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A Survey of London

'Stow's Survey' is a historical work readily identified by this familiar name alone. John Stow (c.1524–1605) was a Londoner, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, but spent most of his life accumulating manuscripts and other historical records. His great work, *A Survey of London*, was published in 1603, and is reissued here in the two-volume version edited by C.L. Kingsford (1862–1926) and published in 1908. Kingsford, a government education official, was also a writer for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, to which he contributed over 300 entries. His *Chronicles of London* (also reissued in this series) was published in 1905. In Volume 1, Kingsford's preface explains his editorial practice; he also provides an introduction including documents illustrative of Stow's family background and life, and a bibliography of sources. Stow's text begins with general essays on London's history, and follows with a ward-by-ward description.

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A Survey of London

*Reprinted from the Text of 1603,
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VOLUME 1

JOHN STOW

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University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108082433

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This edition first published 1908

This digitally printed version 2015

ISBN 978-1-108-08243-3 Paperback

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PORTRAIT OF STOW

[From the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1837]

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A
SURVEY OF LONDON
BY JOHN STOW

REPRINTED FROM THE TEXT OF 1603

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

EDITOR OF 'CHRONICLES OF LONDON'

VOLUME I

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1908

Cambridge University Press

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

LONDON, EDINBURGH

NEW YORK AND TORONTO

Cambridge University Press

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PREFACE

Two hundred years ago Thomas Hearne recommended that Stow's *Survey* should be reprinted as a venerable original. No words could express better the intention of the present edition. The not infrequent misprints and some obvious errors have been corrected, and it has been necessary at times to vary the punctuation. But otherwise the text now given follows faithfully the edition of 1603, save that the list of Mayors and Sheriffs has been revised, since the original was in its earlier part so tangled with error that more close reproduction could only have been mischievous. The edition of 1603 was printed for the most part in black letter. In the present edition the Roman type represents the black letter of the original; the Italic type is used for those passages or phrases which, in 1603, were printed in Roman type. Occasionally it has been necessary in the interest of uniformity to vary the type. But the only changes of importance are the printing in Roman type on i. 117 of the paragraph beginning: 'Hauing thus in generality'; and the printing in Italics of the quotations on ii. 96 and 105. The pages of the 1603 edition are marked by a | in the text, and by the number of the page (in Italics) in the margin.

The text of 1603 is followed by a collation with the first edition of 1598, showing all the variations between the two versions.

Of the making of Notes to such a book as the *Survey* there need be no end. Critics may be disposed to ask once more: 'Why have ye not noted this, or that?' But some restriction was necessary.

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Preface

The chief aims of the Notes in this edition have therefore been: to correct any errors of statement or fact which might be found; to trace as far as possible the sources of Stow's information; to supplement the text with fresh matter from Stow's own collections; to illustrate it, within a reasonable compass, by quotations from contemporary writers. There has been no intention to complete Stow's history. Still less have I endeavoured to carry that history beyond his own time. I have, however, added notes on places and place-names, especially in those cases where Stow had himself given some history, suggested a derivation, or cited obsolete forms.

The preparation of the text and its passage through the press have been supervised by Mr. C. E. Doble. How much care and pains his labour has entailed, only one who has had some share in it can realize. For myself I have further to thank Mr. Doble both for suggesting to me the undertaking of this edition and for his constant advice and assistance in its performance. Mr. Doble has also supplied the Glossary. The map of London *circa* 1600 has been prepared by Mr. Emery Walker; it is based on a comparison of Stow's text with the maps of Hoefnagel in Braun and Hogenberg's atlas (*circa* 1560), of Faithorne (1658), and of Morden and Lea (1682). The famous map of Ralph Agas was probably based on Hoefnagel's map.

I have to thank Dr. R. R. Sharpe, the Records Clerk at the Guildhall, Mr. W. H. Stevenson of St. John's College, Oxford, and Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum for their assistance in various points of difficulty.

C. L. K.

JANUARY, 1908.

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INTRODUCTION

§ I. LIFE OF STOW

JOHN STOW, or STOWE (he spelt his name indifferently in either way), the first painful searcher into the reverend antiquities of London, was himself most fittingly a citizen of long descent. His grandfather, Thomas Stow, citizen and Tallow-Chandler, had died about the end of March, 1527, nearly two years after the birth of his famous grandson, and left his body 'to be buried in the little green churchyard of St. Michael, Cornhill, nigh the wall as may be by my father and mother'. Old Thomas Stow was a man of some substance, and could leave his son and namesake twenty pounds in stuff of household and £6 13s. 4d. in plate.¹ Thomas Stow, the younger, followed his father's trade; he inherited the great melting-pan with all the instruments belonging thereto, and supplied St. Michael's Church with lamp-oil and candles;² his widow at her death left money to the company of Tallow-Chandlers to follow her corpse. By his wife, Elizabeth,³ he had seven children, of whom the eldest was the antiquary; the others were three sons, Thomas, William, and John the younger, and three daughters, Joan, Margaret, and Alice.⁴ John the elder was born in the summer of 1525; he was seventy-eight when he made his will, on 30 August, 1603, and is said to have been in his eightieth year at his death.⁵

John's godparents were Edmund Trindle, Robert Smith, and Margaret Dickson, who all, as he dutifully records, lay buried at St. Michael, Cornhill.⁶ The second Thomas Stow, who died in 1559,⁷ dwelt at one time in Throgmorton Street,

¹ Strype, *Survey*, i, p. i, and ii. 146, an accurate copy of the will from 'Tunstal, ff. 89-90', proved April 4, 1527.

² *Accounts of the Churchwardens*, ed. W. H. Overall, pp. 62, 67, 116.

³ Not Margaret, as stated by Strype (*Survey*, i. 2), who copied the will incorrectly. See p. xlv below.

⁴ See Notes on Stow family on pp. xlv-xlviii.

⁵ See p. xxvii.

⁶ See i. 197, ii. 306.

⁷ See p. xlvi below.

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near the modern Drapers' Hall, where John remembered how his father's garden had been encroached on for the making of Thomas Cromwell's pleasure-grounds, and could recollect to have seen more than two hundred persons served well every day at Lord Cromwell's gate with bread, meat, and drink.¹ Of John Stow's other reminiscences of his youth, the most personal is how he had fetched from the farm in Goodman's Fields many a halfpennyworth of milk hot from the kine.² Of his education he tells us nothing; it must have been tolerable for his time and station; but his description of how in his youth he had yearly seen on the eve of St. Bartholomew the scholars of divers grammar-schools repair unto the churchyard of St. Bartholomew hardly suggests that he took a part in their exercises.³

John Stow left his ancestral calling, and after serving his apprenticeship to one John Bulley, was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company on 25 Nov., 1547. Though he was for nearly thirty years a working tailor, he remained all his time a member of the subordinate Bachelors or Yeoman Company, and was never admitted to the Livery. Consequently he never held any office in the Company, except that he was one of the Whiffers, or escort of Bachelors, at Harper's and Rowe's pageants when they served as mayor in 1561 and 1568.⁴

Stow established himself in his business at a house by the well within Aldgate, between Leadenhall and Fenchurch Street, where in 1549, he was witness of an execution 'upon the pavement of my door'.⁵ Not much later he must have married,⁶ since some twenty years afterwards he speaks of himself as having three marriageable daughters in service.⁷ He began soon to bear his part in civic life, and mentions that in 1552 he served on a jury against a sessions of gaol delivery.⁸ In his trade he must have prospered fairly, and

¹ i. 89 and 179. Thomas Cromwell's building in Throgmorton Street was done in 1531-2. John Stow was only six years old. But see i. 292, and ii. 337 for another memory of the same time.

² i. 126.

³ i. 74.

⁴ Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Taylors Company*, ii. 299, 267.

⁵ i. 144 below.

⁶ On Stow's wife or wives, see p. xlvi.

⁷ See p. lxii below.

⁸ i. 350 below.

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took his brother Thomas to be his apprentice. His patrimony can have been but small, yet he grew rich enough to spend money freely on the collection of books. Fifteen years would not have been too many for the self-education of a busy if observant man, but from about 1560 onwards he found his chief interest in learning and in the pursuit of our most famous antiquities. His original interest was, he tells us, for divinity, sorcery (astrology), and poetry, and he never esteemed history, were it offered never so freely.¹ So his first publication was an edition in 1561 of *The workes of Geffrey Chancer, newly printed, with divers addicions whiche were never in printe before*. Stow never lost his interest in early English poetry, but his attention was soon diverted to other studies. In the course of his collecting he became possessed of a manuscript of a treatise, *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, written by Edmund Dudley. Of this he made a copy in his own hand, and presented it to the author's grandson Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester. Dudley suggested that Stow should undertake some historical work on his own account.² The suggestion thus given chimed in with advice from other friendly quarters.

In 1563 there appeared Richard Grafton's *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England*, followed next year by another edition, 'which being little better was as much or more of all men misliked.' 'On this,' says Stow, 'many citizens and others knowing that I had been a searcher after antiquities moved me for the commodity of my country somewhat to travail in setting forth some other abridgement, or summary, and also to write against and reprove Richard Grafton. To the first at length I granted, but to the other utterly refused. About the same time³ it happened that Thomas Marshe, printer, required me to correct the old common abridgement,

¹ See p. xlix below. In 1558 he had copied out a collection of Lydgate's poems, now *Additional MS.* 29729 in the British Museum.

² Cf. dedication to 1604 edition of *Summary*. Stow varies in his dates as to when he began to write on history; in the *Summary* for 1573 he says, 'It is now eight years since, &c.'; in that for 1587, 23 years; in that for 1598, 36 years; and in that for 1604, 45 years. See p. lxxxi.

³ The subsequent reference to William Baldwin shows that Marshe's proposal must have been made in the summer of 1563, after the appearance of the first edition of Grafton's *Abridgement*, but before the second edition of 1564.

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which was at the first collected of Languet and Cooper's Epitome,¹ but then much corrupted with oft reprinting, and therefore of Richard Grafton so contemned.² To this request I granted, on condition that some one, which were better learned, might be joined with me, for that it was a study wherein I had never travailed.'

The required helper was found in William Baldwyn,³ parson of St. Michael at Paul's Gate. But Baldwyn died before he had set hand to the work, and Stow at Marshe's request went on alone until a successor could be obtained. 'After I had once begun I could not rest till the same was fully ended. Then I, of mine own mind, went to Grafton's house, and shewed him my book, requiring him not to be offended with my doing, for I meant not to give any such occasion.' Grafton professed gratitude for a long catalogue of his own errors, and they parted in good friendship. But when Stow's *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* appeared, with the licence of the Stationers and authority of the Archbishop,⁴ Grafton began to chafe and think how to put his rival out of credit. Leaving his own *Abridgement*, he drew out of Stow's *Summary* 'a book in sexto decimo, which he entituled, *A Manuell of Ye Chronicles*

¹ *A Chronicle of the World*, begun by Thomas Languet (d. 1545), was completed by Thomas Cooper, afterwards bishop of Winchester, and published in 1549. It was often, as Stow says, reprinted, e.g. in 1559 by T. Marshe under the editorship of Robert Crowley (see ii. 339 below). Similar was *A breuiat Cronicle contaynyng all the kinges, &c.*, first published by John Mitchell or Mychell, of Canterbury, in 1551, of which a later edition, published at London by Tottell in 1561, was long regarded as the first edition of Stow's *Summary*.

² In the Preface to his *Abridgement* Grafton writes: 'Unto which travayle I was the rather provoked for that I saw used and occupied in every common person's hands a certayne booke bearyng lyke title, wherein was lytle truth and lesse good order.'

³ No doubt William Baldwin, the chief contributor to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and author of *Beware the Cat* (see ii. 275 below). His cure and the date of his death were otherwise unrecorded. The identification is helped by a note in Stow's *Memoranda* (cf. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 126), where he relates that when the Romish bishops were taken from the Tower for fear of the plague in Sept. 1563, certain 'prechers prechyd, as it was thought of many wysse men, verie sedyssyowsly, as Baldwyn at Powll's Cross, wyshyng a galows set up in Smythefyld, and ye old byshops and other papestis to be hangyd thereon. Hymselfe dyed of ye plague the next weke aftar.' William Baldwin's writings show him to have been a violent Protestant. Thomas Marshe was printer of Baldwin's works from 1559 onwards.

⁴ See pp. li and lxxxii below.

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of England from y^e creation of y^e World tyll anno 1565'. In an address to the Stationers Grafton begged that they 'will take such order that there be no briefe abridgementes or chronicles hereafter imprinted'. To his readers he expressed a hope that 'none will show themselves ungentle nor so unfriendly as to abuse me or this my little labour and goodwill, as of late I was abused by one who counterfeited my volume, and hath made my travail to pass under his name'. Stow, nothing daunted, made and dedicated to the Lord Mayor¹ in the beginning of 1566 an abridgement of his *Summary*. At this his opponent marvellously stormed, and moved the Company of Stationers to threaten Marshe the printer. The Stationers asked Stow to attend at their Hall and meet Grafton. But though he oft came thither, Grafton always made excuses, until finally the Master and Wardens told Stow that they were sorry they had so troubled him at all.

Such is Stow's own account of the inception of his historical work.² He and his rival continued to belabour one another merrily. Grafton sneered at the 'memories of superstitious foundations, fables, and lies foolishly stowed together'. Stow was as good in the dedication of his edition of 1567 to the Mayor, 'that through the thundering noise of empty tonnes and unfruitful grafts of Momus' offspring, it be not overthrown'.³ Grafton tried to evade the assault by producing a larger work in 1568, a *Chronicle at large and mere Historye of the Affayres of Englande*. It was but a monstrous compilation, and Stow accused him roundly of using others' work without acknowledgement, and of counterfeiting Stow's own list of authorities without having consulted them. Of his edition of his *Summary* in 1570 Stow writes thus: 'This my latest Summary was by me begun after Whitsuntide, 1569, and finished in print by Michaelmas next following, but not commonly published till Christmas, and therefore entitled in anno 1570, being first viewed by wise and learned worshipful personages, then dedicate and given to the right honourable my lord of Leicester, so to the whole common weal. I have

¹ So he states on p. lii below. But the copy in the British Museum, which appears to be perfect, has no dedication.

² See pp. xlvi to liii below.

³ See p. lxxvii below.

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not heard the same to be misliked of any, but for that I wrote against the printers of Bede's Chronicle at Louvain (whereof I make none account), till now one whole year after by the foresaid Richard Grafton, a man that of all others hitherto hath deserved least commendation for his travail in many things—as his own conscience (if he had any) can well testify. But to speak of that his *Abridgement* he hath but picked feathers from other birds next in his reach.'¹ Editions of Grafton's *Abridgement* carrying on the warfare had appeared in 1570 and 1572. Stow had the last word in his *Summary* of 1573, for his opponent was dead, though neither then nor afterwards forgotten.

Some of Stow's criticisms of Grafton appear trifling enough. We should find no great cause for censure in the omission of all mention of Kings Didantius, Detonus, and Gurguinus,² nor I suppose would Stow himself have done thirty years later, when study had ripened his knowledge and judgement. On one point, moreover, he did Grafton positive injustice, when he cast doubts on his rival's account of the Chronicle of John Hardyng.³ Grafton had exposed himself to criticism by printing in 1543 two editions of Hardyng's Chronicle, which differed considerably the one from the other. Stow had seen another version which, as he said, 'doth almost altogether differ from that which under his name was imprinted by Grafton': thus hinting pretty plainly that Grafton had been guilty of deliberate falsification. The truth was that Hardyng himself had repeatedly rewritten his work to please the taste of different patrons.⁴ Still the honours of the quarrel rest with Stow, whose merits as a chronicler were superior to those of Grafton. At the same time his own account reveals him as a self-taught man, who was perhaps too jealous of a reputation that wanted to be established. The persistence of his grievance may perhaps be explained by the fact that the

¹ *Harley MS.* 367, f. 1. See p. xlviii below.

² See p. 1 below.

³ Epistle to the Reader in *Summary* for 1573.

⁴ Hearne relates that a fine copy, which had belonged to Stow, had passed through Sir Simonds D'Ewes to the Harleian Library (*Collections*, iii. 1). This, which is now *Harley MS.* 661, is one of the most valuable of Hardyng's later versions.

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controversy had helped to aggravate other troubles, which during this time embittered Stow's life.

Stow's literary pursuits may have put him out of sympathy with his commercial kinsfolk. Whatever the reason, his associations with his family had been long unhappy. It is possible that there may have been some religious difference, for John was inclined to favour old beliefs, whilst his mother appears to have been Protestant. Strype² says that John Stow in 1544 was in great danger by reason of a false accusation brought against him by a priest;³ the nature of the charge is not known, but it was possibly on a matter of religion. At all events there was an old family discord, for Thomas Stow must have had some sort of excuse for alleging that during twenty years John had never asked his mother's blessing.⁴ Whatever the reason, old Mistress Stow, soon after her husband's death in 1559, went to live with her son Thomas, who had quarrelled with John over money matters and by an unwise marriage further strained their relations. Elizabeth Stow was a timid and anxious peacemaker between her children, fearful of giving offence, and governed by whoever was at hand. One day in the summer of 1568 she came on a visit to John, with whom over 'the best ale and bread and a cold leg of mutton', she talked too freely on family matters. When the poor soul got home, Thomas and his wife would never let her rest till she had told them all. When it came out that John lamented that Thomas was matched with an harlot, they forced her to change her will and leave her eldest son out of it altogether. Friends of the family intervened, and Thomas, pretending to yield, put John back, but only for five pounds, where all the other children got ten. 'Thus,' says John with a quaint humour, 'was I condemned and paid five pounds for naming Thomas his wife an harlot,

¹ As seems to be shown by the drift of his comments, cautious enough, in his *Memoranda*, cf. p. x above. He had many friends of Catholic inclinations. But he also seems to have been on good terms with Foxe the Martyrologist.

² *Survey*, i, p. iii.

³ Perhaps the same as the man referred to by Wriotheshly, *Chronicle*, ii. 153.

⁴ See p. lv below.

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privily only to one body, who knew the same as well as I; but if he could so punish all men that will more openly say so much he would soon be richer than any lord Mayor of London.’¹ Thomas himself had often said the like and worse in public, and not long after turned his wife out of doors. Not all the neighbours could get him to relent, and when in the evening the poor woman at last stole in, at ten of the clock at night, Thomas, ‘being bare-legged, searched and found her, and fell again a beating of her, so that my mother, being sick on a pallet, was fain to creep up, and felt all about the chamber for Thomas his hosen and shoes, and crept down the stairs with them as well as she could, and prayed him to put them on lest he should catch cold. And so my mother stood in her smock more than an hour, entreating him for the Lord’s sake to be more quiet.’ The poor mother fared like most interveners in matrimonial broils; for after a while Thomas and his wife went off comfortably to bed, but the old woman caught such a cold that she never rose again. When the parson² was called in he, ‘though but a stranger new come from the country,’ exhorted Mistress Stow to change her unjust will, but was put off by Thomas. Next Master Rolfe, a priest and son-in-law, persuaded with her oftentimes, but was told to hold his peace, ‘for her son’s wife was always in one corner or another listening, and she would have a life ten times worse than death if Thomas or his wife should know.’ Then John in despair sent his own wife with a pot of cream and strawberries as a peace offering, but only got abuse in return. At last, however, with some trouble, the affair was patched up over a pint of ale. The will remained unaltered, so when John got his chance he urged his mother to restore him to his share. To have five pounds

¹ However, in October, 1570, the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors Company intervened to pacify a controversy between Thomas Stow and Thomas Holmes, ‘both brethren of this mystery, as well for and concerning undesent and unseemly words spoken uttered and reported by the wife of the said Holmes againste the wyfe of the said Stowe.’ Holmes’s wife had to apologize, and he to pay 20s. to Thomas Stow ‘in satisfaction of all lawe and other charges incurred by him.’ Clode, *Memorials of the Merchant Taylors Company, 183-4, Early History*, i. 210.

² Richard Mathew, presented 4 July, 1567 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 483).

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put out of the will was, he said, but a small matter as compared with other things. 'Consider, it must needs offend me much to pay five pounds for one word.' If she would not consent for love of her husband or of himself, John bade her remember: 'I wax old and decay in my occupation and have a great charge of children, and a wife that can neither get nor save.' The poor old woman, who had but late been rejoicing that her children which were dead were alive, pleaded feebly, that if the Lord would suffer her to go abroad again she would undo all: 'so that Thomas and his wife shall not know. That wicked woman, woe worth her, will be my death.' Other relatives and friends tried their influence in vain. The dread of Thomas prevailed. Elizabeth Stow died at Michaelmas, leaving her will unaltered, most of her property to Thomas, only five pounds to her eldest son, and larger legacies to the other children. The day after the funeral the two brothers and Master Rolfe went to the Maiden's Head in Leadenhall,¹ where they had a pint of wine with Henry Johnson,² an old friend of the family, who prayed Thomas to be good to his brother John.

At this point John Stow's tale breaks off abruptly.³ Apart from its extraordinary interest as an unstudied, if somewhat sordid, record of middle-class life in the reign of Elizabeth, it is of the greatest value, for the light which it throws on other incidents in Stow's career, and for its explanation of some allusions in his writings.

It was probably in the following year that Stow had occasion to address a petition to the alderman of his ward by reason of the annoyance done to him by one William Ditcher and his wife.⁴ It appears that Ditcher, believing that Stow had reported him to the Wardmote for setting his frames in the street, came railing at Stow's door with the most slanderous speech that man or devil could devise. Incited by Thomas Stow, Ditcher soon went to worse conduct, throwing stones

¹ Elizabeth Stow's will provided ten shillings for her children and friends to drink withal after her funeral. See p. xlv below.

² He was conductor of the choir at St. Michael's at a stipend of 3*l.* (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 235).

³ See the full narrative on pp. liii to lx below.

⁴ See pp. lx to lxii below.

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at John's apprentice, abusing his wife, calling him in derision of his trade a prick-louse knave, and to crown his offence 'adding moreover that the said John hadde made a cronicle of lyes'. Finally, he had told the parson and the deputy of the ward that, 'there cometh none but rogues and rascalls, the vilest in the land, to the house of the said John, which rogues have him from alehouse to alehouse, every day and night till two of the clock in the morning.'

Whether Stow got any remedy against the scurrilous Ditcher does not appear, for the matter is known only by his draft of the petition. But he had soon to meet a more dangerous accusation. Early in January, 1569, great offence was given to the English Government by the circulation in the City of a manifesto published by the Spanish ambassador on behalf of the Duke of Alva. In this matter Stow was implicated, and on 17 February he was called before the Lord Mayor. In the record of his examination, where he is described as 'John Stowe, merchaunt, a collector of cronycles', he admitted that he had been lent two copies of the bill in English, whereof he made a copy for himself, and had read it to some neighbours, but never gave copy out of it. The charge was also investigated before the Master and Wardens of Stow's own company, though without attaching any further blame to him.¹

It was no doubt in connexion with this business of Alva's proclamation that Stow was reported to the Queen's Council for having many dangerous books of superstition in his possession. In consequence direction was given to Bishop Grindal of London to have Stow's house searched. On 24 February Grindal wrote to Cecil enclosing 'a catalogue of Stowe the Taylour his unlawfull bookes', together with a report from his chaplains, dated 21 February, on which day the search was made. The chief part of this report was as follows: 'He hath a great store of folishe fabulous bokes of olde prynte as of Sir Degory Tryamore, &c. He hath also a great sorte of

¹ See the depositions at both examinations given in full in Clode's *Early History of the Merchant Taylors Company*, ii. 299–302. It is remarkable that Stow never refers to this business of Alva's proclamation in any of his printed works.

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old written English Chronicles both in parchment and in paper, som long, som shorte. He hath besides, as it were, miscellanea of diverse sortes both touching phisicke, surgerye, and herbes, with medicines of experience, and also touching old phantasticall popishe bokes prynted in the olde tyme, with many such also written in olde Englishe on parchement. All which we have pretermytted to take any inventarye of. We have only taken a note of such bokes as have been lately putt forth in the realme or beyonde the Seas for defence of papistrye: with a note of som of his own devises and writinges touching such matter as he hath gathered for Chronicles, whereabout he seemeth to have bestowed much travaile. His bokes declare him to be a great favourer of papistrye.'

The list of objectionable books contains thirty-eight items, and, besides religious works, includes Thomas Stapleton's translation of Bede; a manuscript of the *Flores Historiarum*;¹ 'much rude matter gathered for a summary of a cronacle'; and 'A brief collection of matters of Cronicles sins Anno Domini 1563, entered in an old wryten boke of Cronicles bound in borde, wryten as it seemeth with his owne hand'.² An entry of *Fundationes Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, &c.*, has been erased. The popish books include Thomas Heskyn's *Parliament of Christ*, Richard Shacklock's *Hatchet of Heresy*,³ *Five Homilies* made by Leonard Pollard,⁴ *The manere of the List of Saints*, together with other works of such writers as Roger Edgeworth, Richard Smith, Miles Haggerd, and John Rastell. Although these last discoveries of Grindal's chaplains must have lent some colour to the charge of popish inclinations, it does not appear that Cecil or the Council thought the business serious enough to require any further notice.⁵

¹ Probably *Cotton MS.* Nero D. v. See p. xcii below.

² These are Stow's *Memoranda*, which are contained in Lambeth MS. 306, and have been printed by Dr. Gairdner in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 115–47. See further p. xxxvi below.

³ I suppose the translation of Hosius, *De Heresibus*, printed at Antwerp in 1565, as *A most excellent treatise of the begynnmyng of heresy in our tyme*.

⁴ Dedicated to Bonner and printed at London, 1556.

