

Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns

Contrary to received opinion, revolts and popular protests in medieval English towns were as frequent and as sophisticated, if not more so, as those in the countryside. This groundbreaking study refocuses attention on the varied nature of popular movements in towns from Carlisle to Dover and from the London tax revolt of Longbeard in 1196 to Jack Cade's Rebellion in 1450, exploring the leadership, social composition, organization, and motives of popular rebels. The book charts patterns of urban revolt in times of strong and weak kingship, contrasting them with the broad sweep of ecological and economic change that inspired revolts on the Continent. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr demonstrates that the timing and character of popular revolt in England differed radically from revolts in Italy, France, and Flanders. In addition, he analyses the repression of, and waves of hate against, Jews, foreigners, and heretics, opening new vistas in the comparative history of late medieval Europe.

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow. His work over the past decade has concentrated on plague and the history of popular insurrection, and his previous publications include *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance* (2010) and *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe*, 1200–1425 (2006).





Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr

With assistance from Douglas Aiton





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107027800

© Samuel K. Cohn, Jr, 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by the MPG Books Group

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Cohn, Samuel Kline.

Popular protest in late medieval English towns / Samuel K. Cohn, Jr.; with assistance from Douglas Aiton.

p. cm.

ISBN 978-1-107-02780-0 (Hardback)

1. Protest movements–England–History–To 1500. 2. England–Social conditions–1066–1485. 3. Great Britain–History–1066–1687. I. Aiton, Douglas. II. Title.

HN398.E5C64 2012 303.60941-dc23

2012017173

ISBN 978-1-107-02780-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



> Dedicated to Rudolph Binion (1927–2011) friend, colleague, and master craftsman of comparative history





Contents

	List of maps	
	Acknowledgements	X
	Abbreviations	xii
Pa	art I The setting	1
1	Introduction: questions and sources Sources	3 33
2	Class struggle in English towns: workers and bosses	38
	Class struggle in municipal records: London	44
	Class struggle in municipal records: other English towns	55
3	Varieties of revolt	
	Riots against the papal legate	61
	Struggles between towns	65
	Colonial wars	66
	Riots of children and youth movements Revolts against military occupation	69 74
	art II Crown and town: strife with secular authority	79
4	Revolts against the Crown: crises of kingship from John	
	Lackland to Henry VI	81
	The baronial revolt against Henry III	83
	The crisis of Edward II	87
	Further dynastic crises Revolts against weak kings	90 97
	Jack Cade's Rebellion	107
5	The Black Death and urban protest	113
	Revolts from the mid-1350s to 1377	123
6	Urban revolts against the Crown outside London:	
-	the case of Bristol	130
	The Bristol revolt of 1312–16	133
	1347	141
		vii



viii	Contents	
7	A wave of insurrection, 1312–18?	144
8	Tax revolts Tax revolts in the Patent Rolls King's Bench Manipulation of coinage	159 169 172 175
9	Revolts: poor against rich Urban class conflict in the Patent Rolls Burgess struggles against the secular nobility	177 181 192
Par	t III Church and city	201
10	Revolts in monastic boroughs The chronicles The story from Patent Rolls: Bury St Edmunds St Albans Abingdon Other monastic boroughs	203 206 216 220 222 223
11	Church struggles in towns other than monastic boroughs The story from the Patent Rolls Monastic strife: Norwich York Oxford Canterbury Burgess struggles with religious orders in other urban places Struggles in the countryside	225 229 231 233 235 237 243
12	Urban conflict against bishops and universities Struggles between burgesses and universities	251 262
13	Urban risings of hatred: Jews, foreigners, and heretics Hatred of foreigners Heresy and Lollardy	
14	Conclusion	309
	Bibliography Index	331 359



Maps

Map	1	Distribution of incidents according to the chronicles,		
		1196–1450.	page	11
Map	2	Distribution of incidents according to the Patent Rolls,		
		1196–1450.		12

ix



Acknowledgements

An ESRC three-year small research grant awarded in October 2007 (000-22-2339) made this project possible. Having just defended a Ph.D. thesis on the Jacquerie, Douglas Aiton served as the research assistant, Matthew Strickland was the adviser, and I was the principal investigator. In his ten-month stint, Aiton read and selected between two-thirds and three-quarters of the chronicles and documents from the Calendar of Patent Rolls analysed for this book. He also made several trips to TNA to check a sample of original documents with those edited at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century in the CPR. Over the next three years I checked and coded the records and searched for further examples of popular protest, reading additional chronicles and volumes from the CPR and a large array of published documents and secondary sources. I compiled the databases and wrote versions of the present book that were first commented upon and criticized by Strickland and Aiton and afterwards circulated for a one-day workshop at the University of Glasgow, attended by seven senior scholars and four post-graduates (in addition to the three grant holders). They included William Hepburn, Colette Bowie, Laura Crombie, Fergus Oakes, Neil Murphy, Hamish Scott, Graeme Small, Patrick Lantschner, Andrew Prescott, Christian Liddy, and Chris Dyer. I thank all these scholars for their time and intellectual generosity, but especially the three principal interlocutors - Prescott, Liddy, and Dyer - who submitted detailed reports and criticisms and were extraordinarily generous afterwards in offering materials from their own published, as well as unpublished, research. With their comments and criticisms, I returned to the drawing board for an intense period of reading, rethinking, and redrafting. Finally, Andrew Roach, an authority on European heresy, commented on Chapter 13.

In addition, Kathryn Dutton and especially Laura Crombie assisted for shorter periods, researching place names for the maps and compiling

x



Acknowledgements

xi

bibliographies. Early on in the writing, I benefited from discussions with, and the fine personal library of, Maryanne Kowaleski. Finally, I am indebted to both Elizabeth Friend-Smith and the anonymous readers at Cambridge University Press for their detailed, critical, and informed reports that went beyond the call of duty.



Abbreviations

BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
BJ RL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
CCR	Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record
	Office, 1227-1509, 63 vols. (London, 1900-63)
CEMCR	Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls, a.d. 1298-1307, ed.
	A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1924)
CFR	Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Records
	Office, 1272-1509, 22 vols. (London, 1911-62)
CPMR	Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved among the
	Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the
	Guildhall, 1323-1482, ed. A. H. Thomas, 6 vols.
	(Cambridge, 1926–61)
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record
	Office, 1216-1452, 49 vols. (London, 1901-9)
CS	Camden Society
CUHB	The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. I, ed.
	D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000)
EcHR	Economic History Review, 2nd series
EHR	English Historical Review
$\mathcal{J}BS$	Journal of British Studies
$\mathcal{J}IDH$	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
$\mathcal{J}MH$	Journal of Medieval History
$\mathcal{J}UST$	Justices in Eyre, of Assize, of Oyer and Terminer in TNA
KB	King's Bench in TNA
King's	Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench, ed. G. O. Sayles,
Bench	7 vols., Selden Society, LV, LVII, LVIII, LXXIV, LXXVI,
	LXXXII, LXXXVIII (London, 1936-71)
LB	Calendar of Letter Books Preserved among the Archives
	of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall:
	Letter-Book A-K, 9 vols., ed. Reginald R. Sharpe
	(London, 1899–1912)

xii



VCH

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-02780-0 - Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns Samuel K. Cohn Frontmatter More information

h,
al,
7
ce

Victorian County History