

# THE ALDERMEN OF LONDON, c.1200–80: ALFRED BEAVEN REVISITED

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## SUMMARY

*Alfred Beaven's list of aldermen is a standard reference work for historians of London, particularly those interested in civic politics and local government. This paper will demonstrate that Beaven's listing of the 13th-century aldermen can be substantially improved. The evidence for this study is drawn from a prosopographical dataset compiled by the author, devoted to 12th- and 13th-century London, that enables scholars to systematically investigate the history of individual people in the City. The dataset reveals previously overlooked aldermen and the periods when they were active. The author presents a revised listing of the aldermen and considers its implications for our understanding of the office of alderman.*

## INTRODUCTION

Alfred Beaven's list of aldermen is a standard reference work for historians of London, particularly those interested in civic politics and local government.<sup>1</sup> The leading officers in 13th-century London's civic government were the mayor, the two sheriffs, and the aldermen of London's 24 wards. The membership of this group offers historians crucial evidence for the distribution of power in the City in this period. Historians have prepared biographies of the officers to establish their affiliations, then traced, through the fortunes of their members, the shifting importance of political factions, economic interests, and social and familial networks. The foundation of this type of analysis is the lists of office holders. Without complete and accurate

lists, historians cannot conduct a reliable survey. Historians now have an excellent list of the mayors and sheriffs,<sup>2</sup> but for the aldermen, who formed the bulk of the group, historians continue to rely on the list compiled by Alfred Beaven at the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>3</sup> When he published his list, Beaven acknowledged that it had limitations.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, his list has never been revised. If Beaven's list of the 13th-century aldermen can be improved, then historians can deepen their understanding of the group of men who served in the civic government. The purpose of this paper is to update the list of aldermen based on a fresh survey of the evidence.

Beaven completed his list in the early years of the 20th century; it was presented as part of an ambitious two-volume book that was published before the First World War.<sup>5</sup> When Beaven died in 1924 at the age of 77, the event was noted in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. He was described as having made a 'considerable' contribution to research, and his book on the aldermen of London was presented as his most important achievement.<sup>6</sup> The book surveys London's aldermen from c.1230 to 1912, and the section dealing with the mid-13th-century aldermen is only a small part of the work. That Beaven includes any information on the mid-13th-century aldermen is a testament to his remarkable dedication and determination. He could have argued that the appropriate place to begin his list of aldermen was c.1280, as this is the period from which the

sequence of office holders can be securely reconstructed.<sup>7</sup> Beaven's material on the mid-13th-century aldermen is presented at the beginning of his chronological list of office holders in a tabular format without citations. In his introduction, however, he offers an indication of his sources, he gathers together some scattered information about aldermen of the 12th and early 13th centuries, and he discusses a few problematic cases from the mid-13th century.

The evidence for this study is drawn from a prosopographical dataset compiled by the author, devoted to 12th- and 13th-century London, that enables scholars to systematically investigate the history of individuals as well as social, economic and political groupings in the City.<sup>8</sup> Until the revolution in information technology at the end of the 20th century, the amount of labour required to reproduce Beaven's research inhibited attempts to revise and extend his work on the London aldermen.<sup>9</sup> The quantity of evidence that needs to be processed, as will be discussed in more detail below, is prohibitive when the work is done by hand. The advent of electronic data management systems, however, has made it possible for even a single researcher to analyse vast datasets efficiently. Thus it is possible, for the first time, to revisit Beaven's listing. Based on the new prosopographical dataset, a revised list of aldermen has been prepared and is presented in the appendix. The new list is intended to serve a different purpose from Beaven's. He attempted to produce a full list of the aldermen, together with their dates of office. As the evidence is fragmentary, however, Beaven speculated in some cases to compensate for gaps in the historical record, as will be discussed in more detail below. Unfortunately, Beaven does not provide references so it is often difficult to identify places where he is speculating. The revised listing is intended to clearly summarise the evidence, to ensure that scholars have a secure basis for investigating London's civic leadership.

## SOURCES

From an early date, London was divided into wards that were overseen by aldermen (Fig 1). Christopher Brooke has commented that

'we may be tolerably confident that the wards grew up in the 11th century, although their remote origin may be older'.<sup>10</sup> The earliest known reference to an alderman is in a document dated 1111.<sup>11</sup> The 12th-century sources are limited, but they show that aldermen were playing an official role in the witnessing of agreements involving land.<sup>12</sup> The comparatively richer 13th-century sources reveal that by *c.*1200 aldermen were assuming an important role in the administration of justice; they can be found presiding in the Husting and weighing the seriousness of violent crimes, to determine if the case should be heard in the King's court or in that of the sheriffs.<sup>13</sup> A document, that dates from the reign of John, describes the provisions made by the Londoners for the defence of the City; aldermen were expected to review the men under their jurisdiction, to ensure that they were appropriately armed and that as many as possible had horses.<sup>14</sup> Aldermen also maintained stocks of firefighting equipment.<sup>15</sup> The aldermen were leading officers with a wide range of responsibilities, but if records of their appointment were kept in this period, then they have been lost.<sup>16</sup> In the early to mid-13th century, therefore, it is difficult to establish precisely when an alderman was appointed, but historians can identify who the office holders were and the approximate period when they were active by gathering incidental references to them from a variety of sources.

Any document that identifies an alderman by name is helpful, but the most useful sources are those that place these men in a geographic and temporal context.<sup>17</sup> For the period *c.*1200–80, which is the focus of this paper, the single most valuable source of evidence is deeds.<sup>18</sup> When a property was exchanged in London, the alderman of the ward where the land was located normally acted as a witness, and this was recorded in the deed. By collecting references to an alderman acting as a witness, historians can determine when and in which ward (or wards) he was active during his career. Deeds of this period are difficult to work with because they rarely include the date when they were composed.<sup>19</sup> However, scholars can use a variety of techniques, such as examining the history of the property, the composition of the witness

