arena* i.e. sand) is depicted by means of a picture of a man standing adjacent to, and pointing towards, a large 'A' that has been formed by the posts of a wooden framed building. Immediately below this scene are displayed woodworking tools: an awl, axe, mallet and crowbar.[10] [See Illustration 1].

Shippe – Anatomy of a Tudor Warship (Portsmouth, 2009). For London shipwrights see Barron, *London*, p. 74.

[6] E. A. Gee, *A Glossary of Building Terms used in England from the Conquest to c. 1550* (Frome, 1984), p. 19.

[7] Goodburn, 'London's Early Medieval Timber Buildings', p. 251.

[8] Andrews, p. 73.

[9] *CLB[K]*, pp. 137-8; Introduction to the *Liber Albus, The White Book of the City of London*, edited and translated by H. T. Riley (London, 1861), p. ix.

[10] The *Omne Bonum* is an unfinished encyclopaedia compiled by the London Exchequer clerk James le Palmer († 1375). Palmer was responsible for the compilation of the entire text but the illustrations were produced by several individuals. For further details see *Omne Bonum – A Fourteenth-Century*

One interpretation of this scene is to understand the 'A' formed by the building as referring to the word *artifex* i.e. artisan. A simplistic interpretation of the illustration is to see it as a house constructed by the adjacent figure who, with wide-open arms indicating the building, is proudly showing off his handiwork. However, the depiction may have had a subtler meaning relating to the fact that the house was apparently built on sand rather than on a firm foundation. In a Christian context this could be seen as underlining the need to build one's salvation on a firm basis i.e. the teachings of Jesus Christ.[11] This theme has been developed further with the suggestion that the builder was actually trying to hold up the house that had been badly erected by being built on sand.[12] Whatever the layers of meaning it is clear that the illustration is intended to depict a carpenter as a house-builder but, although the manuscript was likely to have been produced in London, the picture does not show a type of house that would have been seen in the streets of the city. The construction illustrated has made use of the modest building technique known as 'cruck-frame' which used pairs of tree-trunks (often a single trunk sliced into two along its length) pushed into the ground and tied together at the top. In these structures there was no distinction between the walls and the roof hence the appearance of an A-shape when viewed end on.[13] [Shown in Illustration 1]. This form of building construction was mainly employed in the west of England, the midlands and the north, and was rarely used in the south-east in the later medieval period.[14] The building technique that was used in London in the Middle Ages, that of the box-frame, will be considered in Chapter 5 although it is not the aim of this study to consider timber-framed buildings in detail, a subject which has been fully covered by a number of writers.[15] [See Illustration 2 for a depiction of a box-framed building]. The emphasis here will be on the carpenters themselves.

Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge. BL MSS Royal 6 E VI – 6 E VII, ed. L. Freeman Sandler, 2 vols. (London, 1996).

[11] L. H. Cooper, *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 2-3. In the bible a man who hears the word of Christ but does not follow it is compared to a fool who builds a house on sand only to have it collapse through wind and rain. Matthew 7: 26-7.

[12] *Omne Bonum*, ed. L. Freeman Sandler, Vol. I, p. 98 and Vol. II, p. 57.

[13] Cruck-framed buildings have been described as 'that simple and sometimes crude assembly of timbers which tackled the problem of roofing and walling simultaneously'. Brunskill, p. 19.

[14] A. Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building* (London, 1965), pp. 33-6; C. F. Innocent, *The Development of English Building Construction* (Cambridge, 1916, reprinted 1999), esp. pp. 33-59.

[15] E.g. Salzman, esp. Chapter XIII, 'The Timber-Framed House', pp. 195-209; R. Harris, *Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings* (Shire, 2006); C. A. Hewett, *English Historic Carpentry* (London, 1980); M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1965, reprinted 1994).

1.2 The importance of carpentry in the medieval period: 'An age of timber'

To the medieval mind, carpenters and the construction of buildings were inexorably linked:

> The use of timber and wood was so widespread in the medieval period that we might justifiably think of it as an age of timber… For timber, quite apart from its use in roofs and walls, bridges and wharfs, was the major component of vehicles and vessels, and in the machinery of agriculture and war.[16]

> … in an age when so much building, both civil and military, was done in timber, the carpenter was in some ways a more essential craftsman than his stonemason colleague.[17]

These two quotations sum up the important role played by carpenters during the period covered by this research. Although stone may have been the 'most admired of building materials' it was largely beyond the reach of the majority of individuals or even institutions and, for most, timber was the building material of choice.[18] There was much to be said in favour of wooden buildings. Houses constructed of this material were cheaper to build than stone because timber was more readily obtainable and easier to work, as well as being considerably cheaper to transport at a time when transport costs were high.[19] (London had no local building stone).[20]

The dominance of woodworking was reinforced by changes in building practices and techniques, as well as in society generally, in the two hundred years prior to 1300.[21] At the beginning of the twelfth century most houses were indeed built of timber but the majority were comparatively small, single-storied and insubstantial. Buildings were constructed by the technique of sinking wooden posts into the earth or slotting

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[16] J. Munby, 'Wood' in J. Blair and N. Ramsay ed., *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1991), 379-405, p. 379.

[17] *HKW I*, p. 216.

[18] E. Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses* (London, 1979), p. 126.

[19] D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason* (Manchester, 1933, revised 1967), p. 6. Malcolm Hislop has also emphasised the high cost and difficulties of transporting stone. M. Hislop, *Medieval Masons* (Botley, 2000), p. 31.

[20] Goodburn, 'London's Early Medieval Timber Buildings', p. 251.

[21] The reasons behind the changes are not fully understood but they may have been driven by an increase in population putting pressure on urban space and a deterioration in the weather resulting in the ground being wetter for longer. J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester, 1997), pp. 15-6.

posts into wooden sill beams that rested directly on the ground. In both cases it meant that they were prone to rot and required frequent repair and rebuilding. A fundamental improvement in the method of construction was the development of new ways to raise the timber parts of structures above the ground and this, together with the new technique of timber framing stabilised by joints and trusses (which was first developed in London), allowed larger and more durable wooden buildings, including those with several storeys, to be constructed. These changes enabled timber to be used more economically, pre-fabrication off-site, and better use of limited space in urban settings.[22] Alongside these developments, sawing of timber, which had died out after the departure of the Romans, was re-introduced, enabling the production of accurately squared timber, a pre-requisite for the production of pre-fabricated buildings.[23] Buildings with a timber superstructure on a stone or brick base also had the advantage that they could be remodelled more easily to reflect changing fortunes, styles and requirements. Rooms might be added or sub-divided and even whole buildings might be dismantled and re-erected elsewhere.[24] There is no doubt that the changes led to an increased demand for the work of the highly skilled carpenter and it has been rightly claimed that the period 1200-1350 saw carpentry become a 'precision craft'.[25]

The importance of carpentry extended beyond the supply of housing stock. Many other wooden structures were in use on a daily basis: shops, taverns, inns, stables, mills, bridges, barns, wharves and riverside 'walls' (revetments), were all constructed by carpenters from timber. In addition, attempts to improve the urban environment included the provision of better drainage, gutters, and more privies, most of which would have been constructed from wood. As well as these relatively

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[22] S. Rees Jones, ''Building domesticity in the city: English urban housing before the Black Death' in M. Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg ed., *Medieval Domesticity – Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2008), 66-91, pp. 66-8 and for a fuller discussion of the changes in building construction during this period see, Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 37-9.

[23] J. Schofield, *London 1100-1600: The archaeology of a capital city* (Sheffield, 2011), p. 145. For a discussion of the technique of sawing timber see D. James, 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance', *Vernacular Architecture*, 43 (2012), 7–18.

[24] Salzman, p. 199 and see examples in *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, A Calendar prepared by N. J. M. Kerling (London, 1973), Appendix 9, 153-74 which lists property owned by the Hospital. There are numerous references to properties being rebuilt or converted from one use to another e.g. two shops were converted into one 'mansion', no. 4, and a brewhouse was changed to a bakehouse, no. 58. On building, re-building, enclosure and sub-division in London see G. A. Williams, *Medieval England: From Commune to Capital* (London, 1963), p. 17.

[25] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p. 37.

permanent constructions, carpentry was fundamental to occasional structures such as the stages for street pageants and stands for audiences attending jousts. It has been suggested quite plausibly, that the carpentry trade was more varied than most others and, if making and erecting all these structures was not enough to keep carpenters fully employed, they also made much of the equipment needed for the process of building construction itself, including many items used by their fellow craftsmen, the masons.[26] Carpenters made carts for carrying stones and other necessities to building sites, sourced timber for scaffolding poles and erected these together with the associated cranes and hoisting tackle. They put together cradles in which masons could be hoisted to fill in putlog holes i.e. the holes made to receive beams to support scaffolding, and even made the temporary 'centring' for the arches and vault ribs that were needed during the construction phase, a task that would have required the interpretation of architectural drawings to obtain the precise templates required.[27] Where buildings were erected on a stone base the bulk of the superstructure was likely to consist almost entirely of wood and even buildings that were made largely of stone, such as many of London's more than one hundred churches, contained substantial quantities of woodwork. The most 'technically demanding' parts of a building were the roof trusses and these were often constructed of wood, even though they might be hidden by a stone vault and thus be invisible from the ground.[28] The definition of the period as, 'an age of timber', is, therefore, accurate and, as a consequence, carpenters and carpentry were crucial in the development of the later medieval urban environment.

Given London's wealth, large areas of the city must have resembled building sites with a constant stream of alterations and repairs, as well as new constructions. One writer has commented that: '… the City and its immediate environs were one continual building-site from the late 11th century to the 17th century' and another, referring to Westminster, states that:

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[26] Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 154

[27] The carpenter, Robert Osekyn, (fl. 1300 - † 1311), was paid for making two 'loggeas' (presumably lodges) in which the masons who were building St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster could work and store their stones. Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 223. See also Andrews, p. 72; D. Parsons, 'Stone' in Blair and Ramsay, *English Medieval Industries*, 1-27, p. 1; J. H. Harvey, *Mediaeval Craftsmen* (London and Sydney, 1975), p. 147; Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters', p. 114.

[28] N. Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (London, 1994), p. 170.

> … almost every working day, at least one part of the town resounded with the noise of the mason's chisel, the blacksmith's anvil, or the carpenter's saw; this continuous din lasted from 1200 until 1540, and beyond.[29]

William Fitzstephen's evocative contemporary description of Thomas Becket overseeing the repair of the Tower of London could apply throughout the city, at least during the summer months:

> With wonderful speed accomplishing so great a work... with so many smiths, carpenters and other workmen, working so vehemently with bustle and noise that a man could hardly hear the one next to him speak.[30]

Nonetheless, despite their obvious advantages even timber buildings had some drawbacks, at least for the occupants, if not for the builders. They decayed more easily from natural causes or lack of maintenance than those built predominantly from stone (or brick) and they were particularly susceptible to fire. The accepted frequency of fires in wooden buildings in towns is demonstrated by an agreement (dated 1212-25) between two neighbours in York who, it was stated, would 'maintain the fence and gutter between their two properties until the first fire (*ad primam combustionem)* after which the boundary would be adjusted'.[31] Destruction through deliberate attack was also a threat. The Justices in the London Eyre of 1244 gave an indication of the problems that might be anticipated when they referred to those who 'maliciously demolished or burned down houses' and 'those who maliciously overthrew or burned down houses against the peace'. To be fair, the city authorities answered the questions posed by the Justices about such incidents by saying they were not aware of any cases, but presumably the fact that the enquiries were put at all is an indication of fear of what could happen.[32] Indeed, although the destruction of buildings for political reasons in the Middle Ages was rare, it did sometimes occur. The London Eyre of 1276 again enquired about 'those who

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[29] Schofield, *London 1100-1600*, p. 145; Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 150.
[30] *Cancellarius Thomas regni sedem, palatium Londoniae, prius fere ruinam, reparari facit; mira celeritate tantum opus perficiens intra quoddam pascha et pentecosten, tot fabris lignariis et aliis operariis tantae instantiae motu et sonitu operantibus, ut vix alter alterum proxime admotum posset audire loquentem. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, Vol. III, ed. J. C. Robertson (originally published by HMSO, n. d., Kraus Reprint 1965), pp. 19-20.
[31] Rees Jones, 'Building domesticity', p. 67.
[32] *London Eyre 1244*, nos. 11, 196 & 273.

maliciously demolished or burned down the houses of others within the liberty of the City against the peace' and on that occasion examples of such instances were recorded. These included the destruction of houses belonging to two Jews plus action taken by a draper on the day before the Battle of Lewes in 1264 when he set fire to part of Cheapside and prevented others from bringing water.[33] In a later period, during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, a number of buildings, probably constructed from both stone and wood, were attacked and burnt. Many of these were located just outside the city boundaries, such as the Savoy Palace in The Strand, the Westminster house of Sir John Butterwick, under-sheriff of Middlesex, and the tenements of Simon Hosteler in Holborn.[34] These actions were exceptional and the destruction of buildings for political reasons in the Middle Ages was rare, and in fact serious fires in London from any cause were infrequent after the twelfth century.

An accurate figure for London's inhabitants cannot be calculated (and numbers fluctuated widely over time) but the city and its immediate environs were likely to have encompassed between 80,000-100,000 individuals in 1300. During the course of the fourteenth century famine and disease reduced this figure to *c*. 40,000 by 1400 and recovery from then on was extremely slow, possibly only reaching 50,000 by 1500. The population may have been reduced considerably during the fourteenth century but the wealth of the city did not suffer a comparable decline and London remained the largest and most affluent city in England continuing to draw in migrants from some distance.[35] Given the plethora of wooden structures, the medieval carpenter was unlikely to be without work for long and a reasonably competent craftsman in the city of London could be sure of making a living, albeit possibly a modest one, while he remained in good health. The latter caveat was a real one. Carpentry could be both strenuous and dangerous and there is no doubt that it was an occupation more suited to the young and fit. Men who worked beyond their capabilities often paid the price through suffering unpleasant accidents or even sudden death, such as a case reported to the Coroners in 1338 when Luke the Carpenter 'mounted a ladder in order to repair a new building for the city's defence

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[33] *London Eyre 1276*, no. 296.
[34]*The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1331-1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927, reprinted with minor corrections, 1970), pp. 142-3. For further discussion of the destruction of property caused by the rebels in areas around the edge of the city see R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (Basingstoke, 1970, 2nd. edn. 1983), pp. 155-8.
[35] Barron, *London*, pp. 4 & 45.

near the Tower, when he fell'. His friends carried him to his home but he died the same night. The jurors who investigated the incident noted that Luke was 'an old man'.[36]

Apart from carpenters, masons were the other important building workers of the later medieval period, and a number of writers have referred to the fact that the only craftsman with skills equal to that of the master carpenter was the master mason.[37] Carpenters and masons frequently worked alongside each other on major projects particularly when employed by the wealthier members of society who could afford to build in stone and it is probably true that, 'wherever the king had a mason, there also he would normally have a carpenter in his pay'.[38] Harvey goes further, calculating that in the mid fourteenth century the King's household contained 138 carpenters but only twenty-four masons.[39] The symbiotic relationship between stone and wood is demonstrated by an example from York where a merchant requested in his will (1435) that the bell-tower of a church be completed under the supervision of a mason but that John Bolron, carpenter, 'make a door, a ladder, and all the timber for hanging the bells in the said bell-tower' ('*faciat unum ostium, unam scalam, et totum meremium pro campanis pendendis in campanili praedicto*').[40] Building a structure capable of supporting swinging bells at some height above ground would have been a technically demanding job requiring 'well-braced timber towers' and would have called for the skills of an expert craftsman.[41] It is clear that buildings made predominantly of stone were very dependent on the work of carpenters to facilitate their construction. It has perhaps been to the detriment of the reputation of carpenters that much of their output was 'in a more perishable medium' compared to the more lasting efforts of the masons but, as this research will demonstrate, carpenters were a vital component of medieval society.[42]

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[36] *Calendar of the Coroners Rolls of the City of London 1300-1378*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1913), pp. 202-3.
[37] See e.g. Coldstream, *Decorated,* p. 170; A. Clifton-Taylor and A. S. Ireson, *English Stone Building* (London, 1983, new edition 1994), p. 11; Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters', p. 112.
[38] *HKW I*, p. 216.
[39] Harvey, 'Mediaeval Carpenter', p. 733.
[40] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, A selection of wills from the registry at York. Part II, ed. J. Raine (Durham, 1855), p. 53.
[41] Munby, 'Wood', p. 393.
[42] Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters', p. 112.

1.3   The historiography of guilds and of carpenters in medieval London

It is important to consider how and why carpenters came to organise as a group and the work of earlier historians will be used as a basis for the research. The study of guilds commenced in 1836-7 with William Herbert's *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*.[43] This included an essay on the structure of guilds and their relationship to London and the Crown as well as individual studies of the 'Great Twelve' companies. The first general study of guilds was George Unwin's monograph, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, published in 1908, where he sought to trace the development of guilds from the Anglo-Saxon period up to his time of writing.[44] Unwin used both printed and manuscript sources, mainly concentrating on London but also considering organised bodies in other cities, including on the Continent. Although he refers to carpenters he seems to have relied on an early company history for his information.[45] Unwin's work was followed in 1919 by Herbert Westlake's, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*, which, as its title implies, focussed on religious fraternities.[46]

Following a period of little scholarly activity there has been a recent revival of interest in guilds in the widest sense with a number of historians working on the social, economic and political roles of such organisations. Consideration has been given to what constituted a guild, how definitions changed over time, and whether these institutions had a negative or positive impact on society. Was it workers, masters or city authorities who benefited most from the existence of guilds? An earlier view of guilds, which saw them as obstructing innovation and holding back economic develpment, has been re-evaluated and guilds are perceived in a much more positive light. Some historians now see them as promoters of the reproduction of the skilled workforce, supporters of mobility, and as a means to set quality

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[43] W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1834, reproduction of the 1st printed edn., Newton Abbot, 1968). For a discussion of Herbert's work see W. F Kahl, 'Introduction' to Unwin, *Gilds*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.
[44] Unwin, *Gilds*.
[45] This was Jupp and Pocock, *Historical* which will be discussed below in Section 1.4.
[46] H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919).

standards.[47] This re-consideration has led to several writers urging caution about the interpretation of written regulations relating to guilds as these can 'convey a misleading impression of coherence and comprehensiveness'. Craft production is recognised as being much more flexible than guild regulations had been taken to suggest.[48] Derek Keene, for example, has suggested that 'administrative and other texts concerning guilds should be interpreted in the context in which they were written rather than as statement of enduring principle'.[49]

The first study to consider an individual craft in depth was Sylvia Thrupp's work on London Bakers, published in 1933.[50] Thrupp followed this in 1948 by *The Merchant Class of Medieval London,* which looked at merchants from both an economic and social viewpoint.[51] Since then, while there have been numerous articles on both religious and economic associations, there have been fewer full-scale overviews with the focus of study shifting to the examination of individual guilds with emphasis on what craftsmen actually did rather than organisations.[52] In 1966 Elspeth Veale published her seminal work on the Skinners which she described as 'an attempt to explore medieval society by following a single little-known industry in all its ramifications', and more recently work has been undertaken on several of the other leading companies.[53]

Artisan, as opposed to mercantile companies, have been somewhat neglected by historians. This is partly due to lack of evidence as wealthier companies tended to be

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[47] See e.g. S. R. Epstein, and M. Prak, *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 1-2 & p. 23.

[48] G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages – Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), p. 153 and Epstein and Prak, *Guilds*, p. 12.

[49] D. Keene, 'English Urban Guilds, *c*. 900-1300: The Purposes and Politics of Association' in I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis ed., *Guilds and Association in Europe, 900-1900* (London, 2006), 3-26, p. 21.

[50] S. L. Thrupp, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (Croydon, 1933).

[51] S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Michigan, 1948).

[52] See e.g. C. M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill ed., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Suffolk, 1985), 13-37; J. M. Bennett, 'Women and Men in the Brewer's Gild of London, ca. 1420' in E. B. DeWindt ed., *The Salt of Common Life* (Michigan, 1995), 181-232.

[53] E. M. Veale, Preface to *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (London Record Society 38, 2003; reprinted from 1966 edition). For studies of individual guilds see e.g. I. W. Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (Chichester, 1991); M. P. Davies, 'The Tailors of London and their Guild *c*. 1300-1500' (University of Oxford, D. Phil. thesis, 1994); E. Quinton, 'The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, *c*. 1300 - *c*. 1500' (University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 2001); J. Lutkin, 'Goldsmiths and the English royal court, 1360-1413' (University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 2008). Leah Rhys, a Ph.D. candidate at Royal Holloway University of London is currently working on Ironmongers.

better at both record-keeping and preserving those records, but it is perhaps also due to a perception that such companies are less interesting, and thus less worthy of study. The Carpenters' Company, however, took the exceptional step of publishing their own records at the beginning of the twentieth century.[54] They also supported the publication of histories of the Company at an early date. These commenced with that by a Company clerk, Edward Jupp, who claimed, probably justifiably, that his study (published in 1848) was the first 'detailed history of any particular Company'.[55] His main motivation in writing was to respond to enquiries generated by the discovery of a series of Elizabethan wall paintings in Carpenters' Hall concealed by canvas for many years.[56] [See Illustration 3 for an example]. Jupp examined the Company's records to discover more about the paintings, commenting that he had mastered, 'as well as he could, the difficulties of antiquated penmanship and orthography'. Jupp's *Historical Account* (reissued in 1887 with a supplement by W. Pocock, a past master of the Company) remained the only such publication in existence for the Carpenters until 1933 when a very brief volume was compiled by another past master, H. Westbury Preston.[57] A more recent study (1968) by B. W. E. Alford and T. C. Barker remains the most complete history to date. Alford and Barker suggest that Jupp's history was 'a pioneer work of its kind' but criticise it for being 'narrow in content and limited in appeal', claiming to have taken a broader view in their own study.[58] Nonetheless, like Jupp and other more recent company histories, such as that by Jasper Ridley, much of their volume is concerned with the post medieval period, a bias common in livery company histories more generally.[59] This is not surprising given that in most cases surviving records for the later period are much more plentiful. Company histories such as these, by their very nature, concentrate on the workings of a single institution. They are thus one contribution to the study of London carpenters but there remains much scope to consider the medieval period in more detail and to evaluate the work undertaken by, and the social position of, all

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[54] Discussed in Section 1.4 below.

[55] E. B. Jupp, *An historical account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London* (London, 1848), p. ix.

[56] Jupp dated the paintings to *c*. 1561 when the hall was repaired and 'embellished'. The series of paintings depicting Noah constructing the Ark, King Josiah ordering the repair of the Temple, Joseph at his work as a carpenter while Jesus collects wood chips in a basket, and the young Jesus teaching in the synagogue are reproduced in Jupp and Pocock, *Historical* between pp. 232-57, and for Jupp's description of the paintings see pp. 235-42. See also Alford and Baker, *Historical*, pp. 225-8.

[57] H. Westbury Preston, *The Worshipful Company of Carpenters* (London, 1933).

[58] Alford and Barker, *History*, p. 7.

[59] J. Ridley, *A History of the Carpenters' Company* (London, 1995).

carpenters living in the city and its suburbs, and not just those connected with the formal craft organisation.

A major contributor to the study of medieval carpenters was the architectural historian, John Harvey, who published widely on building processes, architects and the various construction workers.[60] Harvey researched many individual practitioners including leading carpenters, such as Hugh Herland (fl. 1330 - † 1411) and James Nedeham (fl. 1514 - † 1544), for both of whom there is sufficient information to compile brief biographies.[61] Harvey's *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the men as individuals as well as the work they undertook. In addition to carpenters it includes, 'master masons, carvers, building contractors and others responsible for design'. However, it is by no means comprehensive since many members of the London Carpenters' Company were not included and much new research has been undertaken since the *Dictionary* was first published in 1954. Only four London carpenters are included in the *ODNB*: William Hurley, (fl. 1319 - † 1354), William Wintringham, (fl. 1361 - †*c*. 1392), Hugh Herland and James Nedeham. Humphrey Coke, (fl. 1504 - † 1531), while not meriting an entry to himself, is referred to in the entries of two masons: Henry Redman and Robert Vertue, and in passing in the entry for James Nedeham.[62]

The format of the biography however does not lend itself to a full analysis of medieval London carpenters. What is lacking in the research to date is a comprehensive study using all available material to consider these craftsmen, as a group as well as individuals. This thesis will examine the work carpenters did and will look beyond this to consider the position of carpenters in society. Did they, like the woodturners for instance, congregate together in one parish over a long period

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[60] A selection of Harvey's work most useful for the study of carpenters appears in the Bibliography. A more comprehensive list of John Harvey's publications can be found in: L. S. Colchester, 'Bibliography of John H. Harvey', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, new series, 25 (1981), 47–52 and 'Bibliography of John H. Harvey: additions', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, new series, 26 (1982), 249–52.

[61] Harvey, *Dictionary*. The entry for Hugh Herland is the longest for a carpenter, pp. 137-41. For James Nedeham see pp. 210-13.

[62] *ODNB*. For Hurley and Herland see entries by Lynn T. Courtenay, for Wintringham see entry by Martha Carlin, for Nedeham see entry by Malcolmm Airs. For Redman and Vertue see entries by Christopher Wilson. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> [accessed 19 January 2016].

where they were very much a dominant presence or were carpenters geographically more dispersed?[63] How many carpenters practising in the city were first generation migrants and how many achieved the status of London citizenship? How were carpenters trained, did they possess their own tools, and how many passed on their skills (and tools) to their children? All these questions will be addressed in this research.

1.4 Sources and methodology

The majority of the 'Great Twelve' companies have extant records covering the middle ages but many guilds on a par with Carpenters are not so lucky. The Joiners, Masons and Turners, for instance, all lack any pre-1500 company archives and researchers who have worked on these areas have had to rely on sources external to these organisations such as civic records and wills of individual practitioners. The Carpenters' Company is not as fortunate as the Brewers who have an 'Account and Memoranda Book' compiled by their clerk between 1418 and 1440.[64] Nonetheless, researchers interested in the organisation of London carpenters are fortunate in that the craft itself has reasonably good surviving records, many of which have been made accessible through publication. For the fourteenth century there are the ordinances of the brotherhood of Carpenters of London which may date from 1333 but were recorded only in 1388-9.[65] These are in English and were transcribed and edited by Charles Welch and printed in 1912.[66] They will be discussed fully in Chapter 2. From the fifteenth century onwards the Carpenters' Company retains many of its administrative records although the majority cover a period too late to be

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[63] Leach, 'Turners' 2013, esp. pp. 106 & 110-1.

[64] William Porland's minute book, being an account and memoranda book compiled by William Porland, Clerk to the [Brewers'] Company (1418-1440), LMA CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440.

[65] TNA C47/46/465.

[66] 'The "Boke" of the Ordinances of the Brotherhood of Carpenters of London – 7 Edward III (1333)', transcribed and edited by C. Welch (London, 1912), reprinted with minor revisions in Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, pp. 41-4. The ordinances are also printed in C. M. Barron and L. Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388-9', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 108-45, pp. 131-3. They were not included in J. Toulmin Smith's earlier publication of guild returns. *English gilds: the original ordinances of more than one hundred early English guilds; together with þe olde usages of þe Cite of Wynchestre ; the ordinances of Worcester; the office of the Mayor of Bristol; and, the costomary of the Manor of Tettenhall-Regis. From original MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, ed. J. Toulmin Smith and L. Toulmin Smith (Early English Text Society, 1890, reprinted 1892). All references to the 1333 ordinances in this study are from the *Nottingham Medieval Studies* edition. They are reproduced in full at Appendix 2.

relevant to this thesis.[67] The records (again in English) were transcribed and published, mainly by Bower Marsh, in a series of volumes that he divided into three classes: Accounts, Court Books i.e. records of meetings and Personal (registers of apprentices, freemen etc.).[68] The most important for the period covered by this research is Marsh's Volume 2, *The Warden's Accounts*. The accounts survive with only minor breaks (no payments are recorded for 1448, the following three years appear to have been omitted altogether and there are no receipts for 1450) from 1438 to 1516. There is one additional folio covering the year 1521 listing presentations of apprentices.

Much of the manuscript of the accounts is in a good condition having undergone conservation so that each of the 362 paper sheets has been mounted and bound to form a codex although it has suffered some water damage from folio 119 onwards. Initially this takes the form of a small blank circle at the top of the page but gradually this expands so that about one-third is missing from the top of the pages of the last few folios. This has resulted in loss of information, particularly the names of men making payments to the Company and details of apprentices. The organisation of the bound folios is not strictly chronological and Marsh attempted to present the material in the correct order in his printed version.[69] With the exception of the exclusion of a few brief entries scored through in the original document, Marsh's transcription appears to be complete and the folio and page numbers given as references in this thesis are based on Marsh's printed edition.

The Account Book was a gift from 'Crofton the Carpenter' as is made clear in the first line of text: *Jesus and his mother dear have mercy on Crofton the carpenter... he gives this book to all the Company.*[70] The accounts are generally very legible because they were written by professional scribes (scriveners) for whose services notices of

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[67] The records, covering the period 1438-1694, are held in the Guildhall Library at LMA CLC/L/CC/A-G.

[68] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. Bower Marsh et al., 7 vols. (Oxford and London 1913-1968). Vol. 1: *Apprentices' Entry Books, 1654-1694*, Vol. 2: *Warden's Accounts, 1438-1516*, Vol. 3: *Court Book, 1533-1573*, Vol. 4: *Warden's Accounts, 1546-1571*, Vol. 5: *Warden's Accounts, 1571-1591*, Vol. 6: *Court Book, 1573-1594*, Vol. 7: *Warden's Accounts, 1592-1614*.

[69] Pasted into the front of the bound manuscript is an index that attempts to reconcile the folios with the correct year. LMA CLC/L/CC/D/002/04326, f. 001.

[70] William Crofton held the position of Warden of the Craft in 1437-8. *Accounts*: f. 1, p. 1.

payment are recorded, although individual names are usually not given.[71] The records would have been written up at one time around the end of each accounting year to coincide with a change of officials so there must have been earlier drafts kept by the officers or the beadle/clerk, possibly on unbound sheets, but these do not survive.[72] This method of working naturally had the drawback that copying errors might occur but the Account Book seems to present a consistent, and, as far as can be judged, accurate picture.

The accounts simply record money received and money paid out. This was the common method of accounting in the medieval period rather than the more sophisticated double-entry bookkeeping system commonly used today. As is often the case with accounts the income side of the records is quite repetitive whereas the expenditure listed encompasses a wide range of goods and services. The accounts commence with brief entries reinforcing the supposition that it was the first occasion that formal records were compiled but gradually the entries increase in length and become more informative. This was partly because growth in membership resulted in longer lists of individuals but the accounts also record group activities, particularly purchases for the regular dinners that became more and more elaborate over time, with much of the later folios taken up with references to food and drink. Income came from five main sources: quarterage payments from members; rents from the use of the Company's accommodation; fees paid by masters for presenting apprentices; fines; and miscellaneous bequests or sums collected for specific tasks e.g. the incorporation. Expenses include payments for religious purposes such as an annual mass; funds to support alms-folk; the wages of the beadle/clerk and the employment of specialists such as scriveners; maintenance and development of properties including the hall; social activities; and civic and national events. At the end of each year there is a summary of how much had been spent and how much cash was left 'in the box' to be handed over to the incoming officers.[73]

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[71] E.g. in 1486: 'Paid to the scrivener for writing of the book, 6d'. *Accounts:* f. 44, p. 73.

[72] The accounting year changed over the course of the Account Book. At the start it covered Michaelmas to Michaelmas, then from *c*. 1483 it began on 15 August but by the time of Henry VII it covered the regnal year. For further discussion of the dating of the accounting year see *Civic London to 1558*, *Records of Early English Drama*, 3 vols., ed. A. Lancashire (Cambridge, 2015), Vol. 1., p. lxxxvi.

[73] E.g. in 1471: 'Summa of thise paymentz iiij^{li} xvj^{s} iij^{d} – resydew in ye boxe lv^{s} ij^{d}'. *Accounts*: f. 25, p. 45.

The Carpenters' accounts are an important resource for, as Marsh points out the period covered by the accounts was a crucial one for the Carpenters' Company. It was a time when it increased its influence over practitioners of carpentry, achieved a secure legal status with a Charter of Incorporation (in 1477) and settled into its new hall.[74] The accounts have their limitations. The names of carpenters appear and disappear and only occasionally is it possible to trace the career of an individual steadily from apprentice to master. They reveal little about outside events and provide few details about the lives of carpenters who were not involved with the Company. Nonetheless, the accounts are a useful resource and it is fortunate that they are still in existence.[75] Early company accounts are rare: only four sets of fifteenth century accounts survive for lesser companies.[76]

The value of the accounts as a source for the history of the Carpenters' Company is emphasised by the fact that there is no Court Book before the mid-sixteenth century and no separate apprentice registers before the mid-seventeenth.[77] This may be because the Company did not feel it necessary to keep such records or they may not have survived. This is a common situation. By the end of the fifteenth century many London guilds did possess a Court of Assistants that transacted formal business but surviving records of such courts are rare before the early modern period; those of the Merchant Taylor's Company, (1486 – 1493), are 'unique as a record of the day-to-day governance of a London livery company in this period'.[78] Although much of the period covered by the Carpenters' Court Book lies beyond the remit of this thesis the

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[74] *Accounts:* p. viii.

[75] The Carpenters' early records were saved from destruction in 1666 because the Great Fire was stopped in the direction of London Wall partly by the Company's garden. Jupp and Pocock, *Historical*, p. 245.

[76] B. Megson, *The Pinners' and Wiresellers' Book 1462-1511* (London Record Society 44, 2009), pp. ix-x. The Cutlers accounts were published in *History of the Cutlers' Company of London and of minor cutlery crafts: with biographical notices of early London cutlers*, C. Welch (London, 1916-23). The other craft company with accounts from the fifteenth century is the Pewterers. See *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the city of London: based upon their own records,* 2 vols., C. Welch (London, 1902). Other companies have to wait until much later for surviving accounts e.g. the Haberdashers' Company accounts survive only from 1633. I. W. Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (Chichester, 1991), p. 1.

[77] In his Introduction to the printed edition of the 'Court Book' Marsh explains that although the modern binding bears the description, 'The Worshipful Company of Carpenters Court Book 1533-1576', it can only be said to be a Court Book for the years 1543-73. *Court,* p. v.

[78] *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London: Court Minutes 1486-1493*, ed. M. Davies (Stamford, 2000), p. 2.

early years of the Book will be used to provide an additional insight into the working of the Company to that which can be obtained from the accounts alone. The Court Book also gives further information about individual carpenters encountered in earlier records who were still active in the 1530s and 1540s, years not covered by the Account Book.

Other Carpenters' Company resources will be consulted to build up a complete picture. An examination of its governing regulations or bylaws is vital for a full understanding of the workings of the guild. The earliest known ordinances for the fifteenth century Craft were published in 1455 when 16d was 'spendyd in the parlour when the ordynaunce was first rad', presumably on refreshments. At the same time, money was paid to a notary and a scrivener, and spent on parchment, writing out the ordinances, a 'kalunder' and binding the document.[79] However, the Craft were in no hurry to enrol the ordinances formally in the Guildhall and waited more than thirty years before doing so, as indicated in the following extract from the relevant Letter Book:

> 21 Feb, 2 Henry VII [A.D. 1486-7], came the Wardens and other good men of the Mistery of Carpenters into the Court of our lord the King in the Chamber of the Guildhall, before Henry Colet, the Mayor, and the Aldermen, and presented a petition praying that certain ordinances as set out for the regulation of the Craft might be approved. Their prayer granted.[80]

Although ordinances were drawn up by Company leaders these men did not have free rein to devise whatever rules they wanted. The civic authorities, who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order throughout the city, delegated responsibility to Companies to control their own workmen and maintain standards in their particular areas of expertise. To ensure that this was being carried out to the

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[79] The total cost of the production of the ordinances was almost 18s. *Accounts*, f. 5, p. 19. It was not unusual to include a calendar alongside craft ordinances. The Pinners, for instance, started to keep an account book in 1462 into which they copied their 1356 ordinances and a calendar was bound into the front of the book. Megson, *Pinners*, p. ix.

[80] *CLB[L]*, p. 241. Numerous company ordinances appear in full in the published Calendar of this Letter Book but exceptionally those of the Carpenters were omitted. Reginald Sharpe, who edited the Calendar, stated that the Carpenters' ordinances are 'of considerable length' and referred readers to Jupp and Pocock, *Historical*, pp. 344-53 which contained a transcription of the ordinances, although he stated that this was 'sadly deficient in literal accuracy'. Marsh provided a more accurate transcription of the ordinances and his version, to be found in *Accounts*: pp. 247-53, is reproduced in full at Appendix 3 to this thesis.

satisfaction of the authorities ordinances had to be registered at Guildhall and the mayor and aldermen would call in guild ordinances from time to time to check them over and issue punishments to any organisations whose ordinances did not comply with their strict criteria. In practice, with some exceptions, it tended to be the lesser crafts who actually submitted their ordinances to the city. For instance, in 1475, the Butchers were fined 'for having made ordinances contrary to the liberty of the City' and in 1487 the mayor and aldermen reiterated their position by passing 'an ordinance to the effect that henceforth Wardens of Misteries should make no ordinances unless the same be approved by the Mayor and Aldermen'.[81] As a result of this inititiative 'many Wardens brought in their books of ordinances that had not been authorised by the Court'.[82] Thus, the registration of the Carpenters' ordinances in that year (seemingly for the first time) was at the request of the authorities rather than on their own initiative.

Interpretation of the Carpenters' ordinances needs to be done cautiously. The rules for the running of the Company were not necessarily representative of the opinions of ordinary members given that they were compiled on behalf of the leaders of the organisation. They should be seen as the rules that would 'best suit the masters in controlling the work of their apprentices and journeymen' and probably indicate an ideal rather than what actually happened day to day.[83] Nevertheless, the ordinances and the financial accounts taken together provide a reasonably rounded idea of the behaviour expected of members of the Carpenters' Company in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

There is no doubt that the Carpenter's Company took record keeping seriously. In addition to hiring a scribe to write up the accounts each year, they regularly purchased paper or parchment, sometimes at great expense. When the ordinances were drawn up in 1455, the parchment alone cost 3s 6d and, in 1480, while the Company paid a modest sum of 3d for the year to remove rubbish from its numerous properties in Lime Street, 13s 6d is recorded being spent hiring the well-known

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[81] For the Butchers see *CLB[L]*, p. 128.
[82] *CLB[L]*, pp. xvi-xvii.
[83] C. M. Barron 'London 1300-1540' in D.M. Palliser ed., *Cambridge Urban History of England* (Cambridge, 2000), i. 395-440, p. 429.

London scrivener, Thomas Clifford, to write out the 'rules of the craft'.[84] It is not known why the Carpenters paid to have their ordinances written out in 1480 following the initial recording in 1455. Perhaps they were anticipating the request from the mayor and aldermen that came in 1487. That the Company recognised the value of their written records is seen by the purchase, in 1507, of a canvas bag 'for the books'.[85] Further, from the start of the compilation of their Account Book (and possibly earlier), a beadle was employed. The beadle's exact role is not set down but security of the hall and its contents, including its written records would have been part of his job, as well as perhaps taking rough notes of income and expenditure throughout the year.

Although the Company's own records are a valuable resource it is not intended here to produce only a Company History, and other sources unconnected with the organisation will be used to contribute to the understanding of carpenters as individuals and the work they undertook. Some important buildings were constructed by means of a formal contract between the patron and the builder (usually either a carpenter or a mason) and a number of building contracts survive, for London and elsewhere. More than one hundred such contracts were published by Louis Salzman in 1952 as an appendix to his publication, *Building in England down to 1540*, (nineteen of these contracts relate to London, four to Westminster and two to Southwark), and subsequently others have come to light.[86] Contracts as a source of information for medieval buildings and their builders have limitations because it is rarely possible to know to what extent the buildings described were actually erected, (the survival rate for medieval wooden buildings in London and its immediate environs is particularly poor), but they do demonstrate intentions, and it must be surmised that at least some of the contracts were fulfilled. A further problem with the

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[84] *Accounts*: f. 5, p. 19 & f. 36, p. 59. Thomas Clifford carried out work for the Company on a number of occasions including writing the accounts. He is mentioned several times in, *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628*, ed. F. W. Steer (London Record Society 4, 1968). Clifford also undertook work for the Pewterers. N. Ramsay, 'Scriveners and Notaries as Legal Intermediaries in Later Medieval England' in J. Kermode ed., *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1991), 118-31, p. 125.
[85] *Accounts*: f. 129, p. 175.
[86] Salzman, Appendix 2, pp. 413-584. Salzman states in the Preface, pp. viii-ix that the book was finished by 1934 but that he was unable to find a publisher at that date. For additional contracts see e.g. H. Colvin, 'Four 14th-Century Building Contracts' *Architectural History*, 1958, 19-25; 'A Fourteenth Century London Building Contract', transcribed by M. Tatchell, *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1962), 129-31; 'A Fifteenth-Century Building Contract from Suffolk', transcribed by D. Dymond, *Vernacular Architecture*, 9 (1978), 10-11.

use of contracts to indicate the amount of building work actually undertaken is that most construction activity was carried out for a daily wage and was never recorded in formal contracts, making it difficult to trace. This conclusion comes from research on York but there is no reason to believe that the findings are not equally applicable to London.[87]

Contracts do provide some useful information. They demonstrate, for example, that artisans generally kept closely to their particular areas of expertise with little evidence of men from one craft undertaking the work of another, something which would generally be in contravention of guild regulations. Agreements were usually made separately with each of the different trades needed to construct a building and only rarely does a contract give responsibility entirely to a carpenter to construct the whole building. One exception is a contract made for the construction of two stables within the precincts of Westminster Palace in 1342 where the carpenter William de Fulbourne was contracted to build the stables complete with 'all requisite masonry, ironwork, plasterwork and tiling'. The buildings were to be framed of 'good oak timber', so the only masonry involved would have been for the ground-walls and Fulbourne may have hired other appropriately qualified workmen to undertake the non-carpentry elements of the job.[88] Another example of a contract where an entire job was awarded to one man comes from around the year 1429. This refers to the king's mason, Thomas Mapilton, who was employed as master mason for the rebuilding of the church of St Stephen Walbrook. Despite being a mason, the records state that Mapilton made, 'all the tymbir werke of the prosescion plase of his owne Coste' and further, 'he gave us all the tymbyr and borde for the ij side yls [isles] and paied for the carriage thereof'.[89] However, as with the Fulbourne contract, this is not proof that Mapilton carried out all the work with his own hands. He may have simply overseen the project along with providing the materials, while employing other men to carry out the woodwork. These examples show that some craftsmen might find themselves in charge of projects with responsibility for the hiring of other men to

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[87] H. Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in late medieval York,* Borthwick Paper No. 63 (University of York, 1983), pp. 4-5.
[88] *HKW I*, p. 186.
[89] 'Church of St Stephen Walbrook' ed. T. Milbourn in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, v (1885), p. 331.

complement their own particular skills but, in general, most contracts with individual carpenters were for carpentry work only.

Another important source for the work actually undertaken by building workers is the *History of the King's Works* series published under the general editorship of H. M. Colvin. The first two volumes cover the Middle Ages, with Volumes III and IV covering the years 1485-1660. All the volumes give site-by-site accounts of buildings erected by the king's command throughout England and Wales, as well as the English territory in Calais. Many of the sites employed London carpenters and Volume III contains a useful chapter on the role of the master craftsmen themselves.[90]

The accounts and rentals that record the management of London Bridge and its estates include many references to carpenters (and other building workers) and enable a fuller picture of their work to be constructed. This was the only bridge across the River Thames serving the city in the Middle Ages (the next bridge upstream being at Kingston) and its upkeep was of vital importance. The Bridge House Estates were intended to produce an income for the management of the bridge which required constant maintenance. Accounts survive almost unbroken from the second half of the fourteenth century and provide information about work carried out by craftsmen, as well as rewards, both direct financial payments and those provided in the way of refreshments. An edited selection from the accounts was published as *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538*.[91] The particular value of these records has been emphasised by one of the editors:

> London has many archive series that record the employment of building workers, but none so voluminous or continuous as those regarding London Bridge.[92]

The accounts record carpenters working on repairs to the Bridge as well as on property owned by the Estate. For example, in 1505 Richard Rerey of Maldon, Essex

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[90] *HKW I, II,* and *III.* For the craftsmen see *HKW III, Part I. The Administration of the Works, II. The Craftsmen,* D. R. Ransome, pp. 25-45.
[91] *Bridge.*
[92] V. Harding, 'Sons, apprentices, and successors in late medieval and early modern London: The transmission of skills and work opportunities' in F.-E. Eliassen, and K. Szende ed., *Generations in towns* (Cambridge, 2009), 153-68, p. 157.

framed four new tenements on behalf of the Bridge House for their property in Rood Lane, in the parish of St Margaret Pattens, at a cost of £45 13s 4d.[93] An important aspect of these records is the indication they give of the dangers involved in working on the Bridge: in 1406 John Brawes, master carpenter of the Bridge, received an award of 10d for working at night on a new draw-leaf. Other carpenters and masons also received additional sums for the same work. A possible reason for the work being done at night was so as not to disrupt day-time traffic but it must have been a hazardous undertaking with only limited lighting and the tides to contend with.[94]

Wills, testaments and probate inventories are further important documentary resources. Many medieval carpenters were prosperous enough to compose a will and these can help reconstruct something of their lives, families and associates.[95] A reference in a will may be the only indication there is of the existence of a particular carpenter: as a testator himself, as a recipient of a bequest, or as a witness/executor/overseer for others. A will was frequently composed when the testator was close to death and proved soon after and thus can give an indication of the date of death. In addition, they usually record the parish of residence; give choice of burial location; detail bequests of money, property and household goods; and provide the names of those closely associated with the testator. These are all worthwhile details but there is much that wills do not reveal. The goods and chattels described may reflect only a proportion of the testator's total wealth because wills do not generally say anything about bequests made during the will-maker's lifetime. If, for instance, the next generation had already been provided for they might not be mentioned in a will, leading to under-reporting of children. Caution should also be taken in using wills as a measure of an individual's piety throughout life. Final depositions may not be a good reflection of a dying individual's activities or beliefs during their lifetime. They may not even be a genuine record of their wishes as testators may have been unduly influenced in their bequests by the individual who wrote down the will, possibly the parish priest called in to administer the last rites

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[93] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 250.
[94] Salzman, p. 62.
[95] Contemporaries employed the words 'will' and 'testament' interchangeably and that convention is used here. Strictly speaking a will disposed of land while a testament dealt with moveable property.

and who might be hoping for a generous bequest to his church.[96] Henry Wodd († 1516), for example, left 6s 8d to Master Alexander Palmer, clerk, 'to pray for his soul', and William Dyxover, the sexton of his local church, St Magnus the Martyr, but it was these men, Palmer and Dyxover, who were the two named witnesses to Wodd's will and may have prompted the bequests.[97] Another drawback in the exploitation of wills is that the version that exists today may be incomplete. Nevertheless, although wills do not tell us all we would like to know, study of their wills can bring us closer to these men.

After the testator's death it was the responsibility of the executors (usually relatives or close friends) to take the will to be enrolled at a probate court (for a fee) where the will would be copied into a register (not always accurately) and it is these registers that survive today. Very few original wills for London carpenters are extant. In practice, not all wills were enrolled especially in times of great social upheaval such as during outbreaks of plague and it is impossible to know how many went unrecorded. Five probate courts contain wills of London carpenters although only twelve exceptional carpenters had their wills proved in the more senior of these, that of the PCC, during the period covered by this study.[98] Wills enrolled in this Court (which survive from 1384) tended to be for more affluent individuals who held property in more than one diocese in the southern province.

Wills of more modest men could be proved in one of the lesser ecclesiastical courts under the jurisdiction of the bishop.[99] The most senior of these was the London Consistory (so-called because the court often met in St Paul's Cathedral in what was known as the consistory) which had jurisdiction throughout the diocese. Will registers for the Consistory Court survive from 1492 but only two carpenters' wills for the period covered by this research have been identified.[100] There was also the

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[96] For the difficulties in using wills as a measure of personal piety see C. Burgess, 'Late Medieval wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered' in M. Hicks ed., *Profit, Piety & the Professions in Late Medieval England* (Allan Sutton, 1990), 14-33.

[97] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 10v.

[98] See Appendix 4 for a list of wills of London carpenters enrolled in the PCC 1450-1545.

[99] For a discussion of the London church courts in the medieval period see R. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Massachusetts, 1981).

[100] *London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547*, ed. Ida Darlington (London Record Society 3, 1967). The carpenters are Robert Battes († 1536) LMA DL/C/0418, f. 001 and John Prynce (will made 1545) LMA DL/C/0418, f. 169.

Court of the Archdeacon of London whose jurisdiction was limited to the London archdeaconry. Only one medieval register survives for this court, from November 1393 to November 1415 and this includes some carpenters' wills. Additionally, there is a surviving contents list and this indicates that the testamentary business of the court began in 1368 and continued until 1421. The list often provides the occupation of the deceased and their parish and these details were included in the published index and have been drawn on in this study.[101] Lastly, for the church courts, there was the Commissary.[102] The registers are almost complete (from 1374) and it is here that the majority of extant carpenters' wills are located. A few carpenters' wills were proved in the London Court of Husting, a secular court primarily concerned with real estate record, and these provide more narrowly focussed information to that available from wills proved in the church courts.[103]

Over 150 carpenters' wills have been examined from the period 1291-1545. A few individuals had their wills proved in more than one court.[104] In addition, some probate clauses and grants of administration survive without their accompanying testaments and the information from these has been incorporated into the research.[105] It would appear that wills survive for around ten per cent of the known number of London carpenters (approximately 1570 individuals). This figure may not seem very large but in comparison with York where very few carpenters left wills at all, and of those that did, only three contained bequests of money over £5, it is a reasonable body of material to be used for analysis.[106] The number of surviving carpenters' wills helps to demonstrate how numerous these craftsmen were in London in the later middle ages compared to, say, turners for whom only twenty-six wills survive and

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[101] For further information see *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London 1363-1649*, ed. M. Fitch (British Record Society, 1979). pp. xi-xii. For a detailed study using wills from the Archdeaconry Court see R. A. Wood, 'Life and Death: A Study of the Wills and Testaments of Men and Women in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the late Fourteenth and early fifteenth Centuries (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2012).

[102] *Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London 1489-1570,* ed. M. Fitch (British Record Society, 1974).

[103] For the Court of Husting see P. Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers in the City of London* (Cambridge, 2007).

[104] The wills consulted are listed at Appendix 5.

[105] These are listed at Appendix 6.

[106] H. Swanson, *Craftsmen and Industry in Late Medieval York* (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of York, 1980), p. 229.

pinners with only twenty-eight surviving wills.[107] A recent study of London masons used sixty-five wills although this number included wills of masons' widows.[108]

Probate inventories can also provide a valuable source of information about possessions left by the deceased. Unfortunately, only two such inventories have been traced for London carpenters although neither has previously been considered in detail.[109] These are for Christopher Kychyn who lived in the parish of St Andrew Cornhill and Simon Byrlyngham whose main property was in Wood Street but who had houses in Bishopsgate Street and Sheen in Surrey (both men died *c*. 1498-9).[110] In the introduction to his publication of a large number of probate inventories for the York Diocese in the medieval period (roughly coterminous with the modern counties of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire) Philip Stell drew attention to the formulaic nature of such documents which he suggests show the influence of professional scribes. He explains that inventories were usually completed on a room by room basis with a description of the contents and an evaluation of their worth. The inventory of goods would be followed by debts owed to the deceased, then a list of debts owed by the testator, and this raises the question of how the compilers of an inventory would know what debts and credits were due to the testator suggesting that the deceased must have kept careful records.[111] That this was the case for some London carpenters is perhaps not surprising given that they appear to have engaged in large-scale business operations.

A number of other sources have also proved useful. The cartularies of religious houses can supply information about the employment of carpenters, including wages paid for tasks undertaken. They also provide details of carpenters who were their

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[107] Leach, 'Turners' 2013, p. 109; Megson, *Pinners*, p. x.

[108] J. Lutkin, 'The Craft of Masons of London, 1200-1550' (unpublished article, 2015), p. 7.

[109] For a probate inventory for an Oxford carpenter see. J. H. Harvey, *Inventory of the goods belonging to Robert Carow, master carpenter, at his death*, Appendix III in Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters', pp. 183-4.

[110] Kychyn's inventory is TNA PROB 2, f. 143, 4 December 1498. Byrlyngham's inventory is dated 15 December 1499 but as it concerns property in more than one location it must have been compiled over several days. University of Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor's Court Records, University/VCCt Invs. 1, 1498-1546.

[111] *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350-1500*, translated by P. Stell (York, 2006), pp. 487-9.

tenants.[112] Similarly, the financial accounts of organisations such as guilds, and of churchwardens, frequently provide details about the employment of carpenters on new building work, or on repairs.[113] Such sources give information about payments made to craftsmen and illustrate the range of work they might be asked to undertake. Carpenters rarely took on the role of churchwarden, and this is in contrast to the situation for London woodturners who were very active within the parish of St Andrew Hubbard, where many of them lived, and where both churchwarden posts were sometimes held by turners.[114] This apparent lack of commitment by carpenters may simply be due to surviving documentation. The otherwise unremarkable parish of St Andrew Hubbard is unusual because it has a virtually unbroken series of churchwardens' accounts from 1454 to the 1620s.[115] Other parishes, where carpenters may possibly have served as churchwardens, are not so lucky in the survival of their records. However, carpenters may have been less likely to serve as churchwardens than some other groups, perhaps because of the peripatetic nature of their craft; larger numbers of carpenters might have been first generation migrants compared to other woodworking crafts; or the fact that it was rare to find more than one carpenter living in a parish at the same time. Turners were concentrated in the parish of St Andrew Hubbard for well over two hundred years and frequently several were resident there at the same time. They were very much a dominant group in the parish in contrast with the wider geographical spread of carpenters throughout London.[116]

A further source of information is the administrative and legal records of the city itself. Some of the earliest references to carpenters playing a civic role appear in the surviving reports of the Assize of Nuisance. These records are extant from 1301 although the Assize is likely to have been in existence from at least the late thirteenth

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[112] See e.g. *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, A Calendar prepared by N. J. M. Kerling (London, 1973). Appendix 9, pp. 153-74, lists property owned by the Hospital, and *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. G. A. J. Hodgett (London Record Society 7, 1971).

[113] See e.g. *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Michael, Cornhill 1456-1608*, ed. W. H. Overall (London, 1898); *The Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall*, ed. C. Welch (London, 1912) and *The Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard Eastcheap c.1450- c 1570*, ed. C. Burgess (London Record Society 34, 1999). *Merchant Tailors' Wardens' Accounts 1397-1445* mentions several London carpenters including Master [John] Nicholl, Thomas Wilkyn, Thomas Wyltshir and Thomas Winchcombe. LMACLC/L/MD/D/003/MS34048/001.

[114] Leach, 'Turners' 2012, pp. 13-7.

[115] Leach, 'Turners' 2012, pp. 14-5.

[116] Leach, 'Turners' 2013, pp. 106-7 and 110-11. For the location of carpenters within the city see Section 7.2.

century.[117] The main administrative records of the city are the Letter Books, (published in calendared form for 1275 to 1509), the Journals of the Court of Common Council (1416 to date), and the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen (1494-1835).[118] References to the existence of an organised grouping of carpenters in the early fifteenth century civic records occur in the Journals, an important resource because it pre-dates the Craft's own records. The main judicial records are those of the Husting Court and the Mayor's Court.[119] The nineteenth century index to the deeds entered on the Husting Rolls provide information about property holdings and these have been consulted to identify carpenters.[120] Carpenters occasionally appear in the records of the Crown, sometimes in relation to the monarch's building programme and occasionally in Chancery cases e.g. in the Courts of Common Pleas, civil courts in which individuals litigated against each other.[121] These give details of a number of carpenters sued for debts and, in their turn, suing others.[122]

The records kept by other companies can also provide helpful comparisons. One of the most important for this research is the account of the Brewers' Craft maintained between 1418 and 1440 by their clerk William Porland (or Porlond).[123] When the Brewers' records commence they are in French but in 1422 it was decided to start keeping them in English. Porland states that the Brewers decided to follow the precedent set by Henry V who had adopted use of the vernacular to enable more people to understand his missives.[124] The Carpenters' Account Book was in English from the start in 1438 and thus might be considered to have followed the trend set by the Brewers. However, as already noted the ordinances of the earlier brotherhood were also in English so this was obviously the language Carpenters preferred for their written records. The use of the vernacular would have made the Carpenters'

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[117] *Assize of Nuisance*, p. xii.
[118] *CLB[A-L]*; LMA COL/CC/01, Index to London Journals, Court of Common Council, 1416-1463 compiled by Caroline Barron; LMA COL/CA/01.
[119] *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London c.1350-1370*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1885).
[120] LMA COL/AC/01/015.
[121] The various courts are discussed in Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers*.
[122] See p. 188 and Appendix 17.
[123] William Porland's minute book.
[124] See 'Extracts from the Brewers' First Book' in Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, 138-191, p. 139 and C. Metcalfe, 'William Porlond clerk to the Craft and Fraternity of Brewers of London, 1418-1440', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 64 (2013), 267-84, p. 267. For further information about the adoption of English for official record keeping see S. E. Hughes, 'Guildhall and Chancery English 1377-1422', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 4 (1980), pp. 53-62.

records available to all those who could read although they might also have been proclaimed aloud on formal occasions to disseminate their content.

Few attempts to produce realistic maps and images of London occur until the second half of the sixteenth century. Before that date there are some small pictures of London scenes usually within manuscripts but these are stylised and were not attempts to show accurate depictions.[125] One remarkable exception is the illustration of the Tower of London and London Bridge in a book of poems compiled by the Duke of Orléans while a prisoner in England following the Battle of Agincourt (1415). Only part of the bridge can be seen but it does give a good indication of how densely packed it was with houses and other buildings.[126] [See Illustration 4]. There are few surveys and plans of London for the period before the Reformation. The two collections of ground plans of buildings by Ralph Treswell, the elder, compiled in the early seventeenth century, do give some information about the layout of specific buildings and streets at the very end of the medieval period and P. E. Jones has made use of the Treswell plans to describe property owned by the Bridge House in detail.[127]

There have been several studies of building techniques in use in and around the city and these frequently include references to carpenters and the work they carried out.[128] Topics covered include the selection and preparation of timber, tools, and methods of assembly and construction, with both upstanding structures and excavated remains receiving close attention and these will all be considered in this study. In particular, the work of John Schofield on London houses and Gustav Milne's excavations of river defences on the Thames waterfront have provided insights into construction techniques.[129] Nevertheless, there are limits to what can be

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[125] P. Whitfield, *London – A Life in Maps* (London, 2006), p. 8.

[126] P. Jackson, *London Bridge – A Visual History* (London, 1971, rev. 2002), pp. 28-9.

[127] *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. John Schofield (London Topographical Society 135, 1987); P. E. Jones, 'Some Bridge House Properties', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 16 (1953), 59-73.

[128] E.g. Brunskill, p. 108.

[129] E.g. J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (Yale, 1995, reprinted 2003), esp. Chapter 6; J. Schofield, *The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire* (London, 1984, rev. edn., 1993); G. Milne, *Timber Building Techniques in London c. 900-1400, Special paper 15* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1992); G. Milne, 'Waterfront archaeology and vernacular architecture: a London study' in G. L. Good, R. H. Jones and M. W. Ponsford ed., *Waterfront*

learned about the men who constructed such structures through examination of physical remains. Even details about the constructions themselves are of limited value as any timbers still to be found in medieval buildings in and around the city are likely to have been heavily restored.[130]

1.5 Time period and geographical boundaries of the research

The timeframe for this thesis is the later medieval period i.e. approximately 1240-1540. It starts at a time when carpenters first begin to appear in records and includes the first reference to the firm establishment of an organised group of carpenters in London. By the thirteenth century London was the largest city in England by a considerable margin and included the country's principal port within its boundaries. Demand for carpenters in the city was likely to have been high. The research will conclude at a point when London was poised on the threshold of enormous change. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its population would increase at a much faster rate than ever before, as did wealth levels. It was also about to see a fundamental transformation in building design brought about by 'the more definite inroad of classical influences via the Continent, which had been infiltrating in court circles, but for a long time affecting only the ornament'.[131] Examples of such developments are the halls at Gray's Inn, Middle Temple and Staple Inn (all constructed in the second half of the sixteenth century just outside the city walls) which 'show the progressive introduction of Renaissance details into the woodwork'.[132] In addition to changes of style a further important development which had a major impact on building construction was the fundamental alteration in religious practices which included the dissolution of the monasteries. The closure of religious houses flooded the market with redundant buildings ripe for conversion into private residences or to be plundered as a source of ready prepared building materials.[133] At the same time timber would be ousted from its dominant position as

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archaeology – Proceedings of the third international conference on waterfront archaeology (London, 1991), 116-20.

[130] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 1. For a list of surviving medieval structures in London in both wood and stone see Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 1-2.

[131] M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1965, reprinted 1994), p. xxvii.

[132] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 1.

[133] Clifton-Taylor, *Pattern of English Building*, p. 61. One of those who benefitted from this development was the King's Carpenter, James Nedeham, who was granted the priory of Little Wymondley in Hertfordshire (dissolved 1537) with all lands belonging to it and who converted it into

a building material to be replaced largely by brick.[134] A further significant change during the course of the sixteenth century was the gradual development of the separate role of architect where previously the constructor of a building was also often its designer.[135] The years chosen for this research were undoubtedly the heyday of the carpenter builder.

The focus here will be primarily on the city of London and its immediate environs just outside the walls, although it will also consider opportunities for carpenters in the two closest urban satellites. These were Southwark, on the south bank of the Thames just across London Bridge from the city, and the thriving town of Westminster approximately one mile away to the west, separated from the city by the road route of Fleet Street and The Strand or, probably to be preferred, 'a short boat-ride'.[136] Both these areas lay outside the jurisdiction of the London authorities and this created advantages and disadvantages for artisans operating there. On the one hand they could practise their craft outside the city's control without being subject to restrictive rules and regulations or being required to contribute to the civic coffers but, on the downside, they did not enjoy the protection of the city authorities or the advantages that came with being a member of a guild.[137] Although carpenters living in these suburbs shared these factors the two geographical areas were in other respects very different. Southwark was generally a place where unsavoury practices that were not welcome in the city, such as tanning or smithing, were carried out. One historian has described it as 'London's scrap-heap, the refuge of its excluded occupations and its rejected residents'.[138] Nevertheless, the area was not a backwater.

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a country house. See 'The Administration of the Works', D. R. Ransome in *HKW III*, pp. 12 and 14 and W. Page, *The Victoria County History of the Counties of England: Hertfordshire,* Vol. 3 (London, 1912), p. 190. See also Nedeham's will dated 22 September 1540, TNA PROB/11/30, f. 318, where he made arrangements to dispose of the property. A large barn constructed by Nedeham on the site is still in existence and is currently in use as a wedding venue: <http://thepriory.net/our-history/> [accessed 10 February 2017]. [See Illustration 5].

[134] Brick was coming into use by the wealthy towards the end of the fifteenth century but was not widely deployed in London until the seventeenth century. A proclamation of 1605 decreed that all new houses should be built with fronts of brick, or brick and stone, to overcome the 'waste of timber' by its use for building, and to help prevent fires. *HKW III*, p. 140.

[135] F. Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (London, 1961), p. xv. Derek Keene suggests that it is a measure of the importance of some carpenters in medieval Winchester that they were described as *architectores*. D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 172.

[136] G. Rosser, 'London and Westminster: The Suburb in the Urban Economy in the Later Middles Ages' in J. A. F. Thomson ed., *Towns and townspeople in the fifteenth century* (Gloucester, 1988), 45-61, p. 50.

[137] For a discussion of the city's struggle to control Southwark see Barron, *London*, p. 36.

[138] M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London, 1996), p. 254.

The Bridge House was in Southwark 'where building materials were stored, accounts kept, and wages paid' and it attracted overseas migrants such as glaziers from the Low Countries who might be experts in their chosen field but, as aliens, did not have an automatic right to ply their trade within the city boundaries.[139]

Westminster, a thriving community and a significant employer of all manner of craftsmen but especially carpenters, was certainly the more prosperous of the two suburbs. By the later medieval period its development as the political and judicial centre of the realm (functions which previously had been peripatetic) was well underway. With its abbey, palace and growing elite wanting permanent houses close by, Westminster provided endless opportunities for those with ambition and the names of many of these men are known. It has been suggested that the carpentry trade was 'vital to the town's very existence' and there are a number of examples of successful carpenters working there. These include John Lyndsey, who was a speculative builder in the fifteenth century, and John Freeman who worked on the construction of the nave of the abbey, made a wooden candelabra for the abbey's St Nicholas Chapel, and undertook repairs at the parish church, St Margaret's , in the years around 1480.[140] The principal carpenter working on Westminster Palace between 1313 and 1320 had been John Roke who also worked at the Tower of London. At Westminster Roke may have succeeded Peter of Canterbury and was in his turn succeeded by John de Herland. The latter was probably an ancestor of the carpenter Hugh, (who was responsible for the roof at Westminster Hall), and related to other carpenters with that surname in the fourteenth century.[141] Later carpenters working in Westminster include the Russell family. John Russell senior seems to have spent most of his working career in Westminster although he may have been employed at King's College Chapel, Cambridge alongside a relative, Richard Russell, in *c*. 1513. Richard Russell was the chief carpenter at Westminster Abbey from 1490 to 1516. John Russell junior seems to have been Richard's son. In his will John states that his own son, Frances, was the grandson of the eminent carpenter Humphrey Coke.[142]

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[139] *Bridge*, p. xiii. For glaziers see C. Hicks, *The King's Glass – A Story of Tudor Power and Secret Art* (London, 2007), esp. pp. 67-8, 70-1 & 78-9.
[140] Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 154-5.
[141] *CPR* 1313-17, p. 48; Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 258.
[142] TNA PCC PROB 11/48, f. 534. For the Russell family see Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 260-4.

Links between Westminster and London may have been fostered by the large number of tenements the Abbey held within the boundaries of the city. In 1440 these totalled about 120 across nearly half of the city's parishes (i.e. about fifty different parishes) thus Abbey officials were likely to have found it easy to make contact with city craftsmen should they be required to undertake work on the Abbey's behalf, either within the city or at Westminster itself.[143] Nonetheless, although there were opportunities for carpenters at Westminster, many London craftsmen probably found sufficient jobs to keep themselves occupied without needing to go outside the city's boundaries. There was enough work at both locations to support numerous carpenters and it does not seem that there was a great deal of movement of men between the two centres, with the exception of the most eminent craftsmen who could be expected to work across a wide geographical area. That this was so is perhaps not surprising for, just as Westminster was developing, London itself was expanding as England's commercial and entrepreneurial centre and there would have been abundant wealth to keep many carpenters in employment. The largest building project in the city was the 'new work' at Old St Paul's begun in the 1250s and continued for many years (it was not completed until the middle of the fourteenth century) but significant work also took place at Guildhall, and Leadenhall and Stocks markets.[144] In addition to these major projects, there was much infilling within the city boundaries as well as extramurally, with many aristocratic houses erected, particularly to the west of the city on the route leading to Westminster.[145] The fact that the city drew in large numbers of migrants is an indication of the opportunities it offered. Evidence provided by the place-name surnames of workers shows that many of them originated from outside the metropolis. The early fourteenth-century London

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[143] B. Harvey, 'Westminster Abbey and Londoners, 1440-1540' in M. Davies and A. Prescott ed., *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron,* Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XVI (Donington, 2008), 12-37, p. 20.

[144] For construction work at St Paul's see R. K. Morris, 'The New Work at Old St Paul's Cathedral and its Place in English Thirteenth-Century Architecture' in L. Grant ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London* (1990, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1984), 74-100. For work at the Guildhall see C. M. Barron, *The Medieval Guildhall of London* (London, 1974). For Leadenhall and the Stocks see *Hugh Alley's Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598*, ed. I. Archer, C. Barron and V. Harding (London Topographical Society 137, 1988) especially pp. 61, 63 & 87-9.

[145] See e.g. C. M. Barron, 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200-1550', *London Journal,* 20 (1995), 1-15 and P. Croot, 'A Place in Town in Medieval and Early Modern Westminster: The Origins and History of the Palaces in The Strand', *The London Journal*, 39 (2014), 85-101. For recent archaeological investigations see Schofield, *London 1100-1600*, p. 66.

carpenters, William de Bedford, Simon de Canterbury and Reginald de Swaffham (among many other examples), had all presumably been born in those respective towns and had moved to London to ply their trade.[146]

Although this research concentrates on the city of London brief comparisons will be made with other towns including Oxford, Winchester and York. The last of these was England's second city in the medieval period (although always considerably smaller than London), and had its own formally organised body of carpenters with a full set of ordinances from at least 1462.[147]

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[146] The geographical origin of 'London' carpenters is considered in Section 2.3.

[147] The men who drew up the York ordinances are likely to have been influenced by those of the London carpenters as they contain similar clauses. *Book of Ordinances of the York Carpenters 1482*. York City Archives, E55A. The York ordinances are printed in J. B. Morrell, *Woodwork in York* (London, 1949), pp. 23-6.

Chapter 2   Carpenters in London before *c*. 1400

Fourteenth-century London was a city in turmoil. Before the catastrophic mid-century plagues its population had expanded rapidly resulting in over-crowding and insanitary conditions.[1] It was a time of political upheaval with various groups jostling for power.[2] The guild system was gradually developing and by the following century many London crafts, including carpenters, had formed themselves into organised bodies that attempted to control those who could practise the craft, with their officers acting as a policing system to ensure that members produced high quality work. From 1438 onwards the Carpenters' guild has good extant documentation but this chapter will review evidence for carpenters acting together before the Craft's own records commence. The names of about three hundred men working as carpenters in the city and the surrounding areas have been identified between *c*. 1240 and *c*. 1400.[3] Evidence for their activities will be considered and an assessment made of the extent to which these men had a collective identity. The chapter will demonstrate that the city authorities were happy to make use of the specialist knowledge of some carpenters to assist in enforcing civic regulations relating to the urban environment but that, on the whole, these craftsmen (along with other building workers) were seen as needing to be kept under firm control.

The primary source of evidence is the administrative and legal records of the city including the records of the London Eyres of 1244 and 1276, the London Assize of Nuisance, the London Letter Books, Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the city of London, and Mayors' Court Rolls.[4] The first secure mention in the official records of a formal grouping of carpenters occurs in 1388-9 when they responded to an edict from the Crown by producing a 'Boke of ordinances of the brotherhood of Carpenters of London'. These ordinances will be examined in detail especially the

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[1] On population size see Barron, *London*, p. 238. For public health issues see E. L. Sabine, 'Butchering in Mediaeval London', *Speculum* 8 (1933), 335-53; E. L. Sabine, 'Latrines and Cesspools in Medieval London', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 303-21; E. L. Sabine, 'City Cleaning in Medieval London', *Speculum,* 12 (1937), 19-43.

[2] For a discussion of the politics of the second half of the century see R. Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London, 1949).

[3] Listed in Appendix 1.

[4] Much of this material has been published, e.g. *London Eyre 1244*, *London Eyre 1276*; *Assize of Nuisance*; *CLB[A-L]; Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London c. 1350-1370*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1885); *CPMR*.

claim made by the men who submitted them that they dated from 1 September in the seventh year of the reign of Edward III (i.e. 1333).

2.1 The contribution of carpenters to civic regulation

London carpenters did not play a direct role in civic government in that no carpenter held the position of mayor or alderman during the later middle ages nor did the craft send representatives to the common council during the short period in the late fourteenth century when crafts, rather than wards, sent representatives (unlike masons who appear to have done so from 1376).[5] Carpenters were not concerned directly with affairs of state, with the production of high-class goods, or the import and/or export of valuable commodities. This picture was common in other English towns. In medieval Winchester only one carpenter holding a city office has been identified.[6] A few London carpenters prospered greatly, working on the major building projects of the age, but even for them it is their success as excellent craftsmen within their chosen trade that makes them memorable, rather than any involvement in wider spheres of life, such as politics or international trade. The majority were ordinary members of their craft who spent most of their time living and working in their own localities. Some did well enough to pass on modest wealth to their children whereas others died apparently with very few possessions.

Some practitioners of the craft did however make an important contribution to society over a long period through tendering their specialist advice to help to regulate the urban environment. Although there is some disagreement about exact timescales, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the civic authorities began to take an increased interest in the type of buildings constructed (particularly the materials used) and in other urban structural features, such as paved streets, gutters, and public privies.[7] One motivation for an increase in municipal control of the environment was to prevent outbreaks of fire that were a major problem, to such a degree that it has been estimated that there were five major conflagrations within one fifteen year

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[5] The first mention of carpenters as a group contributing to the city is not until 1453 when they gave a sum for peace-keeping, followed in 1456 by a contribution to soldiers. Barron, *London*, pp. 218-23.

[6] D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 283.

[7] *Assize of Nuisance*, pp. ix-xi.

period.[8] Even William Fitzstephen, who wrote an otherwise positive description of the city in about the year 1190, had to admit that: 'The only plagues of London are the immoderate drinking of fools and the frequency of fires'.[9] The large numbers of fires in the early stages of London's development is perhaps not surprising. One writer has commented that recurring outbreaks of fire were characteristic of towns during:

> the primary phases of rapid urban growth, when the aggregation
> of people, the creation of markets and employment, and the rapid
> provision of affordable buildings took priority over the economic
> and social costs of fire-prevention and control'.[10]

Following one especially severe fire in London in 1212, the authorities did decide to take action and regulations were introduced banning thatched roofs in favour of tiles, and timber buildings were ideally to be replaced by those made of stone with substantial walls.[11] Due to the high cost of masonry this requirement was difficult to achieve and wood continued as a popular building material throughout the Middle Ages. An indication of the huge difference in the cost of building in timber and stone has been calculated by comparing a timber revetment erected on the Thames at Vauxhall in the fifteenth century at approximately £1 10s per perch with a late fourteenth-century ragstone wall built at Tower Wharf at £9 13s 4d per perch.[12] Nevertheless, the various regulations seem to have had a positive impact as there were no further widespread fires in the city until 1666.[13]

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[8] *Assize of Nuisance*, p. ix.