⁵ Grindal's letter to Cecil and his chaplains' report, with the list of suspected books, are printed from *Lansdowne MS.* 11 in Arber's *Tran-*

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It is likely enough that Thomas Stow was the informant against his brother in this matter of Alva's manifesto. From the story of their quarrel it is clear that Thomas was an ignorant man, believing that John practised magic, but sharp enough to see what handle he might find in his brother's strange tastes.¹ At all events it was Thomas Stow who set in motion another affair next year. In 1570 John Stow was brought before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on a charge in seventeen articles made by one that had been his servant after he had defrauded him of his goods, and supported by witnesses of sullied reputation. Stow successfully confounded his accusers before the Archbishop; but when he would have prosecuted them he was answered that there was no remedy against them.²

It is plainly with reference to this incident that Stow in his *Annales* under 1556, when describing the punishment of a false witness, writes as follows: 'The like Justice I once wished to the like accuser of his master and elder brother, but it was answered that in such case could be no remedy, though the accuser himself were in the same fact found the principal offender. Where through it followeth the accuser never shewed sign of shame, but terribly curseth, and blasphemously sweareth he never committed any such act, though the same be registered before the honourable the Queen's Majesty's High Commissioners. And what horrible slanders, by libelling and otherwise with threats of murder, he dayly bruiteth against me, the knower of all secrets, God I mean, knoweth.'³

After the lapse of more than twenty years Stow could not forget or forgive the prime authors of his troubles. He never lost the chance of exposing a fable of Grafton's⁴ or of pointing the moral of his brother's iniquity. Against the account of William FitzOsbert he set a note in the first

script of the Stationers' Registers, i. 181. See also Strype, *Survey*, i, pp. iv and xxi, and *Life of Grindal*, pp. 184, 516. The Register of the Privy Council for this year has unfortunately perished.

¹ See p. lvi below.

² Strype, *Survey*, i, p. iv.

³ See also a similar entry under this year in the 1587 edition of the *Summary Abridged*. It was not contained in the 1573 edition, and is omitted in that for 1604.

⁴ See vol. i. 118, 349.

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edition of the *Survey*: 'A false accuser of his elder brother, in the end was hanged. God amend or shortly send such an end to such false brethren.'¹ In the original manuscript there appears the significant addition: 'Such a brother have I, God make him penitent.' How late and long the quarrel continued is shown also by a characteristic note preserved amongst some private memoranda in Stow's collections.² '1599. The last of July, at the qwenes armes taverne by leden hall, in contempe of me the auctor of this boke called the Survey of London, one Smithe, dwellinge at Sopars lane ende, in the company of T. Stowe and othar suche lyke, sayde he marvayed that mention was not made in the saide Survey of qwike sylvar roninge out of the grownde at the buildinge of his howse. More that the auctor set not downe that the parson of Christes Church lyeth every night with the lord maiors wyfe; and suche lyke Knavish talke he had to pleasure my bad brother, for he is one of his minstrells.'

Stow's bitterness may seem excessive. But his obvious anxiety when Thomas, triumphing and swearing, got possession of his book of alchemy,³ shows how real was the danger that Stow incurred through the suspicion of popish inclinations, and occult practices. His experiences no doubt taught him that the study of history was likely to prove both safer and more profitable than divinity, poetry, or astrology. Apart from this the chief result of his troubles had been to establish his literary reputation and personal worth. It is probable that he owed his triumph over his enemies in some degree to the favour of Archbishop Parker, whose notice he had attracted some years earlier. Under Parker's direction he assisted in the publication of the *Flores Historiarum* in 1567, of the *Chronicles of Matthew Paris* in 1571, and of *Walsingham* in 1574; 'all of which,' writes Stow in his

¹ See vol. i. 254, and ii. 249 below. In the second edition the last half of this note was omitted. The omission may perhaps be explained by the recent death of Thomas Stow in October, 1602. On the other hand, the reference on ii. 76 is an insertion.

² Ap. *Harley MS.* 540, f. 82^{vo}.

³ See p. lvi below.

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Annales, 'the archbishop received of my hands.'¹ His labours soon brought him the acquaintance and friendship of all the leading antiquaries of the day. Such were William Lambarde, 'his loving friend,'² whose *Perambulation of Kent* was the model for the *Survey*; Henry Savile, who, even in 1575, addressed him as 'good old friend'; Camden, at this time usher of Westminster School; John Dee, the celebrated astrologer; Robert Glover, the Somerset herald; William Fleetwood the Recorder, who was, like Stow, a Merchant Taylor; together with men of scholarly tastes and good position, like William Claxton of Wynyard in Durham, his familiar correspondent during nearly twenty years. It is noteworthy that Stow's friends included several writers of Roman Catholic inclinations as Thomas Martyn, and Henry Ferrers.³ From these and others Stow received counsel in his literary labours and rendered help in return. To Hakluyt he supplied notes on Cabot's voyages from his manuscript (now lost) of Fabyan's Chronicle.⁴ To David Powel he furnished material for *The Historie of Cambria*.⁵ Thomas Speght, the editor of Chaucer, he assisted with notes from his own rich collections of ancient poesy.⁶

When the old Society of Antiquaries was formed, about 1572, under Parker's patronage, it was natural that Stow should become a member. He certainly belonged to it before February, 1590, and contributed to its discussions a note on the origin of sterling money.⁷ Amongst his colleagues were Walter Cope, Joseph Holland, William Patten, Francis Tate, and Francis Thynne,⁸ all of whom he counted amongst

¹ p. 1150, ed. 1605.² See vol. ii, p. 253.³ See *Letters to Stow* on pp. lxxi, lxxii.⁴ See notes in *Chronicles of London*, pp. 328-30, 337-8.⁵ Powel's *Preface*. See p. lxxxvii below.⁶ Speght in his *Preface* acknowledges his debt to Stow, 'whose library hath helped many writers.'⁷ Hearne, *Curious Discourses*, ii. 318; see ii. 278 below. In *Ashmole MS.* 763 f. 195 in the Bodleian Library there is a summons to Stow to attend a meeting of the Society at Garter House on 2 Nov. 1599. On the back of the summons Stow has written some notes on the subject for discussion, 'of the antiquities, etymologie and priviledges of Parishes in England.'⁸ *Curious Discourses*. For the history of the Society see *Archaeologia*, vol. i, and for a list of the members in 1590, *Stow MS.* 1045 in the British Museum. See also i. 22, 83, 114, ii. 23, and pp. xxiii, xxxiii below.

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his friends, and Lord William Howard of Naworth, with whom he had at least some acquaintance.¹

Stow's editorial work for Parker brought him into association with Reyne Wolfe, the printer, and when Wolfe died in 1573, Stow purchased many of his collections. At the time of his death Wolfe had been preparing a Universal History. His design was carried out on a less ambitious scale under the direction of Raphael Holinshed, to whom Stow lent 'divers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessary register-books'. To the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which appeared in 1587, Stow made other contributions, though at a later time he complained that its printing and reprinting without warrant or well-liking had prevented his own intended work. On such a larger history he had long been busy.² In 1580 he had produced *The Chronicles of England from Brute unto the present year of Christ*. This work was written in civic form, the names of the Mayor and Sheriffs being placed at the head of each year. The *Chronicles* were thus only an expansion of the *Summary*; but this form was abandoned, when the work appeared twelve years later in a more extensive shape as the *Annales of England*. The *Annales* were but a part of what Stow intended, for his laborious collection had by then grown into a large volume, which he would have published as 'The History of this Island', had he not been compelled to condescend to the wishes of his printer, who preferred a less ambitious undertaking.³ When the *Annales* appeared for the last time in 1605 just before the author's death, the 'farre larger volume', though ready for the press, still awaited a printer; it appears to have perished, though some part of it may have been embodied in the *Successions of the History of England* published under Stow's name in 1638.⁴

'The History of this Island' was not the only larger work on which Stow laboured in vain. Grindal's chaplains found in Stow's study a collection of *Fundationes Ecclesiarum*,⁵ to which, during many years, he appears to have made great additions. Camden wrote to him for the loan of his *Fundationes*

¹ See p. lxx below.

² *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1438, and *Summarie* for 1604, p. 458.

³ See p. lxxix below. ⁴ See p. lxxxvi below. ⁵ See p. xvii above.

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for four counties, and William Claxton in his latest letter to Stow begged that he might have a copy with the newest augmentations, that so he might preserve it to the collector's never-dying fame.¹ Claxton's fears for the fate of his friend's labours were in part realized. Whether Stow sent him the desired copy or not, the whole original seems now to have perished. Yet part of one or the other passed into the hands of Ralph Starkey, the archivist, who, according to Hearne, possessed some of Stow's manuscripts 'amongst which his *Monasticon*, out of which Mr. Dodsworth collected several things'.² Roger Dodsworth's voluminous collections were, after his death in 1654, entrusted to Dugdale, whose celebrated *Monasticon Anglicanum* was thus in part the outcome of Stow's industry.

In the midst of such labours Stow nevertheless found time to produce repeated editions of his *Summary* and its *Abridgment*, and towards the end of a long and busy life set himself to compile his *Survey of London*, which first appeared in 1598, to be followed after five years by a second, much increased, edition. But of this, his most valuable work, more hereafter.

For the troubles of his middle life Stow may have found some compensation in a peaceful and honoured end. His character had mellowed with age, and he was, perhaps, a little more chary of expressing himself too freely. But for that matter, the order which Elizabeth and her ministers had established in Church and State suited his convictions, and his open dislike for sectarians could do him no harm. His sentiments are shown in his description of Whitgift as a man born for the benefit of his country and the good of his Church. Literary work had, moreover, brought him at the last, not only the friendship of learned men, but a well-deserved reputation with his fellow citizens.

Though still proud to call himself 'Merchant-Taylor', he had left his trade,³ and probably at the same time changed his

¹ See p. lxxiii below.

² Hearne, *Collections*, iii. 108, 143, Oxford Hist. Soc.

³ The only reference to his trade which I have found in Stow's books is his note on the prices of cloth in the margin of i. 86 below.

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residence to a house in St. Andrew's parish in Lime Street Ward, near the Leadenhall.¹ This must have been not long after 1570, since some years previously to 1579 he had been instrumental at a Wardmote inquest in proving the title of his new ward to certain tenements afterwards in that year wrongfully withdrawn.² In 1584-5 John Stow appears to have been employed as a surveyor of alehouses,³ and in the latter year was one of the collectors in Lime Street Ward of the charges for a muster of four thousand men by the City for the Queen's service. These are two of the few occasions on which he took any active part in civic affairs. He had, as we have seen, never taken up his livery, and, as he tells us, was never a feast-follower.⁴ But his peculiar knowledge was made use of in the service of his Company, who from at least the beginning of 1579 paid 'John Stowe, a loving brother of this mystery for divers good considerations them specially moving' a yearly pension or fee of four pounds.⁵ This pension was no doubt a practical recognition of his literary merit; but once, in 1603, he appears as in receipt of a fee of ten shillings for 'great pains by him taken in searching for such as have been mayors, sheriffs, and aldermen of the said company.'⁶ During a controversy between the Lieutenant of the Tower and the City in 1595, Stow is referred to as the 'Fee'd Chronicler' of the Corporation, and is stated to have lately set out the boundaries of the Liberty of Cree Church.⁷ On 24 Feb., 1601, Stow was 'one of the persons appointed by the Court of Aldermen to treat with Mr. Tate of the Temple touching the procuring of *Liber Custumarum* and *Liber Antiquorum Regum*.'⁸

Stow's labours may perhaps have thus earned him something more than a barren reputation; but, as in the case of many others before and since, his zeal for learning was at the expense of his own advantage. After Stow's death one, who

¹ For letters addressed to him there see pp. lxviii to lxxii below.

² See i. 161-2. He had moved at least as early as 1575; perhaps to one of Woodroffe's houses to which he refers on i. 151.

³ See p. lxiii.

⁴ See vol. ii. 191.

⁵ Clode, *Memorials*, 535; *Early History*, ii. 302.

⁶ *id.* i. 264.

⁷ Strype, *Survey*, i. 67 b. Some memoranda, apparently prepared for the use of the corporation, concerning these claims at the Tower and at St. Martins are given in *Harley MS.* 540, f. 122.

⁸ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, II, p. xviii. See further p. xxxii below.

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had known him, refused to take up his work, and ‘thanked God that he was not yet mad to waste his time, spend 200*l.* a year, trouble himself and all his friends only to gain assurance of endless reproach.’¹ It is too much to assume from this, as some have done, that Stow had spent such an amount yearly on the purchase of books, or even on the pursuit of his studies. Nevertheless it is certain that his substance was consumed to the neglect of his ordinary means of maintenance. Of his *Summary* in 1598 he writes:² ‘It hath cost me many a weary mile’s travel, many a hard earned penny and pound, and many a cold winter night’s study.’ So also in two petitions, which he made, apparently to the City, about 1590, he relates how ‘for thirty years past he hath set forth divers somaries and set a good example to posterity. And forasmoche as the travayle to many places for serchyng of sondry records, whereby the varietie of things may come to lyght, cannot but be chargeable to the sayde John more than his habilitie can afforde, &c.’³ Edmund Howes, in his edition of the *Annales*, says that Stow ‘could never ride, but travelled on foot unto divers chief places of the land to search records’. These and other like references show that Stow in his latter days was in straitened circumstances. But his merits were not, as tradition dating from his own time has alleged, disregarded. Robert Dowe, a former master of the Merchant Taylors Company, established in 1592 pensions for some of his poor brethren, and provided specially that one of four pounds should be paid to Stow. In 1600 on Dowe’s motion the Company increased their own pension to six pounds ‘soe as with the iiij*l.* he receaveth out of this howse (as one of the almesmen of the said Mr. Robert Dowe) he is on the whole to receive yerely duringe his life a pencion out of and from this companye amounting to the sum of tenn pounds per annum.’ When in 1602 Dowe revised his charities he provided specially that one pension should still be paid to Stow, who was not then a working tailor, yet ‘notwithstanding in his begynnyng was of the handy craft and now for many yeres

¹ Howes, *Epistle Dedicatorie to Abridgment* (1607), reprinted at end of *Annales* in 1631.

² p. 460 in the margin.

³ For these petitions see p. lxvi below.

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hath spent great labour and study in writing of Chronicles and other memorable matters for the good of all posterity.’¹

In addition to the pension from his Company, Stow is said to have had an annuity of 8*l.* from Camden in return for his transcripts of Leland. Ralph Brooke, the herald, who is our authority for this, alleges that Camden had plagiarized Leland in his *Britannia*, and that Stow lamented the wrong done to Leland both by Camden and Harrison.² It is probable that Brooke had no better justification than Stow’s published censure of Harrison in the *Survey*.³ Camden no doubt had free access to any collections of Stow’s. But the transcripts from Leland were in Stow’s possession as late as 1598.⁴ It may be that Camden’s annuity was paid in anticipation of a promised bequest.

However, there can be no doubt that, in spite of all help from friends, Stow in his old age found his diminished means too small. He was compelled to seek openly for charity, and James I granted him Letters Patent, first on 8 May, 1603, and again in February and October, 1604, giving him licence to ask and take benevolence.⁵ It is in reference to this that William Warner in lines prefixed to his *Albion’s England* in 1606 wrote:—

Add Stow’s late antiquarian pen,
That annal’d for ungrateful men.
Next chronicler omit it not,
His licenc’t basons little got;
Lived poorly where he trophies gave,
Lies poorly there in noteless grave.

Ben Jonson has left a note: ‘John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle, and was of his craft a tailor. He and I walking alone, he asked two cripples what they would

¹ Clode, *Early History*, ii, 303–4.

² *A Second Discovery of Errors*, p. 47, edited by Anstis in 1723. Brooke himself published *A Discoverie of Errours*, attacking the *Britannia* which appeared in 1594. He refers repeatedly to Stow as ‘Camden’s familier’.

³ See vol. i. 348, and ii. 353–4.

⁴ This is shown by the fact that a part of the original MS. of the *Survey* is bound up with the transcripts of Leland. See p. xcii below.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, 1603–10, p. 84. See also p. lxxvii below; and Strype, *Survey*, i, pp. xii, xiii.

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have to take him to their order'.¹ Thus could Stow turn a merry jest at his poverty; and yet, as he told Manningham the Diarist, on 17 Dec., 1602, he 'made no gains by his travail'.² Certainly he had not the means to meet his great charges, and spent for the benefit of posterity what he might have kept for his own need. Yet the tradition of his poverty has been a little exaggerated, and those of his own time were not, according to their customs, negligent of his merits. Warner, in his haste to point a moral, was premature; for Stow's widow was rich enough to provide a handsome monument, where her husband lay in no noteless grave. Stow himself was not ungrateful for the help given to him, and in 1592 presented his *Annales* to the Merchant Taylors 'as a small monument given to this corporation by him in token of his thankfulness to this company'.

Stow continued working to the end. The *Annales*, 'encreased and continued until this present yeare 1605,' were reissued within a few days of his death. Two years previously he wrote in the *Survey*: 'I have been divers times minded to add certain chapters to this book, but being, by the good pleasure of God, visited with sickness, such as my feet (which have borne me many a mile) have of late refused, once in four or five months to convey me from my bed to my study, and therefore could not do as I would.'³

Howes, in his edition of Stow's *Annales*, writes of him thus: 'He was tall of stature, lean of body and face, his eyes small and chrystalline, of a pleasant and cheerful countenance; his sight and memory very good; very sober, mild, and courteous to any that required his instructions; and retained the true use of all his senses unto the day of his death, being of an excellent memory. He always protested never to have written anything either for malice, fear, or favour, nor to seek his own particular gain or vainglory; and that his only pains and care was to write truth. . . . He was very careless of scoffers, backbiters, and detractors. He lived peacefully, and died of the stone collicke, being four score years of age, and was buried the 8th of April, 1605, in his parish church of St. Andrew's,

¹ *Conversations with Drummond*, p. 36; Shakespeare Society.

² *Diary*, p. 103; Camden Society.

³ Vol. ii. 187-8.

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Undershaft; whose mural monument near unto his grave was there set up at the charges of his wife Elizabeth.’

The monument, of Derbyshire marble and alabaster, was piously restored by the Merchant Taylors Company in 1905, the three hundredth anniversary of Stow’s death. It represents him sitting in his study writing in a book upon his desk, with other books about him. Above it is the motto ‘*Aut scribenda agere, aut legenda scribere*’¹. The inscription is as follows:

Memoriae Sacrum.

Resurrectionem in Christo pie expectat Joannes Stowe, ciuis Londiniensis. Qui in antiquis monumentis eruendis, accuratissima diligentia usus Angliae Annales, & ciuitatis Londini Synopsin bene de sua, bene de postera aetate meritis, luculenter scripsit: Vitaeque stadio pie decurso, obiit Aetatis anno 80, die 5 Aprilis 1605.

Elizabetha coniux, ut perpetuum sui amoris testimonium dolens.

It is pathetic that Stow, after complaining so bitterly of the defacers of tombs who thrust out the ancient dead to make room for others, should in his turn have suffered the like desecration. Maitland² relates that Stow’s grave was ‘spoiled of his injured remains by certain men in the year 1732, who removed his corpse to make way for another’.

Besides the effigy on Stow’s tomb there is an engraved portrait, which is found in some copies of the 1603 edition of the *Survey*. Manningham³ writes that in Dec., 1602 Stow told him ‘that a modell of his picture was found in the Recorder Fleetwood’s study, with this inscription, or circumscription, JOHANNES STOWE, ANTIQUARIUS ANGLIAE, which now is cutt in brasse, and prefixed in print to his Survey of London’. He sayth of it as Pilat sayd: ‘What I have written, I have written’; and thinkes himself worthie of that title for

¹ By a stonemason’s error ‘STVT’ appears instead of AVT. Mr. Philip Norman informs me that previous to the last restoration the word ‘avt’ could be read either ‘avt’ or ‘stvt’, the original and correct lettering not having been obliterated. The iron railing now in front of the monument was copied from one which appears in prints of the eighteenth century.

² *History of London*, ii. 1062.

³ *Diary*, p. 103.

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his paynes, for he hath no gaines by his travaile'. The engraved copies are dated 'Aetatis suae 77, 1603'.¹

Of Stow's three daughters two survived him and are mentioned in his will. Julyan, apparently the elder, had married a well-to-do neighbour, Mr. Peter Towers, by whom she had a large family; three of them died during the great sickness of 1603, when their grandfather made his will; one alone seems to have lived beyond early manhood. The second was Joan Foster, whose husband lived at Warwick, whence she wrote to ask her father's antiquarian help for her very friend and neighbour Oliver Brooke.² Of his widow Elizabeth I have found no later mention; but she lived long enough to set up his tomb after 1606. The care with which Stow begged the overseer of his will to take so much pains that his poor wife be not overpressed to take any wrong, suggests that she was one and the same with the wife who forty years before could neither get nor save.³

§ 2. THE SURVEY OF LONDON

The *Survey of London* is the book of a life. On it the author's peculiar title to fame now rests. Yet probably he himself had regarded it as somewhat of a relaxation from his more serious labours on general English history. The range of his research puts Stow outside the class of 'lay chroniclers that write of nothing but of Mayors and Sherrifs, and the dere yere, and the great frost'.⁴ He has an indisputable right to our regard for the amount of information, which he collected and preserved. Yet when this is admitted, the *Annales* entitle him to little other distinction than that which belongs to a painstaking seeker after truth, who brought the results of his toil into a chronologically exact narrative, without the power to impress them with any greater vitality.⁵

¹ This portrait, given as a frontispiece to this volume, was first reproduced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1837.

² See pp. lxx, lxxi below. ³ See pp. xlv and lviii.

⁴ Nash, in *Pierce Penilesse*, ap. *Works*, ii. 62. This was written in 1592, when Stow had published only his *Summarie* and *Chronicles of England*, to which it applies well enough. Next year, in *Strange Newes, &c.* (*Works*, ii. 265), Nash wrote: 'Chroniclers heare my prayers; good Maister Stowe be not unmindfull of him.'

⁵ Camden, when sending to Abraham Ortelius, in 1580, a copy of Stow's

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Had he done no more, he would be no more remembered than are others, who did good work enough in and for their own generation. The *Survey* stands upon quite other ground. In it Stow built himself a monument for all time, and has left a record instinct with life. It is at once the summary of sixty observant years, and a vivid picture of London as he saw it.

Stow possessed in a peculiar degree the qualities necessary for such a work, and the time at which he wrote was exceptionally favourable. In his day he witnessed the passing of mediaevalism and the birth of the modern capital. His youth was spent in that declining time of charity and other good old customs, when he might behold with his own eyes the lordly munificence and pomp of prelates and nobles.¹ He had seen the Prior of Trinity ride in civic procession amongst the aldermen.² He could dimly recollect how the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in their copes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, received a buck at the high altar on the feast of the commemoration of their patron saint.³ In his middle age he lamented the greed and violence of professed reformers, and in his last years saw the growth of a new order. He had served his apprenticeship whilst the ancient guild-life still retained its power, but lived to see its bonds broken and a fresh dispensation come into being. He remembered pleasant walks and green fields where in his late days there were only streets and houses. He had seen the City spread on every side, till the approaches were blocked by unseemly enclosures, and even within its ancient bounds remarked how open spaces had come to be pestered with small tenements. His own sympathies were with the old ways. He recalled with regret ancient buildings that had perished in the wreck of change or through greed of gain. He had loved them for their beauty, and, as we may suppose, cherished their memory for the sake of what they symbolized. He had grown to manhood before the Reformation, and all that it entailed, was accomplished,

'Annales' (*The Chronicles*) writes: 'Hominem opinor nosti, eius industriam laudant nostrates, sed iudicium nonnunquam requirunt. Eius modi est hoc opus ut inter nostros Chronographos non posteriores ferat.' *Camdeni Epistolae*, p. 12, ed. T. Smith, 1691.

¹ i. 89.² i. 141.³ i. 334.

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and his studies must have strengthened the associations of his youth. Yet he lived to feel in his own old age the warmth of the nation's new life. He was proud of the increased prosperity of his native city, and of the new state with which the wealth of her citizens adorned her. Whatever lurking sympathy he might have felt for the old faith was lost in the deep loyalty of a true Elizabethan, who feared lest seditious religion might be a betraying unto Spanish invasion and tyranny. If thus he wrote down his *Survey* oftentimes in the spirit of the past, he closed it in confident hope for the long enjoyment of the good estate of this city.¹

If Stow was fortunate in the time of his writing he was fortunate also in his own qualities. A long life, a retentive memory, a zeal for accumulating material, and the painstaking capacity for giving it shape, enabled him to turn his opportunity to the best advantage. He disclaims any early interest in history, but his passion for antiquity dated from his youth. Towards the end of his life he told George Buck of how he had talked with old men who remembered Richard III as a comely prince,² and his own history of that time is based admittedly on what he had heard as well as on what he had read. He had a curious faculty for minute observation and for graphic description of small detail. This power he practised most in his autobiographical fragments, whether those which he left in manuscript, or those which are embedded as the most charming passages in the *Survey*. But indeed the whole book is full with the fruits of the writer's observation.

The main framework of the *Survey* was based on a perambulation of the several wards of the City, which Stow accomplished with scrupulous care and verified from his ample collections. The compass of Elizabethan London was small, not extending very far beyond the walls or bars, and with the whole of that small compass a single man could easily be familiar. So there is scarcely a ward to the history of which Stow could not contribute something from his own knowledge or memory. Now it is the recollection of

¹ ii. 196.

² Buck, *Hist. of Richard III*, ap. Kennet, *Complete History*, i. 548.