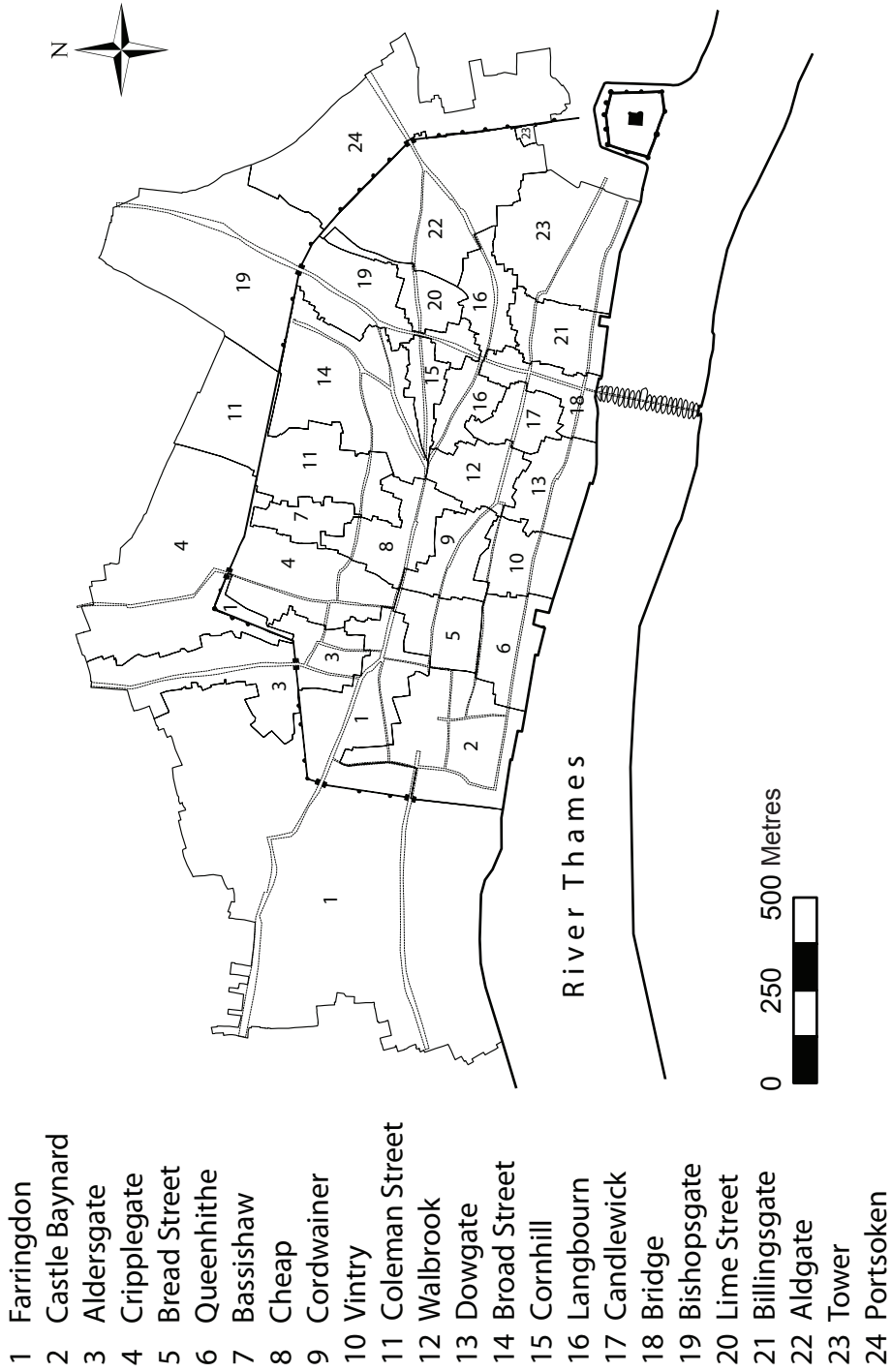


Fig 1. Map showing the 24 London wards

list, or the style of writing, to establish the approximate date of an undated deed.<sup>20</sup> A few thousand deeds of the period *c.*1200–80 survive from London.<sup>21</sup> The precise number of deeds is unknown, because they have never been systematically counted.<sup>22</sup> Deeds survive in two forms: originals and copies. An original is a deed that was prepared at the time of the exchange as a record of the event. The most important collections of original London deeds are in the National Archives, the Guildhall Library, and the archive of St Bartholomew's Hospital. At the National Archives, London deeds can be found in a number of series. The E40 series is an exceptionally rich source of material; 90% of the references to aldermen gathered from deeds at the National Archives were from documents in this group.<sup>23</sup> Additional material was obtained from four other series: C146, DL25, E326, and LR14. The next most important collection is the deeds of St Paul's Cathedral, which are currently held by the Guildhall Library.<sup>24</sup> The deeds of St Bartholomew's Hospital, which are in the hospital's archive, are another valuable resource. Together, the original deeds in the collections of these three institutions provide 927 references to aldermen. London deeds also survive in a number of other repositories. A further 126 references were found in deeds preserved in the British Library, the London Metropolitan Archive, and the archives of Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral. 1,053 references to aldermen, or 64% of the total collected for this study, were taken from original deeds.

Many additional deeds have been preserved in the form of copies. For the purposes of this study, the most useful types of copies are those in cartularies.<sup>25</sup> During the Middle Ages, institutions that accumulated large collections of deeds often transcribed them into a register, known as a cartulary.<sup>26</sup> Like the surviving original deeds, deeds recorded in cartularies are often undated, but they pose a further challenge: the scribes who copied the deeds into the cartularies might omit sections of the texts. Scribes often truncated witness lists, for example, where the names of the participating aldermen were recorded. As a result, the copies of deeds preserved in cartularies are not as reliable as the originals, and must be approached

with some caution. Historians use original deeds when they are available, but if they have been lost or damaged, a cartulary copy can provide the best alternative. For this study, the most important group of cartularies are those that were prepared in institutions based in London and its suburbs. The cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital is an especially rich source.<sup>27</sup> Historians can also consult the cartularies of Holy Trinity Aldgate, St Mary Clerkenwell, the hospital of St Giles, the priory of St John of Jerusalem (Knights Hospitaller), Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and the London Bridge House.<sup>28</sup> Many religious houses located outside London also owned some land in the City, and thus deeds relating to London property found their way into their records. Additional references to London aldermen were found in cartularies prepared for the abbeys of St Augustine's Canterbury, Chertsey, Cirencester, Colchester, Missendon, Thame, and Waltham.<sup>29</sup> In total, the cartularies provide a further 339 references to aldermen, or 21% of the evidence gathered for this study.

The final group of sources is made up of judicial, administrative and narrative materials. References to aldermen can appear in many types of records that relate to the governance of the City. A few records, however, are especially valuable for identifying aldermen. The King's justices rarely came into the City, but they did hold periodic visitations, known as *eyres*, to address a number of issues, including reviewing local administration.<sup>30</sup> The documents known as the Hundred Rolls record the proceedings of a pair of inquests, conducted in 1274–75 and 1279–80, in which the Crown asked ward juries questions about royal rights and the conduct of the King's officers.<sup>31</sup> These are a particularly valuable source, as they mention all the wards and identify most of their aldermen. The pipe roll of 12 Henry III preserves a list of aldermen.<sup>32</sup> The earliest Husting Rolls (Common Pleas) have also been included, as they contain references to the appointment of aldermen from 1274, as have the first two volumes of the Letter-Books, which contain entries relating to the 1270s.<sup>33</sup> Narrative sources offer another method of identifying aldermen. The chronicle of the Grey Friars includes a transcription of

a deed.<sup>34</sup> Another chronicle, known as the ‘Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London’, was composed in the City in the mid-13th century, probably by Arnold son of Thedmar, who was himself an alderman.<sup>35</sup> His detailed description of events in the City’s political history mentions several cases when aldermen were appointed or deposed. From these records, a further 249 references to aldermen, or 15% of the total collected for this paper, have been collected.

The amount of information available for this study significantly exceeds the amount used by Beaven. He indicates that his research included a detailed study of the E40 deeds in the National Archives, and he probably looked at deeds in other parts of the collection. He surveyed the deeds of St Paul’s Cathedral, but he does not appear to have consulted the collection in St Bartholomew’s Hospital or the smaller collections of London deeds in other archives, such as Canterbury Cathedral. He examined a transcription of the cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate, the lists of aldermen in the Pipe Rolls and the Hundred Roll of 1274–75, the Letter-Books and Arnold son of Thedmar’s chronicle.<sup>36</sup> In short his research, while extensive, was not comprehensive. The sources that he used account for 55% of the references gathered for this study. A comparison of the number of references in the sample of evidence compiled for this paper and that available to Beaven is a useful but crude method of evaluating the quality of his sample of evidence, because the geographic distribution of the references is as important as the quantity.

London had 24 wards and some wards are better documented than others. The major collections of surviving deeds, such as the deeds of St Paul’s Cathedral or St Bartholomew’s Hospital, were each assembled to record the land holdings of a particular institution.<sup>37</sup> These institutions held a limited number of properties which were generally concentrated in one or more areas of the City. The St Paul’s deeds, for example, offer considerable information about the area surrounding the cathedral, whereas the deeds of St Bartholomew’s Hospital mostly concern properties in the City’s western suburbs.<sup>38</sup> Studying one institution’s deeds, even if they are numerous, will therefore

provide a body of information that favours certain districts. The solution is to conduct a survey of as many different collections as possible. A greater number of collections were consulted for this study than were used by Beaven and therefore the evidence is geographically more evenly distributed than in Beaven’s sample.<sup>39</sup> Also affecting the reliability of the sample is the temporal distribution of the sources. Because more material survives from the second half of the 13th century than from the first, any sample of 13th-century London deeds will be biased to the later decades. A very large number of documents needs to be collected to ensure that sufficient early material is included in the sample. A quarter of the references to aldermen collected for this study are in sources dated 1229 or earlier. As a result of this additional evidence, it has proved possible to extend the list beyond Beaven’s start date of 1230, to c.1200.

## THE REVISED LIST

There are a number of differences between the format of Beaven’s list and the one prepared for this paper.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps the most immediately obvious is the treatment of dates. Beaven dates the terms of office of aldermen in a number of ways and in more than half the cases, he offers a *circa* date.<sup>41</sup> He characterises his *circa* dates as ‘tentative approximations’ that ‘in most cases ... represent the earliest year in which, or immediately preceding that in which, there is more or less clear evidence that the person named was acting as an Alderman’.<sup>42</sup> The list compiled for this paper consistently provides the dates of the earliest and latest known appearances of an alderman as these offer secure evidence of a man’s period of activity. The table included in the appendix to this paper provides these dates in its second and third columns; for comparative purposes, Beaven’s dates for the aldermen are offered in its fourth column.<sup>43</sup> For convenience, service as a sheriff is noted in the fifth column, and service as mayor in the sixth column.<sup>44</sup>

