

THE
LIFE AND TYPOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM CAXTON, THE MERCER, A.D. 1423—1471.

Where born—His Parents and Relations—Caxton, Cauxton, and Causton—When born—Date of Apprenticeship and its term—The Mercers' Company—Robert Large; his Residence; Family and Household; Death and Will—Events during Caxton's residence in London—His passage to the Low Countries, and progress there—A Law Suit—A Stop to Trade—Caxton in London; receives the Livery of his Company; fined for not attending the Mayor—The Merchant Adventurers' Company; their Charter and Constitution; their Connexion with the Mercers; Caxton appointed Governor; his Duties and Emoluments—His first Embassy, Letter to Caxton from the Wardens—Letter from the Earl of Warwick—Letter from Caxton to the Wardens, and the reply—Caxton's second Embassy—An Arbitration—Charles Duke of Burgundy and his Duchess—Caxton and the Vins d'honneur—He enters the service of the Duchess—Why did he resign his Governorship?—He translates "Le Recueil"—Its Popularity—He employs the Art of Printing with success.

IN the Prologue to "The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye," Caxton declares of himself, "I was born * * in Kente in the Weeld." A.D. 1422-3.

Lambarde says that the Weald had always been a very undefined portion of Kent, and that even in his time it was an easier thing to deny its existence altogether than to define its boundaries with any accuracy. Considerable research has been made, but in vain, to discover the exact locality where our Prototypographer first drew breath. There appears to be some connexion, though perhaps only verbal, between the old Manor of *Causton*, near Hadlow, and the family of Caxton; but, as will be shown farther on, the link is but slight, and we must fairly acknowledge that we can add nothing more precise to Caxton's own words, "I was born in Kente in the Weeld." Fuller in his "Worthies," overlooking this assertion, assigns the honor of his birth to the town of Caxton, in Cambridge-shire; but apparently on grounds no stronger than the identity in name.

Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, 4to. London, 1576, page 213.

The *History of the Worthies of England*, London, 1662, page 157.

A.D. 1422-3.

Although this cannot be maintained for a moment, a coincidence in connexion with this town may be worth noting. Earl Rivers, the patron and employer of Caxton on his first attempting the new Art of Printing, had ancestors who owned the town of Caxton; but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that either the family of Wydeville or Caxton had any connexion with this town in the 15th Century.

St. Margaret's Records.
Auth. K 3 & 6.

As to Caxton's pedigree and family we are equally in the dark, no trace of any relatives except his parents having been discovered. He tells us in the Prologue to his translation of "Charles the Great," that he was sent to school by his father and mother; and this is the only notice we have of their existence, unless we receive the opinion that the William Caxton who was buried in 1478 in St. Margaret's, Westminster, was the father of our printer. That the latter was buried also in St. Margaret's in 1491 is well known, but the connexion of the two cannot be grounded on more than identity of name as well as burial place; and the strength of this coincidence is somewhat diminished by the frequency with which the name of Caxton appears in the 14th and 15th Centuries. (Note *a*.) In one other instance there seems to be a probability of relationship. The records of the Mercers' Company contain many notices of the "entries" and "issues" of apprentices, and in 1447 it is recorded that one Richard Caxton had finished his term of servitude with John Harrowe. Now a son of this John Harrowe was one of the apprentices of Robert Large at the same time as our William Caxton. As Large and Harrowe were fellow Mercers, and evidently on friendly terms, and as each had an apprentice named Caxton, the probability is that the two youths were of one family.

Mercers' Records.
Auth. A 14.

The City Merchants of those days were very exclusive in their reception of apprentices, and perhaps none more so than the Mercers, who ranked the first of all the City Companies. The leading men of the superior Companies, as was natural, apprenticed their sons to one another, and thus the family names of Caxton's fellow-apprentices are the names also of the Wardens, and the most respectable citizens of the period. The family name of "Caxton" does not, indeed, figure at all among the City magnates; but his admission to the household of one of London's most eminent Merchants, and his being apprenticed at the same time as his master's son, go far to prove the family to have been well-connected.

Auth. A. 11.