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some old custom of his youth. Here he calls to mind the beauty of the perished bell-tower at Clerkenwell,¹ or describes, perhaps not too accurately, the decoration of the old Blackwell Hall.² Here he tells of an inscription which owed its preservation to his care,³ and elsewhere of antiquities and remains discovered in the course of excavations, which he had witnessed.⁴ But his chance memories, though frequent and interesting, are of less value than his deliberate record of what he sought for. Every church was visited, and all noteworthy monuments carefully described; though, as he told Manningham,⁵ he omitted many new monuments, 'because those men have been the defacers of the monuments of others, and so worthy to be deprived of that memory whereof they have injuriously robbed others.' Often in the *Survey* he laments such irreverent defacement, or the greedy spoliation of ancient tombs; and sometimes he had to supply gaps from written records, where such were available. He did not scorn to question the oldest inhabitant on the history of a forgotten or nameless grave, or to cross-examine the host and his ostler for the story of Gerard the giant.⁶

In the same spirit of eager inquiry he had thought to obtain from the chief City Companies what might sound to their worship and commendation, that so he might write of them more at large. But when he met with a rather surly rebuff from the Vintners, he was somewhat discouraged any further to travail.⁷ Perhaps also he began to find his material outgrow his space, and felt the less inclined to pursue such a wide inquiry. To the records of his own Company he no doubt had access, and of its early history he gives some account, though with less detail than might have been expected.⁸

Of the City Records Stow made far more abundant use, and the score of occasions on which he cites them specifically do not at all represent the extent of his indebtedness. Some

¹ ii. 84.² i. 287; ii. 337.³ i. 40.⁴ i. 38, 138, 168-70; ii. 43.⁵ *Diary*, p. 103. Stow's lists confirm the story.⁶ i. 348; ii. 353.⁷ ii. 247.⁸ i, pp. 181-2.

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of these Records, to wit the *Liber Custumarum*, and possibly others also, were at this time in private hands,¹ and readily accessible to Stow. But Stow as the ‘fee’d Chronicler’ of the Corporation was no doubt given free permission to consult the records which were still at the Guildhall. He had made some use of the *Liber Horne*, and still more of the *Liber Dunthorne*, and he refers occasionally by name, and very often in fact, to the *Letter-books*.² Once, at all events, he refers to the *City Journals*.³ Probably also he owed his extensive knowledge of wills in part to the *Husting Rolls*, though copies of important wills were often preserved elsewhere, as in the muniments of interested parishes.

Stow is said to have received assistance from Robert Bowyer,⁴ the Keeper of the Records; but Bowyer did not become keeper till 1604, though he was apparently in official service at an earlier date. It is clear from his frequent and accurate citations, especially from the Patent Rolls and Inquisitions *post mortem*, that Stow obtained abundant extracts from the records in the Tower.⁵ This he might have done through Bowyer, or through Michael Heneage, who was keeper from 1578 to 1600, or Thomas Talbot, who was Heneage’s clerk; Heneage and

¹ The *Liber Custumarum* and *Liber Antiquorum Regum*, with some others, had been lent to Fleetwood the Recorder about 1576, for the preparation of the volume which now bears his name. At Fleetwood’s death, in 1594, they passed by some means into the hands of Stow’s friend Francis Tate, and ultimately into those of Sir Robert Cotton. In 1601 Stow was helping the Corporation in an endeavour to recover their property (see p. xxiii above). Through Tate’s agency the *Liber Antiquorum Regum* and part of the *Liber Custumarum* were restored in 1608. Cotton gave up the *Liber Fleetwood* in 1610; but even then retained a part of the *Liber Custumarum*, now *Cotton MS.* Claudius D. ii. The *Liber Custumarum* and *Liber Horne* were probably compiled by Andrew Horne (*d.* 1328) the City Chamberlain. The *Liber Albus* was prepared about 1419 by John Carpenter. The *Liber Dunthorne* was compiled from Letter-books and other sources (as the Trinity Cartulary) by William Dunthorne, the Town Clerk, between 1461 and 1490. The *Liber Constitutionis* which Stow quotes in three places (i. 83, ii. 8, 124) I have not been able to identify. For the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Custumarum* see Riley’s *Munimenta Gildhallae* in the Rolls Series.

² See i. 157, 308, and Notes *passim*.

³ ii. 294.

⁴ Hearne, *Curious Discourses*, ii. 442–3; see also *Cal. State Papers*, 1595–7, pp. 10, 509, and 1603–10, pp. 178, 568. Bowyer was a member of the Society of Antiquaries in November, 1599: see *Ashmole MS.* 763, f. 196.

⁵ See Notes and Supplement *passim*.

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Talbot were both members of the Society of Antiquaries. However, the letter from his daughter, and his own statements, show that Stow himself made searches at the Tower.¹

Other minor records were not neglected. Stow refers once to the Church-book of his own parish of St. Andrew Under-shaft,² and in another place to that of St. Mildred, Poultry;³ it is evident also that he had consulted the Church-books of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, and St. Stephen, Walbrook.⁴ Probably much of his information as to chantries and charities was derived from such sources.

Stow's work on records was surprisingly good, but was necessarily imperfect. In other directions his services to posterity were even more precious. With the break-up of the Monasteries their muniments were in danger of destruction. What was saved from the wreck we owe to the care of Stow and others like him. Several of the most important Cartularies for London history were in his possession. Such were the invaluable Register of Holy Trinity, Aldgate; the Cartularies of the Nuns' Priory and the Hospital of St. John at Clerkenwell; the *Liber Papie* or Register of St. Augustine Papéy; and the *Liber S. Bartholomei*, a history of St. Bartholomew's Priory⁵. If he did not himself possess, he had access also to, cartularies of St. Mary Overy,⁶ of the College of St. Martin-le-Grand,⁷ and of Colchester Abbey.⁸ The Dunmow Chronicle of Nicholas de Bromfield is preserved only in his transcript.⁹ He appears also to have owned the original *Liber S. Mariae Eborum*, which Francis Thynne copied as *An Anominalle Chronicle of 1381*, our most valuable account of the Peasants' Revolt in London.¹⁰ No doubt the large collections of Thynne and other friends like Glover,

¹ See pp. lxxvii, lxxi, and ii. 246.² See i. 241.³ See ii. 330.⁴ See i. 227 and ii. 317.⁵ As to these see p. xcii below.⁶ See i. 244, ii. 63, 324-6, 353.⁷ See i. 307.⁸ See i. 254.⁹ See p. xcii.

¹⁰ Preserved only by Thynne's copy in *Stowe MS. 1047*. See ii. 366 below. In the same volume are extracts from a Chronicle of the Kings of Man, and the Ledger Book of Osney (now at Christ Church, Oxford), which Thynne had borrowed from Stow. For instances of Stow's indebtedness to friends see the account of his own Collections on pp. lxxxvii to xcii below. The letters of his friends illustrate what community of assistance there was between the antiquaries of the day.

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Fleetwood, and Camden were at his service. The report of Grindal's chaplains on their search of Stow's study in 1569 proves that he had even thus early accumulated a great mass of material. The letters of his friends show the repute in which 'Stow's Storehouse', and especially his *Fundationes Ecclesiarum*, was held.¹ Not the least of his treasures were his transcripts of Leland's *Collections*, to which reference has already been made.²

With the works of the great mediaeval historians, as William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, the *Flores Historiarum*, Knighton, and Walsingham Stow was familiar, and of most if not of all he possessed valuable manuscripts. He used also many minor authorities,³ and more than one document of interest exists only in his transcript.⁴ But for his own peculiar purpose in the *Survey* the old Chronicles of London were of greater value, and of them he made constant use. His own *Summary* and *Chronicles* were, so to say, in form, and to a great extent in matter, the direct descendants of the ancient civic histories. Stow himself possessed or used at least three of the copies of the Chronicles of London which still survive, and made some notes in them all. Two of these have been printed, viz. the *Short English Chronicle* from *Lambeth MS.* 306 in Dr. Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, and the more valuable and important copy in *Cotton MS.* Vitellius A. xvi, which is included in my own volume of *Chronicles of London*. The third is contained in *Harley Roll C.* 8, which is no doubt one of the 'old Registers' which Stow searched for information on the portreeves and early governors of the City.⁵ But these

¹ See pp. lxxix to lxxii.² See p. xxv above.³ As the *Chronicon Angliae*, 1328-88 (i. 71, ii. 168-9); monastic annals like those of Bermondsey (ii. 66-7) and Dunstable (ii. 49); Walter of Coventry (i. 24); Peter of Ickham (i. 89); William de Chambre (i. 90, ii. 99); and the pseudo-Ingulph (i. 72, ii. 112, 128).⁴ e.g. *The Arrivall of Edward IV*, and *The Chronicle of Calais* in *Harley MSS.* 542, 543. See p. xc below.⁵ See p. xcii and note on ii. 382 below. The *Chronicle* in *Harley Roll C.* 8, is very similar to the *Short English Chronicle* referred to above. But even in the earlier portions it contains some additions; from 1400 to 1434 it is very meagre; from 1434 to 1451 it resembles closely the fuller copy in *Cotton MS.* Julius B. I (see NICOLAS, *Chronicle of London*,

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were not the only copies with which he was acquainted, as appears from various references in his printed works,¹ and from fragments and transcripts preserved amongst his *Collections*.² It is clear, moreover, that Stow had used the longer original of the Vitellius Chronicle,³ whether at first hand, or through the medium of a lost work of Fabyan. Of Fabyan himself Stow has left an interesting note: ⁴ 'He wrote a Chronicle of London, England and of France, beginning at the creation, and endynge in the thirde of Henry the 8, which both I have in writen hand.'⁵ The second edition of Fabyan's *Chronicle*, which appeared in 1532, included continuations to 1509. But for these it is unlikely that Fabyan was in any sense responsible, and it is certain that his original work ended with 1485. But both in his *Survey* and in his *Annales* Stow several times quotes 'Ro. Fabian', or 'Fabian's manuscript', as his authority for incidents between 1485 and 1512.⁶ These citations agree with nothing in the printed continuations, and where they correspond with passages in the Vitellius Chronicle are sometimes fuller. A possible solution is that Fabyan had himself composed a continuation of his original work, which was superior to those supplied in the printed editions. Of this manuscript continuation all trace has now perished, except for Stow's record and occasional quotations. The gap between the end of Fabyan's manuscript and the beginning of Stow's own life was not long. For the greater part of the reign of Henry VIII he was dependent chiefly on Hall's *Chronicle*, supplemented by the London Annals in *Harley MS.* 540. But for the last sixty years of his history he writes from his own knowledge, at first of memory, and afterwards of record

pp. 133-7, and 171-3); it ends with 1463, the notices for the later years again resembling the *Short English Chronicle*.

¹ e. g. The notices on the affair of Laurence Duket in 1284, the play at Skinners Well in 1409, the piracy on the Thames in 1440, and the fight at Smithfield in 1442. See i. 93, 254; ii. 32, 71.

² Ap. *Harley MSS.* 367, 530, 540, 541, and 543. See further pp. lxxxviii to xc below.

³ Cf. ii. 310.

⁴ See ii. 305 below.

⁵ One may possibly be the *Cotton MS.* Nero C. xi.

⁶ See i. 181, 209; ii. 55, 116 below. It is probable that some other matter comes from the same source, as the notes for 1504-5 in i. 67 and ii. 62.

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set down systematically year by year for his *Summary* and *Annales*.¹ Between Feb., 1561 and July, 1567 at all events he kept some sort of Diary.² The greater part of this was made use of for the *Annales*, but some matters it would clearly have been unwise to print. This Diary ends just before the beginning of his troubles. The search of his library by Grindal may have warned him to keep no more any such dangerous document.

Stow himself tells us that the idea of his *Survey* was suggested by Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, which first appeared in 1574. He writes modestly that at the desire and persuasion of friends he handled the argument after plain manner rather than leave it unperformed. From the Letters Patent of James I it appears that Stow had spent eight years on the preparation of his *Survey*, and since the first edition was published in 1598 he must have been long past sixty years of age when he began his work. As already pointed out, a careful perambulation of the several wards of the City furnished the main framework of the book. To this particular account there was prefixed a more general narrative dealing with the origins, the growth, and social life of the City. For that part which deals with Roman Antiquities Stow was probably indebted to the assistance of Camden.³ For the subsequent chapters on Walls, Rivers, Gates, and Towers, on Customs, Sports, and Pastimes, and on the Honour of Citizens he found a convenient text in William Fitz-Stephen's *De-*

¹ In his *Summarie* for 1566 when describing Somerset's execution he thinks it 'good to writ myne opinion according to that whiche I there sawe'. Suitable material was transferred from the *Annales* to the *Survey*.

² Preserved in *Lambeth MS.* 306 and printed as Stow's *Memoranda* in Dr. Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 115-47. I have given some passages which illustrate the *Survey* in the notes on ii. 283, 303, 339, 346, 360 below. Very little of the *Memoranda* is personal: on 3 January, 1565, he dined with a friend at Westminster, and walked back on the ice to Baynard's Castle 'as salffe as ever I went in eny place in all my lyffe'; on 2 April, 1566, 'was sene in y^e elymt as though the same had openyd y^e bredghte of a great shete and shewyd a bryght flame of fyre and then closyd agayne, and as it ware at every mynute of an howre to opyn and close agayne, y^e whiche I, beyng at y^e Barrs without Allgate, sawe playne easte as it was ovar the churche namyd Whitchappell' (pp. 131, 137).

³ Much of it resembles closely Camden's *Britannia*.

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scription of London,¹ which he printed accordingly as an appendix to the *Survey*.²

From the state of the original manuscript³ we may conjecture that Stow first set out in a fair hand the result of his perambulation. This he then proceeded to complete with additions and interpolations drawn from his own large storehouse, and written on the margins, or between the lines, or on slips pasted in, at such length as often to double the original contents of the page. The draft thus prepared differs a good deal from the printed work as well in matter as in the arrangement, which was finally altered for the better.⁴ On the other hand, Stow seems to have found his copy too extensive, and therefore cut out various matters which he had dealt with elsewhere or thought superfluous. But no sooner was the work printed than he began after his accustomed manner to enlarge and improve it. In the preface to his second edition he declares with justice that he had added many rare notes of antiquity.⁵ Amongst the longest of these additions may be noted the extract from the Lancaster accounts,⁶ the whole section 'Of Charitable Alms', the expansion of the Chapter on Honour of Citizens,⁷ the account of the Devil's appearance at St. Michael, Cornhill,⁸ the notes on Jews in England,⁹ and on Tournaments at Smithfield;¹⁰ and finally the unperfected notes on City government, a subject which he did not touch in his first edition, because he had hope that another minded such a labour.¹¹ But of more real moment than these long insertions, are the numberless small corrections and additions, of which it is impossible to give any general description. It is curious that the references to foundations of Chantries are nearly all inserted for

¹ Prefixed by FitzStephen to his *Life of Thomas Becket*.

² See ii. 220-9 below.

³ The main part forms *Harley MS.* 538. A rough draft of the chapter on Southwark is in *Harley MS.* 544, ff. 96-9, where also there is another fragment on f. 107. A revised draft of the chapter on Rivers is in *Tanner MS.* 464 in the Bodleian Library.

⁴ See notes on ii. 285 and 365 below.

⁵ The additions amount to 100 pages.

⁶ i. 85-7 and ii. 236. ⁷ i. 89-91 and ii. 236. ⁸ i. 196 and ii. 244.

⁹ i. 278-82 and ii. 252. ¹⁰ ii. 29-33 and 260. ¹¹ ii. 187.

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the first time in the second edition.¹ Several new passages are inserted from the *Vitellius Chronicle of London*; and the Cartulary of St. Mary Overy would appear to have been for the first time consulted during the interval.² Other additions relate to events of later date than 1598, such as the bequests of Alice Smith to the Skinners, the foundation of Plat's School in 1601, and the damage done to Cheap Cross in 1599 and 1600.³ Apart from the addition of new matter the text of the *Survey* was carefully revised. Of this the best instance is to be found in the rearrangement of the material relating to Cheapside, which in the first edition was spread over Cheap, Farringdon Within, and Cordwainer Street Wards, but in 1603 was more conveniently brought together in the account of the first-named.⁴ The first edition, moreover, seems not to have escaped criticism. So a note on the Skinners Company was put in 'to stop the tongues of unthankful men, such as use to ask: Why have ye not noted this, or that? and give no thanks for what is done'.⁵ A contrary reason may explain the disappearance of Stow's account of his rebuff by the Vintners.⁶ There is also a characteristic touch in the note 'that being informed of the Writhsleys to be buried there, I have since found them and others to be buried at St. Giles, Cripplegate, where I mind to leave them'.⁷ Certainly Stow improved his book in its second edition; it was substantially larger, and the changes were on the whole for the better. Nevertheless both the original draft and the first edition contain peculiar matter which we should have been sorry to lose.

Thomas Hearne called Stow 'an honest and knowing man', but 'an indifferent scholar'.⁸ The criticism is not altogether unjust, for Stow suffered from the limitations which no self-taught man can escape entirely. His knowledge of Latin and French was imperfect, and he was disposed sometimes to evade rather than solve his difficulties. It is not surprising that he should occasionally be at fault in his most positive

¹ See for instances, ii. 244-9.² See i. 25, 37, 66, 244, 249, 346, ii. 63.⁴ See i. 264-70 and ii. 249-54.⁶ See ii. 247.⁸ *Letters from the Bodleian*, i. 288, ii. 98.³ See i. 174, 267.⁵ See i. 231.⁷ See i. 204.

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interpretations. In the first compilation of such a work a certain proportion of error was inevitable, whether through inaccuracy of transcription for which Stow was personally responsible, or in mistakes of the printer over dates. What is really remarkable about the *Survey* is that a man with little advantages of education, working on new ground from sources still for the most part in manuscript, was able to discover and bring into order so vast a mass of material. After all possible deductions the *Survey* justifies Stow's rule in the preface to his *Summarie* for 1565:—'In hystories the chief thyng that is to be desired is the truth.' His main narrative is substantially accurate, the state of his original manuscript, and the variations presented by the printed editions bear witness to the pains which he took to verify his facts.¹ The range of his information is indeed remarkable. It appears not only in the text of his published works, but also in the vast mass of his manuscript *Collections*, of which the surviving remnant, considerable enough, can have formed but a small part.²

In the *Survey* Stow's chief task of research was to find illustrations for what he had heard or seen, and criticism or discrimination was of less importance. The charm and value of the work consist in its personal note. We are not so much concerned that Stow should have had a fine scorn for fables of other folks' telling, especially if that other chanced to be R. G.,³ as that he could tell a merry tale on his own account. It is well that he should disbelieve in giants,⁴ but better that he could repeat with simple faith his father's story of how the Devil appeared at St. Michael, Cornhill, and add his own testimony on the holes where the claws had entered three or four inches deep in the stone.⁵ But even greater credulity in himself, and more harsh censure of it in others, could be forgiven for the sake of his zeal for truth and just dealing. He loved to praise famous men, and rejoiced in the history of

¹ A comparison of Stow's account of St. Michael, Cornhill, with the Churchwardens' Accounts, which he does not appear to have seen, furnishes a good instance of his accuracy. See i. 195-9 and ii. 305-6. And see also ii. 331-2 for another contemporary instance.

² See pp. lxxxvi sqq. below.

³ See i. 118, 349.

⁴ See i. 348-9.

⁵ See i. 196.

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their good deeds. The care with which he set down particulars of charities seems to have been inspired by a sense of the public interest, for he is not less careful to censure the too frequent instances of neglect and misappropriation.¹ He comments so often on the failure of executors in the discharge of their duties,² that one begins to suspect the memory of some personal grievance. But his censure never seems malicious. He speaks out openly against abuses of civic government, and the promotion of unfitting persons,³ but he glosses over the shortcomings which lost John Cowper his term of mayoralty,⁴ and does not repeat the scandal caused by Sir Thomas Lodge, who was ‘braky and professe to be banqweroute’ during his year of office.⁵ In other matters his own predilections could not be suppressed. He did not like change, objected to find his former walks pestered with filthy tenements, commended archery, thought no harm of bull-baiting,⁶ scorned bowling-alleys, and passed theatres by.

Stow’s pronounced opinions on such matters were reflected inevitably in the *Survey*. Of the London of contemporary satirists and dramatists we find little trace. It is only through his repeated complaints of the dicing-houses, and filthy tenements, which destroyed the pleasant walks of his youth, that we get any hint at the cozenage, gambling, and immorality which defamed the suburbs of Elizabethan London. To the lurid picture drawn by Greene and Nash, Dekker and Rowlands, Stow’s sober narrative may, however, supply a needed corrective. More surprising to readers of to-day must be the almost complete absence in the *Survey* of any reference to the adventurous and intellectual activities of the age. ‘Sir Francis Drake, that famous mariner’, is mentioned once. But there is not a word of Shakespeare, nor of any other of the great writers of the time, not even of his own acquaintance

¹ i. 116, 148, 154, 198, 246.

³ See i. 191.

⁵ *Memoranda*, ap. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 127.

⁶ It is the desecration of the Sabbath, not the cruelty to animals, which Stow reprehends, when in referring to the accident at Paris-Garden, on Sunday, 13 Jan., 1583, he writes: ‘A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the cruelty of beasts, then in the workes of mercy, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the Sabbath day’s exercise.’ *Annales*, p. 1173, ed. 1605.

² i. 114–5, 273.

⁴ See i. 212.

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Ben Jonson. It may be replied that Stow was not concerned with social life; but in point of fact he is ready enough to digress on any subject that interested him. As a matter of topography alone such famous, or notorious, haunts as The Bull in Bishopsgate, The Mitre, or The Mermaid deserved at least a passing notice. But theatrical references were struck out deliberately in the edition of 1603, save for a general implied censure on stage-plays. Perhaps a like intention accounts for the exclusion of other topics to which the writer was not attracted. Stow's attitude was not, however, due to any recluse-like absorption in books. We get a few glimpses of him as a sociable companion, ready to discuss business in a friendly way over a quart of ale or pint of wine, interested in old sports, in the fun on the frozen Thames, and the time-honoured wrestling at Bartholomew Fair. New-fangled customs and amusements he did not love, and he either censured them openly, or left them unnoticed, like those tombs of the lately dead, which thrust out monuments hallowed by antiquity.

Such an attitude was perhaps natural to the conservative mind of an old man, who found himself in 'the most scoffing, carping, respectlesse, and unthankful age that ever was'.¹ It certainly hurt nobody. Yet once in a way there comes out a touch of spite in his humorous satisfaction at the misfortunes which befell the builders of high houses to overlook others, and especially a neighbour of his own in Leadenhall, who made him a high tower, but being in short time tormented with gout could not climb and take pleasure thereof.² But we may accept the protest which has come down to us through Howes, that he never wrote anything either for malice, fear, or favour, nor to seek his own particular gain or vain-glory, and that his only pains and care was to write Truth.

The text of the *Survey* as given in the edition of 1603 is the only full and authoritative version. Strange as it may appear, it has never been accurately reprinted. The very interest of the book encouraged later writers to continue and

¹ *Annales*, p. 859, ed. 1631. It is Howes's observation; but he may have been using Stow's collections.

² See i. 152.

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expand it. No long time after Stow's death Anthony Munday took up his friend's work, and in 1618 produced an edition, 'continued, corrected, and much enlarged with many rare and worthie notes.' It is true that in bulk Munday's additions were considerable, but, as Strype remarks, they consist very largely of copies of monumental inscriptions from churches and extracts from the *Summarie* and *Annales*. However, like Stow before him, Munday had no sooner completed his labours than he set to work once more. In 1633, four months after Munday's death, there appeared another edition 'completely finished by the study of A. M., H. D., and others'.¹ Perhaps the most prominent addition on this occasion was the insertion of coats of arms of all the Mayors and the City Companies. But, besides further notes on churches, there was a large if somewhat undigested mass of new matter, copies of Acts and Statutes of Parliament and the Common Council, notes on the origin of the City Companies, and the like. Strype censures Munday for his deviations from the author's edition and sense; unhappily he had not the wisdom to take warning from another's error.

In 1694 there was a design to reprint the *Survey* with large additions and improvements.² A little later John Strype began to work on the *Survey*, and after long labour produced in 1720 a so-called edition in two large folio volumes. Hearne, on hearing of the project in 1707, wrote well: 'Stow should have been simply reprinted as a venerable original, and the additions given in a different character'.³ Strype judged otherwise, and though he preserved for the most part the original text, he embedded it in such a mass of new, if valuable, matter as often to conceal its identity and obscure its meaning. A similar criticism applies to the version of 1734, edited by John Mottley under the pseudonym of Robert Seymour, and to the 'Sixth Edition' of 1754, printed under Strype's name but with additions 'by careful hands', bringing the survey and history down to that date.

¹ H. D. is Humphry Dyson. See p. 442 of *Survey* for 1633.

² Projected apparently by Awnsham Churchill, and other London publishers: see a broadsheet in the Bodleian Library.

³ *Collections*, ii. 41.

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The text of 1603 was first reprinted by W. J. Thoms in 1842. Thoms added notes of some antiquarian interest, together with the chief variations of the text of 1598. But he modernized the orthography and omitted some of the marginal notes. His text is moreover not free from typographical errors, which did not appear in the original. The example of Thoms' edition has been followed in subsequent reprints. Thus it comes to pass that the present edition, for the first time after three hundred years, makes Stow's true work generally accessible in the form in which he wrote it.

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APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION

I. NOTES ON THE STOW FAMILY

Early History.

Stow no doubt belonged to an old London family. His grandfather Thomas (*d.* 1527) in his will refers to his own parents as being buried at St. Michael, Cornhill (see p. vii above). This carries the descent one generation further back than John Stow could do. The name occurs occasionally in early records. There is mention of a John de Stowe in 1283 (Sharpe, *Cal. Wills Husting*, i. 65). Henry de Stowe, draper, had a lease of the Coldharbour in 1319 (see i. 236 below). Another John Stowe occurs in 1351 (*Cal. Wills*, i. 641), and William Stowe in 1387 (*Anc. Deeds*, B. 2055). Thomas Stow was Dean of St. Paul's in 1400. But I cannot connect any of these with the chronicler.

I must pass, therefore, to contemporary documents, and will then sum up their evidence.

The Will of Elizabeth Stowe.

The xxvijth of June 1568.

'In the name of God Amen. I, Elizabeth Stowe beinge sicke in bodye &c.' Her body to be buried 'in the cloyster by my husbände in the parisshe of S. Mychell in Cornehill'. Her executor to spend 'xxxv*li.* vpon my buryall to burye me decently withall'.