An important difference between the list of aldermen prepared for this paper, and that offered by Beaven, is the definition of the office of alderman. The case of Osbert de Hadstock illustrates the distinction clearly. In

a deed dated 1258–59, concerning land in the parish of St Botolph Billingsgate (Billingsgate ward), Osbert de Hadstock is described in the witness list as acting ‘*in loco aldermanni*’.<sup>45</sup> This phrase does appear elsewhere in the historical record: Bartholomew de St Martin is described as acting ‘*in loco aldermanni*’ in Farringdon ward in several deeds dated *c.*1220.<sup>46</sup> What is exceptional about Osbert’s case is that there is some evidence to explain how he came to be acting ‘in the place of’ the alderman of Billingsgate. In February 1258, because of a corruption scandal, a number of aldermen were deposed, including Arnold son of Thedmar, who was then the alderman of Billingsgate.<sup>47</sup> Arnold then languished in political limbo for a period during which time his ward ‘remained in the hands of the Mayor’.<sup>48</sup> There is little evidence that the mayor, William son of Richard, assumed the duties and responsibilities that were involved in being the alderman of Billingsgate; instead it appears that Osbert was delegated to perform the office. Politically, he was probably a conservative choice. A number of men with the surname ‘Hadstock’ took charge of waterfront wards in this period: Richard de Hadstock (*c.*1232–58 in Castle Baynard), Simon de Hadstock (*c.*1269–81 in Queenhithe), and William de Hadstock (*c.*1270–89 in Tower). As ‘Hadstock’ is an uncommon surname in 13th-century London, Osbert was probably related to these aldermen.<sup>49</sup> If so, he would have come from a distinguished social background. When Arnold son of Thedmar was readmitted to civic politics in November 1259, he recovered his aldermanry and Osbert appears to have stepped aside. Osbert was a temporary officer holder, and Beaven acknowledges his existence in his introduction but omits him from his list of office holders. By contrast, the list of aldermen appended to this paper includes him, together with all other men known to have performed the office of alderman regardless of whether or not they were permanent or temporary office holders.

Only a handful of men are described in the sources in terms that suggest that their aldermanic status was temporary, so adopting a broader definition of alderman has a minimal impact on the composition of the list. Apart from Osbert de Hadstock

and Bartholomew de St Martin, who are described as acting ‘in the place’ of an alderman, the only other man included in this list whose aldermanic status is perhaps questionable is John Hanin. He was closely associated with Richard son of Renger in the administration of Bridge ward in the early to mid-13th century. Richard was a key figure in civic politics: he is first recorded acting as an alderman in 1217–18;<sup>50</sup> he was sheriff 1220–22, and mayor 1222–27 and then again in 1237–39.<sup>51</sup> In 1229, however, he was included in a list of men described as royal justices, which demonstrates that he was drawn into the service of the Crown.<sup>52</sup> He was also involved in overseas trade and held land outside London, including a manor in Dorset.<sup>53</sup> For Richard, therefore, the office of alderman was just one of a number of responsibilities. Perhaps for this reason, he felt it necessary to delegate some of his duties. In the period that he is known to have been active in royal service, he is recorded as sharing his aldermanic responsibilities with John Hanin. John was one of the City’s wealthiest men; although he may not have been as politically influential as Richard, he was still a distinguished member of civic society.<sup>54</sup> Initially John may have acted as Richard’s deputy; in 1230, there is a reference to Richard acting as alderman in the company of John, who is described as ‘subalderman’.<sup>55</sup> Soon, however, John was regarded as a colleague. A deed of *c.*1230 places Richard and John together at the top of the witness list (with Richard first and John second), and both men are described as aldermen.<sup>56</sup> John is also called alderman in a number of witness lists of this period where he appears without Richard. Richard may have continued to act as alderman for Bridge ward on occasion, but he is difficult to locate in the office after 1231, by which date it appears that he had handed over his responsibilities to John Hanin. Richard, nonetheless, remained an important and influential man in London, and returned to the office of mayor in 1237. The case of Richard son of Renger and John Hanin elegantly illustrates that two men could cooperate to discharge the office of alderman in a ward; clearly both men must be included in the list of aldermen. The addition of men such as Osbert de Hadstock and John Hanin

clarifies the sequence of office holders and adds insights into how local government worked.

Consequently this list of aldermen includes only men who are actually recorded as performing that office. Applying this criterion has resulted in the removal of a number of men that Beaven includes. Scholars generally accept that the priors of Holy Trinity Aldgate were in control of the ward of Portsoken throughout the 13th century.<sup>57</sup> Beaven's list therefore includes Richard de Temple, prior of Holy Trinity from 1222, and his successors. Unfortunately, the earliest known reference to a prior of Holy Trinity acting as an alderman is in a source dated 1281–82. Since no evidence has yet come to light that demonstrates that the early and mid-13th-century priors discharged the duties of aldermen, they have been removed from the list.<sup>58</sup> Again by assuming that later practices applied to this period, Beaven also includes a number of men who held the office of mayor. By the 14th century, only men who had first served as alderman and sheriff were eligible for the office of mayor.<sup>59</sup> When that rule became established is difficult to determine, but Beaven argues that in the 13th century the office of alderman was already a stepping-stone to the mayoralty: 'it may be assumed', he asserts, 'that the successive Mayors were Aldermen at the dates of election'.<sup>60</sup> This reasoning may explain his inclusion of William Joiner and Gerald Bat in his list of aldermen from the year *c.*1232; they shared the office of sheriff in 1232, and both later assumed the office of mayor.<sup>61</sup> Rather than demonstrating a firm connection between the office of alderman and the office of mayor in the early 13th century, however, the material collected for this study points to the opposite conclusion. If only two mayors were missing from the list of aldermen, then their omission could perhaps be dismissed as a lacuna in the evidence. However, in addition to William Joiner and Gerald Bat, three other mayors active in the first half of the 13th century are missing from the list of aldermen: Serlo le Mercer (mayor 1214–15, 1217–22), William Hardel (mayor 1215–16), and Solomon de Basing (mayor 1217).<sup>62</sup> The connection between the personnel who held the offices of mayor and alderman was not sufficiently close, in the early to mid-13th

century, for historians safely to assume that the men who served as mayors were also aldermen.

The evidence for the relationship between aldermen and their wards raises yet another set of issues. Historians are confident that London had 24 wards *c.*1200.<sup>63</sup> The deeds indicate where an alderman performed his office, which in turn offers an indication of the ward (or wards) with which he was associated. However, when property transactions were recorded, scribes normally identified not the ward, but the parish in which the land was located.<sup>64</sup> The system of parishes had grown up alongside the wards and the two sets of boundaries often do not correspond; some parishes fall entirely within the boundaries of a single ward, while others might be shared between two or more wards.<sup>65</sup> The process of assigning an alderman to a ward, therefore, involves surveying the deeds to determine the parishes in which he was active, and then comparing the boundaries of those parishes with the ward boundaries. Richard son of Renger, for example, is described as alderman in relation to the parishes of St Margaret Bridge Street, St Magnus the Martyr, St Leonard Eastcheap, St Michael Candlewick Street, and St Benet Gracechurch.<sup>66</sup> If only references to St Leonard Eastcheap had survived, it would have been difficult to determine which ward was Richard's responsibility, because that parish was shared between three wards. Bridge ward, however, intersected all these parishes, so the fact that Richard was active in all of them indicates that he was an alderman of Bridge ward. In the list of aldermen appended to this paper, the ward(s) in which he was active are given only when the evidence clearly places an alderman in a ward.

Associating an alderman with a ward in the absence of conclusive evidence is perilous. The identity of the wards of Walter le Potter and Ralph Le Fevre in 1274–75, for example, is problematic.<sup>67</sup> Both men were certainly aldermen at that date, because they are recorded acting as aldermen at the 1274–75 Hundred Roll inquest.<sup>68</sup> This inquest was national in scope, and commissioners were sent throughout England. The precise date when they were in London has yet to be established, but it was probably between November 1274 and March 1275.<sup>69</sup> At the

inquest, each ward provided a jury of men to answer the questions set by the Crown, and their responses were recorded.<sup>70</sup> In the surviving documents, the returns of some wards are identified by the name of their alderman, others by a topographical name, and still others by both. All the returns can be assigned to a ward with the exception of Cornhill and Limestreet. Their returns must be those listed as the wards of Walter le Potter and Ralph Le Fevre but which ward belonged to which alderman at the time of the inquest? Beaven had some deed evidence that suggested that Walter was in Cornhill in the 1270s, so he argued that Ralph must therefore have been the alderman of Limestreet.<sup>71</sup> However, this type of reasoning does not take into account the limitations of the deed evidence or the speed with which one man could succeed another as alderman for a given ward.

