Pain, Penance, and Protest

In medieval England, a defendant who refused to plead to a criminal indictment was sentenced to pressing with weights as a coercive measure. Using peine forte et dure ("strong and hard punishment") as a lens through which to analyze the law and its relationship with Christianity, Butler asks: Where do we draw the line between punishment and penance? And, how can pain function as a vehicle for redemption within the common law? Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, this book embraces both law and literature. When Christ was on trial before Herod, he refused to plead, his silence signaling denial of the court's authority. England's discontented subjects, from hungry peasants to even King Charles I himself, stood mute before the courts in protest. Bringing together penance, pain, and protest, Butler breaks down the mythology surrounding peine forte et dure and examines how it functioned within the medieval criminal-justice system.

Sara M. Butler is the King George III Professor in British History at The Ohio State University. She is the author of three books: *The Language of Abuse: Marital Violence in Later Medieval England, Divorce in Medieval England: From One to Two Persons in Law, and Forensic Medicine and Death Investigation in Medieval England.*

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-06572-6 — Pain, Penance, and Protest Sara M. Butler Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



See the Studies in Legal History series website at http://studiesinlegalhistory.org/

Studies in Legal History

EDITORS

Sarah Barringer Gordon, University of Pennsylvania Lisa Ford, University of New South Wales Michael Lobban, London School of Economics and Political Science Reuel Schiller, University of California, Hastings College of the Law

Other books in the series:

- Michael Lobban, Imperial Incarceration: Detention without Trial in the Making of British Colonial Africa
- Stefan Jurasinski and Lisi Oliver, The Laws of Alfred: The Domboc and the Making of Anglo-Saxon Law
- Sascha Auerbach, Armed with Sword and Scales: Law, Culture, and Local Courtrooms in London, 1860–1913
- Alejandro de La Fuente and Ariela J. Gross, Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and the Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana
- Elizabeth Papp Kamali, Felony and the Guilty Mind in Medieval England
- Jessica K. Lowe, Murder in the Shenandoah: Making Law Sovereign in Revolutionary Virginia
- Michael A. Schoeppner, Moral Contagion: Black Atlantic Sailors, Citizenship, and Diplomacy in Antebellum America

Sam Erman, Almost Citizens: Puerto Rico, the U.S. Constitution, and Empire

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-06572-6 — Pain, Penance, and Protest Sara M. Butler Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

- Martha S. Jones, Birthright Citizens: A History of Race and Rights in Antebellum America
- Julia Moses, The First Modern Risk: Workplace Accidents and the Origins of European Social States
- Cynthia Nicoletti, Secession on Trial: The Treason Prosecution of Jefferson Davis
- Edward James Kolla, Sovereignty, International Law, and the French Revolution
- Assaf Likhovski, Tax Law and Social Norms in Mandatory Palestine and Israel
- Robert W. Gordon, Taming the Past: Essays on Law and History and History in Law
- Paul Garfinkel, Criminal Law in Liberal and Fascist Italy
- Michelle A. McKinley, Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700
- Karen M. Tani, States of Dependency: Welfare, Rights, and American Governance, 1935–1972
- Stefan Jurasinski, The Old English Penitentials and Anglo-Saxon Law
- Felice Batlan, Women and Justice for the Poor: A History of Legal Aid, 1863–1945
- Sophia Z. Lee, The Workplace Constitution from the New Deal to the New Right
- Mitra Sharafi, Law and Identity in Colonial South Asia: Parsi Legal Culture, 1772–1947
- Michael A. Livingston, *The Fascists and the Jews of Italy: Mussolini's Race Laws*, 1938–1943

Pain, Penance, and Protest

Peine Forte et Dure in Medieval England

SARA M. BUTLER

The Ohio State University





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009065726

DOI: 10.1017/9781009067065

© Sara M. Butler 2022

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 & Assessment.