'*Item.* I will myne executor to gyve vnto Iohn my eldeste sonne fyve poundes. *Item.* I gyve vnto Iohn my younger sonne the monye beinge in the handes of Thomas ffarmer my sonne in lawe, the some of xiiij*li.* vjs. viij*d.*, which shalbe due as apperethe by one obligacion. And yf it happen that the saide Iohn the yonger doe departe this worlde within the time specified in the obligacion, that then it remaine vnto William Stowe my sonne, and yf he dye also then it to remaine vnto my executor his heires executors or assigns.'

To William Stowe, ten pounds. To her daughter Iohan, five pounds 'for she hathe had fyve already'. To her daughter Margaret 'the yearely rent of the house which Stephen Rowlandson dwelleth in, which is xxxv by year' with remainder to her executor.

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Vnto my daughter Alyce my best pettycoate for a remembrance, for she hath had tenne poundes of me alreedye.'

'Vnto my brother William Archer his wyfe, my cassocke edged with conye, and to his son harye xls. in monye.'

'Vnto my cosen Cuttler my worste cassocke.' Ten shillings 'for my children and fryndes to drincke withall after my buryall'. Five shillings for the poor in bread. To the Tallow-chandlers six shillings and eight pence to follow her corpse.

'My sonne Thomas Stowe my full and whoale executor' is named residuary legatee, and Harry Johnson is appointed overseer and to have six shillings and eight pence for his pains.

Elizabeth Stowe makes her mark. Willyam Eyre, and Harrye Johnson¹ sign. Proved by Thomas Stowe on 13 Oct. 1568.

The Will of John Stowe.

'In the name of God amen. The xxx day of August 1603 I Iohn Stowe Citizen and Marchant Tailor of London &c.

'My bodye to be buryed where it please God to take me to his mercye. fyrst I gyve and bequeath to my daughter Julyan Towers the some of x poundes. And to my daughter Jone foster ten poundes. And that they to be satysfyed and contented for any further porcyons after my death. And for the rest of my goodes household stuf and appareyle I gyve vnto Elizabeth my wyfe, as also I gyve vnto her the lease of my house with the Residue of the yeares to come.'

Elizabeth Stow is appointed executrix, and George Speryng² overseer, 'desyryng hym moste hartely to take so moche paynes to help my pore wyfe in her busynes, that she be not ouerpressed to take any wrong.'

Signed in a very shaky but characteristic hand: 'Iohn stow, Iohn stow aged 78 yeres.'

Proved by Elizabeth Stow on 6 April 1605.

Both wills were proved in the Bishop of London's Court, and the above abstracts are taken from the originals.

Entries in Parish Registers.

St. Michael, Cornhill.

Christenings: 20 Sept. 1547, William Stowe.

12 Dec. 1574, Thomas; 4 May 1578, Elizabeth; 10 April 1580, Judith; 25 Dec. 1581, Emmanuel; 3 June 1584, Judith; all children of Thomas Stowe.

¹ See pp. liii and lviii below.

² Deputy of Limestreet Ward, see next page.

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*Appendix to Introduction**Burials*: 16 June 1559, Thomas Stowe.15 Aug. 1571, Margerye, wife of Thomas Stowe. 16 Dec. 1583, Elizabeth, *d.* of Thomas Stowe. 21 Sept. 1594, Judith, wife of Thomas Stowe. 8 Oct. 1602, Thomas Stowe 'dwelling in the Churchyard'.

St. Andrew Undershaft.

Christenings: 27 Jan. 1558⁵/₈, Jone, *d.* of John Stowe.20 Feb. 1568³/₄, Marie, *d.* of John Stoe.29 June 1582, Peter; 9 Feb. 1588³/₄, Francis; 20 March 1588⁵/₈, Elizabeth; 2 June 1588, Thomas; 8 Nov. 1590, Susan; 6 Oct. 1594, Peter; 23 Jan. 1598⁵/₇, Robert; 19 Feb. 1598⁷/₈, Gregorje; all children of Peter Towers.*Marriages*: 31 Aug. 1567, Thomas Stowe and Margerie Kent, widow.

23 April 1581, Peter Towers and Julyan Stoe.

15 July 1582, Pawle Walter and Annes Stowe (*or* Stone).

4 Feb. 1587, Gylles Dewbery and Margaret Stowes.

Burials: 18 Jan. 1588⁹/₇, Anne Stow, the wiffe of Jo. Stow. 18 Feb.1588³/₄, Joyce Stooe, wiffe of Jo. Stooe. 31 Oct. 1591, Elizabeth Towers. 22 March 1591¹/₂, Peter Towers. 19 Oct. 1593, Margaret Dewbery, widow.

6 Nov. 1600, Peter; 5 Sept. 1603, Thomas; 13 Sept. 1603, Robert; 22 Sept. 1603, Susanna; the last four being all children of Mr. Peter Towers.

8 April 1605, 'Mr. John Stoe was Buryed the viijth day of April, 1605.'14 Feb. 1611⁹/₇, Mrs. Julyan Towers, wiffe of Mr. Peter Towers.

15 July 1611, Mr. George Spering, late Alderman's Deputie.

9 Sept. 1613, Mr. Francis Towers, son of Mr. Peter Towers.

24 Jan. 1628⁵/₈, Mr. Peter Towers, householder.

St. Dionis Backchurch.

Marriage: 8 Oct. 1571, Thomas Stowe of St. Michael, Cornhill, to Judith Heath of this parish.

The Registers of St. Michael, Cornhill, and St. Dionis Backchurch, have been printed by the Harleian Society. For permission to search the Register of St. Andrew Undershaft, I have to thank the Bishop of Islington, who is Rector of St. Andrew.

Thomas Stow (*d.* 1559), who married Elizabeth Archer, was the father of John Stow, and had other issue: Thomas, William (*b.* 1547), and John the younger; Johan, married Mr. Rolfe, *alias* Frowyke; Margaret; and Alice, married Thomas Farmer. From the terms of

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Elizabeth Stowe's will, I conjecture that 'John the younger' was under age at her death; I find no other mention either of him or of William Stowe. It will be observed that in St. Michael's Register there is no entry of the death of Elizabeth Stowe; but in the *Churchwardens' Accounts* (p. 162, ed. W. H. Overall) there is a note under 1568: 'Receyved for the buryall of Mystris Stowe iij. iiijd.'; she died in Oct. 1568 (see p. lx). The later entries in that Register probably relate to the chronicler's brother Thomas, his wives and children. The first marriage of Thomas Stowe is probably that of 1567 in the St. Andrew's Register; from the story on p. lx it appears likely that he had married a widow called Margery Kent or Kemp shortly before 1568; his second marriage is clearly that of the St. Dionis Register. But it is curious that in *Harley MS.* 538, f. 147^{vo}, there are two stray notes: 'Mastar Burcheley in the towne of Hartford is Thomas Stow's cosyn, and Iohan Frowyk's cosen in houndsdytche. Master Burchely of Hertford is a cosen to Iohan Frowicke in houndsdytche, to Thomas Stowe in Cornell, but no kyn to Iohn Stowe.' We know, however, that John Stow's sister Johan or Joan was sometimes called Frowyke (see p. lx), and the facts which we know about Thomas Stow fit so well with the entries in the Registers, that I can only conjecture that the true purport of these notes is lost; possibly John Stow, in the bitterness of his quarrel, disowned the kinship. Of Thomas Stow of Cornhill we learn something from the *Churchwardens' Accounts* (p. 247); he was one of the wardens of St. Michael's between 1582 and 1588; in the latter year it was 'agreed that Thomas Stowe after all suche grants now in esse or beinge for his sister Margaret, or for his owne dwelling if nede shalbe, shall have one of the houses in the churchyard of o^r parishe, first empty after the xpiracion of all the same graunts'. It will be remembered that John Stow's sister Margaret appears to have been unmarried.

From the entries at St. Andrew Undershaft, it seems clear that there were at least two parishioners called Jo. Stow or Stoe. It is therefore impossible to be certain that any of the entries relate to the chronicler except those of his own burial, and of his daughter Julyan's marriage; in both the name is curiously spelt Stoe. It is hardly possible that the Jone Stowe of 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ ^o and Marie Stoe of 15 $\frac{6}{8}$ ^o should be his daughters, since at these dates he probably still lived in St. Katherine Cree Church parish¹; moreover, Stow's three daughters

¹ Unfortunately there are no Registers for St. Katherine Cree Church earlier than 1637.

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were 'marriageable and in service with right worshipfull personages' by 1569 or thereabouts (see p. lxii). It has been commonly assumed that the Anne Stow, who died in 1581, was the chronicler's first wife, but for this I can find no evidence. Joan Foster's mother was clearly alive when she wrote the letter to her father which is given on p. lxx; if she had only dated it fully the point might have been settled. On the whole it does not seem safe to connect either Anne Stow or Joyce Stooe with the chronicler. Elizabeth Stow is mentioned by name only in her husband's will, on the tomb, and in the copy of the *Survey*, which presumably belonged to her, and is now in the British Museum; but one of her husband's grandchildren was named Elizabeth. Of Stow's three daughters two survived him. Julyan, apparently the elder, married Peter Towers in 1581, and died in 1611; the description of her husband as 'Mr.' seems to indicate that he was well-to-do. The second, Joan Foster, lived at Warwick, whence she wrote the letter on p. lxx; her marriage does not appear in the St. Andrew's Register, but Foster was a common name in the parish. The Margaret Stowes, who married Gylles Dewbery in 1587, and died a widow in 1593, might possibly be the third.

Mr. George Sperring, the Alderman's Deputy, was no doubt the Overseer of John Stow's will.

Of the other persons named in Elizabeth Stow's will, 'my cosen Cuttler' appears also in John Stow's history. The poor uncle, who was overcome by Elizabeth's injustice (see p. lviii), is presumably William Archer, whose son 'Harye' may perhaps be identical with the Henry Archer who served in the Netherlands in 1587, and apparently supplied John Stow with material for his *Annales* (pp. 1199, 1221, ed. 1605).

II. DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING STOW'S LIFE

1. *How Stow began to write History, and quarrelled with Richard Grafton.*

[Amongst John Stow's private papers now bound up in *Harley MS. 367* are several disordered fragments (ff. 1-3 and ff. 11, 12) relating to his controversy with Richard Grafton. For the most part they deal with alleged errors of Grafton's, and such points as the extent of his debt to Hall. But f. 3, which deals with the beginning of the quarrel, contains autobiographical matter of a wider interest, and helps to explain the prefaces printed on pp. lxxvi to lxxix; it is therefore given in full. The most interesting portion of f. 1 is given on pp. xi, xii above.]

1563. Richard Grafton published his first booke, intituled 'An abridgment of y^e cronicles of England', anno 1563. In y^e epistle wherof (dedi-

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cated to y^e right honorable lord Robert Dudley &c.), he contemnyth all y^e abrydgments before tyme publyshid, saythe y^t therin was contayned lytle trewth & lesse good order, w^t y^e vncertaynty of yeres to y^e deceyvynge of all, & vniust dishonoringe of mayny; but in this boke, quod he, yow shall fynd these abusys reformyd, & trewth more simply vtteryd &c. This boke thus publyshyd was, not w^t stondynge y^e glorios tytle, of moaste men, or rathar of all (except hym selffe) more myslyked then y^e former abridgments of othar.

Richard Grafton reprintyd y^e same his Abridgment Anno 1564 w^t 1564. excuse to y^e readers that in y^e first imprecion partly by miswrytynge, partly by misentrynge and mystakynge of yeres, but chefly by mysprintinge, divars and sondry fautes wer commytted, whiche (nowe) aftar he had well parused, he had w^t dilygence reformyd and amendyd, in suche maner as he trustyd would apeare in y^e imprecion to y^e contentacion of all those y^t are desyrus to vnderstond y^e trew notes & discourse of tymes &c. This boke beinge little bettar then y^e first (nay rathar worse) was as myche or more of all men myslyked, thrwge the occasyon wherof mayny sitisens & othars knowynge y^t I had bene a serchar of antiquitis, (whiche were devinite, sorencys, & poyetrye, but nevar extemyed history wer it offeryd nevar so frely) movyd me for y^e comoditie of my contry somewhat to travaile in settinge forth some othar abrydgment or somarye, and also to write agaynst & reprove Richard Grafton. To y^e first at y^e lengthe I grauntyd, but to y^e othar I vtterly refusyd; about y^e same tyme¹ it haponyd that Thomas Marche printar requiryd me to corecte y^e old comon abridgment, which at y^e first was collectyd of Langwit & Copar's epitomy, but then moche coruptyd w^t oft reprintynge, and therefore of Richard Grafton so contemnyd as is afore sayd. To this request I grauntyd on condicion y^t some one whiche were bettar learnyd mowght be ioyned w^t me, for y^t it was a stody wherin I had nevar travayled; and for my parte I wolde gyve my labores in that mattar frely w^t out takynge for my paynes y^e valew of one peny. Shortly aftar Thomas Marche apoynted to me William Baldwyn, mynistar & parson of S. Michels at Powles gate; but or evar we wrote one word of y^e mattar it plesyd God to call y^e sayd W. Baldwyn to his mercy;² wherupon, I thynkynge myselffe dischargyd of my promys to Thomas Marshe, he nevartheless required me to begyn a letyl, for he wold shortly apoynt one to be ioynyd w^t me, whiche promys as yet was nevar performed. But I, aftar I had once begone, I cowl

¹ See note on p. ix above.² See p. x above.

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not rest tyll y^e same were fully endyd. And then I of myne owne mynd wente to Grafton's howse, & shewyd hyme my boke, requiryng hym not to be offendyd w^t my doynge for I ment not to gyve eny suche occasyon. Aftar I had shoyd hym what movyd me to travayle in that mattar I also shewyd hym his owne abridgment of y^e laste imprecion, whiche I had coatyd in y^e margen, wherin he had not only mysplacyd all moaste all y^e yeares of our lord god, but also y^e yeres of y^e begynengs & endyngs of all y^e kyngs of this realme, and of mayne kynges had lefte out how longe they severally reygnyd, but in one place he left out iij kynges togithar, that is to say, Didantius, Detonus, and Gurguinus,¹ he dothe not so moche as name them, fo. 6. There also lakyng Sygebert, who reygnyd iij yeres, fo. 25. When he comyth to the accompte of y^e baylyves, maiors, sheryves of London, he eythar myse placethe them or levithe them owt, in some place one, some place ij, iij, iiij, ye v. togither, fo. 66, w^t also y^e yeres of our lord, & y^e reynes of ye kyngs, & all that was done in those yeres. For y^e folowynge of his awctor one noate shal suffice. Thomas Copar saythe y^t xxx garmaynes tawght y^e abrogation of y^e sacraments of y^e awltar, baptisme & wedlocke² fo. 211., and Grafton saythe they tawght a reformation &c. fo. 42. For y^e sterlyng money he saythe it was coynyd beinge &³ ounce of silvar, & it had y^e name eythar of y^e bird cawlyd a starre havynge perhaps y^e same put in, or else of a starr in y^e element, fo. 94. For y^e well placynge of his mattar in fo. 96 he placethe y^e conduyte in Gracious strete to be buylded by Thomas Knoles in anno 1410, whiche conduyt was begane to be buylded by y^e executors of Sir Thomas Hyll in anno 1490 & finishyd anno 1503. Also in y^e same lefe & y^e same yere 1410 he saythe K. Henry y^e fourthe endyd his lyfe y^e 12 yere of his reigne and was buryed at Canterbury, and then declarethe what was done in y^e 13 and 14 yeres of his reigne, for y^t he makythe hym to raygne ij yeres aftar he was dede and beryed. In folio 154 he placethe y^e deathe of kyng Edward y^e 6 aftar y^e lady Iane, ye aftar qwene Mary was proclamed, and y^e duke of Northombarland apprehenyd. In y^e 2 yere of qwen Mary & y^e 1 of kyng Phylpe he saythe y^e emperour sent y^e Cownty Egmount & othar ambassadors into england to make a parfet conclusyon of maryage bitwene kyng Phylpe & qwene Marye. And as thes fewe thynges are placyd, so is almoste all his whole boke. Y^e printar in fo. 97 hathe printyd iij lynes twyse togithar &c. Aftar I had thus shewyd my owne boke, & also

¹ Three mythical monarchs in the first century B.C.² The German heretics of 1166. W. Newburgh, 132-4.³ *Read an,*

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Grafton's late abridgment so coatyd as I have partly declaryd, to the fyrste Richard Grafton sayd he lykdyd y^e same very well, y^t I had bothe taken great paynes and also desarved great commendacion; for y^e othar he sayd he had folowyd Fabyan, which was a very nowghty cronycle, and Coper whiche was x. tymes worse, and cursid y^e tyme y^t evar he had sene Copar's cronycle, for y^t had cawsyd hym to comyt all thos errours, & Copar was not worthy to be acomptyd learnyd; & then he shewyd me wher Copar had written ij negatyves in on sentence, which was not y^e part of a learnyd man; he addyd forthar: 'I do not' (quod he) 'write ij negatives in one sentence; I can tell how to wryt, I trowe &c.' To be short he gave me thankes, and professyd his frindshype in eny thyng that lay in hym to do, & so we partyd. Then aftar I had got my boke pereusyd & lycensyd by y^e wardens of y^e Stacionars, I requirid foord[er] my lord of Caunterbery his grace to auctoryze y^e same, and then put y^e same in print.¹ Aftar y^e comynge owt wherof, for y^t y^e same was well vtteryd by y^e printar, & well lyked of in y^e comon weale, Grafton began then to chaffe and dyvysyd w^t hym selffe, & toke counsell of mayny othars, whiche way to brynge me out of credyt, and at lengthe toke one of my bokes namyd y^e Summarie of Englysche chronicles, and drew out ther of (all togithar leavyng his owne abridgment) a smale boke whiche he printed in desimo sexto, & in y^e frontar he entitelythe it, A manuell of y^e Chronicles of y^e world tyll anno 1565; to y^e redar ^{1565.} he cawlethe it a brydgyd abridgement, and over y^e page of y^e leves cawlethe it a brefe colation of history. This boke he dedicatyd to his lovyng frends y^e mastar & wardens of y^e company of y^e moste excelent arte & science of Imprintynge, reqwestynge them to take swche ordar w^t theyr whole company y^t ther be no brefe abridgements or manuels of Chronicles imprintyd, but only that &c. To y^e redar he saythe, I hope y^t none will showe them selves so vngentle, nor so vnfrindly as to abuse me in this my little labor & goodwill, as of late I was abusyd by one y^t counterfeacted my volume & ordar of y^e abridgment of y^e chronicles, & hathe made my travayle to passe vnder his name,² also by omittinge some thynges of myne & worsse put in place, & by alteracion of some thyngs & by addicion of some other, whiche kynd of dealyng is not comendable &c. Aftar y^t I had viewid this preface & y^e whole emanuell (*sic*), I havynge also abridgid my summary & cawsed y^e same to be redy prynted, I made a preface

¹ See p. lxxxii, below.² Stow does not quote quite accurately: cf. p. xi above.

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ther vnto, wher in I aunsweryd (as reson movyd me) Grafton's vntrew reportyng preface, and dedicatyd my boke (named y^e summary of y^e Chronicles of England abridgid) to y^e ryght honorable Sir Richard Champion lorde maior of y^e citeye of London, y^e worshipfull aldarment
 1566. &c. in y^e biginninge of Anno 1566. Aftar y^e publishyng of this my abridgid sommery Grafton marvelowsly stormyd & cawsyd y^e mastar & wardens of y^e stacionars to threaten Thomas Marche, my pryntar, & also to request me to come before them at theyr comon hawle, wher I shuld, they sayd, talke w^t Grafton face to face; but I comyng often thythar Grafton allways made excusys, & drave them of from tyme to tyme & nevar came at them; wherupon y^e mastar & wardens desyryd me not to be offendyd, for they wer sory they had trobelyd me so ofte, but they wold no more trust to Grafton's worde sythe he had so ofte disapoynted them.

Aftar this in y^e same yere 1566 I reprinted my summary w^t adytions. And then Grafton seythe that neythar his great abridgment nor his small emanuell were of any extemyd, he alltogether forsoke them bothe, & toke my summary of y^e last edition laynge that for his grownd worke, whiche sarvithe hym for y^e accompte of yeres, for y^e reygnes of kyngs, for y^e names & yeres of y^e bayles, maiors & shrives, & also for mayny speciall noates, which by great labour & not w^t out great costes I had gatheryd. Then, I say, he buyldyd ther on w^t Robart Fabyon, Iohn Frosart, Edward Hall, & Thomas Copar, tyll he had finishid a great volome, whiche he intituled, 'A Chronicle at large & mere history of y^e affayres of England, and kyngs of y^e same, deduced from y^e creacion of y^e worlde vnto y^e first habitacion of this Island &c.' On y^e second page he, counterfeitynge my catalogue of awctors, namethe to y^e nombar of thre score and odd, the moste parte wherof were devyns & wrote no matar of history towchyng this Realm; the othar beinge historiographers; to increase his nombar he resitethe twyse: as in y^e letter A. he writethe Antoninus, in y^e letter B. byshope, which is all one &c.¹ Also it is easy to vnderstond Grafton nevar saw mayny of thos awctors; for profe wherof I saye y^t T. Newton² drewe out of thos devyne awctors in the catalog alledgyd almoste all y^e matar conteyned in vi partes of his boke, & mastar Keyes³ of Oxford drew y^e seventhe part tyll about y^e end of Henry

¹ I omit some other instances.

² No doubt Stow's friend: see p. lxxi below.

³ Thomas Caius or Keyes (*d.* 1572) who was Master of University College, Oxford, 1561-72. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, viii. 225. The association of Newton and Caius with Grafton does not appear to be elsewhere noted

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y^e second, when the same (being vnperfecte) was taken away from hym by Rychard Grafton, who at his pleasur patched it vp w^t his foure awctors afore namyd, Fabian, Frossard, Hall & Coper, all comon bokes, tyll y^e end of kynge Edward y^e 6, and then Mastar G. F.¹ pennyd y^e story of qwene Mary, wher Grafton endithe his great volume. Of this great boke I will make no great descourse, but only by y^e way a litle &c.

2. *Of Stow's quarrel with his brother Thomas, and how his mother altered her will.*

[From *Harley MS.* 367, ff. 6, 7. The date is June—October, 1568. The beginning, middle, and end of the story are all missing.]

. . . I care not what it be. So I sent for y^e best ale and bread, and a cold lege of mutton was put before hir, wherof she eate very hungerly, and thereafter fell both to butter and to cheese. In the end when we departyd she promisyd, that as God had placed me to be the principall of all her children, for that I was the eldyst, she would not conteme me but confyrme the same, and when eythar man or woman should go about to perswad hir, for the naturall love y^t she owght to beare vnto me she would cry out vpon them, avoyd dyvel. But aftar hir comynge home, Thomas and his wyfe would nevar suffer hir to rest tyll she had tould them all the talke that had passed betwixt hir and me. And when he had hard that I lamentyd his beinge matched w^t an harlot, he would nevar let my mother rest tyll he had foarsyd hir to break hir will, wher in she had bequethyd me x. *li.* (equall w^t all y^e yongar children, except Thomas, whiche had all indede), and to put me in nothings at all; but even then she could not get William Eyre, to whom she had gyven Rowlands house in Fynkes lane, nor Henry Johnson, whom she had made hir ovarseer, to put theyr hands vnto y^e will except I were at y^e least put in x. *li.* as I was afore. And thus, seinge no remedy, Thomas put in v. *li.*, and then said he had put in as it was afore, for theyr pleasure. And so they set theyr handes to it,² and aftar hard it rede, wherin they found but v. *li.*, and wold have w^t drawne theyr hands agayne, but was to late. And William Eyre hath told me synce y^t he will take his othe, that he did beleve that I had some part in x. *li.*, or elles he wold have nevar set his hand to y^t, and offeryd them xl. *s.* out of his purse to have put out his hand

¹ George Ferrers, the poet. In his *Annales* (p. 1070, ed. 1605) Stow writes of the loss of Calais: 'Wherof Mastar George Ferrers hath written at large, for he collected the whole history of Queene Mary as the same is set downe vnder the name of Richard Grafton.'

² On 27 June. Compare the extracts from the will on pp. xlv, xlv above.

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agayne. Thus was I condemnyd and payd v. pounds (Thomas beinge his owne bayly, whiche is both agaynst law and reasone) for namynge Thomas his wyfe an harlot, prevely only to one body (who knew y^e same as well as I); but yf he could so ponysshe all men y^t wyll more openly say so moche, he would sone be rychar then eny lord maior of London. Y^t this . . . ye hym selfe no longe aftar (as he had done offtymes before) called her an owld . . . whores in y^e harynge of all his neyghbours . . . suche and suche, and namyd a great nomber of her customers saynge that he had taken hir from y^e . . . and had thought to have made her a honest woman, but it was past cure, and therefore he thruste hir out of y^e dores.¹ And aftar y^t she being conveyed agayne into y^e house through one of y^e nebours wyndows, he bett hir, and threwe hir ageyne into the streat; and all y^e neyghbours could not get him to take her in agayne; for he sayd that she would robe hym to kepe her bastardis, be his deathe as she was her other husbands, for she styll went to wytchis and sorcerars. Yet agayne she was conveyed into the house, and at x of y^e cloke at nyght he, being bare leggyd, serchyd and found her cropte in to y^e jakes entry, and then fell ageyn a beatynge of hir, so that my mother lyinge syke on a palet was fayne to crepe vp, and felt about y^e chambre for Thomas his hosyn and shewes; and crept downe y^e stayres w^t them as well as she could, and prayd hym to put them on lest he shuld cache cold. So my mother stode in hir smoke more than an owre entretynge hym for y^e lordes sake to be mo quiet. So y^t at this tyme my mother toke suche a could y^t she nevar rose aftar; but he and his wyffe went to bed and agreyd well i-nowghe. Aftar this Thomas perswadinge hym selfe y^t my mother drew nere hir end causyd hir on S. James evenes eve² to receyve y^e communion, w^t whome amongst othar he hymselfe receyved. The ministar of y^e parishe, althoughe he were but a stranger, new come out of y^e contry, desyryd to se hir wyll, and fyndynge therin y^t she had geven me, her eldyst sonn, but v. *li.* and y^e othar children x. *li.* y^e peace, excepte Thomas, to whome she had geven all hir howsys and goodes, and made hym full and sole executor, he so moche myslyked therof, y^t he desyryed to know y^e cause, whiche when by none othar meanes they could excuse, Thomas forcid my mothar to say that I was very ryche and nedyd no parte of hir goodes; wherunto y^e mynistar answeyrd that yf I shuld be nevar so ryche yet she must nedes make me equall w^t eny othar hir children, or elles

¹ The MS. is damaged, and several words marked by blanks above cannot be deciphered.