The Husting Rolls (Common Pleas) establishes the identity of the aldermen of Cornhill ward in the months immediately prior to the inquest. In January 1274, Stephen Ashwy was presented as alderman of Cornhill.<sup>72</sup> Stephen, however, did not remain as alderman of Cornhill for very long. In June 1274, the men of the ward of Cornhill returned to the Husting to present Ralph Le Fevre as their alderman. There is a strong possibility that Walter le Potter may also have performed the office of alderman in Cornhill in the 1270s, because he is recorded acting as alderman in parishes in that vicinity in 1270–77, but it is difficult to determine his precise location in the sequence of office holders.<sup>73</sup> As cases can be made for associating both Walter and Ralph with Cornhill ward, the identity of its alderman at the time of the Hundred Roll inquest of 1274–75 remains uncertain. This example is instructive because it involves evidence from three different types of sources (court rolls, inquests, deeds) and highlights their contrasting strengths and weaknesses. References to the presentment of aldermen in the Husting are exceedingly useful, as they can be precisely dated and place an alderman in a specific ward, but they are also rare. The inquest evidence offers an overview of the composition of the aldermanic group at a particular moment in time, but again these events were rare and the evidence does not

always clearly indicate which ward belonged to which alderman. By contrast, there is a massive amount of deeds evidence, but deeds can normally only be dated to within one year and place an alderman in a parish rather than a ward. When the only available evidence for an alderman's ward is a handful of references in deeds, it can be difficult to identify him with a ward with certainty. The information provided in the appendix regarding each alderman's ward is therefore based on a conservative assessment of the evidence.

Throughout the 13th century, the Londoners aspired to ensure that each ward had one alderman and that vacant posts were filled promptly with new men. Lists of aldermen, such as those presented in the pipe roll of 12 Henry III and the Hundred Roll inquests, identify one alderman with one ward. The impression that each ward was closely identified with a single office holder is reinforced by the fact that wards were commonly known by the name of their alderman until the end of the 13th century, when they acquired fixed topographical names.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the earliest recorded aldermanic election demonstrates that vacant posts could be filled swiftly. In 1248–49 the alderman Simon son of Mary was deposed by his colleagues. In his account of these events, Arnold son of Thedmar emphasises the speed with which Simon's successor, Alexander le Ferrun, was appointed.<sup>75</sup> This evidence raises the expectation that each ward always had only one alderman, that periods of transition left only small gaps in the sequence of office holders, and that the total number of men that could hold aldermanic office at any moment in time was equal to the number of wards (24). If this were the case, then historians could with some confidence reconstruct the sequence of office holders from the fragmentary evidence. The extensive body of evidence collected for this paper, however, challenges this set of assumptions about the aldermanic office.

In the early to mid-13th century, although the Londoners aspired to maintain an orderly sequence of office holders in all the wards, this was not always possible. Aldermen had important responsibilities and local government could not function



without them; yet an alderman could need or want to absent himself from his office for an extended period, and circumstances could make it difficult to appoint a new alderman to a vacant post. When either of these events occurred, the Londoners made a variety of *ad hoc* arrangements to ensure that a ward had leadership. The cases of Osbert de Hadstock, who took charge of Billingsgate when Arnold son of Thedmar was implicated in a corruption scandal, and John Hanin, who began performing the office of alderman of Bridge ward when Richard son of Renger became involved in the service of the Crown, have already been discussed. The final section of this paper will examine other types of responses to situations in which a ward was left without an acting alderman in order to show how the revised list of aldermen helps to reveal the complex pattern of relationships between the aldermen and the wards.

Some of the wards were regarded as a form of possession, and sometimes the man who was entitled to act as alderman wanted to retain the office but did not want to perform it in person. The best example is provided by the Portsoken, which was located on the eastern side of the City, just beyond the city wall. In the 11th century the Portsoken was an area of privileged jurisdiction owned by a group called the Cnihtengild, whose members were leading Londoners.<sup>76</sup> In the early 12th century they transferred their privileges to the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate. In the 13th century, however, the Portsoken came to be regarded as one of the City's wards. The prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate remained entitled to administer the Portsoken, but there is little evidence that he discharged his duties in person, and he may normally have delegated them. In the third quarter of the 13th century, for example, Thomas Wimburne was acting for the prior. In 1256–57 he was described as alderman of the ward, but on occasion he was also called the sokereeve or warden.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, Thomas also served as the alderman of another ward. In June 1263, when John de Brittany was attacked and killed near St Paul's churchyard, the incident was investigated by royal justices, who attempted to 'examine the men of the ward of Thomas de Wymborn, where the incident occurred'.<sup>78</sup> The ward cannot have

been the Portsoken, which was located on the eastern edge of the City, but must have been one of the western wards adjacent to the Cathedral, most probably Bread Street, because Thomas is recorded on a number of occasions acting as alderman in parishes associated with Bread Street ward between 1257 and 1261. It is clear that, contrary to our expectations, Thomas performed the office of alderman in two wards in the same period, although in the Portsoken he was acting on behalf of the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate.<sup>79</sup>

When there was a problem in the succession in a ward, the mayor or an alderman from another ward might be asked to perform the office until the issue was resolved. One such problem arose in Farringdon ward, which was located on the western edge of the City, in the period 1277–78. John Stow, who had access to some sources that have since been lost, reports that: 'Thomas de Arderne, sonne and heyre to Sir Ralph Arderne knight, granted to Ralph le Feure Citizen of London, one of the sheriffes in the yeare 1277, all the Aldermanry ... [that] Anketinus de Auerne held during his life'.<sup>80</sup> Stow goes on to relate that later 'John le Feure, son and heire to the saide Ralph le Feure, granted to William Farendon, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, & to his heires the said Aldermanry ... in the yeare of Christ, 1279'. The evidence of the deeds helps to clarify the events that John Stow describes. Ralph Arden and Thomas Arden are not recorded acting as aldermen in the surviving sources, which suggests that neither of them performed the duties of alderman in person. Instead, the deeds indicate that Anketine de Auvergne acted as alderman 1268–77 and William de Faringdon 1278–92.<sup>81</sup> In between their terms of office, however, there was a gap of a few months and in the interval, Ralph Le Fevre and Gregory de Rokesle performed the office. Ralph intended to serve as the ward's permanent alderman and he is recorded on a number of occasions acting as the ward's alderman.<sup>82</sup> However he died shortly after becoming alderman of Farringdon and his will was enrolled in March 1278.<sup>83</sup> Gregory de Rokesle, because he was mayor in that period and he could hold an aldermanry on an interim basis, may have become involved to smooth the transition from one office

holder to the next. Although he is better known as the alderman of Dowgate, he may have temporarily taken over Farringdon following Ralph's death to ensure that the ward was not left without an alderman while Ralph's heir transferred his privileges to William de Faringdon.

Historians have argued that by the end of the 13th century Farringdon and Portsoken wards were exceptional and that in the other wards aldermen were selected by a form of election involving the men of the wards. Barron suggests that 'the hereditary or proprietary view of aldermanic office gave way ... to a concept of elective office'.<sup>84</sup> The precise timing of this transition is debatable since the means whereby the wards were passed from one office holder to the next in this period are poorly documented. There are, however, cases in the early to mid-13th century where aldermen were succeeded by a son or brother.<sup>85</sup> John Sperling, for example, was active as alderman of Billingsgate from at least 1202 to 1216. He was followed by his brother Ralph, who was still in office in 1253.<sup>86</sup> William de Haverhill appears as the alderman of Cripplegate ward in 1202–3. His son Thomas appears in 1212–14 as alderman of the same ward.<sup>87</sup> He was then succeeded by Andrew Bukerel, who was probably not a direct descendent. Andrew was then succeeded by Stephen Bukerel, who may have been his brother, and Stephen was followed by his son, Stephen son of Stephen, who was still active as alderman in 1261.<sup>88</sup> If the method whereby aldermen were selected changed during the 13th century, then it did not stop sons following their fathers into office. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that even if the men of the wards became more involved in the process of selecting their own aldermen that this would inhibit the creation of aldermanic dynasties. What is certain is that the existence of dynasties in many wards is evidence of a strong and persistent connection between political and familial networks in early to mid-13th-century London.

The importance of family networks in civic politics helps to explain the brief appearances of certain men as aldermen. For example, John Viel was active as alderman of Bread Street *c.*1227–46. He had a son of the same name, who was distinguished by

the term 'junior' and who makes a fleeting appearance as an alderman in the vicinity of Bread Street *c.*1230.<sup>89</sup> John Viel (junior), therefore, probably served as alderman of Bread Street during his father's term of office.<sup>90</sup> Another example is provided by the case of Robert Hardel who was alderman of Bridge ward *c.*1244 to 1257–58; in 1251–52, however, William Hardel, who may have been Robert's brother, is on one occasion recorded acting as alderman of that ward.<sup>91</sup> Both John Viel (junior) and William Hardel are described in the sources as 'aldermen'. They have the appropriate title and they are recorded performing the office of alderman, so they must be regarded as office holders. However, the sequence of aldermen suggests that these men were temporary office holders. Therefore, when the terms of office of several related men overlap or follow in quick succession, it does not necessarily indicate that a ward was suffering a crisis in leadership. Some wards were probably regarded as under the patronage of a family, which enabled the sitting alderman to temporarily transfer his responsibilities to a relation.