In the 15th Century the word Caxton was frequently pronounced *Cawxton* or *Causton*, the *x* and *s* being considered interchangeable; "to axe" is the common form of "to ask" in Caxton's works, just as

Alisaunder is of Alexander,—the *u* being continually inserted after the *a* where the pronunciation was broad, as in *Fraunce*, *commaund*, &c. It might therefore be expected that we should find the word under various forms of orthography, and such is the case; Caxton in Cambridge-shire is frequently spelt in the old Parish records *Causton*; and in the Mercers' books, Thomas *Cacston* appears as one of the Liverymen chosen to ride out to meet Edward IV on his entry into London, the name being immediately after entered as Thomas *Causton*. This opens a new field of inquiry, for the name of *Causton* was very common in that age, (Note *b*,) and a reference to any old Kentish history will show that there was in the 14th Century a Manor of *Causton* in Kent in the Weald, which was anciently held in possession by a family of the same name. (Note *c*.) This Manor was in the hundred of *Hadlow*, or *Haudlo*; and although for many years previously to Caxton's birth it had been alienated to the family of *Watton*, it is not impossible that a branch of the old stock may have become rooted in the neighbourhood. There is certainly no other place in the Weald with which even a verbal connexion can be traced; and if we imagine our Printer to have descended from this ancient line, it will at least bear out Bagford's random assertion, that "Caxton's family was of great repute of old, and genteel-like."

A.D. 1422-38.

Notes and Queries.
Jan. 3, 1852.
Mercers' Records.Hasted's History of
Kent, 1782,
vol. II, page 317.Bagford's MSS. in the
Harleian, No. 5910.

When was Caxton born? To this question there is a more satisfactory answer, as we know the year of his apprenticeship, which, although till now overlooked, has fortunately been preserved in the records of the Mercers' Company. It has generally been assumed from the unqualified statement of Dr. Kippis, and later biographers, that 1412 was the date of his birth, the sole ground for the assertion being the complaint of Caxton himself in 1471 that he was growing old and weak. From this the inference is drawn that he must then have seen at least sixty years. That 1412 however is a date much too early is proved by the following extract from the earliest volume of "Wardens' Accounts" in the Archives of the Mercers' Company. It occurs in a list of fees for the binding and enrolment of apprentices "pur lan deūnt passe cest assauoir des Fest de Saynt John Bap^{te} lan xvj du Roy Henr sisme," that is, "for the year just passed namely at the Feast of St. John Baptist the 16th year of King Henry VI." (June 24, 1438.)

Biog. Brit. Edit. 1784,
vol. III, page 351.Mercers' Records.
Auth. A 11.

Entres des Appñtices.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| l ^p John large, | } les appñtices de | iiij s |
| l ^p Willm Caxton,) | | |

A.D. 1438.

We here arrive at the interesting fact, that in 1438 Caxton was apprenticed to Robert Large. It is the first genuine date in his life with which we are acquainted, and furnishes us with a standing point from which can be reckoned, with some degree of assurance, the date of his birth.

The age of twenty-one has always been considered as the period when a man arrives at his *legal* majority; but in the 15th Century there was also what may be termed the *civic* majority, which did not occur till three

Pulling's Laws and
Customs of London,
8vo. 1842, page 61.

years later. At that time no man could become a freeman, and engage in trade on his own account, till he had attained the age of twenty-four.

This custom was continued so late as the 17th Century; for in 1693 an Act of Common Council is recorded enforcing upon the Chamberlain the necessity of ascertaining that every claimant, before admission to the Freedom of the City, had "reached the full age of twenty-four." It was with reference to this that the phrase "quousq; ad etatem suam xxiii; or annor'

Large's Will and
City Records.
Liber K, passim.

puenerit," is so commonly found in old wills; and in view of this the indenture of an apprentice was always so drawn that on the commencement of his twenty-fifth year he might *issue* from his apprenticeship. This necessarily caused a considerable variation in the length of servitude, which ranged according to the age of the youth, from seven years, the shortest term, to fourteen years.* The mean, or ten years, appears to have been the term most common in the 15th Century. Reckoning his servitude at seven years only, Caxton could not have been more than seventeen years of age when apprenticed, and *must* therefore have been born after the year 1421: that he was not much younger is evident from his position at Bruges only eleven years after he "entered" his apprenticeship, when he was considered as good surety for a sum equal to £1000 of the present day; so that, if we assume 1422-3 as the date of his birth, we cannot be far wrong.