² 23 July.

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shuld show hir selfe bothe vnfyndly and vnnaturall, for so moche that by reason I was ye cheffe and ought to have y^e distributyng of all. Then Thomas cawsyd my mothar to answer y^t she had lyne syke in f. 6^o y^t case y^e space almost of vj yeres, in all whiche tyme I had nevar come, nor sent to her, allthough she had sent to me by all y^e frendes I had, more ovar that I had not axed hir blyssynge in xx yeres; and that I shuld say: 'wherefore shuld I care for her, she had done nothyng for me' (and of whiche I may not write, but for reverens of nature, God forgeve hir¹); and I pray God gyve hym grace to repent y^t caused hir so myche at that tyme and othar to endanger her owne sowle for his filthy pleasure; and more over she sayd, y^t all most vj yeres Thomas lyke a good naturall child had kept hir to his great charges, or y^t she mought have starvyd, and she was not able w^t all hir goodes to make hym amendes, yf it were v. tymes more. This talke beinge all together vntrue (as knythe God) was allso to this strange ministar vncredible for y^t he required that I shuld be sent for, which was vterly denyed. Then he requeryd to know where I dwelt that he mought go and talke to me, which was allso denyed hym. Wherupon he refusyd to mynystar the comunyon to them, but in y^e end they w^t meny glosys perswadyd hym, and so he mynysteryd. The same day Mystar Rolfe, a priest, who had ma[rried] one of my systars, told me that he had often tymes parswadyd w^t my mothar to set thynges in a bettar ordar, and not to gyve all to me and nawght to y^e othar &c. And (as he said) she always bad hym hold his peace, or else speake softly, for hir sonnes wyfe was in one cornar or othar harkenynge, and she shuld have a lyffe x. tymes worse than deathe yf Thomas or his wyfe shuld know of eny suche talke; 'for' (quod she) I can nor do what I would, but as they wyll, excepte y^e lorde rayse me that I may go abrode, and then I wyll vndo that I have done, and do y^t whiche shall pleas bothe God and y^e worlde, but wo worthe that wicked woman (meaninge Thomas his wyffe) for she wyll be my deathe'; (the lyke awnswer she mad to hir brothar, her systar, her cosyn Cutlar, Henry Johnson, and many othars). Also this Mystar Rolfe told me that my mothar that day shuld receyve y^e communyon, for she had sent for his wyfe to receyve w^t her, and so we partyd. And I consyderyd my selfe y^t it was tyme for me to atempte some way to speake agayne w^t my mothar, thought it not good that day to do eny thyng. But on y^e morow, beinge Seint Iames even², in y^e afternoon I sent my wyffe w^t

¹ This is in reference to a foul remark attributed to him, which Stow first wrote down but then erased.

² 24 July.

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a pot of creme and an othar of strawberys; but ye present beinge no betar she was kept out w^t great threats. Wherupon (as I commaundyd hir) she sayd to Thomas: ‘why, brothar, are you ye same man yt^e ye wer wont to be? I had thought ye had bene changyd, become a new man. how dyd yow receyve ye communyon yesterday?’ Then he swar w^t byttar othes, and sayd: ‘how dost thou know yt? by God sowle, thou art a witche, and knowst it by witchcraft.’ And she answeryd agayne: ‘Nay, I know it not by witchcraft.’ ‘Yes, by God’s sowle,’ quod he, ‘thou knowyst it by witchcraft, or else that false knave, thy husbond, hathe coniuirid for it; but I wyll make the vyllayn be handelyed for it, or it shall cost me an hunderyd poundes. I will make all ye world to know what artes he practysythe; and get ye out of my dores, or by peter, I will lay the at my fete.’ Wherupon my wyfe returnyd, and tould me. In ye morows morninge, beyng seynt Iames daye,¹ I went to my mother’s paryshe chirche, and inquiryd for ye parson. Wher it was aunsweryd me that he servyd not ther, but had put in a mynystar. So I taryenge in ye chirche, tyll the mynystar came at vij of ye cloke, and sayd vnto hym: ‘I vnderstond ye mynistryd to my mothar but ij days passyd.’ The whiche he confessyd, and told me all that is afore sayd of ye talke betwixt my mother and hym, and how that he perseyyd my mother durst not speake one word but as Thomas bad her; and yt^e agaynst his conscience he mynestred to them; moreover he promysyd, when so evar I would, to go w^t me to my mother. But on the morow morninge ye same curat²

f. 7^o. be the furnacis and ye facis I told you of. And then Thomas put ye great boke of lese³ then one quyer of papar, bygar then ye great byble, into the poket of his hose, tryomphinge and swarynge as afore. But mystar Wyntrap⁴ w^t myche ado gat ye boke agayne from hym, aftar that he had whisperyd a lyttle. For then Thomas his great heat was alayed, and he was bothe could and quiet. This boke, beinge compilyd by Thomas Norton,⁵ in short vearse, of ye alteracion of certayn mettaylles, I desyryd Mst^r Wyntrap to show to some learnyd man for my discharge, as to ye byshope, deane, or arch-

¹ 25 July.² A leaf, or more, is clearly missing.³ Possibly it should read ‘not less’.⁴ Perhaps an uncle of John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts; the family were clothworkers in London.⁵ Thomas Norton (*f.* 1477), alchemist, and author of an ‘Ordinal of Alchemy’ in English verse, and also *De Transmutatione Metallorum*, likewise in verse. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xli. 220.

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deacon, Mystar Foxe,¹ or Mystar Whithed,² which last Thomas vtarly denayed to be judge, for, saythe he, he is one that practysethe y^e same arte. Thomas, havyng his purpos of y^e byll, which he rent in pecis and burnyd, sent for a pynt of ale, and causyd me to drynke, and bothe professyd frindshype and sorowe for his doynge passyd. And my mothar sayd: 'the lord be praysed, for now my children y^t were dead ar alyve agayne.' After this tyme I repayryd dayly to my mothar duryng hir lyfe, whiche was not longe, and allways awaytyng to speake w^t hir in secret. One tyme aftar I had longe taryed thar, she cried out, as she dyd allwayes (when I was there) 'Ye lorde send me some drynke. O! that I had some kynd of drynke, what some evar it were.' And at y^e last she sayd to Thomas his wyfe: 'Dowghter, for y^e lordes sake gyve me some drynke.' Wherunto after many suche callingys she answeyrd: 'I cannot tell what drynke I shuld gyve you, for yffe I seche eny of owre owne drynke ye wyll not lyke it.' 'Yes, dowghter, yes,' quod she, 'y^e lorde knows I would fayne have some drynke.' And then she fetchinge halfe a pynt of small drynke (beare as I supose) my mother sayd: 'good dowghter, for y^e lordes sake loke in my cobard for a lytle gyngar, and put into it.' Whiche she dyd. Then my mother desyryed hir to warme it a lytle. Whiche she dyd, and went into y^e kitchin, whiche was iij romes of, for y^t ther was no fyer in y^e chamber, thoughe it were at Mychelmas. Then I sayd to my mothar in this sort folowyng: 'Mothar, yow know that I and my brothar Thomas ar now become professars of frindshype, and I shall desyre yow for Gods sake so to do towards us y^t y^e frindshipe professyd may become perfecte and vnfaynyd; yow know y^t for one word whiche I spake to yow in secret, whiche ye promysyd not to open, he hathe made yow put v. *li.* out of yowr wyll, whiche yow had gyven me . . .³ is but a small mattar in comparison of y^t he hathe deceyvyd me in othar ways . . . pray yow to consyder y^t it must nedes offend me moche to pay v. pound for spekyng a word secretly, & in y^e way of . . . fryndshype lamentyng his . . . estate, and yf ye wyll not be good to me for y^e love y^e ought to beare to . . . pore fathar your husbond, nor for y^e love you ought to beare to me your naturall sonne & yowr fyrst, yet I pray yow to consydar y^t I wax old & deokay in myn

¹ John Foxe, the martyrologist.

² The association with Foxe makes it likely that this is David Whitehead (1492–1571), the Puritan divine. In Bernard's *Catalogus MSS. Angliae*, i, 332, a translation of Ripley's *Medulla Alchymiae* (ap. *Ashmole MS.* 1480, III, B. 6) is attributed to 'David Whitehead, doctor of physicke'; but in the MS. the ascription is merely to 'D. W.' (Black, *Cat. of Ashmolean MSS.*, p. 1319). See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, lxi, 96–8.

³ The margins of this leaf are much worn.

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occupation, & y^t I have a great charge of children, and a wyfe y^t can neythar get nor save, & be good to me for theyr sakes. Ye, yf ye wyll not be good to me for all thes cawsys afore shewyd, yet be good to me for Thomas his sake, y^t we maye by that meanes contynue, & encrease in fryndshype. I crave no more but to be put infy^e v. *li*. agayne, and so to be made equall w^t the rest of yowr children, y^t be moste inferiour, and not to make me an inferior vnto them. And Thomas hym selfe, yf he beare eny frindshype at all towards me, or enithinge regard his owne quietnes, he would rather of his owne parte spare xx. pound, than to let me lake that v. pound; for he knowythe y^t I must evar while I lyve grudge to pay so deare for so small an errour. I pray you to consydar how you shall pleas God to make peace & vnity amonge yowr chyl-dren.' And then I red vnto her y^e 133 psalme, whiche I had writen, & would have lefte it w^t her, but she would not take it. Then I desyryd hir to cawse hir sonn Thomas to read it, whiche she sayd she daryd not do. Y^e psalme beginithe thus: 'behold how plesant and how ioyfull a thyng it is bretherne to dwell togethar & to be of one mynd &c.' And this is a spesyall note to be markyd; all the tyme y^t I was thus talkynge w^t hir, to breake me of my talke she lay as she had bene more afearyd then of deathe, lest hir sonn Thomas or his wyffe shuld here eny of our talke. And styll she cryed to me: 'Peace, she comyth; speake softly; she is on y^e stayres harkenynge &c.' And at y^e last made me this answer: 'I trust y^e Lord wyll rayse me agayne, then I wyll go abrode and vndo all y^t I have done, & they shall not know of it; but excepte y^e lord rayse me I can do no thinge for I dare not speake for my lyfe, this wykyd woman (wo worthe hir) wyll be my deathe &c.' Also myn vnkle, & my mothar's brother, contynually perswadyd my mothar from mayny thyngs, as from y^e gyvynge an house to a servynge man (who was not kyne to eny of our kyne) and y^e rest of hir howsys & goods to hir sonne Thomas from me and y^e rest of hir children &c. And she would all f. 7^o ways yeld to her brothar & promes to do aftar his counsell; but as sone as he was gone she was worse than afore, so y^t myn vnkell would come to me, and w^t wepyng byttarly parswad me to take all things patiently for y^t ther was no remandy, he had don what he could, & would do as longe as she lyvyd, but it would not helpe for she was bywitchid to the sayd Will. Eyre and Thomas Stowe. The greffe wherof was suche to my pore vnkle, y^t it shortenyd his lyfe. More-ovar Henry Johnson, hearynge moche talke whiche he lykyd not, for y^t my mothar had made hym ovarseer of hir last wyll, on a tyme . . .

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my mothar alone, he knelynge by her bed sayd y^t he hard many evyll words of her doynge, and all men cried out on hym for y^t he beinge great w^t hir gave hir not bettar counsell (whiche fore tyme he dyd, but all prevaylyd not): ‘Mystris Stow,’ quod he, ‘ye have made Willyam Eyar one of yowr children, for ye have gyven hym an howse; it had bene more mete to have gyven it to your sonn Iohn Stowe, to whom, as I have learyned, ye nevar gave y^e valewe of one peny, and now yow had gyven hym but x. pound, and ye have throwghe your sonn Thomas put out v. pound of that, and ye have made your sonne Thomas the . . . twayne, who hathe bene a deare child to yow, & allwayse spent yow moche money. I praye . . . to put in y^e v. pounds agayne & make your sonn Iohn Stowe x. pound as he was afore.’ Vnto whiche she answeyrd y^t she cowld not put in one peny, for she had it not. Wherupon Henry Iohnson sayd: ‘Mystris Stowe, every man cane tell me y^t yow could gyve your sonne Thomas xx. pounds to renne away w^t an othar mans wyffe, and wyll yow now say ye are not able to gyve Iohn Stowe x. pound &c.’ All this talke my mothar told aftarward to Thomas and his wyfe. And he on y^e morow, being y^e Sunday aftar Bartylmew day, sent for me, and when I cam at my mothars, he sat hym doune on the one syd of my mothar, & his wyfe on y^e othar; and I, standynge as a prisonar, he examinyd me as yf he had bene a Iustice, and chargyd me y^t I should set Henry Iohnson to have that talke afore sayd w^t my mothar; whiche I uttarily denyed, as well I mowght, for y^t was y^e first tyme y^t evar I had hard y^t Henry Iohnson had bene so playn w^t her. Amontst many fowl words and great threats of Thomas towards me he sayd: ‘Mothar, every body grutchid at y^t which ye have; breake yowr wyll and make a new, & gyve them ynowghe; ye may gyve them what yow wyll, but yf I pay one peny, I forsake God; Gods sowle, have ye eny more then y^e cowche ye ly on, and who wyll gyve xl.s. for it. How say you, have ye eny? yf ye have eny, speake.’ Wherunto she answeyrd: ‘No, sonne. It is true I have no more.’ ‘No, by Gods sowle,’ quod he, ‘nor all that nothar, for y^e kyveringe (whiche was but frise) is Mege Fyne (I had lent her money on it); every body thynkythe that ye have gyven me myche, whereas ye have gyven me nothyng at all to speke of, and it is not worthe “god have mercy”¹; and yf my mothar had gyven me this howse throwly well furnyshyd to me and myn eyrs for evar, and an hundrend pound or twayne of redy money, it had bene worthe “god have marci”; but yf evar I say “god have marcy” for this, I forsake God & gyve my selfe to y^e divell, body and sowle.’

¹ Sunday, 29 August.

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Then sayd his wyfe: 'I wyll nevar say "god have marcy" for this house and all that is in it, for we have but howse and have loade, & I would not wash hir shitten clowts to have it. I forsake God, yf I have not washyd x. buks of shitten clowts that she hathe shyttten.' Wherunto my mothar answeryd: 'Ye, dowghter, y^e lord reward you; I have gyven yow all that I have, and wold it war an hunderyd pound bettar for yow.'¹ [Aftar I was departyd from my mothar, remembrynge y^t Richard Brisson, a fyshemonger, who stayed Thomas & Richard Kemps² wyfe when they were rennyng away into Flandars, lay at y^e marci of god, & y^t y^e bell had told for hym, I toke ij of our neyghbours & went to the sayd fyshemongar, & tould hym how I had that day bene chargyd and threatenyd by Thomas Stow, for that I shuld (as he sayd) set Henry Iohnson to speak the thynges afore sayd to my mothar. Wherupon y^e sayd fyshemonger.] My mothar deceasyed a fortnyght aftar mikellmas Anno 1568, and y^e morow aftar hir buryall, whiche was saturdaye,³ I met Thomas Stowe, my systar Iohn⁴ Rolf, allias Froyke,⁵ and Henry Iohnson at leden hall. So we went to ye mayden hed, and dranke a pynt of wyne or twayne. At whiche tyme Henry Iohnson sayd to Thomas: 'I pray you be good to your brothar Iohn. Consyder he your eldar . . .'⁶

3. *Of Willyam Ditcher alias Tetforde.*

[This is the draft of a petition, addressed apparently to the Alderman of the Ward, perhaps in June, 1569; since Stow was still in business it cannot have been much later. See p. xxiii. *Harley MS.* 367, f. 5.]

Plesethe it your worshipe to vndarstond how your pore orator Iohn Stowe, hathe of late bene more then to to mutche abusyd by one William Ditcher *alias* Tetforde, and his wyfe. The proces whereof is to longe to write, but briefly to tuche some parte thereof.

In primis. At Christmas last past the same W. being by the wardemote inqweste forbiden to set his frame with fetharbends in the strete sayd vnto them that the sayde Iohn had complayned on hym, where vnto the forman aunsweryd that he was deceyved, for the sayd Iohn

¹ The passage in brackets was afterwards erased by Stow, and left incomplete.

² The MS. reads thus; but no doubt it means the 'Margerie Kent, widdow' whom Thomas Stow married in 1567. See p. xlvi.

³ Presumably 16 October. Elizabeth Stowe's will was proved on 13 Oct., probably she died on the 12th or 11th.

⁴ *sc.* Johan or Joan.

⁵ See pp. xlvii and lv.

⁶ Here the story stops abruptly.

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had spoke no word of it. This notwithstandinge when the sayd Iohn went toward his owne house the same W. and his wyffe rayled at hym, first as he passyd by them, and aftar at his owne dore to shamefull and slaunderous to be spoken & hard.

Itm. When the Wardemote enqwest had gyven vp theyr endenture, the same W. dyd arest the sayd Iohn of ij C. pound action, where vnto the sayd Iohn put in surties to aunswer.

Itm. On the next morninge y^e same W. & his wife before the stawll of the sayd Iohn rayled agaynst hym more then a longe howre w^t y^e moaste slaunderous speches that man or devell cowlde devyse, but the sayd Iohn to avoyd the breache of peace keppe hym selfe above in his house w^t out eny aunswere makyng.

Itm. iij nightes after the same W. causyd his landlorde, Mastar Ritche, to intreat the sayde Iohn to forgyve the same W., and to gyve hym leave to withdraw his action; where vnto the sayde Iohn graunted w^t conditions to have his costes and that y^e same W. shuld justifie the talke which he at that tyme vsed, that is, that he had bene procuryd by Thomas Stowe to do all what so evar agaynst y^e sayd Iohn Stowe.

Itm. The same W. contrary to his promis made and hand gyven, denayethe to all men that evar he was procuryd by the fore namyd Thomas Stowe to do or say eny thinge agaynste the sayde Iohn Stowe. And also moaste slaunderowsly saythe that the sayde Iohn was fayne to intreat Mastar Ritche to take vp the matar, or eles the same William would have coersed the sayde Iohn, before he would hav w^t drawne his accion.

Itm. The same W. hath not payde one peny to y^e sayd Iohn towards his charges.

Itm. The same W. continually thretinithe to do such notable acts of displeasure agaynst the sayd Iohn as the lyke hathe never bene done to eny man, and that all England shall speake of it, and of this he hathe assurid his frind Thomas Stowe, where of he greatly braggethe.

Itm. The same W. slaunderowsly hathe reportyd to the parson of y^e parishe, and deputy of the warde, as to all othar he comithe in company w^t, that ther comithe none but Roages and Rascalls, the vylest in this land to the howse of the sayde Iohn, which Rascalls & Roages have hym from ale house to ale howse every day and night till ij of the cloke in the morninge.

Itm. The same W. comonly and dayly Raylynge on the sayde Iohn callyth hym prike lowse knave, beggarly knave, Rascall knave,

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vylayne and lyenge knave, addinge more ovar that the sayd Iohn hathe made a cronicle of lyes &c.

Itm. The same W. often tymes calendginge to fight w^t y^e sayd Iohn, one tyme sodaynly lept in his face, foarcyde to have dygged out his eyes, fowly scrated hym by the face, drew blod on hym, and was pullyd of by the neyghbours.

Itm. For that the same W. cannot get his apretises & other servants to fight w^t the aprentice of the sayde Iohn, he hym selfe on the 24 of May last past threw tyllshardes and othar stones at the sayd aprentis tyll he had driven hym of the stawll from his worke; and then the same W. cam to the stawll of the sayde Iohn, and ther thretened that yf he cowlde catche the sayd aprentice abroad he would coarce hym, he wowlde provyd for hym, and he wowlde accuse hym to have kyllid the man on the Miles end in whitson weke &c.

Itm. The 9 of Iune at x. of y^e cloke in the night the same W. callid y^e sayd Iohn comon promotor, comon barrator, comon dronkard, Rascall vylayne &c.; and sayde more ovar he wowlde make hym to be cartyd owt of the towne for such a one &c.

Itm. At that tyme he also sayde, as he hath done dyvars othar tymes, that the wyfe of the sayde Iohn had two children by one man before she was maried, to the great slaunder of the sayde Iohn, his wyfe, and hinderaunce of theyr children, iij dowghters mariageable and in sarvyce w^t Right worshipfull parsonages.

Itm. On the x. of Iune the same W. cawsyd William Snelynge at that tyme beinge dronken to come to the stawlle of the sayd Iohn, and there to cawle hym by suche a name as hym selfe far bettar deserved.

Itm. The xi of Iune the same W., Raylynge at the sayde Iohn, sayde that he was the falsest man in England, and thretenyd to coerse hym yf he cowlde get hym owt of hys dores, callendgyngye hym oft tymes to come owt yf he durst &c. All this he dyde in presence of Mastar Foster one of the lord maior's officers.

4. *A Dispute over a Bill.*

[This is a rough memorandum preserved in *Harley MS. 247, f. 209*, presumably drawn up by Stow, when Crowche took him into court. Crowche may be the Michael Crowche who was churchwarden of St. Michael, Cornhill, 1574.]

1576. Somewhat before Christmas Mst.' Crowche sent vnto me a bill contaynyngye parcels to the sume of vs. 1*d.*, vs. whereof I payde to Iohan his mayde on Christmas evene next folowinge, and sayde I would be his debtor of the odd peny. Where vnto she aunswered and sayde: 'I pray yow to be our debtor of goodwill, and be not

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angry that I sent for so small a some, for other wyse ye are even with my master, and owe him nothinge.'

1577. After this more then halfe a yere, to wite iij or iiij dayes before bartylmew tyde, Mst' Crowche sent me to bylls in one, the first contaynyng parcells to the some of viis. *id.* due on the xv of Iune 1576, the othar *vs. id.* due (and confessyd to be payde) at Christmas next folowyng in the same yere.

Aftar the recept whereof, to wit on bartilmew day, I met with Iohan his mayd nere to the wrestelyng place, where I demaundyd of hir what hir master meant to send me suche a bille for money which I had payde. She aunswerd: 'Alas! Mst.' Stowe, ye must make smale accompte of my mastar's doinges now, for his heade is intoxicate; he hath married a wife for Riches, but he had done bettar to have married a pore wench.'

Sens this tyme Mst. Crowche, metynge me in the strete hath sayd: 'When shall we reoon?' (*sic*). Whereunto I have aunswered: 'When ye will: ye demaund of me money, which I have payde longe sence.' 'Well,' quod he, 'I fynd it in my boke, and I will warne you to the corte of conscience.'¹ Quod I: 'Rathar name to honest indiferent men to here the mattar, and as they shall iudge I will be content.' 'Say you so,' quod he, 'Well one of thes dayes we wyll drynke a quart of wyne and make an ende of it.' But then have I hard no more of it in one whole yere aftar. The last tyme he spake to me therof was about Eastar last, when he came home to my howse, where we agreyd that Mastar Rickford, his ovariantwarte neyghbour, whom he named, shold here and ende the mattar on the Twesday next folowinge; but I gyvyng myn attendaunce that Twesday, I hard no more of it tyll thursday last that I was warned to the [co]rtes, which I take to be no good dealinge towards me.

5. *The Aleconners' Complaint of a disordered Tippler and Unworthy Constable in Castle Baynard Ward in 1584-5.*

[This document (*Harley MS.* 367, f. 4) is in Stow's writing, and since it is written in the first person, is composed in his manner, and found amongst his private papers, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was personally concerned. If there is no proof that he was one of the surveyors, there is also nothing to show why he should have taken any interest in the matter if he were not.]

In primis. On Wednesday y^e 21 of October anno 1584, survayenge the ward of Castle Baynard we found in the house of Iocelyne Turnar,

¹ Or Court of Requests, established in London in 1518 to hear disputes in cases where the debt or damage did not exceed 40s. See i. 271 below.

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typlar, his gests to be served by vnlawfull measure. Whereupon we gave charge to such of the howse as were then present, that they shuld from thens forthe sell no more sortes of ale & bere but twayne, to wite doble and single, the best for a peny the qwarte, the smale for a peny the pottle, by sealed measures and not othar wyse, which charge they promysed to observe in presence of a conystable and the bedle of that warde.