## CONCLUSION

Since its publication, Beaven's list of the 13th-century aldermen has been fundamental to our understanding of the development of civic government in 13th-century London. Beaven prepared the first systematic listing of 13th-century London aldermen. While his work was of a very high standard, he did not incorporate the evidence from *c.*1200–29 and he overlooked many important documents. Since Beaven has not had any followers to continue his work on the early aldermen, his list has endured.<sup>92</sup> Although some scholars have expressed reservations about its methods and conclusions, others have based their arguments on his data — most notably Gwyn Williams.<sup>93</sup> His study of the civic leadership of 13th-century London — the most ambitious to date — concluded that during the early to mid-13th century the City was governed by a 'tightly-knit cluster of aldermanic dynasties'.<sup>94</sup> This assertion depends on his contention, grounded in Beaven's list, that 'three quarters of the ninety-five aldermen and sheriffs known to have

held office between' 1191 and 1263 'came from a small interlocking group of sixteen families'. However, this paper joins other recent studies in revealing that the number of men involved in civic government during this period was significantly larger. Caroline Barron's list of mayors and sheriffs identifies 124 individual office holders in the period 1191–1263.<sup>95</sup> When those office holders are integrated with the aldermen of this period identified in the revised listing presented in this study the total number of men is 179 — substantially more than the number known to Williams. Gwyn Williams, who is the scholar whose views have proved most important in shaping our understanding of 13th-century London's governing men, founded his theories on a sample of the available evidence, and it remains to be seen whether his sample was representative. The new data presented in this improved list of London aldermen will enable historians to revisit their interpretations of the development of the aldermanic group. These reassessments will in turn set the scene for a broader re-examination of the nature of the entire civic leadership.

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#### **APPENDIX: MEN RECORDED ACTING AS ALDERMEN, c.1200–1280**

Office holders are organised chronologically, and dates are offered as a guide to the period when they were active.<sup>96</sup> As the majority of the sources are undated documents, the dates are not definitive.<sup>97</sup> Whenever possible, reference is made to published editions whose editors offer an explanation for a date. For unpublished documents, the dates normally depend on references to civic officials, such as mayors and sheriffs.<sup>98</sup> In 13th-century London, a man's personal name was fixed throughout his life, but he could use as his surname a variety of different types of descriptors, including trade names, toponymics, patronymics and matronymics, concurrently and sequentially. In the listing the name form normally used by the office holder is presented and modernised in accordance with standard conventions.<sup>99</sup> No attempt has been made to identify all the variant name forms that an office holder used during the course of his life, but where important variants have come to light they are provided in the notes. Men who shared the same name are distinguished by a letter in brackets. In some cases, one or more wards is suggested for an alderman based on the areas of the City where he is known to have been active; all ward attributions, like dates, are provisional (See Appendix Table pp. 188–96).

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Henry son of Ailwin <sup>100</sup>	1177-78					c.1193-1212
Master Henry Lafaitte <sup>101</sup>	c.1190					
Bartholomew Blund <sup>102</sup>	1170-97			Broad Street		
Jordan son of Jordan Sperling <sup>103</sup>	1170-97					
Theobald son of Ivo <sup>104</sup>	1190-97			Tower or Aldgate		
William Fulbert <sup>105</sup>	1196-97					
Henry son of Rayner <sup>106</sup>	c.1190-1212			Langbourn		
John son of Herlizun <sup>107</sup>	1200				1189-90	
Ralph son of Simon <sup>108</sup>	c.1200					
Matthew Blund <sup>109</sup>	1180-1201	1207-08		Vintry		
Thomas son of John <sup>110</sup>	1201-02	1206-07		Farringdon	1208-09	
Robert Blund <sup>111</sup>	1201-02	1216-17			1196-97	
Peter Blund <sup>112</sup>	1201-02	1232-33		Tower		
John Sperling <sup>113</sup>	1201-02	1216-17		Billingsgate		
William de Haverhill <sup>114</sup>	1202-03			Cripplegate	1189-90; 1190-91	
James Blund <sup>115</sup>	1202-03	1246	n.d.	Broad Street		
Roger Duke [A] <sup>116</sup>	1202-03				1189-90; 1192-93	
Alan Burser <sup>117</sup>	1206-07			Vintry		

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Joyce son of Peter <sup>118</sup>	1207–08	1241	n.d.	Farringdon	1211–12	
Jukell <sup>119</sup>	1200–16			Castle Baynard		
Alan de Balon <sup>120</sup>	c.1190–1211			Queenhithe		
Henry de St Helena <sup>121</sup>	1197–1221					
William Wilekin <sup>122</sup>	c.1200–12			Bridge		
William son of Alice <sup>123</sup>	1212–13	1222–23		Bread Street	1200–01	
Alan son of Peter <sup>124</sup>	1212–14					
Andrew Nevelon <sup>125</sup>	1212–14			Vintry	1215–16	
Constantine son of Alulf <sup>126</sup>	1212–14				1197–98	
Thomas de Haverhill <sup>127</sup>	1212–14			Cripplegate	1203–04	
Roger son of Alan <sup>128</sup>	1213–14				1192–93	1212–14
Robert son of Alice <sup>129</sup>	1212–14	1216–17				
Adam Witeby <sup>130</sup>	c.1215			Castle Baynard	1210–11	
Walter de Lisle <sup>131</sup>	c.1199–1217	1227–28	n.d.	Bishopsgate		
Michael de St Helena <sup>132</sup>	1216–17	1240–41	n.d.	Aldersgate	1231–32	
William de Bosco <sup>133</sup>	1217–18			Castle Baynard		
Martin son of Alice <sup>134</sup>	1217–18	1223–24		Vintry	1213–14	
Richard son of Renger <sup>135</sup>	1217–18	1231–37	n.d.	Bridge	1220–22	1222–27; 1237–39
William son of Rayner <sup>136</sup>	1219					

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
William Blund <sup>137</sup>	c.1210–20			Walbrook	1209–10; 1216–17	
Ralph Steperanc <sup>138</sup>	1216–20	1227–28	n.d.	Tower		
Bartholomew de St Martin <sup>139</sup>	c.1220			Farringdon		
John de Cornhill <sup>140</sup>	c.1220					
John Travers <sup>141</sup>	1221	1227–28	n.d.	Langbourn	1215–16; 1223–25	
William son of Benedict <sup>142</sup>	1220–21	1229–30	n.d.	Cheapside		
John de Solio <sup>143</sup>	1197–21	1231–32	n.d.			
Ralph Ashwy[A] <sup>144</sup>	1214–22			Cheapside		
Richard son of Maurice de Russey <sup>145</sup>	1221–22	1227–28	n.d.	Candlewick		
Ralph Sperling <sup>146</sup>	c.1210–22	1253	n.d.	Billingsgate		
Gilbert son of Fulk <sup>147</sup>	1221–22	1236	n.d.	Aldgate		
Lawrence son of Lambert <sup>148</sup>	c.1211–23			Queenhithe		
Robert de Woburn <sup>149</sup>	c.1216–23			Aldersgate		
Hugh Tabur <sup>150</sup>	1217–23			Bassishaw		
Robert de Solio <sup>151</sup>	c.1225					
William Duke <sup>152</sup>	1225–26					
Stephen le Gras <sup>153</sup>	1225–27	1231–32	n.d.	Vintry and Portsoken	1210–11	
Andrew Bukere <sup>154</sup>	1225–27	1233–34	n.d.	Cripplegate	1223–25	1231–37

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Thomas son of Richard <sup>155</sup>	1225–27	1241–42				
John Viel [A] <sup>156</sup>	1225–27	1246–47	n.d.	Breadstreet	1218–20	
Bartholomew de Cornhill <sup>157</sup>	1226–27					
Ace le Mariner <sup>158</sup>	1227–28		n.d.			
John Waleran <sup>159</sup>	1227–28		n.d.			
Peter son of Roger <sup>160</sup>	1227–28		n.d.			
Roger Burser <sup>161</sup>	1227–28					
Warren son of Nicholas <sup>162</sup>	1227–28	1234–35	n.d.	Walbrook		
Roger Blund <sup>163</sup>	1227–28	1236	n.d.	Cordwainer	1233–34	
Robert son of John <sup>164</sup>	1227–28	1244–45	n.d.	Castle Baynard	1229–30; 1242–43	
John Viel [B] <sup>165</sup>	c.1230				1241–42	
Richard son of Benedict <sup>166</sup>	c.1230			Bishopsgate		
Joyce Juvene <sup>167</sup>	1231–32		c.1230	Candlewick	1220–21	
Roger Duke [B] <sup>168</sup>	1231–32		1230		1225–27	1227–31
Richard de Hadstock <sup>169</sup>	1231–32	1258	c.1233	Castle Baynard		
John Hanin <sup>170</sup>	c.1232–33			Bridge		
Richard de Wimbledon <sup>171</sup>	1234–35		c.1233		1219–20	
Henry Cocham <sup>172</sup>	1227–37			Vintry	1227–29; 1236–37	
Simon son of Mary <sup>173</sup>	1231–37	1248–49	c.1237–49	Walbrook	1233–34; 1246–47	