Bruges Records.
Auth. F.

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Prologue to "Charles
the Great."

Caxton tells us that previously to his apprenticeship he had been to school in Kent, but as no other particulars of his early history are known, we will pass at once to the year 1438, and imagine him, fresh from the Weald, already established in the household of Robert Large, and duly invested

* Fourteen years is the longest term I have noticed in the City Records (Lib. Dunthorne fol. 398b,) and an apprenticeship for so long a period appears to have been uncommon, as the youth in that case could not have been more than ten years of age on his *entry*. The periods for which three of Large's apprentices were bound are noted among the *entries* and *issues* in the Mercers' books, as follows—

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------------|-----------|
| Thomas Staunton entered ... | 1422-3... | and issued | 1434-5, | being a term of | 12 years. |
| Randolphe Streete entered... | 1427-8... | " | 1437-8, | " | 10 " |
| Ric. Bonefaunt entered | 1430-1... | " | 1441-2, | " | 11 " |

with all the rights and privileges of a London apprentice. When we consider how many of these apprentices were young men nearly twenty-four years of age, we can easily believe that very strict rules were required to keep them within bounds, and that when they did break loose it was sometimes beyond the power of all the City authorities combined to restrain them. The Evil May Day, as it was called, in 1517, when the apprentices rose against all foreigners, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Mayor and Aldermen, ravaged the City, burning houses and killing many persons, is recorded by all the old chroniclers: it was long remembered by the masters with fear, and by the apprentices with pride; although twelve of the latter ignominiously perished by the hands of the hangman, upon the quelling of the riot by the King's troops.

A.D. 1438.

Styve's Stow,
London, 1754,
vol. II, page 436.

The master's duties to his apprentice were to feed him, clothe him, and teach him well and truly his art and craft. On failing to fulfil these duties, the apprentice could, on complaint, and proof shown before the Court of Aldermen, have his indentures cancelled, or be turned over to another master. On the other side, the apprentice took oath to serve his master well and truly, to keep all his secrets, to use no traffic on his own account, and to obey all his lawful commands.

Mercers' Records.
Auth. A 1.

Robert Large, Caxton's master, was one of the richest and most influential merchants in the City. He was a Mercer, and the son of a Mercer, and according to Stow, was born in the City of London. In 1430 he filled the office of Sheriff, and in 1439-40 was elected Mayor. The Mercers' Company was then, as it is now, the oldest chartered Company in existence. Its members comprised the merchants of highest standing in the City. It paid more money to the King's revenue, sent to a "Riding" more well-mounted men, spent larger sums on its "liveries," and yielded from its ranks more Sheriffs and Mayors than any two of the City Companies besides. Of this Company Large was elected Warden (or, as the old Clerk writes it "Gardein,") in 1427, and appears to have made himself very popular, if we may judge from the unusual expenditure at his "chivacherie" when he succeeded to the Mayoralty. The Mercers on that occasion rode before their Mayor in new liveries, preceded by sixteen silver trumpets made for the occasion. The few absentee Liverymen were fined heavily.

Styve's Stow,
vol. II, page 221.

Mercers' Records.
Auth. A 5.

Auth. A 12.

The house in which Large resided no doubt presented a great contrast to Caxton's home in the Weald. It stood at the north end of the Old Jewry and appears to have been a very ancient and extensive mansion.

A.D. 1441.

Stow gives a curious account of its vicissitudes, and sums up its history thus,—“sometime a Jews’ synagogue, since a house of Friars, then a Nobleman’s house, after that a Merchant’s house, wherein Mayoralties have been kept, but now a wine tavern.” Large lived there till his death.

Large’s Will.
Auth. D 1 & 2.