[9] *William FitzStephen's Description [of London],*translated by H. E. Butler pp. 25-32 in 'Norman London', F. M. Stenton, pp. 1-40 (Historical Association Leaflets, 1934), p. 30.

[10] D. Keene, 'Fire in London: destruction and reconstruction, A.D. 982-1676' in M. Körner ed., *Destruction and Reconstruction of Towns: Destruction by Earthquakes, Fire and Water* (Bern, Stuttgart and Vienna, 1999), 187-211, p. 193 and for information about the devastation casued by fires including the high death toll see pp. 193-4.

[11] *Assize of Nuisance,* p. xi and for other steps to prevent and contain fires see Keene, 'Fire in London' pp. 195-6.

[12] The calculations by G. Milne can be found in, *The Port of Medieval London* (Tempus, 2003), p. 140. They are based on evidence from N. Woodward-Smith and J. Schofield, 'A late 15th century account for a wharf at Vauxhall London', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 28 (1977), 278-91 and Salzman, Appendix 2, no. 42.

[13] See *Assize of Nuisance,* p. xi for details of these regulations which were separate from the Assize of Buildings and were mainly concerned with fire-prevention and rebuilding after the fire of 1212; J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (Yale, 1995, reprinted 2003), p. 95.

A growing interference in, and control over, many aspects of the lives of inhabitants resulted not only from fear of fire but also from pressure on space and services resulting from the steadily expanding population. By the time of the compilation of the *Liber Albus*, (White Book), by London's common clerk, John Carpenter, in the early fifteenth century, he could include regulations governing almost every aspect of communal life but especially construction work.[14] The London Assize of Buildings and the Assize of Nuisance (whose records survive from the early thirteenth century), together with the wardmotes, became the main vehicles for the city authorities to settle building disputes.[15] The dangers of poor constructions are clear. In 1232 a man was crushed to death by a stone wall that fell on him.[16] Two years later a man was crushed to death by a party wall in the courtyard of the Friars Minor and, in the same year, a woman fell from a solar i.e. an upper room, and was crushed to death by the beams of the solar that collapsed on top of her.[17] Numerous cases of disagreements between neighbours over shared boundaries, the division of properties, and invasions of privacy are recorded.[18] One carpenter, John Bokstede (or Bucsted), fell out with his neighbours in St Michael Wood Street because, according to Bokstede, the neighbours failed to maintain a communal lead gutter between the properties. As a result Bokstede claimed that rainwater fell from his neighbours' buildings onto his house and this had resulted in 60 ft. of his timber rotting.[19] Even leading craftsmen could not escape building regulations. William Herland, (probably father of the better-known carpenter, Hugh, but eminent in his own right for carpentry work on many important projects both in London and elsewhere), was sued by a neighbour as a result of Herland's refusal to give 1½ feet of his land towards the building of a stone wall between their adjacent gardens in the adjoining riverside parishes of St

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[14] *Liber Albus, The White Book of the City of London*, edited and translated by H. T. Riley (London, 1861). From the *Liber Albus* it can be seen that, as early as the reign of Edward II (1284-1327), the authorities were attempting to control the work of building craftsmen with all master-carpenters and masons having to swear an oath before the mayor and aldermen not to construct anything that would encroach on the streets (known as purprestures), *Liber Albus*, p. 410. For further information about the content of the *Liber Albus* see W. Kellaway, 'John Carpenter's Liber Albus', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 3 (1978), 67-84.

[15] The Assize of Nuisance dealt with private disputes whereas wardmotes covered public nuisances and it has been suggested that city officials found the Assize of Nuisance 'useful when the wardmote process had failed'. *Assize of Nuisance,* p. xxviii.

[16] *London Eyre 1244*, no. 80.

[17] *London Eyre 1244*, nos. 90 & 91.

[18] See *Assize of Nuisance* p. xxi for a discussion of the problems relating to party-walls.

[19] *Assize of Nuisance,* no. 482.

Benet Paul's Wharf and St Peter Paul's Wharf.[20] (The Assize of Buildings had laid down that neighbours wishing to build a party-wall should each give 1½ feet of land and share the cost of building a stone wall. If one party did not wish to, or could not afford to, build a wall, that party should provide the land and the other party could build on it).[21]

Examples such as these underline the need for civic regulation but the associated investigations would have been time-consuming for the mayor and aldermen and require technical knowledge which they were unlikely to have. Therefore, a fundamental part of the procedure for investigating complaints was the use the city authorities made of the expertise of trained craftsmen to inspect and report on infringements of the building regulations.[22] Carpenters occur frequently in the Assize of Nuisance working as equal partners with masons on the related inspections, with usually two men from each craft sworn to serve at any one time. In 1365, for example, two carpenters and two masons together inspected and reported on a tenement in Lombard Street where the occupant was suffering 'great inconvenience' from his neighbour's overhanging chimney, which the inspectors suggested 'ought to be demolished', and a gutter that was expelling water onto his property, which they concluded 'ought to turn away from his tenement'.[23] Another example of poor workmanship was noted in 1391 when the sworn masons and carpenters reported on the Austin Friars' Infirmary (*Fermory*) which had been constructed by a mason, Richard Salyng. The building work had obviously been poor as one of the gable finials had fallen and another was in danger of doing so. Salyng was ordered to renew them at his own expense.[24] There were many similar occasions where craftsmen carried out official inspections throughout the city examining property held by both individuals and institutions.

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[20] For biographical details of William Herland see Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 142-3. On Friday 1 April 1373 both parties appeared before the mayor at Guildhall and agreed together to build a stone wall upon their common land and at their common expense, in accordance with the Custom of the City. *Assize of Nuisance,* nos. 588 & 590.

[21] *Assize of Nuisance,* p. x.

[22] This system continued in force until the Great Fire of 1666 although detailed records do not survive after 1431. See *London Viewers and their Certificates 1508-1558*, ed. J. S. Loengard (London Record Society 26, 1989) for details about disputes in the sixteenth century.

[23] *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 527.

[24] *CPMR* 1381-1412, p. 178. This was probably Richard Salyng II and not Richard Salyng I who served as one of the Viewers in 1363. J. H. Harvey, *Henry Yevele* (London, 1944), p. 21.

The records provide information about the working practices of inspectors which appear to have been flexible. On some occasions the masons and carpenters would accompany the mayor and aldermen to inspect the disputed land or erection but at other times the craftsmen made their assessment alone, subsequently producing their findings in writing for the authorities, such as a case in 1366 when they concluded that a wall was partible between two neighbours.[25] Sometimes, such as in a dispute between neighbours in 1381, the mayor, recorder and aldermen made an initial visit to view the nuisance themselves but, on realising the need for professional advice, they referred the matter to the masons and carpenters, 'for their further information', and the craftsmen later reported their findings 'in court'.[26] From the 1360s onwards the inspectors' reports often took the form of a bill or certificate addressed to the mayor and aldermen in French, a language used for these reports until at least 1428, after which it was gradually replaced by English.[27] There is no direct evidence whether the craftsmen wrote these themselves or dictated them to a scribe but the use of French for the completed reports suggests that the records were produced by a professional writer, either from a verbal report from the inspectors or from the latter's notes, written in the vernacular.

There are plenty of instances of the findings in the reports being implemented. In 1412 the mayor and aldermen, 'acting on the view and report of the sworn masters of the Masons and Carpenters of the city' gave orders that the pavement on either side of Fleet Street should be of the same height so that water could course freely down the middle of the street to the drain at Fleet Bridge.[28] In addition to the professional advice of the specialists being relied on by the authorities to help them come to a conclusion about disputes there is evidence that the Assize carpenters might be called on to lend their expertise to other members of their own craft. This was the case in 1323, where the sworn carpenters, working with the plaintiff's carpenters, agreed to measure a post with a plumb-line to see how far it was out of alignment.[29] As leading representatives of their craft, such men would have been respected by the city authorities and, given the amount of work generated by the system of inspections, the

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[25] E.g. *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 430: '… the mayor and aldermen, with the masons and carpenters sworn to the assize, come upon the land…'; *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 526.
[26] *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 624.
[27] *Assize of Nuisance*, p. xx.
[28] *CPMR* 1381-1412, p. 317.
[29] *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 271.

men themselves must have been a familiar sight around the city and a visible demonstration of the important role these craftsmen played in helping to settle disputes.

This involvement in the official 'policing' system shows some expert carpenters playing a constructive role in the city. In contrast, many investigations by the inspectors concerned construction work that infringed on, or interfered with, existing buildings, or nuisances resulting from poor maintenance of properties by the owners. It seems that the more responsible craftsmen might be reporting on work that had been carried out by the less capable or respectable members of their own trade, a possible cause of friction between the two groups. Sometimes workmen might find themselves the innocent parties caught between warring neighbours such as a case in 1309 where carpenters had begun work to repair a wall for Christine de Compton when her neighbour objected. Following a lengthy investigation the civic authorities ordered the removal of the 'newly placed' timber.[30] It seems that, as the result of an inspection, some individuals were compelled to adjust their properties, possibly against their wishes, or in a way they could not readily afford. In a case in 1373 tenants of a house belonging to the Prior and Convent of Newark in St Lawrence Lane, Cheapside, that was deemed to be 'ruinous and a danger both to the neighbours and to passers-by', were ordered to execute repairs immediately, 'failing which the mayor and aldermen threatened to send in workmen to do what was necessary at their expense'.[31] In another case, in 1382, a tenant, Robert Broud, complained in court that the owner of a property had undertaken to keep the tenement 'in repair against wind and rain' but had failed to do so. The court ordered the sworn masons and carpenters to investigate and they concluded that the necessary repairs could be achieved for 40s. The complainant was ordered to undertake the repairs and charge them against his outstanding rent but he was reluctant to do this as the owner of the property, who was in debt to his own brother to the sum of £40, had fled to sanctuary in St Mary's Priory, Southwark, outside the city and thus beyond its jurisdiction. As a consequence the tenant ended up in prison for failing to comply with the order.[32]

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[30] Assize of Nuisance, no. 146.
[31] *CPMR* 1373-74, p. 163.
[32] *CPMR* 1381-1412, pp. 25-6.

The authority of the inspectors is emphasised by the fact that there is little evidence that their findings were ever over-ridden and thus an inspection by the sworn masons and carpenters could have been an intimidating event for householders.[33] Many ordinary folk must have considered such a visit as at least an inconvenience if not something to be feared, and the inspectors may not have been viewed as a credit to their profession by everyone. Indeed it has been suggested that some of these leading craftsmen could have earned themselves a reputation for being overly officious in carrying out their duties. Chaucer's 'Miller's Tale' is cited as an example of the public perception of carpenters. In the Tale the gullible central character, an Oxford carpenter, is mocked and ridiculed by the other main characters, and even the local townspeople. The tale ends with the craftsman suffering a nasty accident through his own actions, possibly this was Chaucer's response to domineering building inspectors, with whom he would have had dealings during his time as clerk of the King's Works.[34]

There is no doubt that the inspectors wielded considerable power and were closely associated with the most powerful men of the city i.e. the mayor and aldermen. This may be one explanation for the fact that there is no record of a carpenter serving on the city's Common Council. These craftsmen were making their contribution to society through their work on the Assize although it does not explain why masons were represented on the Council. Further evidence of the authority of inspectors is demonstrated by an occasion in 1389 when the sworn masons and carpenters accompanied a jury to investigate whether a tenement in the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate had encroached on the common soil. The owner of the tenement, John Slory, was able to produce deeds, 'which had been enrolled in the Husting [Court], manifestly proving that he had certain messuages, houses and shops there, held from the king by service of 4d per annum, of which the plot in dispute was a parcel, and that the commonalty of the city had no title to the same'. Fortunately for Slory, the masons and carpenters agreed with him but he must have experienced an uncomfortable period waiting for their decision, especially as the man who had queried his use of the land was the powerful Ralph, Lord Cromwell.[35]

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[33] *Assize of Nuisance*, p. xx

[34] L. H. Cooper, *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 84.

[35] *CPMR* 1381-1412, pp. 163-4. This was the 1st Baron Tattershall († 1398).

Frequently, the findings reported by the inspectors were highly technical demonstrating their thorough examination of the 'nuisance' and underpinning how essential it was for the authorities to make use of such professional expertise. After examining the partible wall referred to above the craftsmen reported that:

> The arches of the wall are of the same depth on either side, and the old wall-plate and beams of William's tenement do not occupy a full half of its width.[36]

Another report was even more specialised. In 1369 the masons and carpenters stated that:

> … the tenements of Thomas Whitchurche and Maud Frembaud were formerly one and built together and that the couple beams of Thomas's tenement form the reason [wall-plate] of the party-wall between them, but that another of Maud's party-walls rests upon the reason of Thomas's tenement, and is affixed to it by nails. It therefore seems that the first party-wall ought to belong to Thomas.[37]

To be chosen to give such advice to the city authorities implies a high level of seniority and recognised competence of these men within their own craft and it could be conjectured that there was some form of organisation in existence to enable carpenters to be selected to serve in this way. There is no direct evidence for this. The records simply state that leading masons and carpenters 'were sworn to serve the city in this capacity' and there is a lack of information about how such men were chosen. Entries in the records of the Assize and the Letter Books merely provide the names of the individuals who were sworn and the oath they took.[38] The full oath is set out below:

> Yee shal trewly serche the Right be twene party and party in alle maner sise of nosaunces that yee be chargid in wt oute eny favore of eny party and trew report make to the mayre and aldermen

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[36] *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 526. For the earlier reference see p. 56 above.
[37] *Assize of Nuisance*, no. 566.
[38] See e.g. *CLB[C],* p. 86, where one mason and two carpenters were sworn. The oath was sworn before the full Husting Court because this court served as a court of record.

aftir yowr witt and connyng so help yow god and holydom and
by the book.

[and oþr edifying' wt in this Citee of London that ye shal be
charged of be the Maire of London for the tyme beyng and trew
Report therof make to the Maire and Aldermen aftir your witte
and power sparing neither for mede favour drede nor hate of eny
persone, but wel and truly theryn behave you so helpe &c.].[39]

Table 1 lists those carpenters known to have served on the Assize.

Table 1: Carpenters who served on the London Assize of Nuisance 1300 - *c*. 1450

Name	Year(s) served	Date of death (where known)[40]
John de Wrytele*	1301	1306
Robert Osekyn*	1301-1303	1311
Reginald de Swaffham*	1310	1314
Robert de Northampton	1313	? 1320
Simon de Canterbury*	1313-1329	1341
Adam de Rothynge	1318	*c.* 1325
John de Tottenham snr.	1325- ? 1347	*c.* 1347
John de Tottenham jnr.	1363-1369	*c.* 1369
Richard de Shropshire	1366, 1368-1370, 1372-1374	
Thomas Fant	1369-1379	1383
Stephen Warde*	1375, 1378-1379, 1383, 1389	1398
William Duddecote*[41]	1383, 1389	1389
John Wolfey*	1405-1409	1410
Robert Lardener*	1405-9, 1412	1414
Walter Milton (Myltone)	1412-1413, 1417, 1423, 1428	
William Couper	1423, 1428, 1431	
William Serle*	1423, 1428, 1440	*c.* 1450
John Serle	1431	

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[39] Oath of Viewers, *CLB[D],* p. 195. LBD covers the years 1309-14 but the oaths taken by various officers, of which this is one, have been added in a fifteenth century hand.

[40] An asterisk by a name indicates that there is a surviving will for that man. Will references can be found in Appendix 5 and further references to these men in Appendix 1.

[41] William Duddecote may have originated from Didcot in Oxfordshire. He could have been a relation of John Dudecote, carpenter, who, in a dispute investigated by the sworn masons and carpenters under the Assize of Nuisance in 1384, is recorded as having provided timber and nails for two gutters on a house in St Mildred in the Poultry at a cost of 12s 6d. The names of the masons and carpenters carrying out the investigation are not recorded but, given the date, one of the carpenters is likely to have been William Duddecote. *CPMR* 1381-1412, p. 90.

Richard Bird*	1441-1451	1457
Richard Bright	1441-1451	
John Blomvile	1444	
Thomas Sexteyn	1451	

There are extant wills for ten of the above and it seems that only William Duddecote and possibly the two John de Tottenhams served until the years of their deaths whereas all the other men relinquished their duties on the assize well before they made their wills. None of the wills made bequests to other sworn carpenters but this is probably not unexpected as wills that survive from this period were proved in the Court of Husting which was mainly concerned with the disposal of real estate, something that was more likely to be bequeathed to family members than to work colleagues. In a couple of instances carpenters acted as executors for other carpenters. John de Wrytele's executors were Robert de Northampton, who may have replaced him on the Assize and another carpenter, Walter de Maydenestan (Maidstone).[42] One of Robert Osekyn's executors was another Assize carpenter, Simon of Canterbury.[43] In several other wills the occupations of executors were not specified and it is possible that some may also have been carpenters.

John de Tottenham, a sworn carpenter, appeared before the authorities in August 1369 asking to be discharged from his role because of old age and failing eyesight.[44] It has been suggested that this was perhaps not surprising as he had served since June 1325.[45] However, this conclusion may be due to a misunderstanding as it appears that there were two men called John de Tottenham, probably father and son, and both may have served on the Assize during the period 1325-1369. The older man seems to have died *c*. 1347 and it was likely to have been the younger who was discharged in 1369.[46] As well as the provision for men to ask to be relieved of their duties the authorities could compel men to surrender the role if they did not perform it satisfactorily. A mason, Thomas atte Barnet, was discharged in 1377 because he had neglected his duties due to the fact that he had apparently been absent from London

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[42] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/34, f. 32.
[43] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 28.
[44] *CLB[G],* p. 223.
[45] *CLB[E],* p. 201; Loengard, *London Viewers,* p. xx.
[46] See Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 300-1 for information about both John de Tottenhams. John senior replaced the carpenter Adam de Rothynge on the Assize on the latter's death. *CLB[E],* p. 201.

for a long period (although prior to that date he had been active on behalf of the Assize for several years from at least 1368).[47]

Following the departure of John de Tottenham junior from the Assize in 1369, Thomas Fant was 'elected in his place' although there are no further details about the process of the election.[48] It seems, however, that the sworn carpenters and masons might make the selection of a replacement to fill a vacancy themselves for in October 1383, following the death of Fant, it was the three surviving members who 'elected and presented' William Duddecote to succeed him. This may have been the method employed for choosing men to serve on the Assize for the whole of the fourteenth century.[49]

Many of these leading craftsmen must have known each other well. In 1301 two carpenters, John de Wrytele and Robert Osekyn, appeared together before the mayor to take their oath to serve the Assize where they swore to:

> make just consideration concerning the boundaries of lands, ruined and divisible walls and gutters, and other matters touching their office in the city and suburbs of London, whensoever they shall be required.[50]

Wrytele died *c*. 1305-6 while Osekyn lived until *c*. 1311. The men bequeathed property in the adjoining parishes of St Benet Fink and St Bartholomew the Less. Wrytele gave rents in Finch Lane and the parish of St Bartholomew the Less to his local church and tenements in two parishes to his wife and sons.[51] One of his sons became a carpenter but did not achieve the eminence of his father.[52] Osekyn seems to have been the more prosperous of the two as he was able to leave his wife 'all his houses, rents and tenements in the city and suburb of London' and, in addition, his

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[47] *CLB[G]*, pp. 223, 257-8; *CLB[H],* p. 13.

[48] *CLB[G],* p. 223.

[49] *CLB[H],* p. 216.

[50] *CLB[C]*, p. 86. John de Wrytele may have moved to London from Writtle in Essex. Writtle was a royal manor near Chelmsford whose association with the Crown went back to the reign of William I. It was visited by Edward I in 1277 and 1305. *HKW II*, p. 1019. Robert Osekyn was probably the son of John Osekyn, a carpenter in charge of works at the Tower of London in 1274. Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 223. John Osekyn made his will *c*. 1297-8 leaving tenements to his son Robert in the parishes of St Bartholomew and St Benet Fink. He also left properties to three further sons and a daughter. LMA CLA/023/DW/01/27, f. 21.

[51] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/34, f. 32.

[52] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 351.

sons received tenements and rents together with numerous household chattels.[53] His eldest son moved some way up the professional ladder to become a goldsmith.[54] It is not clear exactly when either Wrytele or Osekyn ceased to be inspectors but in 1309-10 Reginald de Swaffham, carpenter, was:

> sworn before the mayor and alderman to do all things appertaining to assizes and divisions of tenements in the city and suburb, so far as they belong to the trade of carpentry...[55]

In his turn Swaffham was replaced and by 1313 Robert de Northampton, carpenter, together with Simon de Pakenham and Alexander de Canterbury, masons, were said to be 'sworn to make and supervise assizes and partitions of tenements in the city' when they went with the chamberlain to partition a tenement.[56] It would seem that, on occasion, there might have been only one carpenter sworn to serve the city.

The inspectors appear not to have received direct financial payments for their work but they did enjoy some material rewards. In 1371, for instance, the carpenters Thomas Fant and Richard Shropshire, together with the two sworn masons, petitioned that they should be 'discharged from payment of taxes and subsidies for the king, as their predecessors in office had been for the last hundred years'. The petition was granted (for as long as they remained in office).[57] If their statement was accurate it would confirm the start of the formal inspection system as early as 1271, if not earlier. It is likely that carpenters chose to contribute to the Assize in the fourteenth century because of the prestige and status bestowed by the activity rather than because of any direct financial recompense.

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[53] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 28.

[54] In January 1318 the guardianship of Roger, son of Robert Osekyn, late carpenter, was entrusted to another Robert, a goldsmith, who was also a son of the deceased Robert. *CLB[E],* p. 81.

[55] *CLB[D],* p. 14. Reginald could have been born in the town of Swaffham in Norfolk which, in 1334, was rated among the top forty towns for wealth levels. He may have prospered there but felt that he could do even better for himself by moving to work in the capital. For the ranking of English towns see R. E. Glasscock, 'England *circa* 1334' in H. C. Darby ed., *A New Historical Geography of England* (Cambridge, 1973), 136-85, p. 184.

[56] *CLB[B],* p. 15.

[57] *CLB[G],* p. 279.

2.2 The city's attempts to regulate carpenters

Although the records of the Assize of Nuisance reveal some carpenters in a positive light, other records in which these craftsmen appear in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not portray them as an asset to the community but rather the opposite, as a possible threat to economic stability. There is no doubt that the civic authorities were trying to control artisans through attempts to limit their wages over a long period and that this was a source of continual friction between the authorities and the men. The first recorded attempt in England to control the wages of building workers occurred in London in 1212. At that time carpenters, masons and tilers were to receive a maximum daily wage of 3d plus food, or 4½d without food, without any distinction between rates for summer or winter working.[58] There were frequent further attempts at regulation with the authorities asserting that carpenters (and other workers) were demanding excessively high wages. For instance, ordinances were published by the mayor and aldermen in *c*. 1280 where the regulations encompassed most building workers: masons, plasterers, daubers and tilers, as well as carpenters, and this time did include different rates according to the season. Salzman argued that it was more usual to pay the higher rate and allow men to provide their own food. The rates for fully qualified carpenters are set out below:

Table 2: Daily wage rates for qualified carpenters *c*. 1280[59]

Michaelmas-Martinmas	4d or 1½d and food
Martinmas-Candlemas	3d or 1d and food
Candlemas-Easter	4d or 1½d and food
Easter-Michaelmas	5d or 2d and food

To assist with implementation the ordinances state that, 'in each ward there should be two good and honest men assigned to discover what masons and carpenters take

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[58] '*carpentarij non capiant nisi tres denarius et conredium in diem, val iiii denarius et obolum, sine conredio pro omnibus*'. *Liber Custumarum*, ed. H. T. Riley, Vol. I, pp. xxxiii, 86. Salzman, p. 68, misquotes the higher rate as 4d without food.

[59] The ordinances cannot be dated precisely but they were published during the mayoralty of Geoffrey de Rokesle who served 1274-81 and 1284-5. Salzman, p. 69 reproduced from *Liber Custumarum,* Vol. I, p. 99 and Vol. II, p. 542. For a discussion of payments for compulsory holidays see Harvey, 'Mediaeval Carpenter', p. 736.

wages in the city contrary to the Statute of the City'. They were to report the names of miscreants to the mayor and aldermen so that they could be punished but there is no information about how these 'good and honest men' were to be chosen or whether any specific event, rather than just perpetual concerns, had provoked the authorities to take action at that time.[60] Any such informants were likely to be 'busybodies' i.e. respectable citizens who were prepared to 'snoop' on behalf of the city officials but their activities do not seem to have been very successful. No details are recorded of any discoveries made by such men or indeed whether this system ever got off the ground at all. Unfortunately, information about the enforcement of wage rates is lacking because the related fines were paid into the Chamberlain's office and the relevant records no longer survive.[61]

Wage rates remained largely stable over a long period suggesting that the actions of the authorities were not completely ineffective. Immediately after the 1348 outbreak of plague which led to a great shortage of labour the pendulum swung in favour of the craftsmen and there is evidence that wage rates increased but they were brought back down quickly by further legislation (e.g. in 1350, 1360 and 1372).[62] The reiteration of the ordinances suggests that the authorities continued to fear wage rises and no doubt workers were always looking for opportunities to earn more. An example from 1353 shows how workmen could move to achieve higher earnings. Wage rates in the city of London at that time were higher than those in Westminster and many men employed at Westminster Palace went off to work for other employers. In response a proclamation was issued stating that they should be brought back and that no one should employ such men on pain of imprisonment in the Tower of London.[63] Threats such as these seem to have had little lasting impact and by 1378-9, the London aldermen were being ordered again to inquire into:

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[60] The penalties were high i.e. those paying wages contrary to the statute were to be fined 40s for each offence, and those receiving such wages were to be imprisoned for forty days. *CLB[A],* p. 184.

[61] R. Braid, 'Behind the Ordinance of Labourers: Economic Regulation to Market Control in London before the Black Death', *Journal of Legal History*, 34 (2013), 3-30, p. 18.

[62] As an example see the entry for 1372 in *CLB[G],* p. 301: 'That no mason, carpenter, nor other labourer take more than 6d for a working day between Easter and Michaelmas, and 5d between Michaelmas and Easter; and for a Saturday, if they work for the whole week, they shall take for a whole day'. (Men usually only worked for a half day on Saturday).

[63] *Memorials*, ed. Riley, pp. 271-2.

> … the misdoings of bakers, brewers, hostelers, masons,
> carpenters, tilers, daubers, and other labourers in their wards
> contrary to the statute and ordinances, and to make a return of the
> same to the Chamberlain within eight days.[64]

One of the concerns of the authorities was that workers might band together to
express their grievances, including the demand for higher wages, and there does
seem to be evidence to support this. In 1299 Walter de Maydenestan, carpenter, was
charged by the authorities with:

> … gathering together a parliament of carpenters at Milehende,
> where they bound themselves by a corporal oath not to observe a
> certain ordinance or provision made by the Mayor and Aldermen
> touching their craft and daily wages, which was enrolled in the
> 'paper' of the Guildhall.

According to the records of the case Maydenestan admitted that he had been at Mile
End at the stated time but said that he had never held a parliament there, or taken an
oath, nor made anyone else take one against the ordinances (presumably the
ordinances which put a cap on wages). He demanded an inquest and although a jury
was summoned the outcome of the case is not known.[65] The lack of evidence about
the circumstances of this incident is indicated by the fact that no other named
participants are recorded and it is not clear why Maydenestan should have been
singled out. Whether a 'parliament' was in fact held is immaterial. It is the
accusation itself that demonstrates the concern of the city rulers that carpenters might
be taking unwelcome steps to become an organised group. This is the only case
concerning a carpenter of such a serious nature to appear in the city's records and it
has been suggested that this implies that control of wage rates was generally being
successfully enforced.[66] However, the fact that ordinances regarding wages were
repeated frequently over a long period could be seen as a demonstration that the
regulations were not being effectively implemented or, at the least, that the civic
authorities believed that to be the case. The mayor and aldermen were simply finding
it difficult to pin down and charge those who disobeyed, something which seems to
have been an ongoing challenge. During the Peasants' Revolt Thomas Willes, a

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[64] *CLB[H],*p. 107.
[65] *CEMCR* 1298-1307, p. 25.
[66] Braid, 'Behind the Ordinance', p. 18.

carpenter of Aldgate ward, was mentioned in a list of men suspected of 'consenting' with the men of Kent and Essex 'to rise against the kingdom' and no doubt there were many more London carpenters involved in such a widespread disturbance but their names and their crafts were not recorded by the authorities.[67] The examples listed in this section demonstrate that, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the London authorities saw the majority of carpenters (along with related artisans) as a threat to the social order requiring firm control to keep them in their traditional place in society. The authorities were successful as most carpenters seem to have retained their relatively lowly status.

A major catalyst for change in the fourteenth century was the repeated outbreaks of devastating plague but it is difficult to trace the specific impact of this disaster on London carpenters. The disease known to contemporaries as 'the pestilence' and to historians as the 'Black Death' reached England about June 1348 and was in London by the beginning of November.[68] This first episode of the disease may have killed up to half the population and plague was to return at regular intervals for the next two hundred years, with four more outbreaks in London before the end of the fourteenth century alone.[69] Despite these high levels of mortality direct evidence for plague from the number of carpenters' wills enrolled during the first most virulent outbreak is lacking. There are no surviving wills for carpenters from 1348 and only one from 1349 (that of Thomas de Gyns a resident of St Martin Outwich).[70] The next enrolled will of a carpenter is not until 1358. There are two wills of carpenters' widows from 1348 but their husbands' wills do not survive.[71] It may be that these women had only recently lost their husbands but even so, taken together, this evidence is still not suggestive of a raging epidemic among carpenters in London. There are several explanations for the lack of surviving wills, including those of carpenters. One is that few carpenters had sufficient property to warrant having their wills registered in the Husting Court and it is only wills from this court that survive for this period in

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[67] *CPMR* 1364-81, p. 289.
[68] Chronicle of Robert of Avesbury quoted in *The Black Death*, translated and edited by R. Horrox (Manchester, 1994, reprinted 1999), pp. 64-5.
[69] B. E. Megson, 'Mortality Among London Citizens in the Black Death', *Medieval Prosopography*, 19 (1998), 125-33, p. 126.
[70] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/78, f. 144.
[71] These are Sabine Stoke, LMA CLA/023/DW/01/75, f. 206 and Johanna Weston, LMA CLA/023/DW/01/76, f. 83.

London. Another more general reason for the under-recording of wills could be that, as wills were not usually compiled until an individual was seriously ill, the virulence of the plague left no time for wills to be written down. All contemporary commentators agree on the speed with which people died once they had caught the disease.[72] As the plague progressed there was also a shortage of those with the necessary skills to record a dying individual's last wishes. The clergy, the most likely scribes, were affected by the disease as much as everyone else, perhaps more so if they were carrying out their duties conscientiously. In addition, wills may have been composed but never registered because of the breakdown in normal working relations. Executors may have died before they had time to register the will, or courts where wills could be registered may not have been held. By March 1349 at least, the system for enrolling wills was beginning to show signs of strain. Barney Sloane has identified two wills: that of Roger Carpenter, (who was a pepperer rather than a carpenter), and Stephen atte Holte, timbermonger, that were actually enrolled before the dates they were drawn up. It seems that mistakes were beginning to occur in the recording system and this may contribute to an underestimate of the numbers dying during this period.[73] An interesting insight into the impact of the Black Death on workers in London can be seen from records relating to apprentices. Before the plague it was apprentices who sued their masters for 'not fulfilling their obligation to feed, clothe and train them properly' and in all such cases for which the verdict is known the apprentices won their cases. However, with the great shortage of labour after 1348 the situation changed completely and the authorities spent much time helping masters to track down apprentices who had disappeared before the completion of their contracts.[74]

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the reality of how the livelihood of surviving building workers was affected by plague as the evidence is contradictory. On the one hand, properties were abandoned in the city and its environs, tenements were amalgamated, and others were demolished, and thus demand for the services of carpenters may have declined.[75] In 1357 the city authorities made a plea to the Crown for reduced taxes citing the fact that one-third of the city's buildings lay

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[72] Megson, 'Mortality', p. 129.
[73] B. Sloane, *The Black Death in London* (Stroud, 2011), p. 51.
[74] Braid, 'Behind the Ordinance', pp. 19-20.
[75] Barron, *London*, p. 241.

vacant. Although this may have been an exaggeration it could not have been too great a one as the king was likely to have been well informed on the situation in the city. In contrast, there are a number of examples of speculative building taking place, particularly in Southwark and Westminster, but also in the area around St Paul's during the 1350s to 1380s.[76] It does seem that those men who survived the first plague developed immunity to the disease, something that enabled them to live through later outbreaks. (Chroniclers described the 1361 outbreak as the 'children's plague' because mortality amongst children and adolescents was considerably higher than for adults).[77] These fortunate men were able to continue their normal working lives that might well include exploiting opportunities arising from vacant building plots caused by the deaths of those who were not so lucky. Evidence for the survival of a particular cohort of male citizens in London comes from the civic records. Throughout the later medieval period male citizens over the age of seventy years were entitled by law to ask to be excluded from jury service. However, exemptions for old age were not evenly distributed over time with a major peak occurring between 1400 and 1430 and this may be a reflection of men who had been young when the plague first struck but who had developed immunity and survived into old age.[78]

Taken as a whole it does seem that London was exceptional in its ability to recover from the losses suffered by the Black Death and in fact the decline of other towns coupled with the perception of London as a place of opportunity probably helped to make it even more attractive to migrants.[79] Jens Röhrkasten's conclusions about the immediate post-plague period appear to be correct. Röhrkasten argues that 'changes in the levels of mortality on their own are no indicator for the overall size of the city's population since London remained attractive for migrants…' with economic activity even gaining momentum in the last decades of the fourteenth century. He further suggests that what did result from the plagues was a continual turnover in the

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[76] Sloane, *Black Death*, pp. 155-6.

[77] *The Black Death*, translated and edited by R. Horrox, p. 11.

[78] E. D. Spindler, 'Youth and Old Age in Late Medieval London', *The London Journal*, 36 (2011), 1-22, pp. 16-7. For further discussion of age-related retirement from public service in London see J. T. Rosenthal, *Old Age in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 106-7.

[79] J. Blair and N. Ramsay ed., *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1991), p. xxx.

composition of London's population.[80] Naturally, carpenters would have been affected by this along with all other groups and this subject will be the focus of the next section.

2.3 Geographical origin of 'London' carpenters

Even before the opportunities created by high mortality in the second half of the fourteenth century many carpenters working in London and its immediate environs are known to have originated from outside the city. This meant that, in addition to the struggles that took place between the civic authorities and London carpenters, the established craftsmen had to deal with the challenge posed by migrants (referred to as 'foreigners' or 'forrens'), some of whom, despite moving to the city to better themselves, were prepared to work for lower wages than men already settled there. Craftsmen in the city were not slow to take action to protect their wages and to try to prevent newcomers from working for less than the usual rate. In 1306 a London mason threatened masons and carpenters brought to the capital by Master Walter of Hereford, saying that, if they accepted lower wages than those paid in the city, they would be beaten, and his threats delayed work being undertaken for the Queen.[81] Another instance, in 1339, saw five carpenters accused of 'having beaten and maimed' John de Chalfhonte, (possibly a migrant from Chalfont in Buckinghamshire) who had agreed to work for less than 6d per day. A jury concluded that the beating had not in fact been carried out but that the five had 'intimidated men for taking work for less than 6d a day and an after-dinner drink'. These aggressive London carpenters were: Reginald de Cornwall, Richard Bene, Henry le Yonge, Roger de Arderne and John de Essex. The surnames of some of the foregoing suggest that the protagonists may not have been resident in London for very long but, once they had arrived, they were quick to protect their interests. The specific accusation against them was that they had made a 'confederacy among men of their trade' to prevent foreign carpenters who had moved to the city from accepting less than 6d a day.[82]

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[80] J. Röhrkasten, 'Trends of mortality in Late Medieval London, 1348-1400', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XLV (2001), 172-209.
[81] *CEMCR* 1298-1307, p. 251.
[82] *CPMR* 1323-64, p. 108.

The authorities were keen to retain the exclusive nature of citizenship. In 1299 the assistance of craft trades was sought in an attempt to weed out anyone of 'bad repute or behaviour'. Importantly, it was determined that a register should be made of masters, apprentices and servants and any of these found misbehaving were to be reported to the mayor and aldermen with a view to their being expelled from the city.[83] Further, in 1319 a royal charter tightened access to citizenship, stating that no stranger could be admitted to citizenship unless his claim was supported by six men of the craft he wished to follow.[84] It is noteworthy that among those seeking admission to the freedom of the city by purchase at this time were seven carpenters: Nigel le Carpenter, John de Wymbisshe, John de Lodesworth, William de Nottele, Stephen de Redebourne, Robert de Frensshe and John de Langgereche, all of whom were presumably in a position to call on the requisite support from their fellow craftsmen even though, by the evidence of their surnames, at least some of these men may have only recently arrived in the city.[85]

Locative, i.e. place-name derived surnames are believed to be reasonably reliable indicators of place of origin until the mid-fourteenth century in southern England (and a generation or so later in the north) after which date surnames began to become hereditary.[86] Analysis of place-name surnames shows that most towns recruited heavily from their immediate hinterlands although there was a significant degree of variation related to size and geographical situation. As might be expected London represented a different scale to other towns in its capacity to attract long-distance migrants. It has been suggested that London's 'close engagement with the Thames Valley and the South Midlands' is reflected in the fact that well over one-third of migrants came from a distance of twenty-one to fifty miles.[87] Another historian describes London as 'a magnet which drew young men and women from all over

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[83] *CLB[B],* p. 241.

[84] See Barron, *London*, pp. 204-6 for discussion of changes in access to the freedom at this time.

[85] Four paid 10s, one man 15s 10d and two paid 22s 6d. *CLB[D],* 35-179.

[86] J. A. Galloway, 'Urban Hinterlands in Later Medieval England' in K. Giles and C. Dyer ed., *Town and Country in the Middle Ages – Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2005), 106-225, p. 114; P. McClure, 'Surnames form English place names as evidence for mobility in the Middle Ages', *Local Historian*, 13 (1978), 80-6; P. McClure, 'Patterns of migration in the later Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames', *Economic History Review,* 2[nd.] series, 32 (1979), 167-82.

[87] Galloway, 'Urban Hinterlands', p. 116.

England' with a study of the toponymic surnames of early fourteenth century London showing that:

> … the city attracted men to apprenticeships from the Home Counties (Middlesex, Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire) and, most notably, from the East Midlands dialect area (Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk and Suffolk) but also, and increasingly in the course of the fifteenth century, from Yorkshire. The same pattern of long distance immigration can be observed also in Southwark and Westminster.[88]

To test the extent that these statements apply to carpenters the last names of craftsmen working in London have been examined for the period *c*. 1250 - *c*. 1360 and the results are set out in Table 3 where the dominance of Essex can be seen, followed by other counties close to London such as Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex and slightly further afield, Oxfordshire. In fact, these four counties between them account for nearly 54% of migrants from identifiable counties.

Table 3: County of origin of London based carpenters *c*. 1250 - *c*. 1360[89]

Name of carpenter(s)	Suggested county of origin	No. of carpenters
William de Bedeforde	Bedfordshire	1
John Hungerford, William de Sunnyngge,	Berkshire	2
John de Chalfhonte, Roger de Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	2
Thomas de Cambridge, William of Fulbourne, John de Whytlesford	Cambridgeshire	3
Reginald de Cornwall	Cornwall	1
Richard de Colebrok, Robert de Colebrook	Devon	2
Wiotus de Durham	Durham	1
Philp de Beaucheamp, Robert de Berdene, Walter de Chelmersford, John de Essex, Richard de Essex, Roger de Essex, Richard de Felstede, Hugh de Notteleye, William de Nottele, (? Black/White Notley),	Essex	17

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[88] Barron, 'London 1300-1540', p. 399.
[89] The table is based on all London carpenters identified in this study (as listed in Appendix 1) between the stated dates. See Map 1 for an indication of distances from London.

Adam de Rothynge, John de Rothynge, Richarde de Rothynge, Robert de Rothynge, Robert de Waltham, John de Wrytele, Ralph Wrytele, John de Wymbisshe		
William Crowe, John de Langereche (? Langrish)	Hampshire	2
Hugh St Alban, Richard de Sancto Albano, Robert of St Albans, Robert de Baldok, John Keleshulle (Kelshall), John de Redebourne , Stephen de Redebourne, Thomas de Standon, John de Ware, Robert de Watford	Hertfordshire	10
John de Bodesham, Peter de Canterbury, Simon de Canterbury, Thomas de Chetham, Thomas de Gylingham, John de Kent, Walter de Maydenestan (Maidstone)	Kent	7
Edmund of St Andrew, Andreskirk (now Breedon-on-the-Hill)	Leicestershire	1
John de Depynge, Geoffrey de Spalding, Hugh de Spalding, John de Spalding	Lincolnshire	4
William de Halliwell, William de Holebourne (? Holborn), Andrew de Kelebourne John de Tottenham senior, John de Tottenham junior	Middlesex	5
Reginald de Swaffham, Nicholas de Walsyngham	Norfolk	2
Philip de Northamptone, Robert de Northampton	Northants	2
Henry de Lodelowe (Ludlow), Richard de Shropshire	Shropshire	2
Lapin de Kyngham, William Letcombe, John de Oxenford, John de Roke, John de Wallyngford	Oxfordshire	5
Thomas de Stoke, John Stafford	Staffordshire	2
John de Bergholte,Thomas de Sutchfolch (Suffolk), John de Suchfolchia, John de Ipswich	Suffolk	4
Robert de Farnham, William de Merton (? Oxford), William de	Surrey	3

Suthwerk		
William Winchelsea	Sussex	1
Roger de Arderne, William le Langebrigge (? Longbridge)	Warwickshire	2
Gilbert de Wilton	Wiltshire	1
William Wintringham	Yorkshire (North Riding)	1
Hugh of Mammefeld, Irelonde	Ireland	1
Thomas de Landaf	Wales	1
John le Flemyng	Flanders	1
Robert le Frenshe	France	1
Total		**87**
County of origin uncertain		**No. of carpenters**
Walter de Beldinge, John Bucsted/Bokstede, Thomas de Gyns, William de Harlee, Thomas de Houghton, Simon Hurley, Walter de Hurley, William atte Hurst, Bartholomew de Leddrede, John de Offynctone, Rogerde Raventre, John de Snoring, Walter de Ledrede, Richard de Slyndefeld, William de Underdone, William de Weston, John de Westwood		**17**

When considered in relation to all known carpenters active in London between *c*. 1250 and *c*. 1360 (approximately 190 men) the number who appear to have been migrants form a high percentage (around fifty-five per cent). The actual figure was likely to have been much greater as many men appear in the records simply by their first name followed by the designation 'the Carpenter' giving no indication of their place of origin. It seems that up to the mid fourteenth century at least the majority of carpenters working in London had been born elsewhere. If the exercise was extended to the end of the century it would continue to show a large proportion of London carpenters referred to by the descriptor 'of' after their first names, followed by place-name derived surnames, indicating that many craftsmen were still likely to have been first generation migrants.

Table 3 and Map 1 indicate that few men travelled great distances, with single instances from as far away as Cornwall and Durham, one man from Wales and one from Ireland. A couple of men appear to have come from abroad: John le Flemyng and Robert le Frensshe, but these were exceptions. The majority of carpenter migrants to London came from counties north of the city and travelled less than fifty miles. 'Alien' carpenters from overseas seem not to have been attracted to London at this time. The picture was similar in the fifteenth century. Aliens were taxed by the Crown from 1440 and some of these tax returns survive. For London, including

Westminster and Southwark, there were about 2,200 aliens in 1441 (not including married women) but only one of these has the designation 'carpenter'. This was Dederic Petrisson, possibly living in Southwark.[90] In 1483 an alien carpenter, John Wright, recorded in Aldersgate Ward, was a Scot.[91] In the same year a man recorded as John Carpenter was described as 'German'. John and his family lived in Portsoken Ward, one of the poorer areas of the city. He had four servants, three men and one woman, some of whom were possibly his apprentices.[92] The surviving evidence therefore appears to suggest that few alien carpenters were working in London in the later Middle Ages although an unknown number are likely to have escaped the notice of official records.[93] In the sixteenth century, during the peak construction period of the Savoy Hospital between 1512 and 1515, a large workforce was employed including many carpenters but the majority of these craftsmen appear to have been English.[94]

Migration of workers was not always in one direction i.e. from the countryside into the city. Unlike masons who, because of the relative scarcity of their work, expected to travel regularly to find employment, carpenters did not need to be peripatetic and to make a reasonable living a carpenter might not need to be very mobile at all. However, those who were prepared to move around the country to meet the needs of big building projects might reap rewards, when men who gained a reputation for their skills might be invited to work on, or give advice at, any of the king's big building projects. Successful craftsmen could also be drawn to work for other major builders such as bishops or members of the aristocracy. Rewards for such men could be considerable and certainly, at the top end of the market, there was likely to have been a constant exchange of men between the big ecclesiastical centres, cathedral cities and London. In a roll of accounts (dated 1274-5) naming carpenters, tilers and plasterers at the Tower of London there appear a number of men with toponymical surnames: de St Alban, Merton, (Surrey), Redinge, (Reading), Exon (Exeter),

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[90] D. M. Palliser, 'Urban society' in R. Horrox ed., *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes – Perceptions of society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), 132-49, p. 136; *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4*, ed. J. L. Bolton (Stamford, 1998), p. 130.

[91] *Alien Communities*, Bolton, no. 104.

[92] *Alien Communities*, Bolton, no. 81.

[93] The difficulty of assessing the number of aliens is discussed in *Alien Communities*, Bolton.

[94] *Building Accounts of the Savoy Hospital, London, 1512-1520*, ed. C. A. Stanford (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 18.

Norwig' (Norwich), St Edmunds (Bury). All six towns contained important ecclesiastical buildings where these men might have gained experience before moving to London.[95] Movement of craftsmen would have acted as a conduit through which changes in techniques and architectural styles were disseminated.

Dispersal of labour was not always voluntary since impressment of workers continued to be an important element of the monarch's building and defence strategy throughout the later medieval period. In 1354, for instance, a writ of impressment was issued in favour of the carpenter Richard of St Albans empowering him to take carpenters for work at Edward III's manor at Rotherhithe.[96] Nothing is recorded explicitly of how men felt about being forced to work away from home for long periods, presumably some accepted it as part of choosing carpentry as a career, but the feelings of others are evident in the many recorded attempts of men trying to escape impressment. In a not untypical case, seventeen carpenters were ordered to be arrested in March 1351 because they had withdrawn without licence from works at Hertford Castle for which they had been impressed by the sheriff of Essex.[97] Often large numbers of men were impressed at the same time as in 1381 when the carpenters Richard Swift and Hugh Herland were commissioned to take fifty carpenters from 'the city and suburbs of London, and the counties of Essex, Kent and Middlesex' for service in Brittany.[98] The cumulative effect of the regular impressment of large numbers of men must have created a shortage of workers and impacted on other projects, and some organisations took steps to try to mitigate any loss. In 1423, when the London Company of Brewers were constructing their almshouses, they thought it worthwhile to pay 16d to a 'Taker of the King's' to prevent their carpenters from being recruited to work on military campaigns.[99] That this was money well spent can be seen from another instance at about the same time when the master carpenter of the King's Works at Sheen, William Faukeswell, sued the mayor of Exeter for retaining an impressed carpenter who was due to move to

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[95] Harvey, 'Mediaeval Carpenter', p. 735.
[96] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 4.
[97] *CPR* 1350-4, p. 80.
[98] *CPR* 1377-81, p. 607.
[99] C. Metcalfe, 'William Porland, clerk († 1440) and the Brewers' Company of London: a Study of Guildhall Library Manuscript 5440', unpublished MA dissertation (University of London, 2012), p. 45.

Surrey.[100] William was probably a relation of the carpenter Nicholas Faukeswell who, in 1397, was ordered along with other carpenters and masons, to 'take' fifty masons, forty carpenters and 'other labourers' to undertake work without the Bar of the New Temple, London on behalf of the earl of Rutland.[101] Even as late as 1532, when the carpenter, John Hawkyns, was sued for breach of a contract to erect two houses in Shoreditch, he could plead that the delay was solely due to the fact that he and all his 'servants' had been taken to work for the king at York Place, where they were detained until the day named in the contract had passed.[102]

Just as London workmen could be antagonistic towards incomers to the city London carpenters working away from home might be regarded as a threat to the livelihoods of local craftsmen. When Humphrey Coke, was in Oxford (in 1512) helping to construct Corpus Christi College alongside the masons, William Virtue and William East, all three were physically attacked, possibly by building workers from Brasenose College who were unhappy about the presence of 'foreign' workers in the city.[103] This incident shows that even eminent men could be at risk. Coke served as warden of the Carpenters' Company on four occasions as well as designing and building many large projects such as the cloisters at Eton College and the roof at the Savoy Chapel. He was created King's Chief Carpenter in 1519.[104] Disputes between building workers seem to have been regular occurrences throughout the land. A fight between masons and monks at Westminster in 1324, for instance, resulted in the death of a mason and the building accounts of Eton College record workmen quarrelling amongst themselves, interfering with each other's work, and generally causing a nuisance.[105] Many craftsmen working within the city of London no doubt behaved likewise.

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[100] TNA C1/68/17.
[101] *CPR* 1396-9, p. 92.
[102] Salzman, pp. 38 & 98.
[103] Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters', p. 134.
[104] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 64-5.
[105] Salzman, p. 56.

2.4 Evidence for carpenters organising collectively

There are a number of instances in the fourteenth century of London carpenters exhibiting collective identity whether or not they were part of a formal guild. When fines were imposed for apparent abuse of weights and measures in the city and its suburbs in 1359 as part of the post-plague attempts to reassert the *status ante quo*, at least thirteen individual carpenters can be traced standing surety for other carpenters. Carpenters also provided surety for members of the building trades such as masons, paviours and tilers as well as, in turn, themselves receiving support from non-carpenters.[106] This is illustrated in Table 4 and suggests a close community with men prepared to give support to their fellow craftsmen when required and is an indication of the development of wider occupational identity.

Table 4: Extract of fines and amercements imposed on labourers etc. in 1359[107]

Carpenters giving support to other carpenters

Carpenter giving surety	Carpenter receiving surety
John de Offynctone	Thomas de Chetham
John de Chetham	John de Offynctone
Robert de Osebourne	John de Depyngge
John de Depyngge	Robert de Osebourne
Richard le Brewere	John Crawe
Simon le Brewere	Richard le Brewere
John Crawe	Thomas Portejoye
Thomas Portejoye	Simon le Brewere
Henry Tabard	William Gabriel
John de Bodesham	William Burgate
William Gabriel	John Whyte
Lapin de Kyngham	Roger de Wycombe
John Whyte	William Gabriel
William de Burgate	John de Bodesham
Thomas Faunt (or Fant)	John Hentelove

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[106] This evidence is supported by that for other groups such as the drapers. During the course of the fourteenth century there was a marked increase in drapers providing surety for other men of the same trade suggesting close working relationships. E. Quinton, 'The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, *c*. 1300 - *c*. 1500', unpublished PhD thesis (University of London, 2001), p. 22.

[107] 'Extract of fines and amercements imposed on labourers, artificers, and servants, and of others imposed for abuse of weights and measures, in the City and suburbs'. *CLB[G]*, 115-8. Amercements were discretionary penalties as opposed to fixed fines.

Carpenters supporting other trades/professions

Carpenter giving surety	Recipient of surety	Trade/profession
John de Depyngge	Simon Palmere	Mason
Henry Tabbard	Thomas le Gardyner	Paviour
John de Bodesham	William Scot	Tiler
John Heyward	Thomas Rypoun	Dauber
Henry Tabbard	Nicholas Petit	Mason

Carpenters supported by other trades/professions

Carpenter receiving surety	Giver of surety	Trade/profession
John de Kelleshulle senior	Richard de Olneye	Sergeant
John Frost junior	Adam Fraunceys	Mayor, mercer
Thomas le Clerk	John de Hakford	Beadle of Aldgate
Thomas Faunt	Richard de Nottingham	Sheriff, mercer
Henry Tabard	Nicholas de Walsshe	Beadle
John Joygnour	William le Tyllere de Holborn	? Tiler
John Prat	John Dauncere	Attorney
John de Oxenford	Richard de Nottingham	Sheriff, mercer
Nicholas de Walsyngham	William Beanner	Not known
Richard de Essex	Edmund Wylughby	Queen's doorkeeper
Andrew de Kelebourne	Thomas Thornton	Tailor

Further, although the numbers are small, it may be significant that when someone from outside the building trades stood surety for a carpenter it was a man who held an official position such as a beadle, sheriff, sergeant or attorney suggesting that carpenters were considered respectable and worthy of support by officials.

The city records list various 'divers misteries' paying sums of money into Guildhall to fund a gift for the king (Edward III) in 1363. Numerous craft groups are referred to by name and, while carpenters are not mentioned specifically, three men known to be practising carpenters, Thomas Fant, William Sunyng and William Kyng, appear together in the list. In total, these three contributed 20s, a reasonably large sum, and the money may have been gathered from a wider group than just those named.[108]

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[108] *CLB[G],* pp. 171-2.

Some carpenters may have been acting collectively in the city at the time with these men being the leaders.

In contrast to this evidence for carpenters working together, on other occasions they are absent from the records. For example, in 1370, because of fear of attack by a French fleet, the city authorities ordered a nightly watch to be kept by certain livery companies between the Tower and Billingsgate, with seventeen guilds agreeing to take part on a rota basis but there is no mention of carpenters.[109] Of even greater significance was their lack of participation in elections to the City's Common Council at a time when other comparable guilds did send representatives. For most of the later middle ages election to the Council was via the wards but during the 1370s and 1380s rivalry among some merchant groups led to radical reforms and for a brief period election to Council became through the craft guilds.[110] Thus, in 1376 'there came an immense Commonalty' to Guildhall to present the names of those elected by each 'mystery' to serve as a Council for the city. Forty-seven crafts were represented including those such as the joiners and plumbers that could be regarded as being of a similar status to carpenters. Even very modest crafts such as the pinners were on the list but there is no reference to carpenters and it is unclear why they were not included.[111] One explanation is that the small-scale and highly mobile nature of carpenters' work could have made it difficult to achieve strong guild organization and those that achieved eminence in the carpentry field had little need for the protection provided by a guild but this description could apply to a number of other crafts.[112] The exclusion of carpenters from the 1376 list was unlikely to have been an oversight so perhaps there really was no organised body of carpenters in existence in London at that date.

There is thus a paradox about the early years of the carpenters' craft. On the one hand many men were working as carpenters in the city at any one time. The civic records indicate that carpenters shared common interests and sometimes came together to protest about wage restraints but it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when

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[109] *CLB[G],* p. 264, translated in full in Riley, *Memorials,* pp. 344-5.
[110] For a discussion of these changes see Unwin, *Gilds*, pp. 130-52 and Barron, *London*, pp. 130-31.
[111] *CLB[H],* pp. 41-4. See also Barron, *London*, Table 9.1 *Crafts and companies in some civic lists, 1328-1518*, pp. 218-23.
[112] Alford and Barker, *History*, pp. 27-8.

they first began to organise together on a formal basis. They did not send representatives to the meetings of the Common Council in the late fourteenth century and there are no extant craft records until the fifteenth century.

2.5 An organised craft? The 1388-9 guild returns.

It is not until nearly the close of the fourteenth century that the first mention of a formal association of carpenters occurs in the records and the importance of this evidence merits its consideration in some detail. In the autumn of 1388 Parliament received a petition from the Commons which resulted in the Crown conducting an investigation into the activities of guilds and fraternities throughout England. The leaders of all such groups were ordered to submit their returns into Chancery by the beginning of the following February. They were instructed to provide comprehensive information about themselves i.e. to give their foundation dates; their method of organisation, including whether there was an entry-oath; information about feasts and meetings; and a list of all property held.[113] On this occasion the carpenters did make a return, an important milestone in the history of their organisation. They responded to the Crown's edict by producing a 'Boke of ordinances of the brotherhood of Carpenters of London', purporting to date from 1 September in the seventh year of the reign of Edward III (i.e. 1333).[114] Before the fifteenth century it is not always straightforward to 'separate true parish fraternities from trade guilds' as the distinction was only just beginning to develop but, in the case of the London Carpenters the ordinances state that 'the good men carpenters have ordeined a fraternity' demonstrating that it was a craft specific organisation rather than a general religious fraternity open to all (although the two types of bodies did have many characteristics in common), and the ordinances contain some clauses specifically relating to the work of the craft.[115] It is possible that, in common with many other fraternities, the Brotherhood of carpenters had indeed originated in a religious association and this had gradually been adopted by carpenters as their own

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[113] H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), p. 36.

[114] C. M. Barron and L. Wright, in 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388-9', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 108-45. Reproduced at Appendix 2.

[115] C. M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill ed., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Suffolk, 1985), 13-37, p. 14.

organisation but this hypothesis cannot be tested from the limited information available.

The majority of the guild returns made into Chancery were written in Latin, with a few in French, but the Carpenters' ordinances were part of a small group that were written in English, a language only to be found in guild returns from London and Norfolk. This use of the vernacular in their return to the Crown could be an argument in favour of the longevity of the Carpenters' fraternity. In support of this view it has been suggested that it was in precisely the most 'advanced' parts of the country, specifically London and Norfolk where well-established fraternities already had their own written ordinances, that English was used in the guild returns. In contrast, those returns made in Latin were likely to have been compiled by Chancery clerks on behalf of poorer or newer guilds that had not previously set down their ordinances in writing and who were not comfortable writing out their own ordinances or employing a local scribe on their behalf.[116] The Carpenters' ordinances were written by one scribe throughout and this hand is not discernible in any of the other returns.[117] This argues in favour of the Carpenters' fraternity being a well-established body with its own written records by 1388. There is no evidence, however, that their ordinances were ever formally recorded in the city's Letter Books kept in Guildhall for which there would have been a charge.

However, there is difficulty in accepting at face value the claims of the carpenters for the early date of their ordinances. Firstly and importantly, the existence of the fraternity between 1333 and 1388 is not supported by other firm evidence. The return does not record the names of any of the 'good men carpenters' who made the submission nor is there any evidence for the activities of the fraternity between these dates or indeed any further information about it at all beyond the details in the ordinances. Secondly, the language used in the 1388-9 return, while not conclusive evidence, suggests that the document was created later than 1333. A phrase such as, 'a tapur brennyng', which occurs in the ordinances is a more recent construction hinting that they were written down nearer to the date of their submission to the

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[116] Barron and Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates', p. 110.
[117] Barron and Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates', p. 120.

Crown.[118] If the organisation was in fact in existence in 1333 it would make it one of the earliest known formally-organised craft bodies in London, placing its inception well before the 1348 outbreak of plague which was a major impetus to the formation of fraternities. Following the Black Death and influenced by the developing concept of purgatory there was a large increase in the formation of fraternities whose main purpose was to set up institutional chantries for those who could not afford to endow a private one for themselves. Their main object was to pray for deceased members and their families but fraternities also had a broader role of ensuring that the dead were buried with appropriate rites, an issue of great concern during times of epidemic as outlined below:

> It is not by chance that every set of London fraternity ordinances which has survived from the fourteenth century specifies in great detail the obligations which members have towards ensuring the decent burial of dead brothers and sisters; the collection of the body from outside London, the recitation of psalms, dirges and masses, the attendance at the funeral clothed in the livery of the fraternity, the fines imposed for absence without reasonable excuse and the provision of a goodly number of candles and tapers around the corpse.[119]

The Carpenters' ordinances as presented in 1388-9 would fit very well into this post-plague rush to make extra provision for the souls of the departed.

If the ordinances had been preserved for fifty-five years such that carpenters were able to produce them when required by the Crown it suggests a mature and well-organised body which sits uncomfortably with the evidence that many London carpenters in the fourteenth century were new arrivals to the city and the belief that the nature of their work made them too mobile to make such a formal association feasible. It is of course possible that the ordinances were set down in writing only in response to the king's request for information and is not conclusive proof that carpenters themselves had only recently begun to organise themselves in a formal way. The fraternity might have met for many years without experiencing the need for written ordinances or may have felt no need to publicise what they saw as their own

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[118] '... yat is to witen for to fynde a tapur brennyng in certeyn tymes to-for oure Lady & seint Joseph'. Laura Wright pers comm. See Appendix 2, para. 2.
[119] Barron, *Parish Fraternities*, pp. 24-5.

private rules.[120] The date in the early years of the reign of Edward III may have been chosen to give the ordinances greater credence by suggesting a body of longer-standing than was actually the case.[121] However, an instance in 1331 might have provided an impetus towards organisation. In September of that year Edward III's queen, Philippa of Hainault, was watching a tournament in Cheapside when the wooden structure that she and her attendants were standing on collapsed throwing everyone to the ground. Fortunately all escaped without serious injury but the king threatened to put to death the carpenters responsible for the scaffold and they were only saved by the intervention of the queen.[122] Following this incident some carpenters may have decided to get together to try to raise standards and prevent future catastrophes. In 1388 carpenters might still have been meeting collectively on an informal basis and the call to produce a return to Chancery could have stimulated them to codify their ordinances for the first time.

If carpenters were organised formally in 1333 it would be an exceptionally early date for the foundation of such a body. Only five other London fraternities are known to have been in existence before 1348-9, with the guild of St Katherine, founded in 1339, being the earliest of these.[123] It seems that, even with the existence of a firm piece of documentary evidence such as the ordinances, it is still not easy to trace the development of the carpenters' craft. In conclusion: there is evidence that a formal grouping of carpenters was in existence for part of the fourteenth century but it is difficult to substantiate exactly when this organisation first began. There are no references in surviving contemporary wills to the existence of the fraternity. (The first mention of an organised body of carpenters in a will occurs in 1410).[124] However, by 1388 an organised body of carpenters must have been in existence. The

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[120] Nigel Ramsay believes that craft guilds differed in this respect from purely religious fraternities whose members wanted to have their names written down so that they would be remembered in prayers. Blair and Ramsay ed., *English Medieval Industries*, p. xxii.

[121] Four distinct stages in the development of governing institutions for trades in London have been identified, the first of which was 'entirely informal'. M. C. Burrage and D. Corry, 'At Sixes and Sevens: Occupational Status in the City of London from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century' *American Sociological Journal*, 46 (1981), 375-93, p. 377.

[122] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II: Annales Londoniensis and Annales Paulini*, ed. W. Stubbs (Kraus reprint 1965). *Annales Paulini*, p. 355.

[123] Barron, *Parish Fraternities*, p. 23. For the woodworking crafts it has been suggested that a London guild of shipwrights was in existence by the 1360s. I. Friel, *The Good Ship: Ships, Shipbuilding and Technology in England* (London, 1995), pp. 39-40 and Barron, *London*, p. 74.

[124] This is the will of Richard Aylesbury, citizen and carpenter, which is discussed in Section 3.1.1. LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 233.

men who produced the very detailed ordinances for the Chancery officials were unlikely to have fabricated the existence of such a group. These men were sufficiently confident and well-organised to hire their own scribe.

In many ways the ordinances of the Carpenters' brotherhood are indicative of a typical religious fraternity of the fourteenth century rather than those of a craft body. Members, both brothers and sisters, were expected to pray together and to provide mutual assistance by ensuring each had a decent burial and financial help during hard times or sickness. However, the Carpenters' fraternity was relatively unusual in that it was based in two different locations with two separate dedications.[125] The main meeting place was the Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr of Acon (or Acre) in Cheapside, near the great conduit, a very central location and one popular with Londoners because of its association with one of the city's two patron saints.[126] [See Map 2]. During the winter months members of the brotherhood were expected to meet at St Thomas's every twelfth day to hear mass 'all together' and at 'certain times' they were to provide a taper to be lit in the church 'in honour of Our Lady and St Joseph'. The Virgin Mary was by far the most common dedication of London medieval parish fraternities but the choice of St Joseph for a patron was much rarer. Given the belief that he was a carpenter by trade, and with Jesus being known as 'the carpenter's son', Joseph was an appropriate patron for the Carpenters' Brotherhood.[127]

The Hospital of St Thomas was patronised by the Mercers' Company from about the mid fourteenth century and it played an important role in London civic life, since it was the location for many ceremonies involving the mayor and aldermen.[128] It is perhaps unexpected therefore to find the fraternity of the relatively modest carpenters based there. It could be related to the fact that, as a result of financial problems and other difficulties, the custody of the Hospital was entrusted into the hands of the

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[125] See Appendix 2, paras. 2 & 3.

[126] For the Hospital of St Thomas of Acon see M. Reddan, with revisions by C. M. Barron, 'The Hospital of St Thomas of Acon [Acre]' in. C. M. Barron and M. Davies ed., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London, 2007), 108-12.

[127] Barron, *Parish Fraternities*, p. 32; for Joseph see R. J. Blackham, *The Soul of the City. London's Livery Companies* (London, 1931), p. 215.

[128] A. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 72-4.

mayor and commonalty in 1327 and from then on there was a significant increase in interest in the house on the part of London citizens, demonstrated by the level of bequests it received and the number of chantries established there.[129] This general popularity, together with its convenient central location, could explain why it was chosen as a meeting place by the Carpenters' fraternity but evidence to corroborate their meeting there is lacking. If the fraternity was indeed meeting at St Thomas's it might be expected that some carpenters would mention the Hospital in their wills but none do so during the fourteenth century.[130] Reference to the Hospital in the ordinances is, however, an argument in favour of the brotherhood's actual existence during at least part of the fourteenth century. They were unlikely to have referred to such a prominent location, well-known to many, if they had not held at least some meetings there. Most likely, a group of carpenters had been meeting at St Thomas's for some time and when asked to submit their ordinances took the opportunity to put down in writing what had been an informal arrangement up to that point.

In addition to their main base, the ordinances state that High Mass was to be celebrated at St John the Baptist Priory at Haliwell (or Holywell) in Shoreditch at Midsummer and the focus of the fraternity's worship there, was to be the Virgin Mary and St John (St John the Baptist's feast day was 24 June). [See Map 2]. The priory was wealthy with extensive lands in London as well as in surrounding counties.[131] It is not known why the Carpenters' fraternity had two separate bases (although presumably it was pleasant to have a trip out of the city at Midsummer) nor why they chose these particular institutions. St Thomas's and St John's were both relatively well-off which does not suggest a reason for an association with carpenters, although much of this wealth had been accrued through support from Londoners and it may be that leading carpenters, who were involved with the founding of the fraternity, had personal connections with these institutions. Another

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[129] Reddan, 'Hospital of St Thomas Acon', p. 109.

[130] The only carpenter known to have had a connection with St Thomas of Acon is from the fifteenth century. This was William Bette († 1448) who, in his will, described himself as a 'servant' of St Thomas although he simply asked to be buried 'where God pleases' rather than specifying St Thomas's Hospital. LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f.32v.

[131] This institution is often referred to as a Benedictine Nunnery but was in fact a house of Augustinian canonesses. See J. L. Kirby, with revisions by J. Freeman, 'The Priory of Haliwell' in C. M. Barron and M. Davies ed., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, 269-73. For a conjectural plan of the nunnery in *c*. 1544 see London County Council, *Survey of London. Vol. VIII: The Parish of St Leonard Shoreditch* (London, 1922), plate 83.

reason for choosing the priory may have been to enable carpenters living on the north side of the city to have a local focus although the priory was in fact some distance outside the city boundary. If that was the case it suggests that carpenters were not concentrated in one particular parish within London, something which will be considered further later.[132] On attendance at mass in both locations each member was expected to contribute one penny and those who did not put in an appearance without a justifiable reason were to be fined a pound of wax. Wax was the standard penalty for transgressors in medieval fraternities with a religious element because it was a good way of obtaining the candles that such organizations required to accompany the liturgy (as well as for lighting a relatively large space).[133]

The fraternity was open to men and women, another very common characteristic of religious fraternities. The ordinances suggest a tightknit community whose members would know each other well from living and working in relatively close proximity, and through assembling together to mark the passing of one of their number. The latter was an important aspect of fraternal membership. When a member died within the city or its suburbs all the brothers and sisters were expected to gather at the house where the corpse lay, accompany it to church, and be present on the evening before the burial to hear *placebo*. They then had to return the following day to hear the *dirige* mass and to see the body buried. Any member dying in the city or within a twelve mile radius, without the means for burial, was to be interred at the cost of the Brotherhood so that all members no matter what their means, could be ensured a 'proper' burial with appropriate prayers. For those dying outside the city but within twelve miles of its boundaries the ordinances specify that the 'wardens' of the Brotherhood should go to where the body lay and arrange the burial. This is the first mention of wardens in the ordinances and a further clause indicates that there were to be four wardens chosen on an annual basis but their duties were not set out (and the names of any office-holders are not recorded). All those attending the burial service had to contribute one penny and anyone absent from any part without a reasonable excuse was to be fined, again this was to be in wax.

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[132] See Section 7.2.

[133] One penny, or its equivalent in wax, seems to have been a standard payment for guild members since at least the time of Cnut († 1035). Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, p. 3. For information about the different candles required by churches see *The Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall*, ed. C. Welch (London, 1912), pp. 5, 11 & 27.

Four times each year members were to assemble at the church of St Thomas to make their quarterly payments (the amount is not recorded) and to discuss the work of the fraternity including an enquiry whether any members were sick and in need of help. New members could only be admitted to the fraternity at one of the quarterly meetings. Punishment for absence from these gatherings was another fine in wax. It has been suggested that the ordinances might be incomplete because no mention was made of any property belonging to the fraternity such as a hall but very few fraternities owned property in the fourteenth century, and the Carpenters were unlikely to have been different.[134] The fact that members were expected to gather regularly at St Thomas's to discuss their business suggests that the church fulfilled the function of a meeting place for the fraternity and it was likely that this was where copies of ordinances and any other documentation, such as membership lists and accounts were kept. If the Carpenters did possess a hall of their own they might have deliberately not mentioned it in their return to the Crown to avoid being caught contravening the Statutes of Mortmain (dating from 1279 and 1290). These decreed that no estate could be passed to a perpetual organisation i.e. a church or religious fraternity without the agreement of the king (who would impose a fee for his support). The Brotherhood of Carpenters was not legally entitled to hold property as a corporate body in the fourteenth century as the later body of Carpenters did not receive their charter of incorporation until 1477.

The Crown's motivation in 1388 for the collection of information about guilds and fraternities has been the subject of much debate with various explanations being proposed such as a desire to find new sources of revenue; a means of curbing the growing organisation of labour; a way of finding out about secret societies whose members took oaths; or to discover organisations that were avoiding payments under the Statutes of Mortmain.[135] Contemporaries themselves seem to have been equally unsure about the purpose of the inquiry and many guilds and fraternities appear to have chosen to play it safe by not making a submission at all. Others downplayed

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[134] Welch, "Boke", p. 3. Only the Goldsmiths and Taylors definitely possessed a hall before 1400. See C. M. Barron, 'The Later Middle Ages: 1270-1520' in *The British Atlas of Historic Towns Vol. III – The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, ed. M. D. Lobel (Oxford, 1989, reprinted 1991), 42-56, p. 50.

[135] Barron, *Parish Fraternities*, p. 20.

their wealth and some craft guilds may have limited their range of activities in order to appear merely as religious fraternities. This was not the case for the Carpenters. The ordinances they submitted may have been largely conventional from a religious point of view but they were comparatively unusual in containing a number of economic provisions. Anyone who had more work than he could manage was to offer it to brothers in the fraternity before anyone else. Money was to be collected from those with work (at the rate of 12d per annum) and used to help those who had fallen on hard times. Men unable to work were to receive 14d per week from the 'common box' after they had been ill for a fortnight, a figure which was on the more generous side as the usual rate of weekly sick pay in London in the fourteenth century ranged from 6½d to 14d.[136] (The 1370 ordinances of the London Cutlers stated that members suffering hardship were to receive 10d per week).[137] But, without information about how much was regularly collected from the membership, it is impossible to know how often this amount was, or could have been, paid out. In addition, the ordinances state that those suffering hardship were to be provided with their livery robes thereby enabling them to take a full part in the activities of the fraternity without being conspicuous. A further clause in the ordinances highlights the dangers of the carpenter's craft by making provision for brothers to receive sick pay should they be unable to work specifically due to injuries sustained from mishaps with axes or the collapse of buildings.[138] The fact that these were indeed serious hazards for these craftsmen is illustrated by many examples from official records. Carpenters worked continually with dangerous tools undertaking tasks that frequently led to injury, permanent maiming, or even death.

Like many similar bodies, the Fraternity of Carpenters was concerned to maintain high standards amongst its membership. Only men and women of 'good fame and good name' were to be allowed to join and expulsion awaited anyone who might bring the fraternity into ill-repute through activities such as quarrelling, theft or lying. Members who fell out with each other were strongly encouraged to bring their disputes to the wardens before going to law. Such a system not only concealed

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[136] Barron and Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates', p. 116.
[137] M. Sasai, 'The Cutlers' Craft in Fifteenth-Century London: Corporate and Personal Charity, unpublished MA thesis (University of London, 2009), p. 21.
[138] See Appendix 2, para. 4. Welch, 'Boke', p. 12 incorrectly transcribed the latter clause to refer to an injury to the eye and this mistake was perpetuated by Alford and Barker in their *History*, p. 16.

disagreements among members from public view, thus helping to present the fraternity as one united body, but it also saved members the cost of going through the law courts.[139] Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell from the ordinances whether the clauses were merely aspirational and to what extent any or all of them were ever implemented. There is no further information about membership numbers, names of individual members (or officers), nor how many people received assistance.

The effect of the royal inquiry of 1388 into the craft guilds may have been to provoke many of them into seeking legal incorporation.[140] As already noted this did not happen in the case of the Carpenters who, whether through lack of motivation or funds, did not achieve incorporation as a company until 1477. The general ethos of guild formation and activity may, however, have stimulated interest in the brotherhood or a desire to work more closely together. When the first surviving account book of the Carpenters' Company begins in 1438 the body was already well established with members and formal procedures but there is no indication of its commencement date or its relationship, if any, with the 1388 fraternity of the 'good men carpenters'.

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[139] M. Addison Amos, 'The Naked and the Dead: the Carpenters' Company and Lay Spirituality in Late Medieval England' in K. Robertson and M. Vebel ed., *The Middle Ages at Work: Practicing Labor in Late Medieval England* (New York, 2004), 91-110, p. 102.
[140] Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, p. 38.