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Stephen Bukere] [A] <sup>174</sup>	1237-38	1253	1237	Cripplegate	1227-29	
Thomas de Durham <sup>175</sup>	1237-38	1253	c.1241	Langbourn	1241-42	
Richard son of Walter <sup>176</sup>	1238-39	1241-42	c.1237	Aldgate	1230-31	
John de Tolosan <sup>177</sup>	1238-39	1258	before 1249 to 1258	Candlewick	1237-38; 1249-50	1252-53
Robert de Cornhill <sup>178</sup>	1239-40	1268-69	c.1238	Cornhill	1246 (Jan. 22)- 1246; 1258-59; 1269 (May 3/6)- 1270 (July 6/18)	
Nicholas Bat <sup>179</sup>	1240-41	1258	c.1247-58	Bishopsgate	1244-45 (Dec 14); 1247-48; 1251-52	1253-54
Rayner de Bungay <sup>180</sup>	1241-42	1243-44	before 1240		1239-40	1240-41
Ralph Hardel <sup>181</sup>	1241-42	1254-58	c.1241		1249-50	1254-58(1 Feb.)
Lawrence de Frowick <sup>182</sup>	1241-42	1255-56	c.1240	Farringdon	1246-47; 1251-52	
Ralph Ashwy [B] <sup>183</sup>	1243-44	1246	c.1237	Cheapside	1234-35; 1239-40	1241-44
Robert Hardel <sup>184</sup>	1244	1257-58	c.1245	Bridge	1235-36	
Thomas son of Thomas <sup>185</sup>	1243-44	1264-65	c.1248-65	Queenhithe and Cheapside	1257-1258(1 Feb.); 1258(13 Feb.)- 1258(Sep.)	1261-65
John son of Alan <sup>186</sup>	1246					
John Coudres <sup>187</sup>	1246		c.1240	Aldersgate	1238-39	
Walter de Winchester <sup>188</sup>	1246		c.1246		1229-30	



Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Roger son of Roger <sup>189</sup>	1246	1258	before 1249	Cornhill		1249–50
William Ashwy <sup>190</sup>	1246	1258	c.1244	Coleman Street	1254–1255 (Feb.); 1256–57	
Michael Tovy <sup>191</sup>	1246	1264–65	c.1243	Tower and Farringdon	1240–41; 1258 (Feb. 1–13)	1244–1246 (11 or 12 Jan.); 1247–49
John Norman <sup>192</sup>	1246	1262–63	c.1246 (?)	Cordwainer	1234–35	1250–51
William Viel <sup>193</sup>	1247–48	1253	c.1248	Bread Street	1247–48	
Adam de Basing <sup>194</sup>	1247–48	1261	1247	Cheapside	1243–44	1251–52
John Adrian [A] <sup>195</sup>	1247–48	1276–77	c.1248–c.1260 (?) 1285	Bassishaw and Walbrook	1258 (Feb 1 to 13); 1258–59; 1265–65 (28 Nov.); 1266 (Nov. 11)–1268 (2 or 7 Apr)	1270(6–18 July)–1271
Alexander le Ferrun <sup>196</sup>	1249	1253–54	1249	Walbrook		
John le Minur <sup>197</sup>	c.1249	1258	c.1248–58	Aldersgate	1255–56	
Nicholas son of Joyce <sup>198</sup>	1249	1258	before 1249 to 1258	Broad Street	1248–49	
Gervase le Cordwainer <sup>199</sup>	1249–50	1255	before 1249	Aldgate and/or Tower	1237–38	
William son of Richard <sup>200</sup>	1249–50	1268–69	before 1249	Tower	1250–51; 1266 (6 May) –1266 (11 Nov.)	1258 (13 Feb)–1258; 1259–61
John Gisors <sup>201</sup>	1250–51	1269	c.1243 (?)	Vintury	1240–41; 1245(Dec.)–1246 (11 or 12 Jan.)	1246 (Jan 11 or 12)–1246; 1258–59
William Hardel <sup>202</sup>	1251–52			Bridge		

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Geoffrey de Winchester <sup>203</sup>	1253-54	1263-64	c.1258 (?)		1248-49	
Matthew Bukere] <sup>204</sup>	1256-57	1270-71	c.1256-c.1272	Langbourn	1255-56	
Stephen son of Stephen Bukere] <sup>205</sup>	1256-57	1261-62		Cripplegate		
Richard de Ewel] <sup>206</sup>	1256-57	1262-63	c.1258-c.1260	Farringdon	1256-57	
Thomas de Wimborne <sup>207</sup>	1256-57	1271-72	1250 (?)	Portsoken and Bread Street	1252-53	
John Juvene <sup>208</sup>	1257-58					
William Grapefige <sup>209</sup>	1258				1258 (13 Feb.)- 1258 (Sep.)	
Arnold son of Thedmar <sup>210</sup>	1258	1273-74	c.1255-75	Billingsgate		
Adam Bruning <sup>211</sup>	1258	1261	c.1260-c.1264	Castle Baynard	1259-60	
Peter son of Alan <sup>212</sup>	1258-59	1261-62	c.1250(?) - c.1259	Coleman Street		1246-47
John de Blackthorn <sup>213</sup>	1258-59	1280	c.1258(?) - c.1281	Aldersgate		
John Blund <sup>214</sup>	1259		c.1256			
Osbert de Hadstock <sup>215</sup>	1258-59			Billingsgate		
John de Northampton <sup>216</sup>	1253-61	1286	c.1260-c.1287	Aldgate	1253-54; 1260-61	
Richard de Walbrook <sup>217</sup>	1261-62	1267-68	c.1260-c.1266	Coleman Street	1261-62	
Philip le Tailor <sup>218</sup>	1262	1291-92	before 1264 to 1292	Bishopsgate	1261-62; 1270 (July 6 or 18)-1271	

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
Thomas de Puleston <sup>219</sup>	1262–63					
Peter Aungier <sup>220</sup>	1262–63	1274–75	c.1258(?)– c.1276		1264–65	
Anketine de Auverne <sup>221</sup>	1267–68	1277	c.1269–77	Farringdon		
Edward Blund <sup>222</sup>	1269		c.1266–c.1271		1264–65	
Bartholomew de Castello <sup>223</sup>	1267–68	1270–71	c.1260–c.1272	Cripplegate and/or Bassishaw		
Simon de Hadstock <sup>224</sup>	1268–69	1281	c.1267–c.1288	Queenhithe		
William de Durham <sup>225</sup>	1269	1283	c.1263–83	Bread Street	1252–53; 1268 (2 or 7 Apr)–1269 (May 3 or 6)	
Walter le Potter <sup>226</sup>	1269–70	1277–78	c.1269–c.1280		1270 (6 or 18 July)–1270 (Sep.); 1272–73	
Thomas Basing <sup>227</sup>	1269–70	1280	c.1269–c.1282	Candlewick		
Robert de Meldenburn <sup>228</sup>	1269–70	1281–82	c.1270–1282	Coleman Street	1273–1273(30 Nov.)	
William de Hadstock <sup>229</sup>	1269–70	1289	c.1269–c.1289	Tower		
Henry le Waleys <sup>230</sup>	1269–70	1294	c.1269–94	Cordwainer	1270–71	1273–74; 1281–84; 1298 (Apr)–1299
Walter Hervi <sup>231</sup>	1270–71		c.1265–74	Cheapside	1265–1265 (28 Nov.); 1268 (2 or 7 Apr.)– 1269 (3 or 6 May)	1271–72 (11 or 18 Nov.)
John Juvenal <sup>232</sup>	1270–71	1273		Castle Baynard and Portsoken		