The household of which Caxton had become a member consisted, at least, of eighteen persons, not including menials—Robert Large, and his second wife Johanna; four sons, Robert, Thomas, Richard, and John, all under age (24 years), the last, as above shown, being bound apprentice at the same time as Caxton; two daughters, Alice, and Elizabeth, both under age (21 years); two “servants,” or men who had served their apprenticeship, and eight apprentices. Large did not live long after his Mayoralty. His will is dated April 11th, 1441, and he died on the 24th of the same month. He was buried in St. Olave’s, Old Jewry, in the same grave as his first wife Elizabeth,* and the monument over their bodies existed in Stow’s time.† A copy of Large’s Will, unfortunately imperfect at the end, has been preserved in the Prerogative Court, Doctors’ Commons. From this we learn, that he owned the Manor of Horham, in Essex, of which County he was probably a native, as he left various sums to the Parish Churches of Shakeston, Aldestre, and Overton, where some of his relatives were buried. It would have been interesting to find that Large had been connected with Kent, Caxton’s county, but although no trace can be discovered of this, it is curious that two of his apprentices should have Kentish names, Caxton, as we have already seen, being only another form of Causton, a Manor near Hadlow, and the Hundred of Strete being represented by Caxton’s fellow-apprentice Randolph Streete. His bequests to his parish Church of St. Olave, Old Jewry, and for religious purposes generally, were extensive. He also left considerable sums for the completion of a new aqueduct then in course of construction—for the repairs of London Bridge—for cleansing the watercourse of Walbrook—for marriage-portions of poor girls—for relief of domestic servants—and for various hospitals of London, among which may be noticed “Bedleem,” Bishopsgate-without; St. Thomas of Southwark; and the Leper-houses at “Hakeney les lokes.”

Strype’s Stow,
vol. I, page 571.

* Her Maiden name was Staunton, and to her brother Thomas Staunton was left the Guardianship of Large’s son Robert.

† “Here (St. Olave’s, Old Jewry) on a plated stone, on the ground in the South isle, ‘Hic requiescat in Gratia et misericordia Dei, ROBERTUS LARGE, quondam Mercerus et Maior istius civitatis. Qui obiit 24 die April 1441. Et ELIZABETH Uxor ejus, ac pueri eorundem, Cujus, &c.’”

LIFE OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

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Among the many bequests in Large's Will, the following may be found worthy of notice, as showing the names and approximate ages of Caxton's fellow apprentices, of whom he, both by the order in which Large mentions him, and by the dates in the Mercers' books, appears to have been the youngest.

A.D. 1441.

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Richard Bonyfaunt | (issued 1440)... | 50 marks. |
| Henry Okmanton | (entered 1434)... | 50 pounds. |
| Robert Dedes | ()... | 20 marks. |
| Christopher Heton* | (issued 1443)... | 20 pounds. |
| William Caxton | (entered 1437)... | 20 marks. |

Besides the above there were—Randolph Streete, who issued in the same year as Caxton was bound; Thomas Neche, who issued in 1440; and John Harrowe, who issued in 1443. These are all entered as “appñtices de Rob^t Large,” in the Mercers' books.

Mercers' Records.
Auth. A 10,
13, & 14.

And here, before proceeding with the account of Caxton, we may briefly state what is known of the subsequent history of the family in which he lived. Mrs. Large (whose son Richard Turnat by her first husband is mentioned in the Will of Large) was now again left a widow. This, her second bereavement, appears for a time to have affected her most deeply. In open church, probably over the body of her husband, she went through the solemn ceremony of vowing to devote the remainder of her days to charity and chastity. This humour was, however, of rather short duration, as in about three years she was married, for the third time, according to the following quaint and curious entry from Stow's First Edition. Talking of John Godnay, Draper and Mayor in 1427, he says, “This *Godnay* in the year 1444. wedded the widdow of *Robert Large* late Maior, which widdow had taken the Mantell and ring, and the vow to liue chast to God tearme of her life, for the breach whereof, the marriage done, they were troubled by the Church, and put to penance, both he and she.”

A Survey of London,
4to. 1598, fol. 187.

All the children mentioned by Large in his Will were by Elizabeth, his first wife. Robert and Thomas did not long survive their father; John died soon after his apprenticeship, which occurred as we have seen at the same time as Caxton's, and his name therefore does not occur at all in Large's Will; accordingly we find Richard the sole survivor succeeding, as was his father's wish, to all the property devised to his two elder brothers, and his claims allowed on his “attaining his age of 24 years” by

City Records.
Liber K, fol. 208.

* Called Christopher only in Large's Will, the Surname being taken from the Mercers' books.

A.D. 1438-41.