Item. On friday the 9 of July 1585, agayne surveyenge the same ward of Castle baynard we found in dyvers places ale to be sold in stone pottes and bottles conteyning the pece not a full ale qwarte for 3*d.*, but the offenders promysynge reformation, delt the more favorably with them, as we can shew by writynge, when tyme shall serve; seven barells of beare we have sent into Christs Hospitall, & wold ere this have sent as many more had not bene the late interruption of Iocelyne Turnar, & and his vnlawfull supportars, of the same Castle baynard warde. Into this house of this Iocelyne Turnar we enterid on the day above named, w^t one Iohn Topalie constable, where callynge for a bottle of ale we were promysed it; but the conystable perswadynge vs that ther was no bottle ale to be solde, we went farther into the house, where Turnar's wyfe was, and there vsed suche speeches that she forthwith loked the dore, where hir bottles were, and sayd to vs she had none, whiche speeche of hers the conystable affermyd to be trewe. Then Mastar Symson requerynge her to open the dore which she had locked, she aunswered she woulde not; and we demaundyng to speke with her husbond she sayd he was not within. Then willinge the conystable to loke further into the house for hym, he aunsweryd he would do nothing without warrant vnder my lord maiors hand, for he knew no authority we had, and therefore willed us to loke we ded no more then we mowght well aunswer, for the goodman of the house would put vs to it. At lengthe y^e sayd Iocelyne Turnar, beinge amongst vs and vnknown to vs, he sayd: 'I am he, ye seke for. What would you?' We told hym it was reported he sold bottle ale contrary to ordar, which he denyed not, but seyde he ded as othar men ded. Whereunto we answered we had reformed some and wanted to reforme the rest. We told hym how his wyfe had denyed to have eny bottle ale, how she had locked vp the dore, and denyed the openynge there of, which was a resystance &c. Quod he: 'I will not aunswer for my wyfe, nor eny othar then for my selfe; and I had nevar warninge to reforme thos things ye myslyke of.' The conystable also affirded the same with many stowte words. In the end Iocelyne Turnar opened the dore whiche his wyfe had locked, where

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we found a 60 pottes and bottles filled with ale, where of we measured one which the wyfe sayd was thre farthinges, and found it not to contayne a full pint of sealed measure. Where vpon Mystar Coad sayd: 'this is inowghe to forfaite all y^e ale in yowr house.' We then takyng Iocelyn Turnar asyde willed him to reforme, and sell no more suche vnlawfull measure, which charge he promysed to observe, but would graunt none amends for the fawlt passed. 'Loke, (quod he), what yowr authoritie will serve yow to, and spare me not. I will not resiste yow.' Where vpon we departed with Browne, an officer to the L. maior, & Payne, y^e bedle, who are witnesses that this was the effecte of that days dowynge in that place.

Item. On Monday the 12 of July we cam agayne to Iocelyne Turnar, and demaundyd of hym, yf he yet would be conformable, and what beare he would send into Christe hospitall for trespase comytted, whose aunswere was that he had not offended nor would make satisfaction, but willed vs agayne to vse our authoritie so far as we would aunswere it, demaunding whether the same were by parlyament or by statute. Where vnto we aunswered it was by act of comon counsayle, whereat he made a pufe. Aftar many words vsed by us to perswade hym Topelye, y^e constable, vncalled for cam out of the innar parte of the house with a brewar, as was sayde; this constable with vehement words charged vs with offeringe wronge to the sayd brewar, for that we had nevar gyven hym warning; addyng that they lyed, that sayd they had gyven eny warninge there, and tellynge Master Symson that he lyed thoward hym. Where vpon Mastar Eliot, barynge his right hand on Toplye left showlder, sayd: 'Ye, mystar constable, is that well sayd of yow, beinge an officer to gyve a man the lye? I had letle thought to have hard such a worde of your mowthe.' 'What!' (quod Toplye), 'dost thou stryke me?' 'I stryke yow?' quod Mastar Eliot. 'Wherefore should I stryke yow?' 'Why,' quod Toplye, 'I fele myn eare smart yet.' William Lathe, officer to my L. maior, and Payne, the bedle, are witnesses to this.

Thus and othar wayes beinge there abused, we departed thens, and aftar declared to my L. maior, and courte of aldarmen, how we had bene deli with, cravyng to have his honor and theyr worships ayde in this case, or els to be discharged of owr trowblesome offyce. Where vpon my L. maior and cowrte by warrant comytted the sayd disordered typlar, and vnworthy constable to ward. But by meanes of such as neythar hard or saw, nor inquired aftar the lewde demeanor of them, they were forthe with delyvered, and evar sence have bene stowly suported with great threates agaynst vs, whereof we are to crave remedy in this courte.

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*Appendix to Introduction*6. *A Petition for a Pension.*

[In *Harley MS.* 367, ff. 8, 9, there are two drafts of petitions to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. In the first Stow says that it was 'almost thirty years', in the second 'twenty-five years' since he set forth his Summary. But from the first it appears that Stow was sixty-four years of age, and from the latter that the *Annales* were in preparation. This seems to fix them to a common date in the earlier part of 1590. Perhaps the drafts were alternatives. The second draft has been printed already by Strype in his *Life of Stow*, prefixed to the *Survey*, i, p. vii, but with his own orthography.]

Pleasethe it your honor and worships to vnderstond that where your orator Iohn Stowe citizen &c., beinge now of the age of threescore yeres fowre, hathe for the space of almost xxx yeres last past (besyds his Chronicles dedicated to the Earle of Lecestar) set forth diuers somaries dedicated to the lord maiors, his brithren thaldarmen, and comoners of the Citie. In all whiche he hathe specially noated the memorable actes of famows Citizens by them done to the greate benefite of the comon welthe, and honor of the same Citie. As also (in showynge themselves thankfull vnto God for his blessinges) have left a godly example to the posteritie by them to be embrasid and Imitatid. And for as moche as the travayle to many places for searche of sondry records, whereby the veritie of things may come to lyght, cannot but be chargeable to the sayde Iohn more then his habilitie can aforde, he now craveth your honor and worships ayde as in consideration of the premises to bestowe on hym some yere pention or othar wyse, whereby he may reape somewhat towards his greate charges. And your orator according to his bounden dutie shall here aftar, God willinge, employ his diligent labor to the honor of this citie and comoditie of the Citizens there of, but also dayly pray for your honor and worships prosperitie during lyfe.

Pleasethe it your honor and worships to vnderstond that where your orator Iohn Stowe, Citizen of this Citie, hathe heretofore, (to wite for the space of these 25 yere last past) besydes his Chronicle, dedicated to the right honorable the earle of Leicestar, set forthe dyvers summaries dedicate to the lorde maior, his brithren the aldarmen, and comoners of this Citie: In all which he hathe specially noated the memorable actes of famous citizens, by them done to the greate benefite of the comon welthe, and honor of the same Citie, as also in shewinge themselves thankfull vnto God, have lefte a godly example by the posteritie to be imbrasid and ymitated. In consideration where of the sayde Iohn Stowe mindithe shortly, yf God so permite, to set forthe a farr larger somary or chronicle of this Citie and Citizens there of,

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then heretofore hath bene published. And for as moche as the searche of records in the Arches and elsewhere, cannot but be chargable to the sayd Iohn, as heretofore for many yeres it hath bene altogether of his owne charges, besids his other travayls and studie, he now humbly cravith the your honors and worships ayde. As in consyderation of the premises to bestowe on hym the benefite of two fre men, such as yowre honor and worships shall lyke to be admitted into the fre-dome of this Citie, whereby he may reape somewhat towards his Charges &c. And yowr orator shall dayly pray for yowre honors and worships prosperitie during lyfe.

7. *Royal Benevolence.*

[From a printed copy of James I's Declaration of his royal benevolence, in pursuance of his Letters Patent, ap. *Harley MS.* 367, f. 10, where there is a note of 7s. 10d. received from St. Mary Woolnoth parishioners. The Declaration has been printed by Strype, and by Thoms in his edition of the *Survey*, p. xi. The Letters Patent are given by Strype, *Survey*, i, pp. xii, xiii.]

James, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our well-beloued subjects greeting.

Whereas our louing subject Iohn Stowe (a very aged and worthy member of our city of London) this fivie and forty yeers hath to his great charge, and with neglect of his ordinary meanes of maintenance, (for the generall good, as well of posteritie as of the present age), compiled and published diuerse necessary bookes, and Chronicles; and therefore we in recompense of these his painfull laboures, and for encouragement to the like, haue in our royall inclination ben pleased to graunt our Letters Pattents, vnder our great seale of England, dated the eighth of March 1603, thereby authorizing him, the sayd Iohn Stowe, and his deputies to collect amongst our louing subjects theyr voluntary contribution and kinde gratuities: as by the sayd Letters Patents more at large may appeare: Now, seeing that our sayd Patents (being but one in themselues), cannot be shewed forth in diuerse places or parishes at once (as the occasions of his speedy putting them in execution may require), we haue therefore thought expedient in this vnusuall manner, to recommend his cause vnto you; hauing already, in our owne person, and of our speciall grace, begun the largesse for the example of others. Giuen at our palace at Westminster.

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III. LETTERS TO STOW

NOTE.—The majority of these letters are contained in *Harley MS.* 374, ff. 9–24. No. 12 is from *Harley MS.* 247. Nos. 13 and 14 are from *Harley MS.* 530, f. 1 and f. 76*. No. 9 from *Tanner MS.* 464 (iv), f. 1.

1. *From Henry Savile.*

[The allusion to Matthew Parker—‘my lordes Grace’—shows that the date was at the latest 1 May, 1575. Savile’s father lived at Halifax. Mr. Hare is Robert Hare (*d.* 1611) the antiquary, who presented two volumes of his collections on the Privileges of the University to Oxford. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxiv. 373.]

After my most hartie commendacions being verie glad and desirous to heare from you, trustinge in our lorde that you be in good healthe, or els I might be hertelye sorie, for that I have founde at all tymes good favoure of you, since our first acquaintance; and other acquaintance in London I have none, but that I have by your meanes, as good Mr. Hare, with whom I pray you commende me and desyre him to lett me vnderstande in what towardeness his good workes for the privileges of Oxforte is. And forther I beseche you to certifye me if Wigornensis¹ is printed, and wheare I may send to buye it, and the price. And gladlye of all other I would vnderstande that your last booke² weare forthe, that I might sende vnto you for one or two for my money. Forther I woulde vnderstonde if my Lordes grace be aboute to print Roger Howden, Maulbesburie,³ and Huntington, and in what forwardnes they be. Good owlde ffriend let me have your letter in the premisses, and God willinge it shalbe recompensed or it be longe. And I must forther desire yowe to have answer by this bearer. At this tyme from Halifaxe, this first of Maye.

By your loving ffriende

HENRY SAVILL.

To my most speciall good friend Mr. Iohn Stowe deliuer this in Cornewall⁴ in London.

2. *From Robert Glover.*

Thanking him for the loan of a copy of *Marianus Scotus*. ‘It is one of the best bookes I handled a great while. I wishe it were

¹ Florence of Worcester.

² Presumably *The Summarie* for 1575.

³ William of Malmesbury.

⁴ A not uncommon corruption for Cornhill: e.g. ‘At the end of Cornewall by the Stocks,’ in *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 40 (Camd. Soc.); see also *Inq. p. m. Lond.*, iii. 61. Cornhill anciently extended to include Leadenhall Street as far as St. Andrew Undershaft: see i. 97 and ii. 292 below.

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your owne, for so do I wishe welle vnto myself. Fare ye hartely well. From my house this Wensday the xith of September 1577.

Your lover and freende

R. GLOUER, Somersett.'

3. *From Thomas Hatcher.*

[Dated 15 Jan. 1580 (1581 N.S.). A long letter filling the whole of f. 14. Thomas Hatcher (*d.* 1583) was a fellow of King's College, Cambridge. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxv. 151.]

Returning 'John Blakeman's treatise of Henrie the sixt'. As to history of King's College. Wishes Stow to publish whatever he has of Leland. And also his own Antiquities under the title of Stow's Storehouse. Desires him to speak to 'Mr. Cambden, y^{or} frend, the vsher of Westminster School', about publishing the history of Tobit in Latin verse. Intends to give an account of the authors cited by Stow in his Chronicle: for this purpose he desires Stow's help, and also sight of Leland *De Scriptoribus*. Inquires as to author of Book *De Episcopis Cantuariensibus*, which Archbishop Parker had printed.

4. *From William Claxton.*

[As his letters show, Claxton was a northern antiquary, and man of position and repute. He was the owner of Wynyard in Durham, whence he wrote these letters. He died in May, 1597 (*Durham Wills*, ii. 272, Surtees Soc.). The date of this letter is 20 April, 1582.]

Asks for the return of a book by his nephew Thomas Layton the bearer. Promises his help in what concerns the bishopric of Durham. 'To his assured ffrynd Mr. Iohn Stowe, Chronicler, at his house in Leaden haul in London.'

5. *From the same.*

[Dated 4 Jan. 1584. 'To Mr. Iohn Stowe dwelling by y^e Ledon Hall.']

Thanks him for his courteous letter. 'I am glad to heare of your good proseading in these two notable workes you haue in hand, and I wish my abilitie were of credyt to doe you eny good therein.' Asks for the safe return of the book which he had lent. 'I haue also sent you an Inglysshe crowne by Robert Layton for a remembraunce, wishyng yow to assure your selfe y^t so long as I lyue yow shall not want a friend to the vttermost of his power.' Encloses some notes on Durham.

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*Appendix to Introduction*6. *From the same.*

[Unsigned and undated, but in Claxton's writing.]

Returns a book, and tells Stow that he has in store for him a parchment life of Edward the Confessor, together with Alured of Beverley. 'Where as y^t appeareth by y^{or} letter that yow had acquaynted the lord Howerd¹ w^t some of our procedynges, I am very sory that I did not see his lordsh. at his being in ye countrey, to whome I would haue done my dewtye, beyng thereunto reythar bound for that I was brought vp by suche as were allyed to his Lp. house.'

7. *From John Dee.*

[The celebrated astrologer and antiquary. The only date is 4 Dec. Possibly the occasion was the publication of the *Chronicles* in 1580, or of the *Annales* in 1592.]

'Mr. Stow, you sall vnderstond that my frende Mr. Dyer did deliuer your bokes to the two Erls, who toke them very thankfully. But (as he noted) there was no return commaunded of them. What sall hereafter, God knoweth. So could not I haue done.—Hope, as well as I.—As concerning your burgesses for the Cinq ports, &c.' As to Stow's copies of *Asser* and *Florence of Worcester*.

8. *From his daughter, Joan Foster.*

[Joan Foster is mentioned in her father's will; see p. xlv above. The hospital is the Hospital of St. Michael outside Warwick, as stated in some notes written by Stow on the letter. John Fysshier, clerk, was made keeper, master or governor of the house or hospital of St. Michael, Warwick, by a grant from Henry VIII, on 14 Nov. 1541 (*Letters and Papers*, xvi. 1391 (41)). Dugdale has no mention either of Fisher or Brooke.]

After my most hartest commendacions vnto you and to my mother, trusting that you bothe be in good healthe as I and my husband were at my wrytting hereof. Thankes be to God therefor. This is to desyer yowe, father, of all y^{or} fryndly fryndsheppe that you can or maye to pleasure a very fryynd of myn dwellyng here in Warwyck for to seche owt for the foundacion of a hospetall or spetell house of Warwyck founded by the eares² of Warwyck in this parte. And yf yow may healpe him ther vnto he wold reward you verye well for y^{or} paynes, and also you shall do me great pleasure therein, for y^t he is my verie ffrynd and neyghbour. It is supposed that you shall fynd

¹ No doubt Lord William Howard (1563–1640), of Naworth. He was the first editor of *Florence of Worcester*, in 1592. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxviii. 79.

² I am very doubtful of the second and third letters of this word; but the sense requires 'Earls'.

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the foundacion hereof yn the Tower of London, therefore good father, now agayne I pray you take some paynes therin. The hospital house is at the northe syd of Warwyck, the said hospetall was last given by kynge henrye the eyght to a Iohn ffisher master of the said hospetall for y^e terme of hys lyffe, and sence his deathe the sayd hospytall was given to my aforsaid neyghbour and frynd Olyver Brooke, who yet leveffe, and is dryven now for to syke oute the foundacion thereof, which and you can helpe him herevnto you shall do him greate good, and I praye you so soon as you have found out any thing to do him good therin send worde to me w^t as much spyd as by. And he will Repair vp vnto you w^t what spyd he maye. And thus in haste I committ yow to God, from Warwyke the 3 daye of december by y^{or} loving daughter during lyffe to remaine

JOAN FFOSTER.

To my loving ffather Mr. Iohn Stowe benethe Leadon hall neare vnto the Thrye Townenes in London, gyve this.

9. *From Thomas Newton.*

[Thomas Newton (1542?-1607) was a poet of some eminence, a physician, and rector of Little Ilford, Essex, whence this letter was written on 29 March, 1586. See also p. lii above and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xi. 402.]

Returns the copy of Leland's Epigrams and thanks him 'for many other your curtesies, frendlie amities many tymes showed vnto me, as namely at this tyme for this y^{or} boke of Mr. Leland his poetries'.

Newton, in his *Enconia Illustrium Virorum* (ap. Leland, *Collectanea*, v. 177), has an epigram addressed to his friend William Hunnis, the musician:

De Io. Stoëo Chronigrapho.

Anglica scire cupis solide quis Chronica scribat?

Stous id egregia praestat, Hunisse, fide.

Quotidie e tenebris is multa volumina furvis

Eruit, is mandat plurima scripta typis.

Ex nitida illius deprompsi ego Bibliotheca

Plurima, quae nobis nocte dieque patet.

10. *From Henry Ferrers.*

[Henry Ferrers (1549-1633), a Warwickshire antiquary and country gentleman of Roman Catholic inclinations. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xviii. 385. Undated.]

Mr. Stowe, because I will breake promesse with you no more I have, although it be late, first put you these pamphlets, and therwith youre other booke, which I borrowed last, and desyre you to lend me youre

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bede and y^{or} pedigree of kinges, and so till o^r next meeting I bid you farewell.

Y^{or} loving friend,

HENRY FERRERS.

11. *From Thomas Martyn.*

[Thomas Marten (*d.* 1597) a Roman Catholic controversialist, and fellow of New College, Oxford. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxxvi. 320. The date must be 1592.]

Likes his *Annales* and 'the great paynes taken therein'. Offers some criticisms. 'My founder is bound to you, but that tale of Alice Peers is slaundersous, and in my conscience most vntrue.'

'To my well beloved and very freend Mr. Stowe at his house beyonde Leadenhall in London.'

12. *From Thomas Wicliffe.*

[There is a fragment of a letter, refering to 'Purpool' (Portpool) and Stow's *Chronicle* in *Harley MS.* 247, f. 211. The address and a postscript, apparently of the same letter, are on f. 210, as below. There is no date. I find nothing as to the writer.]

'To his assured fryynd Mr John Stow, chronyclar, dwellinge in the Leaden haul at London. d. d.'

S^r. I besech yow of y^{or} aunswer of this lre. for the within named hartely desireth to here from yow.

THOMAS WICLIFFE.

13. *From Henry Savile.*

[As to Mr. Hare see note on 1. Lord William Howard's edition of Florence of Worcester, and the first edition of Stow's *Annales* were about to appear.]

Mr Stow. After my hertie commendacions. Y^{or} L^re dated the tenthe of maye I receaved at Halifax wt thankes, and synce I am come to Oxford, where I have made enquire to knowe where the booke showld bee that Mr Hare showlde send hyther, y^{or} L^re dyd ymporte, and as yet I cannot here of the same. Therefore I desyre you to goo vnto the good gentleman Mr Hare in my name, and requeste hym to let me vnderstonde by whome and abowte what tyme hee sent the booke, and to what place he made his direction, and whoo showlde have the custodie therof; for greate pitie yt weare that so worthie woorke showlde be embeazled, and I pray ye w^t speede to certefye me in writynge, and delyver y^{or} L^re at the syne of the Owle, that yt maye be delyvered vnto the carier, Richard Edwardes, whome commythe homeward on Wednys daye next. And further I praye ye let me know whoo is the printer of Wygorniensis, and where hee dwellethe; and whoo is the printer of y^{or} booke. I haue heere sente

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yo a mild sixpence to drynke a qwarte of wyne in y^{or} travell. This wisshynge y^{or} healthe I byd ye farewell. Oxon. this sondaye Trinite, 21 May 1592.

Your lovinge frend,

HENRY SAVILL.

Directe y^{or} lres I praye to M^r Henrie Shirbourne over agaynste Merton Colledge, to be delyvered to me. M^r Blanksome, God wyllynge, wyll be at London¹ . . .

14. *From William Camden.*

[This is without date or address.]

M^r Stow, yff I might finde so much fauor att your handes as to lend me the foundations of the Abbayes in Lincolnshyre, Warwickshire, Darbyshire and Nottinghamshire, you should pleasure me greatly. You shall receaue them againe this day before night.

Y^r Louing freende,

WILLIAM CAMDEN.

15. *From William Claxton.*

[The writer of 4, 5, and 6. Dated Wynyard 10 April, 1594.]

Thanks Stow for the receipt of a book and his letter. Encourages him to proceed 'to the publishing of such grave histories and antiquities' . . . 'I perceiue also by y^{or} letter, that you haue awgmented your booke of foundacions, whereof I ame hartelie glad, and doe most earnestly request that you would let me haue a copie of the best sorte wth your newe augmentacions, which trewlie I would make no small accounte of, and keape as a token of your manifeste kyndnes vnto me; and y^e more earnest I am to haue it, as in y^{or} letter you said there is no coppie of it but y^{or} owne, wh[;] if owght should come vnto you butt good, might happelie be neuer regarded and spoyled, or neuer come to light, and so all y^{or} paynes frustrate; whereas yf I haue a coppie of it I hope so to vse it and dispose of it, as it shall be extant to all posterities, and amongst them a neuer dying fame for you, who bestowed suche paynes in collecting the certentie thereof together. What charge so euer you be at in gettinge it copied fwrth for me, I will repaie vnto you with thanks' . . .

Postscript. 'The greater your augmentacions are, the greater your fame and commendacions be' . . . 'I would also request when you publish your great volume² mentioned in your last booke you sent me,

¹ The last few words are destroyed.

² Presumably 'The History of this Island'. The book on which Stow worked so long, to no purpose. See p. xxi.

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you would let me haue one booke of the same'. Asks for return of three books which he left in Stow's study, when last there. They are not his own.

IV. SELECT DEDICATIONS AND EPISTLES

[The Dedications and Epistles prefixed by Stow to his books have a double interest both as giving in their simple way his Canon of historical writing and for their incidental allusions to events in his own life. Much of the matter in them was used again and again. Thus the Dedication of the *Summary Abridged* for 1573 appeared with slight modifications not only in later editions of that work but as an address 'To the Reader' in the *Summary* for 1575, in the *Chronicles*, and in both editions of the *Annales*; its final appearance in the *Summary Abridged* for 1604 was Stow's last word, and as such it is printed here. Of the others now given the Dedication and Epistle from the *Summary* for 1565 have a special interest as the first of Stow's writings (the edition of Chaucer had no preface of his). The Dedication of 1567, and Epistle of 1573, deal with the quarrel with Grafton; they illustrate, and are illustrated by, the document on pp. xlvi to liii above. The dedication of the *Annales* for 1592 (repeated with little change in 1601 and 1605) practically completes the series; it explains how Stow's hopes for his larger volume were frustrated.]

Dedication and Epistle prefixed to the Summary for 1565.

To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord, the Lorde Robert Dudley Earle of Leicester, Baron of D ynghly, knyght of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes most honourable priue counsell and Maister of hir maiesties horse.

Because bothe by the vniuersall reporte of all men, I heare and also by myne owne experience I perfectly know (right honourable and my very goode lorde) how honorably and cherefully diuers workes presented to your lordship haue ben accepted: I (though of al others most simple) was thereby encouraged, to offer to your honour this my simple worke, in token of my bounden duty. The exaample also of that famous monarchè Artaxerxes, who so wel accepted the simple handfull of water, that the poore Persian Sinetas brought him from the riuier Cyrus, putteth me in good hope, that youre honour, who geue place to no man in humanitie and curtesie, wil not mislike this simple signifieng of my good wylle. For, like as the mite of that poore widowe that is mencioned in the Gospell, whiche she gaue in all her penurie, is accompted a greater gifte then those huge sommes that great men layde out of their greate stoare: so ought this my simple pamphlet be adiudged to procede, though not from greater, yet from as great good will as the best and learnedst writers beare to your honour. For, they of their abundant stoare, haue laied oute somewhat: But I of my meane knowledge, haue presented these few first frutes to

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your honor: knowing that your wisdom can in this small present right well see my good will. My gift is a short briefe or summarie of the chiefest chances and accidentes, that haue happened in this Realme, from the tyme of Brutus to this our age. Whiche I haue done by the conference of many avthors, both old and new, those I meane, that commonly are called Chroniclers, ovt of whom I haue gathered many notable thinges, moste worthy of remembrance, whiche no man heretofore hath noted, whiche worke also I was the bolder to dedicate to your honour, because I know your lordships good inclination to al sortes of good knowledges: and especially the great loue that you beare to the olde Recordes of dedes doone by famous and noble worthies: whiche my boldnes, like as I truste, your honor will not only pardon, but also accept in good part: so I besech all the readers hereof that folowyng your honourable example, they will iudge the best of this my trauaile, whiche I toke in hand, onely for the respecte that I had to their profite. Whereby they shall both shew the goodnes of their owne natures, and also encourage me willingly to go forwarde in this my enterprise. Which doubting not, but that I shall the rather obtaine of them, because of your lordships fauourable acceptance hereof, I wil now cesse any longer to trouble your honor, beseching almightie god long to preserue you to the commoditie of this our natiue countrie.

Your L. most humble

JOHN STOWE.

To the Reader.