Name	First Occurrence	Last Occurrence	Date assigned by Beaven	Ward	Sheriff	Mayor
John Horn <sup>233</sup>	1271	1281–82	c.1272–c.1282	Bridge	1272–73; 1275–76	
Ralph Blund <sup>234</sup>	1270–71	1293	c.1271–c.1295	Bassishaw	1275–76; 1291–92	
Gregory de Rokesle <sup>235</sup>	1273–74	1291	c.1265–91	Dowgate and Farringdon	1263–64; 1270–71	1274–81; 1284–85 (29 June)
Henry de Frowic <sup>236</sup>	1274	1281–82	c.1272–86	Cripplegate	1274–75	1272 (11 to c.18 Nov)–1273
Stephen Ashwy <sup>237</sup>	1274	1296	1274–98	Cornhill and Cheapside		
Ralph le Fevre <sup>238</sup>	1274	1277–78	c.1272–78	Cornhill and Farringdon	1276–77	
Wolmar de Essex <sup>239</sup>	1274	1291–92	1275–93	Billingsgate		
Peter de Edmonton <sup>240</sup>	1275	1278–79	c.1272–80	Castle Baynard		
Henry de Coventry <sup>241</sup>	1274–75	1280–81	c.1263–c.1281	Vinty	1259–60; 1273 (c.30 Nov.)–1274	
Nicholas de Winchester <sup>242</sup>	1274–75	1291	c.1272–93	Langbourn	1273 (c.30 Nov.)–1274; 1280–81	
William Bukere <sup>243</sup>	1276–77	1278	c.1276–78			
William de Farringdon <sup>244</sup>	1277–78	1292	1278–93	Farringdon	1280–81	
John Adrian [B] <sup>245</sup>	1279	1284			1277–78	
Robert de Rokesle <sup>246</sup>	1279	1292	1277(?)–c.1294	Limestreet	1284–85	
Walter l'Englais <sup>247</sup>	1280–81		1278–c.1281	Broad Street	1277–78	
Ralph de la Moor <sup>248</sup>	1280			Cornhill	1279–80	

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Beaven 1908–13.
- <sup>2</sup> Barron 2004, 308–74.
- <sup>3</sup> Beaven 1908–13, i, 371–9. Some of his notes survive and they shed light on his research methods: LMA COL/CA/09/03/007/1-3 (MISC MSS 145.1).
- <sup>4</sup> He comments that for the period c.1230–70 his list of aldermen ‘cannot be regarded as certainly exhaustive, and in several cases it is impossible to assign Wards to individual Aldermen, and in others such allocation is only tentative’ (Beaven 1980, i, 370).
- <sup>5</sup> Beaven 1908–13, i, 371–9. After completing a BA at Oxford in 1866, Beaven proceeded to take the Indian Civil Service examination in 1868. He then embarked on a career in teaching, securing a post as an assistant master of Bruton grammar school in 1871, master of Worcester Cathedral school in 1872, and headmaster of Preston grammar school from 1874 to 1898. He also had a position in the Anglican Church and was ordained a deacon in 1875 and a priest in 1876; in 1900 he was licensed to preach in the diocese of Worcester: *Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1924*, 100.
- <sup>6</sup> *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 1924, vol 2 no. 4, 21.
- <sup>7</sup> From c.1280, administrative records produced by London’s civic government begin to survive in significant numbers, and they provide a large number of references to aldermen (Beaven 1908–13, i, 362).
- <sup>8</sup> At the time of writing, the dataset, which is intended to facilitate prosopographical research, incorporated approximately 47,000 separate references to Londoners active in the period c.1150–1300. The dataset complements the pioneering work conducted by a number of scholars, most notably Derek Keene, on the history of property ownership (Keene & Harding 1985). It is hoped that in due course the dataset can be made available to the public.
- <sup>9</sup> Susan Reynolds’ index of Londoners of the 12th and early 13th centuries offers a good example of an attempt, before the advent of electronic database management systems, to compile information about London’s population. The index, based on a card catalogue and held in the Guildhall Library, contains a great deal of useful information on topics including property holding, family networks, and civic office holders. The entries are organised by individual and the index is designed to be searched only by name, which curtails its potential as a research

tool. Reynolds did, however, gather together material in the fourth volume of the index on the men who held the office of alderman in the period c.1100–1220.

- <sup>10</sup> Brooke & Keir 1975, 170. Throughout this paper, the wards will be referred to by the names used by Brooke & Keir.
- <sup>11</sup> GL MS 25121/521.
- <sup>12</sup> For a detailed discussion of the 12th- and 13th-century evidence for the role of the aldermen, see Thomas 1943, pp xxxvi–xxxix; Reynolds 1972, 339.
- <sup>13</sup> Bateson 1902, 493.
- <sup>14</sup> Bateson 1902, 726–8.
- <sup>15</sup> Bateson 1902, 508–9.
- <sup>16</sup> The earliest known reference to an aldermanic election is in a chronicle source and concerns the appointment of Alexander le Ferrun in 1249 (Riley 1863, 16–17). From 1274, the appointment of aldermen was sometimes noted in the rolls of the Husting court (Weinbaum 1933, ii, 245).
- <sup>17</sup> In this paper and in the appendix 13th-century names are translated and modernised following standard conventions. All Christian names, nicknames and occupational surnames that have a modern form have been modernised, so ‘Richard’ for ‘Ricardus’ and ‘Tailor’ for ‘Cissore’. Place names in toponymic surnames that can be identified have been modernised as per Ekwall 1960. The term ‘filius’ in patronymic surnames is translated as ‘son of’ rather than ‘fitz’. The only departure from the modernisation rule is that no attempt has been made to translate or modernise articles and prepositions forming part of names. For guidelines on modernising names, see Hunnisett 1972, ch 4, especially 44–51. Translating and modernising the names in an accurate and consistent fashion is critical to maintaining the integrity of the historiography. For a careful listing of many of the variant spellings that have been introduced into the historiography for the names of the men that served as mayors and sheriffs, see Barron 2004, 301–24.
- <sup>18</sup> On the recording of property exchanges in the 13th century, see Kaye 2009, especially 1–27.
- <sup>19</sup> Kaye 2009, 11–12.
- <sup>20</sup> On the problems of dating charters, see Gervers 2000, 14–18.
- <sup>21</sup> For a detailed guide to the sources relating to landholding in London, including deeds, see Keene & Harding 1985.
- <sup>22</sup> At the time of writing, the dataset from which the evidence for this paper is drawn contained information regarding more than 4,000 deeds.

<sup>23</sup> A convenient point of entry into the series is provided by a printed calendar: *CAD* 1890–1915. Note that the compilers of the calendar routinely truncated the witness lists.

<sup>24</sup> They are collectively known as the MS 25121 series. For the deeds of St Paul's Cathedral, see RCHM 1883–84, pt 1, 1–59.

<sup>25</sup> From 1252, records of the deeds enrolled by Londoners in the Husting court survive (Martin 1971, 151–73). At first glance these would seem to be a promising source. Unfortunately, when the deeds were copied into the rolls, the scribes routinely omitted the witness lists of the deeds, where the names of the aldermen were recorded. Consequently the deeds have not been included in this study.

<sup>26</sup> For a guide to the surviving cartularies, see Davis 2010.

<sup>27</sup> Kerling 1973.

<sup>28</sup> Hodgett 1971; Hassall 1949; BL Harley MS 4015; BL Cotton Nero E VI; Mason 1988; WAM Muniment Book 11; Gibbs 1939; LMA CLA/007/EM/04/003 (Bridge House, Small Register); LMA CLA/007/EM/04/001 (Bridge House, Large Register).

<sup>29</sup> Turner & Salter 1915–24; Giuseppi *et al* 1915–63; Ross 1964; Moore 1897; Jenkins 1962; Salter 1947; Ransford 1989.

<sup>30</sup> Chew & Weinbaum 1970; Weinbaum 1976.

<sup>31</sup> TNA SC 5/London/Chapter/1 and 2; TNA SC5/London/Tower; *Rot Hund* 1812–18, i, 403–33; Weinbaum 1933, ii, 142–54; Cam 1930, 41; Raban 2004, 162–3.

<sup>32</sup> TNA E372/72. The list, preserved in the London and Middlesex section of the roll, relates to the tallage of 1226–27. The names of the aldermen were recorded in the pipe roll because they were responsible for ensuring that the taxes were collected from the men of their wards. None of the aldermen immediately paid the full amounts that had been assessed on their wards, so the debts continued to be recorded on subsequent pipe rolls: Robinson 1927, xix, 108–9; Mitchell 1914, 173. Note that Beaven erroneously substitutes Peter son of Alulf for John de Solio in his transcription of the list of aldermen from pipe roll 12 Henry III: Beaven 1908–13, i, 366.

<sup>33</sup> LMA CLA/023/CP/01/001-8; Sharpe 1899; Sharpe 1900.

<sup>34</sup> Kingsford 1915, 146.

<sup>35</sup> An English translation of the chronicle can be found in Riley 1863. The Latin text is available in Stapleton 1846. The original manuscript is preserved in the London Metropolitan

Archives: COL/CS/01/001/01. For a discussion of the evidence for the manuscript's authorship, see Gransden 1974, 509–11.

<sup>36</sup> Beaven 1908–13, i, 235–7, 362.