Chapter 3   The Carpenters' Company *c*. 1410 - *c*. 1540 – Part I

This chapter will review evidence for a growing craft organisation in the fifteenth century. Material in the London Journals (the records of the Court of Aldermen and Court of Common Council) will be used to demonstrate that a well-organised grouping of carpenters existed before the Company's own records are extant.[1] Carpenters were unusual in not only purchasing land for a hall at an early date but also for building their own hall, rather than making use of an existing building donated by a member. This desire for, and ability to obtain, a hall of their own may have had something to do with the particular nature of the craft. Carpenters would naturally have been able to call on appropriate skills from among their own membership and committed members may have been prepared to work for free or at a reduced rate. How the Carpenters' Company was managed; what it meant to be free of the Company; how new members were inducted into the 'mystery' and how control over members and non-members was exercised; the importance of livery; and participation in civic events will all be discussed. Much use will be made of the Carpenters' Account Book covering the period 1438-1516 which gives a unique insight into many of the Company's activities.

3.1 Becoming established

3.1.1 The first evidence for the existence of the Company[2]

It is hard to explain the relationship between the fourteenth century brotherhood and the later organised body of Carpenters. Logic would suggest that, if carpenters were meeting together in an organised way for religious and financial support in 1388, then those carpenters who acted together in the 1420s to purchase land on which to

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[1] Journals, Court of Common Council, 6 vols, 1416-63, LMA COL/CA/01-06, with a card index compiled by Caroline Barron.

[2] It is common practice to refer to a guild as a 'company' only after the date of its incorporation which, in the case of the carpenters, was 1477. Before this date the term 'craft' or 'mystery' is frequently employed and this custom will be followed in this thesis. The term 'brotherhood' was still being used as late as 1520 when Thomas Cheswyk, of the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate, bequeathed money to what is described in his will as the 'Brotherhood of Carpenters'. LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/09, f. 143v.

build a hall must have been, if not the same men, then their direct descendants. However, this is extremely difficult to prove. No references to the Carpenters' guild or its hall in the deeds enrolled in the court of Husting in the fourteenth century have been identified.[3] Furthermore, the church of All Hallows London Wall, where the fifteenth century Craft worshipped, and which was close to the site of their hall, was not geographically near to, nor had any links with, either of the two churches used by the earlier brotherhood. A fraternity of brewers was meeting in All Hallows by 1342 and a brotherhood of whitetawyers (workers in white leather) met there in honour of the Virgin by 1388-9 but there is no known association between carpenters and that church in the fourteenth century.[4] In the absence of any evidence to connect the two bodies of carpenters they have to be regarded as distinct organisations.

The foundation date of the later Carpenters' Craft is unknown and it has not been possible to trace its origins back beyond the early years of the fifteenth century. It may not have been launched on a particular day but could have developed gradually as men with similar interests began to associate together informally. The first documentary reference to the organised Craft occurs in 1410, although this is not in the organisation's own records, but in the last will and testament of an individual carpenter. On his deathbed in September of that year Richard Aylesbury, citizen and carpenter of the parish of St Benet (Benedict) Fink, bequeathed *unam chypax to ye craf* i.e. one chip-axe to the craft.[5] (A chip-axe was a small axe used for chipping timber into shape and would no doubt have been a useful tool for most carpenters).[6] Aylesbury gave no clue as to why he was only bequeathing a single tool or why he wanted it to go 'to the craft'. The masons' yard and workshop attached to York Minster contained a wide selection of tools that were available for use by the local workforce and it may be that the London Carpenters' Craft also kept some communal

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[3] The deeds cover the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Index to the Deeds and Wills enrolled in the Court of Husting, LMA COL/AC/01/015.

[4] For the brewers see J. M. Bennett, 'Women and Men in the Brewers' Gild of London, ca. 1420' in E. B. DeWindt ed., *The Salt of Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside and Church: Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1995), 181-232, p. 198; for the whitetawyers see C. M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill ed., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Suffolk, 1985), 13-37, p. 16.

[5] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 233. Aylesbury's will was proved only four days after it was drawn up. The parish of St Benet Fink lay a short distance to the south of the land purchased later by the Carpenters' Craft on which they built their hall.

[6] Chip-axe, *n. OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 19 August 2011]. Tools will be discussed in Chapter 5.

tools (or wanted to set up such a pool) that could be borrowed by workmen.[7] Aylesbury could have been making a small contribution towards this. Alternatively, the intention behind the gift might have been that the chip-axe be sold to raise money for the Craft, to be spent perhaps on alms for poor carpenters. The bequest may suggest that Aylesbury had no suitable heir to whom he could pass on his tools and in fact no kin are mentioned in his will.[8]

There is a further reference to the Craft in a will of 1417 when William Strete, citizen and carpenter of St Bride, Fleet Street, bequeathed 3s 4d to what is described as the *societati de carpenters* but regrettably there are no further details. The will makes no other reference to the Craft or to tools of any kind.[9] In the same year confirmation of the existence of the craft body is provided by an entry in the London Journals where Nicholas Walton, 'Master of the Company', together with other named carpenters, provided surety of £20 to the city for the good behaviour of Roger Yong towards the wardens of the Mystery of Carpenters.[10] Then, from the 1420s, there are instances in the Journals of carpenters swearing to keep the Company's ordinances, even though firm evidence for the existence of the ordinances cannot be traced in the Craft's own records before 1455.[11] These references, together with the fact that, on 4 May 1423, all the carpenters came into court where they were enjoined to observe all ordinances, suggest a reasonable number of men acting together.[12]

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[7] H. Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in late medieval York,* Borthwick Paper No. 63 (University of York, 1983), p. 6. Salzman, pp. 334-5 states that in 1399 the masons' lodge in Minster yard at York contained: '69 stanexes, a great kevell, 96 chisielles of iron, and 24 mallietes bound with iron', and in another building there were: '6 stane hamers, great setting chisiles' and other tools.

[8] Aylesbury's will is very short. The only other items mentioned are two *collobium*, (defined by R. E. Latham as a tabard, shirt, sleeveless tunic or cloak), one blue and the other 'blue medley' that were to go to men who do not appear to have been related to Aylesbury. There is no indication whether or not they were carpenters. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, prepared by R. E. Latham (London, 1965, reprinted 1989), p. 97. For an illustration of a *collobium* see C. Steer, *Lost Brass: Ralph de Hengham, St Paul's Cathedral, London*, Monumental Brass Society, Brass of the Month, September 2009 <http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/Brass%20of%20the%20month%20September%202009.html> [accessed 10 May 2010].

[9] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 47. The other bequests in the will are to religious institutions with the residue of Strete's possessions (unspecified) to go to his wife.

[10] LMA, Journal 1, f. 29v. Nicholas Walton was appointed to the office of King's Master Carpenter in April 1394 with a fee of 12d per day and a robe every winter. *CPR* 1391-6, p. 427. He was still active on 18 February 1430 when he was one of a group of men who took on responsibility for the leasehold of the estates of the Company but he is not mentioned in the Account Book which begins in 1438. See 'Abstract of Title to Estates of the Carpenters' Company', in *Accounts*, Appendix 2, 253-7. Roger Yong is also not mentioned in the Account Book. Neither Walton nor Yong has an extant will.

[11] See e.g. LMA, Journal 2, f. 37, 19 February 1425.

[12] LMA, Journal 2, f. 5v.

Further confirmation for the existence of the Carpenters' Craft during the 1420s comes from their inclusion in a list of 112 crafts in a book compiled by the Clerk of the Brewers' Company in 1422, together with the evidence of another will, that of William Stodeye, citizen and carpenter of the parish of All Hallows the Great who died in 1426.[13] Stodeye bequeathed to a fellow carpenter, William Stoke, a striped cloak described as 'of the last livery of the Carpenters', (*unam capaciem stragulatum de liberate ultima carpentarium*), which shows that, by this date the Company had adopted a livery and that it was regularly renewed. Stodeye also bequeathed a number of other items of clothing, mostly gowns (*togam*), to his friends and family, but, additionally, a scarlet hood (*capuciem de scarlette*) was to go to another carpenter, Robert Aleywyn. The hood appears in the will next to the livery cloak and it is possible that it was also an item of Craft livery. Wills and the city's administrative records thus reveal the existence of an organised grouping of carpenters with officers, ordinances and livery in the early years of the fifteenth century, before the Craft's own records are extant.

By the later middle ages three routes to the achievement of citizenship status in London had become established: patrimony i.e. inheritance from one's father, redemption i.e. paying for the privilege and apprenticeship to a master who was himself free of the city. The latter route gradually came to dominate and by the fourteenth century it had become necessary to introduce compulsory registers of apprentices to prevent men from claiming to be free of the city when they were not. Thus, one purpose of a craft organisation was to act as an entry point to the craft and, by progress through its ranks, the achievement of citizenship status. This was an important stage in the development of the role of guilds because it gave them control on behalf of the city authorities over who had access to the privileges that resulted from being free of the city.[14] During the period 1300-1417 i.e. up to the date of the first mention of the Craft in the London Journals, at least fifty carpenters are known to have been described as 'citizen and carpenter of London', but it cannot be determined how many of these had achieved citizenship through apprenticeship to a

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[13] For the Brewers see William Porland's minute book, being an account and memoranda book compiled by William Porland, Clerk to the [Brewers'] Company (1418-1440), LMA CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440. f. 11v. Stodeye's will was compiled on 5 July 1426 and proved ten days later. LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 170.

[14] See *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls AD 1324-1482*, vols. 1-4, ed. A. H. Thomas; vols. 5-6, P. E. Jones (Cambridge, 1926-1961), vol. 2, pp. xxvii-xxxvi for further discussion of this subject.

carpenter who was himself free of the Craft.[15] The subject of carpenters and apprentices will be discussed in Chapter 4 although, it should be noted that despite the rise in the popularity of apprenticeship, the other methods were both still in use as late as the sixteenth century. In 1533, for instance, John Johnson was made free of the Carpenters' Company by his father's 'copy' and John Fyllype was made free by redemption.[16]

In summary: the names of a number of carpenters (at least thirty-two) participating in a Craft organisation are known during the early fifteenth century before the Craft's own records commence (in 1438), but it is not possible to be specific about a date for the inauguration of the communal body, nor to provide any link between it and the 1388 Brotherhood of Carpenters.

3.1.2 The hall, garden and other properties

On 22 January 1429 three carpenters, Richard Aas (possibly 'Axe'), Peter Sextein and Richard Puncheon, took out a ninety-eight year lease on five cottages and a piece of waste land in the parish of All Hallows London Wall from the prior and convent of The Hospital of St Mary without Bishopsgate (known as St Mary Spital), a house/hospital of Augustinian Canons, subject to an annual rent of 20s.[17] This was a remarkable step and is indicative of a well-established organisation with solid finances, suggesting a relatively mature body rather than a newly formed one. Possession of a hall by any but the wealthiest companies at this early date was unusual and the leasing of land, followed soon after by the demolition of the existing properties and the erection of a purpose-built hall (and associated buildings), was an important contribution to, and demonstration of, the success of the Carpenters' Craft. Before the incorporation of the Craft as a legal body (in 1477) it was not possible for the land and buildings to be owned outright by the organisation, and it was necessary for a group of feoffees to hold it as leasehold. Thus, less than a month after the acquisition of the land, the original three lease-holders passed on the remaining terms

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[15] These men are indicated in Appendix 1.
[16] *Court*: f. 0, p. 1.
[17] The 'Abstract of Title to the Estates of the Carpenters' Company' is reproduced in *Accounts*: p. 253. The rent continued to be paid to St Mary Spital into the early years of the sixteenth century (still at the rate of 20s) until the company purchased the freehold.

of the lease to a much larger group of their fellow carpenters. That the Carpenters' Company recognised the value of possessing land and a hall is demonstrated by the way the leasehold of the land was retained and passed down through the generations. Each time a point was reached where the majority of leaseholders had died, such as in 1462 and 1490, a new group of men was introduced from the next generation and this ensured that the land was retained securely in the possession of the Company and indeed the Carpenters' Company still occupies the same site.[18] [See Map 3].

What can be discovered about the three men who were the important catalysts in obtaining this land? Richard Aas († 1447), possibly the eldest of the three, was a resident of the parish of St Peter the Poor (Broad Street) where he acted as executor for another local carpenter, John Perry, in 1426.[19] This small parish lay adjacent to the London house of the Austin Friars and was very close to the land granted to the Carpenters, so perhaps it was Aas who identified the land as a suitable site for the erection of a hall for the newly developing Craft. (The Austin Friars had already expanded their own site through the acquisition of land from the priory of St Mary).[20] Although Aas's name appears occasionally in Crown and city records from 1417, e.g. he stood surety for other carpenters between 1440 and 1446, almost nothing is known about his career other than that he served as one of the wardens for the Carpenters in 1438.[21] His will is very short, simply making provision for his burial in the churchyard of St Peter the Poor and leaving the residue of his goods to his wife, Johanna. Two executors were named, one of whom was the carpenter, William Serle (†*c*. 1450) who lived in the neighbouring parish of St Benet Fink.[22]

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[18] A new deed for the terms of the hall was made in 1491 at a cost of 3s 4d. *Accounts*: f. 56, p. 89. In 1519-20 St Mary Spital sold the freehold to the carpenter, Thomas Smart, who by his will of 1519 passed the land to the Company. LMA CLA/023/DW/01/261, f. 5. The will is reproduced in full in *Accounts*, pp. 254-5.

[19] John Perry's will was written on 27 December 1425 and proved on 27 January 1426. LMA DL/C/B/003/MS09171/008, f. 150v.

[20] M. Reddan, with revisions by Jens Röhrkasten, 'The Austin Friars' in C. M. Barron and M. Davies ed., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London, 2007), 133-6, p. 134.

[21] The men Aas stood surety for were John Yoman, John Bellamy and John Walfray. LMA Recognizance Rolls, 15 m. 1, 16 mm. 4, 5. See also Court of Common Pleas: 1413-37, 27 September 1417, where the rector of St Peter the Poor (Broad Street) bought a plaint of intrusion against Aas, two other carpenters and two further men; LMA Journal 2, 1428, f. 107 and LMA Recognizance: 1439-46; *Accounts:* f. 81, p. 2. Aas's only other mention in the accounts is in 1444 when he was one of six men who paid for 'clothe'. *Accounts*: f. 99, p. 10.

[22] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 204. Serle served as a Warden of the Company in 1445. *Accounts*, p. 260.

Even less is known about the other two lessees. Richard Puncheon served as warden of the Craft in 1437 and 1446.[23] He was described in a deed of 1437 as a 'timbermonger' rather than a carpenter but this was not unusual as there was often an overlap between the two trades, a situation that was not unique to London.[24] Thomas Wright, another warden of the Craft (in 1462), was also referred to as a timbermonger in reference to his holding of a tenement in St Sepulchre without Newgate (in 1456).[25] Several men working as carpenters in London in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shared the surname 'Puncheon' and were no doubt related. Richard may have been the father of John († 1464) who was also described both as a carpenter and a timbermonger.[26] There is no extant will for Richard Puncheon and nor is there one for the third lease-holder, Peter (Piers) Sextein, who also served as a warden (in 1445).[27] Peter may have been related to the carpenter, Thomas Sextein, who was one of the wider group of lessees who took on responsibility for the Craft's property in 1430. Thomas was long lived as it was noted on 1 July 1462 that he was the sole survivor of the original members to whom the lease of the land had been assigned when new men were being chosen to serve in that capacity.[28] Thomas Sextein seems to have enjoyed a successful career as a carpenter, serving the Company as both warden and master and donating to them a silver and gilt maser.[29] He was also one of the viewers of the Assize of Nuisance.[30] Unfortunately, much less can be discovered about Peter Sextein.

Most craft guilds initially used houses of prominent members or hostelries for their meetings, although they were usually keen to acquire their own properties.[31] The process for this was nearly always the same with a member bequeathing his house to the guild, frequently this would be a courtyard style house, which could be adapted

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[23] *Accounts*: f. 1, p. 1 & f. 108, p. 13.

[24] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/166 f. 16 & f. 30. In Winchester 'several carpenters sold and supplied timber as well as undertaking construction work'. D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 283.

[25] *Accounts*: f. 17, p. 36; *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, A Calendar prepared by N. J. M. Kerling (London, 1973), no. 99.

[26] John is described as a timbermonger in LMA COL/AC/01/015/183, f. 29 (1455) but a carpenter in his will, LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/5, f. 373.

[27] *Accounts*: f. 107, p. 12.

[28] *Accounts*: pp. 253-4.

[29] *Accounts*: p. 244.

[30] *CPMR* 1437-57, p. 127.

[31] In 1532, for instance, Sir John Browne, Sergeant Painter to Henry VIII, conveyed his house to the Company of Painter-Stainers to become their hall. *London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. John Schofield (London Topographical Society 135, 1987), p. 1.

or expanded as required.[32] The Carpenters were untypical of many artisan bodies in their confident building programme. Perhaps they felt it was unlikely that they would be gifted property and needed to take action on their own behalf. It is not known where carpenters met prior to the construction of their hall. There are references in the later financial accounts to meetings being held in inns, possibly when their own hall was rented to an outside group or undergoing repairs.[33] This desire for, and ability to obtain a hall of their own, may have had something to do with the particular nature of the craft in which carpenters were able to call on house-building skills from among their own membership.

The hall was a timber building of at least two storeys with wattle and daub infilling and a tiled roof.[34] There is evidence that members supplied building materials for work on the hall without charge, as in 1443, when oak boards and timber were apparently donated by several men.[35] On other occasions items were obtained from craftsmen for a fee, as in 1457, when John Bellamy was paid 13s 4d for quarter board for doors and windows.[36] Construction of the hall and its associated buildings was likely to have taken some time as funds became available and there are many references in the accounts to the purchase of building materials. In 1447, for example, money was expended on sawing timber (and repairs to the 'sawpit') and the purchase of tiles, tile pins, sand, lime, and 'stone', together with the services of a tiler.[37] There are few years without expenditure on similar items. As well as new construction, repairs would have been required on a regular basis. Repairs or changes to the hall in 1480, for instance, necessitated expenditure on the 'carriage, wharfage and cranage of three loads of timber'.[38] Further, in 1484, three carpenters gave loads of timber to the Company as a 'gift', presumably for work on the hall. The men were

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[32] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500: Vol. III Southern England* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 221-2. John Schofield makes the same point. J. Schofield, *London 1100-1600: The archaeology of a capital city* (Sheffield, 2011), p. 118. For a general discussion of the acquisition of company halls see Unwin, *Gilds*, pp. 176-87.

[33] Other companies also held meetings in inns e.g. eight men from the Mercers met at the Bull's Head in 1442-3. Jefferson, Vol. 1, p. 573.

[34] See e.g. *Accounts:* f. 23, p. 42 where 2s 2d was spent on 'dawbyng For the Chamber above & For lombe lathe & Naile'.

[35] *Accounts:* f. 98, p. 7.

[36] *Accounts* f. 9, p. 25. John Bellamy was also paid for supplying timber to the church of St Michael Cornhill 'for the cross' in 1459. *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Michael, Cornhill 1456-1608*, ed. W. H. Overall (London, 1898), p. 16.

[37] *Accounts*: f. 81, p. 14.

[38] *Accounts*: f. 36, p. 59.

Pers Tyrell, William Basse and John Bibill. However, this may not have been a completely 'free' gift as the accounts record that Bibill gave four loads of timber 'to be a freeman', so presumably the timber was in lieu of a cash payment for his freedom.[39]

The buildings constructed by the Carpenters from the 1430s consisted of 'one Great Hall and three new houses on the east side of the said Hall and one new house on the west'. These occupied only part of the land while the rest was reserved for a garden.[40] The main building seems to have consisted of the typical courtyard-style house.[41] There was a room for feasting and ceremony, with a dais at one end lit by a bay window, created in 1442 at a cost of 4s 4d.[42] In later years money was spent on its glazing, including in 1466, the year the Craft was granted a coat of arms, although it is unlikely that the outlay of 8d at that time would have been sufficient to pay for a depiction of the arms in the window.[43] The hall was known to have a hearth where coal was burnt, and there was a coalhouse, as well as a privy.[44] There were also smaller rooms including a parlour and a chamber as well as domestic offices, such as a buttery and a pantry (each of which had a window).[45] There were at least two gates leading to the site as the inner one underwent repairs in 1483.[46]

The Company had its own kitchen on the premises with at least two ovens.[47] At an earlier date kitchens associated with halls tended to be placed apart to guard against fire but by the fifteenth century they had become incorporated into the main building, and this was the case in Carpenters' Hall where a payment in 1460 for a hatch to the kitchen indicates that it was physically joined onto the hall, most likely at the service end.[48] The kitchen had a paved floor and by the end of the fifteenth century at least seems to have enjoyed piped water as 2s 4d was paid in 1499 for 'a pipe for water in

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[39] *Accounts*: f. 40, p. 65. No sum is given for the value of the timber.
[40] Alford and Barker, *History*, p. 18.
[41] For references to the courtyard see *Accounts*: f. 27, p. 47; f. 76, p. 121; f. 53, p. 84.
[42] *Accounts*: f. 97, p. 7.
[43] *Accounts*: f. 20, p. 40. A further 12d was spent on the window in 1469, *Accounts*: f. 23, p. 42. In 1504, 2s had to be spent on 'mending the glass windows in the hall', *Accounts*: f. 114, p. 155 and further repairs were undertaken in 1512, *Accounts*: f. 158, p. 216.
[44] See e.g. *Accounts*: f. 7, p. 21; f. 9, p. 25; f. 90, p. 142; f. 152, p. 207.
[45] *Accounts*: f. 96, p. 4; f. 138, p. 187.
[46] *Accounts*: f. 40, p. 65.
[47] *Accounts*: f. 137, p. 187.
[48] M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1965, reprinted 1994), p. xxviii; *Accounts*, f. 14, p. 32.

the kitchen and hoops to the same pipe'.[49] Before then the Craft seems to have managed with a well for which timber was purchased in 1446 and new buckets and associated ironwork frequently constructed.[50] Throughout the period of the Account Book, small amounts of money were spent on repairs and improvements to the kitchen but these did not come close to the cost incurred by the Merchant Taylors on their kitchen that they rebuilt between 1425 and 1433 at a cost of £300. The roof, constructed by the London carpenter, Thomas Winchecombe, was based on the design of the kitchen roof at Kennington Palace and it is seems that organisations would be aware of other contemporary buildings.[51] The Carpenters' own buildings would have been a very visible means of demonstrating the skills of their trade and could be considered as a form of advertising. When the Pewterers' Company were planning their own hall (at the end of the fifteenth century) members accompanied their carpenter, Simon Byrlyngham, to view several roofs, including that of Carpenters' Hall, before choosing a design.[52]

There is little evidence about the decoration inside Carpenters' Hall at this period. (The elaborate series of wall paintings referred to above date from the second half of the sixteenth century).[53] The Pewterers' Company spent money on 'colours' to paint their hall roof so the Carpenters' roof could likewise have been brightly decorated.[54] In 1472, about the time that the Company was thinking seriously about obtaining a charter of incorporation, there is a reference in the accounts to painting the 'skochons in the halle', possibly these were depictions of the Craft's coat of arms.[55] The escutcheons required painting again in 1509 at a cost of 5s which suggests that they were fairly large and elaborate.[56] (The Bakers' Company had six metal 'scutcheons' bearing the craft's arms and these were hung on their barge in the Lord Mayor's

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[49] *Accounts*: f. 78, p. 126. For the paving see *Accounts*: f. 7, p. 22; f. 137, p. 187.
[50] E.g. *Accounts*: f. 108, p. 12; f. 15, p. 34; f. 21, p. 41; f. 38, p. 62.
[51] M. Davies and A. Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds, 2004), p. 31. Thomas Winchecombe served as warden of the Carpenters' Company in 1446. *Accounts*: f. 107, p. 12.
[52] The Pewterers paid 2½d to view the Carpenters' roof, other institutions charged only 2d. *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the city of London: based upon their own records,* 2 vols., C. Welch (London, 1902), Vol. 1, p. 82.
[53] See p. 28 above. Alford and Barker, *History*, p. 225 suggest that the Carpenters may have preferred wall paintings in the Elizabethan period to panelling because of a dispute with the Joiners' Company at that time.
[54] *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, p. 85.
[55] *Accounts*: f. 26, p. 46.
[56] *Accounts*: f. 141, p. 191.

procession in 1529-30).[57] Carpenters' Hall also contained a board listing the names of brothers and sisters of the Company in gilded letters. In 1485 a stationer was paid 6s 8d for 'gilding of letters on our table and for the parchment'.[58] This probably refers to a list of deceased members for whom Company members were expected to pray.[59] Having a hall gave the Company a place of their own to hold meetings and formal dinners, to store their records, and later, their plate. By 1477, at the latest, the Company possessed an 'aumbry' with two locks, (its bolt required repair in 1499), and possibly this was where the accounts and other record books were stored. Any plate or other valuables possessed by the Company might also have been kept there, or in one of the chests with keys referred to in the accounts.[60] There is also an intriguing entry (again in 1477) to money spent on making a window in the 'Treasure house' but there is no further indication about the use of this room.[61]

Owning their own buildings put the Craft in the position of being able to earn an income through hiring out their hall to other companies or groups who were not so fortunate. The rents received would have helped offset the costs for regular repairs to the buildings as well as funding improvements such as the creation of the bay window in 1442 and making a door 'at the high dais' in 1458.[62] The income received from renting out the hall is recorded in the Account Book and it seems that leasing was done on a commercial basis rather than the hall being only let to those with close connections to the Carpenters' Company. Hirers of the hall included other crafts, such as the Fletchers and the Upholders, as well as religious fraternities, including the Brotherhoods of St Anthony and St Sitha.[63] A fraternity dedicated to St Sithe met in the church used by the Carpenters' Company, All Hallows London Wall, (the churchwardens' accounts reveal that by 1469 there was an image of 'Sent Sithe' in

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[57] S. L. Thrupp, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (Croydon, 1933)*,* p. 10.

[58] *Accounts*: f. 43, p. 70.

[59] *Accounts*: f. 43, p. 70; f. 90, p. 141. The subject of the Company and religion is discussed in Chapter 6.

[60] Two locks and two keys, together with 'garnets' (hinges) were purchased for the aumbry in 1477. *Accounts*: 1477, f. 31a, p. 52; with reference to the chests: 'Paid for a key and two staples for the great chest, 6d', *Accounts*: 1466, f. 20, p. 40 and 'Paid for the making of a lock to the great chest, 8d', *Accounts*: 1467, f. 21, p. 41. In 1512 four men: Byrd, Poppe, Uffnell and Smarte had keys to the great chest. *Accounts*: f. 162, p. 219.

[61] *Accounts*: f. 33, p. 55.

[62] *Accounts*: f. 97, p. 7; f. 11, p. 28.

[63] See Appendix 7 for a list of hirers of the hall.

the church), and it is likely that it was this group that hired Carpenters' Hall.[64] Charges varied from 4d to 3s 4d. Some groups hired the hall regularly for several years and then disappeared completely from the records. For example, a brotherhood of 'Duchemen' hired it eight times between 1458 and 1469 at a cost of 3s annually (it is not known how frequently they met during each year) but after the last date they are not heard of again.[65] These may have been men from Holland although they could equally have been Flemings or Germans as migrants from all those areas tended to be grouped under the label 'Doche' because of the similarity of their spoken language.[66] Other groups, such as the whitetawyers, patternmakers and pointmakers (points were the tips of laces) all hired the hall during one accounting year only.[67] The Carpenters may have offered their accommodation for purposes other than meetings. The Pinners, who lacked a hall of their own, deposited a copy of their charter in the Girdlers' Hall for safekeeping and possibly the Carpenters were able to assist other bodies in a similar way.[68] There is no doubt that the money raised in this manner would have been a useful addition to the income received through members' quarterage payments and there are few years when the hall was not rented out at all.

In addition to their hall, the Carpenters' Company possessed other property which was available for rent and from which they enjoyed a useful, and in some years, a substantial, income. Some of the buildings erected by the Craft on the land leased from St Mary Spital were intended initially as almshouses for needy carpenters and members of their families and there are occasional references in the wills of carpenters supporting this development. In 1463, for instance, the carpenter and former warden, Simon Chacumbe, bequeathed 13s 4d 'to my powre brethren in the

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[64] See C. M. Barron, '"The whole company of Heaven' the saints of London", in M. Rubin ed., *European Religious Cultures: Essays offered to Christopher Brooke on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* (London, 2008), 131-47.

[65] *Accounts*: f. 10, p. 26; f. 14, p. 31; f. 16, p. 35; f. 18, p. 38; f. 19, p. 39; f. 20, p. 40; f. 21, p. 41; f. 22, p. 42. For the connection between the Austin Friars (located adjacent to Carpenters' Hall) and a number of alien communities including Dutchmen see J. Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *The London Journal*, 35 (2010), 111-43.

[66] S. L. Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century' in A. E. J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway ed., *Studies in London History presented to Philip Edmund Jones* (London, 1969), 251-72, p. 265 and Schofield, *London 1100-1600*, p. 110. A further contact with a man from the Low Countries occurred much later. In 1504, Peter Barlyng, 'Docheman' paid the Company 3s 4d for 'shoring of a crane'. *Accounts*: f. 112, p. 153.

[67] *Accounts*: f. 23, p. 43; f. 25, p. 45; f. 29, p. 49.

[68] B. Megson, *The Pinners' and Wiresellers' Book 1462-1511* (London Record Society 44, 2009), p. xvii.

almeshous of the Carpenters'.[69] It seems, however, that this accommodation was not provided free of charge and tenants were expected to pay rent for the privilege of occupying these properties. In 1444 the Craft received 26s 8d from 'the tenants for the year', with the same amount being enjoyed in 1453, increasing to 36s 8d in the following year.[70] There is little information about individual tenants at these dates although, in 1448, William Mendham's wife (presumably his widow) paid 11s 8d 'for house rent'.[71] (William Mendham, beadle to the Company in 1438, is not mentioned by name in the accounts after that date but he may have been the anonymous beadle referred to in 1441 and 1442).[72]

At some point a decision seems to have been made to stop designating these buildings as almshouses and they began to be rented out along with other property that the Company gradually acquired, much of it situated in Lime Street. The Company's properties are distinguished in the accounts by a number of distinct terms, for example, 'by the street', 'within the gate' and 'without the gate', suggesting a reasonable number of dwellings and the Craft seems to have enjoyed a healthy income from this source. In 1465 the rents 'by the street' produced 22s 6d and that from 'within the gate' 14s 4d.[73] One property, described as 'the head-house', appears to have been considerably larger as it generated 30s per annum and it may have been reserved for senior members of the craft.[74] One occupant was Philip Cosyn who served as warden on three occasions and once as master. He seems to have paid rent regularly for the property and at a 'commercial' rate. In 1496, for example, he paid 26s 8d for the year.[75] Cosyn died in the house in 1544 and in his will made detailed arrangements to pass on the tenancy to his daughter and her husband and, after their deaths, to their children. He clearly regarded this part of the

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[69] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 15. Alms giving will be considered in detail in Section 7.1.

[70] *Accounts*: f. 99, p. 10; f. 2, p. 16; f. 3, p. 16.

[71] *Accounts*: f. 82, p.15.

[72] *Accounts*: f. 1, p.1; f. 97, pp. 6 & 7. William may have been related to John Mendeham, carpenter, who made his will in 1410 leaving property in the parishes of St Botolph without Bishopsgate and St Olave. LMA CLA/023/DW/01/138, f. 48.

[73] *Accounts*: f.19, p. 39.

[74] This sum was paid by Thomas Wylcok for several years in the 1470s but by 1484 the property had been taken over by Thomas Deraunt. *Accounts*: f. 24, p. 44; f. 27, p. 47; f. 28, p. 48; f. 30, p. 50; f. 31b, p. 51; f. 35b, p. 56; f. 36, p. 58; f. 40, p. 66.

[75] *Accounts*: f. 70, p. 111.

city as his home as he asked to be buried in the nearby church of St Dionis Backchurch.[76]

Income from other individual Craft properties ranged from 40d a year to 10s. As can be seen the Carpenters' organisation was an important landlord in this part of London and income generated by their property could be high. Table 5 gives an example of receipts from one year, 1495:

Table 5: The Company's income from rents in 1495[77]

Steven Ingham	For the head house for a whole year's rent ending at Midsummer last	33s
Robert Silver	For his gardens for three-quarters at Our Lady Day	20s
Thomas Wood	For a whole year's rent at Midsummer	54s
John Robyns	For half a year at last Christmas	5s
'The woman next Wood'	For a quarter's rent at Michaelmas	2s 6d
'The French man'	For a whole year at Midsummer last	10s
Philip Cosyn	For half a year at Our Lady Day in Lent last	13s 4d
Total		**137s 10d**

From the start the Company hall was surrounded by a garden and money was spent frequently on its upkeep as in 1490 when a gardener and his labourer were employed to work for several days planting box 'about the court'. At the same time herbs such as rosemary, thyme and hyssop were planted and rails, stakes and bindings purchased.[78] The fact that the garden contained trees can be seen from the felling of a walnut in 1503; at the same time, another tree was pruned.[79] Over the next few years further expenditure was incurred including weeding, 'dressing', and making and setting of knots (formal layouts).[80] Pride of place in the garden was a single, large vine, an item that appears to have been quite common in institutional gardens throughout the city. The Bakers' Company regularly paid a gardener to cut and train

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[76] TNA PCC PROB 11/30, f. 158.
[77] *Accounts*: f. 67, p. 108.
[78] *Accounts*: f. 53, p. 84.
[79] *Accounts*: f. 94, p. 148.
[80] E.g. *Accounts*: f. 88, p. 139 (1501) & f. 118, p. 162 (1505).

their grapevines and the Cutlers' Company also had 'vines'.[81] Even the Great Wardrobe situated in Baynard's Castle had a 'garden planted with vines'.[82] Changes in weather patterns after 1300 led to a decline in the acreage of vineyards in Britain but grapevines were still grown for ornamental purposes. It is to be hoped that the Carpenters' vine did actually produce edible grapes that could be enjoyed at formal dinners given that the Company lavished considerable attention on it.[83] Small sums of money were spent regularly on its upkeep particularly for 'cutting' and in some years quite large amounts were expended both on maintaining the vine and to improve its appearance as the centrepiece of the garden. In 1491 a total of 3s 2d was paid to a gardener for work which included the dressing, cutting and railing of the vine and in 1510, the carpenter, William Cony, submitted a bill for 24s for the 'railing of the vine and the garden'.[84] In addition to the garden reserved for their own use, the Company also rented out gardens, some of which brought in a tidy sum on a regular basis. In 1477, for instance, John Shukborough leased a garden for £2 6s 8d (although the Company paid 2s 8d for an indenture for the lease).[85] In 1493, 13s 4d was received from Robert Silver for one year's rent for a garden and in the same year 6d 8d was received from 'Proll' (a brewer) for another garden.[86]

3.2 Management of the Company

3.2.1 Officers and employees

The way the Craft was organised can be deduced from its records i.e. the ordinances, Account and Court Books. The year 1455 was an important one for the Craft as its governance was reorganised, something confirmed by the formal adoption of ordinances.[87] These laid down a theoretical framework for how the work of the organisation was to be conducted including maintaining continuity and providing

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[81] Thrupp, *Bakers*, p. 163; T. Girtin, *The Mark of the Sword: A narrative history of the Cutlers' Company, 1189-1975* (London, 1975), p. 65.

[82] *The Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, ed. M. Hayward (London Record Society 47, 2012), p. xv.

[83] J. Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens* (London, 1981), p. 2. The Grocers had a vine that provided two or three bunches of grapes a day. Barron, *London*, p. 224.

[84] *Accounts*: f. 56, p. 89; f. 145, p. 198.

[85] *Accounts*: f. 31b, p. 51; f. 31a, p. 52.

[86] *Accounts*: f. 62, p. 99. Robert Silver was still paying rent to the Company in 1516 although it is not clear whether this was for a building or a garden (or both). *Accounts*: f. 180a, p. 238.

[87] The ordinances are reproduced at Appendix 3.

punishments for miscreants. That they were formally recorded in 1455 does not mean, however, that the ordinances had not been in use to govern the work of the Craft previously as some sort of structure would have been necessary from the time of the initial setting up of the body and, as has been noted already, the existence of Carpenters' ordinances is recorded in the 1420s.[88] One writer has commented that the similarity between the ordinances of most crafts can be accounted for by the fact that, when first set down, ordinances were endorsing 'long-established customs and rules already existing in the city'.[89] It seems likely that the Carpenters' ordinances as recorded in 1455 had been in development for many years and were simply being formalised at that time.

An accurate financial record was deemed vital. As soon as the new master and wardens took up office the outgoing officer-holders had to provide the incomers with an account of all income received and payments incurred during their time in office and, as far as it is possible to tell from the records which appear to have been written-up at later dates, this became the routine. Exceptional occurrences were also catered for in the ordinances. If a serving master or warden died the remaining officers had to convene a meeting within fourteen days to choose a replacement. The ordinances of the fifteenth century body differed considerably both in length and content from those of the fourteenth century organisation. The main concern was no longer with spiritual affairs, although these still played a part, but the ordinances now showed much more of an interest in the day to day work of carpenters with an important focus on attempting to control training and who could work as a master carpenter. The emphasis also shifted to a concern with the city of London and its immediate suburbs only, with the disappearance of the provision to help members who died several miles away. Any fines incurred were no longer to be paid in wax but were simple monetary payments.[90]

From the Account Book it can be seen that between 1437 and 1455 the Craft was generally ruled by three wardens at any one time, all of apparently equal status.

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[88] See p. 93.
[89] Megson, *Pinners*, p. xii.
[90] Other crafts continued to set fines in either wax or cash. See, for instance, the 1484 regulations of the Fletchers' Company which set a fine of 6d or 1lb wax for absence from a quarterly meeting without reasonable excuse. J. E. Oxley, *The Fletchers and Longbowstringmakers of London* (London: 1968), p. 15.

Many of the men who served in the position of warden did so for one year only although there were a number of exceptions, with some men serving six or more times.[91] This may have been because there was a shortage of members willing to serve or that some men wished to hang onto power but it had the advantage that there was some stability at the top of the organisation while leaving room for newcomers. There is no discernible pattern as to why men served when they did but it could be expected that they would be relatively senior members of the Craft at the point when they took on this duty. The year 1455 was an unusual one with five men listed as wardens. This was probably related to the formal adoption of the ordinances in that year, at the same time as a change in the structure of the leadership. From 1456 the senior role of master was introduced in addition to the usual three wardens, and this pattern of leadership continued until the end of the Account Book and beyond, as can be seen from the Court Book.[92] (The evidence from the Account Book differs from that of the Journals which refer to a master of the Company in 1417).[93]

The earliest record of oaths sworn by men when they took up office only occurs in the sixteenth century but there must have been some form of induction ceremony before that date.[94] The man who served as master for the first four years after the introduction of the post in 1456 was Thomas Warham and he was master again in 1466 and 1467. It is possible that it was Warham himself who was partly responsible for the change in structure of the leadership of the Craft as he seems to have been especially influential, making a significant bequest of land in Lime Street to the Craft in 1477, coincidentally the year they achieved incorporation. This may not have been as generous as it sounds as Warham may have acquired the land with the Company's help and held it in his name to escape the mortmain legislation, gifting it to them in his will but he was certainly a key figure in the development of the Craft.[95] Prior to becoming master, Warham had served as one of the wardens (in 1441) and this became a regular pattern: men who were to take on the role of master would first serve their time as a warden. Sometimes, as in the case of Warham, this was for only one year but often men served in the position of warden for several years before their

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[91] Accounts, p. 260. The wardens of the Carpenters' Company are given at Appendix 8 and 9.
[92] Men who served as master of the Carpenters' Company from 1456 are listed at Appendix 9.
[93] LMA Journal 1f. 29v.
[94] See Appendix 10 for oaths taken by masters, wardens, freemen and clerks/beadles dating from 1504.
[95] TNA PCC PROB 11/7, f. 30.

promotion to master. Christopher Baker who served as master in 1478, 1483 and 1484 had held the position of warden on five occasions between 1465 and 1475 and William Carter, who served as master five times between 1474 and 1489, was a warden in a number of years: 1446, 1463, 1467, 1480, 1481 and 1487. The latter appears to be the only example of a man having served as master reverting to the position of warden although it is possible that there were two William Carters, father and son, who both served as warden during this period.

It was not inevitable that a man had to serve in the more junior post before graduating to become master and one exception was Edmund Graveley, master in 1451, who had never been a warden. Graveley may have been chosen for the role of master, not because he had held office within the guild, but because of his great eminence as a craftsman and this may explain why he only served as master for a single year. He was too busy with his other commitments to devote more time to the Craft. Graveley became Edward IV's Chief Carpenter in 1461 and it is likely that it was Graveley who designed the roof at Eltham Palace which has been described as, 'the principal work of carpentry carried out in Edward IV's reign'.[96] [See Illustration 6]. Graveley was the leading carpenter of his day and moved in eminent circles. He was again granted the office of King's Chief Carpenter by Richard III in 1483 and 1484, as well as receiving a bequest in the will of William Lee, the King's Joiner, brother of Sir Richard Lee, citizen and grocer of London and mayor in 1461-2 and 1470-1.[97] Because of Graveley's pre-eminence the Craft must have been delighted that he could spare the time to take on the role of master, albeit for a single year only, as this must have served to emphasise the importance of carpentry and have been a visible demonstration that some members of the Craft moved in the highest circles.

There is no firm evidence about the selection of officers. The ordinances indicate that the master and wardens, together with assistants whom they had appointed, were to form a Court of Nine Men and it was probably this group that made the choice. The summoning of 'assistants' to masters and wardens does not seem to have become a general occurrence in guilds until the latter years of the fifteenth century so the

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[96] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 123.
[97] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 177.

Carpenters' ordinances fit into this pattern.[98] These 'assistants' had either to have held office in the Craft or to be men of good-standing and with long experience in the trade. Jupp suggested that 'the humblest apprentice might look forward, after the lapse of a few years, to the attainment of the highest post' [within the Company].[99] However, this may be an over-optimistic view and those who achieved officer positions were likely to be men who were successful in their own businesses. The Court was to be responsible for the smooth running of the Company and adjudicating in any disputes. In 1478, for instance, they arbitrated between a carpenter, Edmund Denys, and a rent gatherer of St John's.[100] Unfortunately, the names of the Nine Men are not recorded and little is known about them particularly whether their careers were progressing at their time of appointment and this was a stepping-stone to higher things or whether they were men who had already served in senior positions and who were prepared to continue to give the Company the benefit of their expertise.

With respect to employees it has been suggested that the minimum number of permanent staff required by any company was a single beadle and that there was little need for regular clerical work, drawing up the annual accounts and writing occasional letters could be undertaken by a scrivener hired for that purpose.[101] This view is borne out by evidence for the Carpenters' Craft who employed a beadle continuously from at least the time their records began, and hired a scrivener as necessary. The names of the beadles are recorded in the Account Book, although often a first name only is given, suggesting that this was how such men were known to the membership.[102] (One carpenter, Robert Horson, made a bequest of a gown in his will to the wife of one of the beadles suggesting some affection between the carpenter and the employee).[103] There are no extant wills for any of these men. The first recorded beadle (in 1438) was William Mendham who, in that year, received a [livery] hood worth 5s and a payment of 26s 8d. Presumably the latter was his wage for the year, and in fact the beadle continued to be paid 26s 8d annually up until 1485 when his salary was increased to 33s 4d. This level of payment demonstrates the

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[98] *CLB[L]*, p. xxiv. There are no extant records of meetings of the Carpenters' Courts of Assistants until the mid-sixteenth century.
[99] Jupp and Pocock, *Historical*, p. viii.
[100] *Accounts*: f. 33, p. 55. There is no indication to which St John's this refers.
[101] Unwin, *Gilds*, p. 187.
[102] The beadles and clerks are listed at Appendix 11.
[103] TNA PCC PROB 11/31, f. 2 (1545).

relative wealth of the Carpenters compared with some of the other lesser crafts. The Pinners' beadle was paid only 6s 8d per annum.[104] The Carpenters were on a comparable level to the Pewterers who paid their beadle 24s in 1463.[105] In contrast, the Grocers paid their beadle £4 3s 4d in 1438.[106]

The oath sworn by a new beadle on taking up office firmly emphasises good conduct and obedience.[107] There is no doubt that the beadle was a vital link between the officers and the membership. The ordinances indicate that one of the beadle's tasks was to summon members to meetings, feasts and funerals, presumably he carried out these duties on foot as, unlike the Grocers' beadle, there is no record of payments for a horse for him.[108] The first mention of a clerk in the employment of the Company is in 1483 when John Braban was paid 8s 4d for one quarter. In the same year 'Hugh the Bedell' received 20s for three quarters so Braban may have replaced Hugh on the latter's departure.[109] The Company seems to have used the terms 'beadle' and 'clerk' interchangeably for their one permanent employee and it is likely that the work they undertook was similar. The beadle/clerk would have collected the quarterage payments from members and rents from tenants, distributed alms and attended searches, as well as acting as caretaker for the hall and superintending any building work taking place there as in 1501 when Harry Baggott was paid 5s 4d for four weeks to oversee workmen who were making a new parlour.[110] When the Pewterers were constructing their hall their beadle checked timesheets and purchased material under the direction of the wardens and no doubt the Carpenters' beadle would have had similar duties from time to time.[111] Baggott, referred to as 'owre clarke' in the Carpenters' accounts, served in that position for ten years at the beginning of the sixteenth century and on his retirement from the post was the recipient of 'alms', probably a pension, from the Company. For two years after his retirement Baggott

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[104] Megson, *Pinners,* p. xix.
[105] Unwin, *Gilds*, p. 187.
[106] *Facsimile Account of the First volume of Ms. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London 1345-1463,* ed. J. A. Kingdon, 2 vols. (London, 1886)**,** p. 185.
[107] See Appendix 10 for the oath.
[108] For the Grocers' expenditure on a horse for their beadle see, e.g. *Facsimile Account,* ed. J. A. Kingdon, p. 91 (1401).
[109] *Accounts:* f. 40, p. 64.
[110] *Accounts*: f. 88, p. 139.
[111] *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, Vol. 1, p. 83.

received an annual payment of 13s 4d which, as a proportion of his annual income of 33s 4d, seems to have been reasonably generous.[112]

Many companies, including the Carpenters, engaged professional scriveners to produce a fair-copy of their minutes and accounts as well as deeds or contracts when required. In most years a modest sum is recorded for the writing of the Carpenters' accounts although the name of the scribe is usually not given. One exception occurs in 1499 when Harry Phylypp was paid 20d for 'writing up the accounts'.[113] There are regular references in the accounts to the purchase of paper and ink. These were not always for the compilation of the Account Book as they were also used for other purposes such as writing out property deeds. In 1491, for instance, the scribe 'Parker' was paid 20d for overseeing the deeds of the lands and rents in Lime Street, for the will of Thomas Warham, and for the 'incorporation'.[114] Parker was kept busy that year because he was also paid for 'taking note of the deed when the craft were together' as well as being paid for making a new deed for the 'terms of the hall'.[115] In addition to routine record-keeping, scriveners and notaries were also occasionally paid by the Carpenters to provide advice.[116] The scrivener, Thomas Clifford, worked for the Company between 1476 and 1483 and was useful to them beyond the writing out of deeds and contracts for, on several occasions, he provided the Company with 'counsel'.[117] Writing up annual accounts was a straightforward task for Clifford as he was paid only 6d to undertake this for the year 1483 but at the same time he received 2s 6d for making a copy of Thomas Warham's testament. (Clifford was one of the

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[112] *Accounts*: f. 152, p. 207; f. 158, p. 215.

[113] *Accounts*: f. 80, p. 129. Phylypp has not been traced in the published records of the Scrivener's Company. *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628*, ed. F. W. Steer (London Record Society 4, 1968).

[114] *Accounts*: f. 56, p. 89. This may be John Parker, writer of court letter, who received a gift of goods from Thomas Veysy, stationer, in 1470. *CCR* 1468-76, p. 145.

[115] *Accounts*: f. 56, p. 88; f. 56, p. 89.

[116] For a general discussion of the role of scriveners and notaries see N. Ramsay, 'Scriveners and Notaries as Legal Intermediaries in Later Medieval England' in J. Kermode ed., *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1991), 118-31. Ramsay (p. 126) points out that some of the wealthier companies, such as the Mercers and the Goldsmiths, preferred to use lawyers for this work or even to employ their own liverymen for greater secrecy but he notes that they were 'unusual in the avoidance of scriveners'. For an instance of the Carpenters employing a notary see *Accounts*: f. 5, p. 19. This was during 1455, an exceptional year for expenditure on legal matters, as it was during this period that the ordinances were formally compiled.

[117] *Accounts*, f. 31a, p. 52 (for counsel); f. 33, p. 55 (writing and counsel); f. 35a, p. 57 (counsel); f. 36, p. 59 (writing); f. 37, p. 61 ('for overseeing the obligations'); f. 40, pp. 64 & 65 (writing).

executors of Warham's will). As mentioned earlier, in 1480 he had been paid the much larger sum of 13s 6d for writing 'the rules of the craft' i.e. the ordinances.[118]

Only the wealthier companies could afford to employ a chaplain on their staff and the Carpenters were not in this category.[119] Instead, they paid the local priest, at All Hallows London Wall, to officiate on their behalf, providing him with a livery hood to be worn on such occasions, but there is no evidence that he was 'free' of the Company.[120]

3.2.2 Becoming free of the Company

Becoming a full member of the Company enabled an individual to practise as a craftsman in the city as well as giving him other rights (and obligations) associated with citizenship. The advantages of membership were multi-faceted and one man might benefit in several ways over time from his membership. For some it may have been a means of achieving upward social mobility although it is difficult to test this as there are rarely any details available about a newcomer's background. For others it was a form of insurance to provide assistance should they suffer ill-health or lack of employment. It could also provide a means of spiritual support through ensuring a good funeral and post-mortem prayers. For all it meant membership of an organisation from which others were excluded.

Historians have long believed that by the later middle ages apprenticeship had become the most common route to London citizenship but it is difficult to confirm this from the Carpenters' Account Book.[121] The names of men paying for the freedom are recorded but it is difficult to trace whether these men served apprenticeships with the Company or if they were migrants to London who were buying citizenship through the guild. From the sums involved and the lack of evidence relating to the majority of these men serving apprenticeships within the Company it seems most likely that they were redemptioners i.e. men who were

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[118] *Accounts*: f. 40, pp. 64 & 65; f. 36, p. 59 and pp. 35-6 above.
[119] Unwin, *Gilds*, p. 187.
[120] Carpenters and religion will be considered in Chapter 6.
[121] *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls AD 1324-1482*, vols. 1-4, ed. A. H. Thomas; vols. 5-6, P. E. Jones (Cambridge, 1926-1961), vol. 2, p. xxxiv; for the sixteenth century see S. Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 291-4.

paying for the freedom, probably many were newcomers to the city. There is no doubt that paying for the freedom was expensive. The Craft did not appear to charge a standard rate for the freedom (a sum which would have been additional to the fees that had to be paid at Guildhall) with various amounts being recorded throughout the accounts. In 1440 John Yoman and John and Thomas Bellamy each paid 26s 8d but two years later John Walfrey paid 46s 8d while at the same time John Broke paid four marks (53s 4d).[122] Another man who paid four marks was Thomas Archer in 1462 but in the same year six men paid various amounts for their freedoms so payments varied widely.[123] It is not known how men managed to find such large sums when a day's pay for many carpenters was between 6d and 8d.

It is perhaps not surprising to find men paying for their freedom in instalments, sometimes over several years. Ralph Age paid 26s 8d towards his freedom in 1440, with a further 3s 4d in the following year and 8d in 1443.[124] Richard Smalley also paid in instalments with a part payment of 35s in 1494, 15s in the following year, and a final 5s in 1496, a total of 55s.[125] At least Smalley did achieve his objective of becoming free of the Company and progressed to take on two apprentices of his own in 1496, and another young man two years later.[126] Even so, Smalley was not to enjoy his position for long as he made his will in October 1500.[127] Some men who secured the freedom disappear from the records after a short period. Thomas Barnard received only one mention in the Account Book (in 1512) when he paid 25s 'yn fulle payment of hysse frebrotherd'.[128] Other men may have died before completing the payments for their freedom or given up the task as being beyond their means. What happened, for instance, to John Chapman who paid a total of 35s in part payment towards his freedom on three occasions between 1505 and 1509, but then disappeared from the records?[129] There is a hint that all was not well in 1505 when the Company spent 4d on warning Chapman to 'come before the Chamberlain',

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[122] *Accounts*: f. 96, p. 5; f. 98, p. 7. None of these men appear to have served apprenticeships with the London Craft, presumably the majority were purchasing their freedom i.e. they were redemptioners.
[123] *Accounts*: f. 16, p. 35
[124] *Accounts*: f. 95, p. 4; f. 96, p. 5; f. 98, p. 7.
[125] *Accounts*: f. 64, p. 102; f. 67, p. 107; f. 69, p. 110.
[126] *Accounts*, f. 69, p. 111; f. 75, p. 120.
[127] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/8, f. 218v. The probate clause is missing but it can be presumed that Smalley died soon after drawing up his will.
[128] *Accounts*; f. 155, p. 211.
[129] *Accounts*: f. 75, p. 120; f. 117, p. 160; f. 128, p. 173; f. 140, p. 190.

presumably for an offence against their ordinances, but nothing further is known of his activities or career.[130] It seems that obtaining the freedom of the Company was expensive and could take a long time to achieve, which suggests that those who did achieve it were the elite of their profession.

Once they had passed into membership men had to learn what was expected of them in the role they had struggled so hard to achieve. Benjamin McRee's work on religious fraternities is helpful in understanding how and why the Carpenters' Company inducted new members into the organisation. The aim was to give all members a sense of identity; one that was recognisable to the members themselves, to other carpenters working in the city (whether with a connection to the Company or not), to the civic authorities, and to the inhabitants of London at large.[131] McRee states that the process of separation from the rest of society began with the initiation ceremony. He believes that such rites did not need to be elaborate to be effective. It was only necessary that they provided an established procedure for recognizing new members and integrating them into the existing group. For carpenters this initiation was fulfilled by their being treated to a dinner at the Company's expense on gaining the full membership. Sometimes this would be for a single individual such as when John Jordan was taken to the 'sone' [i.e. the Sun Tavern] when he gained his freedom in 1447 but frequently two or more men were honoured together.[132] In 1455, for instance, 31s 3d was spent on a dinner for Thomas Payn, John Sampson and Richard Hardy, and in the same year, a dinner was held for William Teerlet and John of Bury, at a cost of 26s 9d.[133] It is unlikely that such dinners were attended by all the membership with new members presumably being the guests of a select group, such as the officers only. These must have been memorable occasions for the young men and would have helped to ease their passage into the Company. Naturally, it would have also given the officers an opportunity to 'size up' the newcomers.

There is little evidence for non-carpenters joining the Company simply as a route to gaining the freedom of the city. One possible exception was Roger Wryght, 'keeper

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[130] *Accounts*: f. 118, p. 161.
[131]   B. R. McRee, 'Unity or Division? The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony' in Urban Communities' in B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson ed., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), 189-207.
[132] *Accounts*: f. 83, p. 14.
[133] *Accounts*: f. 5, p. 19.

of the Guildhall', who, in 1508, paid the Company 6s 8d in part payment for his freedom.[134] There is no further information about Wryght but his surname suggests that his family background may have been in one of the woodworking trades and this may explain why he chose to join the Carpenters' Company. It was also not common for men who had become free of the city through another trade to transfer into carpentry. One exception was David Gryffyn who appeared before the mayor and aldermen in 1437 stating that he had been admitted into the freedom of the city as a 'fuystour' [i.e. a maker of saddle bows] but that he had 'long used, and was now using, the mistery or art of "carpenters" and wished to continue in that trade'. The authorities agreed to his request.[135] This is the only request of such a nature during this period and there were only four translations from other companies into the Carpenters between 1573 and 1594.[136]

3.3 The activities of the Company

Achieving membership was only the start of a man's commitment to the Company. After induction there were responsibilities to be fulfilled, such as the payment of quarterly subscriptions, and activities to participate in, especially the annual mass and formal dinner in August, but also regular business meetings in the hall throughout the year, all of which would give men a sense of belonging and identify them as members of that particular organisation. The ordinances envisaged weekly meetings of members as they state that every Friday the master and wardens were required (presumably via the beadle) to call together those members for whom they considered it would be convenient to attend such a meeting. Men were to assemble at the hall for discussion and to determine who should be punished for rule-breaking. This level of frequency seems to have been a somewhat over-optimistic provision and evidence from the Court Book suggests that meetings were never held so regularly (although allowance has to be made for the possibility that there were additional meetings for which the records are lost).[137] The ordinances further state that all members were expected to attend the quarter-day meetings and any obits for

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[134] *Accounts*: f. 134, p. 181.
[135] *CLB[K]*, pp. 214-5. Saddle bows were frequently made from wood so Gryffyn may have possessed some relevant skills.
[136] Alford and Barker, *History*, p. 30.
[137] *Court:* p. viii.

deceased members (having again been summoned by the beadle). At each quarter-day they were expected to contribute 4d towards the cost of running the Company (with a fine of 20s for failure to pay).[138]

Good conduct at Company events was expected. The ordinances state that respect had to be shown to the officers at all times and on formal occasions men had to arrive on time and not leave before the masters and wardens gave their permission. That this had to be spelt out suggests that it did not always happen in practice. The Company was not slow in punishing those who did not conform to its regulations and the accounts give examples of the actions taken against recalcitrant members or those who had been impolite to the officers. In 1479, for example, the Company paid for the arrest of Richard Banastre for 'disobedience against the master' and in 1494 John Beckingham was fined 'for disobeying'.[139] Nevertheless, being in trouble for disobedience does not seem to have hindered either man's career. Banastre appears later in the accounts where he paid for apprentices and a covenant man (i.e. a paid assistant) and in 1490 he and Beckingham were part of a new generation of men granted the leasehold of the Company's estate.[140] Another upset occurred in 1504 when the Company paid a sergeant for the arrest of Richard Dyxson 'for he revyled the Master, Wardens and all the counsel of the Craft' and in the following year the Company incurred further costs 'for warning of Richard Dyxson and Edward Penson to come before the Chamberlain'.[141] The year 1505 seems to have been a difficult one for the Company because they had to pay a 'yeoman of the chamber' i.e. of the Chamberlain's Office at Guildhall to warn Robert Jackson on four occasions to come before the Chamberlain and, at the same time, John Chapman received a warning to appear.[142] There are no clues as to the offences of Jackson and Chapman but in the same year Christopher Richardsonne together with a man called Pynner were also warned to come before the Chamberlain and this time their offence is recorded: they had been employing 'forens' i.e. men not free of the Company, so perhaps the

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[138] The ordinances are listed at Appendix 3.

[139] *Accounts*: f. 35a, p. 57; f. 64, p. 102.

[140] *Accounts*: f. 38, p. 61; f. 50, p. 79; f. 61, p. 98 & p. 254; f. 64, p. 102.

[141] *Accounts*: f. 114, p. 155; f. 118, p. 161. Richard Dyxson and Edward Penson continue to be mentioned in the accounts after 1505, paying fees for apprentices and in Dyxson's case, journeymen. For references see Appendix 1 under the names of the individuals.

[142] *Accounts*: f. 118, p. 161.

Company was making a concerted effort to restrict the employment of non-citizens at this time.[143]

Disagreements, in one form or another, appear to have been a common occurrence so the Company's efforts to socialise new members was not wholly successful. Sums are recorded throughout the Account Book on expenditure for 'arresting' members and for amercements. Some examples are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Examples of money spent by the Company on 'arresting' members

Year	Expenditure
1456	To diverse sergeants for arresting William Newton (2s 4d) and in the same year to a sergeant for Thomas Smyth (8d) and for 'writs and costs' for the plea against William Man (15s).[144]
1461	Paid to a sergeant for the arrest of William Wright (10d).[145]
1486	Paid for the arrest of John Hawtrell at the Whitefriars and the plea (12d).[146]
1496	Paid for having Henry Skerrell to ward for disobeying (4d).[147]
1497	Paid to the Mayor's Sergeant to have John Sampson to 'Comter' i.e. the Compter Prison in Wood Street (8d).[148]

As the cases of Banastre and Beckingham demonstrate being in difficulty with the Company did not preclude a later successful career as a freeman and office-holder within the organisation. A similar example was that of Robert Short who first appeared in the Account Book in 1504 when the Company paid 12d to a Mayor's Sergeant 'for bryngyng Robert Shortte to warde for he wold not goo to the Kynges workes' but in the following year Short made a payment to the Company towards his freedom and, having made a further payment in 1506, he achieved his goal and the

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[143] *Accounts*: f. 118, p. 161.
[144] *Accounts*: f. 8, p. 22.
[145] *Accounts*: f. 15, p. 34.
[146] *Accounts*: f. 44, p. 71.
[147] *Accounts*: f. 70, p. 112.
[148] *Accounts*: f. 73, p. 116.

Company spent 16d at a tavern to celebrate the occasion.[149] Short then went on to have a successful career in the Company culminating in serving as Warden in 1513.[150]

As well as punishments for those who were rude or disobedient towards the officers the ordinances give guidance on how disputes between members should be dealt with. In common with the earlier Brotherhood of Carpenters, the Company ordinances demonstrate the understandable desire not to see disputes between members aired in public, so disagreements between one member and another were to be taken first to the master and wardens who would try to resolve the complaint before it went further. This may explain the two payments in the accounts in 1448 for a 'loveday for Puncheon and one for Wallokstord', for which there are no further details.[151] On occasion it was necessary to pay for legal advice from Counsel or an attorney, but it is not possible to determine the cause of any of the disputes. Evidence for how the Company dealt with miscreants can be found in the Court Book. Part of the Court's function, as its name suggests, was a judicial one where, as Marsh points out, it sought 'to compose minor differences between freemen of the Company and settle trade disputes between the latter and those for whom they do work outside the Company'.[152] Men who did not keep the ordinances would be summoned to appear before the Court and could be fined if they did not appear.[153]

In addition to being in trouble with their guild, carpenters sometimes occur in civic records because of alleged misbehaviour. In 1423 a carpenter called White, together with his wife, were indicted in the ward of Farringdon Without, 'for being as common bawds as any in London and for being receivers of strumpets'.[154] Nothing further is known about White, not even his first name but it is possible that he was the man with that surname who was one of the group that provided surety of £20 to the city for the good behaviour of Roger Yong towards the wardens of the Mystery

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[149] *Accounts*: f. 114, p. 155; f. 118, p. 161; f. 122, p. 166; f. 123, p. 168.
[150] *Accounts*, p. 262.
[151] *Accounts*: f. 92, p. 15.
[152] *Court:* p. ix.
[153] For information about the role of guilds as arbiters in disputes see B. A. Hanawalt, '*Of Good and Ill Repute' Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1998), p. 40 and for 'love days' see pp. 35 & 39.
[154] *CPMR* 1413-37, p. 157.

of Carpenters in 1417.[155] Another London carpenter in trouble with the law was, John Walfray, who was sued by the churchwardens of Capel, Surrey for £2 in 1450, possibly in respect to the framing of a bell-turret and spire. Walfray did not appear in court and judgement was made against him. In the following year he was outlawed but surrendered himself to the Fleet Prison. He was pardoned the outlawry in 1453.[156]

The Company's ordinances contain a number of economic provisions but, as is the case with all such rules and regulations, it is difficult to judge to what extent these were merely aspirational and how many of the clauses were enforced in practice. The emphasis was on protecting the livelihoods of members and restricting the ability of non-members to take up work, and there are several clauses concerning the employment of 'foreyn carpenters' i.e. men who were not free of the Carpenters' Company. One states that any member (or apprentice) without employment should be offered work by his fellows if they had spare capacity, before the work could be offered to a foreigner. Importantly workers employed in this way were to receive the same wages as anyone else would have done for the work (the fine for breaking this rule was 6s 8d). Additionally, a member was not to take work away from another member (if he did so he could expect a fine of 3s 4d) and no freeman of the Craft within the city or its liberties was to give a foreigner work before he had a licence to do so from the master or wardens (with a fine of 20s for disobedience). Similarly, no member of the Craft was to take a foreigner as his 'fellow' or to become involved with him in task work (fine 40s). A member who became aware of anyone living in the city who was not a freeman but who was buying or selling items relating to the craft of carpentry i.e. timber (including selling items to other non-freemen) had to report it immediately to the master and wardens or receive a fine of 13s 4d for not doing so. Nevertheless, despite this strong antipathy to foreign craftsmen there is evidence that it was possible to make the leap from being a foreigner to becoming a full member of the Company. One example was Thomas Bothbe who paid the Company a fine of 3s 4d for setting up a house in St Dunstan in the East in 1506 when he was described as a 'foreign carpenter', but four years later the accounts

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[155] LMA, Journal 1, f. 29v.
[156] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 312. John Walfray was free of the Carpenters' Craft in 1443. *Accounts*, f. 98, p. 7. He was probably a relation of Richard Walfray who was free of the Craft in 1438 and who stood surety to the city for John in 1446. *Accounts*, f. 1, p. 1; LMA Recognizance, R. 16 m. 4d.

record receipt of 40s from Bothbe, 'in full payment for his freedom', and in the following two years Bothbe himself paid fines 'for setting foreigns to work'.[157] These sums were more in the way of accepted payments, rather than punishments, for such activity. It is apparent that Bothbe became a fully accepted member of the Company because in 1512 (the same year he was paying a fine for employing non-Company members) he paid to take on two apprentices.[158]

In other instances well-established carpenters seem to have 'sponsored' or introduced foreign workmen to the Company. This may have been the case in 1502 when William Cony (who served several times as warden) paid the Company 6s 8d for a licence 'for to set up a house in Ironmonger Lane by the foreigner Clement Partryche' but, in the same year, Partryche paid the Company 13s 4d in part payment for his freedom, and in the following year made a further payment of 20s, which was noted in the accounts as full payment for his freedom.[159] Partryche then took on his own apprentices and a journeyman in the years up to 1511 so, again, the fact that he started out as a foreigner does not seem to have hindered his establishment of a successful carpentry business in the city.[160] Sometimes, a foreign carpenter might make a payment to the Company himself to undertake work such as the man (anonymous) recorded in the accounts in 1504 who paid 20d to 'set up a house in Chancery Lane' or William Stanley, 'foreign', who paid 5s in the same year to set up a house 'beside Aldgate', so the Company appears to have operated a licensing system for foreign carpenters.[161]

There are further clauses in the ordinances concerned with the good governance of the organisation. The master and wardens were not to make an individual free by redemption without the assent of nine men (or at least four) chosen as counsellors to the master and wardens (fine 20s). As soon as a man was made a freeman of the Craft he had to swear on a 'book' before the master and wardens to observe and keep all the rules and ordinances of the Craft as approved by and recorded by the Court (the fine for disobedience was 40s). Richard Banastre, referred to above for

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[157] *Accounts*: f. 122, p. 167; f. 145, p. 197; f. 148, p. 202; f. 155, p. 212.
[158] *Accounts*: f. 156, p. 213.
[159] *Accounts*: f. 90, p. 141; f. 94, p. 146.
[160] *Accounts*: f. 113, p. 154; f. 117, p. 160; f. 128, p. 174; f. 134, p. 181; f. 150, p. 204.
[161] *Accounts*: f. 112, p. 153.

misbehaviour, had only sworn his oath of obedience in the previous year.[162] Having completed their training carpenters were not to take on building work which was outside their expertise such as masonry, plumbing, daubing or tiling with the one important exception that a member could do any of the specified work on his own 'dwelling place'. As the representatives of their trade, the master and wardens had the mayor's authority to search throughout the city and its suburbs to make sure that any lathes, timber or boards sold were the correct length. Only freemen were eligible to be a Master Carpenter of Guildhall or Bridge House. However, the mayor and aldermen retained the right to choose a more able person living without the city who was not a freeman. Lastly, one half of any fines raised by the guild were to go to the city with the other half being retained by the Craft.

The Carpenters were granted a coat of arms on 24 November 1466.[163] [See Illustration 7]. This can be blazoned: A felde silver a cheveron sable grayled iii compas of the same. Compasses were included as instruments of the carpenter's craft and the chevron may also be an allusion to the trade as the word 'chevron' is the French term for rafter or roof support.[164] Incorporation followed in 1477 by a charter of Edward IV.[165] The Carpenters' charter was one among many granted to middling groups by the king over a twenty year period as part of his policy of assisting home-based craftsmen and small traders. This stemmed from a deputation to the king early in his first reign headed by the Cutlers' on behalf of a number of guilds which sought a ban on imported goods which they claimed threatened their livelihoods.[166] Even with official encouragement incorporation could take a long time to achieve. The Pewterers took ten years and the Carpenters seem to have taken a comparable length of time.[167] However, they succeeded eventually and the accounts record that in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Edward IV, 'was the corporacion purchased by the labour of Thomas Perte, John White, Robert Crosby and Pers Baily'. Thirty named men contributed financially to the purchase. Sums ranged from 8d to 6s 8d,

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[162] *Accounts*: f. 188, p. 54.

[163] LMA CLC/L/CC/A/002/MS08353.

[164] J. Bromley and H. Child, *The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London* (London, 1960), pp. 40-2.

[165] *CPR* 1476-85, pp. 41-2.

[166] Unwin, *Gilds*, pp. 163-5 and Megson, *Pinners*, p. xvii.

[167] *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the city of London: based upon their own records,* 2 vols., C. Welch (London, 1902), Vol. 1, p. iii.

with the latter amount being the most common. A total of £7 15s 6d was raised with a further eleven men noted as having promised various amounts but not, as yet, having delivered them. The outstanding sums totalled £2 9s 3d.[168] In the following year more expense was incurred when the Company purchased a common seal at a cost of 28s.[169] Having a seal went hand in hand with becoming incorporated as it was needed to attest legal documents, particularly those relating to the sale or purchase of property. There are no surviving impressions of Carpenters' Company seals from this date and it is doubtful whether the fourteenth century Brotherhood of Carpenters had a seal. By 1478 the Carpenters' Company was a fully established legal body.

3.3.1 Livery clothing

It has been suggested that, as a way of binding their members closer together, city trade and craft guilds began to assume liveries as early as the fourteenth century although there is no indication that the body of Carpenters which met at that time had a livery.[170] Initially, all members of a guild may have worn livery, but gradually a distinction grew up between the more eminent members who were 'in the livery' and the ordinary, often more junior, members who were outside it. Thus, by the fifteenth century, in common with similar bodies, some members of the Carpenters' Company would wear particular clothing when they were together which distinguished them as the more important members of a specific institution with shared interests. Those who had been elevated to the livery played an important role beyond the leadership of their own organisation for in 1467 the city authorities decreed that in future:

> The election of Mayor and Sheriffs should be made only by the Common Council, the Masters and Wardens of each Mistery of the City, coming in their livery, and by other good men specially summoned for the purpose.[171]

Clothing was an established way of differentiating individuals and groups in the Middle Ages because it facilitated the expression and reinforcement of hierarchy in a very visible way. The Carpenters' ordinances state that, to be 'admitted into the

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[168] *Accounts*: f. 32, p. 53.
[169] *Accounts*: f. 33, p. 55.
[170] *CBL[L],* p. xxvii.
[171] *CLB[L]*, p. 73.

clothing' it was necessary to have goods valued at twenty marks i.e. £13 6s 6d (a considerable amount) and anyone worth this sum who refused to wear the clothing was to be fined 20s. There are no recorded instances of this rule being applied so it appears that it was not enforced in practice. In 1508, William Robynson paid a fine of 3s 4d to be discharged out of the clothing but the motivation behind this is unknown.[172] The ordinances make clear that those members who were entitled to wear livery had to do so at all the guild's important occasions such as when they assembled at the hall on the feast day of St Lawrence the Martyr (10 August) to elect the officers for the coming year, and they were enjoined to keep their livery 'according to old usage and custom' i.e. in good condition (or suffer a fine of 5s). There is no evidence that on the feast day they would walk together in a formal procession but this could have been part of the ceremonies, and presumably individuals would travel to the hall through the streets of the city from all directions dressed in their livery and impressing those who saw them. Livery would also have been worn when members took part in important national or civic events such as the Midsummer Watch or royal funerals.[173]

Guild livery generally consisted of two parts: a gown and a hood, often collectively referred to as a 'suit', but it is not always straightforward to discover who was entitled to wear, and who in practice did wear, which items. This confusion is not limited to the Carpenters' Craft. The clerk of the Brewers' Company kept a detailed record of that guild's activities between 1418 and 1439 but even here the rules about who did or did not wear their livery, and what they wore, are unclear. One suggestion is that the main distinction between those who wore both a hood and gown together and those who only wore one item was an economic one with individuals simply dressing in the livery they could afford. Even this boundary might be blurred however for there is evidence that masters of the Brewers' guild (who could be considered among the wealthier members) were provided without charge with liveries for themselves and their wives.[174]

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[172] *Accounts*: f. 134, p. 182.
[173] These events will be discussed in Section 3.3.2.
[174] Bennett, 'Women and Men', 181-232.