Diuers wryters of Hystories write dyuersly. Some penne their hystories plentifully at large. Some contrary wyse, briefly and shortly doo but (as it were) touche by the way, the remembraunce and accidentes of those tymes, of which they write. Some do with a large compasse discouer as wel the affaires done in foreyn partes, as those that hapned in that countrey, of whiche especially they write. And some content to let alone other matters, pvt in memory only such thyngs, as they them selues haue had experience of, in their own countreis. Amongst whom, good Reader, I craue to haue place, and desyre roome in the lower part of this table. For I vse thee in this my booke as some sypyle feaster, that beyng not able of his owne coste to feast his gwestes sufficientely, is fayne to bee frended of his neyghboures, and to sette before them suche dishes as he hath gotten of others. For I acknowledge, that many of the hystories, that thou shalte reade here abridged, are taken, partely out of Robert Fabian, sometyme Alderman of London, Edwarde Halle gentylman of Greyes Inne, John Hardyng,

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a great traailer bothe in foreyne countreis, and also in all wrytynges of antiquitie: and other, who reaped great abundance of knowledge and filled their bookes full therwith, to the great profite and pleasure of all posteritie, and to their own great fame and glory. So that of their great plenty I might wel take somewhat to hyde my pouertie. Howbe it, I haue not so doone it, as if they should clayme theyr own, I shuld forthwith be left naked. For somewhat I haue noted, which I my selfe, partly by paynfull searche, and partly by diligent experience, haue found out. Wherefore, both the smalnesse of the volume whiche comprehendeth gret matters in effect, also the noueltie of som matters vttered therein, ought to cause y^t it shold not be altogether vnwelcome to thee. For though it be written homely, yet it is not (as I trust) wryten vntruly. And in hystories the chiefe thyng that is to be desyred is truthe. Wherefore, if thou fynde that in it, I besече thee, wynke at small faultes, or at the least, let the consyderacion of my well meanyng, drowne them. So shalt thou both encourage me to farther diligence, and also viter thyne owne frendlynnesse, in that thou doest rather further, then condemne a weak wryter.

Of smoothe and flatteryng speache remember to take hede:

For Trouthe in playn wordes may be tolde, of craft a lye hath nede.

*Epistle Dedicatory (to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen) prefixed to
the Summary abridged, for 1567.*

Although, ryght honorable and worshipful, I was my selfe verye redy to dedicate this my small trauayle of Englysh Chronicles vnto you to thentent that through your protection it might passe the snarlynges of the malicyous, which are alwayes redy to hinder the good meanyngs of laborious men and studious: yet consyderynge the occasyons necessary vnto me offered, and dutyfully to be considered, I thought good to begyn with the ryghte honorable Therle of Leicester. For speakyng nothyng of my own duetie, the commoditie of my owne countreyemen moued mee hereunto, seyng they were deceyued through hys authoritye by the furnyshyng of a friuolous abridgement in the fronture with his noble name, I thought good, and that after amendement promised and not performed, at vacante times, to take to my olde delectable studies, and after a defence of that wherin another had both abused hys Lordshype, and deceaued the expectacion of the common people. But nowe at the requeste of the Printer and other of my louing frends, hauyng brought the same into a newe forme, such as may both ease the purse and the caryage, and yet nothing omitted

In the second
edition of the
abridgement.

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conuenient to be knowne; and besydes all thys hauyng example before my face to chaunge my Patron (reseruyng stylle my Printer, as carefull of his aduantage rather thenne myne owne) I am bold to submyt it vnto your honoure and worshyppes protectyons together, that thorough the thundryng noyse of empty tonnes and vnfruitful graftes of Momus' offsprynge it be not (as it is pretended) defaced and ouerthrowne. Truthes quarrell it is, I laye before you, the whyche hath bene (if not hitherto wholly pretermitted) truely miserable handled, mangled I should saye, and such an hotchepotte made of truthe and lyes together, that of thignorante in hystories thone coulde not be discernde from thother. A strange case it is and neglygence shall I call it, or ignorance that hee that was moued to wryte euen for pytyes sake to restore the truthe to her integritye shoulde commytte so great errors, and so many, that he himself had nede of a correcter, and truth of a newe laborer. For me a heape of old monumentes, wytnesses of tymes, and bright beames of the truth can testysye that I haue not swarued from the truthe: the whyche as I am redy at all tymes to shew for mine owne safe conducte agaynst thaduersaries, so am I most certaine that he that pretendeth most hath had very smale store of aucthors for hym selfe before tyme, and now hath fraughte hys manerly Manuell wyth such merchandyse (as to you it shall be most manyfest at your conference) that by the byinge of my summarie he scoured newlye, or cleanly altered his old Abridgment. What pre-occupation or what insolence is it then to transfer that vnto me that am farthest from such dealing? And yet hauing muche better precedents before myne eyes (euen that excellent learned Dr. Coeper, that I name no ancyenter, whose order and deuise priuatly he condemmeth, and yet openly transformeth into his own Abridgement) he accuseth of counterfeatyng his volume and order, whereas it might be well sayde vnto hym: What hast thou y^t thou hast not receaued of me?

In the Epistle
Dedicatory.

But y^t I be not agaynst my nature angry wythe my vnderued aduersary, I wil here surcease to trouble you anye further at this tyme, most earnestlye requyryng your honoure and worshyppes all ones againe to take the tuiyon of this little booke vppon you. The whych, if I may perceauie to be taken thankfullye and fruitfullye used to the amendment of suche grosse errores, as hytherto haue bene in The Great Abridgement, and presentely are in the Manuell of the Cronycles of Englande, in Thabridged Abridgemente, in The briefe Collection of Histories commytted, I shall be encouraged to perfecte that labour that I haue begun, and such worthy workes of aunycient Aucthors

Too many
names for a
trifle.

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that I haue wyth greate peynes gathered together, and partly performed in M. Chaucer and other, I shall be much incensed by your gentlenes to publyshe to the commoditie of all the Quenes maiesties louing subiectes.

Your moste humble

JOHN STOWE.

Epistle to the Reader prefixed to the Summary abridged for 1573.

Calling to memory (gentle Reader) with what diligence (to my great cost and charges) I haue trauayled in my late Summary of y^e Chronicles: As also y^e vn honest dealings of somebody towards mee (whereof I haue long since sufficientllye written and exhibited to the learned and honourable), I persuaded with my selfe to haue surceased from this kinde of trauell wherin another hath vsed to reape the fruite of my labours. But now for diuers causes thereto mouinge me I haue once again briefly run ouer this smal abridgement, placing the yeares of our Lord, the yeres of y^e Kings, wyth ye Shyriffes and Maiors of London, in a farre more perfect and plain order then heretofore hath bene published.

Setting (as it were) his marke on another man's vessell.

In the first page the 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 lines.

In the seconde page the 1 & 2 lines, 4, 5, 6, &c.

I leaue his simple and plaine dealing to the iudgment of others.

In commend- ing mine authors

Touching Ri. Grafton his slanderous Epistle, though the same wyth other his abusing of me was aunswared by the learned & honourable, & by theym forbidden to be reprinted, he hath since y^e time in his second empresion placed his former lying Preface, wherin he hath these wordes: '*Gentle Reader, this one thing offendeth me so much, that I am inforced to purge my selfe thereof, and shoue my simple and plaine dealing therein. One John Stow of whom I wil say none euil &c., hath published a Booke, and therein hath charged mee bittarlye, but chieflye with two thinges. The one, that I haue made E. Halle's Chronicle my Chronicle, but not withoute mangeling, and (as hee saith) withoute any ingenious, and plaine declaration thereof. The other thinge that he chargeth me withall, is that a Chronicle of Hardings which he hath, doth much differ from the Chronicle, which vnder the sayd Hardinges name was printed by mee, as though I had falcified Hardings Chronicle &c.*' For answeare I say the offence by mee committed, requireth no such forced purgation. I haue not so bitterlye charged him, as he hath plainly accused himselfe. My words be these. *Some bodye (without any ingenious and plaine declaration therof) hath published, but not without mangling, Master Halles boke for his owne. I name not Grafton. This is the firste. The second is this:—John Hardinge &c. exhibited a Chronicle of England, with a Mappe or description of*

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Scotland, to King Henry the sixt, which Chronicle *doth almost altogether differ from that which vnder his name was imprinted by Ri. Grafton.*

After this in ye same preface he braggeth to haue a Chronicle of John Hardings written in the latine tongue, which he assureth himself I neuer sawe, and doubteth whether I vnderstand. If he haue any such booke, it is like that he would allege it, as he hath done manye other Authors, whereof I am better assured he hath neuer seene so muche as the outsyde of their books. If ther be no such Chronicle of John Hardings, as he braggeth on, it is like I haue not seene it, & must needs be hard to vnderstande it.

Then he saith my latter Summary differeth cleane from my first. To this I aunswere, I haue not chaunged eyther woork, or title, but haue corrected my first booke as I haue founde better Auctours. But hee himselfe hath made his last abridgemente not onely cleane contrary to his first, but the two impressions contrarye the one to the other, and euery one contrary to his mere History. For his true alledging of Aucthors let men iudge by those which are common in our vulger tongue, as Policronicon, Ro. Fabian, Ed. Hall, Doctour Cooper. Look those Authors in those yeres and peradventure ye shal finde no such matter. Try, and then trust.

Dedication of Annales in 1592.

To the Right Reuerend Father in God my Lord Archbishop of Canterburie, Primate and Metropolitane of England, and one of hir Maiesties most honorable priue Councill, Iohn Stowe wisheth increase as well of all heauenly graces as worldly blessings.

It is now more than thirtie yeeres (Right reuerende father) since I first addressed all my cares and cogitations to the studie of Histories and search of Antiquities: the greatest part of which time I haue diligently imploied in collecting such matters of this kingdome, as I thought most worthie to be recommended both to the present and succeeding age. These laborious collections in so long a time haue now at length grown into a large volume, which I was willing to haue committed to the presse had not the Printer, for some priuate respects, beene more desirous to publish Annales at this present. Wherein I haue condescended to him to publish these, which I submit to your gracious and graue consideration, and to the censure of the courteous reader, & learned Antiquaries: relying wholly vpon this comfort, that the truth & credit of my Authors is in no point iniured, how simple and naked soeuer the stile may be iudged. Neither do I doubt but

I saye not that I haue such a chronicle of

I. Harding, &c.

Ri. Grafton neuer saw Robert de Auesberye, Tho. Walsingham, H. of Leicester, Register of Berye, and many other which he alledgeth for that he findeth them alledged in my Summarye.

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they may haue free passage in the world, if they be countenanced vnder your honorable name & protection. Vnto whom I offer & with al dutiful affection I dedicate both my selfe and them : being heerunto induced, both for that your worthy predecessor, and my especiall benefactor Archbishop PARKER, animated me in the course of these studies, which otherwise I had long since discontinued ; and also that your great loue and entire affection to all good letters in generall and to the Antiquities in particular hath beene so singular, that all which like and loue good studies, do iustly esteeme you their principall and gracious patrone. Thus hoping of your fauorable acceptance of this, as but part of that which I intended in a more large volume, I humbly take my leaue.

London this 26 of May 1592.

Epistle Dedicatorie (to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen) prefixed to the Summary Abridged for 1604.

Amongst other bookes, (Honourable & worshipfull) which are in this our learned age published in great numbers, there are fewe either for the honestie of the matters, or commoditie which they bring to the common welth, or for the plesantness of the studie & reading, to be preferred before the Chronicles and histories. What examples of men deseruing immortalitie, of exploitcs worthy great renoune, of vertuous liuing of the posteritie to be imbraced, of wise handling of weightie affaires, diligently to be marked, and aptly to bee applied: what encouragement of Nobilitie to noble feates, what discouragement of vnnaturall subjects from wicked treasons, pernicious rebellions, & damnable doctrines, To conclude, what perswasion to honestie, godlinesse' & vertue of all sorts; what diswasion from the contrarie is not plentifully in them to bee found? So that it is as harde a matter for the readers of Chronicles, in my fancie, to passe without some colour of wisdome, inuitements to vertue, and loathing of naughtie factes, as it is for a well fauored man to walke vp and down in the hot parching Sun, and not to bee therewith Sunburned. They therefore which with long studie, earnest good will, & to their great cost & charges haue brought hidden Histories from dustie darkenes to the sight of the world, and haue beene diligent obseruers of common wealths, and noted for posteritie the fleeting maners of the people, and accidents of the times, deserue (at the least) thanks for their paines, and to be misreported of none, seeing they haue labored for all. I write not this to complaine of some mens ingratitude towards mee (although

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justly I might) but to shew the commodities which ensue of the reading of histories, that seeing they are so great and many, all men would as they ought, imploy their diligence in the honest, fruitfull, and delectable perusing of the same, and so to account of the Authors, as of men carefull for their cuntry, and to confesse, if neede require, by whom they haue taken profite. It is now nigh 45. yeares since I seeing the confused order of our late English Chronicles, and the ignorant handling of auncient affaires, as also (by occasion) being perswaded by the *Earle of Leicester, (leauing mine owne peculiar gaines) consecrated my selfe to the search of our famous Antiquities. What I haue done in them, the former editions of my Summaries, Chronicles, and Annales, with my suruay of the Cities of London, Westminster, & Borough of Southwarke, may well testifie: but how far (be it spoken without arrogancy) I haue labored for the truth more then some other, the last editions will euidently declare. Where in that I differ from the inordinate & vnskillfull collections of other men, it is no maruaile, seeing that I doe not fully agree with my selfe, as some obscure persons haue fondly charged me, but let it be considered that there is nothing perfect at the first, & that it is incident to mankind to erre & slip sometime, take he neuar so great heede; but only the point of fantastickal fooles to perseuer & continue in their errors perceiuing them. Wherefore seeing that the perusing of auncient records & best approued histories of all times (not without great difficultie obtained) do not only moue me, but for their authoritie driue me to acknowledge both mine & other mens errors, & in acknowledging, to correct them, I trust to obtaine thus much at your Honor & Worships hands: that at the least you will call to remembrance a most gentle and wise law of the politike Persians, where in it was enacted that a man accused to be in their lawes a trespasser, and found guiltie of the crime, should not straightway be condemned, but a diligent inquirie & search of his whole life and conuersation (no slander imputed vnto him as of importance) if the number of his laudable facts did counteruaile the contrarie, he was full quit of trespass. The same lawe doe I wish the readers of this my abridged Summary and other my larger Chronicles, to put in vse, that if the errors be not so plentifull, as Histories truly alledged, they will beare with them, for (as I haue promised and many wayes performed) I meane (God willing) so to trie all matters worthy of immortalitie by the certaine touchstone of the best allowed Historiographers and sound recordes, that neither any body by me shalbe deceiued nor I forced to craue pardon if I do offend.

Note that
the vngratfull
backbiter
slaieth Three
at once, him-
selfe by his
owne malice,
him that
crediteth his
false tales &
him that he
backbiteth.
* I gaue him
a booke com-
piled by his
Grandfather
Edmond
Dudley.

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V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *The Summary and the Summary Abridged.*

[Stow, in his account of his quarrel with Grafton, distinguishes carefully between his *Summary*, which first appeared in 1565, and the *Summary Abridged*, first published in the next year. The distinction has not always been noted, but the two works are bibliographically quite different. The former is small 8^{vo}, and so long as Leicester was alive was dedicated to him; the additional matter (other than the Chronicles proper) is not so full as in the abridgement, the amount varies in different editions, but generally comprises some notes as to Terms, a List of Authors, and at the end a Table or Index; the last edition in 1590 was dedicated to the Lord Mayor. The *Summary Abridged* is 16^{mo} (or 24^{mo}); the first edition had no dedication (Stow says that it was dedicated to the Lord Mayor—p. lii above—but the apparently complete copy in the British Museum has none), all the later editions were dedicated to the Lord Mayor; the additional matter consists of a Calendar, Rules to find Fasts, the Terms, &c., at the beginning, and at the end the distances of towns from London, and the dates of the principal Fairs; there is no List of Authors and no Table. So far as its main substance is concerned the *Summary Abridged* agrees with Stow's own description of it as brought 'into a new form, such as may both ease the purse and the carriage, yet nothing omitted convenient to be known'. Successive editions both of the *Summary* and the *Summary Abridged* were from time to time curtailed to make room for fresh matter. The entry of the *Summary* appears in the Stationers' Registers under 1564-5: 'Thomas marshe for printing of a breaffe cronenacle made by John Stowe, auctorysshed by my lorde of Canterbury.' This is the first time the archbishop's name thus appears on the Register. In the margin is the note: 'T. Marshe ultimo marcij 1573 changed with H. Byneman for Terence, per licem. magistris et gardianorum.' This is the earliest note of such an exchange (Arber, *Transcript*, i. 120b). Like all Stow's works printed in his lifetime, the *Summary* is in black letter. Copies of editions marked * are in the British Museum, and of those marked † in the Bodleian Library.]

The Summary.

* † A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles, Conteyning the true accompt of yeres, wherein euery kyng of this Realme of England began theyr reigne, howe long they reigned: and what notable thynges hath beene done duryng theyr Reyngnes. Wyth also the names and yeares of all the Bylyffes, Custos, maiors, and sheriffes of the Cite of London, sens the Conqueste, dyligently collected by John Stow . . . in the yere . . . 1565.

ff. xiv, 248, xii.

T. Marshe, 1565, 8^{vo}

† A Summarie of our Englyshe Chronicles . . . Diligently collected by John Stowe . . . In the yere . . . 1566.

ff. xii, 282¹, xii.T. Marshe, 1566, 8^{vo}

¹ However ff. 130 and 137 are, through misprinting, wanting.

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- † [A Summarie, &c.¹].
ff. x, pp. 413, ff. xi. T. Marshe, 1570, 8^{vo}
- † A Summarie of the Chronicles of England, from the first comming
of Brute, into this land, vnto this present yeare of Christ 1574.
ff. viii, pp. 441, ff. xi. Henry Binneman, 1574, 8^{vo}
- * † A Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande from the first arriuing
of Brute . . . unto . . . 1575. Corrected and enlarged.
ff. viii, pp. 570, ff. xxviii. R. Tottle and H. Binneman,
[1575, 8^{vo}
- * A Summarie of the Chronicles of England from . . . Brute . . . vnto
. . . 1590. First collected, since enlarged, and now continued by
Iohn Stow.
ff. viii, pp. 760, ff. iv. R. Newbery, 1590, 8^{vo}

The Summary Abridged.

- * The Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles. Lately collected and pub-
lished, nowe abridged and continued tyl this present moneth of
Marche in the yere of our Lord God, 1566, by I. S.
ff. viii, 197, iii. T. Marshe, 1566, 16^{mo}
- * † The Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles . . . continued til this
present moneth of Nouember . . . 1567. By I. S.
ff. xii, 200, ii. T. Marshe, 1567, 16^{mo}
- * † The Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande . . . newly cor-
rected, abridged, and continued vnto 1573.
unnumbered. T. Marshe, 1573, 16^{mo}

[According to Lowndes there was an edition in 1579, but he gives no particulars.]

- A Summarie, &c.²
R. Newbery and H. Denham, 1584.
- * † A Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande. Diligently collected,
abridged and continued vnto . . . 1587 . . . by Iohn Stow.
ff. xvi, pp. 446, ff. xvi. R. Newberie and H. Denhan.,
[1587, 16^{mo}
- * † A Summarie . . . Diligently collected, &c.
ff. xvi, pp. 460, ff. xvii. R. Bradocke, 1598, 16^{mo}
- * † A Summarie . . . Diligently collected, &c.
ff. xv, pp. 458, ff. xvi. Iohn Harison, 1604, 16^{mo}

¹ The copy in the Bodleian Library is without title.

² So given by Lowndes.

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The Abridgement or Summarie of the English Chronicles, first collected by master Iohn Stow . . . continued vnto . . . 1607, by E. H.¹

Imprinted for the Company of Stationers, 1607, 8^{vo}

The Abridgement of the English Chronicles . . . vnto the end of the yeare 1610. By E. H.

Imprinted for the Company of Stationers, 1611, 8^{vo}

The Abridgement . . . vnto the beginning of the yeare, 1618. By E. H.

Imprinted for the Company of Stationers, 1618, 8^{vo}

2. *The Chronicles and Annales.*

[The *Chronicles* of 1580 furnish as it were a connecting link between the *Summary* and the *Annales*, preserving the civic character of the former, but approaching the latter in size. Of the *Annales* the editions of 1601 and 1605 are nearly identical; the latter has only one sheet (Q q q q) reprinted, with additions down to 26 March, 1605. Howes in his two editions, besides his continuation beyond 1605, interpolated matter in other places; quotations from his editions are not to be relied on as representing Stow's own work.]

The *Chronicles* of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ, 1580. Collected by Iohn Stow.

Ralph Newberie at the assignment of Henrie Bynneman,
[1580, 4^{to}

The *Annales* of England faithfully collected out of the most authentically Authors, Records, and other monuments of Antiquitie, from the first inhabitation vntill this present yeere 1592. By Iohn Stow.

Ralfe Newbery, 1592, 4^{to}

The *Annales* of England . . . continued . . . vntill this present yeare 1601.

Ralfe Newbery, 1601, 4^{to}

The *Annales* of England . . . continued . . . vntill this present yeare, 1605.

George Bishop and Thomas Adams, 1605, 4^{to}

The *Annales* or Generall Chronicle of England . . . continued and augmented . . . vnto the ende of this present yeere, 1614. By Edmond Howes.

T. Adams, 1615, folio.

Annales or a Generall Chronicle of England . . . continued vnto the end of this present yeere 1631. By Edmond Howes.

Richard Meighen, 1631, folio.

¹ This, and the two subsequent editions published by Edmond Howes, are re-editions of the original work, not of the *Summary Abridged*.

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3. *The Survey of London.*

[The *Survey of London* was entered at Stationers' Hall by John Wolfe on 7 July, 1598. It was transferred by Wolfe's widow to John Pyndley on 27 April, 1612, and by Pyndley's widow to George Purslowe on 2 November, 1613 (Arber, *Transcript*, iii. 39, 219, 245). Some copies of the first edition have the date 1599; an instance is the presentation copy to Elizabeth Stow, now in the British Museum, which has her name printed within in an ornamental border on the back of the title-page, and her initials and the City arms stamped on the covers.]

A Suruay of London . . . by John Stow Citizen of London. Also an Apologie, &c.

John Wolfe, 1598, sm. 4^{to}

A Suruay, &c.

John Windet, 1603, sm. 4^{to}

The Suruay of London . . . continued . . . with many rare and worthy notes . . . by A. M.

George Purslowe, 1618, sm. 4^{to}

The Suruey of London . . . Begunne first by . . . Iohn Stow . . . afterwards enlarged by . . . A. M. in the yeare 1618. And now completely finished by . . . A. M., H. D., and others.

Elizabeth Purslow, 1633, fol.

A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster . . . brought down from the Year 1633 . . . to the present time by John Strype.

London, 1720, 2 vols. folio.

A Survey, &c. By Robert Seymour. The whole being an Improvement of Mr. Stow's and other Surveys.

London, 1734-5, 2 vols. folio.

A Survey, &c. [Seymour's work with the addition of Dugdale's History of S. Paul's.] By a Gentleman of the Inner Temple.

London, 1753, 2 vols. folio.

A Survey of the Cities . . . Corrected, improved and very much Enlarged in the Yeare 1720 by John Strype . . . brought down to the present Time by Careful Hands. The Sixth Edition.

London, 1754-5, 2 vols. folio.

A Survey, &c. Edited by W. J. Thoms.

8^{vo}, 1842. Reprinted with illustrations 1876.

A Survey, &c. Edited by H. Morley.

8^{vo}, 1889. Reprinted 1893.

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*Appendix to Introduction*4. *Miscellaneous.*

The workes of Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed with diuers additions, whiche were neuer in printe before.

1561, folio.

The Successions of the History of England from the beginning of Edward vi to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth: together with a list of the Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons of England to the present Time. By John Stowe.

London, 1638, folio.

[Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, v. 2525. There is no copy either in the British Museum or the Bodleian Library. The Peerage is stated to take 45 pp., the list of Bishops 3 pp.; the History begins on p. 333, and ends on p. 843.]

A Recital of Stow's Collection concerning the Rise, Profitableness, and Continuance of the Court of Requests, or Court of Conscience in the City of London.

[London, 1640?] s.sh. folio.

[There is a copy in the British Museum.]

Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, with historical memoranda by John Stowe, the antiquary, and contemporary notes of occurrences written by him in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by James Gairdner.

Camden Society, 1880. N. S. xxviii.

VI. SOME ACCOUNT OF STOW'S COLLECTIONS AND MSS.

[This account is intended only as a short summary to show the general character of Stow's *Collections*. The contents of some of the volumes are so varied and fragmentary that a full catalogue would extend to great length. I have, however, included all the items of most interest, and especially such as bear on the history of London. Further particulars of the more important volumes may be found in the *Catalogue of Harleian MSS.*; but this summary includes a few notices, which are there omitted, together with some fresh identifications.

Touching the history of Stow's *Collections* it would appear that part of them were purchased at his death by Ralph Starkey, whom Sir Simonds D'Ewes calls 'an ignorant, mercenary, indigent man', whilst allowing that he had 'great plenty of new written collections and diuers original letters of great moment.' Starkey died in 1628, and D'Ewes eagerly purchased his library as an inestimable prize (*Autobiography*, i. 391-2). D'Ewes' library was sold by his grandson to Robert Harley, and thus this portion of Stow's *Collections* found its way to the British Museum. Whilst in Starkey's possession Stow's papers were used by Roger Dodsworth in preparing his 'Monasticon' (Hearne, *Collectanea*, iii. 108). In Hearne's time a quantity of Stow's papers, including collections for the *Annales* and onecclesiastical foundations and Leland's *Itinerary*, were in the

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possession of a Mr. Davies of Llannerch, and were seen and used by Hearne (*id.* iii. 70, 143). The transcripts of Leland in *Tanner MS.* 464 are no doubt those which were purchased by Camden (see p. xxv above). In 1657 they were in the possession of Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt; they came to the Bodleian Library in 1736 (Toulmin Smith, *Leland in Wales*, p. vi; and *Itinerary*, i, pp. xxiii, xxiv). The extant papers can be only a small part of Stow's *Collections*. The fate of the remainder is told by a note at the head of those in *Cotton MS.* Cleopatra C. iii: 'Bought of Edwardes, the Broker and Fripper, ij.s. 27 Octobr. 1613.' As regards others Anthony Munday states definitely that Stow, while he was alive, delivered him some of his best collections, which were made use of in subsequent editions of the *Survey* (Epistle Dedicatorie, ed. 1633). In like manner it is probable that some material had passed into the hands of Edmund Howes, to be incorporated by him in his editions of the *Annales* (see vol. ii, pp. 282, 323-4 and 367).