City Records.
Liber K, fol. 228.

the Court of Aldermen in the year 1444. Of the daughters, Alice does not appear as having claimed her patrimony on arriving at maturity, she therefore in all probability died previously; but Elizabeth married soon after her father's death, and her husband Thomas Eyre, son of the Lord Mayor, received her dowry in 1446.

Harl. MSS. No. 565,
fol. 92b.Policricon.
Liber ult. Cap. 21.Cotton MSS. Cleop.
C. IV. fol. 58.Harl. MSS. 565,
fol. 93b.Policricon.
Liber ult. Cap. 21.

The three years which Caxton passed as apprentice with Large were very eventful, and, as it was during this term that he must have received his most vivid impressions of life, it may not be amiss to take a rapid glance at a few of those events which chiefly stirred the minds of the people. He no doubt was witness of the great jousts in Smithfield in 1438, which lasted three weeks, and are so graphically described in Lansd. MSS. No. 285, and his intense love for knightly sports may have been there first developed. But though sights of knights at tournaments were to be seen for nothing, common bread was very dear, and many deaths from starvation occurred in the same year. An old chronicle says "Men ate rye bread and barley, and bred mad of benes, peses, and fetches: and wel were hym that myzte haue ynowe therof." In the additions made by Caxton himself to "Policricon," he is more than usually minute in his record of the events which occurred during the period of his apprenticeship. Speaking of this year, he recounts that, "Corne was soo skarce that in some places poure people made hem brede of fern rotes."* In 1439 Large was elected Mayor, and doubtless at his "riding" to Westminster and back, all his apprentices assisted to swell the shout in honor of their master; but a sad spectacle was seen that same year on Tower Hill, when Sir Richard Wyche, Vicar of Deptford, was burnt at the stake for Lollardism. His love and charity had much endeared him to the poor, and an old Chronicler, at the end of his account of this martyrdom, adds "for the which Sir Richard was made grete *mone* among the comyn peple." On the night of this event all the watches of the City were doubled, and great fears entertained of a general rising. The impression it made on the mind of Caxton may be gathered from his own relation; "This yere Syr Rychard wiche, vycary of hermettesworth, was degredat of his prysthode/ at powlys/ and brente at toure hylle as for an heretyk on saynt Botolphus day/ *how wel at his deth/ he deyde a good cristen man* wherefore after his dethe moche people cam to the place/ where he hadde be brente/ and offryd and made a heepe of stones/ and sette yp a crosse of tree and helde hym for a saynt till the mayer and shreues by commaundement of the

* Probably the Rhizome of *Pteris Aquilina*.

kynges and bisshops destroyed it/ and made there a donghill." Another grievous event in the following year, 1440, appears to have excited the compassion of our young apprentice. On three alternate days Eleanor Chobham, the beautiful wife of Duke Humphrey, was landed on the banks of the Thames, in a white sheet, holding a taper, and, accompanied by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Crafts of the City, walked to Paul's barefooted over the stones, as a penance for her presumed sorceries with the witch of Eye:* Caxton has recounted this at unusual length. There were great tournays again this year in the Tower, and a desperate fight between the Citizens and a body of the Courtiers, for which the former, although first attacked, were heavily fined by the King. An old Chronicler describes the fray as "a great debate by the night time, where through shots of bows there were many hurt foul and slain." But the chief event of this period, as an important element in Caxton's destiny, was the conclusion of a three years' peace between England and Flanders. This, with the

A.D. 1440-1.

Pollicronicon,
Liber ult. cap. 22.Cotton MSS. Vitel. A,
XVI, fol. 103.Macpherson's Annals
of Commerce, 4to.
London, 1805,
vol. I, page 657.