The less affluent companies appear to have selected a new livery every two, three or four years and the Carpenters fell into this category with their ordinances stating that every three years members were to be clothed in a livery suit of gown and hood.[175] The Bakers' Company also changed their livery for gowns of different colours every three years whereas the Brewers, who had originally changed their gowns annually, amended this to every two years because of the expense.[176] There is little information about how the Carpenters chose their livery and whether it was changed for a new design and/or a different colour every three years or whether the existing design was retained and the clothing itself was simply replaced. There are few references to livery in the Carpenters' accounts but it is interesting to note that the first mention appears in the year following the adoption of the ordinances suggesting that this was when the Company first introduced the wearing of livery. Thus, in 1456 a payment of 2s was made for a dinner held in Bread Street specifically for those 'that chose the livery' i.e. the cloth which would be made up into garments. Presumably, this was a small, select group and quite possibly the master, wardens and the Nine Men. Later in the same year 16d was spent on expenses in the hall, probably for food and drink, when the livery was delivered.[177] Two years later a modest 7d was spent in the hall when the livery clothing was shown with further expenses recorded (amounts unspecified) at diverse times 'when the livery was chosen'.[178] There is no hint of the criteria used to choose the livery so it is unknown whether this was a task entirely confined to the officers or whether all those entitled to wear livery had a say. In 1459 there is a further brief mention: 'Paid in expenses [22d] at the Maid in Cheap on the Nine Men and on cloth'.[179] These are the only references to clothing in the Account Book which is surprising as livery must surely have been replaced in years other than these. It is also disappointing that there are no clues as to what the Carpenters' livery looked like, clearly the Company did not feel it was worth recording.[180] By the end of the fifteenth century many livery companies were associated with particular hues,

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[175] Unwin, *Gilds*, p. 191; Appendix 3, para. 21.
[176] Thrupp, *Bakers,* p. 147; Metcalfe, 'William Porlond', pp. 272-3.
[177] *Accounts*: ff. 7 & 8, p. 22.
[178] *Accounts*: f. 11, pp. 27 & 28.
[179] *Account*: f. 13, p. 30. Neither Bread Street (running south from Cheapside) nor Cheapside was close to Carpenters' Hall. They were probably chosen because of their central location and the fact that the area was well-known for its hostelries.
[180] Even the Mercers' Company rarely recorded colours for general livery. A. F. Sutton, 'Order and Fashion in Clothes: The King, His Household, and the City of London at the End of the Fifteenth Century', *Textile History*, 22 (1991), 253-276, p. 265.

often including parti-coloured clothing, and during the sixteenth century the trend was for colours to become more sombre.[181] It is to be presumed that the Carpenters' Company followed this pattern but details are lacking. In 1545 the carpenter Robert Horson bequeathed a livery gown to the citizen and pewterer, Thomas Urswyke. The only information about the gown is that it was 'furred with fitches' but, as fitch (from polecat) can be found in a range of colours and shades, the description is unhelpful in providing detail about the colour of this particular gown.[182]

The importance of livery is emphasised by the fact that liverymen who had fallen into financial difficulties might receive assistance in the form of the provision of at least a hood to enable them to continue to participate fully in the activities of the guild. Richard Bright received a hood in 1454 at a cost of 5s as did Robert Pert in 1490, when the cost had increased to 6s.[183] The Company regularly provided a hood for their beadle. More rarely a gown was also provided such as that for 'Foster' at a cost of 6s 8d in 1499.[184] This probably refers to John Forster who was the Company Clerk between 1490 and 1499. In 1500 he was replaced by Harry Bagott and the gown may have been a retirement gift.[185] On two further occasions (in 1504 and 1516) it is recorded that the beadle was provided with a gown but it cannot be established whether the beadle was expected to wear a gown regularly or why he received help on those particular occasions. Perhaps there were important events in those years where the Company felt their representative should look impressive or it may have been provided due to hardship. The gowns were not inexpensive, costing 10s 8d and 10s.[186] Beadles were given new hoods approximately every four years which does not seem over generous given that they would be expected to wear their hoods whenever they were acting on official Company business which could have

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[181] A. F. Sutton, *City of London Liveries 1250-1580*, paper read at a conference organised by The Medieval Dress and Textile Society on 'The Development of Liveries and Uniforms in Europe before 1600', 20 May 2006.

[182] TNA PCC PROB 11/31, f. 2. For further information about fitch see E. M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (London Record Society 38, 2003; reprinted from 1966 edition), particularly pp. 23 & 61.

[183] *Accounts*: f. 4, p. 17. Richard Bright also received direct financial help and this will be discussed in Section 7.1; *Accounts*: f. 53, p. 84.

[184] *Accounts*: f. 78, p. 126.

[185] *Accounts*: p. 262.

[186] *Accounts*: f. 114, p. 155 & f. 180b, 239. These figures can be compared to the 13s 4d paid to the clerk of the Founders' Company in 1491 'toward his gown'. G. Parsloe, *Wardens' Accounts of the Worshipful Company of the Founders of the City of London 1497-1681* (London, 1964), p. 4.

been on many more occasions than those when liverymen had cause to wear their 'clothing'.

The Brewers gave livery gowns to their four masters, to their clerk and to their chaplain but there is no evidence that the Carpenters gave any items of livery to their elected officers although they did provide the parson of All Hallows on the Wall with a hood to wear when he was officiating on behalf of the Company.[187] These details reinforce the supposition that there were two tiers of clothing as was the case in other companies. The wearing of the appropriate hood distinguished a man as a liveryman of the Carpenters' Company but a hood and gown together showed that the wearer was of a more senior status.

The Company of Upholders made their living from selling secondhand clothing including livery gowns.[188] One way they could do this was by purchasing back gowns from liverymen who were in default of their quarterage payments.[189] When, in 1508, William Robinson paid for his discharge out of the clothing it is possible that his hood and gown ended up in the hands of the Upholders.[190] In contrast, livery, which had been achieved at great cost and effort, might be passed down through the generations, as in the case of William Stodeye who, in his will of 1426, bequeathed to a fellow carpenter, William Stoke, 'a gown of the last livery of the company'.[191]

3.3.2 Participation in national and civic events

The Carpenters' Craft were represented at events of national importance that took place in and around the city. On the arrival or departure of monarchs and at royal funerals the guild supplied men appropriately attired to swell the crowd. In 1461 they paid for five of their members to 'ride against the king', probably this was a

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[187] Metcalfe, 'William Porlond', p. 273; *Accounts*: f. 1, p. 1; f. 108, p. 12, etc.

[188] The Upholders also dealt in secondhand beds, armour and other goods. K. Kelsey Staples, 'Fripperers and the Used Clothing Trade in Late Medieval London', in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 6, ed. R. Netherton and G. R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 151-71.

[189] J. F. Houston, *Featherbedds – Flock bedds: Notes on the history of the Worshipful Company of Upholders of the City of London* (Sandy, 2006), p. 4. Another example of their work can be found in the Brewers' records where an upholder purchased the goods of deceased almsmen and sold them on to other Brewers' almsfolk. Metcalfe, 'William Porlond', p. 271.

[190] *Accounts*: f. 134, p. 182. Robinson is the only recorded carpenter to be discharged out of the clothing.

[191] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 170. See p. 94 above.

welcoming party when Edward IV arrived in London for his coronation.[192] In the same year they contributed towards the cost of two men to 'watch' at the Tower as well as 4s for men 'at the king's works'.[193] After this date there is no further record of the Craft's participation in national events until 1470 when 5s 2d was spent on hiring a barge to 'meet the king', possibly this was at Edward IV's 'Readeption', with the sum of 5s 6d being incurred for the loss of their 'riding clothing' (possibly special livery) on that occasion.[194] In 1475 the Craft spent 16d on 'watchmen' when Edward IV left London (probably in connection with his invasion of France) and the much greater sum of 30s was incurred in the following year on the king's return.[195] This latter figure may have seemed a large amount to the men who had to find the money but the relatively lowly place of the Carpenters in the guild hierarchy is demonstrated by comparing it to the £20 that the Drapers' Company were charged for the same occasion.[196] Further expense was incurred by the Carpenters in the politically troubled year of 1484. Two men (Steven Scalis and Robert Crosbye) were sent to 'mete the kyng' at a cost of 8s; when the king came through Smithfield 12d was expended; and 2s 8d was spent at 'diverse times' to take men to Westminster for the king.[197] There is no indication in their records of the Company favouring any particular political faction. Thus, despite money being expended on welcoming Edward IV and his brother Richard III to the city, further costs (13s 4d) were incurred without comment in 1485 for the carpenters, William Jacombe and John Davy, to ride to meet the new king, Henry VII who had recently defeated Richard at the Battle of Bosworth.[198] In 1488 bread and ale were purchased for the Company when Henry 'came in at Bishopsgate', presumably this was part of the formal welcome of the king to the city. In the same year a barge was hired to escort the king

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[192] *Accounts*: f. 15, p. 34. Edward's entry into London was on 26 June 1461 with his coronation two days later. C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974, reprinted 1991), p. 41.
[193] *Accounts*: f. 15, p. 34.
[194] *Accounts*: f. 24, pp. 43-4.
[195] *Accounts*: f. 29, p. 50; f. 30, p. 51.
[196] A. H. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1914), p. 136.
[197] *Accounts*: f. 41, pp. 66 & 67.
[198] *Accounts*: f. 43, p. 70. Common Council agreed on 31 August 1485 that 435 citizens, chosen to represent all guilds, would ride forth to greet the king. S. Anglo, 'The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: The Coronation and Marriage of Henry VI, *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1960), 3-11, p. 4. For a description of preparations for Henry's entry into London see D. J. Guth., 'Richard III, Henry VII and the City: London Politics and the "Dun Cowe"' in R. A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne ed., *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1986), 185-204, p. 195.

and queen from Greenwich to the Tower.[199] Money was spent similarly in 1490 on a barge to enable the Company to take part in celebrations on the creation of the king's eldest son, Arthur, as Prince of Wales.[200] In all these instances, the accounts simply record the expenditure without any comment, probably a wise decision given that the citizens of London needed to work with whoever held power.[201]

There are a number of references to the purchase of 'rayle' in the accounts. In 1501, when the 'Princess of Spain' (Katherine of Aragon) arrived in London prior to her marriage to Prince Arthur, the Company purchased twenty-four yards of 'rayle' for members 'to stand in'.[202] For the same event the Bakers purchased fifteen yards of 'railing' in Cheap.[203] These were likely to have been barriers put up in the streets to contain the crowds. That this was the case is indicated by a further reference in the Carpenters' accounts for the same year to money spent on 'paving the holes where the rayle stood'.[204] It was at this event that Londoners used chivalric literary heroes in their formal welcome for the first time. King Arthur, an allusion to Katherine's intended husband, featured prominently in the displays but there is no indication that the Carpenters' Company was actively involved in the pageants beyond standing behind the railings as part of the crowd.[205] For the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509 the Carpenters purchased fourteen yards of rayle which can be compared to the 'standing' of five yards in length which the Poulters occupied, while the 'greatest companies manned twenty-six yards'.[206]

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[199] *Accounts*: f. 48, p. 77.
[200] *Accounts*: f. 42, p. 70; f. 52, p. 83.
[201] For further discussion of this topic see C. M. Barron, 'London and the Crown 1451-1461' in J. R. L. Highfield and R. Jeffs ed., *The Crown and Local Communities* (Gloucester, 1981), 88-109.
[202] *Accounts*: f. 90, p. 141.
[203] Thrupp, *Bakers*, p. 148.
[204] *Accounts*: f. 90, p. 141. Rails were needed to protect people from the many horses with the cost of such erections being borne by the companies. P. E. Jones, *The Worshipful Company of Poulters of the city of London* (London, 2nd. ed. 1965), p. 149.
[205] Barron, *London*, p. 21. For further details of the elaborate pageants held to celebrate the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon see J. A. Goodall, 'Some Aspects of Heraldry and the Role of Heralds in Relation to the Ceremonies of the Late Medieval and Early Tudor Court', *The Antiquaries Journal,* 82 (2002), 69-91, p. 76. Glynne Wickham points to the uncertainty about when organized 'standings' replaced processional ridings. He suggests that the change possibly coincided with the growth in the number of stages used for pageants. Wickham, *Early English Stages*, n. 9, at p. 368.
[206] *Accounts*: f. 141, p. 191; Jones, *Poulters*, p. 149.

Carpenters were represented on less joyful national occasions. When Elizabeth of York died in 1503 torches were hired from the Company's regular waxchandler, John Brome.[207] (It was customary for London companies to supply torches for royal funerals and to receive back any unused ends).[208] On that occasion gowns and hoods were made for four torchbearers from 'cotton white cloth' that was bought specially; bread and ale were also purchased, presumably for the refreshment of the torchbearers, who may have been kept standing for a considerable time.[209] Again, when Henry VII died in 1509, four torches were hired and similar outfits constructed.[210] It is apparent that new outfits were obtained each time there was a special event, rather than garments being put aside for re-use, perhaps the participants were allowed to retain their garments as a reward for their efforts. It is noteworthy that the Carpenters purchased white cloth rather than black which is not mentioned in their accounts. Black was the colour often associated with death and there are references to the citizens in attendance at both Elizabeth of York and Henry VII's funerals wearing black.[211] Four members of the Poulters' Company wore black when they waited with representatives of other crafts to receive Henry's corpse into the city (he had died at Richmond Palace) but they supplied white gowns and hoods for four poor persons who were to be part of the throng lining the streets, holding torches and prayer beads.[212] For Henry VII's funeral, the Bakers' Company sent six men also in white cotton gowns and hoods so it is apparent that both white and black were considered appropriate colours for mourning garments.[213] This mixture of black and white for royal funerals went back at least as far as 1422 when Henry V's body was received by the city of London. On that occasion it was stated that:

> the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder and Aldermen and officers, and
> the more sufficient persons of the whole City shall proceed on
> foot as far as St George's Bar; clothed in black vestments,

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[207] *Accounts*: f. 94, p. 147.
[208] A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs with R. A. Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (London, 2005), p. 9.
[209] *Accounts*: f. 94, p. 147.
[210] *Accounts*: f. 141, p. 191. The parish of All Hallows London Wall was similarly required to provide four torch-bearers. *The Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall*, ed. C. Welch (London, 1912), p. 49.
[211] Sutton, 'Order and Fashion', p. 263.
[212] Jones, *Poulters*, p. 149.
[213] Thrupp, *Bakers*, pp. 147-8. For examples of white cloth being purchased for funerals see C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England* (London, 1997 reprinted 1999), pp. 55-6.

together with 300 torches borne by 300 persons clothed in white
gowns and hoods, there reverently salute the corpes…

The Carpenters appear not to have been represented on that occasion as the Misteries who provided torches, 'the remains of which were returned to them', are listed in the records and the Carpenters were not among them.[214]

Naturally, carpenters played their part on major civic occasions. By the late Middle Ages the city of London had developed two important corporate festivities. The riding of the newly elected mayor to Westminster to be sworn before the king was, by 1300, a fixed point in the civic calendar, taking place annually on 29 October, the day after he had taken his oath at Guildhall. Originally the new mayor's ride to Westminster had been accompanied by aldermen only but by the late fourteenth century it had become customary for members of city crafts, dressed in their liveries, to accompany the mayor. A further development was that from the 1420s part of the journey took place by barge.[215] The Carpenters made regular payments for barge hire and although the occasion is not always specified at least sometimes it would have been to accompany the mayor e.g. 11s 4d was spent on the hire of a barge in 1482 with the next line of the accounts stating: 'paid in expenses upon the Craft when they came from Westminster – 14d'.[216] Similarly, when new sheriffs for the city were chosen they went to Westminster accompanied by representatives of city companies to be presented and sworn before the barons of the Exchequer, and by the late fourteenth century this journey also took place by barge.[217] Again, the Carpenters sometimes participated such as in 1460 when they spent 4s on 'hire of the barge to Westminster with the sheriffs'.[218]

The other London festival in which Carpenters took an active role was the series of nightly processions that took place between 24 and 29 June, known collectively as the Midsummer Watch. On those evenings the trained bands of the wards marched through the city to demonstrate their readiness to defend it against attack although

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[214] *CLB[K]*, pp. 2-3. For a contemporary description of the funeral of Henry V see 'Extracts from the Brewers' First Book' in Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, pp. 144-6.
[215] Barron, *London*, pp. 151-2.
[216] *Accounts*, f. 38, p. 62.
[217] Barron, *London*, pp. 156-60.
[218] *Accounts*: f. 14, p. 32.

the purpose of the Watch changed over time in the direction of more light hearted activities and by 1500 'the military aspect had been swamped by torch bearers, pageants, the city waits, giants and Morris dancers'. The Watch continued until 1539 when it was suspended on the orders of the king on the grounds that it was a threat to public order, ironically the opposite of its stated intention.[219] Along with most guilds the Carpenters regularly contributed to the Midsummer Watch. In 1504, for example, at the command of the mayor, they paid for eight yards of yellow cloth for archers to take part. The cloth was made into four jackets for the archers, again at the Company's expense, but the Company hired, rather than purchased, four sheaths of arrows together with 'girdles' for the arrows.[220] At Midsummer 1510 clothing (this time of white material) and equipping four archers cost the Company 18s 8d.[221] Events such as these were expensive and took a lot of organising and sometimes city officials had to resort to coercion. By 1518 the number of bowmen the Carpenters were required to provide had increased to six, a number in the second rank, following the eight each required from leading companies; the majority of companies were required to provide either two or four.[222] The bare figures recorded in the Carpenters' accounts give no hint of how they felt about this expenditure. They may have been flattered to have the opportunity to participate but, on the other hand, they may have resented the expense.

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[219] C. M. Barron 'London 1300-1540' in D.M. Palliser ed., *Cambridge Urban History of England* (Cambridge, 2000), i. 395-440, p. 407.
[220] *Accounts*: f. 114, p. 155.
[221] *Accounts*: f. 145, p. 198.
[222] S. Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch' in B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson ed., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), 171-88.

Chapter 4… The Carpenters' Company *c.* 1410 - *c.* 1540 – Part II

This chapter will consider the transmission of skills particularly the apprenticeship system, and the way the Company socialised members. An important element of the latter was the sharing of regular dinners with fellow freemen and officers, thus the importance of food, feasting and entertainment will be examined.

4.1 Training the next generation

London's population was maintained not by a healthy birth rate but through high levels of immigration, and important contributors to this were apprentices. In London only citizens, i.e. those free of the city, were allowed to take on apprentices but this did not mean that there were few of them for it has been calculated that in any one year (between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries) there might have been 3,000 apprentices in the city.[1] Apprenticeship can be defined as 'a system for the vocational training and education of boys and girls in particular crafts and trades' and the 'supervision of the technical training of the next generation of masters'.[2] However, its role was much wider than this for, as well as facilitating the transmission of skills and playing a vital role in helping to maintain population levels, the apprenticeship system promoted societal cohesion by preparing young men for citizenship and assimilating new arrivals to the city.[3] It provided a means for outsiders, both non-Londoners and those from outside the trade, to enter into a craft.

In common with all crafts and trades, carpenters were concerned to have an input into the training of the next generation of workers. Anxiety centred on the need to balance the transmission of appropriate skills, thus enabling the continuation of the craft at a high standard, with control of competition, so that there was sufficient work

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[1] S. R. Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London (*c.* 1300 - *c.* 1530)', unpublished PhD thesis (University of London, 2006), p. 15.

[2] Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London', p. 15; E. M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (London Record Society 38, 2003; reprinted from 1966 edition), p. 93.

[3] V. Harding, 'Sons, apprentices, and successors in late medieval and early modern London: The transmission of skills and work opportunities' in F.-E. Eliassen, and K. Szende, ed., *Generations in towns* (Cambridge, 2009), 153-68, p. 155 and S. Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 294-5.

for all qualified practitioners. If carpenters had sons whom they wished to see carry on the trade such boys (and this craft was predominantly a male occupation) might receive training on an informal basis within their own homes. When John Nicoll made his will in July 1447, for instance, he left all his tools to Bartholomew Nicoll 'my son and apprentice'.[4] However, formal apprenticeships involving masters from outside the immediate family were common. The London Company's ordinances, as far as they relate to apprenticeship, are limited in scope.[5] Out of a total of thirty clauses only three refer to apprenticeship and these are more restricted in range than, say, the ordinances of the Goldsmiths' Company which had fourteen clauses directly relating to apprenticeship (out of a total of ninety-four).[6] Carpenters had to present a potential apprentice to the master and wardens before the young man was bound so that they could judge whether or not he was freeborn and to make sure that he was not: 'lame, croked [crooked] nor deformed'. This latter clause was commonly included in craft ordinances (the Skinners had a similar restriction on those who were lame or disabled) but it may have been particularly apposite for such a physically demanding craft as carpentry.[7] The Company paid 4d for the purchase of a 'book for apprentices' in 1479.[8] This may have been to record details of apprentices or it may have been for apprentices to swear an oath on when they took out their indentures. In either case the book no longer exists and neither do the city's own records of fees paid for apprentices into the chamberlain's office as these were destroyed in several fires.[9]

There is no doubt that young men were being indentured to masters before the start of the Account Book in 1438 but the loss of the records relating to civic enrolments means that details available for this earlier period mostly relate to exceptional instances such as when there was a problem in the master/apprentice relationship. For example, John Wolmer, described as a 'cousin' of William Serle, carpenter, was apprenticed to Richard Morcok, carpenter, by William, but, in January 1412, Wolmer was exonerated from his indentures because his master had left the city and not

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[4] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, 214v.
[5] See Appendix 3, paras. 19, 22 & 23.
[6] S. R. Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in the records of the Goldsmiths' Company of London, 1444-1500', *Medieval Prosopography*, 22 (2001), 89-114, p. 92.
[7] For the Skinners see Veale, *Fur*, p. 97.
[8] *Accounts*: f. 35a, p. 57.
[9] Barron, *London*, p. 179.

provided for him.[10] There are also references in wills that confirm the existence of apprentice carpenters at earlier dates. The final item in the will of Walter de Chelmersford († 1339) states that the remaining term of his apprentice, Richard, was to go to his wife Agnes, but there is no further information about Richard and without his surname it is impossible to ascertain if Agnes continued the boy's training and whether he ever became a carpenter himself.[11] There is no surviving will for Agnes de Chelmersford that might have shed more light on the young man. Information about carpenters' apprentices in London is thus limited. In contrast, the city of Oxford does have good surviving formal apprentice enrolment indentures. Although these only date from the early sixteenth century it has been suggested that Oxford's medieval apprenticeship practices, so far as they are known, were 'unexceptional' and may have been modelled on those of London. Oxford's enrolment records therefore will be used as an additional source of information to complement what is known about the apprenticeship system in London.[12]

Parents apprenticed their children to masters for a fee on the understanding that the youngsters would learn a trade and receive board and lodging while living in the masters' households for the duration of their training.[13] Apprentices did not normally receive any payment during training but there were exceptions. When boys were undertaking a job of work outside the home alongside their masters they could be paid. An example comes from 1461-2 when the chief carpenter of the Bridge, John Forster, received £10 8s as his wages for the year (at 4s per week) and he was also paid the sum of £4 3s 4d for his apprentice, John Blome, who had worked with him for 200 days at a rate of 5d a day. Other carpenters working on the Bridge at this period received wages of 6d or 7d per day so the rate for the apprentice was only slightly less than that for a trained man.[14]

Most apprenticeships in medieval England commenced around the age of fourteen and lasted for several years thus bridging the period between adolescence and

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[10] *CPMR* 1381-1412, p. 311.
[11] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/70, f. 57.
[12] *Oxford City Apprentices 1513-1602*, ed. A. Crossley (Oxford Historical Society, 2012), p. xi.
[13] P. Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (Palgrave, 2001), p. 74.
[14] *Bridge*, no. 341.

coming of age.[15] Apprenticeships therefore lasted much longer than the single year for which servants were usually contracted.[16] Length of time served by apprentices varied in different towns according to the craft or trade. One writer has suggested that it was the more prestigious occupations that demanded longer apprenticeships giving an example from Coventry where apprentice carpenters served for five years in contrast to apprentice drapers and grocers who were contracted for nine.[17] London, however, had its own customs and there the minimum time for apprenticeships for all groups was set at seven years from the late thirteenth century. An apprenticeship was established by a legal contract, an indenture, which in London was required to be enrolled at Guildhall.[18] This laid out what was expected of both the master and the apprentice, including the length of the period of training. Ideally, the apprentice would be presented to the mayor and aldermen at the start and completion of his binding and fees would be paid but this did not always happen in practice. On completion of his contracted term an apprentice would be able to work independently in the craft and eventually, once he had built up his business, take on apprentices of his own.

The London Carpenters' ordinances do not say anything about how long individual boys might expect to serve and the accounts do not record the number of years each apprentice was to serve until 1494 when John Repyngale was indentured to William Raynold for an exceptional period of twelve years.[19] One way of retaining labour at a time when business was booming and workers were in high demand, such as in the closing years of the fifteenth century, was to extend the years of apprenticeship but evidence from the Carpenters' Company indicates that long apprenticeships were the exception rather than the norm even at this period. Six other apprentices were registered in 1494 alongside Repyngale but no time period is recorded for any of these, presumably their indentures were to last the customary minimum of seven years. Two years later, in 1496, two apprentices were again indentured for

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[15] *Oxford City Apprentices*, p. xviii.
[16] Fleming, *Family*, p. 74.
[17] Fleming, *Family*, p. 74.
[18] *CLB[D],* p. ix.
[19] *Accounts*: f. 64, p. 103.

exceptional periods (ten years each) but others were designated the more typical seven or eight years.[20]

To start his apprenticeship a boy would leave his natal home (possibly many miles from London) and join his master's household (working for a man he may never have met) where he would live for the next few years learning the skills of the trade. For London carpenters the time of year the binding was to start is not recorded until nearly the end of the Account Book and it has been possible therefore to consider this only for the years 1506-1516 and 1521. Information has been obtained from 226 entries (a further seventeen entries are no longer legible) from which it can be seen that by far the most popular time for an apprenticeship binding to start was on one of the quarter days. These were the most common days for the hiring of servants of all kinds throughout the Middle Ages. Christmas Day was the most popular for London carpenters with thirty-six entries. One explanation for this could be that beginning a new life and career on the anniversary of Christ's birth was considered particularly appropriate. A more likely reason however was that, for families outside London who might be involved in agricultural pursuits, this was the quietest time of year when they could be spared to travel to London with their teenage sons. Christmas Day was followed in popularity by Midsummer (24 June) with twenty-five bindings, Michaelmas (29 September) with twenty-two bindings, and Our Lady Day in Lent (25 March) with twenty-two. Another popular date was Candlemas (2 February) with nineteen bindings. A wide selection of other dates in the year had only one or two bindings.[21] A similar pattern for apprentice bindings can be seen in Oxford where starting dates were nearly always on feast days with the most popular date for all bindings being Michaelmas which saw one-fifth of the bindings during the period 1513-1602, followed in popularity by the three other quarter days.[22]

The official reason for a master to take on an apprentice was to pass on the skills of the craft and to prepare the boy to become a master craftsman in his own right but in reality the relationship was advantageous to both parties. For the master it provided the benefit of a cheap, live-in, workforce. (Masters did not usually pay boys but did

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[20] These were Thomas Smart's apprentice, Richard Parker and Richard Feysey's apprentice, John Seborne. *Accounts*: f. 69, p. 111.
[21] A full list of binding dates for London carpenter apprentices can be found at Appendix 12.
[22] *Oxford City Apprentices*, p. xvii.

provide their keep). Carpentry, especially the construction of joints and the erection of building frames, was heavy and cumbersome work, with much of it taking place out of doors. Timber-framed buildings were 'intricate structures and were always prefabricated' which meant that, after the joints were cut, the frame had to be assembled on the ground, taken apart again and transported to the building site, where it would be re-assembled and hoisted into position.[23] Additional pairs of hands for all these tasks would obviously be very useful and apprentices must have provided a convenient source of unpaid labour. It would have been easy to come to rely on the assistance provided by a youthful apprentice and perhaps to be reluctant to release that apprentice when his indentures should have been completed and when it was necessary to start paying him a wage or to take on a replacement and start the training process over again. It is difficult to obtain direct evidence for this because of the lack of detail about carpenters' apprentices during the period of this study but there is an instance from 1512 when the master carpenter William Prest paid 10s to the Company for 'one Edmond Spyrlyng that should have been a freeman' which hints at the problem.[24]

The entry fines for apprentices as recorded in the Account Book are all payments by masters to the Company. The Company's own accounts naturally do not record payments made by the young man's family to individual masters. The fee per apprentice payable to the Company was 12d until 1508 when it was increased without explanation to 3s, a substantial change.[25] The reason behind this change is unclear. The Company may have seen it as a useful means of increasing their income. The city authorities had set a precedent for taking this type of action when they wanted to raise money for specific projects. In 1413 when the Common Council found themselves short of funds to continue with extensive building work at Guildhall, they imposed an additional charge on top of the usual fees for a number of items including that of enrolling apprentices. This higher rate of payment was to last

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[23] R. Harris, *Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings* (Shire, 2006), p. 5. Building construction will be considered further in Chapter 5.

[24] *Accounts*: f. 155, p. 212. See Veale, *Fur*, p. 98, for an example of a master skinner who refused to present his apprentice two years after the completion of his eight years' service.

[25] *Accounts*: f. 133, p. 181. In comparison, the Cutlers' ordinances from the 1480s set the fee for an apprentice at 8s, a much larger figure than that of the Carpenters. It was stated that the registration fee for Cutler apprentices was to be used as a fund for the poor of the craft and this could account for the high amount. M. Sasai, 'Corporate Charity of London Cutlers in the Fifteenth Century', *The Haskins Society Journal Japan*, 5 (2013), 15-26, p. 22.

for a period of six years.[26] Similar action occurred in 1443-4 when the Common Council ordained that the fees for the enrolment of apprentices were to be doubled for the following four years 'in order to relieve the increasing debts of the Chamber'. (The fee for the enrolment of apprentices was to be 5s with 7s being payable for the 'exits of the same').[27] Perhaps, in the early years of the sixteenth century, the Carpenters' Company had a specific project in mind (now no longer apparent) which would account for the large increase in fees for enrolling apprentices at that date.

When using ordinances as a source of information about apprenticeship it is important to bear in mind that they were the ideal and do not tell us what actually happened in practice, including informal arrangements. The Carpenters' ordinances imposed a number of restrictions on candidates for apprenticeships. Although, according to the ordinances, anyone taking on an apprentice without first presenting the young man to the Company's officers for examination was liable to a fine of 6s 8d this sum seems never to have been imposed in practice. Fines actually given were generally much lower. For example, in 1514, two men were fined 12d each for binding an apprentice before 'he was presented in the hall' while, at the same time, another man paid a fine of 3s 4d for a similar offence (although even this was less than the sum specified in the ordinances).[28] In 1514, a carpenter was fined the sum of 13s 4d for 'selling' i.e. transferring to another master, an apprentice without a licence from the master and wardens, a subject which is not even mentioned in the ordinances.[29] The ordinances give little guidance as to how apprentices were to be treated other than an attempt to protect the boys from exploitation by the statement that apprentices were not to be given 'men's work' although this was not defined and, when work was available, it was to be offered to any apprentices who were lacking work, before it was offered to anyone outside the Company. (This same rule applied to freemen who lacked work).[30]

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[26] *CLB[I],* pp. 111-2.

[27] *CLB[K],* p. 292. The fees were doubled yet again in 1450 for a period of one year 'to meet the Parliamentary expenses of the citizens'. *CLB[K],* p. 331.

[28] The masters receiving the lesser fines were John Newys and Hew Redyng while the master who was fined 3s 4d was Jamys Wylson. *Accounts*: f. 170, p. 228.

[29] The master was William Porter. The name of the apprentice is not recorded but it may have been John Berwykke who had been apprenticed to Porter for seven years in 1510. *Accounts*: f. 170, p. 229.

[30] See Appendix 3, paras. 19 & 22.

Unfortunately, because details about Carpenters' apprentices are extremely limited key questions, such as the geographical origin of apprentices, the occupations of their fathers, and how contact was made between masters and the parents of potential apprentices, are difficult to answer.[31] Many apprentices would have been migrants into London and occasionally it is possible to see that a young man had moved a long way from home. The accounts record that John Bolmare (or Boulmer) was apprenticed to William Cony for seven years in 1512 and by 1521 Bolmare presented an apprentice of his own.[32] This is the total information about Bolmare revealed by the Company's own records but a Chancery record gives a little further information about his background. John was the son of William Boulmer of Atwick in Holderness (in the East Riding of Yorkshire) but there are no clues as to how Boulmer senior came to apprentice his son to a London carpenter.[33] Information from enrolments of apprentices in Oxford indicates that the proportion of fatherless apprentices was about one-third suggesting that 'many apprenticeships were taken up as part of family rearrangements after bereavement' but it is not possible to test to what extent this statement applied to London carpenters.[34]

Although the Carpenters' accounts date from 1438 it is not until 1455 that they start to record receipt of payments from craftsmen in respect of their apprentices, presumably this action was part of better record keeping engendered by the adoption of the ordinances in that year.[35] From that point up to 1489 the accounts usually give just the name of the master responsible for paying the entry fine and the amount paid, e.g. in 1461, 'Received of Thomas Fenne for an apprentice – 12d', only rarely is the name of the apprentice recorded.[36] This lack of detail means that it is not possible to follow apprentices systematically through the accounts to discover how their careers progressed but only to pick out occasional examples from the later period after the names of apprentices start to appear. For example, John Clerke started his career as

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[31]The indenture records of boys apprenticed to skinners between 1496 and 1515 supply the name, occupation, and home town or county of the father of each apprentice. See Veale, *Fur*, pp. 95-6. Comparable information for carpenters is not available until the mid seventeenth century. See *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. Bower Marsh et al. (Oxford and London 1913-1968). Vol. 1: *Apprentices' Entry Books, 1654-1694*.

[32] *Accounts*: f. 157, p. 214; *Accounts*: f. 106, p. 245.

[33] TNA C1/478/44.

[34] *Oxford City Apprentices*, p. xxxi.

[35] *Accounts*: f. 4, p. 17.

[36] *Accounts*: f. 15, p. 33. A few names are recorded between 1477 and 1483.

an apprentice to Richard Banastre in 1482.[37] The length of his apprenticeship was not specified in the accounts but by 1494 Clerke had obviously completed his training as he presented a journeyman of his own to the Company.[38] In the following year John Ashborne was apprenticed to Clerke and again Ashborne completed his training for in 1514 he is recorded as presenting his own apprentice, John Stevyns, to serve for eight years.[39] At the end of that period Stevyns presumably had finished his training for in 1521 Ashborne paid for another apprentice to be bound for seven years. This was Nicholas Clarke who may have been related to the master for whom Ashborne had received his own training.[40] Another of John Clarke's apprentices was Stephen Pounchon who was indentured in 1502 and by 1511 had completed his training because he took on a journeyman, followed by his first apprentice in the following year.[41] Pounchon later served the Company in the role of youngest warden followed by a term as warden.[42] He was master in 1533 and died in 1535.[43]Another man who went from apprentice to a successful carpentry career was Robert Battes. Battes was apprenticed to William Cony in 1503 and by 1512 he was presenting an apprentice of his own to the Company.[44] Other sources show him working as a carpenter at the Tower of London and with the army at Calais. Battes appears to have continued to work in Calais until shortly before his death in 1536.[45]

Only those free of the city and the Craft were eligible to take on apprentices, something regarded as a privilege and around two hundred master carpenters did so during the period 1455-1521.[46] These men took on more than 570 apprentices, the majority of whom were new enrolments but there are also some references to boys who were moving between masters and whose enrolment may or may not have been recorded in the accounts. In 1508, for instance, Robert Deycon paid the Company the standard fee of 3s to bind John Skydmore as his apprentice for seven years.[47] However, in the following year he paid 12d for Skydmore to be 'set over' to

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[37] *Accounts:* f.38, p. 61.
[38] *Accounts*: f. 64, p. 102.
[39] *Accounts*: f. 67, p. 107; f. 171, p. 229.
[40] *Accounts*: f. 106, p. 245.
[41] *Accounts*: f. 89, p. 140; f. 150, p. 205; f. 156, p. 212.
[42] *Accounts*, p. 262.
[43] *Court*, p. 211.
[44] *Accounts*: f. 94, p. 146; f. 156, p. 213.
[45] Harvey, *Dictionary,* p. 15-6.
[46] The Account Book is dated 1438-1516 but there is an additional folio covering 1521.
[47] *Accounts*: f. 134, p. 181.

Nicholas Bylys.[48] The accounts give no hint for the reasons behind this move. In other examples, William Wylforth paid for his apprentice, Thomas Lewys, to be set over to Christopher Richardsonne for five years in 1507, and in 1511 Philip Callerd was fined for 'resting' Miles Barrow (presumably his apprentice) without a licence from the master and wardens.[49] There are no other records of these apprentices in the accounts and the dates they took out their indentures are unknown. In her study of the Skinners' Company, Elspeth Veale found that much activity went on without the knowledge of the Company including the taking on of apprentices without their being formally enrolled and this seems to have been true for the Carpenters' Company.[50]

A study of the accounts suggests that a large expansion in apprentice training took place over the period covered by the Account Book, possibly due to the growth in membership of the Company. Only two apprentices were listed in 1455 but by 1514 there were 29.[51] However, it is difficult to know whether this was a steady progression or simply the result of variable record-keeping. In 1489 the names of apprentices start to be routinely recorded so it may be that better and more accurate compilation of records was introduced from around this time. This change followed the enrolment of the Company's ordinances in Guildhall two years earlier and the improvement in record keeping may well have been at the request of the civic authorities. It was probably this development that is responsible for the apparent expansion in apprenticeship numbers, rather than a real increase having taken place.

The Carpenters' ordinances do not say anything about the number of apprentices that could be taken on at any one time by a single craftsman but most masters are recorded as indenturing only one apprentice at a time with the occasional instance of two. Officers were usually allowed an additional couple of boys e.g. Thomas Ungyll, warden, paid for three apprentices in 1457.[52] This was in line with city regulations that specified that 'no one shall take more than two or three apprentices at most,

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[48] *Accounts*: f. 140, p. 190.
[49] *Accounts*: f. 128, p. 173; f. 149, p. 202.
[50] Veale, *Fur*, p. 97.
[51] See Appendix 13.
[52] *Accounts*: f. 8, p. 24.

according to his ability to support them'.[53] Guilds frequently limited the number of apprentices attached to individual masters to ensure that there would be sufficient work available for the next generation and to enable each apprentice to have a proper and thorough training.[54] It was not always the case that officers took on more than the average number of apprentices. Thomas Kydd, for instance, held the position of master in 1485-6, 1490-1 and 1499 as well as serving three times as a warden but there is no record of his taking on any apprentices.

Sometimes a carpenter might pay for one or two apprentices in one year and in the following year take on one or two more. Possibly this was because his business had expanded and more workers were needed or it may have been that the earlier apprentices had died or run away. It is likely that young men frequently did leave their masters before completing their terms and sometimes they were caught and punished. One youth who absconded was John Massyngham in 1409. Massyngham was imprisoned for quitting the service of John Dobson, carpenter, 'before the term agreed'. The sheriffs of London were ordered to release him from gaol at the mainprise of four men, two of whom were carpenters.[55] Much of Massyngham's later working life seems to have been as a carver (he worked in Canterbury, Oxford and Warwick as well as London) so it is possible that he left the carpenter Dobson's service because he felt unsuited to the type of work for which he was being trained.[56] Unfortunately, it is not possible to quantify the number of such fugitives from the extant evidence.

One craftsman who took on an exceptional number of apprentices was Christopher Richardsonne who paid for thirteen during the period 1490-1512 although this never exceeded two in any one year.[57] Richardsonne never held office in the Company and nothing is known of his career so it is not possible to know why he needed so many apprentices. He is not mentioned in the accounts after 1512 although from bequests in his will dated April 1523 he seems to have continued to practise as a carpenter

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[53] *CLB[D],* p. ix.
[54] P. J. P. Goldberg, *Medieval England – A Social History 1250-1550* (London, 2004), p. 66.
[55] *CCR* 1405-9, p. 455. The carpenters were William Clever and John Edward.
[56] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 199-200.
[57] *Accounts*, f. 51, p. 81; f. 61, p. 98; f. 64, p. 103; f. 67, p. 107; f. 75, p. 120; f. 78, p. 125; f. 86, p. 135; f. 89, p. 140; f. 94, p. 146; f. 112, p. 153; f. 113, p. 154; f. 117, p. 159; f. 128, pp. 173-4; f. 139, p. 189; f. 149, p. 204; f. 156, p. 213.

until his death. He left property next to the Green Dragon in Cow Lane to his wife, which included a carpenter's yard together 'with all towls [tools] and appurtenaunces to the sayde yerde'.[58] Richardsonne does not mention any of his apprentices in his will and he left all his possessions to his wife whom he made his sole executrice. Only one of his apprentices, Thomas Andrew[es], may have had a career as a London carpenter.[59] Another craftsman with an exceptional number of apprentices was Richard Smyth, who served as warden three times and once as master, and paid for fifteen apprentices between 1492 and 1513 although, again, never more than two in any one year.[60]

It can be seen therefore that some master carpenters were in a completely different category from the average workman and were running substantial businesses. Another man in this situation was Simon Byrlyngham who paid to be free of the Company in the years 1481 and 1482 and who wasted no time in developing his business for, in the latter year, he also paid for his first covenant man (an assistant) and an apprentice .[61] There is no record of where Byrlyngham had undertaken his training and it must be presumed that this was outside London as he is not mentioned in the Company's accounts before 1481.[62] Byrlyngham was obviously a man of talent and his progress within the Company was swift for in 1486 he served as warden for the first time, serving again in 1490 and 1496.[63] These years were obviously very busy ones for Byrlyngham as can be demonstrated by his recruitment of assistants (summarised in Table 7).

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[58] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 14v.

[59] A Thomas Andrewes occurs in the Company records in 1508. *Accounts*: f. 135, p. 183.

[60] *Accounts*: f. 59, p. 93; f. 64, p. 103; f. 72, p. 115; f. 80, p. 130; f. 86, p. 135; f. 94, p. 146; f. 112; p. 154; f. 117, p. 160; f. 122, p. 167; f. 128, p. 174; f. 133, p. 180. During this period Smyth also paid for a 'man' (in 1496), f. 9, p. 111, a journeyman (in 1498), f. 75, p. 121 and a servant, also referred to as his 'man', (in 1504), f. 112, p. 154 & f. 114, p. 155.

[61] The subject of covenant men and journeymen will be discussed below. *Accounts*: f. 37, p. 60; f. 38, pp. 61-2.

[62] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 26 suggests that Simon may have originated from Burlingham, Norfolk or Birlingham, Worcestershire. There are a number of references to Simon Birlyngham, carpenter, in Chancery records and in one of these his surname is given as 'Birmyngeham' but this was probably an error on behalf of the scribe as in all other Chancery references it is spelt 'Birlyngham'. TNA Chancery C1/209/2.

[63] *Accounts*: f. 45, p. 73; f. 55, p. 86; f. 72, p. 114.

Table 7 – Simon Byrlyngham's employment of assistants[64]

Year	Paid for
1482	William Westgate covenant man William Broun apprentice
1487	Two apprentices (not named)
1488	Three apprentices (not named)
1489	Thomas Morres covenant man William Edown his 'man' William Storry apprentice
1491	Richard Smalley and William Wright journeymen
1492	Jamys Burnehm and Roger Savage journeymen
1493	Robert Selond journeyman
1494	Nicolas Boiles journeyman John Kyng apprentice
1495	John Yene apprentice William Leke apprentice
1496	Thomas Clemet journeyman
1497	W. Rugschaw apprentice
1498	William Clayton apprentice

For many of these men this was their only appearance in the Company's records but there were some exceptions such as Richard Smalley (mentioned earlier) and Richard Seland.[65] Seland was associated with the Company until 1511 having paid for his freedom in 1499.[66] Nicolas Boiles may have been Nicholas Bylles who achieved his freedom in 1502 and was associated with the Company until 1512.[67] Byrlyngham's career, as summarised by John Harvey, was active and prosperous which perhaps explains his need for such a large number of staff.[68] Byrlyngham built the hall of the Pewterers' Company (1496-8) and at his death he was owed money by the king, the Master of Lincoln's Inn, the city churches of All Hallows the Great, St Alban Wood Street, St Margaret Pattens, St Mary-le-Bow and St James, and the companies of

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[64] *Accounts:* f. 38, p. 62; f. 45, p. 73; f. 46, p. 75; f. 49, p. 78 & 79; f. 50, p. 79; f. 55, p. 87; f. 59, pp. 93-4; f. 61, p. 98; f. 64, pp. 102-3; f. 67, p. 197; f. 69, p. 111; f. 72, p. 115; f. 75, p. 121.
[65] For Smalley see p. 113.
[66] *Accounts*: f. 78, p. 125.
[67] *Accounts*: f. 89, p. 141.
[68] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 26.

Vintners and Leathersellers. In his main residence at Wood Street, he had clothing valued at 37s and silver plate worth £4 13s.[69]

The main purpose of the apprenticeship system was to train the next generation. In the case of carpenters during this period this does not seem to have been very successful as few apprentices named in the accounts appear later in the records paying for their freedom or taking on their own apprentices. This situation was not uncommon. In the Skinners' Company two-thirds of apprentices who were enrolled between 1491 and1516 never completed their training or took up the freedom of the city, and among those who were freed only about one-half 'became sufficiently prosperous to set up as masters and take apprentices for themselves'.[70] In the Carpenters' Company the figures appear to be much lower. Out of approximately 435 apprentices whose names are known, and who were indentured during the years 1477-1521 to over 130 different master carpenters, only about twenty-five i.e. eight per cent can be traced in the later Company records, usually at the point when they took on an apprentice of their own, but sometimes only when they were making a payment towards their freedom, a goal which might never be achieved. A further nine apprentices from these dates appear in other records, such as wills, as practising carpenters although they were not necessarily free of the company. All the other apprentices named in the accounts disappear without trace. This conclusion applied also in a later period. Ben-Amos says that there was a widespread abandonment of apprenticeship training before it formally ended, pointing out that during the years 1540-90 about forty-five per cent of the apprentices in the London Carpenters' Company failed to complete their training and were described as 'having gone or run away'.[71] There are a number of possible reasons to account for such a high dropout rate. The expense of taking up the freedom was beyond many; some will have died; others, whether they completed their indentures or not, remained to work in the carpentry trade within the city but at such a lowly level that they do not appear in any

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[69] University of Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor's Court Records, University/VCCt Invs. 1 1498-1546 and W. M. Palmer, 'A Fifteenth-Century Inventory' in *Notes and Queries*, 2[nd.] series, Vol. 6 (1912), p. 227.
[70] Veale, *Fur*, p. 98.
[71] I. K. Ben-Amos, 'Failure to become freemen: urban apprentices in early modern England', *Social History*, 16 (1991), 157-92, p. 157.

of the official records. Many boys probably left the city and returned home, possibly to practise as carpenters, having received at least some training in London.[72]

In common with a number of other city companies son-to-father apprenticeships seem to have been rare amongst carpenters. Out of a total 425 records where the full name of the master and apprentice is given, in only five cases (all in the early years of the sixteenth century) do the master and his apprentice share a surname and, of course, they may not have been father and son.[73] These include John Nicoll mentioned earlier who, in 1447, bequeathed tools to his son Bartholomew who was serving as his apprentice.[74] Other possible examples of fathers and sons are Richard Tegge, who paid for Thomas Tegge to start his apprenticeship with him from St Margaret's Day (20 July) 1511 and John King who took on George King for eight years in 1504 (although George was passed onto another master, Robert Lyndell in the following year).[75] George King is one example of an apprentice who went on to enjoy a successful career as a carpenter. He presented an apprentice of his own in 1516 and served four times as warden between 1546 and 1553, not making his will until 1566 by which time he could have been around 76 years of age.[76] However, the exact relationship between the older and younger Tegges and Kings is not known and in fact caution needs to be exercised in assigning blood relationships to them at all as apprentices sometimes took the surname of their master.[77] Despite this lack of evidence for close familial relationships between masters and apprentices, by entering into a formal contract the pair formed their own 'substitute or surrogate father-son relationship'.[78]

There were some instances where London carpenters' sons may have been apprenticed to fellow London carpenters but it is difficult to disentangle relationships. In 1513 Thomas Cokke was apprenticed to William Leddes while in

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[72] For a discussion of the attrition rate of Carpenters' apprentices for the period from the 1540s to the 1580s see Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds*, pp. 313-4. For a general discussion about the fate of London apprentices see Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London', pp. 208-11.

[73] Vanessa Harding also states that son-to-father apprenticeships were rare. See 'Sons', p. 2.

[74] See p. 133. LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 214v.

[75] *Accounts*: f. 150, p. 205; f. 112, p. 154; f. 117, p. 160.

[76] *Accounts*: f. 180a, p. 238; *Court*: p. 213; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/15, f. 276. The will was proved on 12 April 1567.

[77] Harding, 'Sons', p. 155.

[78] Harding, 'Sons', p. 155.

the same year Richard Cokkes was apprenticed to John Sallet.[79] Thomas and Richard were possibly the sons of Roger Cokke who himself, in 1513, took on an apprentice, or of Humphrey Coke who took on two apprentices of his own in 1512. Confusingly, Humphrey had a son called Roger who was also a carpenter.[80] That few sons continued in the same craft as their fathers was not unusual in the Middle Ages. Vanessa Harding citing evidence to support this from wills notes that 'the explicit bequest of tools and trade goods from father to son - implying that they practised the same trade' is not common'.[81] Harding gives the example of Giles Hamound who bequeathed a carpenter's house to a William Hamound (possibly his nephew) in 1537 and timber and boards to be sold equally to William and two other carpenters. At the same time Giles's sons received money and gowns but no items connected with the carpentry trade.[82] It might seem strange that carpenters did not want their sons to continue in the craft but there is a good reason to explain why many young people training in London were in a different occupation to that of their fathers. It was a sensible way of diversifying the household economy.[83] It could have resulted also from a parental desire for their children to do better than they themselves had done.

Men sometimes refer to apprentices in their wills, releasing them from some of their terms, as did the carpenter Christopher Brown. who made his will in November 1535 in which he released his then apprentices: William Hall and Thomas Ball, from one half of their terms.[84] Richard Smalley, in his will of October 1500, released one of his apprentices from a half year of his terms, while two others were each released from one year.[85] Another man, William Clement († 1540), released his four apprentices from one year of their service (plus bequeathing each of them 20s).[86] Early release from apprenticeship terms on the death of a master was quite common amongst craft guilds. It would have made a big difference to the young man and is an indicator that reasonable competence at a trade could be achieved in less than the

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[79] *Accounts*: f. 163, p. 221.
[80] *Accounts*: f. 163, p. 220. (The name of Roger Cokke's apprentice is not legible). Humphrey Coke's apprentices were William Collens and John Wythehed. *Accounts*: f. 157, p. 214.
[81] Harding, 'Sons', p. 154.
[82] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 305.
[83] Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London', p. 39.
[84] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 243v. *Accounts*: f. 128, p. 174 (1507).
[85] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 218v.
[86] TNA PCC PROB 11/2, f. 197.

usual seven years of an indenture, reinforcing the view that for much of their apprenticeship young men were more a useful pair of hands rather than active learners of their trade. Seven years was a minimum term with the number of years actually served not necessarily being related to the needs of training but 'to the perceived necessity to control competition and the number of freemen working in the city and the various crafts'.[87]

Widows of London citizens were expected to continue the training of their late husband's apprentices such as in the example of Richard, the apprentice of Walter de Chelmersford, mentioned earlier.[88] If a widow subsequently remarried a man from another craft she had to make arrangements for the apprentice to continue his training in an appropriate household elsewhere.[89] Although this was a well-established civic custom there is only one mention in the Account Book of a woman apparently being responsible for an apprentice. In 1510 Hugh Reydyng paid the Company 12d 'for setting over of William Gardener from the Goodwife Darvall for four years at Bartholomewtide', i.e. Hugh Reydyng took on the apprentice.[90] 'Goodwife' Darvall was the widow of John Darvall to whom William Gardener had been apprenticed in 1507.[91] John Darvall was still active in 1508 when he presented another apprentice but may have died some time during that year for in 1509 the accounts record a payment of 12d from 'Darvall's wife for a fine'.[92] There is no indication of what the fine was for but it could have been a payment in respect of taking on William Gardener from her deceased husband. The fact that Mrs Darvall was paying the Company a fine at all suggests that she was actively involved in the carpentry trade, albeit for a short time before William's indentures were transferred to Hugh Reydyng. This hypothesis is supported by Phythian-Adams's study of medieval Coventry, where he concluded it was certain that 'widows might perpetuate the business by training up apprentices on their own account' but he further states that

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[87] Hovland. 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London', p. 87 and for further discussion on the length of indentures for London apprentices see pp. 89-92.

[88] See p. 134.

[89] C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton ed., *Medieval London Widows 1300-1500* (London, 1994), p. xxviii and C. M. Barron and C. Martin, 'Mothers and Orphans in Fourteenth-century London', in C. Leyser and L. Smith ed., *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400* (Farnham, 2011), 281-96, p. 295.

[90] *Accounts*: f. 144, p. 196.

[91] *Accounts*: f. 128, p. 173.

[92] *Accounts*: f. 134, p. 181. The other apprentice was John Marchall; *Accounts*: f. 140, p. 190.

none of the women recorded as being responsible for a business remained in the records longer than the time it would have taken for any apprentices inherited from their husbands to complete their training.[93] The apprentice, William Gardener, seems to have endured a difficult time while undergoing his training as he is last heard of in the accounts being bound for a further seven years to Christopher Richardsonne in 1512.[94] (Gardener was the last of Richardsonne's many apprentices). A John Darvall, who was bound to Nicholas Revell in 1513, may have been the son of John Darvall senior.[95]

Only one possible female apprentice has been identified. This was Katherine Gy mentioned in the will of William Togood († 1467) where he referred to her specifically as 'my apprentice' and requested that she serve his wife, Alice.[96] There are no further details so it is not possible to know whether Katherine was an apprentice carpenter or whether Togood had another trade, such as brewing, to which she was apprenticed. It is even possible that Katherine was employed as a household servant rather than an indentured apprentice.

On completion of his apprenticeship a youth might be taken on as a covenant man or journeyman. (The distinction between the two terms is unclear). The fee to the Company for taking on a covenant man was a fixed sum of 12d for the whole period 1455-91 after which the term 'covenant man' disappears from the records. An agreement between a master carpenter and a covenant man from 1459 setting out the payment the junior man was to receive is a rare survival in the archives of Westminster Abbey.[97] The amount paid to the Company for a journeyman varied widely. There appear to have been two categories of journeyman. Firstly, men who paid on their own behalf to become a 'freejourneyman' of the Company, such as William Gaylyon who paid 2s 8d for this privilege in 1490, and, in the same year, William Sekroke who made two payments amounting to 13s 4d for the same purpose.[98] Secondly, those men who were taken on as a journeyman by a man who

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[93] C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 92.
[94] *Accounts*: f. 156, p. 213.
[95] *Accounts*: f. 164, p. 221.
[96] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 11v.
[97] Westminster Abbey Muniments 5962. Reproduced at Appendix 14.
[98] *Accounts*: f. 51, p. 82.

was himself free of the Company, such as the two men Simon Byrlyngham presented to the Company in 1492 for the standard payment of 12d each.[99] As can be seen those men who paid for themselves incurred much greater expense than those who had a 'sponsor'. Journeymen were paid employees of masters and as such might be regarded as cheap labour. There is little information about the payments received by journeymen although the Account Book gives an instance in 1511 when William Bell agreed to serve William Goldysbrow for three years binding as a journeyman, receiving payment of 36s 8d in the first year, 33s 4d in the second with a gown valued at 10s, and in his third year he was to be paid 4 marks 4s i.e. 57s 4d.[100]

As already stated many men never progressed to become a master in their own right and the drop-out rate from 'trainees' can be confirmed by the fact that only sixty-six covenant men and 117 journeymen are recorded between 1455 and 1514 and, in some years, no names are recorded at all although, as usual, allowance has to be made for young men taking on these roles without the Company's knowledge.

4.2 Food, feasting and entertainment within the Company

> For any social grouping to have a collective identity there has to be a shared interpretation of the events and experiences which formed the group over time.[101]

> Feasting and drinking were in the Middle Ages regarded as defining activities of the guilds.[102]

Although economic and religious activities were a fundamental part of guild membership, the importance of socialising together should not be underestimated. It is generally accepted by historians that ceremonies, particularly in towns, were a means of promoting social cohesion, something that was true of institutions within towns as well as of the towns themselves.[103] A sense of insecurity was 'normal for urban artisans' as they had often left their natal homes to try to make careers for themselves in towns and they had a strong need to 'construct personal relationships

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[99] *Accounts*: f. 59, pp. 93-4.
[100] *Accounts*: f. 150, p. 205.
[101] J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (Harlow, revised 3rd. edition 2002), p. 3.
[102] G. Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 430-46, p. 431.
[103] R. Hilton, 'Status and Class in the Medieval Town' in T. R. Slater and G. Rosser ed., *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot, 1998), 9-19, p. 14.

with others'.[104] Social activities, principally enjoying communal meals and entertainment, were a common element in the annual diary of most guilds for by that means the relationship between members was reinforced, drawing each man into the organisation through shared values, allowing them to relax in a convivial setting (one that was almost certainly more sumptuous than their own homes), and underlining the distinction between those who had achieved acceptance into the group i.e. those who belonged, and outsiders, the non-members. The shared experience of communal socialising helped to emphasise the authority of the officers over the members and clarified each man's place in the guild hierarchy but it also gave individuals the opportunity to make contacts and seek out patronage.

The dispersed geographical nature of the carpenter's craft in London may have made feasting together even more important for its membership. Communal meals were held at regular intervals throughout the year, often shortly after the members had attended mass together. These meals took place with much greater formality and provided a wider choice of dishes than most members would experience anywhere else, the aim being to emulate as far as possible richer guilds that, in their turn, were following the procedures of aristocratic households. Although all guild members would be entitled to be present, the seating arrangements and the selection of food offered would reinforce each man's position, and indicate to what he could aspire within his chosen community. A Company meal was a special occasion where all those present were aware that they were partaking in an event from which non-craft members were excluded (unless specifically invited as guests – they could not attend of right as did members). The Carpenters' ordinances simply state that an annual dinner was to be held in the Company Hall on the Sunday following the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady (15 August) but other formal (although much less lavish) meals (often called 'suppes') were held at regular intervals throughout the year. In fact it is surprising to note just how frequently such meals did take place. By the later fifteenth century it was usual to hold seven official meals during the year, in addition to the annual one, referred to in the accounts as the 'Feast Day'.[105] Meals were held 'when the mayor went to Westminster' (at the end of October), on the quarter-days

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[104] G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages – Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), p. 152.

[105] In comparison the Cutlers' Company held only three feasts each year. T. Girtin, *The Mark of the Sword: A narrative history of the Cutlers' Company, 1189-1975* (London, 1975), p. 77.

(sometimes referred to in later years as Quarter Day suppers), on St Lawrence the Martyr Day (10 August), on the Reckoning Day (the day when fines had to be paid and the accounts for the previous year were agreed) and of course on the Feast Day itself which came only five days after the St Lawrence Day dinner. In addition to the regular formal meals for the whole membership, a meal was provided at the Company's expense for individuals when they obtained the freedom.[106]

Formal Carpenters' Company meals were presumably open to all the members but the accounts do not give any direct information about the numbers attending on any particular occasion, how much each man contributed to the cost, nor whether guests, including wives, were present. Money was spent on 'bidding the guests' to the Feast Day but it is not known whether these were non-carpenter guests invited at the Company's expense or whether this was simply the cost of formally notifying the membership of the forthcoming event.[107] More detailed information on such matters can be obtained from the Brewers' Guild where 155 people attended their annual dinner (described as 'Our Feast') in 1421. This included thirty-six wives who accompanied their husbands and six women who attended alone. The high proportion of women attending Brewers' dinners should not be seen as representative of other guilds. The Brewers were exceptional in that about one-third of their membership were women, a figure that included never-married women as well as wives and widows, although no women participated fully in the running of the guild.[108] The Brewers' dinners were not provided free of charge. Single men paid 16d, couples 2s and most women alone paid 12d.[109] Valued employees of the Brewers' Guild were sometimes rewarded with a free meal at the Feast, such as the Brewers' own carpenter, John Pekker, in the accounting year 1422-3.[110]

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[106] Discussed in Section 3.2.2, p. 114.

[107] For instance, 2s was spent for this purpose in 1508 and 2s 2d in 1509. *Accounts*: f. 137, p. 186; f. 143, p. 195.

[108] J. M. Bennett, 'Women and Men in the Brewers' Gild of London, ca. 1420' in E. B. DeWindt ed., *The Salt of Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside and Church: Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1995), 181-232, esp. pp. 200-16.

[109] Bennett, 'Women and Men', p. 217.

[110] LMA CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440, William Porland's minute book, being an account and memoranda book compiled by William Porland, Clerk to the [Brewers'] Company (1418-1440), f. 81v.

There is no information about the cost to participants of any of the Carpenters' meals. References to money collected at the quarter-day suppers and the Feast Day dinners are likely to refer to membership fees rather than payments specifically towards the meals.[111] In 1516 the Drapers held a dinner for about 200 of whom seventy-eight were 'distinguished guests'. About thirty men were seated at the top table in the hall and another 100 at the two side tables. Around forty ladies were seated at an adjoining table.[112] In comparison, it seems unlikely that wives attended Carpenters' dinners during this period as they would have been mentioned in the accounts. However, the situation changed over time. A reference in the Court Book in 1555 refers to a decision that liverymen had to pay 2s 6d towards the 'dinner day' whether or not they or their wives attended.[113] The Carpenters' feast was not a money-making venture as it frequently made a loss. In 1459 the accounts record a loss of 1s 'in owr dyner on the Feste daye' and such losses continued to be reported. By 1473 the loss incurred had reached 40s.[114] In addition to financial losses items often had to be replaced after dinners such as the candlestick that went missing on one of the quarter days in 1500.[115] All this hints at slightly disorganised events rather than ones that were carefully planned and carried out.

The Carpenters held formal dinners from at least the start of the Account Book but information is very sparse to begin with. The records for 1438 do not specifically refer to dinners nor itemise any food purchased but they do record the purchase of 'twenty new board cloths, playne' together with three dozen platters, four dozen dishes, and twenty-five saucers (all apparently of pewter) which suggests that formal meals for the whole guild were taking place. There is no mention of cutlery as, even as late as the sixteenth century, it was still usual for guests to bring their own.[116] In the following year two dozen cups and two taps were purchased (at a cost of 14d) and 10d was spent on the launderer 'for the year' presumably to wash the table linen.[117] Two of the members provided three trestles each, probably for the dining

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[111] In 1506 e.g. 31s 6d was collected at All Hallows, 29s 6d at Candlemas, 30s 10d at the Quarter Day in May and 32s 10d at Midsummer. At the Feast Day dinner that year 45s 4d was received. *Accounts*: f. 122, p. 166.

[112] Unwin, *Gilds*, p. 196.

[113] Court: f. 86, p. 58.

[114] *Accounts*: f. 13, p. 30; f. 27, p. 47.

[115] *Accounts*: f. 84, p. 130.

[116] A. Sim, *Food and Feast in Tudor England* (Stroud, 1997), p. 3.

[117] *Accounts*: f. 95, p. 4.

hall.[118] This hall contained a 'high table', positioned at one end of the room, as it was recorded that the carpenter, Simon Chacumbe, gave some linen items for it and it can be surmised that other tables were aligned sideways on to the top table, in a similar fashion to the Drapers referred to above.[119] There appears to have been only one chair throughout the medieval period as a 1568 reference in the Court Book states that: 'It was resolved that the eldest master present would sit in a chair at dinner and occasions'.[120] The floor of the hall was covered in rushes which it would seem, from the modest amount spent on them annually, e.g. 7d in 1481, were not changed frequently.[121]

The Carpenters' accounts are particularly helpful in one respect relating to feasting in that they give detailed information about the food and drink purchased. Records for other guilds are not so forthcoming. The accounts of the Merchant Taylors' Company, for example, give few details of the food provided for feasts, a menu of *c.* 1430 being the sole source of information.[122] Nevertheless, the Carpenters' records only present a partial picture of what could have been available because the accounts, by their nature, are restricted to recording items purchased. They do not supply details about any food the guild grew for itself in its garden adjacent to the hall or any surpluses donated by members from their own gardens or smallholdings. The Company's garden produced herbs, including rosemary, thyme and hyssop, laid out ornamentally within box hedging but these were unlikely to have been just for show and could have found their way into the kitchen to supplement the herbs purchased at market. Root vegetables such as carrots and turnips may also have been grown as well as salad vegetables, and possibly fruit: apples, pears, and even strawberries. The Carpenters may have kept chickens in their garden, like the Brewers, but naturally, only eggs that were actually purchased are recorded in the accounts.[123]

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[118] *Accounts*: f. 1, p. 2. Trestle tables would be put up just before each meal and dismantled straight afterwards leaving the hall available to be used for other functions. P. Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes, 2008), p. 429.
[119] *Accounts*: f. 104b, p. 244.
[120] *Court:* f. 146, p. 110.
[121] *Accounts*: f. 37, p. 61.
[122] M. Davies and A. Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds, 2004), p. 32.
[123] Metcalfe, 'William Porland', p. 28.

Details about food purchased for feasts increases over time. It is not until the 1480s that food is mentioned at all and even then the only item recorded throughout the whole year was a swan on the Feast Day, but from the 1490s onwards much more detail is given. For all the meals that are itemised in the Account Book the staples of bread and ale head the list. Peter Brears, in his study of cooking and dining in the medieval period, explains why bread was so important:

> Bread probably formed the most substantial part of the medieval diet, being served at every meal. Not only did it provide a high level of nutrition combined with comforting stomach-filling bulk, but it was also essential for the mannerly use of spoons and knives at table.[124]

The grain used to make bread varied throughout different regions and according to the income of the purchaser.[125] The Carpenters' Company did not bake their own bread but bought it in by the 'dozen' but the type of bread consumed cannot be determined and it is not known where it was purchased. Ale (made from barley, as opposed to beer which was made from hops) was the other main staple and the Company purchased it for every dinner, either by the barrel, firkin, pot or 'kylderkyn' (a kilderkin was half a barrel).[126] A statute of 1532 determined that if a kilderkin contained ale it must comprise 16 gallons, while if it was beer it had to be 18 gallons. A firkin was generally half a kilderkin.[127] Wine was also drunk, most usually on the Feast Day and only infrequently at other dinners. The Company enjoyed a wide range of different wines: 'bastard', (a sweet wine), claret, malmsey, muscadel, 'tyre' (a strong, sweet wine) and sometimes simply 'red' or 'sweet'.[128] White wine is never specified as such.

The first recorded dinners were modest affairs seemingly consisting of just one course. For the first quarter-day dinner in 1490, apart from the ubiquitous bread and ale, the Company purchased 'flesh' (type unspecified) together with vinegar, verjuice

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[124] Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, p. 109.

[125] M. Black, *Food and Cooking in Medieval Britain* (English Heritage, 1985), p. 6.

[126] P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 5-6.

[127] Kilderkin, *n*. and Firkin, *n*. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 26 December 2012]. Judith Bennett says that by 1408 the beer brewing trade had expanded to such an extent that the City issued orders about new measures – barrels and kilderkins. Bennett, 'Women and Men', p. 189.

[128] Bastard, *n*. and *adj*. Definition 4. Tyre/tire, *n*. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 30 May 2016].

(the juice of unripe grapes, apples or crab apples often used for making sauces), salt and onions but apparently nothing else.[129] At the next quarter-day that year they enjoyed three dozen hens with butter and salt, and at the third quarter, twenty-six fillets of veal, again seasoned with vinegar, verjuice, salt and butter, but this time 3d was spent on eggs. The last quarter day in 1490 was similarly modest: six 'lambs' with verjuice, salt and butter. However, from then on meals begin to show much greater variety. As already noted the Company regularly took part in the procession that accompanied the mayor to Westminster each autumn for his formal oath-taking and, on returning to their hall, a dinner would be held. This often included oysters although this was not the case in 1490, when the meal consisted of two neck of mutton, two pikes, three geese, two 'pyokeys' [? more pike], eighteen pigeons and seven conies. All of these were flavoured with spice, vinegar, verjuice, salt, mustard, butter and onions.[130] In 1477 the large sum of 2s 5d (although much of the cost must have been for transport) was spent on 'carryng' a pike to Croydon when their master, Thomas Warham, was unwell there.[131] Food was considered an acceptable gift in the Middle Ages and, although pike was not exceptionally expensive, it was clearly viewed as a special treat, and the Company sometimes purchased it to give as a present or bribe.[132] When the 'mayor went to Westminster' in 1491 two pikes were purchased for the carpenter Richard Togood at a cost of 2s 8d although the reason for this is not indicated.[133] In 1504 the Company spent a more modest 16d on a pike for the City Chamberlain in the hope that he would be 'friendly unto us'.[134] Presumably this was considered money well spent because another pike was purchased for a Chamberlain five years later (at the greater cost of 2s 8d).[135] In 1500 the Company felt it was worth their while to make a payment to the pike seller 'for to have good pykes' for their annual Feast.[136]

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[129] Much of the produce of English vineyards in the Middle Ages was likely to have been verjuice. Hammond, *Food*, p. 12.

[130] *Accounts*: f. 54, p. 85.

[131] *Accounts*: f. 31a, p. 52.

[132] Sim, *Food and Feast*, p. 42. The churchwardens of All Hallows London Wall also gave gifts of pike. *The Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall*, ed. C. Welch (London, 1912), pp. 37 & 38.

[133] *Accounts*: f. 56, p. 89. Richard Togood appears in the accounts between 1490 and 1513. Nothing further is known about his career.

[134] *Accounts*: f. 114, p. 155.

[135] *Accounts*: f. 141, p. 191.

[136] *Accounts*: f. 85, p. 133.

The 'mayoral' dinner in 1490 is the first occasion when wine is mentioned but there is no indication of the type on that occasion. The annual feast that year was considerably more sumptuous than the other dinners and included a huge variety of animals and birds: swans, geese, chickens, pigeons, ten dozen sparrows, a whole sheep ('except for the shoulders'), veal, mutton, beef, marrowbones and eggs.[137] A meal like this would consist of several courses rather than the simpler quarter-day meals where all the food would be brought to table at the same time. There is no indication if all those present would be allowed to make their selection from every dish or whether certain items were reserved for more important guests. It is also impossible to know how much meat there was on each joint to enable an assessment to be made of how many people these amounts might have served.

Fish was almost as vital as bread and ale during the medieval period because the church prohibited the consumption of meat, eggs and other dairy foods on about half the days in the year. The fact that the Carpenters' communal meals were held on specific dates in the calendar means that some would have fallen on 'fast' days which explains the large range of fish dishes enjoyed at many of their dinners although the type eaten would depend on the season. For most ordinary people fish meant salted or pickled herrings and stockfish (dried cod) but Londoners (and people living near the coast) could obtain oysters and whelks relatively cheaply.[138] The Carpenters' Company enjoyed a varied fish diet at their dinners. In 1492, for example, after they had accompanied the mayor to Westminster, they tucked into oysters, saltfish, lampreys, shrimps, pike and haddock with plenty of seasoning: pepper, saffron, cloves, mace, mustard, vinegar, verjuice, salt, onions, and yeast.[139] The following quarter-day meals in 1492 were dominated by meat but on St Lawrence's Day there was a return to fish and sea-food: oysters, saltfish, eels, pike and shrimps but with the added variety of roach, jellies and pears. (A one-off purchase of jelly dishes was made in 1481).[140] Again, it was for the annual feast that the Carpenters' cook could really exercise his skills. In 1492 the menu included mutton, veal, beef, swans, geese, chickens, conies, pigeons, pike, plus the usual array of strong flavourings. In addition, the feast is the only meal in the year where sweet

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[137] *Accounts*: f. 54, p. 86.
[138] Black, *Food,* pp. 8-9.
[139] *Accounts*: f. 59, p. 95.
[140] *Accounts*: f. 37, p. 61.

items: almonds, sugar and comfits made an appearance. In 1493 the Feast Day participants enjoyed raisins (including 'great' raisins), currants, dates, prunes and honey and seventeen gallons of wine and a barrel of ale.[141] Another feature of the feast day that distinguished it from other dinners was the purchase of trenchers, presumably for use as 'plates' for individual servings. The pewter platters, dishes and saucers purchased in 1438 may have been for bringing the food to table. First mentioned in 1453, it was not until 1490 that trenchers started to be bought annually with five dozen purchased for the 1491 feast and four dozen for that in 1493 which perhaps gives an indication of the number of expected participants.[142] It is unclear of what they were made except to note that they were itemised separately to the purchases of bread. Originally, trenchers had been three or four day old thickly cut slabs of bread but by this period they were being replaced by ones made of wood or metal.[143]

The food consumed at Carpenters' feasts included a high proportion of 'animals and birds that had not previously served a useful purpose on the farm' and this emphasised the luxurious nature of the menu.[144] One of the birds regularly eaten by the Carpenters was swan. Swans appear to have been highly regarded as a food item in the medieval period and no important dinner was complete without at least one swan. Some banquets consumed vast quantities. At the installation of George Neville as Archbishop of York in 1466, four hundred swans were provided for the accompanying feast.[145] Swans were frequently given as gifts.[146] They were considered a royal bird which meant that, although private individuals might be granted permission to keep swans on their own land, those swans found in 'open and common' waters were considered to belong to the Crown. Nevertheless, 'this limitation seems to have been entirely disregarded in practice, so that to all intents and purposes ownership was restricted only by a man's means and the availability of

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[141] *Accounts*: f. 60, pp. 95-7.

[142] *Accounts*: f. 58, p. 91; f. 63, p. 101.

[143] Hammond, *Food*, pp. 108-9; Martha Carlin, pers. comm.

[144] J. Schofield, and A. Vince, *Medieval Towns* (London, 1994), p. 195.

[145] N. F. Ticehurst, *The mute swan in England: its history, and the ancient custom of swan keeping* (London, 1957), p. 17. Swans were not of course the only items on the menu for George Neville's feast. Also included were 1,000 sheep, 304 calves and 2,000 geeese as well as much else but these vast amounts did have to serve 6,000 guests. G. Dean, *Medieval York* (Stroud, 2008), p. 148.

[146] Ticehurst, *The mute swan*, pp. 12-15.

the necessary accommodation'.[147] The Carpenters' purchase of swans was comparatively modest. They were a treat usually reserved for the annual feast although from 1501 onwards swan was consumed occasionally at other meals, particularly the ones held on St Laurence Day. Purchase of swans ranged from one to five for any particular dinner but it is impossible to know whether the variation in number related to the choice of menu for the day or whether more diners were expected on the occasion when larger numbers of swans were bought. Swans seem to have been freely available for purchase from poulters in London where prices were fixed by the mayor and aldermen from at least 1321 (3s 6d for the best swan, 3s for a middling swan, and others 'according to their worth').[148] By 1370 the price of 'the best cygnet' was set at 4s.[149] These prices accord with what the Carpenters paid at much later dates, (1481-1516), which generally ranged from 3s 4d to 4s per swan.[150] The most common sauce to accompany swan was chawdron.[151] This was gravy made from entrails but the Carpenters' Account Book does not provide any information about how swans were cooked or presented at table.[152] Following cooking they may have been reconstructed to look like a living bird before being paraded around the hall, accompanied by a musical fanfare, only to be removed and carved in the kitchen while other dishes were served, and brought out to the table later.