First published 2022 First paperback edition 2024

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data NAMES: Butler, Sara M. (Sara Margaret), author. TITLE: Pain, penance, and protest : peine forte et dure in medieval England / Sara M. Butler, The Ohio State University. DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Series: Studies in legal history | Includes bibliographical references and index. IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2021037180 (print) | LCCN 2021037181 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316512388 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009067065 (ebook other) SUBJECTS: LCSH: Peine forte et dure - England - History. | Pleas (Criminal procedure) - England - History. CLASSIFICATION: LCC KD8225.P45 B88 2022 (print) | LCC KD8225.P45 (ebook) | DDC 345.42/077-dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021037180 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021037181 ISBN 978-1-316-51238-8 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-06572-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.

Contents

List of Tables	<i>page</i> viii
Acknowledgments	ix
Table of Statutes	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	I
Peine Forte et Dure: The Medieval Practice	26
2 Standing Mute in the Courts of Medieval England	80
3 Due Process and Consent to Jury Trial	134
4 Peine Forte et Dure as Barbarity? Putting the Practice in Context	188
5 Why Stand Mute?	250
6 Standing Mute as Imitatio Christi	303
7 Rejecting the Jury, Rejecting the Common Law, Reject the King	ting 348
Conclusion	398
Bibliography	
Index	

vii

Tables

1.1	Numbers of defendants who stood mute in	
	fourteenth-century England by decade	page 48
2.1	Standing mute: Private versus public prosecution	93
5.1	Breakdown by felony type	267
5.2	Indications of guilt	269
7.1	Numbers of defendants who stood mute in	
	fourteenth-century England by decade	387

Acknowledgments

While writing a book may sometimes *feel* like the most solitary task in the world, it never actually is. In the seven years I have spent writing this book, I have accrued many debts. The funding for this project originated in the Gregory F. Curtin, S. J., Distinguished Professorship held at Loyola University New Orleans, as well as the King George III Professorship in British History at The Ohio State University. Many thanks to the staff at The National Archives for their assistance with manuscripts and to the wonderfully hard-working inter-library loan staff members at both Monroe Library (Loyola University New Orleans) and Thompson Library (The Ohio State University). For advice, insight, translation assistance, reading tips, and emotional support, many thanks to: Deanne Baker, Brian Butler, Lin Butler, Siobhain Bly Calkin, Deb Grayson, Huguette LaBine, Kenneth LaBine, Heather Mack, Jennifer Jahner, Leslie Joseph, Leslie Lockett, Geoffrey Parker, Ted Powell, John Sebastian, Karl Shoemaker, and Tina Sessa. Many thanks to Jordan Schoonover for her hard work indexing this book. Both Krista Kesselring and Cynthia Neville read early drafts of the book manuscript and gave invaluable advice; to both of you I express my gratitude for your support, encouraging critiques, keen eyes, and enduring friendship. One of the series' editors, Michael Lobban, spent hours reading multiple versions of this manuscript and offered superlative guidance to clarify and bolster the book's larger argument. The two anonymous reviewers for the press must also be thanked: their insightful reviews proved to be highly useful and I believe have made this a better manuscript. Finally, many thanks to my children: Cade, Genevieve, and Miranda. During the coronavirus

CAMBRIDGE

х

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-06572-6 — Pain, Penance, and Protest Sara M. Butler Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

pandemic we have spent much more time together than I suspect any teenager wants to spend with their mother, and we did it without driving each other mad. Finally, many thanks to my husband, Mark LaBine, for his patience, love of family, and weird sense of humor – this book could not have been written without you.

I dedicate this book to my mother, Carol Marie Butler (née Allen), who left a big hole in all of our lives when she passed away September 8, 2014 after a two-year battle with cancer. I was ten years old when my mother started passing along historical fiction for me to read. Little did she realize at the time she was feeding the passions of a budding historian. Her unending love and support gave me the confidence to pursue my dreams, the humor to laugh at my mistakes and not take myself too seriously, as well as the grounding to help me realize the importance of a balanced life and having a family to cherish. Mom, you are sorely missed.