The great extent of Stow's Library is described by David Powel in 1584 in the Preface to his *Historie of Cambria*: 'In written hand I had Gildas Sapiens *alias* Nennius, Henrie Huntingdon, William Malmsbury, Marianus Scotus, Ralph Cogshall, Io. Eversden, Nicholas Triuet, Florentius Wigornensis, Simon of Durham, Roger Houeden, and other, which remaine in the hand of I. Stowe, citizen of London, who deserueth commendation for getting together the ancient writers of the histories of this land.' Stow himself mentions that he possessed copies of Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and *Confessio Amantis* and of Fabyan's *Chronicles* (see vol. ii, pp. 57 and 305 below). Camden was indebted to him for a copy of Geoffrey le Baker's *Chronicle* (see Sir E. M. Thompson's *Preface*, p. vii). For a MS. (relating to 1513) borrowed from Stow in 1584, see *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i, p. 632. Sir Robert Cotton would appear to have been a great purchaser of Stow's *MSS.*, and his collection no doubt includes others besides those which I have noted. To make a complete list of extant *MSS.* which belonged to Stow would be an almost hopeless task.

Of Stow's printed books one containing a few notes in his writing is preserved in the British Museum, viz. a copy of Norden's *Hertfordshire*.]

A. COLLECTIONS

1. *In the British Museum.*

Harley 247. A volume of miscellaneous and fragmentary papers, including many from Stow's *Collections*. NOTE: ff. 20-37. Part of a history of the Kings of Kent with notes by Stow. f. 45. A fragment for the *Annales*. ff. 82-97. Notes out of Hector Boetius made by Stow. ff. 143, and 169-72. Fragments of chronicles in English for 1376-7 (Printed in Sir E. M. Thompson's edition of *Chronicon Angliae*, pp. lxvii-lxxxiii. See ii. 283 below). ff. 173-4. A fragment of a translation of the *Chronicon Angliae* (see Sir E. M. Thompson's edition, p. xi), ff. 174, 176. Copies of deeds relating to London. f. 208. Concerning the burning of Moskow by the Crimme-Tartar, written by Iohn Stow. f. 209. A note by Stow of his dispute with Master Crowche (see p. lxii. above), ff. 210, 210*. Fragments of a letter to Stow from Thomas Wicliffe (see p. lxxii.

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above). f. 217. Notes by Stow on the execution of Barrow and Greenwood in 1593.

Harley 293. A miscellaneous collection containing a few papers of Stow's. e.g. f. 32. Historical notes. ff. 44-5. List of surnames from Froissart.

Harley 367. A volume of miscellaneous papers, the majority of which belonged to Stow. For ff. 1-10 see pp. xlix-lxvii above. NOTE: f. 11. Grafton's reply to Stow, with pungent comments by the latter in the margin ('This is a lye,' &c. Much of Grafton's statement is too worn to be fully legible; he claims to have had a principal share in Hall's Chronicle). f. 12. Stow's further vindication of himself against the aspersions of Grafton. ff. 13-18 and 20-45. Various historical notes by Stow. f. 19. An extract from a City Chronicle for 1502 (See ii. 341-2 below). f. 46. The way of coining and examining or trying of money, written by John Stow. f. 48. The relation of what was found at the digging of a vault at the corner of Bread Street, Cheapside. (See ii. 351 below.) f. 86^{vo}. A morall Ballad by Henry Scogan (see i. 241 below). f. 129. A poem, dated 1583 by William Vallans, Salter, addressed to Stow and lamenting his lack of reward for writing in praise of citizens.—Vallans was the author of a piece of verse printed in Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. v. 'A Tale of Two Swannes'; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, lviii. 83.—The last few lines will illustrate sufficiently the character of this poem:

Let citizens themselues declare
 What dedes theyre mayors haue done,
 What benefactors they haue had,
 What honor they haue wonn.
 And though your selfe a Cytezen
 Regard there lastyng fame
 Yet reason is they should reward
 Or recompense the same.

This volume also contains copies of poems by Lydgate and other writers made by Stow.

Harley 374. A collection of autograph letters made by Sir Simonds D'Ewes. For letters to Stow on ff. 9-24 see pp. lxviii-lxxiii above. NOTE also: f. 12. Christopher Ridley to the right worshipful Mr. Will. Claxton of Wynyard with an account of the Picts Wall. (Some notes written thereon by Stow.) f. 20. A note by Camden of inquiries to be made of Mr. Claxton touching the Picts Wall.

Harley 530. Miscellaneous collections of Camden's and Stow's. NOTE: f. 1. A letter from Henry Savile to Stow (see p. lxxii above).

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ff. 2–12. Collectanea ex chron. de Dunmowe. ff. 19–30. A translation of part of the *Vita Henrici Quinti*. f. 38. On the buildings of John Churchman (see i. 135). f. 75*. A letter from Camden to Stow (see p. lxxiii above). ff. 77–8. Some corrections by Camden for the *Survey*. (They relate to the western suburbs and Westminster, and apparently refer to a MS. copy; they are incorporated in the printed text.) ff. 81–94. Passages from Greek and Roman writers relating to Britain, perhaps collected by Camden for Stow's use. ff. 115–18. Fragments of a late copy of a Chronicle of London for 1270–88, and 1344–58. ff. 119, 120. A London Chronicle for 1538–9 (see vol. ii. 284, 310 below).

Harley 538. Stow's original draft of the main part of the *Survey*. See p. xxxvii and Notes *passim*.

Harley 539. Collections by Stow. NOTE: ff. 1–82, William Lambard's 'Perambulation of Kent'—'written by Iohn Stowe in anno 1579'. ff. 95–6. The Foundacion of Bethelme without Byssoppes Gate of London in anno 1247. f. 183^{vo}. Names of the Wards in London with some historical notes by Stow. f. 184. '1590. The 4 of Septembre sir John Leveson, Mistar W. Lambarde and Mystar Leonard dyd ryde to see the monument of Catigern corruptly called Kytts Cotyhouse, I beinge with them &c.' (A very brief note made by Stow.) The other collections relate chiefly to ecclesiastical foundations in various places.

Harley 540. Historical collections of Stow's. NOTE: ff. 3–6. E Chronico Regum Manniae. ff. 7–21. A London Chronicle 1485–1555. (Partly in Stow's writing; very brief to 1527, fairly full to 1541, and very short from 1541 to 1549. Prefixed are two brief notes of the time of Richard II and Henry IV.—'from a book of Mr. Lordynge'. See Notes ii. 295, 352, 370.) ff. 53–6. Notes on Annals of London. ff. 68–9. Notes on history of the Conduit at Fleet. ff. 70–7. Account of the expeditions unto Scotland in 1547 and 1560. f. 79. A fragment on Honour of Citizens. f. 81. Letters patent *re* St. Nicholas Coleabbey. f. 82^{vo}. Some private memoranda of Stow's; for the only one of interest see p. xix above. ff. 83–89. Notes of charitable bequests by London citizens. ff. 93–110. John Cooke's Relation of Sir Francis Drake's voiage unto the West Indies began 15 November 1577. (The only copy extant; in Stow's writing. Printed in *The World Encompassed*, pp. 187–218, Hakluyt Society.) ff. 111–14. 'A Treatise of my Lord of Comberlan's Shippes Voyage (in anno 1592) and of theyr takyng of the great Carack, lately brought into Dartmouth. Written by Fraunces

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Seall.' f. 121. Notes for *Annales*, 1604. f. 122. Notes by Stow as to information to be found in the *Survey*, relating to the Tower, and the city's claim *re* St. Martin's, apparently prepared for the use of the Corporation in legal business. f. 123. A note on the Standart at Leadenhall (see Note, vol. ii, p. 302 below).

Harley 541. Collections chiefly by Sir Simonds D'Ewes. But NOTE: ff. 215-19. List of Mayors, with a few notes (see *Chron. Lond.*, p. 321). ff. 220-3. 'Here begynnnythe the names of all parishe churches wthyn the fraunchese of London' (with some notes by Stow). f. 224. The Gates of the Cyttie of London. f. 225. List of the Halls of Companies. f. 229. List of trades in London.

Harley 542. Historical collections by Stow chiefly for the *Annales*. NOTE: ff. 15-27. Excerpts from Peter of Ickham. ff. 28-30. 'Notes gathered by Dr. Talbot out of ye boke of Brute.' ff. 31-3. Richard III, his deathe from a book 'borrowyd of Henry Savill'. ff. 34-7. 'History of a moste horrible murder comytted at ffevershame in Kent' (Arden of Faversham). ff. 54-6. 'Oute of a small pawmflfet in parchement wryten in Latyn of the trayterous Scottes' inc: 'In the yeare of Christes birth 1306.' ff. 57-65. Richard Turpyn's 'Chronicle of Calais' (published by Camden Soc.). f. 101. Speeches at the Pageants for Margaret of Anjou, 1446, by Lydgate. f. 102. Lydgate's 'London Licpenny'. ff. 105-8. 'Out of an olde booke of Master Henry Savill' (on history of Lacy family). ff. 109-16. Conquest of Britony (Britain) by Julius Caesar. ff. 125-40. 'For-tescue on Laws of England. Transcribed by Mr. J. Stowe with his owne hand.' ff. 141-66. 'Out of a Chronicle of the Angles per-taynyng to Mast. Rose Carrike, translatyd into Englysshe for John Stowe and by him writen anno 1579.' (For years 1381-99.)

Harley 543. Notes and transcripts by Stow chiefly for the 15th century. NOTE: ff. 31-49. Arrival of King Edward IV. 'Out of Mystar Flyghtwod's Boke.' 'Transcribed by John Stowe the Chronicler with his owne hand.' (Published by Camden Society, and in *Chronicles of the White Rose*.) ff. 50-92. History of Loys Duke of Orleans. ff. 150-60. Extracts from a London Chronicle of the type of *Cotton MS.* Julius B. i; events of 1423-6 (see *Chron. Lond.*, 279-86), articles of surrender of French towns 1417-25. ff. 151-75. Copies of documents relating to English history during Wars of Roses (see *Chronicles of the White Rose*, pp. lviii, lxxiv, 229-38).

Harley 544. Transcripts and historical notes made by Stow. NOTE: ff. 1-12. From Giraldus Cambrensis; on f. 3. 'Out of

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an old booke of Master Iohn Price's after the description of Wales. Writen in Englysshe by Iohn Stow, marchaunt-taylour in anno domini 1579, and in ye monithe of decembre.' ff. 15-22. On introduction of Christianity to Britain: lists and biographies of archbishops and bishops of London to 1594. ff. 23-5. Names of bishops of London, and Deans of St. Paul's. f. 26. Dimensions of St. Paul's. ff. 30-2. Buryalls in Poles Cherche. ff. 33-64. Registrum Fratrum Minorum London. (Extracts, with list of persons buried at Greyfriars, see ii. 345.) ff. 65-8. Interments at Westminster Abbey, Holy Trinity, Charterhouse, Whitefriars, Blackfriars, Austin Friars (see ii. 300, 350, 364, 376). f. 69. Notes on Cliffords. ff. 72-9. Notes on hospitals and colleges in various towns. ff. 80-95. Charters to St. Katherine's Hospital. ff. 96-9. Draft of the chapter of the *Survey* on Southwark (see notes, vol. ii. 365-7 below). f. 100. Notes made by Stow from a Cartulary of St. Mary Overy (see ii. 324-6, 352). ff. 101-2. Visitation of Clarencieux in 1533, giving lists of persons buried at St. Mary Abbey at the Tower Hill (see vol. ii. 287), St. Katherine by the Tower, Barking Chapel, Crossed Friars, St. Buttolph's, and St. Olave's. f. 104. Rough notes for the *Survey* on Westminster. f. 105. A fragment of a translation of FitzStephen. f. 107. A fragment of the *Survey*.

Harley 545. Chiefly extracts from Chronicles made by Stow in 1575. NOTE: ff. 1-42. Translation of Robert of Avesbury. ff. 133-8. An English Chronicle 1431-55, with copies of documents especially in reference to Cade's rebellion. ff. 139-67. Translation of Murimouth's Chronicle 1303-37, with a continuation to 1381.

Harley 551. Historical collections by Stow. Chiefly translations from Giraldus Cambrensis written by Stow 1576-9. The Conquest of Ireland is said to be translated by Camden.

Harley 563. Translations in Stow's writing of the Chronicles of Florence of Worcester, Asser, Aelred of Rievaulx, and Trivet. The first is said to be by Raphael Holinshed.

Cotton, Cleopatra C. iii. ff. 291-7. Cronicle of Donmow in Estsex. Nicholas de Bromfeld, Canon of Donmowe. ff. 298^v. Latin notes on events in London 1318-20. ff. 297, 300. Boundaries of St. Stephen Coleman parish. ff. 301-19. Extracts from a Llanthony Chronicle and other monastic annals.

Additional MS. 29729. Copies of poems, chiefly by Lydgate, made by Stow from the collections of John Shirley and other sources. On f. 285^v is a note: 'This boke perteynythe to Iohn Stowe, and was by hym wryten in ye yere of our lord M.d. lvij.'

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*Appendix to Introduction*2. *In the Bodleian Library.*

Tanner 343. On f. 152 some notes by Stow on foundations of Churches.

Tanner 464. Stow's transcripts from Leland's *Collectanea, Itinerary, Epigrams, &c.* In five volumes. Bound up with vol. i are the draft of a chapter of the *Survey* (see Note on ii. 269–70 below) and some notes for the *Annales*. 'Written by Iohn Stow in anno 1576.'

Ashmole 848. Extracts made by Robert Glover from Stow's Collections.

B. NOTE OF SOME MSS. WHICH BELONGED TO OR WERE USED BY STOW

1. *In the British Museum.**Harleian MSS.* :—

194. 'An Annale of Queene Marie.' Edited by J. G. Nichols for the Camden Soc., 1850, as a *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*.

604. Transcript of part of 'Liber Papie'. See vol. ii. 297.

661. Hardyng's Chronicle. See p. xii above.

2251. A volume of John Shirley's. See vol. ii. 361.

3634. *Chronicon Angliae*. 1328–88. Printed in Rolls Series.

6217. ff. 3–12. Fragment of *Chronicon Angliae*: a note of Stow's on f. 4.

Harley Roll, C. 8. A London Chronicle with notes by Stow. See p. xxxiv above and vol. ii. 382.

Cotton MSS. :—

Nero D. v. The *Chronica Majora* of M. Paris. See Luard's Preface, i, p. xii, and Madden's Preface to *Historia Anglorum*, i. lxi–iv. It is the copy which Stow lent to Parker, and is probably the *Flores Historiarum*, which Grindal's chaplains found. See pp. xvii, xix above.

Nero D. viii. A collection of various Historical works including Geoffrey of Monmouth, excerpts from Gildas, Giraldus *Descriptio Cambriae, Polycronicon*.

Nero E. vi. The Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John at Clerkenwell. See vol. ii. 271, 355, 371.

Vitellius A. xvi. A London Chronicle, with notes by Stow (*Chronicles of London*, pp. 153–263).

Vitellius F. xvi. Liber Papie. See vol. ii. 297.

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Vespasian B. ix. Liber S. Bartholomei. Some notes by Stow.

See vol. ii. 271, 360.

Faustina B. ii. Cartulary of the Nuns Priory at Clerkenwell.

Notes by Stow on ff. 6, 9, 27. See vol. ii. 272, 301.

Additional MSS.:—23147. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*. A note by Stow on f. 42.

34360. A collection of poems chiefly by Lydgate.

Stowe MS. 952. An imperfect copy of Lydgate's 'Pilgrimage of the Life of Man'. Stow has added the conclusion from another manuscript.2. *In the Bodleian Library.**Ashmole* 59. A volume of John Shirley's. See vol. ii. 361.*Laud. Misc.* 557. Lydgate, 'Siege of Thebes.' On fly-leaf: 'This is Iohn Stowe's boke.'3. *Other Manuscripts.**Lambeth* 306. A London Chronicle (*Short English Chronicle*) together with notes on 15th century history and *Memoranda*, 1561–7. Edited by Dr. Gairdner for Camden Soc. in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, 1880.*Christ Church*, Oxford. Stow's 'Liber Osney'; see below i. 292, and ii. 337. Given to Christ Church by Sir Robert Cotton in exchange.*Trinity College*, Cambridge. R. 3. 19. Poems by Chaucer, Lydgate, and others. See vol. ii. 377.*The Cartulary of Trinity Priory*. In the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. There is a modern transcript in *Guildhall MS.* 122. For its history see Dr. Sharpe's Introduction to *Letter-Book C*, p. xviii.*Davies MS.* Afterwards belonged to Speed. From it was edited *An English Chronicle*, 1377–1461, by Rev. J. S. Davies for Camden Soc., 1859.

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CORRIGENDA

- i. 43, l. 6, *read*: Westminster
- i. 104, l. 20, *read* flight
- i. 108, l. 9. *The date should be 1391 as in the edition of 1603. Compare ii. 169.*
- i. 133, *margin, read*: Sporiar lane, or Water lane. Bakers hall. Hart lane for Harpe lane.
- i. 141, l. 18, *for Cheuie read Chenie*
- i. 163–4. *The punctuation of the first sentence in the account of Bishopsgate Ward is confusing. Read*: The next is Bishopsgate warde, whereof a parte is without the gate and of the suburbes, from the barres by S. Mary Spittle to Bishopsgate: and a part of Hounds ditch, almost halfe thereof, also without the wall, is of the same Warde.
- i. 179, l. 7, *for Manny read Manny* (italic)
- i. 235, ll. 14 and 20. *It should have been noted that the text of 1603 gives the dates as 1447 and 1451. See Note on ii. 321 below.*
- i. 245, l. 3 *from foot, read* a great builder thereof.
- i. 249, l. 1, *read Hamsteed. William Stoksbie and Gilbert March had Chantries*
- i. 291, l. 7, *read* Then lower.
- i. 296, ll. 18, 19, *read* Raph, Thomas, Raph, and Richard. *See note on ii. 338 below.*
- i. 317, l. 21, *read* studies
- i. 318, l. 4. *The date 1429 is a misprint (in the text of 1603) for 1421. Compare i. 109.*
- i. 319, l. 7 *from foot, read* Powles, the children
- i. 320, *footnote, read* ¹ Coucy]
- i. 337, *footnote*², *delete* ² Linacre]
- i. 341, ll. 8–12. *Stow's text is confused, and should be corrected by omitting and Dame Elizabeth his wife, daughter to the Duke of Lancaster. Elizabeth of Lancaster married (1) John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter; (2) Sir John Cornwall. See ii. 350 below. She died in 1426, and is buried at Burford in Shropshire (Wylie, Henry IV. i. 105).*
- ii. 57, *marg. n. 3, read* Roses,
- ii. 67, *margin. Iohn Bauow is probably a misprint for John Bever: see Flores Historiarum, ii. 45, and Luard's Preface, vol. i, pp. xl and xlii.*
- ii. 76, ll. 30, 31. *Punctuate 'Deepe ditch by Bethelam, into'*
- ii. 87, *footnote, read* ¹ Curars
- ii. 115, *marg. n. 3, l. 4, read* presented
- ii. 149, *marg. n. 1, l. 12, read* Domesmen or Judges
- ii. 416, col. 1, *under State, delete* the Pope was a 'state' . . . not a 'Pope.'

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FROM TANNER MS. 464 (i). f. 155
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Of Wood, Barber, Carpenter, Molester, malle,
 and Condors of foyles, malle, foyling
 the citie. In all these. 200. foote
 hode, comprisinge the malle of the
 foyles citie

Way of foyles in the Comptrolers house and foyles the foyles foyles
 foyles. The citie of London was walled by the famous foyles
 of foyles, on the foyles parts, implanted foyles, the
 foyles of foyles, foyles (again it called) foyles, the foyles, foyles
 malle, called walle, of foyles from the foyles walle,
 foyles the malle of the foyles, the foyles of foyles.
 foyles the foyles of the foyles. A foyles malle, called a
 foyles, walle, foyles in the foyles, the foyles foyles
 of foyles Comptrolers malle, foyles foyles foyles
 and foyles foyles to the foyles foyles foyles foyles
 foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles
 foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles
 foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles foyles

Comptrolers

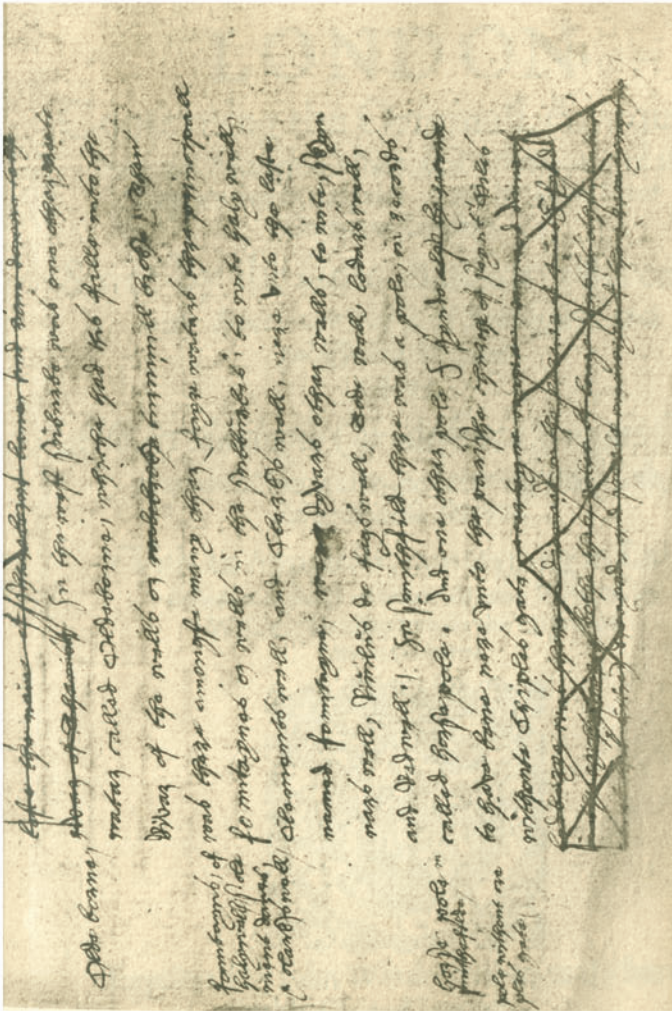
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This represents the first page of a revised draft for the Chapter on 'Auncient and Present Riuers'. It differs a little from the printed text of 1598. See i. 11 and ii. 269-70 of this edition.

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A SURVEY OF LONDON.

Conteyning the Originall, Antiquity,
Increase, Moderne estate, and description of that
City, written in the year 1598. by John Stow
Citizen of London.

Since by the same Author increased,
with diuers rare notes of Antiquity, and
published in the year,
1603.

*Also an Apologie (or defence) against the
opinion of some men, concerning that Citie,
the greatnesse thereof.*

VVith an Appendix, contayning in Latine
*Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini: Written by
William Fitzstephen, in the raigne of
Henry the second.*



Imprinted by John Windet, Printer to the hono-
rable Citie of London.

1603.

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TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE, ROBERT LEE, Lord Mayor
of the City of London, to the Comminalty,
*and Citizens of the same: Iohn Stow Citizen,
wisheth long health and felicitie.*



Ince the first publishing of the perambulation of *Kent*, by that learned Gentleman *William Lambert* Esquier, I haue heard of sundry other able persons to haue (according to the desire of that author) assayed to do somewhat for the particular Shires and Counties where they were borne, or dwelt, of which none that I know (sauing *Iohn Norden*, for the Counties of Middlesex, and Hertford) haue vouchsafed their labor to the | common good in that behalfe. *Page iu*

And therefore concurring with the first, in the same desire to haue drawn together such speciall descriptions of each place, as might not onely make vp an whole body of the English Chorographie amongst our selues: but also might giue occasion, and courage to *M. Camden* to increase and beautify his singular work of the whole, to the view of the learned that be abroad. I haue attempted the discouery of *London*, my natie soyle and Countrey, at the desire and perswasion of some my good friends, as well because I haue seene sundry antiquities my selfe touching that place, as also for that through search of Records to other purposes, diuers written helps are come to my hands, which few others haue fortunated to meet withall, it is a seruice that most agreeth with my professed

STOW. I g trauels.

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The Epistle Dedicatory

Page v tra|uels. It is a dutie, that I willingly owe to my natiue
mother and Countrey. And an office that of right I holde my
selfe bound in loue to bestow vpon the politike body & members
of the same: what London hath beene of auncient time, men
may here see, as what it is now euey man doth beholde:
I knowe that the argument, beeing of the chiefe and principall
citie of the land, required the pen of some excellent Artisen,
but fearing that none would attempt & finish it, as few haue
assaied any, I chose rather (amongst other my Labours) to
handle it after my playne manner, then to leave it vnper-
formed. Touching the Dedication I am not doubtfull where
to seeke my Patrone, since you be a politique estate of the
Citty, as the walles and buildinges be the materiall partes of
Page vi the same. To you therefore, | doe I addresse this my whole
labour, as wel that by your authority I may bee protected,
as warranted by your owne skill and vnderstanding of that
which I haue written. I confesse that I lacked my desire to
the accomplishment of some special parts, which some other
of better abilitie promised to performe, but as I then pro-
fessed, haue since out of mine olde Store-house added
to this worke many rare notes of antiquitie, as
may appeare to the reader, which I do afford
in all dutie, and recommend to your
view, my labours to your considera-
tion, and my selfe to your
seruice, during life, in
this or any
other.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-08243-3 - A Survey of London: Reprinted from the Text of 1603, with
Introduction and Notes: Volume 1

Edited by C.L. Kingsford

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