Payments to a single cook appear on an annual basis. Turnover was not high so they were presumably satisfied with their working conditions and rewards. The same man (Wymond) served for the period, 1481-91, receiving an annual payment of 12s until 1490 when this was increased to 13s 4d.[153] Wymond was replaced by John Osborne who served between 1492 and 1512.[154] The latter's wages had increased to 16s by 1506 and he received a pot of ale for his 'breakfast' at Candlemas 1492.[155] There is some indication of assistance being provided for the cook particularly on the Feast Day, e.g. in 1509 labourers worked in the kitchen and, a carver and a butler were

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[147] Ticehurst, *The mute swan*, pp. 10 & 18.
[148] *Liber Custumarum*, vol. 1, pp. 304 & 306.
[149] *CLB[G],* pp. 273-4.
[150] Information based on *Accounts*.
[151] See e.g. a menu for a dinner held by the Brewers' Company in 1423-4 where the first course included 'swan with chawdron'. Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, p. 178.
[152] Brears, *Cooking*, pp. 340.
[153] *Accounts*: f. 37, p. 61, f. 38, p. 63, f. 40, p. 64, f. 42, p. 70, f. 52, p. 84, f. 58, p. 91.
[154] *Accounts*: f. 60, p. 97, f. 63, p. 101, f. 123, p. 168, f. 129, p. 175, f. 135, p. 183, f. 146, p. 198, f. 152, p. 207, f. 158, p. 215.
[155] *Accounts*: f. 60, p. 96.

present in the hall, as well as a porter who was paid 4d for 'keeping the gate', presumably to welcome guests or exclude uninvited ones.[156] The London Drapers' Company in the second half of the sixteenth century also employed only one master cook but he headed up eight other workers in the kitchen.[157] Much of the meat enjoyed at Carpenters' feasts was likely to have been cooked on a spit directly in front of a fire and this explains the payment to a 'turnebroche' or turnspit for each meal.[158] Turning the spit was an unpleasant task. The heat from the fire combined with the draught from air that roared up the chimney meant turnspits were 'both boiling hot and freezing cold at the same time'.[159]

By the early sixteenth century Carpenters' dinners were becoming even more varied. In 1502 the meal after the mayor had been to Westminster included oysters, dry ling, bloute [? blow] fish, salted salmon, cods' heads, pike, fresh herring, flounders, shrimps, plus seasoning. There is no mention of fruit and vegetables in the accounts for this meal so, unless some were provided without charge, it consisted entirely of different kinds of fish prepared and seasoned in a variety of ways.[160] However, such a conclusion needs to be treated with caution. Evidence from environmental sieving in London has shown that a variety of fruit was commonly eaten with one archaeologist commenting that 'some documentary historians have thought otherwise, presumably from the lack of references to fruit in accounts'.[161] Oranges were introduced into England by the start of the sixteenth century and these were often served baked or as orange fritters.[162] They appear in the Carpenters' accounts from 1505 onwards demonstrating that the Company did not lag behind in the enjoyment of this new fruit. Oranges were regularly purchased early in the year, at Candlemas and in May, and were presumably imported from Spain. The record of their purchase is sometimes associated with payment for salt, such as in 1508: 'for

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[156] *Accounts*: f. 143, pp. 194-5.

[157] S. A. Milne, 'Dining with the Drapers: The Drapers' Company 1564 election Day Feast as a Map of Elizabethan London' in M. McWilliams ed., *Celebration: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2011* (Totnes, 2012), 199-208, p. 204.

[158] Brears says that it is a misconception that food was cooked on a spit actually over a fire. Brears, *Cooking*, p. 9; *Accounts*: f. 54, p. 85 etc.

[159] Sim, *Food and Feast*, p. 22.

[160] *Accounts*: f. 91, p. 142.

[161] J. Schofield, *London 1100-1600: The archaeology of a capital city* (Sheffield, 2011), p. 106.

[162] Brears, *Cooking*, p. 379.

salt and orenges – 4d', although this does not necessarily mean that the two were consumed together.[163] It may be simply that they were treated as sundries.

Without a doubt the annual Feast Day dinner was in a category of its own, being the most expensive, and consuming the greatest number and variety of provisions. It was not only special in terms of food consumed for it was also the only dinner throughout the year where entertainment was regularly provided and there are numerous records in the accounts of payments for minstrels, waits and players (the last of these may have been musicians rather than actors). In the first year of the accounts, 1438, there is an entry for a payment for 'five banners for the minstrel' which, as it follows immediately after an entry for seven square tapers to stand at St Mary Spital, could be referring to a religious event rather than secular entertainment.[164] The next reference to possible 'entertainment' occurs in 1454 when the Company paid 3s 4d 'for the play on the morrow after the Feast Day'.[165] On this occasion the entertainment was a separate event from the annual dinner. This was the day in the year that the Company attended a Requiem Mass together so perhaps the play was a religious one. One historian has defined a company 'feast' as 'the entire formal period (one or two days) of company ceremonial, commemoration and celebration, and not only the major dinner usually taking place during such a period'.[166] In the case of the Carpenters however the entertainment quickly came to be an established part of the Feast Day itself although it cannot be determined exactly at what time of day the entertainment occurred and its exact relationship with the food. It is not possible to distinguish between music and drama performed as entertainment before, during or after the meal, from music used to announce each course. As suggested earlier it would seem quite likely that, when a particular delicacy such as swan was served, its entrance into the hall would be accompanied by a fanfare and the bird would be paraded around the room with suitable musical accompaniment, before being carved and served.

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[163] *Accounts*: f. 136, p. 184.
[164] *Accounts*: f. 1, p. 2.
[165] *Accounts*: f. 4, p. 17.
[166] A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 70.

For the first few years of the records it was 'minstrels', a term in general use for musicians, who were regularly employed at the Feast Day dinner and they could be relatively expensive.[167] During 1481, for instance, the Carpenters' minstrels were paid 3s 4d and in 1489 a single minstrel was paid 2s 'for his labour'.[168] The Company chose to hire waits on some occasions. Waits were the official city musicians and their appearance at the Carpenters' Company dinners may have added a certain prestige but they were likely to have been in demand all over the city and therefore not always available on the required date. Minstrels and waits were sometimes hired at the same dinner and may have appeared at different points in the proceedings.[169] Waits often performed out of doors at civic occasions such as accompanying marches and had correspondingly louder instruments than minstrels who usually played inside so it is likely that they offered a different repertoire.[170] Very occasionally entertainment was provided on quarter-days (nearly always at Candlemas) and at these times it was more likely to be described as 'players' rather than minstrels or waits, perhaps implying less accomplished musicians. Anne Lancashire believes that the Carpenters regular employment of players at Candlemas from the 1490s onwards means that they 'join the Blacksmiths and Cutlers in preferring a winter to summer occasion for theatrical entertainment' although she also admits that the definition of the term 'player' can be problematic. It could refer to instrumental musicians as well as actors so it is not clear what type of performance the Carpenters were enjoying at Candlemas, the very end of the Christmas season, only that it was of a different nature to entertainment on feast days.[171] It was only rarely that other forms of entertainment are itemised in the Carpenters' accounts. In 1491, for example, they paid for a minstrel together with a 'tumbler' (at a total cost of 2s 2d).[172] The Carpenters were not able to provide such lavish entertainment as that enjoyed by some wealthy companies. In 1475-6, for example, the Merchant Taylors were able to secure the king's own minstrels for their feast and on another

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[167] For a discussion of the employment of musicians by London companies see *Civic London to 1558*, *Records of Early English Drama*, 3 vols., ed. A. Lancashire (Cambridge, 2015), Vol. 1, p. xlv.
[168] *Accounts*: f. 37, p. 60 & f. 50, p. 80.
[169] E.g. *Accounts*: f. 143, p. 194 'paid to the mynstrelles – iij s iiij d' and 'paid to the waytes – xx d' (1509).
[170] For a discussion of the difference between waits and minstrels see G. R. Rastall, *Secular musicians in late medieval England*, unpublished PhD thesis (Victoria University of Manchester, 1968), Vol. 1, pp. 117-32.
[171] Lancashire, *Civic London to 1558*, Vo. 1, pp. xlv & xlviii.
[172] *Accounts*: f. 58, p. 91.

occasion the Duke of Gloucester allowed his mummers to perform at Taylors' Hall. As with the Carpenters, entertainment for the Merchant Taylors was sometimes provided by a tumbler.[173]

Some London companies paid for entertainment to be composed for specific occasions e.g. the Mercers and Goldsmiths commissioned mummings for the Christmas season in 1429-30 and two poems by John Lydgate may have been written for the Armourers' Company for a particular event.[174] Unfortunately, there is no information about the content of any performances enjoyed by the Carpenters. It has been suggested that the only extant manuscript (from the late fifteenth century) of the poem now known as *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* may be a minstrel copy and that the poem was intended for a live audience.[175] There is no evidence that it was performed in front of the Carpenters' Company although, given the subject matter of the poem and the fact that towards the end the narrator makes a direct address to woodworkers, they would seem to be a fitting audience:

> Therfor, wryghtys, take hede of this,
> That ye may mend that is amysse,
> And treuly that ye do your labore,
> For that wyll be to your honour.
> And greve you nothing at this song,
> Bot ever make mery yourselve amonge…[176]

This supposition is reinforced by the fact that the 'striking feature' of the poem is its familiarity with an extensive range of carpenters' tools and it is hard to imagine an intended audience other than men from that particular craft.[177] In the poem twenty-seven tools comment on their situation and, while all are agreed that their master spends much of his income on drink, half believe that their hard work will enable their earnings to keep pace while the other half disagree maintaining that, however hard the tools work, they will not be able to produce enough wealth to make their master prosperous.[178] Some tools complain that they have been poorly trained

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[173] Davies and Saunders, *History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, p. 32.
[174] Lancashire, *Civic London to 1558*, p. liii.
[175] The poem has been identified as being in a north-east Leicestershire hand. E. Wilson, 'The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools', *The Review of English Studies*, 38 (1987), 445-70, p. 445.
[176] The poem is reproduced in full at Appendix 15.
[177] Wilson, 'Debate', p. 452.
[178] Wilson, 'Debate', pp. 446-7.

blaming the master for failing to teach them properly and the carpenter's wife complains that her husband spends the income she makes through spinning, on ale.[179] The reference in the tale to the carpenter's consumption of alcohol and his drunkenness might well have appealed to an audience of fellow craftsmen watching a performance at a Company feast where they themselves were supplied with a generous amount to drink. While the poem is satirical it is not overtly hostile to carpenters and the subject matter would seem to make it an ideal entertainment for the London Carpenters' Company, and one which could be enjoyed on repeated occasions. Nevertheless, there is nothing to link the poem directly with the London Company. In 1505, the Company paid for a 'dyzerer' on the May quarter-day and it has been suggested that a likely definition of this word is 'story-teller' but this reference in the accounts is unique, with the majority of entertainment being of a musical nature, and there is nothing to suggest a connection between the *Debate* poem and music.[180] Another poem that could have been performed at a Carpenters' feast was *The Wright's Chaste wife*. This was written down soon after 1460 and describes the challenges a wife might face when her carpenter husband worked away from home.[181] Again, this would seem to be suitable entertainment for a Company Feast Day but there is no evidence that it was ever performed there.

There is no information about any special decoration in the hall for feasts or other formal dinners. The Cutlers decorated their hall with evergreen oak and ivy, and strewed rushes on the floor for their annual feasts and it is likely that the Carpenters' hall was decorated in some way.[182] As we have seen, the second half of the fifteenth century generally saw one form of entertainment per Feast Day dinner, usually minstrels. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century the entertainment had expanded. In 1500 minstrels, waits and singers were all hired at a total cost of £5s 4d.[183] In the following year no entertainment was recorded in the Account Book.

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[179] For a full discussion of the poem see W. A. Matlock, 'The Gendering of a Craftsman's Household in *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools'* (unpublished paper given at Medieval Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 2009).

[180] Wilson, 'Debate', p. 451.

[181] *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, ed. F. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, Original Series, 2nd edn., 1869); B. A. Hanawalt, 'Separation Anxieties in Late Medieval London: Gender in "The Wright's Chaste Wife"', in '*Of Good and Ill Repute' Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1998), 88-103.

[182] Girtin, *Mark of the Sword*, p. 77.

[183] *Accounts*: f. 85, p. 133.

Perhaps the lavish expenditure of 1500 was felt to be excessive, or there was a hitch in the booking arrangements, but in 1502 no expense was spared again with players, waits, minstrels and, itemised separately, a taborer (someone who played a single drum) all provided at the annual feast. This time the cost came to 6s 8d.[184] The following year the entertainment reverted to a more modest level with a taborer (possibly the same one as the previous year) and a luter. No expenditure on entertainment was recorded in 1503 but from then on until the conclusion of the Account Book in 1516 it was usual to have three or four different forms of entertainment at Feast Days, clearly this had become an important and established part of the Carpenters' annual calendar.

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[184] *Accounts*: f. 93, p. 145. Anne Lancashire notes that the Brewers record a play/players at their feast regularly from 1419 to 1439 except in 1430 'when money was tight'. Lancashire, *Civic London to 1558*, p. xlviii.

Chapter 5   Carpenters at work

> Creating a building from trees is a bit like alchemy. Instead of turning base metal to gold, the alchemist-carpenter had to turn trees into beams, into frames, into buildings.[1]

In this chapter the work undertaken by the craftsmen will be considered. Most of the evidence derives from contracts and indentures and, to a lesser extent, wills. London has little upstanding physical evidence of wooden structures from the medieval period but recent archaeological investigations have helped to identify the tools in use as well as something of the buildings constructed. The key questions to be answered are: where and how timber was obtained; assembly methods, including tools employed; evidence for the existence of framing-yards; and the types of buildings constructed. The focus will be on the men themselves rather than on the more technical aspects of carpentry a subject already covered in detail by a number of writers. The financial rewards, relations between the various building crafts, and the different areas of work open to carpenters, particularly the important role of the King's Chief Carpenter, will also be discussed.

5.1 Obtaining timber and assembling structures

Timber, (Latin *meremium*), was obtained from woods or forests but there was a distinction between the meaning of the terms 'timber' and 'wood' (Latin *buscus*).[2] The latter material, consisting mainly of branches and twigs, was employed in the manufacture of furniture and tools, or if of poor quality, burnt as fuel or converted into charcoal. Timber, the main trunk of the tree, was used for the 'construction and repair of the structural parts' of buildings, bridges and ships.[3] In buildings it was used specifically for 'roof members, the posts and beams of the wall and the joists and boards of the floor'.[4] Generally, timber was felled only when it was needed and it was part of the carpenter's role to visit woods in person, select trees required for particular jobs, and mark them up ready for felling by sawyers. This 'selection,

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[1] R. Harris, *Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings* (Shire, 2006), p. 3.
[2] O. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland – its history, vegetation and uses in England* (London, 1980), p. 3.
[3] Brunskill, p. 13.
[4] Brunskill, p. 13.

conversion and provision of structural timber' was an important part of the traditional craft of the carpenter.[5] Once trees had been felled they would be stripped of their bark and branches, leaving the trunks to be squared for use as posts or beams or sawn down their length to make boards or studs. 'Straight and comparatively slender standardized timbers' were fundamental to the construction of framed buildings.[6] Usually, this activity took place on the site where the trees were grown and examples of timber being 'stripped and squared-up in the woods' where it was felled can be found in the building accounts of All Souls College Oxford.[7] There were several advantages to this way of working. The craftsman could choose the timber for himself and organise things so that he would be able to work with it while it was still green and thus at its most pliant, and it was not necessary for carpenters to maintain large yards for the storage of timber not immediately required.

There are numerous examples in the London records of carpenters organising their own supply of timber. In 1359-60 the Treasurer of Westminster Abbey paid Henry the Carpenter £6 for making a new roof for the cloister plus 6s 8d for the felling of timber.[8] Similarly, when Thomas Bryel received a contract from the Bridge House to make a new fulling mill at Stratford in 1381-2 he was to supply the timber for the mill including its carriage. It was a large job as the total contract was worth £50.[9] In 1394-5 the carpenter John Dobson rode to Barnet to choose timber for work at St Paul's Cathedral, while John Crosby, undertaking work for the churchwardens of St Mary at Hill in 1479-81, was paid not only for 'workmanship' but also for supplying 'timber and other diverse stuff'.[10] Another Crosby, Robert, (any relationship with John is unknown) undertook work for the churchwardens of St Michael Cornhill in 1475. Again he was paid for supplying timber as well as for work undertaken:

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[5] Brunskill, p. 27. This understanding is supported by other writers. E.g. J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester, 1997), p. 27; R. Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 114.
[6] Quiney, *Town Houses*, p. 114.
[7] *Building Accounts of All Souls Oxford 1438-1442*, ed. S. Walker, with supplementary material by J. Munby (Oxford Historical Society, 2010), p. xx.
[8] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 135
[9] *Bridge*, no. 107.
[10] For Dobson see Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 84; for Crosby see *The Medieval Records of a London city Church (St Mary at Hill) 1420-1559*, ed. H. Littlehales (Early English Text Society, 1905), p. 106.

Chapter 5   Carpenters at work

> Payd   to   Roberd   Crosseby   Carpenter   for   tymber   and warkemanshyppe of all the tymbur that went to ye crosse of ye Stepull, and other tymbur, oth [*sic*] under ye led a boven the seid Stepull, with burdes and all other tymbur warke that went thereto…[11]

Unsurprisingly, the task of supplying timber tended to fall to men of more senior rank, often to the master in charge of a specific job, and such craftsmen might be required to spend considerable time journeying long distances outside the city to obtain supplies. John Forster, Chief Carpenter of London Bridge and a member of the London Craft, (serving as warden in 1463), was a much travelled man. In the accounting year 1461-2, he rode with the Bridge Wardens to Surrey, visiting Croydon, Carshalton and Norbury 'to provide timber and elms'. The costs incurred covered three horses for transport and expenses for a stay of 1½ days and 1 night. (In the same year the Bridge Wardens spent 9d having a pit made at Carshalton in which to saw timber obtained in the area). Also in 1461-2 Forster was paid for a further three trips to Croydon and Carshalton 'for the provision of timber' and he may have been in the party when the Bridge Wardens 'and their servants' rode to Carshalton and Beddington to purchase elms. In a change of direction the Wardens and Forster then went to Tottenham to buy timber but they were soon back in Surrey, at Kingston, where fifty-three loads of oak timber were purchased. Forster was paid 12d for a separate visit to Kingston to 'see and mark the said timber'. Another journey (still in the same year) took Forster to Lewisham and Sippenham (possibly Sydenham) 'to obtain curved wood'.[12] Forster's travels were not unique. John Russell senior travelled around Kent selecting timber while in the employment of Westminster Abbey in the later fifteenth century.[13] One of the advantages created by much travelling was the opportunity it provided to observe carpentry work in different areas and it would have promoted the transfer of ideas.

Because of their proximity, counties such as Essex, Kent and Surrey were a popular source of much timber for use in London. The churchwardens of All Hallows

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[11] *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Michael, Cornhill 1456-1608*, ed. W. H. Overall (London, 1898), p. 60.
[12] *Bridge,* no. 331.
[13] N. Woodward-Smith and J. Schofield, 'A late 15th century account for a wharf at Vauxhall London', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 28 (1977), 278-91, p. 284.

Chapter 5   Carpenters at work

London Wall sourced some of their timber from Colchester. In the accounting period 1528-9, during the construction of a new aisle for their church, twelve oaks were felled there at a cost of 2s 4d with an additional outlay of 12d spent to encourage the keeper of the park 'for to be good friend'. One of the churchwardens, the carpenter Robert Cokred, rode to Colchester on two occasions, presumably to select timber and oversee its felling.[14] Each time the journey took him four days and he was provided with a horse and refreshments, the latter including 'meat' for the horse. At the same time the church purchased scaffolding poles from Christchurch in Hampshire but in that case the distance was too far for the parishioners to send their own man and they paid 12d to the prior's local bailiff to select poles on their behalf.[15] Carpenters might be required to purchase items other than timber such as in 1313 when John de Roke, 'king's sergeant, carpenter of the works at the king's palace of Westminster and at the Tower of London', was ordered to obtain, 'lead, iron, brushwood and other necessaries for the works' as well as timber. Roke was to be responsible for arranging transport of the goods to where they were required.[16]

Although there are numerous examples of carpenters making their own selection of timber that they were going to work, it was not invariably the case that a carpenter who had been hired to undertake a job would be expected to find the timber himself. Sometimes timber might be bought from the estate where it grew by the individuals or institution that had commissioned the work for which it was required rather than by the craftsmen. When the carpenter Richard de Felstede was contracted along with a mason to build a tavern in Paternoster Row in 1342, the timber was to be supplied by the owner, and William Addescomp's contract with Richard Whittington's executors to build two new houses in Bassishaw Ward specified that the clients would supply all the materials.[17] Addescomp merely had to provide 'the handiwork of a carpenter' and even then he sub-contracted the work to another carpenter, John Causton.[18] So, not all carpenters would be required to travel to source timber in person for each job for which they were hired.

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[14] The lack of Carpenters' Company records between 1517 and 1532 means that it is not possible to tell whether Robert Cokred was associated with the Company.
[15] *The Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall*, ed. C. Welch (London, 1912), pp. xiii-xiv & p. 58.
[16] *CPR* 1313-17, p. 48.
[17] For Felstede see Salzman, Appendix B, no. 15(B).
[18] Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, pp. 228-9.

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References to Croydon occur frequently in records, both in respect to London-based craftsmen who had originated from the area and the purchase of timber. It is likely that, because of the presence there of one of the Archbishop of Canterbury's palaces and a ready access to a supply of good timber, Croydon had established itself as a significant focus for carpenters. John Forster's visits to the area to purchase timber on behalf of the Bridge House have already been noted and the Carpenters' Company bought timber from Croydon and paid for its carriage (presumably back to the city for use in the Company's own properties).[19] For example, in 1485 they spent 4s 4d on two loads of timber and for the carpenter, Randolph Bankes, together with 'a man', to travel to Croydon to 'mark it', presumably to identify the trees that were required.[20] In the case of the Bridge House, Croydon seems to have acted as a storage depot for timber obtained from Surrey and the North Downs.[21]

Croydon carpenters demonstrated a willingness to move to obtain work. William Addescomp is said to have been 'of Croydon' when he was contracted by Whittington's executors. (Addiscombe is now a suburb of Croydon). Before he received this contract Addescomp worked at Windsor Castle.[22] Two other men with close connections to Croydon were William Carter, senior and junior, although again neither worked there exclusively. The older man is first recorded working at Lambeth Palace in 1434 where he was said to 'have been of Croydon'. He was employed on the construction of the 'new tower at the end of the chapel' (now known as Lollards' Tower) and it is possible that he had obtained the job at Lambeth through having worked on the palace at Croydon. It is not known whether he had any responsibility for the oak roof in the Great Hall at Croydon, constructed *c.* 1450).[23] That the family retained its connection with Croydon is seen by the fact that the younger William Carter was involved in a property transaction there. In 1483 this William, together with two other Croydon men, held property locally by the

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[19] For Forster see p. 168.

[20] *Accounts*: f. 42, p. 69. In 1514 a property in Lime Street referred to in the accounts as 'Master Bankkeres house' required repairs totalling £4 10s 10d. *Accounts*: f. 172b, p. 231.

[21] 'Maintaining the bridge: purchase of materials – The timber supply', T. Dyson and B. Watson in B. Watson, T Brigham and T. Dyson, *London bridge: 2000 years of a river crossing* (London, 2001), p. 124; CLB[K], pp. 107-8.

[22] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 2.

[23] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 49; T. Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace* (London, 2000), p. 56.

enfeoffment of two further local men, Reynold Shirley and Thomas Warham and, in connection with this transaction, Carter junior appointed two Croydon men to be his attorneys.[24] William Carter the younger may have been the man of the same name who served as warden and master of the Carpenters' Company on several occasions.[25] Another carpenter with close family connections to Croydon was Henry Wodd. Wodd made his will in 1516 requesting burial in the churchyard of St Magnus the Martyr in the city of London and made provision for thirty masses to be said there for his soul. He also made bequests to the high altar of that church and towards new work on the rood loft. However, he left exactly the same sum of money to the high altar and work at the parish church of Croydon requesting an equal number of masses there for his own benefit. Wodd is likely to have been born in Croydon as he asked for two masses to be 'set up' at his father's grave at Croydon in his will. He also left money to a nearby church in Sanderstead.[26]

The type of wood selected for working was partly dependent on availability and the purpose to which it was required, but oak was by far the most popular because of its excellent qualities including durability and strength although it was unsuitable for scaffolding because of its weight.[27] There are numerous examples of constructions made of oak. The timber used for the roofs, floors and fittings of All Souls College, Oxford was almost exclusively of oak as was the timber used in constructions in Winchester.[28] In London the majority of timbers excavated from riverside revetments have been of oak and these references could be replicated many times over.[29] Oak grew best on clay soil such as in 'the weald of Kent and Sussex, in the Thames basin and in the Western Midlands'.[30] Elm was also in use and again this could be obtained close to London. It was purchased by London Bridge from eighteen places in Essex,

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[24] *CCR* 1476-85, item 1175, p. 348. This was presumably the Thomas Warham who served as master of the Company on several occasions.

[25] *Accounts*: pp. 260-1.

[26] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 10v.

[27] For the unsuitability of oak for scaffolding see T. D. Atkinson, *Local Style in English Architecture* (London, 1943), p. 105.

[28] *Building Accounts of All Souls Oxford*, ed. S. Walker, p. xx; D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 172.

[29] G. Milne and C. Milne, *Medieval Waterfront Development at Trig Lane, London, Special Paper No. 5* (London, 1982), p. 53.

[30] Quiney, *Town Houses*, p. 111.

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Kent, Middlesex and Surrey during 1381-97.[31] Ash and chestnut began to be used to an increasing extent as oak became scarcer and consequently more expensive but from the thirteenth century onwards it was also necessary to import supplies from the Baltic and North Sea regions as a supplement to native trees, to meet demand.[32] Timber came from Norway from the thirteenth century onwards and from Prussia along the Hanseatic routes from the fourteenth century and was often named after its port of origin e.g. Riga. So-called 'Estrich' or Eastland boards occur frequently in building contracts. The doors and shutters of a range of twenty shops for St Paul's Cathedral (in 1369) and doors and shutters for shops in Friday Street (in 1410) were specifically to be made from Eastland boards.[33] Another type of overseas wood recorded in London from the late fourteenth century was spruce. This was fir imported from Prussia from where it deprived its name. It was used for tables, coffers and chests so it was more likely to be the province of the joiner or carver rather than much used by carpenters.[34] (The Carpenters' Craft owned a spruce chest and spent 4d in 1454 on 'a bonde' for it, presumably an iron band.)[35]

The time of year for cutting trees was important. It was customary for felling to take place during winter so that the green timber was easy to work during the building season that began in the spring.[36] The absence of leaves in the winter made it easier for carpenters to ascertain the shape of a tree and transport was facilitated when there was less undergrowth (and the movement of the timber did less damage to the undergrowth).[37] Green timber was much easier to work than that which had dried out and the effect of seasoning 'in situ' i.e. once it had been used to form a structure may have helped to tighten up complex frameworks later.[38] It has been pointed out that 'much of the warping and sagging of ancient buildings can be shown (from early alterations) to have arisen in the first few years, owing to the movement of

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[31] J. Schofield, 'The Construction of Medieval and Tudor Houses in London', *Construction History*, 7 (1991), 3-28, p. 10.
[32] Salzman, p. 245.
[33] Salzman, Appendix 2, nos. 21 and 51. 'Estrich' may have been a variant of 'Austria'. C. F. Innocent, *The Development of English Building Construction* (Cambridge, 1916, reprinted 1999), p. 102.
[34] J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (Yale, 1995, reprinted 2003), p. 141.
[35] *Accounts*: f. 4, p. 17.
[36] Brunskill, p. 28.
[37] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p. 27.
[38] J. Munby, 'Wood' in J. Blair and N. Ramsay ed., *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, 379-405, p. 382.

unseasoned oak as it dried'.[39] Because of the advantages of green wood some writers
have questioned whether timber was re-used but there are plenty of examples of this
happening. A contract dating from 1387-8, for instance, instructed three carpenters to
re-build two watermills in Southwark. They were to pull down two adjacent houses
and use the timber to construct a mill house as well as making a wharf to the east of
the dam of the mill-pool.[40] On occasion carpenters were allowed to retain old timber
as part of their reward for work such as in a contract from 1472 when Stephen
Morgan, carpenter, was to build a new house in the High Street, Bristol 'workmanly,
and surely of good timber and boards' for Alice Chester of Bristol. It was explicitly
stated that Morgan was to 'have and to take as his own all the old timber of the said
old house without any gainsaying of the same Alice or any other for her or in her
name'.[41] Even the London Carpenters' Company made purchases of 'old timber'.[42]

Transport was expensive hence the need for as much preparation as possible to be
done close to the felling site and the carriage of timber by water, either through
flotation or by boat. The city authorities made every effort to ensure that access to
London by water was 'comparatively easy' and that once ships had arrived there
were suitable wharves available for unloading and storing goods.[43] By the mid
fourteenth century a specific area of the Thames waterfront at the west end of the
city, St Benet Woodwharf, had become associated with the trade of timbermongering
and Woodmongers' Hall was situated nearby.[44] River transport might be cheaper
than carting timber by road but it could, of course, be hazardous. Three men were in
a boat loaded with wood when it sank because of the weight and one man drowned.[45]

Once timber arrived in the city it was necessary for it to be taken to the site where the
frames would be constructed by land. If a carpenter had a small amount to move he
might hire a cart for his own use (there is no evidence from wills for any carpenters
possessing carts of their own although the Bridge House did own at least one), but

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[39] Rackham, *Trees*, p. 69. Brunskill e.g. says that 'structural timber was generally used unseasoned'
and it was only floorboards that 'could not be made satisfactorily from green timber'. Brunskill, pp.
29-30.
[40] Salzman, Appendix 2, no. 41.
[41] Andrews, pp. 32-3.
[42] E.g. *Accounts*: f. 42, p. 69 (1485).
[43] Barron, *London*, p. 50.
[44] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 140.
[45] *London Eyre, 1276*, no. 12.

where large amounts of goods had to be transported a carrier might be hired along with a cart.[46] The cost and logistics involved in the movement of building materials should not be underestimated. The Bridge House, admittedly one of London's larger building contractors, spent £26 9s 1d in 1461-2, on 'carrying' which involved a considerable amount of goods as illustrated in Table 8.

**Table 8: The Bridge House's expenditure on carriage
of building materials 1461-2[47]**

Name of carrier	Load carried	Journey made	Cost
William Graunt	24 loads of timber	Croydon to the Bridge House	20d the load, 40s
William Graunt	107 loads of elms	From Carshalton and Beddington	18d the load, £8 6d
William Graunt	43 loads of elms	From Norbury	16d the load, 57s 4d
William Graunt	4 loads	To the mill at Lewisham	10d the load, 3s 4d
William Graunt	2 loads	To Deptford	8d the load, 16d
William Graunt	4 loads of ash trees	From Chelsham, Kent	3s 4d the load, 13s 4d
William Graunt	115 loads	From the Bridge House into the city of London	4d the load, 38s 4d
William Graunt	36 loads	From the Bridge House to the bridge and in Southwark, near the Bridge House	2d the load, 6s
William Graunt	3 tuns of chalk	From Bow Bridge by Stratford to the grain mill	2s
Not specified	1 load of straw	From Tower Hill	8d
Not specified	5 loads of gravel	From 'Hasardesmersh' to the bridge	7d the load, 2s 11d
Thomas Alford	2 loads of elms	From Norbury to the Bridge House	2s
Thomas Alford	1 load of elms	From Croydon to the Bridge House	18d
Thomas Batte of Lewisham	9 loads of curved timber	From the Westwood in Lewisham to Deptford Strand	12d for each load, 9s
William Garlond	52 loads of elms	From Carshalton to the Bridge House	18d for each load, 78s
William Garlond and	52 loads of elms	From Carshalton to the Bridge House	18d for each load, 78s

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[46] The Bridge House bought a horse for their cart in 1381. *Bridge*, no. 63.
[47] *Bridge*, no. 339.

Robert Stilgo			
Not specified	17 loads	To Stratford	8d the load, 11s 4d
Patrick Kele	15 loads of rubbish	From the tenement of the Castle in Wood Street	3d the load, 3s 9d
Not specified	2 loads of mortar	From the Bridge House to the said tenements	8d
Not specified	2 loads of stones and sand	From the Bridge House to the tenements at the Shambles of St Nicholas	6d
Not specified	1 load of lead	From the Castle to the Bridge House	4d
Not specified	1 cart hired for 3 days	Carrying rubbish and dung from the tenement of the Crown	2s a day, 6s
Not specified	For carriage of 4 fother 34 lb lead	From Fleet Street to the Bridge House	15d
William Grevy	24 loads of dust and rubbish	From divers tenements	3d the load, 6s
John Caunton	10 loads of brick	From the Brickkilns outside Aldgate to the Bridge House	6d the load, 5s

The movement of building materials must have been a familiar site within the city and was no doubt a frequent cause of congestion in the narrow streets.

After timber had been cut and transported it had to be made into prefabricated frames before being moved to the assembly site and, even in London where space was relatively limited, a number of craftsmen had their own timber-houses or framing-yards. In 1410 John Wolfey of St Giles without Cripplegate (a less congested area outside the walls) bequeathed a 'tymberhawe' containing his timber, nails and carpentry.[48] William Sefowle (a warden of the Craft in 1439 and 1447) rented a property from St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1456, described in the Hospital's Cartulary as: 'A large tenement and two small cottages with a garden… now called *le Couhows* [Cowhouse] for the use of farm animals'. It is possible that Sefowle intended to convert this space into a timber yard.[49] Some of these yards were fairly large. The Mercers, for instance, had room for a sawpit in theirs.[50] The probate inventory of Simon Byrlyngham (†*c.* 1499) provides insight into the content of such

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[48] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/138, f. 4.
[49] *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, no. 91.
[50] 'Item, for making of a pytte for sawyers in ye Tymber Hawe in Colmanstrete and other necessaries – xiis id ob'. Jefferson, Vol. 2, p. 860.

yards although it must be borne in mind that Byrlyngham was one of the larger building operators of his generation, storing timber in several locations outside the city including Barnet, Deptford and Walthamstow as well as inside the city boundaries. In his house in Bishopsgate Street Byrlyngham had timber valued at £27 13s 6d. Much of this is not identified e.g. 'olde stainyd timber iij loodes' but some is specifically described as elm. Also at Bishopsgate Byrlyngham had wainscots and boards valued at 39s 10d.[51] The Carpenters' Company apparently had its own premises that carpenters could hire in which to store timber or building frames. In 1487 Nicholas Dyson paid the Company 3s 4d for 'laying of his timber in Lime Street', Stevyn Scales paid ten shillings 'for the timber hawe in Lime Street', and William Jacombe (or Chacumbe) paid 16d for the timber house.[52]

It was not uncommon for large buildings to be framed outside London, often near the source of the timber particularly if there was insufficient open space close to the area where the building was to be erected. The best known example of this is the construction of the roof of Westminster Hall (1394-1401) when the timber that had been sourced from Hampshire and Surrey was cut to shape in a yard called 'The Frame' at Farnham in Surrey. Thirty strong wains were ordered to go to 'the place called the Frame', each to carry five loads during the four weeks after Trinity in 1395 to the Thames. From there the timbers went by water to Westminster, a further thirty miles.[53] In 1405 St Paul's Cathedral had the timber for a house in Bucklersbury cut in a wood they owned at Hadleigh, Essex and framed there by the London carpenter, John Dobson and in 1510 William Dewilde was contracted to build a house for the prior of the London Charterhouse that was to be framed at Kingston upon Thames.[54] Five years later a new storehouse for the Bridge was framed at Charlewood, Surrey, carried by road to Kingston, and then moved by barge to the Bridge House.[55]

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[51] Wainscot was, 'A superior quality of foreign oak imported from Russia, Germany, and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel-work'. Wainscot, *n*. Definition 1a. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 30 May 2016].

[52] *Accounts*: f. 45, p. 74.

[53] Salzman, p. 200.

[54] Salzman, Appendix B, nos. 49 & 104.

[55] P. E. Jones, 'Some Bridge House Properties', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 16 (1953), 59-73, p. 63.

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Timber-framed buildings were constructed by members jointed to one another with the resulting frames forming sides and subdivisions.[56] Framing was a skilled task that necessitated dealing with heavy timber which tended to bow and spring when sawn because it distorted as it dried and as a consequence there were no straight lines. The members would be laid out flat on the ground, measured and cut before being put together to check for fit. They would then be inscribed on the upper face with marks or symbols and dismantled for transport to the site for re-erection. [See Illustration 8]. The marks were usually Roman numerals scratched into the timber in different ways: scribed, knife-cut, chisel-cut, chisel-stamped, knife-scribed and gouge-stamped.[57] There is little documentary evidence for how buildings were put together but by examining the type of assembly marks used it is possible to learn much about the sequence of construction and the number of men involved. For example, the carpenters who worked on the middle section of the roof at Beverley Minster used more elaborate marks than other men working on the roof, and this might indicate that they were specialists brought in for that particular task.[58] The actual lifting of the frame into place on the building site was an important occasion involving the hauling of heavy timbers for which extra hands would be needed.[59] The Pewterers' Company paid Simon Byrlyngham the substantial amount of £10 'atte the raising of the halle' but this sum probably had to be shared amongst his assistants.[60]

5.2   Tools

The majority of carpenters are likely to have possessed some tools of their own. During work at Restormel Castle (Cornwall) in 1343 an adze had to be purchased to smooth the old timber because it was so full of nails that the carpenters 'would not set their own tools to it' confirming that the craftsmen not only had their own tools but that they valued them.[61] In Coventry in 1553, unemployed artisans, including

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[56] Harris, *Discovering*, p. 5.
[57] Harris, *Discovering*, p. 15; S. G. Wallsgrove, 'Carpenters' Marks', *Vernacular Architecture*, 20 (1989), 9-11. Wallsgrove's work was mainly on Warwickshire but there is no reason to think that his findings were not applicable elsewhere. For further information on marking see Brunskill, pp. 34-5.
[58] A. C. Armstrong and D. Cant, 'Carpenters of the nave roof' in *Who built Beverley Minster?*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and A. Pacey (Reading, 2008), 59-80, pp. 67-8.
[59] Brunskill, p. 31; Salzman, p. 201.
[60] *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the city of London: based upon their own records,* 2 vols., C. Welch (London, 1902), Vol. 1, p. 85.
[61] Salzman, p. 342.

carpenters, were expected to assemble with their tools in their hands, 'as in tymes paste they have donne', at the city's central crossroads at 5am in summer in the hope of work.[62] The purpose behind this edict may have had more to do with changing attitudes towards those perceived as being workshy than genuine opportunities for finding work but it is significant that even the unemployed could be expected to possess their own tools.

It has been suggested that carpentry tools were 'easily available and affordable' and this was the reason that the livelihoods of established London carpenters were so frequently threatened by incomers but it is more likely that tools were a considerable investment for the average workman.[63] An indication of the cost of purchasing tools can be obtained from the records. The adze referred to above cost 6d and when in 1244 a carpenter wounded himself while working with an axe and died of his injuries the subsequent inquiry placed a value of 8d on the axe.[64] At a time when a carpenter might hope to earn around 6d a day when in work, these were proportionately large sums of money.

It was the axe, in various forms and sizes, that was the principal carpenters' tool and it was used for both felling and finishing of timber.[65] Axes are the tools mentioned most frequently in wills. Reference was made earlier to the chip axe that Richard Aylesbury bequeathed to the Company in 1410.[66] John Park († 1458) bequeathed the same tool to a Roger Inman.[67] William Carter († 1490) left a chipping axe to a fellow carpenter (John Pykman) and bequeathed a second to the carpenter John Grorondell.[68] Carter's will also refers to a twybill which he bequeathed to John Pykman and these particular tools do occur frequently in records. Robert Burnard

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[62] *The Coventry Leet Book or Mayor's register containing the records of the city Court leet or view of frankpledge, A. D. 1420-1555, with divers other matters*, ed. D. M. Harris (Early English Text Society, Original Series, 1907-1913), p. 807.

[63] M. Addison Amos, 'The Naked and the Dead: the Carpenters' Company and Lay Spirituality in Late Medieval England' in K. Robertson and M. Vebel ed., *The Middle Ages at Work: Practicing Labor in Late Medieval England* (New York, 2004), 91-110, p. 93.

[64] *London Eyre 1244*, no. 167.

[65] Munby, 'Wood', p. 385; Salzman, p. 34; Innocent, *Development of English Building Construction*, p. 97.

[66] See p. 92.

[67] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 258.

[68] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/08, f. 8v.

gave his elder brother two axes and a twybill in 1434.[69] Twybills have been described as 'a kind of axe with two cutting edges' and are the only tool in the *Debate* poem to refer to skill, from which it has been deduced that their use required some dexterity.[70] One modern carpenter has described the twybill as 'fiendishly difficult to use'.[71] It is unlikely that the tools referred to in wills were the only tools these craftsmen possessed but possibly they were the most valuable and therefore worth specifying. As would be expected tools occur in the inventory of Simon Byrlyngham. In his house at Sheen he had: a pair of prickers of ivory, a compass and a rule, a pair of prickers with hafts bound with silver, a chip axe and a twybill, a creping (? chipping) axe and a square.[72] Again it must be presumed, that they were the most valuable of his tools as these alone would seem to be insufficient for the size of carpentry business he was running and the number of staff he employed.[73]

Some master craftsmen made bequests of tools to their apprentices. William Stodeye († 1426) bequeathed his apprentice, John King, a number of tools including: a framer, a chipax, a twybill, six planes, two *agores*, [? gorers], and six chisells.[74] Thomas Haryson had a son when he came to make his will in May 1479 but the boy was underage and Haryson chose to bequeath his carpentry tools, a 'wodyng ax, six enbowyng tools and a vyle', to a Robert Hopton, who may have been Haryson's journeyman or apprentice.[75] It is not possible to tell whether the tools mentioned were all those Haryson possessed and he may have already made arrangements for the disposal of other tools. Given that his will was proved only three days after it was

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[69] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 408v.

[70] Twybill, *n*. Definition 1. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 29 August 2016]. P. Walker, 'The Tools Available to the Medieval Woodworker' in S. McGrail, ed., *Woodworking Techniques Before A.D. 1500: Papers Presented to a Symposium at Greenwich in September, 1980, Together With Edited Discussion* (Oxford: B.A.R./National Maritime Museum, Greenwich), 349-56, pp. 351-3. The poem is discussed in Section 4.2 and reproduced in full at Appendix 15.

[71] J. Thompson, 'The Carpenter's system. An introduction to the "Mysteries of the Craft" for box-frame buildings'. Paper read at the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group annual day school, 8 March 2008. Joe Thompson is carpenter in residence at the Weald & Downland Museum.

[72] Salzman, p. 343 suggests that prickers were a type of awl used for marking the surface of wood.

[73] University of Cambridge – Inventory of Symond Byrlyngham. Spelling has been modernised. Byrlyngham's assistants are listed in Table 7. For further information about the type of tools available in the Middle Ages see Salzman, Chapter XXI, pp. 330-48.

[74] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 170. The *OED* suggests that a framer was a carpenter's tool, perhaps used to hew timber. Framer, *n*. Definition 1. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 10 June 2016]. An alternative definition could be a type of clamp used to hold sections of the frame in place during assembly.

[75] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 242. Enbowing tools were probably used for producing curved wood.

drawn up Haryson was close to death at the time he made it and was perhaps too unwell to list all his tools. That carpenters possessed tools other than those listed in wills can be seen from the bequest William Basse († 1491) made to his 'servant' (possibly a journeyman), William Hegelyn. These were: axes, saws and chisels, 'with all other tools of my trade not given nor bequeathed' although no other tools were mentioned in the will. There was a catch to this bequest because Hegelyn had to pay Basse's wife the large sum of £14s 4d for the tools.[76] The will of Edward Penson († 1534) is similarly vague. Penson bequeathed to his apprentice: 'a payre of skroys [screws] and a Taklyng for the same skroys a Crane of Iron and the oone halfe of all other my toles of myne occupacion' but the will gives no indication what was to happen to the other half of his tools.[77] In contrast to these wills, John Lymy, an apprentice of Christopher Kychyn, was the fortunate recipient of one of Kychyn's 'good gowns' plus 20s in Kychyn's will but no tools are mentioned.[78] It is possible that arrangements for the transmission of tools were organised informally within households without needing to be spelt out in a legal document. In sixteenth century Oxford when a boy was enrolled with a master carpenter the agreement included an arrangement that the youth would receive a set of tools on completion of his terms but there is no evidence for a similar formal system existing in London, so arrangements would need to be made on an individual basis to pass on tools.[79]

Although there must have been many carpentry tools in existence in the medieval period very few are known to have survived before the sixteenth century and where these can be dated they tend to come from the latter part of that century.[80] There was thus much excitement at the raising of Henry VIII's warship, the *Mary Rose*, in 1982 which resulted in the discovery of a large number of carpenters' tools, 'unprecedented in its range and size'. Many of these were housed in tool chests and with some (at least fourteen) bearing personal marks (although it has not been possible to link any of these with named individuals). Many of the tools were recovered from one of the four surviving cabins so that area has been interpreted as

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[76] TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638.
[77] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 226.
[78] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 192v.
[79] *Oxford*, Crossley, p. 14.
[80] Philip Walker says that he is not aware of any surviving tools from before 1500. Walker, 'The Tools Available to the Medieval Woodworker', p. 350. However, an eleventh or twelfth century carpenter's axe was recovered in an excavation at Milk Street in 1976. Schofield, *London 1100-1600*, p. 146.

belonging to the carpenters. Craftsmen were needed on board ships for repair and maintenance both routinely and, particularly in the case of a warship such as the *Mary Rose*, during battle. Their importance can be seen from the fact that when the *Mary Rose* sank in Portsmouth Harbour in 1545 there were possibly as many as six carpenters on board.[81] It is unlikely that the tools in use in London in the Middle Ages differed to any great extent from those found on the *Mary Rose* (built at Portsmouth 1509-11). In fact it has been suggested that 'the tools in use in the building trade varied little between the Roman period and the nineteenth century' although this statement could be challenged.[82]

5.3 Types of buildings constructed

Two main forms of house building were in common use in the Middle Ages. Firstly, cruck-framed, where the weight of the roof was carried directly to the ground by means of large, usually curved, timbers erected on padstones in the form of an A-frame. [See Illustration 1]. The second type, box-framed, was where the frame, set on continuous sills, relied on its joints for stability.[83] Frames formed a skeleton that was covered or infilled to form walls, a roof and a floor.[84] [See Illustration 2]. In England cruck-frames were much more common in the north and west, but London fell into the part of the country where box-framing was prevalent.

Many buildings made use of standard designs which meant that they only differed in their size and the number of bays. Often a previous building was used as a template. For example, a York contract of 1335 between the parishioners of St Martin's, Coney Street and the carpenter Robert Giles 'required him to build six houses that were to have a continuous roof, be of a specified length and breadth and conform in all ways with the house of Richard de Briggenall in North Street'.[85] Non-standard houses might have their design set out in plans or elevations and thus carpenters might

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[81] In most cases it is only the wooden components of the tools that survive with no identifiable metal elements. They are described in detail in C. McKewan, 'The Ships' Carpenters and Their Tools' in J. Gardiner with M. J. Allen ed., *Before the Mast: Life and Death Aboard the Mary Rose* (Portsmouth, 2005), 204-319.
[82] Salzman, p. 330. See, for example, the discussion by Charles Innocent of the development of the plane. Innocent, *Development of English Building Construction*, p. 99.
[83] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p. 37.
[84] Harris, *Discovering,* p. 5.
[85] Quiney, p. 114.

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receive specific instructions on what to build in the form of a 'plan' or a 'patron'. An example is William Addescomp's commission referred to earlier where he was to oversee the construction of two houses on behalf of the executors of Richard Whittington.[86] The three executors agreed to provide all the materials, and to meet the cost of its carriage with Addescomp simply having to provide the carpenter to do the work. This latter was John Causton, who was to build the properties 'after the form of a patron' which was to be delivered to him.[87] At other times it might be the carpenter himself who produced drawings or possibly full-size mouldings.[88] In 1532, John Russell junior working in Westminster, paid 4d for 'one quayre of papire Royalle provided for the drawing of plattes'; 'iiij skynnes of veelom whereupon plates were drawen' were also purchased.[89]

Evaluating the work of medieval carpenters from upstanding remains is not straightforward as there is nothing of their handiwork above ground in London and buildings that survive outside the capital are often much altered and may not always be typical of the type of building constructed in the crowded metropolis.[90] However, it is possible to use structures in other cities to gain some insight into how London might have looked. In Winchester many of the houses appear to have been designed 'with a view to impress'; even houses of modest size had much more elaborate elevations facing the street than on concealed sides, and there is no reason to doubt that houses in London would have been built in a similar fashion. Evidence from Winchester also indicates that houses were built much more quickly in the city than in surrounding villages. This may be have been due to pressure of demand but could also have been facilitated by a ready pool of labour available in the town.[91] Three-storey buildings existed in London by 1314 and they became increasingly common

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[86] See p. 170.

[87] Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, pp. 228-9. The purpose of the two new houses is not stated but the intention could have been to rent them out to provide an income to help maintain Whittington's charitable bequests. For information about Whittington's charities see J. M. Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London, 1968).

[88] Harvey, 'Mediaeval Carpenter', p. 740.

[89] Salzman, p. 19.

[90] Schofield refers to seventeen surviving fragments of secular medieval buildings in the City excluding the Tower of London but many of these, such as Guildhall, consist entirely of masonry. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 1. Milne has summarised the surviving examples of London's medieval carpentry. None of these is within the city walls but he suggests that London carpenters would have worked on them. G. Milne, *Timber Building Techniques in London c. 900-1400, Special paper 15* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1992), p. 8.

[91] Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Vol. 1, p. 172.

during that century. Jettied buildings, where the overhang provided a larger room in the upper storey, appeared even earlier. The first mention of a jetty in London occurred in 1246 when a 'getticium' bordering Ironmonger Lane was deemed to be a nuisance.[92] By 1276-8 it was necessary to order that jetties, along with pentices and gutters, should be at least nine feet above the ground so as not to impede horsemen.[93]

Not all work undertaken by carpenters concerned the erection of buildings. Craftsmen could be involved in a wide range of constructions many of which were temporary but might require a great deal of work at short notice such as that in the summer of 1467 to facilitate a tournament between English and Burgundian knights at West Smithfield. The event could not have taken place if it had not been for the carpenters who built the lists, a huge structure 270 feet by 240 feet, surrounded by a high fence.[94] Such tasks were not unusual. In 1477-8 the carpenter, John Freeman, erected stands for jousts held in the sanctuary at Westminster Abbey.[95] Not all stands were required for warlike purposes. A 'Particular Book' belonging to James Nedeham, clerk and surveyor of the King's Works, 1532-44, includes (among many other tasks) the, 'Settyng up of a Skaffolde and taking doune of yt For a Playe played on Candyllmas nyght yn the Kyngs chamber'.[96] Another task undertaken by carpenters was the construction of waterfront revetments. Richard Coterel was employed to rebuild the timber face of Broken Wharf in 1347:

> … with framework of oak posts, the uprights being 12 ft in
> length. In the middle there is to be a bridge with steps down to

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[92] *London Eyre 1244*, no. 396. For more on jetties see M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1965, reprinted 1994), esp. pp. 219-22.

[93] *CLB[A]*, p. 217.

[94] S. Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield, June 1467', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1965), 271-83. For further information about the 1467 tournament including the views of Londoners about such events see C. M. Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London' in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display* ed., P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002, paperback edn. 2008), 219-41, pp. 222-3.

[95] G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540* (Oxford, 2001), p. 154.

[96] *The King's Works – James Nedeham* <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/the-kings-works-james-nedeham-d1544-5062792-details.aspx> [accessed 10 February 2017]. For a list of Nedeham's 'Particular Books' see *HKW III*, pp. 398-40. For further information about wooden stages or 'scaffolds' see G. Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660* (London, 1959, 2nd edn., 1980), p. 35. For a list of carpenters working for 110 days preparing stages for the formal welcome of Elizabeth Woodville to the city see A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The Entry of Queen Elizabeth Woodville over London Bridge, 24 May 1465', *The Ricardian*, XIX, (2009), 1-31, pp. 12 & 31.

> the water, and at each end a shed; there is to be a wooden fence,
> 10 ft high, all round, and three other fences on the wharf.[97]

Excavations on well-preserved Thames-side structures similar to this have revealed much about medieval carpentry. For instance, they have enabled establishment of the date of the introduction of crucial features such as the mortise and tenon joint.[98]

The variety of tasks available meant carpenters needed to be flexible and employ a wide range of skills. They might be required to work both inside and outside buildings. In 1366 Richard Wilton was paid £3 6s 8d for making new gates at the entrance to the Tower of London and also for making a partition in the lions' house.[99] In 1498-9 a carpenter worked with three joiners to make a clothes press in the storehouse in the Great Wardrobe.[100] Humphrey Coke made the one hundred beds required for the Savoy Hospital as well as the more taxing task of constructing the elaborate roof of the chapel, again demonstrating the range of a carpenter's tasks.[101] Churchwardens' accounts are a good source of detail about the variety of everyday tasks undertaken by craftsmen. The St Andrew Hubbard Accounts record payment to a carpenter for taking up the joints (of the floor) in the church and replacing them for the interment of a parishioner's wife. In the same year (1496-7) money was paid to a carpenter for mending pews and in the following year a piece of timber was purchased for 'the gutter in the churchyard' and two pieces for 'shores' over the church door.[102] A carpenter was paid 4d for setting these up.[103] At a later date a carpenter was paid 4s 6d for making a new wheel for the second bell.[104] In St Michael's Cornhill, the carpenter Richard Andrew, was paid 3s 8d in 1459 for making a gutter although the new lead was supplied by a plumber, William Belle.[105] The churchwardens' of St Mary at Hill employed the carpenter, John Bentley, for eight days in 1498-9 when he made a desk in the vestry to house books and 'mended

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[97] Milne, *Port*, pp. 136-7; Salzman, Appendix B, no. 16.

[98] Milne, *Timber Building Techniques in London*, p. 8.

[99] TNA E101-472-17 quoted in Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 335.

[100] *The Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, ed. M. Hayward (London Record Society 47, 2012), p. xv.

[101] *HKW III*, p. 204.

[102] *The Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard Eastcheap c 1450 - c. 1570*, ed. C. Burgess (London Record Society 34, 1999), p. 34.

[103] Burgess, *Church Records*, ff. 76v & 77.

[104] Burgess, *Church Records*, f. 85.

[105] *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Michael, Cornhill 1456-1608*, ed. W. H. Overall (London, 1898), p. 17.

diverse other things in the church'.[106] Richard Weston was paid by the churchwarden's of St Mary at Hill for 'pulling [i.e. putting] up the tabernacle'.[107]

5.4 Working conditions and rewards

The erection of heavy housing frames required a good level of fitness and this was likely to decrease with age. Carpenters presumably carried on working for as long as they were physically able to do so, possibly with the assistance of younger men employed as journeymen and apprentices. There is some evidence that increasing age might be taken into account when allocating jobs on larger building sites. The Fabric Rolls from York Minster from the mid fourteenth century record one carpenter who was 'an old man and cannot work at high levels'. It was decided to employ a young man in place of the older one and the latter should be given the role of supervising defects.[108] There is no hint as to whether the older man's wages were reduced as a result. Arrangements such as this would only be possible on sites where several carpenters were employed. Single-handed craftsmen would have to work on as long as they were able. There is no reason to think that conditions improved in the carpentry craft during the next couple of hundred years and at any time there must have been members of the trained workforce who were physically unable to carry out their duties fully and thus could not earn a full wage, even when sufficient work was available. Membership of an organisation that might provide support at such times would have been very welcome to these men.[109]

Accidents, particularly mishaps with axes, were common. Incidents such as that referred to earlier where a carpenter injured himself with his axe while at work and died of the wound would have been regular occurrences. Following formal investigation that particular case was judged to be 'misadventure'.[110] Danger threatened not just from the type of work undertaken but from the fact that sharp tools were kept at home and there are many examples of people injured, often by

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[106] *Medieval Records of a London city Church (St Mary at Hill)*, p. 233.
[107] *Medieval Records of a London city Church (St Mary at Hill)*, p. 302.
[108] The reference is: '… *dicit quod W. carpentarius senex est, et non potest laborare in altis. Ordinatum est quod alius juvenis loco suo subrogetur, et quod alius senex supervideat defectus'*. *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 35 (Durham, 1859), pp. 161-4.
[109] The subject of welfare provision by the Craft will be considered in Section 7.1.
[110] See p. 178; *London Eyre 1244*, no. 167.

axes, away from the workplace. Several kinds of axe occur among the offensive weapons recorded in the Coroners' Rolls.[111] In a further example, Thomas de Stocton was a lodger in the house of a carpenter called Gilbert Makeheyte. When Thomas brought home a prostitute (Dulcia de Gravesend) he and Gilbert quarrelled resulting in Thomas hitting Gilbert in the neck with an axe causing his death.[112]

Some of the risks associated with carpentry work are visible from the records of the Bridge House. The earliest Wardens' Accounts for the Bridge House (1381-2) record six carpenters and twenty-one 'tidemen' who appear to have been responsible for the maintenance of the starlings (i.e. the platforms). The tidemen may have worked under the direct orders of the carpenters. Their pay was for only six hours indicating that repairs to the starlings were only possible at the last period of the ebb and the beginning of the flow and from time to time work seems to have taken place at night by the light of torches and lanthorns.[113] To compensate for the dangerous nature of work on the Bridge the workforce seems to have been well-rewarded. They were reasonably well-paid, a cook was employed to provide sustenance, and a system was introduced of men living on-site to assist in case of accidents.[114]

Men might receive payment in goods, often items of clothing, as well as cash. In 1308 the carpenter Simon of Canterbury was contracted to build accommodation for a skinner who was to pay Simon partly in cash, £9 5s 4d, and partly in furs: 'half a hundred eastern marten skins, a fur for a woman's hood of the value of 5s, and a fur for the said Simon's own robe'.[115] Richard Coterel the carpenter hired to repair Thames revetments in 1347 was to receive £20 in three instalments and a robe worth one mark, while John Pekker, who worked for the Brewers' Company in the 1420s, received cash and a gown costing about 16s which consisted of four yards of ray (parti-coloured cloth) and three yards of cloth of a solid colour.[116] Livery, costing 3s,

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[111] *Calendar of the Coroners Rolls*, at p. xxiii. Weapons made from wood were also frequently recorded.
[112] *London Eyre 1276*, p. 181.
[113] G. Home, *Old London Bridge* (London, 1931), pp. 142-3.
[114] *Bridge*, no. 243 (for 1420-1) where John Silkeston was paid 20d for the week 'for the stipend for the cook'. In comparison, food for the Bridge guard dogs cost 10d. Jones, 'Some Bridge House Properties', pp. 61-2.
[115] *CLB[C],* p. 165. Salzman, Appendix B, no. 3.
[116] For Coterel see p. 183 above and Salzman, Appendix B, no. 16; Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 230.

was bought by Eton College for the carpenter John Whetely, junior in 1448.[117] Reference was made earlier to a Bristol carpenter who was allowed to keep timber that he had dismantled.[118] Such a reward was not unusual. The London carpenter Richard de Rothinge was permitted to retain timber from a house that he was to dismantle, where the timber was unsuitable for re-use, before building a new one on the same site.[119]

Some organisations attempted to impose certain standards of behaviour by requiring carpenters working for them to swear a formal oath. That they felt it was worth their while to have this drawn up hints at some of the difficulties they might have experienced from previous employees. The Mercers oath was particularly long and heartfelt suggesting that they had experienced trouble with their workers in the past and were determined to avoid this in the future.[120] This oath can be compared to that required to be taken by masters, wardens, freemen and the beadles/clerks of the Carpenters' company which are similar but shorter.[121]

The quality of workmanship of even the most eminent carpenters might not always be of the highest quality particularly if they became overstretched. Thomas Bynkes worked for the king and served the Carpenters' Company, twice as warden and as master on four occasions in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[122] Bynkes enjoyed a largely successful career. Things seem to have gone wrong for him however between 1500 and 1505. During this period Bynkes was engaged in building a chapel, hall and galleries at Richmond as well as the Friars Observants' house there, and at the same time he was contracted to undertake work at Greenwich. He was paid for the work at Richmond but by 1506 money had to be spent on repairs. These were needed to 'the gallery that was fallen at Richmond' and 'the hall roof, chapel roof, and the two galleries at Richmond that was Bynkes' fault'. Something had gone very wrong for buildings to collapse so soon after construction and it suggests that Bynkes was not keeping a close enough eye on his various projects. A different carpenter, John Squier, had to be brought in to make good the

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[117] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 332.
[118] See p. 173.
[119] Salzman, Appendix B, no. 4.
[120] See Appendix 16 for the full oath.
[121] See Appendix 10.
[122] *Accounts*, pp. 261-2.

defects and Bynkes himself ended up 'punysshid by prisonment many days afftyr'.[123] He was released in due course and subsequently served successfully as an officer for the Company so this 'mishap' does not seem to have blighted his career.

Like all managers of businesses carpenters sometimes found themselves having to take legal action to recover bad debts.[124] John Birche went to court to try to recover money owing to him by Lady Alice de Windsor i.e. Alice Perrers for his work as a carpenter 'both at her house in London and at Bourne Hall'.[125] In 1340, John de Essex, a London carpenter, sued Robert Styward, of Bushey, Hertfordshire but also a citizen of London, for the sum of 100s.[126] A similar situation arose in 1471 when Robert Geryng, citizen and carpenter of London, sued John Knight of Yalding in Kent, husbandman, for £27.[127] Of course, it was sometimes carpenters who owed money and, in fact, Robert Geryng had himself been sued in the previous year (for a debt of £24) by another London carpenter, Thomas Nyche, who had the unusual designation of a carpenter and mercer.[128] Out of the twenty records for recovery of debt noted in the Chancery Court carpenters were more likely to be sued as debtors rather than being owed money.[129]

The difficulties that might be encountered in fulfilling a contract for work and the huge costs involved in some building projects can be illustrated by a dispute between the carpenters Humphrey Coke and Nicholas Renell (or Revell) and their patron James Yarford, an alderman of London. An early sixteenth century Chancery suit sets out that the carpenters drew up a plan for a house that Yarford should have signed to show that he was satisfied, but he failed to do so. Yarford also kept the draft contract rather than having it engrossed in duplicate on parchment. The

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[123] *HKW III*, p. 29.

[124] Martha Carlin has pointed out that most citizen debtors were members of the great merchant companies rather than the lesser trade and craft guilds. *London and Southwark Inventories 1316-1650: A Handlist of Extents for Debts*, ed. M. Carlin (London, 1997).

[125] TNA SC 8/95/4741. The petition was probably made between 1379 and 1384. Bourne Hall was at Bushey, Hertfordshire.

[126] TNA C241/112.

[127] TNA C241/254.

[128] TNA C241/254.

[129] For further details see Appendix 17. As with many medieval records this list only provides a snapshot of these cases and the outcomes are unknown.

Chancery petition claimed that due to alterations to what had been agreed the work had cost the plaintiffs £64 more than the £300 they had received.[130]

5.5 King's Chief Carpenters

A considerable range of skills and level of success existed within the carpentry trade and, in reviewing the work undertaken by London carpenters, it is important not to see them as a single homogenous group. The majority of these craftsmen worked independently on small jobs but a few successful men became contractors with responsibility for entire projects, employing other carpenters and tradesmen to undertake tasks as necessary. At the top of the hierarchy were men employed as designers (architects) for the king on major projects and these were in a very different position from ordinary workmen.[131] Craftsmen working for the king begin to appear in the records of the Pipe Rolls from 1155 but it was not until 1256 that the post of King's Carpenter became firmly established.[132] It is rarely possible to know how such men came to the attention of the king and achieved their position. Harvey suggests that royal craftsmen were political appointees, citing the case of Simon Clenchwarton, who served Henry VI as chief carpenter at Westminster Palace, the Tower of London and 'elsewhere', only to be dismissed when Edward IV became king.[133] However, this is to misunderstand the nature of royal appointments which did tend to cease automatically with a change of monarch, but which were frequently re-granted once a new regime was underway. On gaining the Crown Henry VII dismissed all the existing personnel within the King's Works, which was not unusual. Normally, the next step would have been to reinstate them into office but in Henry's case only the administrators were replaced and no artisans were re-appointed. Perhaps Henry viewed it as a money-saving exercise or he was too preoccupied with more pressing problems such as maintaining his hold on the

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[130] TNA C1/489/6, no. 6, 1518-29 quoted in Salzman, pp. 15-16. For a plan possibly drawn by Humphrey Coke *c*. 1531 for a house in Cheapside see Illustration 9.

[131] Harvey refers to the 'marked gulf between the mason or carpenter whose training merely comprised the essentials of the trade' and those who acted as architects for churches, castles or palaces. J. H. Harvey, *The Mediaeval Architect* (London, 1972), p. 93. Munby believes that the post of king's Master Carpenter was 'the pinnacle of success'. Munby, 'Wood', p. 389.

[132] J. H. Harvey, 'The King's Chief Carpenter', *Journal of the British Association for Archaeology*, 3rd series, 11 (1948), 13-34, pp. 14-19.

[133] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 54.

throne.[134] Nevertheless, this lack of formally appointed senior craftsmen did not prevent the king from undertaking building work.

Table 9 gives the names (where known) of the men appointed as King's Chief Carpenter in the later medieval period.

Table 9: King's Chief Carpenters to 1544[135]

Alexander the Carpenter	29 November 1256 - *c*. 1262
William Hurley	1 June 1336 - † 1354
William Herland	1354 - † 1375
Hugh Herland	10 June 1375 - 1377 24 March 1379 - 1405
Richard Swift	1 January 1378 - 1394
Nicholas Walton	30 April 1394 - 1402
John Dobson	12 April 1402
William Toutmond	12 January 1405 - †*c*. 1414
William Yerdhurst	*c*. 1416- †*c*. 1426
John Goldyng	25 July 1426- †*c*. 1451
Simon Clenchwarton	9 July 1451 - 1461
Edmund Graveley	14 October 1461 – *c*. 1484
Thomas Maunsy	1496 - 1501
Richard Rusell	*c*. 1508 - † 1517
Humphrey Coke	1519 - † 1531
James Nedeham	1531- † 1544

Eminent craftsmen could expect to move between locations in the course of their work. In 1306 Reginald de Swaffham was employed at both Westminster and Winchester but by 1310 he was in London where he was one of the sworn carpenters.[136] Richard Albon, master carpenter at the Tower of London in 1345-6, was working for the king at Rotherhithe Manor by 1349 and in 1355-6 he held an appointment at Eltham. Albon and his wife Margery made a grant of a tenement in the parish of All Hallows Barking in 1373 suggesting that this was their home.[137] Richard Amrys (or Ambrose) was master carpenter of the Tower between 1535 and

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[134] *HKW III*, p. 5.
[135] The table is based on *HKW Vol. II*, p. 1050, Harvey, *Dictionary* and Harvey, J. H., 'The King's Chief Carpenters', *Journal of the British Association for Archaeology*, 3rd. series, XI (1948), 13-34, esp. pp. 19-32.
[136] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 20.
[137] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 4.

1557.[138] (He may have been the man named as 'Richard Ameros' presented to the Carpenters' Company as apprentice to Thomas Maunsey in 1504).[139] Amrys was later to hold the position of junior warden in the Company. His association with the Tower had begun from at least 1532 when he undertook a 'task' of timberwork there.[140] However, working for the Tower was not his only source of income as he was Master Carpenter of the Bridge in 1537-8. During that year Ambrose/Amrys supplied the Bridge House Wardens with a considerable amount of oak timber.[141]

London carpenters might take up posts around England but others moved to 'England's largest permanent military establishment in the late medieval and early modern period' at Calais.[142] William Crofton, warden of the Company in 1437-8 and donor of the Account Book, was overseeing work on behalf of the Mercers of London in 1435-6 but on 14 May 1440 he was appointed master carpenter at Calais (working in conjunction with John Tyrell who may also have been a London carpenter).[143] There is no information about Crofton beyond this date and it is not known whether he retained a property in the city of London (or elsewhere) while serving abroad. In November 1444 Tyrell was appointed to hold the office of chief carpenter single-handedly so Crofton may have been dead by that date. The connection between London carpenters and Calais continued throughout the fifteenth century. Richard Wells, associated with the London Carpenters' Company from at least 1475, was granted the reversion of the post of master carpenter at Calais in February 1472.[144] He was to replace John Pacche who worked at Westminster Abbey between 1445-6 but who, in 1455, was appointed to the Calais post for life to succeed John Tyrell.[145] Robert Battes, master carpenter of the Tower of London in 1515, was by 1523 with the army at Calais.[146] In fact, it is likely that most of the men

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[138] *HKW III*, p. 267 n. 5.
[139] *Accounts*: f. 113, p. 154.
[140] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 8.
[141] *Bridge*, no. 467.
[142] D. Grummitt, *The Calais Garrison – War and Military Service in England*, 1436-1558 (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 3. English kings held Calais and a small area around it (the 'pale') between 1347 and 1558. This became England's last foothold on the continental mainland and as such contained a large garrison.
[143] Jefferson, Vol. 1, p. 493; *CPR* 1436-41, p. 420; Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 304.
[144] *CPR* 1467-77, p. 313; *Accounts*, f. 64, p. 103 & p. 254.
[145] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 225. In 1461 Pacche was granted the large sum of 12d per day in his Calais post. *CCR* 1461-8, p. 24. He seems to have continued working at Calais until 1485. *HKW Vol. II*, p. 1054.
[146] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 15-16.

who served the English Crown as master carpenters in Calais in the later medieval period were drawn from London.

Chapter 6   Carpenters and the church

Religious activities, both individual and collective, were a fundamental part of medieval life. The first part of this chapter will consider the personal piety of carpenters and the links they had to particular churches. Corporate piety was expressed through the Company's relationship with a number of religious institutions and the role the Craft played in easing the passage of the soul through purgatory by the provision of appropriate burial rites and commemorative prayers will be considered.

6.1   Personal piety

Christopher Baker's will (†*c.* 1494) states that immediately after his death his executors were to sell the 'termes' he had in a house and appurtenances called the 'Long Entre'. The resulting money was to be distributed among his 'old servants' and in other deeds of charity and pity that his executors thought would 'be most expedient for the welth of my soulle my frendis and all Cristen soulless'.[1] Many statements in wills were concerned with the care of souls which is not surprising as wills were generally compiled when the testator was close to death as can be demonstrated by comparing the date the will was drawn up with the date probate was granted. Richard Aas, prominent in the early activities of the Craft, made his will on 11 January 1447 and it was proved only three days later.[2] The will of another carpenter, John Bernard, was drawn up on 15 January 1410 and proved the same day.[3] The majority of carpenters' wills show a similar picture.[4]

Wills nearly always begin with the date of compilation followed by a statement that the testator was of 'sound mind' e.g. '*Johannes Somersham civis et carpentarius London in bona et sana memorie existens*' (1406) and Stephen Pratt 'hole off mynde and yn good memory' (1520) to establish that they fulfilled the legal requirements to

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[1] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 70v.
[2] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 204.
[3] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 306v.
[4] See Appendix 5 for a list of surviving carpenters' wills.

make the arrangements that were to follow.[5] Only occasionally do testators refer to the fact that they were unwell. Richard Sewale (1400) stated that he was '*sanne mentes et memorie meis corporis infirmis*' but a comment such as this is fairly uncommon and it is even rarer to find indication of the type or degree of illness suffered.[6] John Byrd's statement in his will of 1434, '*compos mentis in sane memorie licet variis infirmitibus et langoribus corporis multipliciter cruciatus*', (in sound mind but suffering from various illnesses and with a body weakened from much pain), is a very unusual one and must certainly be a reflection of his feelings at the time he drew up his will.[7]

Following the assertion that the testator was mentally capable, most medieval wills go on to commend the testator's soul to God and (usually) the Virgin Mary and all other saints (sometimes described as 'the whole company of heaven' or the 'celestial company'). Carpenters' wills follow this pattern; almost all included such a statement, and none referred to any other saints in their opening preamble. William Duddecote, citizen and carpenter of London, who made his will in September 1389, is typical. His will states: *In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie matri eius ac omnibus sanctibus*. (Firstly, I bequeath my soul to almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, and all the saints). Most wills then state where the testator wished to be buried, an important consideration as it needed to be a place where the deceased would be remembered, prompting intercessory prayers on his behalf on a regular basis. William Duddecote's will continues: *Corpus que meum ad sepelliendum in ecclesiam sancti Bothi extra Aldersgate*. (My body to be buried in the church of St Botolph without Aldersgate).[8] This form of words continued in use until the changes in religious beliefs brought about by the Reformation. In 1500, the London carpenter, Richard Smalley, still began his will in the traditional way. (The only change being that it was now in the vernacular):

> First I bequeath and recommend my soul unto almighty God my
> creator and saviour, to the most glorious virgin his mother and
> Our Lady Saint Mary and to all the holy company of heaven and

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[5] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/1, f. 164; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 166v.
[6] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 467.
[7] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 404v.
[8] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 192v.

> my body to be buried in the chapel of Saint Thomas in the parish
> church of Saint Michael in Bassingshawe.[9]

There was a wide choice of burial locations in the medieval city. Many of the more than one hundred churches had their own graveyards but not all did so and in those parishes men who did not desire to or could not afford burial inside the church, would have had to choose somewhere else. Options included a churchyard adjacent to St Paul's Cathedral or one of the numerous religious houses.[10] Despite the various opportunities, the majority of London carpenters did choose to be buried inside their parish church or in the surrounding graveyard, with only a very few selecting other locations. They were typical of other groups of a similar status. Vanessa Harding reviewed the burial choices of the middle ranks of society by analysing wills registered in the Archdeaconry and Commissary Courts and concluded that overall there was a strong preference for parish burial, a not unexpected conclusion given that most individuals had strong ties to their local parish and might already have family members buried locally.[11]

Analysis of where carpenters wished to be buried is one way to assess their social position, as well as demonstrating their personal ties. The burial choice of London carpenters, where this is stated in their wills, is summarised in Table 10.[12]

Table 10: London carpenters' burial choices

Location	Number
In a churchyard	74
Inside a church	36
'Where God pleases'	11
Either inside a church or in churchyard	5
Other statements	5
At discretion of executors	4
Total	**135**

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[9] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/8, f. 218v. Spelling modernised.