* The reader will probably feel interested in the following account of this instance of political revenge. It is extracted from one of the Cotton MSS. Anno 1440. "In this year the Duchess of Gloucester was arrested and put in hold, for she was suspect of treason, and a clerk belonging to her which was called Roger, which was taken for sorcery against the King, and he was put in the Tower of London, and afterwards he was brought to Paul's, and there he stood up on high on a scaffold against Paul's Cross, on a Sunday, and there he was arrayed in his garments, and there was hanged round about him all his instruments which were taken with him, and so shewed all the people. And after he was brought tofore the Lords, and there he was examined, and after brought into the Guildhall (yeld hall), and there he was arraigned before the Lords of the King's Counsel and before all the Judges of this land, and anon after, the lady of Gloucester aforesaid was made appear three sundry days before the King and all his Lords spiritual and temporal, and there she was examined of divers points of witchcraft, of the which she acknowledged she had used through the counsel of the witch of Eye, the which witch was brent on the even of Simon and Jude in Smithfield. In this time the lady of Gloucester had confessed her witchcraft as is aforesaid, she was enjoined by all the Spiritual assent to penance to come to London from Westminster on the Monday next ensuing, and landed at the Temple bridge out of her barge, and there she took a taper of wax of two pounds in her hand, and went so thro' Fleet Street on her feet and hoodless unto Pauls, and there she offered up her taper at the high altar; and on the Wednesday next ensuing she came from Westminster by barge unto the Swan in Thames Street (Temp'se strete), and there she landed and went forth on her feet through Bridge Street, Gracechurch Street, to the Leadenhall, and so to Christchurch in the wise aforesaid (thorow Briggestrete Grischurch strete to the ledyn hall and so to Crichurch in the wise aforneyd). And on Friday she landed at Queenhithe, and so forth she went into Cheap, and so to Saint Michael in Cornhill, in the form aforesaid. And at each of the times the Mayor and Sheriffs and the Crafts of London were ready at the places where she should land. And after Roger the clerk aforesaid on the same day, that is to say the 18th day November, was brought to the Guildhall, with Sir John Home, priest and William Woodman, Squire, the which Sir John was damned, and the same day was drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and there hanged, headed and quartered, and the head set on London bridge, and his one quarter at Hertford, another at Oxford another at York, and the fourth at Cambridge. And the lady put in prison and after sent to the Isle of Man, there to abide while that she lived."

Cotton MSS. Cleop.
C. IV, fol. 58 b.

A.D. 1441.

Macpherson's Annals,
&c. page 659.

termination of the war which had raged furiously between Holland and Zealand and Hamburg, was probably a material cause in determining Caxton's departure from England.

Of the exact duties devolving upon Caxton in his apprenticeship we have no knowledge, but as an assistant to Large, who had extensive connections, and was doubtless in frequent correspondence, with Bruges, then the great centre of English traffic abroad, he must have obtained considerable insight into the ways of Foreign trade, and perhaps become personally known to many Flemish Merchants. We must not forget that at the death of his master, Caxton was not free from his indentures. If he wished to continue his course as a trader, whether in England or abroad, he was obliged to serve out his time, and that he did so, we gather from his admission to the livery of the Mercers' Company in after years.

Pulling's Laws, &c.,
page 482.

The Executors were bound to provide the apprentices of the deceased with a new home, and it would seem that the original master might name a new master in his Will or assign the apprentice of his own accord during his life without making the apprentice himself a party to the assignment. As far as we know Large made no arrangement of this kind, and it appears probable that the usual course of the Executors providing a new master for the bereaved apprentice was adopted in Caxton's case.

A Treatise of Commerce by John Wheeler, Secretarie to the Societe of Merchant Adventurers, 4to. Middlebvrgh, 1601, p. 29.

It was not uncommon for young men in his position to be sent to some great Mart Town abroad to obtain experience in trade. Wheeler says, "The Merchants Adventurers sende their yong men, sonnes, and servantes or apprentices, who for the most parte are Gentlemens sonnes, to the Mart Townes beyonde the seas, there to learne good facions and knowledge in trade." Whether Caxton left England by his own desire, or at the instance of his new master, is quite unknown, but that he took up his abode in the Low Countries, and probably at Bruges, in the same year that his first master died, 1441, we gather from his own words in the Prologue to the Recuyell, where he states in 1471 that he had been abroad thirty years. It is improbable that he carried with him more than the twenty marks (£150 to £160 of our money) bequeathed him by Robert Large.

A Treatise of Commerce, &c. page 33.

The City of Bruges had long been not only the seat of Government for the Dukes of Burgundy but the metropolis of trade for all the neighbouring countries. Thither resorted merchants from all parts of Europe, who were certain to find there the best mart for their wares. English traders especially abounded, having been greatly favoured by Philip le Bon, who had almost from a child been brought up in the Court of England, and