Table of Statutes

Act of 1827, page 5 An Acte for stondyng muet & peremptoritie challenge (1433-4), page 99 De donis conditionalibus (1285), page 252 Ordinance of Laborers (1351), pages 69, 382, 395 Statute of 1541–2, page 98 Statute of Marlborough (1267), page 361 Statute of Winchester (1285), page 46 Statutes of Exeter (1287), page 224 Statute of Westminster I, 3 Edw. I, c. 12 (1275), pages 32, 89, 263, 352 Statute of Westminster I, 3 Edw. I, c. 15 (1275), page 74 Statute of Gloucester, 6 Edw. I, c. 9 (1278), page 271 Statute of Acton Burnell, 11 Edw. I (1283), page 30 Statute of Merchants, 13 Edw. I (1285), page 30 The Statute of Persons to be put in Assises and Juries, 21 Edw. I (1293), page 276 28 Edw. I (1300), page 285 Articles of the Clergy, 9 Edw. II (1315–16), page 283 Statute of Laborers, 23 Edw. III, c. 1 (1349), pages 69, 71, 382, 395 Great Treason Statute, 25 Edw. III, c. 2 (1351–2), page 32 25 Edw. III, c. 3 (1351–2), pages 5, 30 Statutum pro clero, 25 Edw. III, c. 4 (1352), page 57 28 Edw. III, c. 3 (1354), page 165 34 Edw. III, c. 4 (1360), page 276 36 Edw. III, Stat. 1, c. 15 (1362), page 129 A Statute concerning Diet and Apparel, 37 Edw. III (1363), page 237 42 Edw. III, c. 3 (1368), page 165

xi

xii

Table of Statutes

5 Hen. IV, c. 2 (1403-4), page 284 Statute of Additions, 1 Hen. V, c. 5 (1413), pages 185, 186 25 Hen. VIII, c. 3 (1533-4), page 99 33 Hen. VIII, c. 12, iv (1541-2), page 98 Felony and Piracy Act, 12 Geo. III, c. 20 (1772), page 5

Abbreviations

AJLH Blackstone	American Journal of Legal History Blackstone, William. Commentaries on the Laws of England, 4 vols. (1723–1780). In "The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy." New Haven. Online.
Bracton	Bracton, Henry of. De Legibus Et Consuetudinibus Angliæ, in Bracton Online. Cambridge, MA. Online.
$C \mathscr{C} C$	Continuity and Change
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> , 1273–1485. 45 vols. London 1911–63.
CFR	Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1272–1509. 22 vols. London, 1911–62.
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. 26 vols. London, 1898–2009.
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216–1509. 55</i> vols. London, 1891–1916.
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	English Historical Review
JBS	Journal of British Studies
JUST 1	Justices in Eyre, of Assize, of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Peace
JUST 2	Coroners' Rolls and Files, with Cognate Documents
JUST 3	Justices of Jail Delivery: Jail Delivery Rolls and Files
Ĺ <i>Ġ</i> HR	Law and History Review
LHP	Leslie J. Downer, ed., Leges Henrici Primi. Oxford, 1972.

xiii

xiv

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-06572-6 — Pain, Penance, and Protest Sara M. Butler Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

List of Abbreviations

ODNB OED P&M	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Online. Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford, 2020. Online. Frederick Pollock and Frederic Maitland, <i>The History</i> of English Law before the Time of Edward I, 2 vols.
	Cambridge, 1895.
ΡΦΡ	Past and Present
PIMS	Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
RS	Rolls Series, also: <i>Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores</i> . 253 vols. (1858–1911).
SC	Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and Exchequer
Seipp	Seipp, David J. "Seipp's Abridgement." Boston. Online.
SR	Alexander Luders, et al., eds. <i>Statutes of the Realm</i> . 11 vols. London, 1810–28.
SS	Selden Society
TNA	The National Archives, Kew (Surrey)
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
YB	Year Book
YLS	Yearbook of Langland Studies