[10] V. Harding, 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London', in S. Bassett ed., *Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 1100-1600* (Leicester, 1992), 119-135.

[11] Harding, 'Burial choice', pp. 119-135 & 121-5.

[12] Not all wills, particularly those proved in the Husting Court, give information about burial choice. Further details about burial choice are given in Appendix 18.

As can be seen, when it came to their choice of a place for burial the majority of carpenters reflected their place in society by selecting the cheaper option of outside a church in the surrounding churchyard rather than within the building itself, as did Richard Sponewey in 1426, John Corbet in 1475 and Stephen Pratt in 1520.[13] This contrasts with wealthier groups such as vintners, the majority of whom expressed a desire to be buried inside a church.[14] Nevertheless, as Table 10 demonstrates some carpenters could indeed afford to request burial inside their parish church and bequeathed money specifically for that purpose. Hugh Blakyn († 1444) asked that 3s 4d be spent on his burial in St Michael Wood Street, while in 1543 Philip Cosyn wanted to be buried inside St Dionis Backchurch, 'where it pleases his executor', leaving a generous £20 to the local parson to help facilitate this.[15] John Bedham († 1434) was more specific requesting burial in St Anne's chapel in the church of St Peter Cornhill.[16] It was rare for a carpenter to request burial in the highest status part of a church, the chancel. One who did do so was, John Punchon, who took a great deal of trouble about his burial. In making his will in 1464 Punchon specified that his body was to be buried in the chancel of St Bride, Fleet Street where he had 'made a place to lie'.[17] There is no further information about this and it is not clear whether Punchon is referring merely to a financial payment that he had made to the church to reserve a particular spot or whether, as is possibly more likely, he had actually undertaken some form of building work in preparation for his own burial.

Two very unusual requests (for carpenters) came from William Serle and John Goldyng who both made their wills in 1450. Serle wanted to be buried under the bell tower (*infra campanile*) of St Benet Fink and left 26s 8d for the provision of a marble memorial, *super tumulus meum*.[18] The medieval church of St Benet Fink no longer exists but Serle's request can be compared with that of a parishioner in St James Garlickhithe († 1376) who requested burial in the bell tower of his parish church. That bell tower served as the western entrance to the church and the grave would be very visible to visitors to the church and this may have been the motivation

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[13] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 172; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 173v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 166v.

[14] Graham Javes pers comm.

[15] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 136v; TNA PCC PROB 11/30, f. 158.

[16] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 406.

[17] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 373.

[18] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 77v.

behind William Serle's bequest at St Benet Fink.[19] John Goldyng asked to be buried in a grave '*in ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomewi predicte ante fonte ibidem sub quodem lapide marmoria ibidem per me ordinatto*' (in the church of St Bartholomew aforesaid before the font under a marble stone already prepared by me in that place).[20] No further details are given but John Stow in his list of monuments in St Bartholomew's Priory refers to the stone which confirms that it was erected and, indeed, there is currently an indent on the font for a lost brass that may have been that to Goldyng.[21] It was rare for a carpenter to request burial in the house of a religious order and is possibly a reflection of Goldyng's distinguished career as a King's Carpenter. He worked on the hall of the Merchant Taylor's Company and there is speculation that he may have designed the roof of the chapel at Eton College.[22] When he made his will Goldyng was living in the Close of the Priory. It is difficult to determine the level of his wealth at his death. In 1436 he had been assessed as having lands and rents in London worth £5 but he bequeathed only 6s 8d to the priory when asking them to pray for his soul and no other sums of money or possessions are specifically mentioned in his will.[23] He simply left all his possessions to his wife.[24] Another carpenter who had a church monument (although erected long after his death) was James Nedeham. Nedeham died in Boulogne in 1544 and was interred in the church of Our Lady there.[25] His grandson erected a large, elaborate memorial to him in Little Wymondley Church, Hertfordshire in 1605.[26]

While most men did specify the location of their burial some were happy to leave it to their executors to take the decision. John Pyers († 1454) asked to be buried within the church of St Dunstan in the East or in the Pardon Churchyard at St Paul's

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[19] C. Steer, ''For quicke and deade memorie masses': merchant piety in late medieval London' in M. Allen and M. Davies ed., *Medieval merchants and money - Essays in honour of James L. Bolton* (London, 2016), 71-89, pp. 74-5.

[20] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 39v.

[21] *A Survey of London by John Stow,* ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908), Vol. II, p. 28 and Christian Steer pers comm.

[22] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 121.

[23] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 121.

[24] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 39v.

[25] *Nedeham, James*, Malcolm Airs, *ODNB*, <http://oxforddnb.com/> [accessed 19 January 2016].

[26] British Listed Buildings: Church of St Mary the Virgin, Wymondley, <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-162760-church-of-st-mary-the-virgin-wymondley-h#.WJ4Qmk976Uk> [accessed 10 February 2017], p. 1. The monument has since been lost but is shown in *HKW III*, Plate 1. [See Illustration 10].

Cathedral.[27] Others, such as John Garland in 1440 and Thomas Gittons in 1544 simply asked to be buried 'where it pleases God', and it would be up to the executors to interpret that request.[28] The majority of married male testators made their wives one of their executors, presumably these would be well acquainted with the wishes of their husbands, and could be relied upon to implement them. George King, for example, made his wife his sole executor desiring her, 'to see my body honestly buried, my debts paid, my funeral discharged and this my last will and testament in all things performed and fulfilled as my only confident and trust is in her'.[29] Of course, even where testators made definite statements about their choice of burial there was no guarantee that this (and their other last wishes) would be implemented in the way they desired.

A further factor testators had to consider was whether to be buried close to family members. If a man had been predeceased by his wife he might wish to be buried next to, or close to, where she was interred. Walter Clerk (in 1454) wanted to be buried in the churchyard of St Mary Somerset next to his wife Agnes and Thomas Coventre (in 1463) requested burial inside the church of St Olave Hart Street, 'in the place where my wife Letice lies buried'.[30] Christopher Baker (†*c.* 1494) asked to be buried on the south side of the churchyard of St Sepulchre without Newgate 'by his wife Margaret' and in 1535 Christopher Brown wanted to be buried in the church of Holy Trinity Priory, from whom he had leased property, 'next to his wife Elizabeth'.[31] A recent report on the priory church examined evidence from archaeological excavations on the site and related them to antiquarian drawings and this has helped to identify a number of prestigious tombs including some with brasses, indicating that Christopher Brown's status may have been above that of the average carpenter.[32] Other men were keen for burial close to a parent. Thomas Haryson, († 1479) requested burial 'as ny my father as hyt can be reason' and Stephen Punchon († 1535) wanted to be buried in

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[27] *Corpos que meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesiam Sancti Dunstani in Oriente London vel in le Pardon churchehawe ibidem secundum discrecionem executoris mei subscripti.* TNA PCC PROB 11/4, f. 12.

[28] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 187v; TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 218.

[29] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/15, f. 276. Will made 1566, proved 1567. Spelling modernised.

[30] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 101; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 131.

[31] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 70v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS0 9171/010, f. 243v.

[32] J. Schofield and R Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London* (London, 2005), p. 160. For further details about the Priory see M. Reddan, 'The Priory of Holy Trinity or Christchurch, Aldgate' in *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* ed. C. M. Barron and M. Davies (London, 2007), 80-9.

the churchyard of St Bride, Fleet Street 'as nigh to the place where my father and other friends lie'.[33] One uncommon request was made by John Byrd († 1434) who asked to be buried in the churchyard of St Margaret Lothebury, specifying that it was to be next to the grave of the children of his brother Richard. John's wife was still alive at the time he made his will so that he could not request burial by her side and he was close to his brother and sister who both received bequests.[34]

In addition to burial in a location that would prompt the living to pray for the dead, the soul's passage through purgatory could be helped by the dying individual clearing all his debts and testators frequently made arrangements in their wills for their debts to be paid as did John White in 1485 ('my dettes payed that I owe'). Later in his will White felt the need to be even more specific releasing his brothers, Stephen and John, 'all the debts they owed me'.[35] This need to arrange for the settling of all outstanding payments did not apply only to everyday financial debts for an even more important issue was 'the discharge of spiritual debt'.[36] Thus, in common with many medieval testators, carpenters frequently specified a sum in lieu of 'forgotten tithes and oblations' to go to their local church. There was no fixed amount for this and sums ranged from 4d to 6s 8d. The most common sum was 3s 4d with thirteen men choosing this amount, followed by 12d chosen by nine men. Sometimes money was bequeathed 'for the fabric of the church' or 'to the high altar' without stating that it was for any particular purpose. Robert London († 1395) gave 2s to the altar of St Michael Wood Street and John White granted to the high altar of St Thomas The Apostle, 'wher I am a parisshoner', the sum of 3s 4d.[37] Elias Crowle, carpenter of London († 1420), bequeathed 6s 8d to the altar of St Sepulchre without Newgate and the same sum was to go to the fabric of the church.[38] None of these testators made any comment on the purpose of their gifts but the understanding would have been that the money was to clear any debts owed to the church. Some men were doubly cautious leaving both a sum 'for the church' and money 'for

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[33] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 253v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 242.
[34] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 404v.
[35] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 30v.
[36] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London, 1972), pp. 355-6.
[37] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 27v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 30v.
[38] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 62.

forgotten tithes' as did John Bernard in 1410. (The sums were 13s 4d for the church and 40d for tithes).[39]

Various other bequests were made in the expectation that these would assist the soul. In 1301 Hugh de Notteleye left twenty marks for the maintenance of four chaplains in the churches of St Anne and St Agnes and St Augustine by St Pauls (Gate) and he also left 12d to the work of London Bridge.[40] Robert Osekyn bequeathed half a mark to the bridge in *c.* 1311.[41] It is not known whether either man had himself worked on the bridge. Gifts to the bridge ranked with those to the church and the poor so it is surprising that more carpenters did not make such bequests.[42] William Astrede (†*c.* 1458) requested burial in the church of St Katherine Cree and his entire will was concerned with arrangements for his burial and prayers for his soul. His largest bequest, of 20s, was to go to the fraternity of St Giles Cripplegate but he also left smaller sums to family members. In every instance it was with the request that the recipient pray for his soul.[43] John Punchon († 1464) left money to his local church (St Bride, Fleet Street) but he also left sums to the four orders of the friars in London: 6s 8d was to go to the Black Friars, and the White, Grey and Austin Friars were to receive 3s 4d each. By the later medieval period the friars had become more popular with the laity than the monastic orders because, as they lived and preached among the community in towns, their holy way of life was more immediately visible. Punchon made the common request that the friars were to say a *dirige* for his soul, the souls of his father and mother, and all Christian souls.[44]

Bequests such as that of William Astrede to the fraternity of St Giles Cripplegate help to reconstruct the interior of city churches and the activities that took place there. Robert Amesbury († 1438) gave 12d each to the lights of St Katherine and St Anne in the church of St Benedict Fink, while Stephen Pratt († 1520) gave 12d to the Fraternity of Our Blessed Lady and 8d to the Fraternity of St John in St Stephen,

[39] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 306v.
[40] LMA CLA/ 023/DW/01/30, f. 76.
[41] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 28.
[42] P. E. Jones, 'Some Bridge House Properties', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 16 (1953), 59-73, p. 59.
[43] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 245v.
[44] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/5, f. 373.

Coleman Street.[45] Robert Short († 1518) gave 8d to the Brotherhood of St Katherine in the church of St Andrew Hubbard and Henry Wodd left 3s 4d to the 'newe werke of the rood loft' at St Magnus the Martyr.[46] William Basse († 1491) requested burial in the chapel of St Thomas in St Olave Southwark and left money to the high altar, for the making of a new rood loft and to the fraternities of Our Lady and St Anne within the church.[47] However, although these bequests do contribute to our knowledge of lay piety, wills only give a very incomplete picture of support for the local church and its furnishings such as images and the lights that burned before them. Wills 'represent testators' desires on the eve of their death or in old age' and say nothing about lifetime gifts that may have been of equal, or greater, generosity.[48]

The limited financial means of many carpenters meant that their religious bequests were modest. However, a few were in the fortunate position of being able to make additional provision for their souls. John de Westwode († 1311), could afford not only money for a light, *super interclausturam*, (? on the arch), in St Martin Outwich but a chantry there for ten years.[49] Another successful man was Alan Bret (or Brit). Bret, a brewer as well as a carpenter, held the position of master of the Brewers' Company before 1422. In his will of 1432 he left ten marks for the maintenance of a chantry priest in the church of St Botolph without Aldersgate although this sum was only sufficient to support the priest for a period of one year.[50] Two widows of carpenters had the resources to request chantries. These were Johanna († 1317), relict of Robert Osekyn, who asked for a chantry in St Bartholomew the Less for eight years and Sabine († 1348), relict of Thomas de Stoke, who wanted a chantry in the church of St Michael Wood Street for one year.[51]

Most of the bequests carpenters made to London churches were in the form of cash but occasionally material items are mentioned. John Corbet, who made his will in January 1475, left 'thre Auter clothes steyned' in lieu of forgotten tithes to St Mary

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[45] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003 f. 501; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/09, f. 166v.
[46] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/09, f. 80v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 10v.
[47] TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638.
[48] R. Marks, *Image and Devotion on Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 7.
[49] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 29.
[50] *Parish Fraternity Register: Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and SS. Fabian and Sebastian in the Parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate*, ed. P. Basing (London Record Society 18, 1982), p. 82. LMA CLA/023/DW/01/162, f. 33.
[51] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/46, f. 17; LMA CLA/023/DW/01/75 f. 206.

Aldermanbury.[52] It is possible that these were the 'iij Awter clothes payntyd' that were recorded still in the church at the Reformation.[53] Very few carpenters possessed books. One who did was Jerard Watker who left two to the altar of St Martin Outwich in 1496, presumably these were service books but there are no further clues about them other than that they were valued at 15d.[54] William Basse († 1491) referred to 'a booke with ten commandments and other diverse things therynne' in his will. The book was to go to a William Hille of Canterbury who may have been a priest. Basse left Hille a number of other fine items:

> … a maser With a foote coveryed and with a knoppe of silver
> and gilt a gowne of Grene and a cloth of Grene for a bedde of
> tapestry werk and with portatiroyes of men and Women in the
> same.

These might not have been intended for Hille's own use but to be sold to raise funds for the church.[55] Henry Vyell's bequests seem more personal than those of many others. In his will of 1411 Vyell left only 4d to the altar of the church of St Mary Magdalen and a further 4d to the general work of the church but he wanted the rector to have a broad axe and the chaplain to have a pair of black hose (*unam par caligares nigri colores*). No other sums of money or goods are mentioned in the will with the residue going to Vyell's wife, Agnes.[56]

6.2 Corporate piety

In addition to the steps taken by individuals towards the care of their souls it was a fundamental tenet of guild membership that members shared in religious activities. The importance of religion to the Craft is emphasised by the fact that an annual payment for a light at the Hospital of St Mary without Bishopsgate (St Mary Spital) heads the list of annual expenditure from the start of the Account Book. This was followed immediately by a payment for one trental of masses, presumably for

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[52] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 173v.
[53] H. B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London, 1939), p. 426.
[54] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 137v.
[55] TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638.
[56] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 205.

deceased carpenters and their families.[57] This priory was not very far from Carpenters' Hall but in the early days of the Craft (up to the 1450s) they sometimes also paid for an annual trental of masses to be said at the Austin Friars whose house was situated immediately adjacent to their grounds. [See Map 3]. A few individual carpenters appear to have had an interest in that friary. Robert Amesbury, making his will in 1438 left money for torches and lights in the church of St Benet Fink, presumably his parish church, but requested burial inside the church of the Austin Friars.[58] Amesbury may have developed a link with the friary through attendance at Carpenters' Hall.

Carpenters' Hall did not possess a chapel of its own (which was not unusual) and the Company gradually developed close links with the church of All Hallows London Wall in whose parish their hall was located. It is interesting to note that the Brewers' Fraternity who had been meeting in All Hallows since at least 1342 ended their connection with the church in 1437, afterwards concentrating their resources on St Mary Aldermanbury, which was much closer to their own hall.[59] The Carpenters may have been encouraged to develop links with their neighbouring church by the departure of the Brewers. All Hallows was a rectory under the patronage of the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity.[60] The first recorded payment by the Company to the parson of All Hallows was in 1452. From then on links quickly became established and these were confirmed in the Company's 1455 ordinances. These stated that a mass 'by note', meaning sung rather than merely said, was to be celebrated on the next Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady (15 August), in her honour in the church of All Hallows on the Wall and 'nowhere else without the licence of the Mayor and Aldermen'. The following day a Requiem Mass was to be held in the same church for the souls of all the brothers, sisters, benefactors and friends of the Company, plus all Christian souls.[61] Around this time the link with the Austin Friars seems to have decreased in importance.

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[57] A trental i.e. thirty was the most common multiple of masses for the dead, usually celebrated on consecutive days. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 369.
[58] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 501.
[59] C. Metcalfe, 'William Porlond clerk to the Craft and Fraternity of Brewers of London, 1418-1440', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 64 (2013), 267-84, p. 36.
[60] See 'All Hallows London Wall' in *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochialle Londinense*, compiled by G. L. Hennessy (London, 1898), p. 82.
[61] See Appendix 3, para 7.

The Company made regular payments to the parson of All Hallows for his attendance when members went collectively to members' burials, requiem masses, and *diriges* as well as for maintaining the Company's bede roll containing names that would have been read out at an annual obit. The roll included the names of sisters as well as brothers but the inclusion of female members is likely to refer to wives of carpenters rather than women who had joined the Company in their own right. A reassuring aspect of guild membership was that a 'good' burial could be relied upon, that is the recitation of the Office of the Dead, *placebo* and *dirige*, and the celebration of requiem masses to assist the soul of the deceased.[62] In the first year of the Account Book there is a reference to William Burton, waxchandler, who, in addition to receiving payments for general purchases of wax, was given additional amounts related to the interments of two carpenters.[63] It was expected that the costs associated with a member's burial would be met from the deceased's own estate but if there were insufficient funds the Craft might bear the expense. The fifteenth century ordinances state that when a brother or sister died they were to have torches and tapers 'with all other ornaments belonging to the brotherhood'.[64] The 'ornaments' are not specified and may have changed over time becoming more elaborate as the Company's wealth increased. The gold cloth, black velvet cloth, buckram, fringe and ribbon purchased at great expense by the Company in 1514, together with £8 paid to a 'broiderer for his workmanship' and £4 to the king's silverer, was almost certainly for the production of a funeral pall to be draped over the hearse of deceased members. That this was the case is reinforced by the 2s 8d paid at the same time to 'Master Lancaster, herald of arms, for the oversight of the cloth', presumably the pall displayed the Carpenters' Coat of Arms and the accuracy of the work had to be verified.[65] Purchase of an item such as this was well beyond the means of most individuals and would have been one of the benefits of guild membership. The pall no longer exists but it may have been similar to those belonging to companies such as the Brewers, Fishmongers, Merchant Taylors and Saddlers.[66] [For the Merchant

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[62] For information about the medieval funeral service see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 368-9.

[63] *Accounts*: f. 1, p. 2.

[64] Appendix 3, para. 14.

[65] *Accounts*: f. 172, p. 230. W. Carew Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London* (London, 1892), p. 394.

[66] For further information on palls see: K. Staniland, *Medieval Craftsmen: Embroiderers* (London, 2004), p. 60, with an illustration of the Brewers' pall at p. 61.

Taylors' pall see Illustration 12]. The Company did not own a hearse but was able to use that belonging to All Hallows for its members. In 1507 the Company paid a waxchandler for two tapers and two candlesticks for the hearse in addition to the hire of four new torches (for *dirige* and mass) and the 'mending' of lights in the church.[67] Freemen could expect support from fellow members at the time of their burial. Christopher Kychyn, for example, made his will in 1496 requesting that each of the four men of his craft who bore his body to the church should receive 12d for their pains.[68]

The churchwardens' accounts for All Hallows list the rectors of the church, (styled 'parson'), and it is presumably these men who are referred to in the Carpenters' own accounts where 2s 6d was regularly paid to the parson of All Hallows for a trental of masses. It is rare for the names of any of the clergy to appear in the Carpenters' Account Book suggesting a formal relationship rather than a personal one. One exception is John Faukener, rector 1445-54, who is likely to be the Sir John Faukener who gave a maser of 'silver and gilte' to the Company.[69] The association of the Carpenters' Company with All Hallows is not especially apparent from the churchwardens' accounts with only occasional references to the Company. For example, the Company gave 2d towards the church organ in 1480 and in 1502 they paid 3s for the beam light i.e. the light which was kept burning continually before the rood, although these payments do not appear in the Company's own accounts. One of the Company's beadles (unnamed) was buried in the church in 1506 at a cost of 2s.[70] The scarcity of references to the Company in the churchwardens' accounts suggests that the relationship between the two bodies was largely impersonal. There is no evidence from the Carpenters' accounts that they contributed to the church by carrying out building work at favourable rates.

Charles Welch, editor of All Hallows churchwardens' accounts, pointed out that Carpenters' Hall was 'the only building of importance of which the parish can boast' so it might be expected that carpenters would have played a leading role in the

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[67] *Accounts*: f. 129, p. 175.
[68] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/08, f. 192v.
[69] Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, p. 82; Marsh, *Accounts*, f. 104b, p. 244. The date of the gift is unknown.
[70] *Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows,* pp. 29, 39 & 44.

church but only three carpenter churchwardens have been traced over a long period. These are John Sureman (†*c.* 1413), Thomas Wilcok, warden of the Company in 1471 and 1472 and undertaker of carpentry work for the church e.g. on the high altar in 1478, and Robert Cokred who was employed by the church in 1528-9.[71] The carpenter, Worston Wynd/Wynne, supplied timber for the church in 1528-9 (at a cost of £3 16s 8d) but his main interests were elsewhere. Wynd undertook extensive carpentry work for St Mary at Hill, where he served as a churchwarden and this was presumably his home parish.[72]

Contact between the church and the majority of carpenters was limited to attendance at mass there on formal group occasions. As has been noted already the personal religious interests of these craftsmen can be determined from their wills and when it came to making their last dispositions All Hallows London Wall seems to have been unimportant. No carpenter is known to have been buried there or to have made a bequest to the church. There are no surviving wills for the three carpenter churchwardens identified above. This paucity of interest in the church may be because few carpenters actually lived locally rather than a lack of a desire to take part in parish activities. Carpenters may possibly have been more active in their home parishes but there is no surviving evidence to show this.

A feature of interest relating to the church of All Hallows was its series of anchorites, each referred to as the 'Anker of London Wall'.[73] The anchorites occupied a cell on the north side of the church but do not seem to have lived an entirely enclosed life apparently even performing services occasionally in the church and actively contributing to its running costs, no doubt from the generous donations they received.[74] The first identifiable anchorite was Margaret Burre († 1402) who was able to bequeath three alabaster carvings at her death. One of her executors was the

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[71] For Sureman see: LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 269v and M. C. Erler, *Reading and Writing During the Dissolution: Monks, Friars, and Nuns 1530-1558* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 17. For Wilcok see: *The Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall*, ed. C. Welch (London: 1912), p. vii & p. 21. For Cokred see: *Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows*, pp. viii, p. 58 and for his work on behalf of the church see p. 169 above.

[72] *Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows,* p. 57; *The Medieval Records of a London city Church (St Mary at Hill) 1420-1559*, ed. H. Littlehales (Early English Text Society, 1905), pp. 308, 337, 338, 357, 359, 365, 366, 367, 369, 372, 373, 376, 377, 383, 395, 411.

[73] *Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows,* p. vi.

[74] *Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows*, p. xxx.

churchwarden and carpenter, John Sureman (referred to above).[75] The Carpenters' Company had a relationship with some of the anchorites. At Midsummer 1508, for instance, Sir Richard the 'anker priest' paid the Company 20d for a quarter's rent and in the following year he paid 6s 8d rent for the entire year, while in 1511, the anchorite's servant paid the Company 8d for his rent.[76] The last anchorite of All Hallows was Simon Appulby († 1537) and at the Reformation the anchorhold was given to the city's swordbearer.[77] The information that can be deduced about the relationship of the Carpenters' Company with All Hallows paints a formal picture with the Company paying for and attending services provided by the church and even occasionally contributing to its maintenance, but there is no evidence of a warm or close relationship between the two.

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[75] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 16-17.
[76] *Accounts*: f. 134, p. 182; f. 151, p. 207.
[77] M. C. Erler, 'A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby: His "Fruyte of Redempcyon" and its milieu', *Viator*, 29 (1998), 227-39 and Erler, *Reading and Writing*, esp. Chapter 1 'Looking Backward? London's last anchorite, Simon Appulby († 1537)', 14-37.

Chapter 7   The personal life of carpenters

This chapter will review the place of carpenters within medieval society: their levels of wealth; where they lived and how their homes were furnished; and their relationship with others particularly family members, work associates and neighbours. The provision of support and charity to those who had fallen on hard times, something of particular importance to men who relied on strength and good manual dexterity to carry out their work, will be considered. The chapter will also look at evidence for the involvement of women in the craft and the aspirations carpenters had for their children, as well as family groupings working within the craft. Did the craftsmen want their children to follow in their footsteps into the carpentry trade or did they have other ambitions for the next generation? Other means of making a living, including evidence for the involvement of these craftsmen and their wives in the brewing industry, will be examined. The last section will consider clothing worn by carpenters and their physical appearance.

7.1 The social and economic position of carpenters

Many carpenters were citizens of London and therefore members of 'an elite which comprised only a quarter of the adult male population of the city'; some of the men who became free of the Carpenters' Company were comparatively affluent.[1] Simon Chacumbe, citizen and carpenter, drew up his will in June 1463. After making provision for his soul and his burial, his main bequest was a generous £5 towards his daughter's marriage. The residue of his 'goodes and jewelles' were to go to his wife.[2] Further information from the Carpenters' Company's own records indicates that Simon, who had served four times as warden, gave them a mazer (weighing 7¼ ounces) as well as 20s, two cloths for the high table, one plain and one diaper, a long towel and four plain 'sanaps', plus two silver spoons.[3] Simon was a man of

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[1] C. Barron, 'Searching for the "small people" of medieval London', *The Local Historian* (May 2008), 83-94, p. 85. Appendix 1 indicates those carpenters known to have been citizens but this is likely to be an underestimate because of the shortcomings of the records.
[2] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 15.
[3] *Accounts*: f. 104b, p. 244. A sanap was a strip of cloth placed over the outer part of the tablecloth to preserve it from being soiled. Sanap, *n. OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 20 May 2016].

considerable means. Other men were also in a position to support their Company by the provision of generous gifts. John Punchon bequeathed his bell cup of silver and parcel (partial) gilt 'to my craft' in 1464 with the request that members might pray for his soul.[4] By the early years of the sixteenth century gifts made during a donor's lifetime and bequests in wills were becoming increasingly frequent and the Company was beginning to accumulate a number of expensive material items as well as property. In 1515 William Cony bequeathed a messuage called 'le Bere' and tenements and gardens near Carpenters' Hall for the 'relief and better maintenance of the mistery'.[5] He also gave the Company a silver cup with a silver-gilt 'coney' (presumably a figure of a rabbit) on the top. Some of the gifts to the Company were part of a deliberate plan to enhance its status by the accumulation of items for display in the hall. A regulation agreed in 1505 which exacted a piece of plate from each successive junior warden was part of this process and in 1513 'it was decided to collect a set of apostle spoons on an instalment basis' with the accounts recording a number of such gifts.[6] Christopher Brown donated a silver spoon with a St Christopher, weighing 1¾ ounces in 1513 and three years later Thomas Hall gave a silver spoon when he, in his turn, served as youngest warden.[7]

Thomas Smart left to the 'Craft and Fellowship of Carpenters of London' lands and tenements in All Hallows beside London Wall in 1519 although this was actually a legal device as these were already held by the Company. Smart's stated intention was that he be 'better remembered and prayed for by the said fellowship'. Like William Cony, whom he must have known, Smart bequeathed to the Company a silver cup and there was to be no doubt that the cup had been his donation as it contained both his name and his 'tymber mark'.[8] What exactly was a 'timber mark'? The marks frequently found on timber joists and referred to as 'carpenters' marks' were there to assist with assembly and were not usually identifiable to an individual.[9] Masons did have their own personal identifying marks because they were often paid by the

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[4] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/5, f. 373.
[5] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/261, f. 4.
[6] For a discussion of early gifts of plate see C. Oman, 'The Plate and Jewels and their History', in Alford and Barker, *History*, pp. 202-3.
[7] *Accounts*: f. 169, p. 227; *Accounts*, f. 103a, p. 243. Oman, 'The Plate and Jewels' p. 203.
[8] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/261, f. 5.
[9] J. Blair and N. Ramsay ed., *English Medieval Industries*, p. xxvii and see p. 177 above.

amount of wall they erected and their mark showed how much work they had completed during a particular time period. Carpenters were usually contracted to complete a specific job but there are instances where they were paid piecemeal. In a contract of *c*. 1532 between Thomas Cromwell, Chief Minister to Henry VIII. and two carpenters, Thomas Hall and John King, to build three new houses at the Tower of London the men were expected to 'cleanly, substantially and workmanly make, frame and set up' three new houses for the King's use, with the size of all the timbers being specified. Payment was to be at the rate of 10s for each foot of length and breadth of the houses.[10]

Other woodworking crafts had to introduce identifying marks at the behest of the city authorities so that poor workmanship could be attributed. Turners were often accused of constructing standard measures from green wood that tended to shrink after manufacture giving false readings.[11] In an attempt to remedy this London turners were ordered to attend Guildhall in 1347 with examples of their marks and the marks were recorded in one of the city Letter Books. The marks are all different and distinctive and would have easily identified the individuals concerned.[12] Similarly, in 1420, the city authorities ordered that every Cooper 'should brand his casks with a distinctive mark, which was to be registered at the Guildhall'.[13] There is no evidence that carpenters as a group were ever compelled to adopt personal marks but Thomas Smart's bequest demonstrates that some carpenters did have them, something confirmed by the Company's Court Book. This contains carpenters' signatures (added to indicate the presence of particular individuals at meetings or appended to important resolutions) but only seven of the eighteen masters (between 1533 and 1573) recorded their signatures, others made their marks. [See Illustration 11]. Marsh believes this indicates that 'the leading men of the Company had little education' and that it accounts for the difference between greater and lesser companies and the restriction of high office to members of the former.[14] However, men who ran large businesses in the city may well have been capable of reading and writing. Some of

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[10] Salzman, Appendix B, no. 121.
[11] Leach, 'Turners' 2012, pp. 5-6.
[12] LMA COL/AD/01/006 (Letter Book F).
[13] W. Foster, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Coopers of London* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 4.
[14] Court: p. vii.

the Court Book marks were fairly complex 'images' being much more than simple crosses and it might be that some men who made a mark did so out of choice.[15] They may have been capable of writing their names but felt that they would be more easily identifiable if they made their professional mark, a bit like a modern company logo. The ability to write one's own signature was not as important in the medieval period as it would be today because, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, at least in London, many individuals from all groups in society had their own personal seals. When pressed into wax attached to documents, these were tools of 'authentication, validation, and security'.[16] There is plenty of evidence for carpenters using seals to attest wills, such as Stephen Warde of the parish of St Benet Fink in 1390, William Astrede of St Katherine Cree in 1458, and Thomas Symson of St Clements Eastcheap in 1531.[17] A few wax impressions of carpenters' seals have survived on land transactions. Two contain a motif of an axe, while a third has a hammer.[18] This evidence shows that, in the later Middle Ages, there were a number of different methods available to identify individual carpenters and the choice of one over another was not necessarily related to levels of educational achievement.

The sons of some carpenters progressed up the social scale. Robert Osekyn's son, also called Robert, became a goldsmith while John Bedham's son (also John) became an ironmonger.[19] William Herland, one of the original scholars of Winchester College, who went from there to New College, Oxford, is likely to have been Hugh Herland's son.[20] James Nedeham left the manor house and parsonage at Little Wymondley, Hertfordshire to his wife and eldest son together with other properties in the county. In his will Nedeham described himself as 'esquire' rather than the usual 'citizen and carpenter'. His bequests included corn and cattle as well as cash

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[15] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, Vol. III: Court Book, 1533-1573*, ed. Bower Marsh (Oxford, 1915), p. vii. See e.g. f. 78, p. 52 (1553), f. 86, p. 58 (1555) and f. 92, p. 63 (1557).

[16] *Seals in Medieval London 1050-1300 – A Catalogue*, ed. J. A. McEwan (London Record Society Extra Series, Vol. 1, 2016), p. viii.

[17] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 218v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 245v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 302v.

[18] J. McEwan, 'Occupation and Identity in Medieval London', in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton ed., *The Medieval Merchant* (Donington, 2014), 350-63, pp. 357-8 and *Seals*, McEwan, no. 554, Mark Carpenter (axe); no. 720, Richard de Rippele (axe); no. 805, Robert de Waltham (hammer).

[19] *CLB[E],* p. 81; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 406.

[20] *Herland, Hugh*, Lynn T. Courtenay, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 19 January 2016].

and household goods. Nedeham gave forty shillings to the parish church at Little Wymondley but he left the same sum to the church at Chislehurst, Kent with property in that area going to his wife so that may have been her natal home. James was the son of Christopher Nedeham, citizen and carpenter of London, but his grandfather was John Needham of High Needham, Derbyshire. His family was of armigerous status so it was his family background as well as his undoubted technical skills that helped his social progression.[21] By the time of his death James moved in such exalted circles that he was able to ask Master Edmund Hamound, 'one of the gentilmen of the kings pryvey chamber' to be the overseer of his will. Nedeham was in the fortunate position of having five living sons as well as at least two daughters when he came to make his will but there is no mention of carpenter's tools or any indication of a desire for his sons to carry on his trade. The Nedeham family had moved a long way up the status ladder by that time. The property inheritance went to the eldest boy but the other four sons each received an extremely generous £100. This money was to be invested until they came of age with a sum from the annual interest to be used to 'fynde them to scole' i.e. for their education.[22]

At the other end of the social scale some carpenters have been described as 'paupers'. Mark Fitch seems to have applied this definition to men who were not completely destitute but who left very little in their wills such as Robert Clopton who gave only 8d to the altar of St Michael Wood Street plus a further 4d to the clerk of that church in 1395. But, these small sums may be misleading as Clopton had an apprentice to whom he left all the 'utensils' associated with his work, and the rest of his goods and chattels were to go to his wife Felicia, so Clopton was not entirely without possessions at his death.[23] Some carpenters did have incomes that were so low they struggled to provide for their families. Matilda, the daughter of Robert le Carpenter, was queuing for alms outside the Blackfriars in Farringdon Ward during a period of famine in 1322 when she was crushed to death, along with many others, in a 'stampede' outside the Friary gate. Matilda was described as 'daughter of Robert'

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[21] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 212-3.
[22] TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 318.
[23] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 30v.

suggesting that she was unmarried and possibly quite young although considered old enough to join the queue for alms.[24]

The majority of carpenters would have fallen into a middle range, not paupers but not especially wealthy either. One way of placing these men in the context of their local society is to consider those with whom they had close relations, such as those they asked to act as executors, overseers, supervisors and witnesses of their wills. Some testators left this task to the clerks who had drawn up their wills but other individuals chosen were likely to be close and reliable friends of the dying men. One noteworthy point is that carpenters did not always ask other carpenters to act as their executors, with a wide range of men from other trades employed in this role. This indicates that carpenters mixed with a broad group of individuals in their community rather than just socialising with men of the same trade as themselves. Simon Chacumbe († 1463) asked a pinner and a sherman to be his executors while John Boston's († 1475) executors were a brewer and a smith.[25] William Basse († 1491) asked a dyer, who was a fellow parishioner, to be his executor and John Hille, citizen and glover, to be overseer.[26] Naturally, some men did choose to make use of fellow craftsmen. John Perry's will of 1425 was simple and uncomplicated. He made minimal bequests to his parish church (St Peter le Poor) with the residue of his goods going to his wife. For their work in the execution of the will he left 6s 8d each to two carpenters, Thomas Bapthorp and Richard Aas.[27] When Thomas Hall came to make his will in 1543 he made his son, John, overseer together with another carpenter, John King.[28] Thomas had known King for some time as they had been contracted together to erect three houses at the Tower in 1532.[29] Where men from different crafts were chosen they were generally of a similar place in the social hierarchy as carpenters themselves.

Carpenters, like many people, did not enjoy a fixed social position. They might do reasonably well for a period and then fall on hard times. Even relatively well-off

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[24] *Calendar of the Coroners Rolls*, p. 61; B. A. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives* (Oxford, 2007), p. 151.
[25] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 15; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/06, f. 183.
[26] TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638.
[27] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 150v.
[28] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/011, f. 85v.
[29] See p. 210 above. Salzman, Appendix B, no. 121.

craftsmen could suffer financially through ill health. William Goldington served as a Company warden in 1440 but in 1460 he required the Company's financial support 'in hys sykenes'.[30] To serve as a warden was likely to have required a good deal of capital so Goldington's case is an illustration of the troubles that could beset even the better off.[31] Most guild ordinances set out the aid that members could expect and the Carpenters were no exception. Reference was made earlier to the charitable clauses in the fourteenth century 'Boke' of the Brotherhood of Carpenters of London and the fifteenth century ordinances made similar provision.[32] One motivation for joining a guild was the opportunity it might provide for men to receive help in time of need although there was no guarantee that this would be forthcoming. From a Company's point of view there were several reasons behind the provision of assistance to members in need. These included protecting the public reputation of the Craft whose members might not want to see their fellows begging on the streets. It was also a means of reinforcing feelings of mutual obligation among guild members and promoting a common identity. Relief programmes were thus designed to meet institutional as well as individual needs and, in any case, it is unlikely that the guild would be able to afford to help all members who suffered difficulties.[33]

Carpenters did have an especially strong motivation to seek insurance against hardship. Much medieval work was 'episodic and seasonal' and this was certainly true of the building trades.[34] The availability of jobs and consequently income was subject to fluctuations in the economy and the weather as well as outbreaks of infectious disease. As carpenters aged, they might not be physically up to the work even when it was available. John Kersyng was discharged by the mayor and aldermen from serving on juries etc. owing to increasing old age in 1410. Kersyng was described as a citizen and carpenter suggesting that he might still have been

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[30] The Company paid his 'costes' amounting to 4s 11d. *Accounts*: f. 14, p. 32.

[31] M. Addison Amos, 'The Naked and the Dead: the Carpenters' Company and Lay Spirituality in Late Medieval England' in K. Robertson and M. Vebel ed. *The Middle Ages at Work: Practicing Labor in Late Medieval England* (New York, 2004), 91-110, p. 100.

[32] For the fourteenth century provisions see Chapter 2 and Appendix 2, paras. 4, 8 & 9. For the fifteenth century body see Appendix 3, para. 12.

[33] B. R. McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), 195-225, pp. 196-9.

[34] C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989, reprinted 1994), p. 223.

practising his trade.[35] In 1427, another carpenter, John More, was discharged from civic duties 'owing to bodily infirmities'.[36] Even younger men were prone to accidents. Those resulting from axe wounds were referred to earlier but falls involving ladders were also common such as incidents from the mid thirteenth century where Simon the Carpenter fell from a ladder onto some timber... so that he died and Thomas de Michem who fell from a ladder and was crushed by a beam.[37] In 1237-8 a carpenter fell from a beam and broke his neck.[38] Another case occurred in 1324 when Hugh de St Alban fell from a ladder injuring his head. St Alban was taken to the house of another carpenter, Richard de Rothyng, and did not die until a week later which gave time for him to receive the last rites from the church.[39] Sometimes an accident was the result of a fault in the ladder itself such as when Robert de Berdene climbed a ladder (in 1337) to repair a gutter and one of the rungs gave way, throwing Berdene to the ground and killing him instantly.[40] Bad workmanship might also result in collapsing structures causing hazards and injuries. During the year 1267-8 Bartholomew the Carpenter, John de Breynford, William de Merton, carpenter, and Hugh le Clerk were making a wood-yard out of timber near a wall when they were crushed by the wall and the timber and they were all killed.[41] If the outcome of an accident was not outright death it might still result in an injury severe enough to prevent a man from working for a long period. In 1366 Thomas de Norhampton, carpenter, sued a timbermonger saying that, although he had agreed to serve the latter for one year, he had been unable to fulfil his covenant owing to an injury to his left hand. As a result his master had retained 4s due to him as well as his clothes. The court found in the plaintiff's favour.[42]

Accidents such as these resulted in irregular wages for craftsmen or even a sudden loss of the entire family income should a breadwinner be killed. There is no reason to think that the working life of carpenters had become any safer by the time of the publication of their fifteenth century ordinances. In these it was stated that any

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[35] *CLB[I],* p. 87.
[36] *CLB[K],* p. 60.
[37] See pp. 185-6 for examples of accidents with tools. *London Eyre 1276*, nos. 64 & 8.
[38] *London Eyre 1244*, no. 118.
[39] *Calendar of the Coroners Rolls*, p. 82.
[40] *Calendar of the Coroners Rolls*, p. 185.
[41] *London Eyre 1276*, no. 195.
[42] *CPMR* 1364-81, pp. 51-64.

member falling into poverty 'by God's hand', and who was unable to help himself, was to receive a 'reward' weekly from the common box. Any man who was sick for more than a fortnight [and unable to work] could expect to receive help. The importance of such help was underlined by the further statement: 'that he shalnot perisshe for default of helpe'.[43] No sums were specified (unlike the fourteenth century ordinances which stated that sick members would receive 14d per week after they had been ill for a fortnight) thus allowing some flexibility. The intention was to distinguish men who were unable to work through ill-health or as a result of an accident from those perceived as idle through their own actions. Even with those restrictions however it is likely to have been an over-optimistic statement as there might not always be sufficient funds 'in the box' to help all those who qualified at any one time. In 1455 there is a reference in the Carpenters' Account Book to their alms box which contained 41s 1d but it is not possible to tell from the accounts whether money paid out in alms came entirely from contributions to this box or whether additional money was found sometimes from other sources such as bequests in wills.[44] The Carpenters were not a very prosperous company and no doubt, given the nature of their work, received more requests for assistance than they were able to meet. Throughout the accounts there are numerous references to sums paid by the Company in alms but never a very large amount in any one year.[45] The lucky beneficiaries were likely to have been respectable as well needy and any payments were at the discretion of the master and wardens so this was a strong motivation for men to keep on the right side of the authorities.

All payments of alms recorded in the accounts were presumably to assist members (or their relatives) who had fallen on hard times as opposed to general bequests to paupers unconnected with the craft. The Drapers' Company gave food (often left over from their feasts) to the poor regularly but there is no evidence that the Carpenters did the same or that as an institution they provided any aid to the poor.[46] Like all the records in the Account Book, the earlier entries provide little detail about

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[43] See Appendix 3, para. 12.
[44] *Accounts*: f. 5, p. 19.
[45] See Appendix 19 for a list of recipients of alms.
[46] S. A. Milne, 'Dining with the Drapers: The Drapers' Company 1564 election Day Feast as a Map of Elizabethan London' in M. McWilliams ed., *Celebration: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2011* (Totnes, 2012), 199-208, pp. 205-6.

alms. For the first few years no names of recipients are given, references simply being 'to the alms man' or 'paid to the poor man'. The first entry (in 1439) is an amount (not legible) paid 'to the alms man for the year'.[47] The same reference appears in the following year but by 1441 it seems that the single almsman was receiving 6s 8d annually.[48] For much of the Account Book the Company only assisted one person at a time with a few exceptional years towards the end of the fifteenth century where several people received help in the same year. The level of disbursement was always modest in comparison with wealthier guilds. In 1432-3 the Mercers' Company were able to provide support to five almsmen: one received 18d a week and a second 16d per week, both for the whole year. The other three recipients each received 14d per week but not for the entire year.[49]

In some years the Carpenters' accounts make no mention of money spent on alms at all. It seems unlikely that there were no suitable applicants in those years so this might reflect inadequacies in record-keeping rather than a lack of actual almsmen. The Account Book gives no indication as to how a decision to help a particular individual was determined although it was likely that discussion between the officers took place before the award of a grant on behalf of the Company. In 1500, for example, Robert Odysdale received alms of 12d at the 'request of all the fellowship'.[50] This is an extremely modest amount compared to payments of other alms made around these years which were usually 6s 8d per individual but nothing is known about Odysdale's circumstances other than the fact that he occupied Company accommodation for which he paid rent at this period.[51] It was common for an almsman to receive financial assistance for a few years culminating in payment for his burial, suggesting that those who received help were elderly rather than individuals experiencing temporary incapacity. The money thus freed-up was then paid out to someone else until they in their turn died. Richard Bright, was described as 'our alms man' when he received 22d in 1461 but in the same year 5s was spent on his burial, and in 1456 Randolph Bulkeley paid £3 to achieve the freedom of the

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[47] *Accounts*: f. 95, p. 3.
[48] *Accounts*: f. 96, p. 4; *Accounts*: f. 97, p. 6.
[49] Jefferson, Vol. 1, p. 453.
[50] *Accounts*: f. 84, p. 131.
[51] *Accounts*: f. 78, p. 125; f. 80, p. 130; f. 90, p. 141.

Company but the accounts record that 4s 6d was spent for him while he lay sick and for his burial in 1462.[52]

Even when sums disbursed were at their greatest (sometimes as much as 13s 4d per person for the year) they were only sufficient to maintain individuals at a very basic level. Indigent carpenters or their widows might of course have received assistance from other sources such as family members, individual acts of charity, or from monasteries and hospitals, with the money provided by the Company helping to supplement this. It has been suggested that the modest sums dispersed by guilds in alms might not have been intended to provide serious support for very poor members but to help better off members, such as those who had held an office, maintain the standard of living that they had enjoyed before they became incapacitated.[53] This is in line with the view that there were reasons other than helping very poor members behind the distribution of welfare provision.[54] Serving time as a warden was no guarantee that an individual would enjoy a successful career throughout his working life and would not later require the Company's assistance, such as the example of William Goldington mentioned earlier.[55] Another instance was that of, John Broke, who was warden in 1459 and 1460, having paid for his freedom in 1443, but, by the early 1470s, he was receiving alms of 4s per annum from the Craft.[56] The last of these payments was in 1474 when 'Broke and his wife' are specified as receiving alms, although only 2s was paid in that year, possibly Broke died half-way through the year.[57] Goldington and Broke may have fallen on hard times towards the end of their lives but the fact that they had served as officers of the Craft helped them secure access to alms when they needed it. The limited details that can be gained from the accounts means that the Company's motivation behind a decision to provide assistance is rarely visible. Richard Catlad, for instance, received alms of 4s for two consecutive years (1515 and 1516) but appears nowhere else in the Account Book so it is not possible to be sure that he was a member of the Company. There is no one

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[52] *Accounts*: f. 7, p. 21; f. 16, p. 35.
[53] M. Sasai, 'Corporate Charity of London Cutlers in the Fifteenth Century', *The Haskins Society Journal Japan*, 5 (2013), 15-26, p. 19.
[54] McRee, 'Charity', pp. 198-9.
[55] See p. 214.
[56] *Accounts*: f. 14, p. 31; f. 15, p. 33; f. 98, p. 7.
[57] *Accounts*: f. 28, p. 48.

else with the same surname mentioned in the accounts so he does not seem to have been a relative of a member.[58]

In addition to cash payments there was provision in the Carpenters' ordinances for needy members to receive 'clothing'. This could refer to general items of dress or it might mean livery clothing. A poor carpenter, such as Richard Bright in 1454, might be provided with one of the Company's hoods to enable him to continue to participate fully in guild events but this was a rare example and, in practice, few carpenters were helped in this way during the seventy-eight years covered by the Account Book. The most usual means of assistance was through a gift of money either quarterly or annually. In addition to help for carpenters, assistance was sometimes provided for their widows (often addressed by the courtesy title 'mother' in the accounts) and unsurprisingly female recipients of aid were frequently related to male office-holders in the Company. The first such payment occurred in 1461 when John King's 'mother' was granted 4s. John King served as warden in 1452, 1459, 1460 and 1467 so possibly the other officers were inclined to be generous towards his 'mother' although it should be noted that she did not receive assistance in the years when John was actually holding office. Mrs King received further help in 1463, 1464, 1465 and 1466, and from then on there are a number of examples of relatives (usually female) receiving help.[59] It would seem that joining the Company was a useful way for men to ensure some kind of financial assistance for their womenfolk after their own death, or even before.

The wife of William Raye (†*c*. 1494) was another recipient of financial help. Raye was associated with the Company for around forty-five years, having paid for his freedom in 1456 and serving once as a warden and twice as master so presumably his wife would be viewed as a deserving i.e. a 'respectable' case.[60] Mrs Raye received a pension for three years after her husband's death. The last payment in 1502 was for

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[58] *Accounts*: f. 17a, p. 235; f. 180b, p. 239.
[59] See Appendix 19.
[60] *Accounts*: f. 7, p. 21; f. 16, p. 35; f. 22, p. 42; f. 37, p. 59. Raye also served the city as one of the sworn carpenters in 1478 and 1481. *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall AD 1458-1482.*, ed. P. E. Jones (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 117, 119 & 145.

only one quarter so she presumably died around that time.[61] In 1480, 1482 and 1484 'Wynchcombe's wife' (sometimes described as 'mother') received alms. This is likely to have been the wife of Thomas Wynchcombe who himself received alms from the Company in 1472 and to whose burial the Company contributed 3s in 1484.[62] 'Mr Bentley's wife' received alms of 4s 4d in 1480 with a further 3s 4d for half a year in 1484. A subsequent entry for the same year records 18d spent on the burial of 'Bentley's wife'.[63] The year 1484 was an expensive one for the Company for, in addition to the interment of 'Mother' Bentley, they paid out 16d for the burial of Robert Pratt and a sum of 3s 4d for the 'keeping' of John Buck followed by his burial.[64]

Apart from paying cash direct to support the needy the Company also had their own almshouse for a short period. They constructed this themselves during 1456-1458 although it is first mentioned in 1448 when four named men contributed sums ranging from 6d to 10s 'for' or 'to' the almshouse, presumably the guild was having a fund-raising drive before it could begin the actual building work.[65] The next reference in the Account Book to the almshouse occurs in 1456 when work began in earnest. Construction took several weeks so it was a substantial building. (See Table 11).

Table 11: Costs of constructing the almshouse in 1456

Week 1	Paid to 7 men for 'workmanship' on the almshouse	14s 7d
Week 2	Paid to 6 men	19s 10d
Week 3	Paid to 5 men	10s 8d
Week 4	Paid to 3 men	10s 2d
Week 5	Paid to 3 men	6s 5d

As well as the above sums, 2s was paid for the 'steps to the stair in the almshouse' indicating that it was of more than one storey and 17s to a dawber for 'latthyng' of

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[61] *Accounts*: f. 78, p. 126; f. 84, p. 131; f. 90, p. 142.
[62] *Accounts*: f. 26, p. 46; f. 41, p. 66.
[63] *Accounts*: f. 36, p. 58; f. 41, p. 66. Mrs Bentley may have been the wife of the carpenter John Bentley who served as warden in 1451. *Accounts*, f. 2, p. 15.
[64] *Accounts:* f. 41, p. 66.
[65] *Accounts*: f. 82, p. 15.

the almshouse'.[66] In the following year further costs were recorded: 7s 4d was paid for meat and drink for three men 'working on the almshouse' although the period is not specified and a further sum of 6s 3d was incurred for hooks and hinges. Other references in the same section of the Account Book referring to the purchase and carriage of boards and timber probably also relate to the building of the almshouse.[67] By 1458 the almshouse was habitable as the Company received 7s 11d from the tenants in the almshouse and two new locks were purchased.[68] Nevertheless, the last reference to the almshouse occurs only in 1464 when 3d was spent on a key, so what happened to it?[69] Perhaps the Company felt it could make more money by letting out the houses for a 'commercial rent' which could then be used to assist more poor members than could be accommodated in the almshouse. Buildings were an expensive and ongoing commitment unlike direct payments to individuals that could be tailored to suit the company's income at any particular time. One motivation for constructing an almshouse might have been the influence of fashion or an element of competition rather than a desire to help poor members in the most cost-effective way. It may be that the Merchant Taylors' purpose-built London almshouse of 1416 influenced the Carpenters who became carried away with a desire to emulate the richer company which they then found was beyond their means.[70]

There is little evidence from carpenters' wills to demonstrate that they were keen to help their fellow workers who had fallen on hard times, although there are exceptions. Reference was made earlier to Simon Chacumbe's bequest of 13s 4d to 'my powre brethren in the almeshous of the carpenters' in 1463.[71] Unfortunately, this sum does not appear in the Account Book as the records of receipts for that year are missing. More commonly, carpenters left money for the poor in general rather than specifying needy members of the craft. Prayers offered by the poor were believed to be especially helpful to the passage of the soul through purgatory and thus money left in wills for this purpose, was not simply an unencumbered act of charity. The

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[66] *Accounts*: ff. 7-8, p. 22-3.
[67] *Accounts*: f. 9, p. 25.
[68] *Accounts*: f. 11, p. 27.
[69] *Accounts*: f. 18, p. 38.
[70] C. Rawcliffe, 'Dives Redeemed? The Guild Almshouses of Later Medieval England' in L. Clark ed., *Rules, Redemption and Representations in Late Medieval England and France* (Woodbridge, 2008), 1-27, p. 5.
[71] See p. 102-3. TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 2.

expectation was that the donor would receive something back for his generosity. Donors include John Punchon who bequeathed twenty shillings to the 'poor people' of his parish of St Bride, Fleet Street, in 1464. Punchon stated that distribution of the money was to take place among the householders who needed it at 12d each but specified that it was not to go to 'common beggars', a frequent stipulation in medieval wills.[72] Other men took a more generous attitude. Henry Wodd († 1516) left 6s 8d to be distributed among poor people (probably in his parish of St Michael Queenhithe) with no restriction and Thomas Gittons bequeathed forty shillings to the poor of his local parish, St Benet's Paul's Wharf in 1544, again without any restriction on who was to receive the money.[73] John Garland was another carpenter who left money (10s) to be distributed among the poor of the parish of St Michael Queenhithe without any restriction. Although his will was composed in 1440 it was not proved until 1446. Garland seems to have died at a good age as he was discharged from public service 'owing to increasing old age' in 1443.[74] In addition to his London interests Garland made bequests of money to the poor in several locations in Surrey, including Croydon which may have been where he was born. In each case Garland's bequest was accompanied with the request that the recipients pray for his soul.[75] Christopher Richardsonne († 1523) was very specific in his bequest. On the day of his burial his executor (his wife Agnes) was to provide the poor (presumably within the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate where Richardsonne lived) with one kilderkin of ale and three dozen loaves.[76]

7.2 Carpenters at home

As can be seen from the previous section many carpenters identified closely with their parish of residence. Most wills do give an indication of the home parishes of testators and from this and other documentary sources it can be seen that there was a carpenter living in more than half of the London parishes (including suburbs) at some

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[72] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/5, f. 373.
[73] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 10v; TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 218.
[74] *CLB[K]*, p. 285.
[75] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 187v.
[76] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/0010, ff. 14v, 15.

point during the later Middle Ages.[77] There must have been many more scattered throughout the city whose wills do not survive or for whom a parish cannot be determined.[78] Unlike other craft groups such as the turners, joiners and pinners, carpenters did not develop close associations with a single or a restricted number of parishes they maintained over a long time.[79] In this respect carpenters had more in common with masons whose homes were also dispersed around the city.[80] This degree of dispersal suggests that there was sufficient work throughout the city to support a number of carpenters at any one time but insufficient in most locations, with the exception of those areas with large, long-term building projects, such as the Bridge works, to provide an income for more than one or two men. Craftsmen working for themselves would have found it advantageous to be the single representative of their craft in their community (with perhaps the help of an assistant or two) at any one time with a ready supply of work on their doorstep and without the need to transport cumbersome timber great distances through the narrow streets. Consumers might also prefer to employ a local man known to them personally. Much of the lives of carpenters would have centred on their home parishes. On the other hand, many London parishes were extremely small and many carpenters would have been close neighbours.

While carpenters can be found living throughout the city, including the Thames waterfront parishes, the most popular areas within the walls were St Andrew Undershaft and St Benet Fink followed by other parishes to the north and east. Outside the walls the most popular areas were St Bride and St Sepulchre to the west and St Botolph without Aldersgate to the east.[81] There is evidence that craftsmen were strongly represented in the area occupied by London's first two mendicant houses of friars (the Dominicans and the Franciscans) from the thirteenth century in the area around the Fleet River. A number of witnesses to Dominican charters had the surname, *carpentarius*, and these men would have lived nearby and been of some standing in their locality. This area appears to have been popular with artisans, other

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[77] See Map 4.
[78] See Appendix 1 for an indication of home parishes of carpenters (where known).
[79] Leach, 'Turners' 2012, pp. 13-17; J. Lutkin, 'The London Craft of Joiners, 1200-1550', *Medieval Prosopography*, 26 (2005), 129-64; Megson, *Pinners*, p. xx.
[80] Lutkin, 'Masons', p. 10.
[81] See Map 4.

than carpenters, because a large number of tilers were also witnesses.[82] It must be emphasised however that these conclusions are based on a small sample and most London parishes must have housed several carpenters during the course of the later Middle Ages.

What can be determined about the properties in which carpenters and their families lived? As expert builders they may have chosen to enhance their accommodation with their own hands but this is impossible to ascertain from the available evidence. It is not easy to build up a picture of the homes of carpenters and the condition in which they lived but some hints can be gained from wills. Simon of Canterbury bequeathed to his daughter, Alice, a house called 'la Newewodehous' which was situated below his brewery in the parish of St Margaret Pattens, Billingsgate Ward. The house contained a solar and a garret. Access to the property was restricted and Simon's will states that, Alice was to have 'free ingress and egress through the said brewery, late and early, whenever and as often as she may wish to go in and out of the same'.[83] Some men received accommodation along with their job. John Stafford and his wife were granted the lease of a shop and a small garden in the abbey precinct at Westminster for 10s per year. In return Stafford agreed to serve the sacrist as a carpenter before all others except the king.[84]

Details about the contents of homes in wills are often brief such as in that composed by William Burton (1528) where all his household 'stuff' (unspecified) was to go to a married daughter.[85] Presumably, in such a case the executors would have known which items were referred to so it was not necessary for them to be spelt out. In contrast, Thomas Foxley († 1489) was much more explicit about the household goods his daughter, Letis, was to receive. These included a 'gret chafir', (probably a cooking pot), one cooling pot, one kettle, a basin, a ewer, a coffer of spruce 'to kepe her stuffe in', two candlesticks, four plates, dishes and saucers of pewter, a

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[82] J. Röhrkasten, 'The Origin and Early Development of the London Mendicant houses' in T. R. Slater and G. Rosser ed., *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot, 1998), 76-99, p. 82.

[83] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/68, f. 110.

[84] G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540* (Oxford, 2001).

[85] LMA DL/C/B/005/MS09172/001A.

featherbed with a bolster and a coverlet and two sheets.[86] In addition Letis was to have two cupboards, one spit, one gridiron, one trivet and a chaffing dish of laton plus a blue gown of her father's 'or the value ther of'. This was not the entirety of Foxley's household possessions for he went on to say that the residue of all his goods 'not bequethen' were to go to his wife, Margaret.[87]

In a similar vein, Christopher Kychyn (†*c*. 1498) bequeathed to his daughter, Margaret: a gilt cup of silver with a cover, two flat pieces of silver, two masers garnished with silver and gilt, twelve silver spoons 'of one sort' and six 'of another sort', two featherbeds with bolsters, six pairs of sheets and a coverlet, two pots and two pans of brass and half a garnish of pewter vessels (a set of items for the table).[88] Kychyn was one of the wealthier members of his craft (as well as the goods itemised above he was able to leave his daughter £10) so it is unexpected that the contents of his house as recorded in a probate inventory appear to have been extremely modest.[89] In the three rooms mentioned in the inventory: a hall and two chambers, many items are described by the surveyors as 'old', 'broken' or 'feeble'. The impression gained of Kychyn's household from the inventory may be misleading as the document is incomplete, the description breaks off at the bottom of the first folio, but it is unlikely that all of Kychyn's better possessions were contained in the rooms described in the missing folios. Negative descriptions of goods seem to be a feature of probate inventories. The 1531 inventory of goods belonging to Robert Carow, a master carpenter of Oxford, also described several of his possessions as 'olde'.[90] The comparison between the generous bequests in Kychyn's will with the apparent poor state of the goods in his home is a reminder of the need for caution when trying to reconstruct medieval households from surviving evidence. One possible explanation for the apparent poor quality of Kychyn's goods is that the task of valuing items for probate inventories was often undertaken by the deceased's executors who were close friends of the family. The goods might be sold at the time the inventory was

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[86] For the various uses of chafers see P. Brears, *Cooking and dining in Medieval England* (Totnes, 2008), pp. 64-6.
[87] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/07, f. 151v.
[88] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/08, f. 192v.
[89] TNA PROB 2/143, 4 December 1498.
[90] J. H. Harvey, *Inventory of the goods belonging to Robert Carow, master carpenter, at his death*, Appendix III in Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters', pp. 183-4.

taken, perhaps to family members or friends, and this may have provided an incentive for compilers of inventories to undervalue goods to enable them to be purchased at a reduced rate.[91] Sometimes the appraisers had to exercise tact. Thomas Coventre, stated in his will (1464) that his executors were to value his timber and board and his apprentice be given the opportunity to purchase it at the valuation price.[92] In this situation the executors had to ensure that a good price was obtained to be used for Coventre's bequests without pricing the timber beyond the reach of the apprentice.

References to bedding occur frequently in wills, such as in the cases of Thomas Foxley and Christopher Kychyn referred to above, demonstrating its relative value. John Byrd († 1434) bequeathed to his sister, Agnes, one linen sheet and Thomas Haryson, in 1479, left his sister, another Agnes, a mattress and to his son, Thomas, a featherbed. Another sister, Margaret, was to have a coverlet.[93] John Smyth († 1536) left to Margaret Smith (relationship not specified but possibly his daughter) a featherbed, a bolster, a pillow, a pair of sheets and a coverlet. To his servant Katherine he gave a pair of sheets.[94] Bed covers could be particularly fine such as that referred to in the will of William Basse (1491) which consisted of green cloth and tapestry work.[95] Another carpenter, referred to only as John, who was a member of the household of the vowess Margery de Nerford of the parish of St Christopher le Stocks, received bed clothes and bed hangings in her will, ... '*quod Johannes Carpentarius meus habeat victum vestitum lectum et huiusmodi pro statu suo necessaria durante tota vita sua*'.[96] (John was also to have 13s 4d per year for life).[97]

Something rarely mentioned in carpenters' wills is furniture. This may be because such items were of low value with only more expensive items being recorded such as

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[91] *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350-1500*, translated by P. Stell (York, 2006), p. 487.

[92] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 33.

[93] For Byrd see LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 404v; for Haryson see LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 242.

[94] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 277v.

[95] See p. 202. TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 540.

[96] *Wills, Leases and Memoranda in the Book of Records of The Parish of St Christopher le Stocks in the City of London*, ed. E. Freshfield (London, 1895), p. 8.

[97] M. C. Erler, 'The library of a London vowess, Margery de Nerford' in *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2002), 48-67, p. 56.

the great chest 'standing in the hall' bequeathed by Christopher Baker (†*c.* 1494) to Richard Baker, chaplain, one of his executors and quite possibly a relative. Richard was also to receive three silver spoons 'of the best' and it is obviously the more valuable items such as these that tend to be identified in wills.[98] Another example is the brass pan that Thomas Haryson left to his brother's wife.[99] The successful Humphrey Coke († 1531) left his 'best' cup to his wife and each of his children was to have an apostle spoon.[100] The equally well-off Philip Cosyn, in his will of 1543, stated that his son, John, was to have a salt seller with a cover, one of his goblets with a cover upon which was his mark, and a pot with a lid, also decorated with his mark. All these items were of 'silver parcell gillte' i.e. partial gilt. The son was to receive his bequest immediately after the death of Philip's wife, the boy's mother, 'and not before'.[101]

London carpenters who made a will were likely to have been the more prosperous members of their craft and conclusions drawn from wills cannot be taken as typical for all members of their craft. This being the case it is interesting to note that many wills are brief, mainly concerned with care of the soul and burial arrangements, and mentioning only small sums of money and a few personal items, thus emphasising the relatively lowly economic status of many carpenters. It is noticeable, however, that wills of a later date i.e. from the sixteenth century do appear to suggest greater wealth. This may not be a result of carpenters improving their relative prosperity over time, however, but could be a reflection of increasing prosperity in society generally from which carpenters benefitted in equal measure along with everyone else.

7.3 Families, friends and 'dynasties' of carpenters

It is axiomatic that familial and friendship ties will be reflected in wills. The majority of carpenters' wills (80%) refer to a living spouse i.e. 124 wills out of 154 reviewed. This proportion is similar to that found in a survey of testamentary records for

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[98] Will made December 1493, probate granted March 1494. LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 70v.
[99] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 242.
[100] TNA PCC PROB 11/24, f. 88.
[101] TNA PCC PROB 11/30, f. 158.

London and Bury St Edmunds between 1380 and 1415.[102] Women married younger than men and therefore they were more likely to survive their husbands.[103] Carpenters with living wives tended to make them their executors and many men left the residue of their goods to their wives asking them to make provision for their souls. No doubt these men trusted that their wishes would be carried out. The majority of lay people did marry, often more than once, in the Middle Ages but these unions did not always result in living children to carry on the family name. In her study of lay testators in the Consistory Court of London in the early to mid sixteenth century Vanessa Harding found that only 40% mentioned children in their wills and a similar proportion (37%) has been found from studying the wills of carpenters although the number of children referred to in Carpenter's wills increases over time suggesting an increase in living standards. Harding's conclusion, that this indicates a low reproductive success rate, is reasonable although the figures may be an underestimate of absolute numbers because, if provision had already been made for children, they may not have received a mention in a will.[104]

Some children were still under-age when their fathers came to make their wills. Thomas Haryson († 1479) had a young son, also Thomas. The father bequeathed the son a featherbed and £3 but only if 'my executrice can recover my debts'. The money was to be held by 'Master Rigby' until his son came of age but, if the son died in the meantime, the money was to go to his wife who was Haryson's sole executrice.[105] Thomas Gittons, (will made 1544, proved 1545) had two living daughters and a son all under the age of twenty-one, and made generous financial provision for them. The daughters were to enjoy the leases of property Gittons held in the city but his son was to have property in Denge, Essex, from where it can be presumed Gittons had originated.[106] After the death of their fathers underage children were likely to remain with their mothers (if still alive) or other close relatives. The

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[102] R. A. Wood 'Life and Death: A Study of the Wills and Testaments of Men and Women in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the late Fourteenth and early fifteenth Centuries (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2012), p. 154.

[103] Barron and Sutton ed., *Medieval London Widows*, p. xxii-xxiii.

[104] V. Harding, 'Sons, apprentices, and successors in late medieval and early modern London: The transmission of skills and work opportunities' in F-E Eliassen, and K. Szende ed., *Generations in towns* (Cambridge, 2009), 153-68, p. 153.

[105] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 242.

[106] TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 218.

city of London had a formal system for ensuring that orphans of citizens were cared for and that their inheritance was maintained until they came of age but in practice this system seems only to have applied to the sons of the wealthiest men and there are few references to city carpenters in the orphans' records.[107] One family who were prosperous enough to warrant inclusion is that of the king's carpenter, Robert Osekyn. Robert was dead by *c.* 1311 having appointed his wife, Johanna, as guardian of his children but Johanna herself only survived until 1317.[108] On her death at least two of their sons were still underage and in January 1318 one boy, Roger, was formally taken into the guardianship of another of their sons, Robert (a goldsmith), on the instructions of the mayor and aldermen. This Robert was granted rents from property in the parish of St Benet Fink to provide support for Roger together with other valuable items, including a cup of silver plate, a mazer, a brass pot and a featherbed but it seems that Robert died soon after and there is no further information about the care of Roger.[109] In the same month John, another son of Robert and Johanna, was given into the guardianship of Robert le Callere with the support of property in the parish of St Bartholomew demonstrating that siblings were not necessarily kept together in the same household. An Elyas le Callere stood surety for that transaction.[110] Johanna Osekyn was the daughter of William le Callere which explains the involvement of the le Callere family in the care of one of her sons.[111] John survived until at least 1322 when he was still under-age as Robert le Callere is referred to as his guardian.[112] Roger's final appearance in the official records is in 1322 when he was living in the parish of St Benet Fink.[113]

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[107] Adele Sykes, pers comm. The term 'orphan' described children who had lost their fathers rather than both parents. For a discussion of the care of orphans in London see Barron, *London*, at pp. 268-73; C. M. Barron and C. Martin, 'Mothers and Orphans in Fourteenth-century London', in C. Leyser and L. Smith ed., *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400* (Farnham, 2011), 281-96; Hanawalt, *Wealth of Wives*, pp. 18-27.

[108] Osekyn is referred to as 'carpenter of the king' in a Petition of 1307 when the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St Giles without Cripplegate were requesting payment for oaks that were cut down and carried away for the king to make a feast hall. TNA SC 8/328/E322. His will is LMA CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 28. Johanna's will is LMA CLA/023/DW/01/46, f. 17.

[109] *CLB[E],* pp. 81-2; *CLB[E],* p. 89 where it states that Robert, son of Robert [Osekyn], died about the Feast of the Annunciation [25 March] 1318.

[110] *CLB[E],* p. 82.

[111] *CLB[E],* p. 82, n. 1.

[112] *CLB[E],* p. 170.

[113] *Calendar of the Coroners Rolls*, pp. 46-7.

Another case concerning the care of orphans provides a good illustration of the difficulties in making suitable and long-lasting arrangements for such children, particularly during periods of high mortality. John de Berholte, carpenter, was asked by the city authorities to take into guardianship Agnes, daughter of a timbermonger, Stephen atte Holte. Stephen had made his will in the plague year of 1348, naming two daughters, Agnes and Matilda, and bequeathing them money and household chattels as well as tenements in Birchin Lane and 'elsewhere', all within the parish of St Michael Cornhill where he wished to be buried.[114] Stephen's will does not mention his wife and she had presumably predeceased him. No more is heard of Matilda who may have died soon afterwards but, in 1351, the guardianship of Agnes (then aged seven) was committed to John de Berholte by the mayor and aldermen, together with the sum of money and a tenement bequeathed by her father.[115] It is not clear why John was awarded this guardianship as Stephen's will had left custody of both his daughters to a Simon Capron but he may have died in the meantime. It is possible that John and Stephen were known to one another as they were in closely related trades. They may have even have both moved to London from the same village of Holt.[116] The next reference to Agnes in the city records occurs in 1355 when Richard de Stanford, dyer, and Alice his wife, were 'attached' to answer a charge of having forcibly entered the house of John de Bergholte (here spelt with a 'g') and carried off Agnes, daughter of the late Stephen atte Holte, described as John's ward, as well as certain silver vessels, jewels, wool and linen valued at £10 that belonged to John. The defendants pleaded not guilty and a jury found a verdict for them on 9 January 1355. This incident led to the mayor and aldermen placing Agnes into the care of a new guardian, a cordwainer, William de Ockham on 14 January.[117] However, this was not the end of the connection between Agnes and her former guardian for just before Christmas 1357 John de Berholte again appeared before the mayor and aldermen 'and prayed that he and his sureties might be discharged, inasmuch as he had married the above Agnes'.[118] His petition was

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[114] LMA CLA/023/DW/01/76, f. 46.
[115] *CLB[F],* p. 241.
[116] There are several villages with this name, one of which is Holt in Norfolk. John may of course have come to London from Bergholt in Essex, close to the Suffolk border.
[117] *CPMR* 1323-64, pp. 241-57.
[118] *CLB[F],* pp. 241-2.

granted. Agnes was presumably about thirteen years old by then and it is to be hoped that the rest of her life was more settled.

Wills frequently refer to under-age daughters for whose marriages provision needed to be made as in the case of Simon Chacumbe († 1463) who left £5 for the marriage of his daughter, Margaret.[119] William Clement († 1540) was able to leave a generous £10 each to his four children (two boys and two girls) with the usual proviso that if one died the survivors were to receive equally the amount that would have gone to the deceased. Thomas Cheswyke († 1520) was exceptional in referring to his six children (not named) in his will.[120] Cheswyke wanted the residue of his goods divided equally between them and made no mention of his wife (or an executor). His overseer was a tallowchandler, John Hampton.[121] A variety of relatives might be mentioned in wills especially the siblings of testators and their own children but occasionally other family members although William Basse († 1491) was unusual in referring to three aunts, Janet, Agnes and Margaret, who were to share 20s between them.[122]

In contrast to men whose children were under-age some carpenters refer to grand-children in their wills. Thomas Coventre, who composed his will in November 1464, had three grand-children, William, Joan and Johanna, the children of his daughter Thomasyn and her husband John Waite.[123] Philip Cosyn had a large family when he made his will in September 1543. In addition to his wife, Alice, who was still alive, he had a daughter, Magdalyn Sturgyon, a grandchild, Jerom, (described as the eldest) plus six further grandchildren: Harry, Anne, Jane, John, Thomas, and Isabell, who all seem to have been the children of Magdalyn. Cosyn had another daughter, Thomasyn Stanes, who had her own daughter, Katheryn.[124] Other men also refer to a large number of living family relations in their wills. In addition to his three aunts, William Basse had a wife, four brothers and a nephew as well an apprentice. Basse

[119] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 15.
[120] TNA PCC PROB 11/28, f. 197.
[121] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/09, f. 143v.
[122] TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638.
[123] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 33.
[124] TNA PCC PROB 11/30, f. 158.

makes no mention of any children of his own but left 20s towards his nephew's schooling.[125]

Only John Prynce († 1545) refers to a living father in his will to whom he bequeathed: a doublet, a coat and 20s. It can be presumed that Prynce senior was of some age when his son made his will as John was old enough to be married with at least one daughter.[126] In contrast, several men made bequests to, or provision for, the support of their mothers including William Burnard († 1434) who left his mother his silver belt and Stephen Punchon († 1535) who asked for his mother to have her keep during her lifetime.[127] Henry Wodd († 1516), a resident of the parish of St Magnus the Martyr, requested that two crosses be set up at his father's grave at the parish church in Croydon. Wodd does not mention his mother but it is likely that she had also died by the time he made his will. He gave a monetary bequest to his sister and 'her child' with the residue of his goods going to his brother.[128]

Although some carpenters did have large families there is little evidence for households of more than two generations. Households might be of a reasonable size nonetheless. In addition to any children it was common for masters to have one or two apprentices who were likely to live in the home. Journeymen might do so as well although they might also live out. Thomas Coventre made bequests of 6s 8d each to three carpenters who may have been in his employment when he made his will in November 1464. He also refers to an apprentice, Thomas Fourneys, who was to receive all his tools and 'hustilments of carpenterie', 40s in money, and all his right in a 'pair of indentures and covenants and sale of timber' made with the prior and convent of Newark beside Guildford, Surrey. His executors, after having valued 'the tymbre and borde that is in my hawe', were to allow Fourneys the option of buying it 'as it is praysed'.[129] Carpenters might also employ live-in servants. In 1401 Thomas Oxenford bequeathed to Alice Andrew his servant an annuity charged on his tenements in the parish of St Botolph without Aldgate and in 1411 William Mannyng

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[125] TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638.
[126] LMA DL/C/0418, f. 169.
[127] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 408v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 253v.
[128] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 10v.
[129] TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 33.

bequeathed 12d to his servant, John.[130] William Astrede could afford to be more generous in 1458 when he bequeathed 3s 4d to his servant, Margery, asking her to pray for his soul.[131]

Only a few wills refer to property owned or leased by testators that was not in their parish of residence, and even then such property was usually located in neighbouring parishes. Very few carpenters' wills refer to property outside London or make bequests to locations outside the city and this confirms that, although many of these men might be recent migrants, they were not especially wealthy. This failure to refer to wider contacts is unfortunate as they might have suggested places of origin or ones with which men had close family ties.

It has been suggested that what is distinctive about women's work in the period *c*. 1350 - *c*. 1500 is that their roles are formally recognised and they are more visible.[132] This does not seem to be the case in the carpentry trade. The research for this study suggests that carpentry work in London was almost wholly a male occupation. There is no evidence that women attended any of the feasts in the fifteenth century or played any role in the Company, and there is little evidence that they became involved in the carpentry business at all. This situation is similar to that of the shipwrights where women are rarely mentioned in connection with the construction of boats and in the few cases where they are it is in relation to menial, untrained duties.[133] In Coventry some crafts did allow members to teach their wives relevant skills but the Carpenters there ordained that no man was to show the Company's counsel 'to his wife, or to one other body, man, woman or chylde'.[134]

The only female names in the London Carpenters' Account Book are recipients of alms, or tenants of Company property. It may be that some of the tasks that the Company paid for regularly such as the washing of the cloths for the hall were undertaken by women but it is not possible to tell this from the accounts. Only one

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[130] LMA DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 147v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 190v.
[131] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 245v.
[132] Barron 'London 1300-1540' in Palliser, p. 428.
[133] I. Friel, *The Good Ship: Ships, Shipbuilding and Technology in England* (London, 1995), p. 65.
[134] Phythian–Adams, *Desolation*, p. 87.

carpenter has been identified who had a female apprentice. This was William Togood who refers to his apprentice, Katherine, in his will of 1467.[135] It is possible of course that Katherine was not an apprentice carpenter. Although Togood refers to himself as a citizen and carpenter it is may be that he had another occupation to which Katherine might have been attached. Immediately after the reference to Katherine in the will there is a reference to Togood's wife, Alice, and it is possible that Katherine may have been working with Alice on a household or business activity other than carpentry.

Wives of carpenters may not have been involved in their husband's craft but this does not mean that they did not contribute to the household income themselves. A likely activity undertaken by many craftsmen's wives is that of brewing. Brewing ale without the use of hops was something that was likely to have taken place in the home or in an adjacent brewhouse. Ale could not be stored for long, it was likely to go off in hot weather, and, as it was a staple part of the medieval diet, brewing needed to occur very frequently. Beer kept longer enabling it to be brewed as a business.[136] Although a number of carpenters refer to brewhouses and brewing equipment in their wills the primary task of brewing in the household was likely to have been undertaken by their wives and this may be one explanation for why few women were involved in carpentry. While their men were working outside constructing houses their wives were at home brewing sufficient ale to serve not only the household but also to be sold at market.[137] The two activities of carpentry and brewing complemented each other and helped to diversify the household income. There is some evidence to back up this argument. Reference has already been made to the London carpenter, Simon of Canterbury († 1341), who bequeathed his brewery to his wife, Isabella, for her lifetime after which it was to pass to his daughter (no sons are mentioned in the will).[138] Another carpenter, Richard de Rothyng (†c. 1330), owned a brewhouse in the parish of St Botolph Aldersgate which seems to

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[135] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 117v.

[136] Sim, *Food and Feast*, pp. 51-2.

[137] For the involvement of women in the brewing industry in the later Middle Ages see J. M. Bennett, 'Women and Men in the Brewers' Gild of London, ca. 1420' in E. B. DeWindt ed., *The Salt of Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside and Church: Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1995), 181-232. Bennett points out that married women in the brewing trade usually worked independently of their husbands, p. 223.

[138] See p. 224 above. LMA CLA/023/DW/68, f. 110.

have passed to his wife on his death.[139] The wife of the carpenter, William Prest, was presented for selling ale at home in *hanaps* i.e. by the cup, rather than in a full sealed measure.[140]

There is no evidence from the Company's records for family dynasties monopolising the running of the craft but there were several family groupings of carpenters working in and around the city throughout the period under study. Sometimes this was across generations but often men sharing the same surname within one generation worked as carpenters, frequently for the same employer and no doubt nepotism was a factor in this. At least eight men with the surname Maunsy worked on London Bridge at around the same time. Thomas Maunsy (or Maunsel) began his association with the Carpenters' Company by paying 26s 8d towards his freedom in 1479.[141] He served as warden three times (in 1492, 1493 and 1499) and from 1496 was a King's Chief Carpenter working on various projects including at Westminster Palace and Baynard's Castle.[142] Thomas was also employed as Chief Carpenter of the Bridge for several years from 1487 although he apparently lost his job temporarily in 1492 for poaching Bridge workers for royal projects. During his time at the Bridge Thomas engaged several of his family to work with him i.e. James, Robert, Richard, Roger, John, John junior and Thomas junior.[143]

Another grouping was the Punchon family (various spellings). At least five carpenters with this surname worked in London during the fifteenth century and into the early sixteenth. The Christian names, Christopher, Hugh, John, Richard and Stephen, are associated with them but it is possible that there were more than five men in total.[144] The earliest known carpenter with the surname 'Punchon' is Richard

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[139] *London Possessory Assizes: a Calendar*, ed. H. M. Chew (London Record Society 1, 1965), p. 26.
[140] *CPMR* 1413-37, p. 159.
[141] *Accounts*: f. 35b, p. 56.
[142] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 201.
[143] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 201-2 and P. E. Jones, 'Some Bridge House Properties', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 16 (1953), 59-73, p. 62.
[144] The surname is an interesting one. A puncheon was a short wooden post that was used as a vertical strut. The term 'pounchouns' is used at least once in the *Bridge House Accounts* (1420-21) and the Brewers purchased 'poonchyns' when undertaking building work. 'Extracts from the Brewers' First Book' in Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, p. 156. Its use as a surname suggests that the family may have been working as carpenters as far back as the early fourteenth century when surnames first became fixed.

who was a Warden of the Company in 1437 and unusually again in 1466 and 1467 but possibly the references are to two men. One Richard was already active as a citizen and carpenter in 1429-30 when he was part of the group who received the lease of the Company's five cottages. As he was a senior member of his craft by that date it is unlikely that he was still alive and actively working nearly forty years later.

In 1505 Hugh Punchon paid the Company for an apprentice, Morgan ap Gryffyth, and in the following year he took on Christopher Punchon as an apprentice for seven years.[145] The last time this Hugh Punchon appears in the Company accounts is in 1508 when he took on another apprentice, William Waddyngton.[146] An earlier Hugh Punchon was the son of John who left him £10 in his will of 1464. John's will refers to another son, George, as well as a daughter Agnes. It is clear from the wording of the will that all the children were under-age on the death of their father. George may have died at a young age as he is not mentioned when, early in the sixteenth century, Hugh and Agnes together with her husband Robert Boston, sued two of the churchwardens of St James Garlickhithe for the detention of the will of John Punchon and other deeds relating to messuages and a wharf in St Martin Vintry ward and St Bride, Fleet Street.[147]

The last recorded Punchon carpenter in this study is Stephen who made his will in 1535 requesting burial in St Bride churchyard 'as close as possible to where his father and friends lie buried'. The name of his father is not given. When he made his will Stephen had four under-age children, Thomas, Agnes, Alice and John. His wife, Katherine, was to be his sole executrix. The family seem to have been lived in St Bride, Fleet Street over a long period. Only two other Punchons, Stephen († 1435) and John († 1464), left wills but both wished to be buried inside St Bride.[148]

Other examples of men with the same surname working in the carpentry trade in London include the Browns and Russells. Richard Brown may have been a relative

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[145] *Accounts*: f.117, p. 160; f. 122, p. 166.
[146] *Accounts*: f. 133, p. 180.
[147] TNA C1/436/36.
[148] John Punchon: LMA DL/C/B/004/MS0917/15, f. 373; Stephen Punchon: LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/10, f. 253v.

of Christopher Brown. In 1507 Richard made a part payment to the Company of 13s 4d towards his 'journeyship' and two years later he made a further payment of 6s 8d.[149] This latter sum was delivered to the Company by Christopher Brown suggesting that he might have been Richard's father or uncle. Richard does not occur further in the accounts and he is not mentioned in Christopher's will (1535) suggesting that he may have died before he completed his freejourneyship.[150] The genealogy of the Russell family who were mentioned earlier can be traced over a period of 80 years.[151] Further examples of men who were likely to be related include: Ralph and Thomas Atherton and Harry and Robert Barker who were all associated with the Company in the late fifteenth and/or early sixteenth centuries.[152]

7.4 Clothing and the visual appearance of carpenters

Because it was labour-intensive to produce, clothing, along with bedding, was relatively expensive in the Middle Ages and would be passed down the generations. Many carpenters made bequests of garments, usually to family members or close friends. The gifts show that these craftsmen shared the general liking of medieval people for rich material and bright colours when they could afford them, notwithstanding legislation that attempted to control the kind of clothing worn by different groups, including carpenters. The sumptuary law of 1363, for example, was directed mainly at 'urban wage-earners and artisans' who had enjoyed increased spending power after the Black Death and were no longer dressing 'according to their degree'.[153] It set out in detail the type and cost of clothing deemed appropriate to various groups. Servants and artificers were banned from dressing in cloth costing

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[149] *Accounts*: f. 128, p. 173; f.140, p. 190.
[150] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS0 9171/010, f. 243v.
[151] See p. 48 for details about the Russell family.
[152] For Ralph Atherton see *Accounts:* f. 180a, p. 238; for Thomas Atherton see *Accounts:* f. 149, p. 203; f. 156, p. 213; f. 157, p. 214; f. 170, p. 229; f. 176a, p. 234; *Court:* f. 0, p. 1. For Harry Barker see *Accounts*: f. 75, p. 121; f. 89, pp. 140 & 141, p. 142; f. 94, p. 146; f. 112, p. 153; f. 128, p. 173; f. 157, p. 214; for Robert Barker see *Accounts*: f. 89, p. 141; f. 171, p. 230; f. 106, p. 245.
[153] C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989, reprinted 1994), p. 207. For a discussion of attempts to control apparel over a long period see N. B. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England' in D. C. Coleman and A. H. John ed., *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England. Essays presented to F. J. Fisher* (London, 1976), 132-65. For sumptuary legislation in the fifteenth century see A. F. Sutton, 'Order and Fashion in Clothes: The King, His Household, and the City of London at the End of the Fifteenth Century' *Textile History*, 22 (1991), 253-276, esp. pp. 268-70.

more than two marks apiece, whereas handicraftsmen and yeoman could not wear cloth costing more than 40s apiece. There were exceptions for the highly successful:

> Merchants, citizens and burgesses, artificers, people of handicraft in London and elsewhere possessing goods and chattels worth £500 were allowed to dress like gentlemen possessing lands worth £100 per annum...[154]

The majority of carpenters would not have fallen into the category for exemptions but the sumptuary legislation, although repeated at regular intervals, seems to have been largely ineffective anyway. There is no evidence for any successful prosecutions under the Acts.[155] In practice, the type of clothing worn by apprentices, journeymen and masters was determined more by their incomes than legislation and the rise in living standards from the end of the fifteenth century can be seen from the increasing references in carpenters' wills to relatively expensive items such as fur and violet cloth which begin to occur frequently. Christopher Baker (†*c*. 1494) left his 'best gowne of vyolet furrid' to Robert Beste, citizen and haberdasher of London, and in 1519, John Eglyston left his kinsman, John Owandale, a violet coat as a reward for overseeing his will.[156] One reason for the popularity of the colour violet was that it was the closest workers could get to emulating royalty, the only individuals allowed to wear purple.[157] Richard Smalley of St Michael Bassishaw seems to have enjoyed a particularly fine wardrobe. In his will of 1500 he bequeathed a number of items to various friends and relations as indicated in Table 12.

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[154] Harte, 'State Control', pp. 134-5.

[155] There were no cases before the courts from the reign of Edward III to that of Henry VIII. Harte, 'State Control', p. 146 although see Sutton, 'Order and Fashion in Clothes', pp. 268-70 for the difficultyof assessing support for, and implementation of, the legislation.

[156] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 70v; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 127v.

[157] Maria Hayward pers. comm.

Table 12: Richard Smalley's clothing bequests[158]

My best doublet and jacket
My blue gown furred with black lamb
A tawny gown lined with satin of 'sypris' i.e. Cyprus
A tawny gown furred with black lamb
A crimson jacket furred with white lamb
A foot of Kendal (green woollen cloth)[159]

Many of the garments mentioned in wills, such as that of Richard Smalley, were fur lined. In 1532 Edward Penson bequeathed his russet gown faced with black lamb and a chamlett [? camlet i.e. soft woollen cloth] doublet with sleeves of worsted to his brother. Penson also gave Thomas Leysse a doublet of worsted and John Graves a gown furred with white and black lamb.[160] Thomas Hall († 1543) gave one of his sons the option of receiving a black or a violet gown while another son was to receive a russet gown with fox fur.[161] Thomas Symson, making his will in 1531, bequeathed to his brother William, 'a gown lined with say with the face lined with chamlett, a jacket of worsted lined with fesse, and a doublet of black damask'.[162] Gyles Hamound († 1537) gave both his sons doublets of say plus a gown each, and another man, possibly his nephew, was to have a gown lined with chamlet.[163] Although it might appear that some of these garments were expensive items the references to russet, an inferior type of cloth, hint that, even though they were the best these men could afford, they were not necessarily the finest quality available.[164] Nonetheless, the fact that many of the items had fur linings indicates that even

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[158] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/8, f. 218v.

[159] Kendal, *n*. Definition 1. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 26 June 2016].

[160] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 226. Camlet or chamlett was a stuff made of wool and goat's hair. Cunnington, *Handbook*, p. 183. A doublet was shorter than the previously popular tunic but used more material because it was a lined double garment. Dyer, *Standards of living*, p. 176.

[161] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/011, f. 85v.

[162] Say was usually a woollen cloth although it could sometimes be a silk textile. Cunnington, *Handbook*, p. 188; A light blue material. Fesse, *n*. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 24 June 2016]; LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 302v.

[163] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 305.

[164] Russet was a coarse woollen cloth of a reddish-brown or subdued colour used for clothing, especially by country people and the poor. Russet, *n*. and *adj*. Definitions 1a and b. *OED*, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 17 May 2016]. The sumptuary law of 1363 stated that those possessing material goods valued at 40s or less were restricted to blanket cloth, the cheapest kind of cloth and russet also an inferior type of cloth. L. F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Clothing* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 16.

artisans could possess at least one warm garment and that it was worth passing it on to the next generation. An indication of the increase in comfort over time can be seen in the 1544 will of Thomas Gittons who left a number of gowns, most of them made of velvet and lined with fur. Uniquely among the men in this study Gittons refers to nightgowns: 'to my godfather Roger Hall my night gowne of clothe faced with fox furr and to John Gittons my brother my night gowne of blew furred with fytrthes' (probably fitch i.e. polecat).[165] There is no indication in any of these wills of the monetary value of any clothing items so the probate inventory of Simon Byrlyngham is useful because there values are given and some examples are set out in Table 13.

Table 13: Simon Byrlyngham's clothing in his house in Wood Street[166]

Garment	Valuation
Item a blue gown furred with old fychews [fitch]	10s
Item a murrey gowne single	5s 4d
Item a tawny gowne single	3s 4d
Item iij olde doblettes and ij jackettes of diverse colours	4s
Item iiij olde gownes broken for iiij children	13s 4d

As with all probate inventories allowances have to be made for the fact that the goods could have been undervalued but nonetheless these were not inexpensive items reflecting Byrlyngham's status as a businessman.

Gifts bequeathed to friends and family were likely to be the most treasured clothing items these men possessed, possibly those worn to impress when visiting householders to give an estimate for a job of work, rather than everyday wear, and it is not easy to discover how carpenters would have dressed when actually at work. William Stodeye († 1426) bequeathed tunics or gowns (*togam*) to a number of men and it is possible these were his actual work 'overalls' but in many cases such items may have been considered too shabby to pass on and therefore were not mentioned in

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[165] TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 218.
[166] Extract from the probate inventory of Byrlyngham's goods. University of Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor's Court Records, University/VCCt Invs. 1, 1498-1546.

wills.[167] To discover what carpenters might have worn when actually at work it is necessary to turn to other sources. Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas point out that, because carpentry was a staple industry and had sacred associations, it was often depicted in manuscript illustrations. They refer to illustrations in the Holkham Bible Picture Book (dating from *c*. 1325 - *c*. 1340) which depict several carpenters building the ark. These men are colourfully dressed in tunics of red, blue or white. Some have shortened their tunics by having the skirt portion knotted in front, their hose is coloured red or green although some men are barelegged, and all wear black shoes and are bareheaded.[168] Although the Holkham Bible was produced in London the craftsmen illustrated were not specifically intended to represent Londoners. So, can these portrayals help in deciding how carpenters at work would have dressed? Unfortunately, these illustrations are not accurate depictions of real workers. The book contains 231 images (the majority are not of carpenters) and has a cohesive, but limited, colour scheme throughout: red, blue, and yellow occur on every page. The illustrations of carpenters simply conform to this design and cannot have been intended as accurate illustrations of real life. Some information relating to the dress of building workers can be obtained from records relating to the impressment of workers for building schemes throughout the country. Keeping discipline of the impressed workforce was difficult and the sheriff of Yorkshire was obliged to issue masons sent to work at Windsor with red caps and liveries 'lest they should escape from the custody of the conductor'.[169] The implication is that few workmen would wear red so that these men would be distinctive but again this does not provide information about the usual working dress of craftsmen.

While a few contemporary illustrations believed to be of identifiable masons exist, portraits of carpenters to whom it might be possible to put a name are almost non-existent.[170] The best known is a figure in the east window of Winchester College Chapel, labelled simply *carpentarius*. Despite a lack of any clear attribution, John Harvey states that it 'must be of [Hugh] Herland', as no other carpenter is known to

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[167] LMA DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 170.

[168] P. Cunnington and C. Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England* (London, 1976), p. 80. The manuscript referred to is the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* (St Omer Psalter, B. M. MS. YT. 14, f. 7).

[169] *HKW I*, p. 184.

[170] For a list of portraits of medieval craftsmen see Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 375-6.

have been closely associated with the other two craftsmen who appear alongside him in the panel.[171] Hugh Herland is known to have undertaken work for William of Wykeham at the latter's twin foundations of Winchester College and New College, Oxford in the 1380s and 1390s.[172] In the east window at Winchester a carpenter is shown alongside the master mason, William Wynford (who has the accompanying scroll: *Will[el]m[u]s Wynford, lathomus*), and the clerk of the works for Winchester College, Simon Membury (also with an accompanying scroll: *Dns [Dominus] Simon Membury*).[173] [See Illustration 13]. Another panel in the same window gives a representation of the glazier, Thomas of Oxford (*Thomas operator istius vitri*) who is believed to have been the chief glass painter, though not necessarily the designer of the windows, at both Winchester and New College. Although each of the men has very distinctive facial features it should not be presumed that they are actual portraits with the possible exception of that of the glazier, which may well be a true likeness.[174]

It is odd that the carpenter is the only figure in the glass not identified by name. If the figure labelled *carpentarius* was intended to represent the well-known carpenter, Hugh Herland, it would have been expected that the glazier would have included his name in the glass in the same way as for the other figures. Referring to the fact that the figure of the carpenter 'cannot be identified with any certainty', John Le Couteur points out that the College Account Rolls for 1395-6 do not mention any carpenters, while in the following year 'Willelmus Ikenham' is noted as the chief carpenter.[175] However, the identity of the carpenter depicted in the window is likely to relate to the date of the planning of the glass rather than its installation date. Harvey suggests that, although the first buildings at Winchester College were erected between 1387 and 1394, the scheme for the glazing must have been determined when the College was being designed and, because of the close iconographical relationship between the Winchester glass and that made for New College, Oxford, he pushes the date

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[171] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 141.
[172] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 138-40.
[173] J. D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester* (Winchester, 1920), p. 75.
[174] J. H. Harvey and D. G. King, 'Winchester College Stained Glass', *Archaeologia*, CIII (1971), 148-77, p. 150.
[175] Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, p. 75.

back to *c*. 1380.[176] Herland worked for Wykeham from at least 1387 onward at Oxford and in Winchester in 1389-90 but the two men may have met much earlier, perhaps when Wykeham was clerk of the works at Windsor Castle in the early 1360s. Herland certainly seems to have dined with Wykeham on more than one occasion when Simon Membury was present. Herland is also recorded as having dined at the high table of New College in the company of William Wynford more than once (and on one occasion the mason, Henry Yevele was present).[177] Evidence from Wykeham's Household Expenses shows that the glass was brought to Winchester (over the course of nine days and requiring twelve horses and six carters) in 1393, so the design of the windows was established at least by that date.[178] On the basis of this evidence and a lack of any other plausible candidate the carpenter depicted in the chapel window at Winchester College is indeed likely to represent Hugh Herland.

The main subject of the glazing of the east window in the chapel is a colourful tree of Jesse containing descendants of King David flanked by prophets. The panel with the craftsmen and the clerk of works is placed very centrally within the scheme, being at the centre bottom of the window under the head of Jesse, almost as though the men were there to give him support. [See Illustration 13]. Other figures in the scheme include Edward III, Richard II and William of Wykeham himself. This again helps to date the scheme to before the usurpation of Richard II by Henry Bolingbroke in 1399. Almost from the point of installation the glass suffered damage and the College Accounts record repairs from the early fifteenth century onwards but it appears to have survived the iconoclasm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries fairly well. In the early nineteenth century, due to its deterioration, the College took a decision to have the glass 'thoroughly repaired and set in good repair once for all'.[179] A firm was asked to 'retouch the colours, and to restore the glass to its original condition' but unfortunately they chose to fulfil this contract by making a copy of what remained and creating new glass to replace that which had been lost. Winchester College gained what was fundamentally a new window.[180] It is now very

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[176] Harvey and King, 'Winchester College', p. 149.
[177] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 138-40.
[178] Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, p. 63.
[179] Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, pp. 64-5 & p. 69.
[180] Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, p. 70.

difficult to state with confidence the exact appearance of the original although Harvey believed that the copy is 'remarkably exact' so it should not be discounted entirely as a source of information.[181] He admitted that the colouring of the glass as it now appears is inferior but he believed it does give a suggestion of the sumptuousness of medieval clothing.[182] The carpenter wears a long blue gown with numerous buttons up the front. His hands are together in prayer so that it is possible to see tight fitting shirt cuffs. He is wearing a 'marone' cloak, a dark purple colour, possibly this is intended to depict violet.[183] Harvey rather fancifully suggested that the gown could be the 'rich robe' that Herland received annually as part of his reward for being King's Chief Carpenter.[184] The mason is shown wearing a red, 'ruby', gown with a blue hood and the clerk of works a long, blue outer garment, with red sleeves showing through from an undergarment. Other than the Winchester College glass there are no known 'portraits' of named carpenters. Although carpenters do appear in many contemporary illustrations these are generic portrayals, such as those in the Holkham Bible referred to above, and none was intended to depict Londoners. In this, as in many other ways, carpenters were typical of other men of a similar status, for whom no accurate visual depictions survive.

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[181] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 375.
[182] Harvey, *Dictionary*, p. 375.
[183] Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, p. 75.
[184] Harvey, 'Mediaeval Carpenter', p. 735.

Conclusion

Improved official record-keeping and growing interference by the authorities in everyday lives from the late thirteenth century onwards has enabled this research to provide new information about an extremely important craft and its organisation. Although it is not possible to quantify the number of carpenters working in the city and its environs at any particular time there is no doubt that the carpentry trade was a central part of the later medieval urban environment and it is impossible to imagine London without the contribution made by these workers. Carpenters were among what the London scrivener, Thomas Usk, called 'the small people of the town' and were thus more typical of many of London's inhabitants than members of the 'Great Twelve' companies that have previously received much attention from historians. This factor has made researching their lives rewarding and contributed fresh understanding to our perspective on medieval London.[1]

Although they might be involved in innumerable projects, the main role of the carpenter was as a builder and this means that he had more in common with his fellow construction workers, particularly masons, rather than other woodworkers. Like masons, carpenters did not need to live in the same part of the city as one another to provide support. In fact, it was to their advantage to be widely dispersed so that each craftsman could serve his local community.

The thesis covers a period which saw informal groupings of men who practised the same craft or trade develop into more organised, permanent structures with standard procedures under the jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen. The Carpenters may not have been a major player in the governance of the city but they were as affected by the changes as any other group. By the late fourteenth century some, at least, of the carpenters in London were part of a formal craft organisation and this was consolidated in the following century. Their membership payments contributed financially to the running of the organisation and in their turn members benefited by

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[1] Thomas Usk was close to the political upheavals in the city during the second half of the fourteenth century and recorded these in his *Appeal*. 'The Appeal of Thomas Usk against John Northampton (1384)', 22-31, in Chambers and Daunt, *Book*, p. 23. See also C. M. Barron, 'Searching for the "Small People"', *The Local Historian*, 2008, 83-94.

the attempts to control access to the trade by foreigners i.e. non- citizens and some men received financial help when they were no longer able to earn their own living. The elite members of the group wore a common livery and participated together at civic and national occasions. At the same time that crafts saw advantages in becoming organised for their own benefit the civic authorities began to exploit them for their own purposes. The symbiotic relationship between the two was not always an equal one with the authorities ultimately holding control over who achieved citizenship status and expecting guilds to do their bidding and support them publicly when requested.

As soon as the city authorities started to exert control over the urban environment it was inevitable that they would need the assistance of specialist craftsmen to implement their plans. These carpenters and masons were the elite of their profession and they would have been able to pronounce with authority. The contribution to city life carpenters made through this route compensated for lack of direct involvement in government and the prestige they gained (along with the power that came with it) overcame the apparent lack of financial recompense for this work. In contrast to this positive view the authorities frequently saw the majority of building workers, including carpenters, as grasping, and a threat to established society, needing to be kept firmly in their place, something that was not always achieved. It was probably this pressure from the authorities that motivated some London carpenters to begin to organise together during the fourteenth century but firm evidence for an organised body cannot be traced conclusively before 1388-9. By the early years of the fifteenth century an organised grouping of Carpenters, with officers and ordinances, was certainly active in London and preparing to erect its own hall.

There were several reasons that made Company membership attractive to carpenters, an important one being the achievement of citizenship status. The most common means for entry to the Craft was apprenticeship but many who started along the route towards becoming a master carpenter never made it. The drop-out rate was high and many men must have practised carpentry in the city without official sanction of the guild or left London altogether perhaps to work in the trade in the area from which their family originated. It seems that men from other trades were not attracted to join the Carpenters' Company as a means to obtain freedom of the city or to benefit from

the advantages of guild membership. The Company was not in a position to make welfare provision to large numbers but no doubt what it did provide made an important difference to those individuals, perhaps especially to the wives of deceased men, who might not have any other means of support.

The extant sources do not enable an assessment of the extent to which the Company was able to control the craft within the city. Of the eighty-two carpenters who made surviving wills between 1438 and 1567 at least fifty-seven (70%) were associated with the Company but these cannot be taken as representative of the craft as a whole as it was precisely the more prosperous men who were likely to join the Company and make a will. There must have been many men practising as carpenters in London who escaped the notice of the guild because of their low profile. Employers sometimes offered to protect carpenters in their employ from interference from the Company. When William Dewilde was contracted by the Prior of the Charterhouse to build a timber house in 1510, for example, his employer agreed to guarantee him against interference by the Carpenter's Company.[2] What is clear however is that the Craft itself was a success at least from the fifteenth century onwards and the Company has maintained a hall on the same site for almost six hundred years. Unlike some of the other lesser guilds the Carpenters' Company maintained its own integrity throughout and was never compelled to merge with any other group. The Company continued to represent the interests of its members in the city of London throughout the later medieval and early modern period.

Writing biographies for artisans such as carpenters can be challenging and in only a handful of cases is it possible to discover much about their careers or personal lives. Reference was made in Chapter 1 to the four London carpenters who have biographies in the *ODNB*.[3] A useful addition to these would be Humphrey Cooke for whom Harvey was able to write a fairly full description in his *Dictionary*.[4] Harvey's *Dictionary* could also be updated by augmenting some of his entries. For example, his entry for John Osekyn (†c. 1298) is brief but this could be added to by using information from Osekyn's will. Harvey omitted entirely a number of men. For

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[2] See p. 176 above. Salzman, Appendix B, no. 104.
[3] William Hurley, William Wintringham, Hugh Herland and James Nedeham. See p. 29.
[4] Harvey, *Dictionary*, pp. 64-5.

instance, there is an entry for William Carter senior but not for his son, William, also a carpenter. Over seventy carpenters excluded from the *Dictionary* left wills and occur in other sources so it is possible to reconstruct something of their lives. On the other hand, many carpenters appear only once in a single source. In such cases a fruitful approach might be to take a particular period of time and compile a picture of all carpenters active in the city during that period, using the references provided in Appendix 1.

The research has confirmed that carpenters were on the whole not part of the affluent property-owning class; only a small minority had wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Carpenters were, however, ubiquitous in later medieval London and many men were attracted from outside to make their living there by practising that trade, whether or not they were formally associated with the London Company of Carpenters.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of 1573 carpenters in London *c*. 1240 – *c*. 1540

The list can be found on a CD at the back of the thesis together with a Guide to Appendix 1.

Appendix 2

Certificate of the Fraternity of Carpenters, St Thomas Acon & St John Baptist – (TNA C47/46/465).

Source: C. M. Barron and L. Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388-9', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), pp. 108-45.

1. <   >s is *th*e boke of ordinaunces of *th*e brotherede of Carpenteres of London made <   > first day of Septembr*e* in *th*e *y*er of *th*e Regne of our*e* Lord Kyng Edward the <   >e after *th*e Conquest vij

2. <   > of our*e* Lord i*es*hu crist & of his moder seint Marie & in *th*e name of seint Jo<   > John' Baptist *th*e gode men Carpenteres han ordeined a ffrat*er*nite to be <   >che of seint Thomas of Acon be-syde *th*e Conduyt of Londo*u*n & in *th*e chirch af<   >t John' Baptist of haliwelle by syde London *th*at is to witen for to fynde a tap*ur* bren*n*yng in certeyn tymes to for*e* oure Lady & seint Josep in ye forseyd chirche of seint Thomas, & annoyer in worshepe of god & oure lady & seint John in *th*e chirche <of Haliwell> whiche schal be holden & ruled in *th*e manere *th*at folwe*th*

3. And first is ordained *th*at alle *th*e bretheren & sostren of *th*is fraternite schul vche Twelfday *th*e Midwynter be all to <gedere> at *th*e masse in *th*e forseid chirche of seint Thomas & here*n* deuoutelich *th*ilke masse & offren *th*er*a*t in *th*e worschepe of god of our*e* lady & sent Josep eche <man> a peny, and on midsomer day in *th*e forseid chirche of haliwell' at *th*e hye masses eche man apeny & who so is absent at *th*ilk masses wi*th* oute verry cause schal paie to *th*e bro<there>de apound wex

4. Also is ordeined *th*at vche brother & soster of *th*is fraternite schal paie to *th*e helping & susteyng of seke men whiche *th*at falle in dissese as by falling do*u*n of an hous or hurting of an ax or o*th*er diu*er*se sekenesses twelfe penyes by *th*e *y*er

5. Also is ordained *th*at whan any brother or soster of *th*is fraternie dye*th* wi*th* inne *th*e cite of Londoun or in *th*e subarbes *th*at alle the bretheren & sostren schul hem gadere to gedere at *th*e hous *th*er *th*e ded body is & bring *th*e body to chirche & ben at eue at *th*e Placebo & dirige &morwe at *th*e masses & offren eche man apeny & abide *th*ere til *th*e cors be buried & who so is absent at eue o*th*er on morwe wi*th* oute verrey cause paie apo*u*nd wex

6. Also is ordeined *th*at if any brother or soster dye*th* & haue nou*y*t of his owen for to be buried he schal be honestliche buried at *th*e costages of *th*e brothered

7. Also is ordeined *th*at if any bro*th*er or soster dieth honeste de*th* out of Londo*u*n *th*e mo*u*ntaunce of twelue myle & he haue nou*y*t of wher of to be buried of his owen *th*an schul the wardeynes of *th*e brotherede wenden *th*yder & burie hym on the co*mon*e costages of *th*e bro*th*ered

8. Also is ordeined *th*at if any bro*th*er or soster falle in to pouert by goddes sonde or in sekenes or in any o*th*er dissese as it is afore seyde so *th*at he mowe not helpe hy*m* self *th*an schal he haue of *th*e brotherede vche woke fourteen penyes during his pouert after he ha*th* lyne seke afourten nyght . And *th*at he schal be so tymelich vesited & holpen *th*at he ne schal nou*y*t for defaute of help be brou*y*t to nou*y*t ne be vndon of his astat or he be holpe . & also he schal haue duryng his pouert clothing as an other brother hath of *th*e brotherede on *th*e comune cost

9. Also is ordeined *th*at if *th*e comune box ne may nou*y*t p*er*fourme *th*is fyndyng of suche seke bre*th*eren *th*an schul *th*ey gadere *th*at *th*at lakke*th* of *th*e bretheren after *th*at hem nedeth more or lasse

10. Also is ordeined *th*at if any brother go idel for defaute of werke . & ano*th*er bro*th*er haue werke wher on he may werken his bro*th*er . & *th*at werke be such *th*at his bro*th*er conne wirche . it *th*an schal he werche his bro*th*er to fore any o*th*er *th*ing' & *y*if als an other man wold take of hym for *th*e same wer<k>

11. Also is ordained *th*at alle *th*e bretheren & sostren schul come to gedere foure tymes a*y*er be warnyng of *th*e maystres at *th*e forseid chirche of seint Thomas for to paie her*e* quartrages & to ordeine & byspeke *th*ing' *th*at is nedful & profitable for *th*e brotherede & helping of seke men

12. Also is ordained *th*at alle *th*o *th*at schul be receiued in to *th*is fraternite . they schul be receiued by *th*e brotheren *th*at be*th* at *th*ilk assembles by here aller assent & non o*th*er tyme & be charged to holden alle *th*ese poyntes on amendement

13. Also is ordained *th*at no man ne woman be receyued in to *th*is frat*er*nite bot onliche men & wom*m*en of gode fame & of gode name

14. Also is ordained that if any brother or soster after *th*at he be receyued in to *th*is ffraternite bycome of euel fame other or euel name as thef or comune barettour or comune questmong*er* or meynteno*ur* of quereles or be atteint of any falshede *th*at anon he be put out of *th*e fraternite & neu*er*more come *ther*jnne in no manere

Appendix 3

Ordinances of the Mystery of Carpenters

Source: Marsh, *Accounts*, pp. 247-53. (Reproduced from LMA, Letter Book L, ff. 228-31).

1. Memorandum quod xxj° die February Anno regni Regis Henrici vij Secundo Gardiani et alii probi homines Mistere Carpentarior London venerunt hic in Curiam dct dm Regis in Camera Guihald Civitatis London coram Henrico Colet milite maiore et Aldris ejusdem Civitatis &etc porrexerunt eisdem maiori et Aldris quandam billam sive supplicacionem Cujus tenor sequitur in hec verba.

2. To the Right Honorable Lord the Maire and his Worshipfull brethren thalderman of the Citee of London mekely besechen youre good Lordeship and Maistershippes the Maister Wardeyns and feashippes of the Crafte of Carpenters of the said Citee that it may pleas the same your good Lordeship and maistershippes for the honour and worship of this Citee and wele of the said Crafte And meschewyng welle of suche inconvenientes as often tymes happen and falle within the said fealishipp as of suche hurtes and deceiptes as myght be used in suche stuffe as belongeth to the saide Crafte and in divers werkes to be made and wrought by unconnyng persones occupying the same Crafte within the saide Citee and libertie of the same to the grete hurt and deceipt of the Kynges liege people and rebuke and disclaundre of the fealiship of the Crafte aforesaid for lacke of good sadde and politique Rules and ordenances therefore to be ordeigned and made to graunt unto your saide beseechers certen articules hereafter folowyng by your grete auctoritees to be establisshed enacted and hadde for ferme and stable fromhensforth and here in this honourable Court afore you to be entred of Record forever.

3. First that the Maister Wardeyns and feolaship of the saide Crafte and their Successours yeerely fromhensforth forever in the day of Seint Laurence the Martir may assemble togiders at ther Comon Halle and than and there of theym self elect and chose oon Maister and iij Wardeyns the which shall have full power and auctoritiee for to support and execute almaner nedes and matters towchyng the said Crafte by the space of an hole yeere that is to say from the Fest of thassumpcion of oure Lady than next folowyng the day of Saint Laurence unto the Sonday next after the Fest of thassumpcion of oure Lady than next ensuing.

4. Also that if hereafter it hapned any of the saide Maister and Wardeyns chosen in the maner and fourme abovesaid to decesse within the yeere that he standeth Maister or Wardeyn that than he or they overleving of the saide Maister or Wardeyns within xiiij daies next after the decesse of any such persone shall cause the fealiship of the saide Crafte to assemble togiders at their said Comon halle and than in stede and place of hym or of hym so decessing within the same xiiij daies by the common assent of them of the lyverey shall chose some other of the

same fealiship the which shall have full power for to support and execute almaner nedes and matters touchyng the said Crafte unto thende of the said yeere.

5. Also that yeerely fromhensforth the Maister and the Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng within a moneth next after the day of theleccion of the newe Maister and Wardeyns of the same Craft shall do assemble the same newe Maister and Wardeyns with vj or iiij of the most honest persones of the same Crafte suche as have borne the same office before and than the same newe Maister and Wardeyns in the presence of tholde Maister and Wardeyns and of the saide vi or iiij honest persones and of suche other hones persones of the same Crafte as the said olde Maister and Wardeyns shall calle to them shall take uppon them the Charge for to support and execute almaner nedes and matters concernyng the saide Crafte duryng all the tyme of their office and over that take their Othe at the Iehall and there to be sworne in lyke manner and fourme as other Maisters and Wardeyns of other Craftes usen to doo and if any suche persone being Maister of Wardeyn or chosen to be Maister or Wardeyn refuse to do any thyng in this article comprised that than the same persons shall lese as often as he so dothe c^s.

6. Also that yearly fromhensforth assone as the saide Maister and Wardeyns have taken upon theym the Charge and be sworne in manner and fourme abovesaid that than the saide old Maister and Wardeyns immediatly theruppon without any ferther delay shall make shewe and delyver unto the same newe Maister and Wardeyns a juste and a true accompt and Reckenyng of all their Receites and payments by reason of their office duryng the tyme they stode in their said office uppon payne of xl^s as often as any suche Maister and Wardeyns or any of theym dothe the contrarie hereof.

7. Also that yerely fromhensforth the dyner of the fealiship of the saide Crafte be holde and kept by the hoole fealiship of the same Crafte at their foresaid comon Halle the Sonday next after the Fest of Thassumpcion of oure Lady and that yeerely also from hensforth upon the same Sonday the Maister and Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng shall provide and ordeigne that a masse in thonor of thassumpcion of oure lady be solempnised by Note in the Chirch of Alhalowen in the Walle within the said Citee of London and in none other place without the licence of the Maire and Aldermen for the tyme beyng and also to provide that the Munday next immediately folowyng at the saide Chirche of Alhalowen Masse of Requiem to be saide for the Soules of all the Brethern Sistern Benefactours and Frendes of the saide Crafte that been dede and all Xpien Soules And over this that aswell the saide sonday as the Munday the Maister Wardeyns and the fealiship of the said Crafte assemble togider at the said halle in their last livery of gownes and hoodes and so conveniently goo togider to the said Masse and at the same Masses offrr after their devocions and after the Masses so doone for to returne and come agiders to their said halle there takyng suche repast as for them shalbe ordeigned by the said Maister and Wardeyns of the said Craft for the tyme beyng And that every persone of the said Crafte that cometh not to the said Masses and dyner in manner and fourme abovesaid if he be duely warned without a reasonable excuse shall pay at every tyme that he so dothe iij^s iiij^d.

8. Also that wokely fromhensforth uppon the Friday the said Maister and Wardeyns shall do calle suche of the saide Fealishippe as they shall thynke convenient for to assemble at their saide common halle there for to have convicacion aswell for the supportacion and continuance of the good Rules and ordenaunces of the said Crafte as for the reformacion repressyng and punysshement of Rebellions or mysdoers ayenst the same Rules and ordinances or any of theym.

9. Also that every persone of the saide Crafte obey come and appere aswell at almaner quarter daies and obits as all other assembles to be lymytted and assigned by the Maister and Wardeyns of the saide Crafte for the tyme beyng And at every suche quarter day and assemble tarie and not departe tille they have licence of the said Maister and Wardeyns And what persone that dothe the contrarie hereof shall lose and pay as often as he so dothe iij^s iiij^d And the saide quarter day to be holden all way on the Sonday or sum other holiday after the discrecion of the said Maister and Wardeyns.

10. Also that what persone of the saide Crafte duely sumoned by the biddell of the same Crafte for to come to any suche quarter dayes Obites and assembles as is abovereherced or to any other assemble that maketh defaulte and cometh not without a reasonable excuse shall forfeit and lose at every tyme that he so dothe xij.

11. Also that no persone of the said Crafte fromhensforth supplant or labor to put away any other persone of the same Crafte from any Worke that he hathe taken of any man to make or wirke upon payne to lose as often as any persone of the saide Crafte soo dothe vj^s viij^d.

12. Also that if hereafter any persone of the said Crafte falle to povertee by Goddes sonde and hathe no thyng to helpe hym self with all that than he shall wokely have a Reward of the common boxe of the said Crafte after the discrecion of the Maister and Wardeyns of the same crafte for the tyme beyng and also clothyng duryng his saide povertie and if he happen to falle syke that than after he hathe been a fourtenyght he shalbe so visited by the meanes of the fealiship of the saide Crafte that he shalnot perisshe for default of helpe.

13. Also that if hereafter any persone of the saide Crafte fele hym self aggreed with any other persone of the same Crafte that than the same persone that feleth hym so greved shall first or he compleyn hym any ferther shewe his grefe to the Maister and Wardeyns of the saide Crafte for the tyme beyng to thentent that the saide Maister and Wardeyns the said matter of grefe by theym understoud may endeavour theym self to sette the parties at rest and peas And what persone of the saide Crafte dothe the parties at rest and peas And what persone of the saide Crafte doth the contrarie hereof shall lese and pay asoften as he soo dothe vj^s viij^d.

14. Also that whan hereafter it hapne any broder or Sister of the said Crafte to die that than they shall have the Torches and Tapers with all other Ornamentes belongyng to the brederhode of the saide Crafte So that the fetchyng of the saide torches Tapers and ornamentes be paid fore of the goodes of hym or her that so deceaseth if they be of power orelles to be borne at the charge of the said Crafte.

15. Also that fromhensforth no manner persone Freman occupying the said Crafte within this Citee or the libertie therof fromhensforth set any foreyn Carpenter on werke before he have licence of the Maister and Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng so to do uppon to lose and pay asoften as any suche persone dothe the contrarie hereof xx^s

16. Also that no persone of the saide Crafte nor any other persone occupying the same Craft and dwellyng within the said Citee or libertie thereof fromhensforth take uppon hym to sette a werke receyve in to his service or hire any foreyn Jorneyman comyng to this Citee to wyrke or any allowes unto the tyme the same foreyn Jorneyman or allowes be shewed unto the Maister and Wardeyns of the said crafte for the tyme beyng and by theym to be examyned what he canne doo and theruppon to take suche wages as canne be thought by the same Maister and Wardeyns he canne deserve And if any suche persone as it is abovesaid do the contrarie hereof that then he shall lese and pay as often as he so dothe vj^s viij^d.

17. Also that no persone of the said Crafte hereafter make any foreyn Carpenter his Felawe of any bargayns in bying or Sellyng or in taske werke takyng uppon payne to lose as often any persone of the said Crafte dothe the contrarie hereof xl^s.

18. Also that if hereafter any persone of the said Crafte knowe any man privey or appert not being Freman of this Citee to dwelle within this Citee and to occupie bying and selling of things perteignyng to the saide Crafte that than the same persone so havyng knowleage thereof shall in as short tyme after as he may goodly do the Maister and Wardeyns of the saide Crafte for the tyme beyng to have understandyng thereof uppon payne to payne any persone of the said Crafte dothe the contrarie hereof xiij^s iiij^d.

19. And that if hereafter it hapne any Freman or apprentice of the said Crafte of Carpenters to goe idell for deafulte of werke and than ther be any other persone of the same Crafte that hathe werke whereon the said Freman or apprentice so goyng idle canne werke that than he shalbe sette to werke thereon by the owner of the same werke afore any other foreyn persone the same owner yevyng the saide idle Freman or apprentice for his labour as he wold geve any other persone that he wold have sette to werke the same werke and what persone of the said Crafte that dothe the contrarie hereof shall forfait and lese as often as he so dothe vj^s viij^d.

20. Also that no manner persone of the said Crafte fromhensforth take uppon hym any other werke to doo as in Masonrie plommery dawbyng Tilyng or any other manner werke savyng oonly that that belongeth to Carpentrie uppon payne of vjs viijd as often as any persone of the saide Crafte doth the contrarie hereof provided alway that it shalbe lefull to every persone of the same Crafte to amend all suche defaultes as he fyndeth within his owne dwellyng place concernyng any of the Sciences or werkes abovereherced or any manner werke.

21. Also that all suche persones of the said Craft as been in the Clothyng of the same Craft may fromhensforth oones in every iij yeeres be clothed in oon lyvery and sute of gownes and hodes the same lyverey to be occupied worne and kept after the manner and fourme of olde tyme used and accustumed amonges the fealiship of the saide Crafte And that no persone of the said Craft be admitted in to the said clothyng but if he be worth in movable goodes or otherwyse xx marc And if any persone of the said Crafte the which hereafter shalbe thought by the Maister and Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng and by other iiij or vj sadde persones of the same persone to be worth xx marc or above refuse and denye to take and were the said Clothyng after he be enhabled thereto by the hoole fealiship of the said Crafte that than the same persone so denying or refusyng to take or were the said Clothyng shall lese and pay as often as he so dothe xx^s And over this that if any suche persone habled to the said clothyng as it is aforesaid occupie were or kepe not hys lyverey accordyng to the foresaid olde usage and custume that than he shall lese and pay as often as he dothe the contrarie thereof v^s.

22. Also that no persone of the of the saide Crafte hereafter sette any persone allowes or apprentice to werke uppon any mannes werke but suche as canne save the same werke and werkemanly do it and if any mannes werke hereafter be loste or hurt in the defaulte of any such persones that thanne the same persone that so set theyme on werke shall lose and pay as often as the case so shall require xiij^s iiij^d. And also that the Maister and Wardeyns of the saide Crafte of Carpenters for the tyme beyng in no wise hereafter take uppon theym to make any Freman of the said Crafte by Redempcion without thassent of ix menne or iiij of them atte the lest which been chosen to be counceillors to the saide Maister and Wardeyns for the tyme beyng uppon payne to lose and pay asoften as they do the contrarie xx^s.

23. And also that every persone of the said Crafte the which hereafter shall take any apprentice shall present and shewe the same apprentice to the Maister and Wardeyns of the same Crafte for the tyme beyng afore he be bounde to thentent that they may understand whether the same apprentice be free born or not And also that he be not lame croked ne deformed And that every suche persone so takyng apprentice at the tyme of presentacion of any suche apprentice shall pay for every suche apprentice as than he shall have and take by the agreement of the said Maister and Wardeyns to thuse of the fealiship of the said Craft xij^d And if any persone of the said Crafte take any apprentice contrarie to this ordenance that than he shall lese and pay as often as he so dothe vj^s viij^d.

24. Also that if any persone of the saide Craft hereafter be so mysadvised to revile and rebuke the Maister or any of the Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng or any man of the same Crafte with unfittyng or unmannerly words in open audience of people or in any other place that than he shall lese and pay as often as he so dothe vj^s viij^d.

25. Also that the Maister and Wardeyns of the saide Craft for the tyme beyng from hensforth may have auctorite and power as often and whan it shalbe thought to them expedient and nedeful by the auctoritee of the Maire of this Citee for the tyme beyng to serche and oversee in all places within this Citee and libertie

thereof where any lathes Tymber or borde shalbe put to sale that the same lathes Tymber and borde holde conteign and kepe the juste lenght measure and assise in the tyme of the Maraltie of the right honourable person Sir William Hampton late Maire of London thereuppon ordeigned and provided and all suche lathes Tymber and brode as they find not kepyng the said lenght measure and assise to take and sease it as forfeited.

26. Also that the saide Maister and Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng fromhensforth may have full auctoritee and power all suche manner of Stuffe belongyng to the saide Crafte as they shall hapne hereafter to fynd bought or solde betwene foreyn and foreyn to be solde agayn to take and sease as forfaited.

27. Also that no maner persone occupying the same Crafte within the saide Citee or libertie therof fromhensforth sette any Foreyn awerke within the same Citee or libertie but suche as have been Covenaunt servauntes or allowes within the said Crafte without license of the Maister and Wardeyns of the saide crafte for the tyme beyng uppon payne to lose and pay asoften as any suche personne dothe the contrarie herof xx^s.

28. And that every persone occupying the said Crafte within the saide Citie or libertie thereof at hereafter at every quarter day within the said Crafte of olde tyme used and accustumed shall pay toward the sustentacion of the charges of the saide Crafte iij^d. And if any suche persone refuse to pay the same iij^d that than he shall lose and pay as often as he so dothe xx^s. Also that all suche persones as hereafter shalbe made Fremen of the said Crafte shall immediatly as they be made free besworn upon a boke before the Maister and Wardeyns of the said Crafte for the tyme beyng truly to observe and kepe all the foresaid Rules and ordennces and all other Rules and ordennces concernyng the said Crafte approved here by this Court and in the same Court entred of Record. And if any suche persone refuse to make the said Othe that then he shall lose and pay as often as he dothe xl^s.

29. Also it is ordeigned and enacted that hereafter suche as shalbe chosen to be Maister Carpenters of the Guildhall or the Briggehouse shalbe Fremen of this Citee and if it can be thought by the Maire and aldermen for the tyme beyng that there be a more habler persone or habler persones dwellyng without the libertie of this Citee not beyng Fremen of the same to have the Rule of the said Werkes and so by their Wysdomes habled and chosen that than the same persone or persones so beyng chosen be called to dwelle within the same Citee and to be admitted in to the libertie of the same and to bear lotte and scotte and other charges within the same as other Freemen doo.

30. The oon half of the Fynes Forfaitures and penalties abovereherced and everche of them to be applied to thuse of the cominialtie of the said Citee. And that other half to be applied to thuse of the cominialtie of the said Crafte of Carpenters.

Appendix 4

Wills of London carpenters enrolled in the PCC 1450-1545

For references see Appendix 5

Name	Date
John Pyers	† 1454
Simon Chacumbe	† 1463
Thomas Coventre	will made 1464, proved 1465
Thomas Warham	will made 1478, proved 1481
William Basse the elder	† 1491
Humphrey Coke	† 1531
William Clement	† 1540
Philip Cosyn	will made 1543, proved 1544
James Nedeham	will made 1544, proved 1545
Thomas Gittons	will made 1544, proved 1545
Robert Horson	† 1545
William Donne	will made 1545, proved 1546

Appendix 5

Extant wills of carpenters

References are to the LMA unless otherwise indicated.

Name of testator	Date will made	Date of probate	Reference
Walter de Beldinge	1291		CLA/023/DW/01/20, f. 61
John Osekyn	1298		CLA/023/DW/01/27, f. 21
Hugh de Notteleye	1301		CLA/023/DW/01/30, f. 76
Geoffrey de Spalding	1301		CLA/023/DW/01/30, f. 79
John de Wrytele	1306		CLA/023/DW/01/34, f. 32
John le Flemeng	1308		CLA/023/DW/01/37, f. 36
Robert Osekyn	1311		CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 28
John de Westwode	1311		CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 29
John de Suchfolchia	1312		CLA/023/DW/01/40, f. 87
Richard de Passefelde	1314		CLA/023/DW/01/42, f. 126
Reginald de Swaffham	1314		CLA/023/DW/01/43, f. 55
Ralph le Carpenter	1318		CLA/023/DW/01/47, f. 43

Appendix 5: Extant wills of carpenters

William Lespicer	1321		CLA/023/DW/01/50, f. 1
William de Nottele	1322		CLA 023/DW/01/51, f. 8
Walter le Carpenter	12 March 1330		CLA/023/DW/01/59, f. 37
Walter de Chelmersford	29 September 1339		CLA/023/DW/01/70, f. 57
Simon de Canterbury	11 April 1341		CLA/023/DW/68, f. 110
Thomas de Gyns	1349		CLA/023/DW/01/78, f. 144
Philip Carpenter	1358		CLA/023/DW/01/87, f. 27
Lapin de Kyngham	14 September 1359		CLA/023/DW/01/89, f. 224
Robert de Watford	1368		CLA/023/DW/01/96, f. 155
Richard de Chelmeresford	14 May 1375		CLA/023/DW/01/103, f. 125
John Glemysford	9 August 1375	15 August 1375	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 33
William Herland	6 July 1375		CLA/023/DW/01/103, f. 129
John de Battle	30 December 1383	5 January 1384	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 112v
Wiliam Duddecote	27 September 1389	18 November 1389	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 192v
John Fryston	7 April 1389	24 April 1389	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/01, f. 197v
John Mantel	26 February 1394	4 March 1394	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 6v
Robert Clopton	21 May 1395	27 September 1395	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 30v
Robert London	23 August 1395	3 September 1395	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001, f. 27v
John Reve	27 September 1395	8 October 1395	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 356

William Peter	9 August 1397	22 August 1397	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 51v
Robert Cottenham	20 August 1397	29 Aug 1397	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 399
Stephen Warde	7 September 1398	14 October 1398	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 218v
Thomas Cornes	24 March 1400 29 November 1402	No probate Admin	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 85v; DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 24v
Richard Sewale	8 December 1400	13 January 1401	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 467
William Doncastre	15 March 1403	16 March 1403	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 218v
Thomas Oxenford	24 April 1401	5 Nov 1405	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 147v
John Somersham	8 September 1406	13 October 1406	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 162v
Andrew Everard	9 January 1408	5 July 1408	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 205v
Bartholomew Grymmesby	2 February 1408	2 March 1408	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 199
Richard Aylesbury	26 September 1410	30 September 1410	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 233
John Bernard	15 January 1410	15 January 1410	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 306v
John Wolfey	12 September 1410		CLA/023/DW/01/138, f. 4
John Mendeham	27 November 1410		CLA/023/DW/01/138, f. 48; DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/1, f. 238v
John, Jankyn	28 March 1411	2 May 1411	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 244
Henry Vyell	22 July 1411		DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 205
John Goldsmith	14 August 1412	25 August 1412	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 267
William Mannyng	20 December 1411	21 January 1412	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 190v
William Herford	1 March 1413	13 March 1413	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 241v

Robert Lardener	12 March 1414	19 April 1414	DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/004/001, f. 312
William Strete	1 January 1417	Probate incomplete	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 47
Richard Hemmyngbirghe	15 April 1418	18 April 1418	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 394
William Colman	13 September 1419	14 September 1419	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 35
Elias Crowle	25 July 1420	31 August 1420	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 62
John Sporle	Easter 1424	No probate	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 121v
William Grenehill	30 September 1425	8 October 1425	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 146v
Thomas Blithe snr.	1 October 1425	4 October 1425	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 147
John Perry	27 December 1425	27 January 1426	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 150v
William Stodeye	5 July 1426	15 July 1426	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 170
William Freman	16 July 1429	No probate	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 227v
John Illium	8 April 1431	30 December 1431	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 277v
Richard Maryon	25 May 1432	7 January 1433	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 308v
John Gyles	3 June 1432	12 September 1432	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 312v
Alan Brit	28 June 1432	28 June 1432	CLA/023/DW/01/162, f. 33
John Bedham	20 February 1434	25 October 1434	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 406
John Byrd	8 October 1434	14 Oct 1434	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 404v
Robert Burnard	22 October 1434	8 November 1434	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 408v
John Stodley	1 October 1435	24 October 1435	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 442v

William Leffeller	20 November 1435	14 January 1436	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 448v
William Ruston	22 December 1435	30 December 1435	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 447
Robert Amesbury	1 January 1438	3 March 1438	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 501
Walter Aylewyn	25 February 1438	5 March 1438	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 501v
John Weld	10 August 1438	16 August 1438	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 512v
William Burwell	11 April 1439	22 April 1439	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 204
John Garland	16 July 1440	21 April 1446	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 187v
Hugh Blaykyn	1 March 1444	16 April 1444	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 136v
Richard Aas	11 January 1447	14 January 1447	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 204
John Nicoll	6 July 1447	30 July 1447	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 214v
John More	7 December 1447	14 April 1448	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 208
William Bette	1 January 1448	13 December 1451	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 32v
John Tanner	18 March 1448	20 March 1448	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 229
William Berewell	11 April 1448	22 April 1448	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 236
William Serle	11 August 1450	No probate	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 77v
John Goldyng	14 September 1450	26 January 1451	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 39v
Walter Clerk	6 May 1454	21 January 1455	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 131
John Pyers	5 July 1454	5 November 1454	TNA PCC PROB 11/4, f. 11
John Glover	25 January 1454	16 May 1454	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 128v

Appendix 5: Extant wills of carpenters

Thomas Blyth	10 December 1454	7 January 1455	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 123
William Astrede	10 January 1457	15 May 1458	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. /245v
William Heryngton	28 January 1457	No probate	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 222
Richard Bird	27 April 1457	17 November 1457	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 231v
John Park	5 September 1458	28 October 1458	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 258
Robert Childe	10 July 1458	No probate	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 256
William Fylchyng	7 April 1459	24 April 1459	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/05, f. 272
Robert Couper	17 April 1460	30 November 1460	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 302
William Waleys	29 October 1461	6 November 1461	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 315v
Simond Chacumbe	7 June 1463	14 July 1463	TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 2
Richard Hardy	6 September 1463	10 July 1464	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 344v
John Punchon	12 September 1464	22 September 1464	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 373
Thomas Coventre	1 November 1464	23 January 1465	TNA PCC PROB 11/5, f. 33
William Togood	16 November 1467	23 November 1467	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 117v
John Stile	17 January 1468	27 January 1468	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 25v
John Corbet	6 January 1475	10 March 1475	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 173v
William Goldyngton	19 March 1459	6 April 1459	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 295
John Boston	31 May 1475	22 August 1475	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 183
John Goldyngton	15 April 1475	26 May 1475	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 182

Appendix 5: Extant wills of carpenters

John Wheteley jnr.	7 November 1477	7 April 1478	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 223v
Thomas Warham	3 September 1478	8 November 1481	TNA PCC PROB 11/7, f. 30
Thomas Haryson	8 May 1479	11 May 1479	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, f. 242
John White	26 September 1485	10 October 1485	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 30v
Thomas Peert	26 October 1485	23 November 1486	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 59v
Robert Edward	7 September 1486	2 October1486	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 55
Thomas Foxley	20 August 1489	28 September 1489	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/007, f. 151v
William Carter jnr.	26 August 1490	1 September 1490	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 8v
William Basse	24 July 1491	14 August 1491	TNA PCC PROB 11/8, f. 638
Christopher Baker	3 December 1493	10 March 1494	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 70v
Jerad Watker	2 January 1496	20 September 1496	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 137v
Richard Sponewey	26 August 1496	28 August 1496	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 172
Christopher Kychyn	3 September 1496	28 November 1498	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/08, f. 192v
Richard Smalley	14 October 1500	No probate	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, f. 218v
William Sargeant	2 October 1516	7 October 1516	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 6
Henry Wodd	27 October 1516	12 December 1516	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 10v
William Cony	1 September 1517	No probate	CLA/023/DW/261, f. 4
Robert Short	3 March 1518	30 March 1518	DL/C/B/004/MS0971/009, f. 80v
Thomas Smart	17 March 1520	30 November 1575	CLA/023/DW/261, f. 5

John Egylston	30 August 1519	5 October 1519	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 127v
Thomas Cheswyke	12 February 1520	29 March 1520	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 143v
Stephen Pratt	31 October 1520	21 November 1520	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 166v
William Goldysborow	2 November 1520	16 November 1520	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, f. 167
Christopher Richardsonne	29 April 1523	29 May 1523	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 14v, 15
Thomas Dauson	9 April 1524	No probate	DL/AL/C/002/MS09052/001A, f. 9
William Burton	1 May 1528	No probate	DL/C/B/005/MS09172/001A
John Seybroke	1 October 1530	5 November 1530	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 152v
Humphrey Coke	14 March 1531	10 July 1531	TNA PCC PROB 11/24, f. 88
William Kyng	12 June 1531	28 January 1532	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 167v
Edward Penson	12 January 1534	22 April 1534	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 226
Stephen Pounchon	25 September 1535	6 November 1535	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 253v
Christopher Brown	20 November 1535	14 April 1536	DL/C/B/004/MS0 9171/010, f. 243v
Robert Battes	28 June 1536	1 December 1536	DL/C/0418, f. 001
John Smyth	17 September 1536	27 October 1536	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 277v
Gyles Hamound	15 November 1537	29 November 1537	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 305
Thomas Symson	9 September 1531	12 October 1537	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, f. 302v
William Clement	14 August 1540	4 September 1540	TNA PCC PROB 11/28, f. 196
Thomas Hall	4 August 1543	17 January 1544	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/011, f. 85v

Philip Cosyn	8 September 1543	22 July 1544	TNA PCC PROB 11/30, f. 158
Thomas Gittons	15 June 1544	9 October 1545	TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 218
James Nedeham	22 September 1544	5 February 1545	TNA PCC PROB/11/30, f. 321
Robert Horson	11 February 1545	26 March 1546	TNA PCC PROB 11/31, f. 2
John Prynce	19 May 1545	No probate	LMA DL/C/0418, f. 169
Thomas Wyllyamson	31 October 1545	2 January 1545	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/011, f. 140v
William Donne	8 December 1545	26 March 1546	TNA PCC PROB 11/31, f. 3
George King	9 February 1566	12 April 1567	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/15, f. 276
Richard Penythorne	14 June 1567	21 March 1568	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/015, f. 284v

Appendix 6

Administration and probate clauses to wills of Carpenters where the wills no longer survive

References are to the LMA unless otherwise indicated.

Name of testator	Date made	Admin or probate	Reference
John York	16 February 1386	P	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 142
William Bernard	18 April 1390	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 201
John Barton	10 May 1390	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 202v
John Franson	27 September 1390	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, f. 217
John North	2 August 1407	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 102v
John Dennis	29 September 1407	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 93
William Bere	28 October 1410	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 185
John Crane	1411	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 195
Thomas Morys	6 May 1413	P	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 247v
John Sureman	1413	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, f. 269v
Thomas Goodwyn	12 January 1425	P	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 128v
William Fawkeswell	17 March 1432	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/003, f. 302
William Aleyn	11 February 1439	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 7v
Richard Jefferey	1444	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 152
John Moysaunt	4 September 1448	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/004, f. 235v
Nicholas Aleyn	19 September 1455	P	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 167v
John Dore	31 May 1458	P	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 240v
Robert Lye	5 April 1459	P	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 27v
Thomas Clement	20 March 1504	P	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/002, f. 14v

Thomas Scales the elder	22 October 1509	A	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/003, f. 18v
Thomas Person	1510	A	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/003, f. 38
Thomas Wood	1510	A	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/003, f. 43v
Gilbert Inglond	24 September 1512	P	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/003, f. 78
Thomas Fenne	29 January	A	DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, f. 371v
Thomas Graveley	13January 1522	A	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/007, f. 55v
Phillip Hatton	1523	A	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/007, f. 71v
Thurston Enteselle	1524	P	DL/C/B/001/MS09168/007, f. 106v

Appendix 7

Hirers of Carpenters' Hall 1448-1500

Source: *Accounts*, pp. 15-130.

Year	Hirer	Payments made to the Company
1448	Brotherhood of All Hallows	12d
1455	Brotherhood of All Hallows	12d
	Robert Chirman for hire of the yard of the Hall	16d
1458	Brotherhood of Duchemen	2s
1459	Brotherhood of All Hallows	16d
	Brotherhood of St Antonyes	3s 4d
	Brotherhood of Upholders	3s 4d
1460	Brotherhood of All Hallows	16d
	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
1461	Brotherhood of All Hallows	12d
1462	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
1465	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
1466	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
	Brotherhood of All Hallows	12d
1467	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
1468	Brotherhood of All Hallows	12d
	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
1469	Brotherhood of Duchemen	3s
1470	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
	The Whitetawyers	12d
	Botherhood of St Antoney's	3s
1472	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
	The Poyntemakers	2s
1473	Brotherhood of St Sithe	20d
1475	The Patynmakers	16d
1476	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
1477	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
1478	Brotherhood of St James	2s 4d
1479	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
	The Upholsters	4d
1485	The Upholsters	16d
	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d
1487	Brotherhood of St Sithe	12d

	The Updares (? Upholsterers)	20d
1488	Fletchers	16d
1494	St Sithe – 2 years	2s 8d
	The Upholsters for their den...	14d
1496	Brotherhood of St Sithe	16d
	The Upholsters	16d
1498	The Upholdsters	20d
	Brotherhood of St Sithe	16d
1500	Brotherhood of St Sithe	20d
	The Porters for a recreation that they kept in the Hall	12d
	The Upholsters for keeping their dinner in the Hall	16d

Appendix 8

Wardens of the Carpenters' Company: 1437-55

Source: Marsh, *Accounts*, p. 260. The omitted years are missing from the Account Book.

1437	Richard Punchon, William Crofton, Thomas Coventre
1438	John Blomville, John Tanner, Richard Aas
1439	William Sefowl, Thomas Sexteyn, Thomas Iseleon
1440	John Salisbury, William Goldington, Richard Bird
1441	Thomas Smyth, Thomas Warham, Hugh Blyton
1442	John Wyse, William Waleys, John Silkwith
1443	John Stock, Thomas Finch, William Chacombe
1444	Robert Cowper, Thomas Coventre, William Bentham
1445	William Seryll, Piers Sexteyen, William Bowle
1446	Richard Punchon, Thomas Ungyll, Thomas Winchcombe, William Carter, Simon Chacombe
1447	William Sefowl, [missing from original], Robert Knight
1451	John Silkwith, John Punchon, John Bentley
1452	John Wyse, William Waleys, John King
1453	Thomas Smyth, Robert Churchman, John Glover
1454	Thomas Coventre, Thomas Ungyll, Simon Chacombe
1455	John Wyse, Thomas Ungyll, Edward Stone, Simon Chacombe, Simon Clenchwarton

Appendix 9

Masters and Wardens of the Carpenters' Company: 1456-1519

Source: Marsh, *Accounts*, pp. 260-2. The omitted years are missing from the Account Book.

1456	Thomas Warham, Edward Stone, Robert Knight, William Brown
1457	Thomas Warham, Robert Knight, William Brown, Thomas Fenne, William Robert
1458	Thomas Warham, John Punchon, William Robert, Thomas Fenne, Walter orchard
1459	Thomas Warham, John Punchon, John King, Walter Orchard, John Brook
1460	Thomas Sexteyn, John King, John Brook, John Hankyn, Harry Shadd
1461	Thomas Ungyll, Symon Chacombe, William Ray
1462	Edmond Graveley, Thomas Wright, John Punchon, William Warham
1463	Walter Orchard, Thomas Pert, John Forster, William Carter
1464	Walter Orchard, Robert Knight, Thomas Pert, John Shornall
1465	Robert Knight, John Shornall, John Scalton, Christopher Baker
1466	Thomas Warham, John Haynes, Roger Lee, John Sampson
1467	Thomas Warham, Thomas Ungyll, John King, William Carter
1468	William Ray, Christopher Baker, Thomas Payne, John Davy
1469	William Ray, Christopher Baker, Thomas Pert, John White
1470	Walter Orchard, Thomas Pert, John Scalton, John White
1471	Walter Orchard, John Scalton, Thomas Wilcox, Walter Constantine
1472	Thomas Ungyll, John Sampson, Thomas Wilcox, Walter Constantine
1473	Thomas Ungyll, John Sampson, John Shornall, Andrew Essex
1474	William Carter, Christopher Baker, Andrew Essex, Edmund Denys
1475	Thomas Pert, Christopher Baker, Thomas Kydd, Robert Crosby
1476	Thomas Pert, John White, Robert Cosby, Piers Baily
1477	William Carter, John White, Piers Baily, John Berns
1478	Christopher Baker, Andrew Essex, Thomas Kydd, John Berns
1479	John White, Andrew Essex, Thomas Kydd, Robert Crosby
1480	William Ray, Walter Constantine, William Chacombe, Robert Tyrell
1481	William Carter, Thomas Payne, William Chacombe, John Ruddock
1482	John White, Thomas Kydd, Robert Crosby, Walter Wilson
1483	Christopher Baker, Stephen Scales, Christopher Kechyn, John Davy
1484	Christopher Baker, Stephen Scales, Christopher Kechyn, John Davy
1485	Thomas Kydd, Robert Crosby, William Chacombe, Walter Wilson
1486	Thomas Kydd, Thomas Bynckes, Symon Birlingham, John Pope
1487	William Carter, Thomas Bynckes, John Pope, Roger Ovenell
1488	Robert Crosby, Christopher Kechyn, Roger Ovenell, William Barfoot
1489	William Carter, Christopher Kechyn, Thomas Bynckes, William Barfoot
1490	Thomas Kydd, Thomas Bynckes, Walter Wilson, Symon Birlingham
1491	Thomas Kydd, Walter Wilson, John Pope, John Manecke
1492	Robert Crosby, John Manecke, Thomas Mauncy, John Bird
1493	Robert Crosby, Thomas Mauncy, Roger Ovenell, John Bird
1494	William Chacombe, Roger Ovenell, John Davy, Thomas Smart

1495	Thomas Bynckes, Thomas Smart, Richard Smyth, Thomas Clement
1496	Thomas Bynckes, Symon Birlingham, Thomas Clement, Thomas Wood
1497	John Pope, Roger Ovenell, John Bird, Thomas Wood
1498	John Pope, Roger Ovenell, John Bird, Richard Smyth
1499	Thomas Kydd, Thomas Mauncy, Thomas Smart, John Wyneates
1500	Thomas Bynckes, Thomas Smart, John Wyneates, Philip Cosyn
1501	Thomas Bynckes, Thomas Wood, Philip Cosyn, William Reynold
1502	John Pope, Thomas Wood, John Bird, William Reynold
1503	John Pope, John Davy, John Bird, Richard Smyth
1504	John Davy, Richard Smyth, John Wyneates, John Jackson
1505	John Bird, John Wyneates, John Jackson, William Cony
1506	Roger Ovenell, Thomas Wood, William Cony, Humphrey Coke
1507	Richard Smyth, Philip Cosyn, Humphrey Coke, William Prest
1508	Thomas Smart, John Wyneates, John Jackson, William Prest
1509	Thomas Wood, William Reynold, William Cony, John Dryver
1510	Thomas Bynckes, Humphrey Coke, [missing from original], Robert Isodson
1511	John Wyneates, Philip Cosyn, John Jackson, Robert Isodson
1512	(? Philip Cosyn), John Jackson, William Cony, Thomas Hall
1513	Thomas Smart, William Cony, Thomas Hall, Christopher Brown
1514	Thomas Bynckes, John Jackson, Christopher Brown, Robert Short
1519	Philip Cosyn, Humphrey Coke, Christopher Brown, Richard Madock

Appendix 10

Oaths taken by masters, wardens, freemen and the beadles/clerks

Source: LMA CLC/L/CC/A/005/MS04339 [Carpenters'] Company Charters and Bye-Laws (on spine)

Endings have been extended silently

The oath of the master and wardens

ff. 120-1

You and every of you shalbe true to our soveraigne lord ye kinge his heires and successors, yee and every of you shall endeavour yourselves ye best yee can to execute and doe to be executed, instlie and indiffe rently, all ye good and lawfull ordenances and law dable acts made for ye conservacion and guiding of ye fellowshipp of carpenters without sparinge of any person for affecion, rewarde, meede, dreade or promise of any rewarde, duringe ye tyme yee shalbe in ye < space in original > office of Master and wardens of all and eve ry such some or somes of money as by reason of Master or wardens to ye use of ye saide fellowshipp shall come to your < space in original > handes or to ye handes of any of you, by meanes of fynes, forfeitures, amerciments, penalties, or any manner of tewells or other thinges yeaven to ye saide fellowshipp, yee according to ye orde nances of your craft shall give a good Due, true and playne accompt in writinge at such tyme, and in such place, as is assigned by ye saide ordeynance, yee shall not for mallice, hate, or evill will of any person, or for love or affecion amerce any person in a greater or lesse some then accordinge to ye saide ordeynance, or after ye quality or quantitye of his or their offence. soe helpe you God.

The oath of every freeman

ff. 121-2

Yee shall sweare [to be true to our soveraigne lord ye kinge his heires and successors] ye shall in all matters lawfull and honest, be obedient to ye Master and wardens of ye saide fellowshipp for ye tyme beinge in ye office, and obedient and ready to come to all ye lawfull warneinges yeoven to you by ye beadle or others on ye behalf of ye saide Master or wardens, except yee have a reasonable excuse without fayntinge or de laies, yee shall observe and keepe, and to ye best of your poweres doe to be observed & kept, all ye lawfull orde nances & statuts, made for ye good rule and politique guidinge of ye saide fellowshipp, or els paye such somme or somes of money as yee shall owe to paye by ye breach or offedinge of ye same articles or ordeynances, yee shall alsoe keepe all ye lawfull secreates of ye same fellowshipp and all such things as by waye of counsaile lawfully shalbe in comunicacion at any time of assemblie of ye Master and wardens at their comon hall

& not to disclose ye same to any parson, & specially to any such person whome ye same matter doth or in any wise maye touch. soe helpe you God.

The oath of the clerk or beadle

ff. 122-3

You shalbe true to oure soveraigne lord ye kinges Ma[jes]tie his heires and successors you shalbe obedient to ye Master & wardens of ye saide art trade or mistery for ye tyme beinge and you shall doe and performe all other matters instlie and trulie which to youre office app[er]tayneth soe farr as your ability will extende and you lawfullie maye doe. foe helpe you God

The oaths apparently date from at least the time of Henry VII but were recorded in this MS during the reign of James I.

… made by the authority and virtue of the said Act of Parliament made in the said nineteenth year of King Henry VII 10 November of King James I [spelling modernised].

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Appendix 11

Beadles and clerks of the Carpenters' Company: 1438-1515

Source: Marsh, *Accounts*, p. 262. The omitted years are missing from the Account Book.

1438 - (1448)	William Mendham
1452 – (1463)	'Thomas'
1482	'Hugh'
1483	John Braban (clerk)
1483	Thomas Batman
1447	< missing in original > Banaster
1489	Robert Pert
1490	John Forster (clerk)
1500	Harry Bagott
1510	Thomas Cutler
1515	(March-June) 'Wayter'
1515	George Maxwell

Appendix 12

Binding dates of Carpenter's apprentices 1506-16 and 1521

Source: *Accounts*, pp. 166-238, 245-6.

Time of year	No.
Christmas	36
Midsummer (24 June)	25
Our Lady Day in Lent (25 March)	22
Michaelmas (29 September)	22
Candlemas (2 February)	19
All Hallows (1 November)	14
St Matthew's Day (21 September)	11
Our Lady Day Assumption (15 August)	9
Whitsuntide	8
St Andrews Day (30 November)	5
Ascension Day (Thursday following Rogation Sunday)	5
St Bartholomew's Day (24 August)	5
May Day	5
St Katherine's Day (25 November)	3
Easter	3
Lammas (1 August)	2
St George's Day (23 April)	2
St James's Day (25 July)	2
St Mathew's Day (21 September)	2
St Nicholas's Day (6 December)	2
Trinity Sunday (Sunday next after Pentecost)	2
Holy Thursday	1
Nativity of Our Lady (8 September)	1
New Year's Day	1
St Barnabas's Day (11 June)	1
St John the Baptist (29 August)	1
St Margaret's Day (20 July)	1
St Mark's Day (25 April)	1
St Martin's Day (10 or 12 November)	1
St Peter's Day	1
St Philip and St James (1 May)	1
St Thomas's Day (21 December)	1
Our Lady Day before Christmas	1
Our Lady Day before Michaelmas	1
5 February	1
1 April	1
6 April	1

12 May	1
14 May	1
22 July	1
29 August	1
28 September	1
25 November	1
Total	**226**

Appendix 13

Enrolment of apprentices by year

Source: *Accounts*, pp. 48-238, 245-6..

No apprentices were recorded in missing years

Year	No. of apprentices
1474	2
1477	4
1478	2
1479	2
1482	5
1483	3
1484	6
1486	1
1487	7
1488	7
1489	12
1490	7
1491	5
1492	4
1493	9
1494	7
1495	21
1496	10
1497	13
1498	18
1499	15
1500	9
1501	19
1502	21
1503	21
1504	19
1505	26
1506	20
1507	22
1508	21
1509	22
1510	10
1511	27
1512	29
1513	32

Appendix 13: Enrolment of apprentices by year

1514	29
1515	15
1516	5
1521	23
Total	**570**

Appendix 14

Service and training agreement of William Corteise to Thomas Wynchcombe of Westminster, carpenter

Source: Westminster Abbey Muniments, 5962. I am grateful to Stephanie Hovland for this transcript.

Service and training agreement [catalogued as apprenticeship] of William Corteise to Thomas Wynchcombe of Westminster, carpenter, for one year. Dated St Matthias Day, 24 February, 37 Henry VI, 1459. Fragment of red seal. English. 'as he ought to inform his covenant servant'.

This indenture, made between Thomas Wynchcombe of the town of Westminster in the county of Mddx, carpenter, on the one part and William Corteise, servant of the said Thomas on the other part, witnesseth that the said William is retained with the said Thomas from the day of the making of this present unto the end of one whole year, during the which year the said Thomas shall inform the said William, his servant, in the craft of carpentry well and diligently, as he ought to inform his covenant servant paying the said William forty shillings sterling at the four usual terms of the year. And the said William shall have of the said master a gown price 6s 8d within the said year in the name of wages for the same year. Also the said William shall not absent himself from his said master without licence. And if he have licence of his said master for a day or twayne or more or less, the said William shall serve his master as long and as many days immediately after the end of the year foresaid. In witness whereof the parties aforesaid to his indenture have set their seals and one to another given the day and feast of St Matthew the Apostle, the year of Henry VI 37.

Appendix 15

The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools

Source: University of Rochester <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/shuffelton-codex-ashmole-61-debate-of-the-carpenters-tools> [accessed 13 October 2015].

The Shype-Ax seyd unto the Wryght,
"Mete and drynke I schall thee plyght;
Clene hose and clene schone,
Gete them wheresoever thou kane.
Bot for all that ever thou kane,
Thall never be thryfty man,
Ne none that longys the crafte unto,
For nothyng that thou kane do."
"Wherfore," seyd the Belte,
"With grete strokys I schall hym pelte.
My mayster schall full well thene,
Both to clothe and fede his men."
"Ye, ye," seyd the Twybyll,
"Thou spekys ever ageyn skyll.
Iwys, iwys, it wyll not bene,
Ne never I thinke that he wyll then."
"Yis, yis," seyd the Wymbyll.
"I ame als rounde as a thymbyll.
My maysters werke I wyll remembyr;
I schall crepe fast into the tymbyr,
And help my mayster within a stounde
To store his cofer with twenti pounde."
"Ye, ye" seyd the Compas,
"Thou arte a fole in that case.
For thou spekys without vysment;
Therfor thou getyst not thi entent.
Wyte thou wele it schall be so,
That lyghtly cum schall lyghtly go.
And thou gete more than other fyve,
Yit schall thi mayster never thryve."
The Groping-Iren than spake he:
"Compas, who hath grevyd thee?
My mayster yit may thryve full wele;
How he schall I wyll thee telle.
I ame his servant trew and gode;
I suere thee, Compas, by the rode,
Wyrke I schall bothe nyght and dey;
To gete hym gode I schall assey."
"Ye, ye," seyd the Saw,
"It is bote bost that thou doyst blow.
For thofe thou wyrke bothe dey and nyght,

He wyll not thé, I sey thee ryght.
He wones to nyghe the alewyffe
And he thouht ever for to thryffe."
Then seyd the Whetston,
"Thof my mayster thryft be gone,
I schall hym helpe within this yere
To gete hym twenti merke clere.
Hys axes schall I make full scharpe,
That thei may lyghtly do ther werke.
To make my master a ryche man
I schall asey if that I cane."
To hym than seyd the Adys,
And seyd, "Ye, syr, God gladys.
To speke of thryfft, it wyll not be,
Ne never I thinke that he schall thé.
For he wyll drynke more on a dey
Than thou cane lyghtly arne in twey;
Therfor thi tonge I rede thou hold
And speke no more no wordys so bold."
To the Adys than seyd the Fyle,
"Thou schuldys not thi mayster revyle;
For thoff he be unhappy,
Yit for his thryft thou schuldys se.
For I thinke or tomorow at none
To arne my mayster a payre of schone.
For I schall rube with all my myght,
My mayster tolys for to dyght,
So that within a lytell space,
My mayster purce I schall encrece."
Than seyd the Chesyll,
"And ever he thryve, he berys hym wele.
For tho thou rube to thi hede ake,
His thryfte fro hym it wyll be take.
For he loves gode ale so wele
That he therfor his hode wyll selle.
For some dey he wyll seven pens drynke;
How he schall thryve I cane not thinke."
"Ye, ye," seyd the Lyne and the Chalke,
"My mayster is lyke to many folke.
Tho he lufe ale never so wele,
To thryve and thé I schall hym telle.
I schall merke well upon the wode,
And kepe his mesures trew and gode;
And so by my mesures all,
To thé full wele my mayster schall."
Than bespake the Prykyng Knyfe,
"He duellys to nyghe the alewyfe.
Sche makys oft tyme his purse full thyn;
No peny some tyme sche levys therin.
Tho thou gete more than other thre,

Thryfty man he cane not be."
"Ye, ye" seyd the Persore,
"That at I sey it schall be sure.
Whi chyd ye iche one with other?
Wote ye not wele I ame your brother?
Therfor none contrary me,
For as I sey, so schall it be.
My mayster yit schall be full ryche;
Als fer as I may stret and streche,
I wyll helpe with all my myght,
Both by dey and by nyght,
Fast to runne into the wode
And byte I schall with moth full gode.
And thus I trow, be my crowne,
To make hym schyreff of the toune."
"Soft, syr," seyd the Skantyllyon
"I trow your thryft be wele ny don.
Ever to crewyll thou arte in word,
And yet thou arte not worth a tord.
For all the gode that thou gete myght,
He wyll spend it on a nyght."
Than the Crow bygan to speke,
Forwhy is herte was lyke to breke
To here his brother so revyld,
And seyd, "Thou spekys lyke a chyld.
Tho my mayster spend never so faste,
Inoughe he schall have at the laste.
May forteyn as mych as ever schall he
That drynke never peny to that he dyghe."
"Ye, ye" seyd the Rewle,
"Ifeyth, thou arte bot a fole.
For and he dyghe and have ryght nought,
Who trowys thou wyll gyfe hym owght?
Thus schall he ly upon the grownd,
And be beryd lyke an hund.
For and a man have ought befor,
When he has nede it is gode store."
"What, Syr Reule?" seyd the Pleyn,
"Another reson I wyll thee seyn:
Thoff my mayster have no happe,
Yit thi mayster thou schuldyst not lake
For yit a mene I schall se
That my mayster schall wele thé.
I schall hym helpe both dey and nyght
To gete hym gode with all my myght.
I schall clens on every syde
To helpe my mayster in his pride."
The Brode-Ax seyd withouten mysse;
He seyd, "The Pleyn my brother is;
We two schall clence and make full pleyn,

That no man schall us geynseyn,
And gete oure mayster in a yere
More sylver than a man may bere."
"Ye, ye," seyd the Twyvete,
"Thryft, I trow, be fro you sette.
To kepe my mayster in his pride,
In the contré ye canne not byde
Without ye stele and be thefys
And put meny men to greffys.
For he wyll drynke more in a houre
Than two men may gete in fowre.
When ye have wrought all that ye canne,
Yit schall he never be thryfty mane."
Than bespake the Polyff
With gret strong wordys and styffe:
"How, Syr Twyvet? Me thinke you grevyd.
What devyll who hath you thus mevyd?
Thof he spend more in a yere
Of gold and sylver than thou may bere,
I schall hym helpe with all my myght;
I trow to make hym yet a knyght."
"What, Syr?" seyd the Wyndas-Rewle,
"Me thynke thou arte bot a fole.
For thou spekys oute of seson;
He may not thé therfor by reson.
A carpenter to be a knyght?
That were ever ageyn ryght.
Therfor I schall telle thee a saw:
Who so wold be hyghe he schall be law."
"Ye," than seyd the Rewle-Stone
"Mayster hath many fone,
And ye wold helpe at his nede,
My mayster schuld the better spede.
Bot whatsoever ye brage or boste,
My mayster yet schall reule the roste.
For as I ame a trew man,
I schall hym helpe all that I cane."
The Gowge seyd, "The devyles dyrte
For any thyng that thow cane wyrke!
For all that ever thou canne do,
It is not worth an old scho.
Thow hast be prentys this seven yere,
And yit thy crafte is for to lere.
And thou couthe wyrke als wele as he,
Yet schall thi mayster never thé."
"Softe, syr," seyd the Gabull Rope,
"Me thinke gode ale is in your tope.
For thou spekys as thou wold fyght,
Therto and thou hade any myght.
I schall tell thee another tale:

My mayster how I schall aveyle.
Hayle and pull I schall full faste
To reyse housys whyle I may laste.
And so within a lytell thraw,
My mayster gode schall not be know."
Than spake the Wryghtys Wyfe,
"Nother of you schall never thryfe,
Nother the mayster ne the man,
For nothinge that ye do canne.
For ye wyll spend in a moneth
More gode than thre men hath."
The Squyre seyd, "What sey ye dame?
Ye schuld not speke my mayster schame."
"Squyre, I have non other cause,
I suere thee by Seynt Eustase;
For all the yerne that I may spynne,
To spend at ale he thinkys no synne.
He wyll spend more in an owre
Than thou and I cane gete in fowre."
"Yit me thinke ye be to blame
To gyffe my mayster syche a name.
For thoff he spend more than ye have,
Yit his worschype ye schuld save."
"Mary, I schrew hym and thee to,
And all them that so canne do.
For hys servant I trow thou be,
Ther thou schall never thé.
For and thou lerne that craft at hym,
Thy thryft I trow schall be full thine."
The Draught Nayle than spake he
And seyd, "Dame, that is no le.
Ye hafe the maner of this frekys
That thus for my mayster spekys.
Bot lythe to me a lytell space:
I schall yow tell all the case,
How that they wyrke for ther gode —
I wyll not lye, be the rode.
When thei have wroght an oure or two,
Anon to the ale thei wyll go
And drinke ther, whyle thei may dre
'Thou to me!' and 'I to thee!'
And seys, 'The Ax schall pay for this;
Therfor the cope ons I wyll kys.'
And when thei come to werke ageyne,
The Belte to hys mayster wyll seyne,
'Mayster, wyrke not oute of reson;
The dey is vary long of seson.
Smale strokys late us hake,
And sum tyme late us es oure bake.'
The Wymbull spekys lyke a syre:

'Sevyn pens of a dey is smale hyre
For wryghtys that wyrke so faste
And in owre werke have grete haste.'
The Groping Iren seys full sone,
'Mayster, wyll ye wele done?
Late us not wyrke to we suete
For cachyng of over-gret hete.
For we may after cold to take,
Than on stroke may we no hake.'
Than bespake the Whetston,
And seyd, 'Mayster, we wyll go home,
For fast it draw unto the nyght;
Our soper by this I wote is dyght.'
The Lyne and Stone, the Perser and Fyle,
Seys, 'That is a gode counsylle.'
The Crow, the Pleyn, and the Squyre
Seys, 'We have arnyd wele our hyre.'
And thus with fraudys and falsyd
Is many trew man deseyvid.
herfor, by ought that I canne se,
They schall never thryve ne thé.
Therfor the craft I wyll go froo
And to another wyll I goo."
Than ansuerd the Wyfe in hye,
"And I myght, so wold I,
Bot I ame to hym bounde so faste
That off my halter I may not caste.
Therfor the preste that bounde me prentys,
He schall treuly have my curse,
And ever schall have, to that I dyghe,
In what contré that ever he be.
Therfor, wryghtys, take hede of this,
That ye may mend that is amysse,
And treuly that ye do your labore,
For that wyll be to your honour.
And greve you nothing at this song,
Bot ever make mery yourselve amonge,
Ne gest at hym that it dud make,
Ne envy at hym ye take
Ne non of you do hym blame.
For-why the craft hath do hym schame
By mo weys than two or thre,
Thus seys the boke, serteynlye.
God, that is both gode and hend,
Gyff you grace that ye may mend,
And bryng us all unto His blysse,
That never fro us schall mysse.
AMEN QUOD RATE

Appendix 16

Oath of carpenters working for the Mystery of Mercery

Source: *The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London*, edited and translated by L. Jefferson, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2009), Vol. 2, Appendix 2, p. 1028.

Endings have been extended silently

f. A1r

Ye shall swere that in good & manerly wise ye shall bere & behave you unto the wardeyns of the mystere of the mercery of the Cite of London & to every of them. And in thocupacion of <u>carpentrye</u> [underlined in the MS] and other that ye canne & may do at all & every tyme requisite & convenyent to your power ye shall do. Also all such stuff as shall comme to your handes or at your will for the weall & profyt as of & for the lyvelod to the wardeyns and comunialte of the said mistere belongyng, ye shall to your powre theron truly mynyster & occupye and nothing therof enalyn, embesell, leve or geve awey unto any maner of persoone but by the consent, will and agrement of the seid wardeyns or at leest of ii of hem. Nor by any mean use or know of any to be enalyend, enbeseld, sold lent or awey gevyn but that ye therof evermore forthwith or as shortely after as ye cane and well may comme unto the seid wardeyns or onto ii of them and the same unto ii of hem so for to shewe it. More oever ye shal not take on you to make or begynne any new werk to be doon in or upon any place or tenement of the forseid lyvelod, ne to do reparacion in or in any parte therof otherwise or more than is by the seid wardeyns or ii of them ye shalbe comawndid for to do. And over this at the ende of every weke all & every such persoons werkeman or lauborer occupyed as in or in any parte of the seid livelod and to your knowledge theron wrought, ye shall therof as nere as ye can geve unto ii of the seid wardeyns knowledge that is to sey ho many dayes or half dayes or any oon day that be so of you requiryd. All which poyntes & every of hem to your powre & knowlege ye shall do & perform. So help you God and all seyntes and be this boke.

Appendix 17

Carpenter creditors and debtors

All references are to the TNA.

Date	Debtor	Creditor	Amount	Details	Reference
15/05/1340	Robert Styward, of Bushey [Herts], citizen of London	John de Essex, carpenter [of London]	100s		C241/112
04/05/1348	Walter de Hurley, carpenter of London	Henry Wymond, citizen [wool merchant] of London, now deceased	£52		C241/131
06/12/1350	William Herman, carpenter of London	John Band, of Dartford [Kent], clerk. [Dartford and Wilmington Hundred]	£40		C243/129/188
01/04/1353	William de Letcombe, citizen and carpenter of London	Nicholas Pyke, Andrew Turk, John Bovynndon, Peter Sterre and Thomas Brown, citizens [fishmongers and merchants] of London	£40		C241/134
04/12/1354	William Letcombe, carpenter of London	Ralph de Cambridge, citizen of London	£100		C241/132
02/01/1357	John de Snoring, carpenter of Shoreditch, Middx	John Wirhale, citizen and merchant of London	£40		C241/140
19/08/1357	Thomas de Cambridge of London, carpenter and Henry de Couple of Bedfordshire, carpenter	Thomas de Langton, clerk	£40		C131/11/2
17/09/1359	Richard de Somerbury of	John Heyward, citizen and	£10		C241/140

	Surrey	carpenter of London, now deceased			
28/03/1362	William de Hull, carpenter of Westminster, Middx	Ralph atte Field of Addington [Larkfield Hundred, Kent]	£40		C241/146
04/05/1368	John Heyton of the parish of St Margaret atte Hill {Hulle} next-Dartford, Kent and William Doncaster of Lodnon, carpenter	William Bys, citizen and stockfishmonger [merchant] of London	£40		C241/150
21/06/1371	John Berholte, carpenter of London	Thomas de Newnham, clerk	£10		C241/153
07/10/1380	Walter Elyot, of Newenton, Middx, Simon Crowe of London, carpenter, and Hamo Elyot, citizen and peperer [merchant] of London	Reginald Aleyn, citizen and pepperer [merchant] of London	£112		C241/166
16/02/1380	John Doxforde, carpenter (also referred to as John de Oxenford)	Robert Launde, goldsmith of London	80m	William Knyghtcote and Walter Doget, sheriffs, reply that John Doxford was not found in the balliwick. The record gives a long list of goods from Doxforde's tenement seized into the king's hands. They include 'divers pieces of new timber for a house worth 49m 10s.	C131/2819
17/05/1412	Walter Clerk, citizen and carpenter of London	Henry Ashbourne, citizen and surgeon of London	£20		C241/210
08/06/1461	Gilbert Gosselyn, carpenter, Henry Woodrow, brewer,	William Pecche, knight [sheriff of Kent, 1461-2]	£18 13s 4d		C241/246

	and John Dean, tallowchandler, citizens of London				
26/01/1470	Robert Geryng of London, carpenter	Thomas Nyche, carpenter and mercer of London	£24		C241/254
24/06/1471	John Knight of Yalding in Kent, husbandman [Tyford Hundred]	Robert Geryng, citizen and carpenter of London	£27		C241/254
21/05/1488	Michael Winchcombe {Wynchcombe}, citizen and carpenter of London	Robert Blakewall, clerk	£29 8s 8d	Henry Teye, esq, sheriff, replies that Michael Winchcombe was not found in his bailiwick. Winchcombe was seised of a messuage and garden annexed to it, and a meadow in Barking, worth 41s 8d a year; they have been seized into the King's hands. He has no goods or chattels in the bailiwick.	C131/82/18
06/06/1528	Benedict Grobbe (or Grubbe), citizen and carpenter of London	William Shyvall, citizen and draper of London	£17 10s		C241/280
10/06/1528	Benedict Grobbe (or Grubbe), citizen and carpenter of London	Hugh Welsh, citizen and goldsmith of London	£20		C241/280

Appendix 18

Choice of burial location

The table is organised by burial choice.

Information derived from wills. For will references see Appendix 5.

Name	Place of residence where known	Burial	Year will made	Additional information
Carpenter, Philip	St Dionis Backchurch	churchyard	1358	
Chelmeresford, Richard de	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	churchyard	1375	
Glemysford, John	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	churchyard	1375	
Battle, John de	St Mary le Strand	churchyard	1383	
Fryston, John	St Benet Paul's Wharf	churchyard	1389	
Reve, John	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	churchyard	1395	
Cottenham, Robert	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	churchyard	1397	
Peter, William	St Benet Fink	churchyard	1397	
Warde, Stephen	St Benet Fink	churchyard	1398	
Cornes, Thomas	St Benet Fink	churchyard	1400	
Sewale, Richard	Holy Trinity Priory	churchyard	1401	
Everard, Andrew	St Stephen Coleman Street	churchyard	1408	
Aylesbury, Richard	St Benet Fink	churchyard	1410	

Bernard, John	All Hallows Barking	churchyard	1410	
Mendeham, John	St Benet Fink	churchyard	1410	'where his wife was buried'
Mannyng, William	St Botolph without Bishopsgate	churchyard	1411	
Vyell. Henry	St Mary le Strand	churchyard	1411	
Goldsmith, John	St Peter the Poor	churchyard	1410	
Herford, William	St Benet Fink	churchyard	1413	
Colman, William	St Mary Matfellon, Whitechapel	churchyard	1419	
Crowle, Elias	St Sepulchre without Newgate	churchyard	1420	next to the grave of Robert Drayton
Sporle, John	St Mary Axe	churchyard	1424	
Grenehill, William	St Mary Axe	churchyard	1425	
Stodeye, William	All Hallows the Great	churchyard	1426	
Sponewey, Richard	St Mary Axe	churchyard	1426	
Freman, William	St Mary at Hill	churchyard	1429	
Maryon, Richard	St Christopher le Stocks	churchyard	1432	
Byrd, John	St Margaret Lothebury	churchyard	1434	next to the grave of the children of his brother Richard
Burnard, Robert	St Margaret Lothebury	churchyard	1434	
Ruston, William	St Botolph without Bishopgate	churchyard	1435	
Stodley, John	St Michael Bassishaw	churchyard	1435	
Leffeller, William	St Katherine Cree	churchyard	1436	
Aylewyn, Walter	St Mary Axe	churchyard	1438	
More, John	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	churchyard	1447	

Nicoll, John	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	churchyard	1447	
Aas, Richard	St Peter the Poor	churchyard	1447	
Berewell, William	St Botolph without Aldgate	churchyard	1448	
Blyth, Thomas	St Botolph without Aldgate	churchyard	1454	
Heryngton, William	St Alphage	churchyard	1457	
Astrede, William	St Katherine Cree	churchyard	1457	
Bird, Richard	St Margaret Lothebury	churchyard	1457	'where the bodies of my children rest'
Couper, Robert	St Andrew by the Wardrobe	churchyard	1460	next to his late wife Beatrious
Waleys, William	St Michael Cornhill	churchyard	1461	
Hardy, Richard	St Lawrence Jewry	churchyard	1463	
Chacombe, Simond	St Thomas The Apostle	churchyard	1463	
Togood, William	St Mary Aldermanbury	churchyard	1467	
Burwell, William	St Botolph without Aldgate	churchyard	1468	
Stile, John	St Mary Axe	churchyard	1468	
Boston, John	St Botolph without Aldersgate	churchyard	1475	
Corbet, John	St Mary Aldermanbury	churchyard	1475	
Wheteley, John jnr.	St Andrew by the Wardrobe	churchyard	1477	

Edward, Robert	St Sepulchre without Newgate	churchyard	1486	
Foxley, Thomas	St Olaves, Crutched Friars	churchyard	1489	
Watker, Jerard	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	churchyard	1496	under the entrance to St John the Baptist
Wodd, Henry	St Magnus the Martyr	churchyard	1516	
Short, Robert	St Andrew Hubbard	churchyard	1518	
Egylston, John	All Hallows Barking	churchyard	1519	
Pratt, Stephen	St Stephen, Coleman Street	churchyard	1520	
Penson, Edward	St Katherine Cree	churchyard	1534	
Pounchon, Stephen	St Bride, Fleet Street	churchyard	1535	'as nigh to the place where my father and other friends lie'
Smyth, John	All Hallows West Ham	churchyard	1536	
Prynce, John	St Clement Eastcheap	churchyard	1545	
Horson, Robarte	St Dionis Backchurch	churchyard	1545	
Clerk, Walter	St Mary Somerset	churchyard	1454	next to wife Agnes
Haryson, Thomas	St Mary Aldermanbury	churchyard	1479	'as ny my father as hyt can be reason'
Baker, Christopher	St Sepulchre without Newgate	churchyard	1493	on south side by wife Margaret
Kyng, William	St Mary Aldermanbury	churchyard	1531	'without the south door'
John, Jankyn		churchyard, Warnham, Sussex	1411	
Oxenford, Thomas		churchyard of Abbey of the Minoresses	1401	

Watford, Robert de	St Bartholomew' s Priory	churchyard of St Bartholomew called 'le Pardonchirchehawe'	1368	
Park, John	St Bartholomew's Hospital	churchyard of the hospital	1458	
Illium, John	St Bartholomew's Priory	churchyard of the priory	1431	
London, Robert	St Michael Wood Street	in the great cemetery of St Paul's	1395	
Mantel, John	Not specified	common cemetery of St Paul's	1394	one executor was rector of St James Garlickhithe
Amesbury, Robert	St Benet Fink	in the church of Austin Friary	1438	
Blakyn, Hugh	St Michael Wood Street	In the church	1444	
Chelmersford, Walter de	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	in the church	1339	
Grymmesby, Bartholomew	St Peter Cornhill	in the church	1408	'below the bells'
Gyns, Thomas de	St Martin Outwich	in the church	1349	
Herland, William	St Peter Paul's Wharf	in the church	1375	to be buried before the image of St Katherine in St Mary's chapel
Duddecote , William	St Botolph without Aldersgate	in the church	1389	
Doncastre, William	St Benet Gracechurch	in the church	1403	
Hemmyngbirghe, Richard	St Margaret Lothebury	in the church	1418	
Perry, John	St Peter the Poor	in the church	1425	

Gyles, John	St Dunstan, Stepney	in the church	1432	'under the door in the north entrance'
Bedham, John	St Peter Cornhill	in the church	1434	in the chapel of St Anne
Blaykyn, High	St Michael Wood Street	in the church	1444	
Tanner, John	St Katherine Cree	in the church	1448	where the body of Agnes his wife lay
Fylchyng, William	St Benet Fink	in the church	1459	
Goldyngton, William	St Sepulchre without Newgate	in the church	1460	
Punchon, John	St Bride, Fleet Street	in the church	1464	in the chancel 'where I have made a place to lie'
Coventre, Thomas	St Olaves towards the Tower	in the church	1464	'in the place where the body of Letice late my wife resteth buried'
Warham, Thomas	Croydon	in the church	1477	in chapel of St Nicholas before the image of Our Lady of Pity in St John Baptist, Croydon
Peert, Thomas	St Michael Wood Street	in the church	1486	'as nygh to my wive as I can'
Carter, William jnr.	St Anne & St Agnes	in the church	1490	'between the pulpit and the image of the Holy Trinity'
Basse, William	St Olave Southwark	in the church	1491	in the chapel of St Thomas within St Olave
Kychyn, Christopher	St Andrew Undershaft (Cornhill)	in the church	1496	
Smalley, Richard	St Michael Bassishaw	in the church	1500	in the chapel of St Thomas
Sargeant, William	St Mary Axe	in the church	1516	

Goldysborow, William	St Sepulchre without Newgate	in the church	1520	'in the middle isle of the church'
Richardsonne, Christopher	St Sepulchre without Newgate	in the church	1523	
Dauson, Thomas	St Michael Bassishaw	in the church	1524	
Coke, Humphrey	St Martin in the Fields	in the church	1531	in the church of the Savoy Hospital before the image of St George
Brown, Christopher	Holy Trinity Priory	in the church	1535	in Christ Church London next to his wife, Elisabeth
Wolfey, John	St Giles without Cripplegate	in the church	1410	near his wife
Goldyng, John	St Bartholomew's Priory	in the church	1450	'before the font where I have put a marble stone'
White, John	St Thomas The Apostle	in the church	1485	
King, George	St Michael Wood Street	in the church	1566	'in such place as my executors shall seem most meet'
Serle, William	St Benet Fink	In the church - under the bell tower	1450	
Glover, John	St Christopher le Stocks	in the church at discretion of executors	1454	
Pyers, John	St Dunstan in the East	St Dunstan in the East or the Pardon Churchyard	1454	at discretion of executors
Hamound, Gyles	St John's	church or churchyard	1537	
Somersham, John	St Peter Cornhill	in the church or churchyard	1406	

Seybroke, John	St Dunstan in the West	in the church or churchyard	1530	
Symson, Thomas	St Clement Eastcheap	in the church or churchyard	1531	
Clopton, Robert	St Michael Wood Street	in the House of the Friars Minor	1395	
Lardener, Robert	St Michael Cornhill	In the place prepared	1414	
Battes, Robert	Not specified	in Christian burial	1536	
Clement, William	Not specified	'in holy turf'	1540	
Cosyn, Philip	St Dionis Backchurch	at discretion of executor	1543	
Hall, Thomas	Not specified	at discretion of executor	1543	
Penythorne, Richard	Not specified	at discretion of executors	1567	
Blithe, Thomas snr.	St Botolph without Aldgate	where God disposes	1425	
Strete, William	St Bride, Fleet Street	where it pleases God	1417	
Kyngham, Lapin de	St Margaret Pattens	where God wishes	1359	
Bette, William	St Thomas of Acon	where it pleases God	1448	
Goldyngton, John	St Benet Gracechurch	where it pleases God	1475	
Cheswyke, Thomas	St Sepulchre without Newgate	where it pleases God	1520	
Gittons, Thomas	Paul's Wharf	where it pleases God	1544	
Nedeham, James	Little Wymondley, Herts	where it pleases God	1544	
Wyllyamson, Thomas	St Gabriel Fenchurch	where it pleases God	1544	
Donne, William	St Alphage	where it pleases God	1545	

Garland, John	Not specified	where it pleases God	1440	
Burton, William	Not specified	where it pleases God	1528	

Appendix 19

Alms provided by the Craft

Source: *Accounts*, pp. 2-239. Some of the later entries have been omitted as they are illegible due to water damage.

Year	Recipient of alms	Payment by the Company
1438	For the burial of Robert Cambone	8d
1439	Paid to the almsman for the year	???
	Received for the interment of John Sevile	5s
	Paid for the interment of John Sevile for the pit, knell and *dirige*	3s 1d
1440	Paid to the almsman for the year	???
1441	Paid to the almsman	6s 8d
1442	Paid to the poor man	6s 8d
1443	Paid to the poor man	6s 8d
1444	Jefferay Waltham – received for cloth	4d
1445	Paid to the poor man	6s 8d
1446	Paid to the poor man	6s 8d
1447	Paid to the poor man	6s 8d
1448-1451	All payments for these years are missing from the accounts	
1452	Paid to King's mother	4s
	Burial of John Chees	20d
1453	Paid for Alysson Bowkyngham for the year	4s
1453	For Hawelok's burial	2s 8d
1454	For Richard Bryght's hood	5s
1456	Paid to King's mother	4s
1457	To a priest for the 'dirige' of Thomas Smyth	4d
1457	Paid to King's mother	4d
1458	For Bandy's hood and the bedell's hood	12s 8d
	For Clove's hood	13s 4d
	Paid to King's mother	4s
1460	To the almsman for 32 weeks at 7d a week	18s 8d
	For the costs of William Goldyngton in his sykenes	4s 11d
	Bukyngham's wife for the year	4s
1461	John King's mother	4s
	Richard Bright 'our alms man'	22d
	For the burial of Richard Bright	5s
1462	Randolph Bulkeley while he lay sick and for his burial	4s 6d
	Thomas Stovel while he lay sick	14d
1463	For the burial of John Wynsent	2s

	To King's mother	4s
1464	To King's mother	4s
1465	Harry Chaplain	12d
	To King's mother	4s
1466	To King's mother	4s
1468	To Thomas Deyne	8d
1471	To Broke	4s
	To Silkwith	4d
1472	To John Broke	4s
	John Winchcombe	3s 4d
	Richard Gaywode	6d
	Robert Knight, 'in alms'	4s 4d
	For burial of Robert Knight	3s 4d
1473	Broke	4s
	Gaywode	4d
1474	Broke and his wife	2s
	For burial of Broke	3s 2d
1475	Harry Capelyn	2s 6d
1476	Harry Capelyn	4s
1477	Harry Capelyn	2s for ½ year
	For the keping and burial of Harry Capelyn	8s 4d
	For the keping and burial of John Cobbe	9s 6d
	John Stever	2s for ½ year
1478	John Stever	4s
1479	John Stever	4s
1480	John Stever	5s 4d
	Wynchcombe's wife	4s 8d
	Bentley's wife	4s 4d
1481	Paid to 3 alms folk for a year (John Stever, Bentley's wife, Wynchcombe's mother)	20s
	Belamy's wife	15d
1482	John Stever	20d x 3
	For buryial of John Stever	12d
	Mother Bentley	20d x 4
	John Bellamy	15d x 4
	Mother Wynchcombe	20d x 4
1483	Belamy	6s 3d
	Bentybowes wife	6s 8d
	Mother Wynchcombe	6s 8d
	John Davy	3s 4d
1484	Bellamy's wife Sawere	6s 8d
	Burial of John Winchcombe	3s
	In alms for Mother Winchcombe	6s 8d
	John Davy	6s 8d
	Mother Bentley	3s 4d for ½ year
	Burial of Mother Bentley	18d
	Burial of Robert Pratt	16d
	Burial of John Bukke and his keeping	3s 4d

1485	John Bellamy	3s 4d for ½ year
	John Davy	6s 8d
1486	John Bellamy	6s 8d
	Keeping and burial of John Davy	3s
1487	John Bellamy	6s 8d
1488	John Bellamy	6s 8d
1489	Bellamy's wife	6s 8d
1490	Bellamy's wife	6s 8d
1493	Mistress Chacombe	5s for Christmas, Our Lady Day & Midsummer
1494	Mistress Chacombe	3s 4d
1495	Mistress Chacombe	6s 8d
1496	Mistress Chacombe	6s 8d
1497	Mistress Chacombe	6s 8d
1499	Mistress Raye	6s 8d
1500	Mistress Raye	6s 8d
	Robard Odysdale	12d at the request of all the fellowship
1502	Mistress Raye	20d for Candlemas quarter
1503	Thomas Kyng	5s
1504	T[homas] King	6s 8d
1505	Thomas King	6s 8d
1506	Thomas King	6s 8d
1507	Thomas King	6s 8d
1508	Thomas King	6s 8d
1509	Margaret King	5s 4d
	Thomas Michael	5s
1510	Ma[garet King]	4s
	Thom[as] Michael	20s
1511	Harry Baggot	13s 4d
	Spent when …[? Thomas Michael] was buried	12d
	Margaret King	4s
1512	Harry Baggot	13s 4d
	Margaret King	4s
	Mistress Davy	13s 4d
1513	Harry [Baggott]	13s 4d
	Paid to Mistress.[Davy]	13s 4d
	Mother [? King]	4s
1515	Mother Davy	13s 4d
	Father Skinner	13s 4d
	Mother King	4s
	Father Birch	5s for ¾ year
1516	Mistress Davy	13s 4d
	Father Skinner	10s for ¾ year
	Richard Catlayd	4s
	Mother King	3s for ¾ year

Map 1

Source: Based on London carpenters identified in Table 3

I am grateful to Giles Darkes for his assistance in the production of this map.
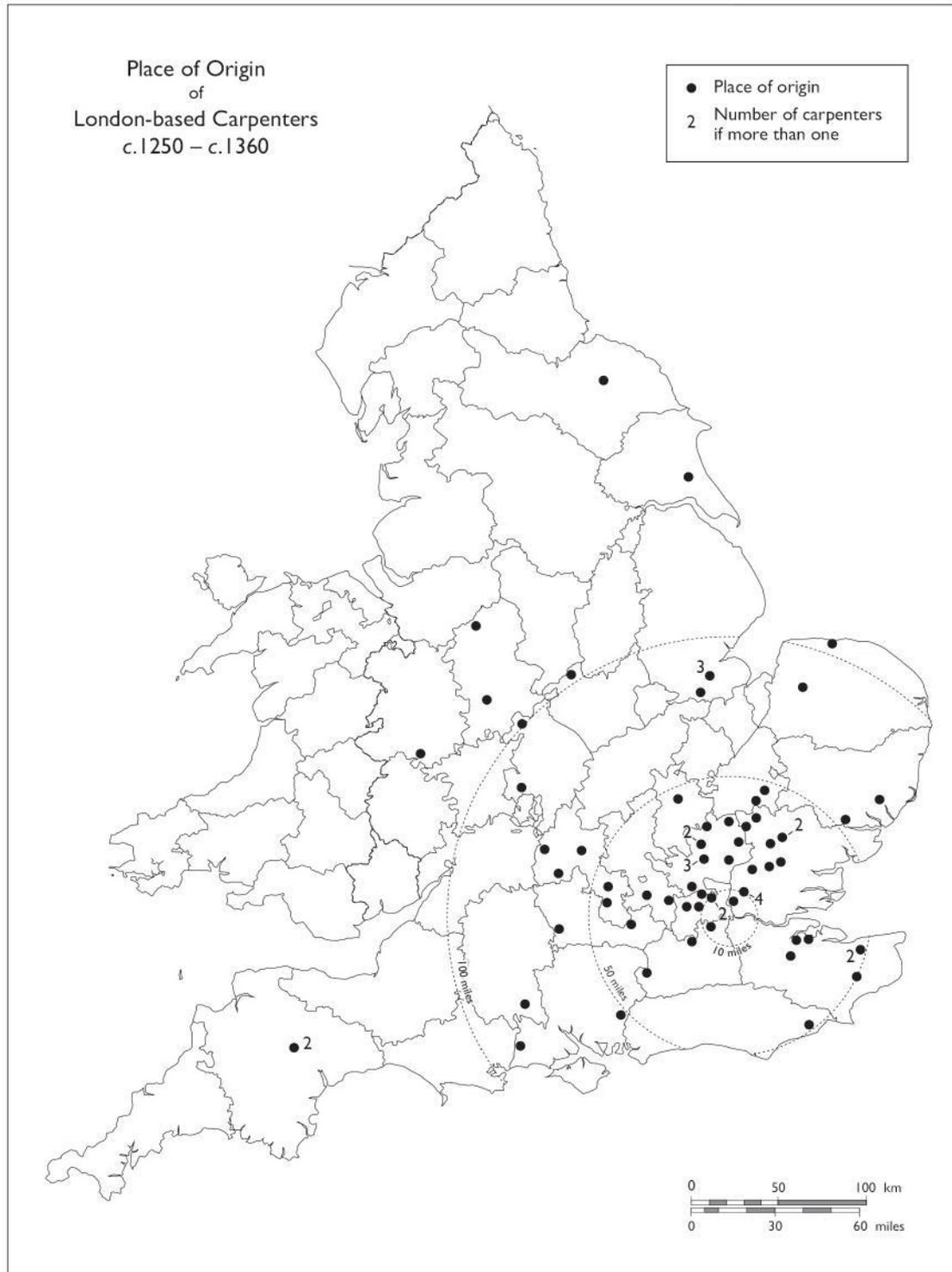
Map 2

Location of St Thomas of Acon and St John Haliwell

Source: Agas map at https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm. I am grateful to Adele Sykes for help in the preparation of this image.
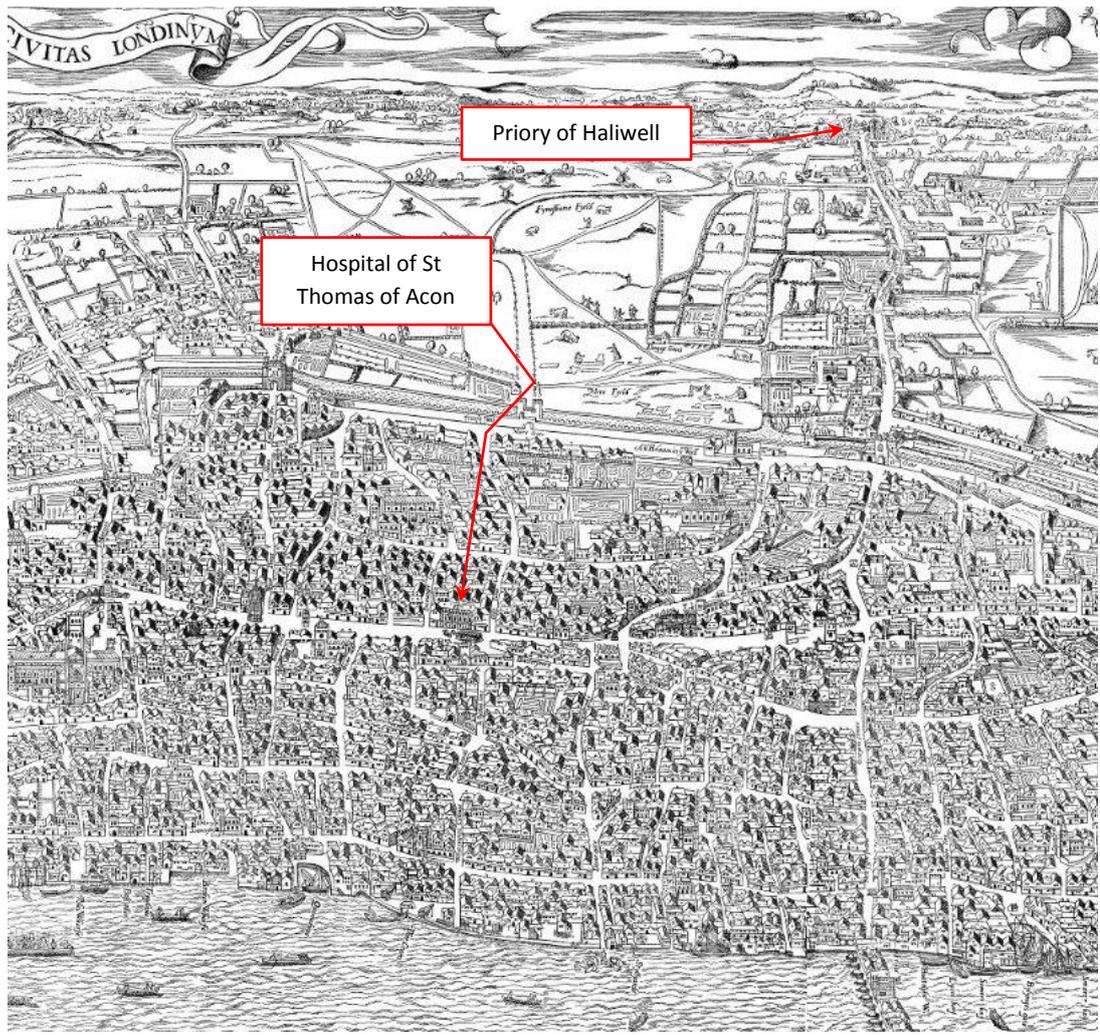
Map 3

Location of Carpenters' Hall

Source: An extract from the *British Historic Towns Atlas, III: The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, ed. M. D. Lobel (Oxford, 1989, reprinted 1991).

Map 4: Parishes of the City of London showing popular residential areas for carpenters 1255-1545

Information derived from 255 men in Appendix 1 where parish of residence is known. Parish references are on the following pages. Based on a map produced for the Richard III Society by Anne Sutton.
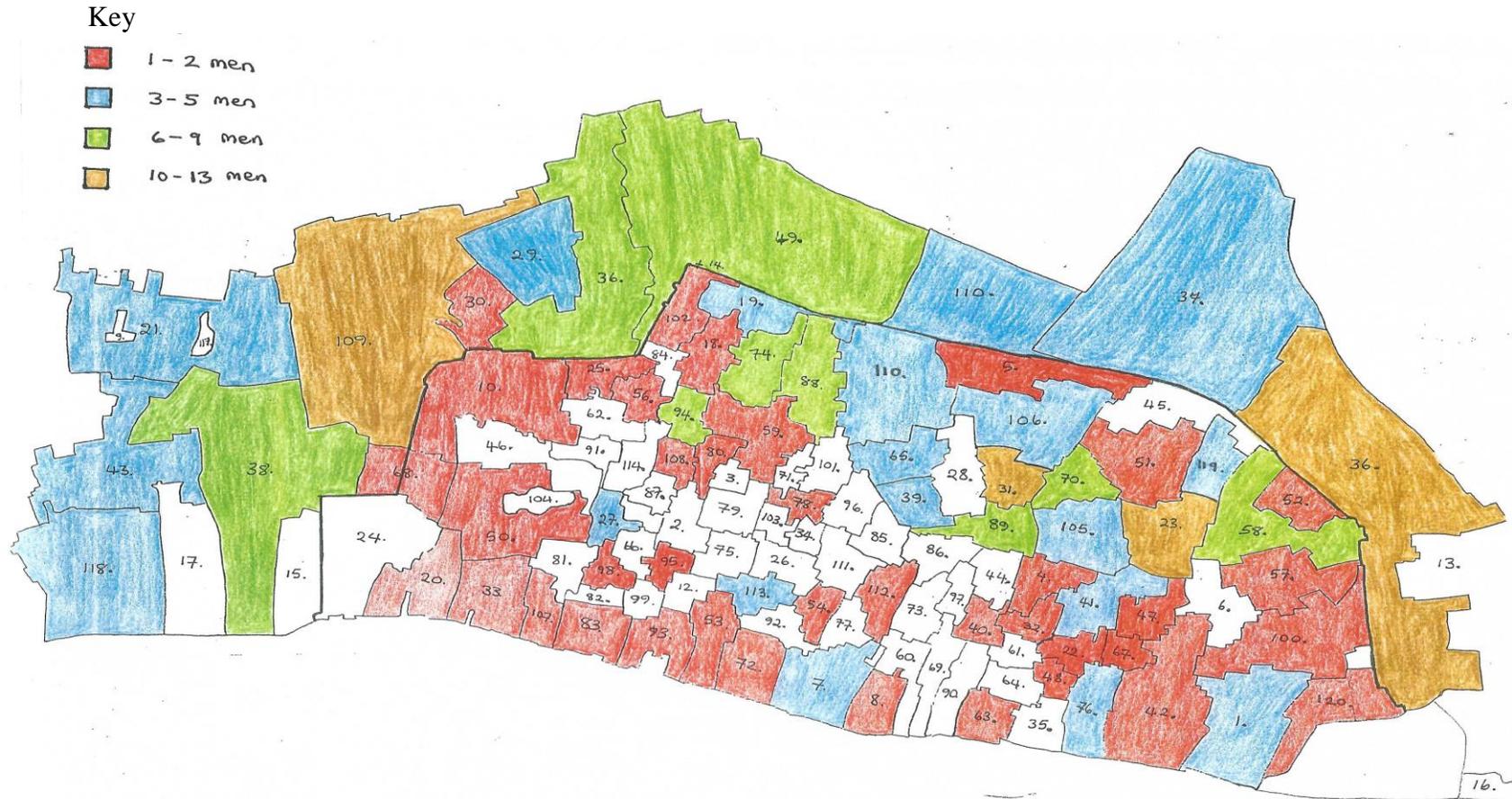
London parishes in Map 4

1. All Hallows, Barking
2. All Hallows, Bread Street
3. All Hallows Honey Lane
4. All Hallows Lombard Street
5. All Hallows London Wall
6. All Hallows Staining
7. All Hallows the Great
8. All Hallows the Less
9. Barnard's Inn (ex-parochial)
10. Christchurch
11. Furnival's Inn (ex-parochial)
12. Holy Trinity the Less
13. Holy Trinity Minories
14. Lamb Chapel
15. Precinct of Bridewell
16. Precinct of St Katherine (ex-parochial)
17. Precinct of Whitefriars (ex-parochial)
18. St Albans
19. St Alphage
20. St Andrew by the Wardrobe
21. St Andrew Holborn
22. St Andrew Hubbard
23. St Andrew Undershaft
24. St Ann Blackfriars
25. St Anne & St Agnes
26. St Antholin
27. St Augustine
28. St Bartholomew by the Exchange
29. St Bartholomew the Great
30. St Bartholomew the Less
31. St Benet Fink
32. St Benet Gracechurch
33. St Benet Paul's Wharf
34. St Benet Sherehog
35. St Botolph Billingsgate
36. St BotolphWithout Aldersgate
37. St Botolph Without Bishopsgate
38. St Bride
39. St Christopher Le Stock
40. St Clement
41. St Dionis Backchurch
42. St Dunstan in the East
43. St Dunstan in the West
44. St Edmund the King & Martyr
45. St Ethelburga
46. St Faith under St Pauls
47. St Gabriel
48. St George
49. St Giles Without Cripplegate
50. St Gregory by St Pauls
51. St Helen
52. St James Duke's Place
53. St James Garlickhithe
54. St John the Baptist
55. St John the Evangelist
56. St John Zachary
57. St Katherine Coleman
58. St Katherine Creechurch
59. St Lawrence Jewry
60. St Laurence Pountney
61. St Leonard Eastcheap
62. St Leonard Foster Lane
63. St Magnus the Martyr
64. St Margaret Fish Street Hill
65. St Margaret Lothbury
66. St Margaret Moses
67. St Margaret Pattens
68. St Martin Ludgate
69. St Martin Orgar
70. St Martin Outwich
71. St Martin Pomary
72. St Martin Vintry
73. St Mary Abchurch
74. St Mary Aldermanbury
75. St Mary Aldermary
76. St Mary at Hill
77. St Mary Bothaw
78. St Mary Colechurch
79. St Mary le Bow

80. St Mary Magdalen Milk Street
81. St Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street
82. St Mary Mountshaw
83. St Mary Somerset
84. St Mary Staining
85. St Mary Woolchurch Haw
86. St Mary Woolnoth
87. St Matthew Friday Street
88. St Michael Bassishaw
89. St Michael Cornhill
90. St Michael Crooked Lane
91. St Michael Le Querne
92. St Michael Paternoster Royal
93. St Michael Queenhithe
94. St Michael Wood Street
95. St Mildred Bread Street
96. St Mildred Poultry
97. St Nicholas Acon
98. St Nicholas Cole Abbey
99. St Nicholas Olave
100. St Olave Hart Street
101. St Olive Old Jewry
102. St Olave Silver Street
103. St Pancras
104. St Paul's Cathedral
105. St Peter Cornhill
106. St Peter Le Poor
107. St Peter Paul's Wharf
108. St Peter Westcheap
109. St Sepulchre
110. St Stephen Coleman Street
111. St Stephen Walbrook
112. St Swithin
113. St Thomas the Apostle
114. St Vedast
115. Serjeant's Inn (ex-parochial)
116. Staple Inn (ex-parochial)
117. Thavia's Inn (ex-parochial)
118. The Temple (ex-parochial)
119. St Mary Axe
120. Tower Hill (ex-parochial)

Map 5: City of London wards

Source: R. Hyde, *Ward Maps of the City of London* (London Topographical Society 154, 1999), pp. 30-31.
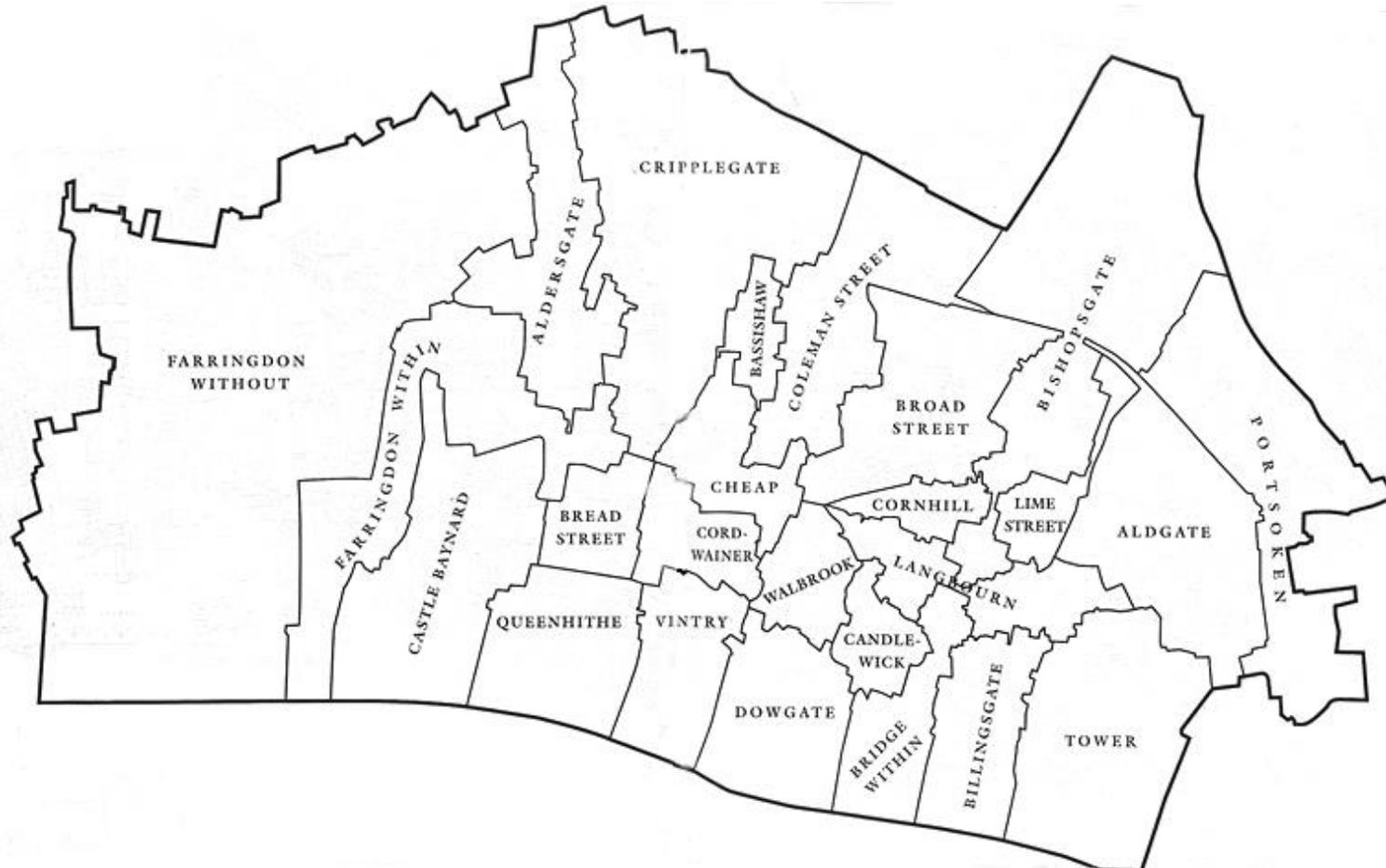
Illustration 1

Depiction of a cruck-framed timber building

Source: BL MS Royal 6.E.VI, f. 148v at
http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=40303 [accessed 2 May 2016].

Illustration 2

## Example of a box-framed timber building

Source: Salzman, before p. 197.
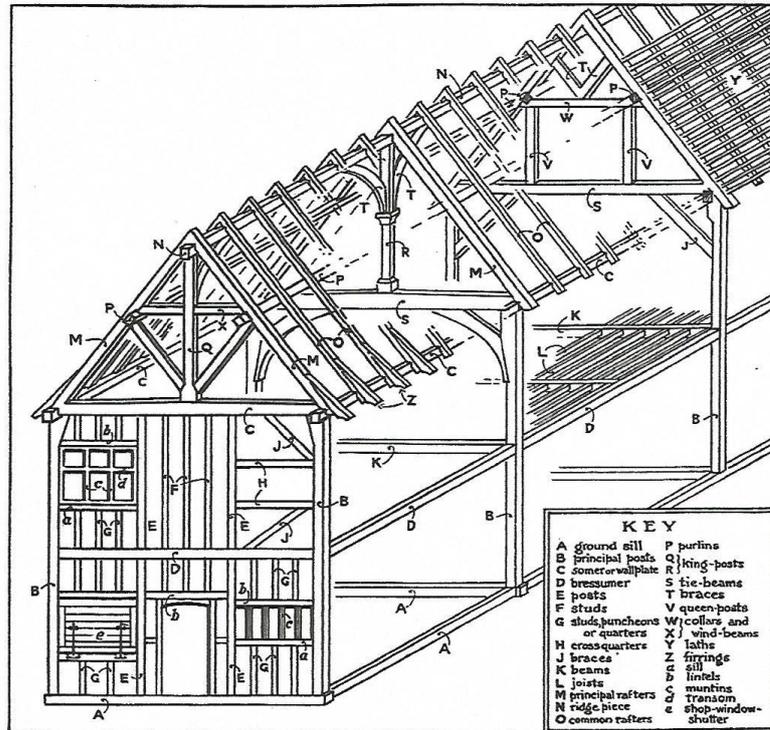
DIAGRAM OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF A TIMBER-FRAMED HOUSE

Illustration 3

Noah building the ark: Wall painting from Carpenters' Hall.

Source: B. W. E. Alford and T. C. Barker, *A History of the Carpenters' Company* (London, 1968), before title page.

Noah building the Ark
One of four murals discovered at Carpenters Hall in
1846. Taken from a watercolour painted by F. W.
Fairholt, now in the British Museum

Illustration 4

View of the Tower of London and London Bridge

Source: From Charles d'Orleans' Poetry at <http://www.bl.uk/collection-items/miniature-of-a-view-of-the-tower-of-london-with-london-bridge-from-charles-dorleans-poetry> [accessed 10 February 2017]

Illustration 5

Barn constructed by James Nedeham

Source: <http://thepriory.net/our-history/> [accessed 10 February 2017]

Illustration 6

Roof of the Great Hall at Eltham Palace

Source: M. Turner, *Eltham Palace*, (London, 1999), p. 11
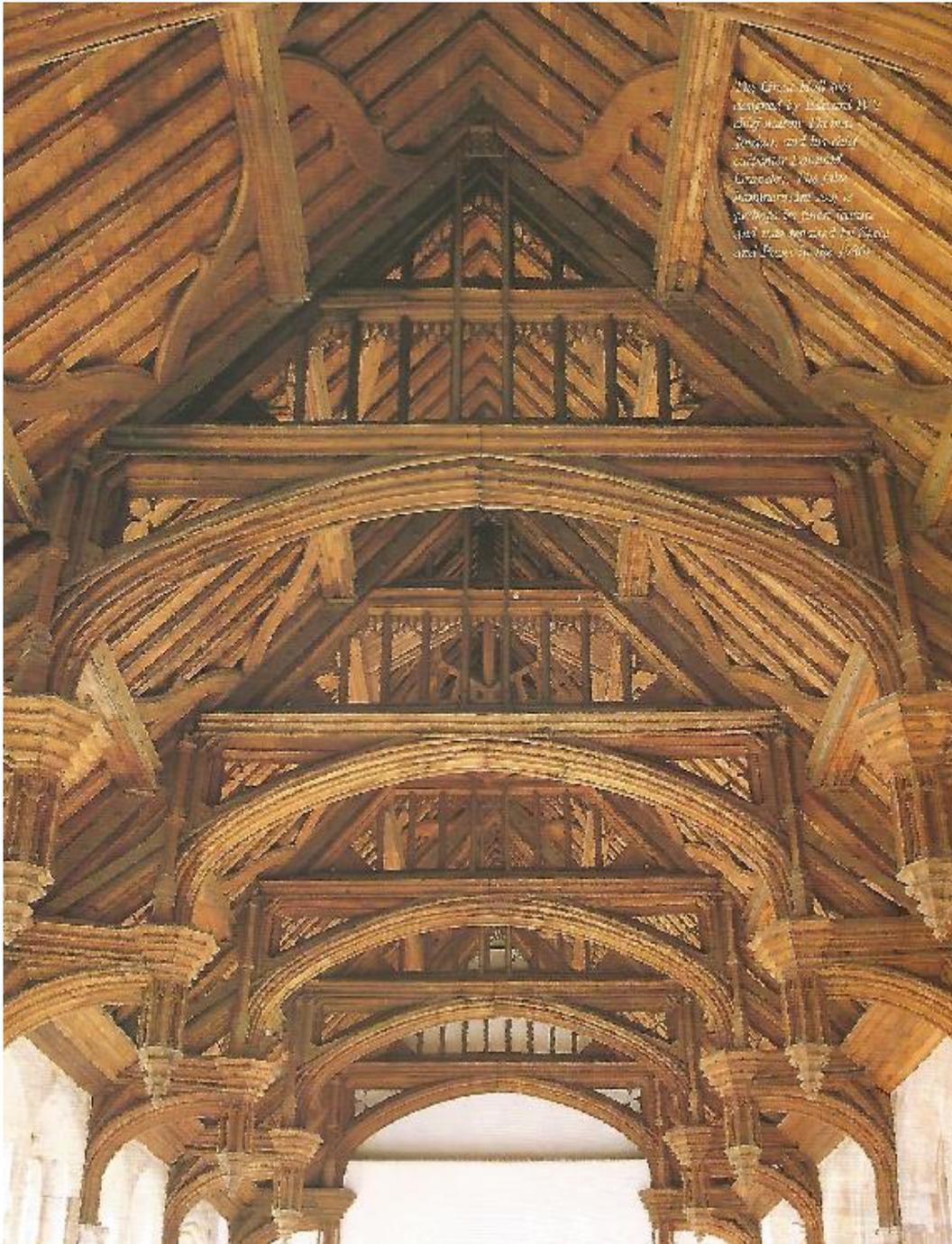
Illustration 7

Grant of arms to the Carpenters' Company 1466

Source: The Carpenters' Company at <http://www.carpentersco.com/history/coat-of-arms/> [accessed 17 July 2016].

Illustration 8

Examples of carpenters' construction marks

Source: J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester, 1997), p. 39.
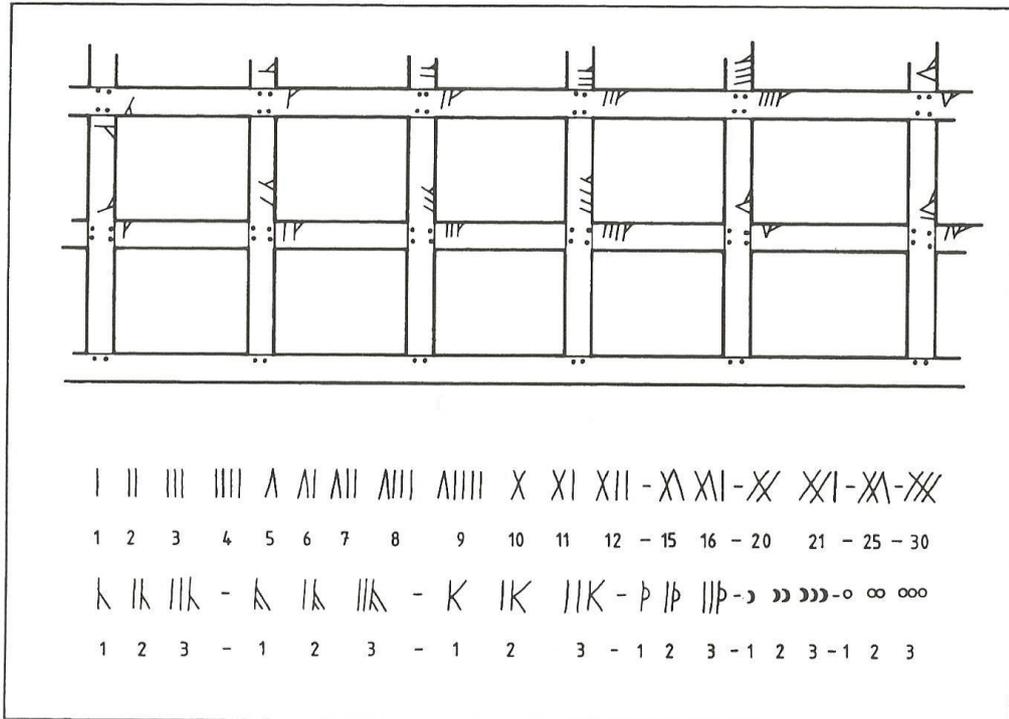
Illustration 9

Plan of a house in Cheapside *c*. 1531 possibly drawn by Humphrey Coke

North is to the right

Source: *London Plotted – Plans of London Buildings c. 1450-1720*, compiled by D. Gerhold (London Topographical Society 178, 2016), p. 40.
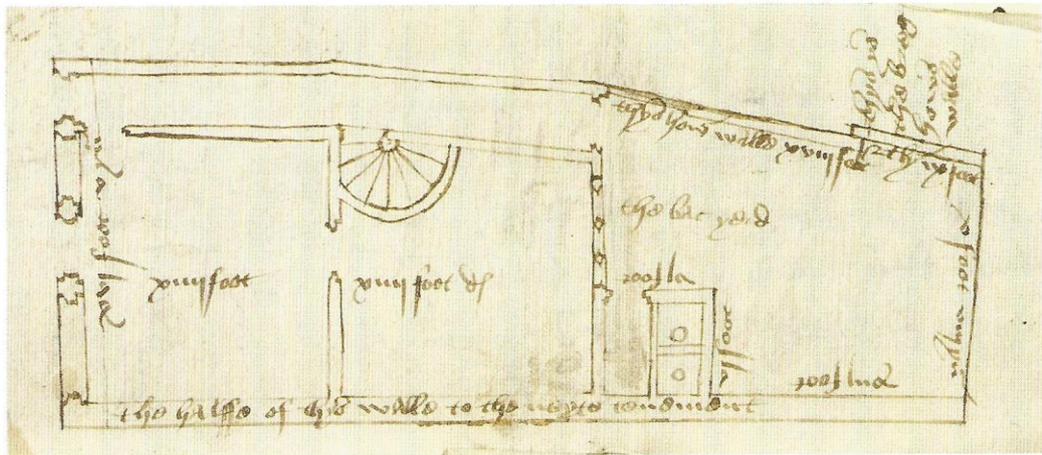
Illustration 10

Monument to James Nedeham formerly in Little Wymondley Church, Hertfordshire (now lost)

Source: *HKW III*, Plate 1.

Illustration 11

Examples of carpenters' personal marks and signatures 1553

Source: Marsh, *Court Book*, f. 78, p. 52.

The courte kepe the tuesday the v day of december thesse Masters beyng there as folowyth

Thomas ellis M^r
george Kyng
wyllm. mortym } wardyns
John Revell
Master Russell
Master sheres
Master amrys
Mast abott
Master wynde
John rrylic
frances stelecrag
tomas shereman
thomas pewcoke
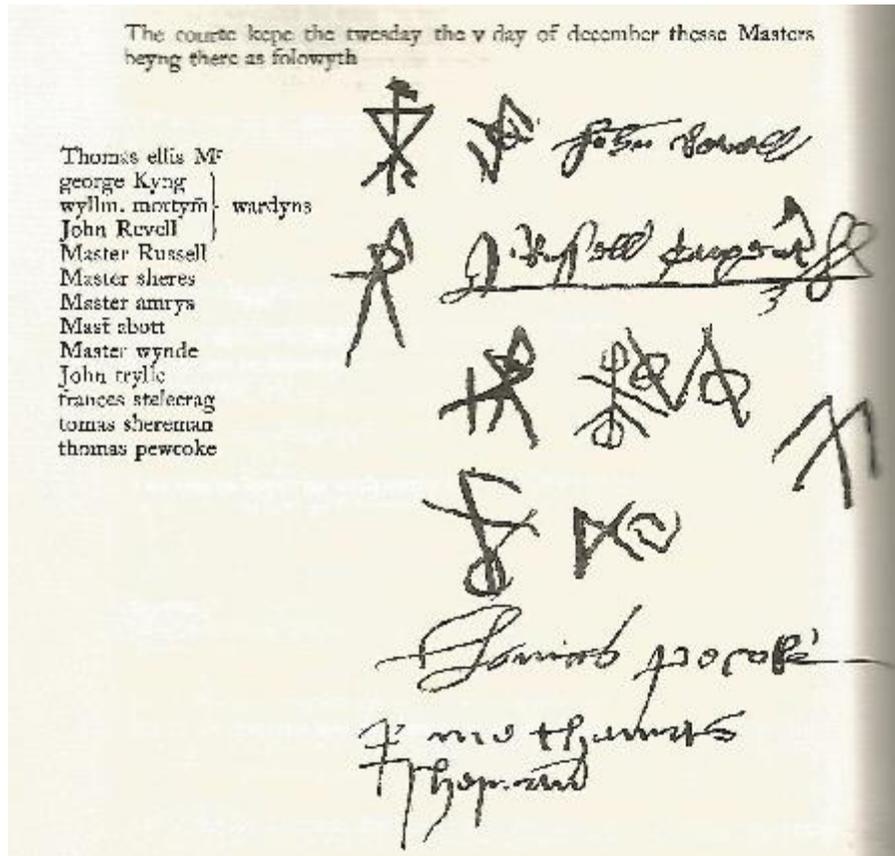
Illustration 12

Pall of the Merchant Taylors' Company 1490-1512

Source: Opus Anglicanum - The Evelyn Thomas Database of Medieval English Embroidery, at <https://ica.princeton.edu/opus-anglicanum/view.php?record_no=1939> [accessed 26 January 2016].

Illustration 13: Detail from Winchester College Chapel East Window showing an unnamed carpenter, William Wynford, mason, and Simon Membury, clerk of the works

Source: Gordon Plumb at
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/22274117@N08/sets/72157616822368882/>
[accessed 7 December 2015]
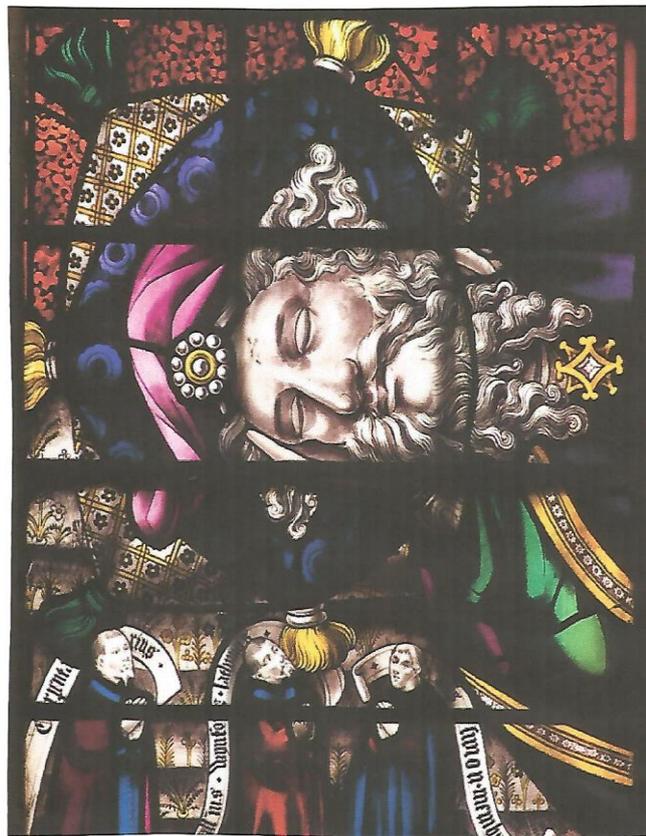
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CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440	William Porland's minute book, being an account and memoranda book compiled by William Porland, Clerk to the [Brewers'] Company (1418-1440)
CLC/L/CC/A-G	Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, 1438-1958:
A	Constitutional Records
B	Court Records
C	Membership Records
D	Financial Records
E	Trade Records
F	Clerk's Records
G	Charities and Estates
CLC/L/MD/D/003/MS34048/001	Merchant Tailors' Accounts 1397-1445
COL/AC/01/015	Index to the Deeds and Wills enrolled in the Court of Husting
COL/CC/01/01-06	Journals, Court of Common Council, 1416-63
COL/RG/01/013-025	Recognizance Rolls − 1437-97
DL/C/0418/	Registers of wills and administrations enrolled in the Consistory Court (1492, 1514-1858 with gaps
DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001	Register of wills enrolled in the Archdeaconry Court of London (1393-1415)
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