<sup>37</sup> The E40 series in the National Archives is not an exception because, although it includes deeds from all parts of the kingdom, the major contributor of London material was the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate.

<sup>38</sup> For a description of St Paul's London lands, see Keene 2004, 29.

<sup>39</sup> There remain gaps in the sample collected for this study. Only a handful of references to aldermen active in the ward of Dowgate, for example, have been located.

<sup>40</sup> Based on the research conducted for this paper, little light can be shed on one obscure feature of Beaven's list: the 'vice-aldermen'. Beaven associates many of his aldermen with a 'vice-alderman'. They are typically experienced and senior men, who had previously held the office of alderman. Ralph Hardel, for example, is described as alderman of Aldersgate *c.*1241 and as vice-alderman of the same ward *c.*1258. Indeed every man that he describes as a vice-alderman in this period is also listed as an alderman. This pattern suggests that Beaven may have introduced the category of 'vice-alderman' into his list to accommodate cases where he believed that two men temporarily shared the office, perhaps in periods of transition. This can only be offered as a suggestion because Beaven does not offer a full explanation for this term or his method of identifying the 13th-century 'vice-aldermen'. As no evidence has come to light that demonstrates that the men Beaven identifies as vice-aldermen either styled themselves or were referred to as 'vice-alderman', it has proved necessary to set aside this feature of his list.

<sup>41</sup> 22 men, at the very beginning of his listing, are not assigned a specific date but are described as: 'named as aldermen in the Great Roll of 1230 (14 Henry III)'. This reference is potentially misleading as Beaven should have explained that the pipe roll of 14 Henry III preserves a list of aldermen that was first drawn up for the pipe roll of 12 Henry III then copied into subsequent pipe rolls; see above, note 32. The pipe roll of 14 Henry III, therefore, indicates the aldermen that were in office in 12 Henry III: Robinson 1927, xix, 108–9; Mitchell 1914, 173.

<sup>42</sup> Beaven 1908–13, i, 372.

<sup>43</sup> If only one datable reference is available, it is presented in the second column. No attempt has been made to systematically track the careers of

men beyond 1280, although where information is available a reference has been included.

<sup>44</sup> Dates for the terms of office of mayors and sheriffs are taken from Barron 2004, 308–74.

<sup>45</sup> TNA E326/2024. Note that in the printed entry for E326/2024 in the *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* (vol 2, p 256), the phrase is omitted.

<sup>46</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 299; Kerling 1973, nos 541–3. The phrase ‘in place of the alderman’ is omitted from Kerling’s edition of the St Bartholomew’s Hospital (SBH) Cartulary, fols 234–35.

<sup>47</sup> On Arnold son of Thedmar’s political career and his social network, see Huffman 1998, 189–95. On p 190, note 122 Huffman suggests that Arnold’s term of office as alderman began c.1243, but this appears to be based on the misdating of a document. The deed that he cites as evidence can be securely dated to 1261–65 based on the presence of Thomas son of Thomas as mayor in the witness list.

<sup>48</sup> This phrase signifies that the mayor took custody of the office: Riley 1863, 39; Beaven 1908–13, i, 368.

<sup>49</sup> Richard, Simon, William and Osbert Hadstock may have been brothers: Ekwall 1947, 122. Note that Ekwall regards Osbert as an alderman of Billingsgate ward.

<sup>50</sup> TNA E40/7376.

<sup>51</sup> A further indication of his commitment to the civic community is that he was an executor for the estate of his colleague, Roger Duke, who served as mayor 1227–31 (Hodgett 1971, no. 606).

<sup>52</sup> CCR 1902, 241; Brown 1986, no. 965; Weinbaum 1970, no. 75.

<sup>53</sup> Williams 1963, 329–30; TNA E40/11002.

<sup>54</sup> In 1226 the Crown imposed a tax on the City of London, see above, note 32. The pipe roll of 1227–28 (12 Henry III) preserves a record of some of the individual assessments (TNA E372/72, rot. 6). Hanin owed 35 marks — an exceptionally high amount that exceeds the amounts assessed on the majority of the men serving in aldermanic office in this period.

<sup>55</sup> Hodgett 1971, no. 304.

<sup>56</sup> TNA E40/2219.

<sup>57</sup> Hodgett 1971, xvii–xviii.

<sup>58</sup> TNA E40/1950.

<sup>59</sup> Barron 2001, 147.

<sup>60</sup> Beaven 1908–13, i, 237; Williams 1963, 27.

<sup>61</sup> Beaven offers references to documents where Gerard Bat and William Joiner appear as witnesses, but none where they are described as aldermen: Beaven 1908–13, i, 367.

<sup>62</sup> Note that William Hardel, mayor 1215–16,

and the later alderman of the same name are different men.

<sup>63</sup> Brooke & Keir 1975, 169.

<sup>64</sup> For maps of wards and parishes, see Hyde 1999; Lobel 1989.

<sup>65</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between the boundaries of the wards and parishes, see Beaven 1908–13, i, xiii–xv.

<sup>66</sup> TNA E40/1643, E40/1691, E40/1893; GL MS 25121/1480; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/A/074. Note that these citations are a sample of the references to Richard son of Renger as alderman.

<sup>67</sup> For a brief biography of Ralph, see Ekwall 1947, 125–6.

<sup>68</sup> *Rot Hund* 1812–18, i, 423.

<sup>69</sup> Cam 1930, 40.

<sup>70</sup> For the articles, see Cam 1930, 248–57.

<sup>71</sup> Beaven 1908–13, i, 370.

<sup>72</sup> Weinbaum 1933, ii, 247.

<sup>73</sup> TNA E326/2110; GL MS 25121/370.

<sup>74</sup> Barron 2001, 219.

<sup>75</sup> Riley 1863, 16–17.

<sup>76</sup> The documents relating to the Cnihtengild can be found in Harmer 1989, 231–5; Douglas & Greenaway 1984, nos 273–7. See also Brooke & Keir 1975, 96–9, 168, 315; Tait 1936, 120–3; Stenton 1960, 189–90; Unwin 1938, 23–7.

<sup>77</sup> TNA E40/1512; Hodgett 1971, no. 912.

<sup>78</sup> Weinbaum 1976, no. 146.

<sup>79</sup> A number of other men are known to have acted as representatives of the prior in Portsoken during the 13th century. Stephen le Gras may have performed this role in the mid-13th century, serving as alderman for Portsoken and Vintry. John Juvenal was the alderman of Castle Baynard and was appointed in 1273 as the ‘sokereeve’ of the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate: GL MS 25121/1418, MS 25121/1422; BL Harley MS 4015, fol 51b-51a; LMA CLA/023/CP/01/001, m.2; Weinbaum 1933, ii, 245.

<sup>80</sup> Kingsford 1908, i, 311.

<sup>81</sup> The last known reference to Anketine de Auvergne places him in office in February 1277 (Sharpe 1899, 11). The earliest reference to William de Faringdon as alderman is in a document that Kerling dates to 1277–78 based on the presence of the sheriffs John Adrian [B] and Nicholas of Winchester in the witness list (Kerling 1973, no. 140). The sheriffs were appointed the Monday before Michaelmas, so William must have been appointed at some date between September 1277 and September 1278. He probably assumed the office early in 1278, following the death of Ralph Le Fevre (Sharpe 1889–90, i, 33).

<sup>82</sup> GL MS 25121/1666, MS 25121/1500. Two additional references to Ralph as alderman of Farringdon are in Sharpe 1900, 278–9.

<sup>83</sup> Sharpe 1889–90, i, 33.

<sup>84</sup> Barron 2004, 136–7.

<sup>85</sup> The transition from a father to his son could be very smooth. Indeed when both men shared the same name it can be difficult to determine when power shifted from one generation to the next. A good example is provided by the case of John Adrian [A] and [B]. A man called ‘John Adrian’ was active as alderman between 1248 and 1284. For one man to serve that length of time would have been highly exceptional. However, John Adrian [A] was probably the father of John Adrian [B] who served as sheriff in 1277–78. John Adrian [B] is called ‘John Adrian son of John Adrian’ on one occasion (TNA E40/ 2709). Names in this period were flexible and men were given additional descriptors when there was danger of confusion. That John Adrian [B] was routinely known simply as ‘John Adrian’ during his tenure as sheriff, therefore, is a strong indication that he was the only man of that name involved in civic government at this date. The implication is that by 1277 John Adrian [A] was probably dead or had withdrawn from public office. In April 1285 the will of a ‘John Adrian’ was enrolled in the Husting (Sharpe 1889–90, i, 70). He was probably a younger man because he had five children who needed to be provided for, including a son called ‘John Adrian’ [C]. As the last date when a ‘John Adrian’ is known to have acted as alderman is 1284, the ‘John Adrian’ then serving as alderman is likely to be the man whose will was enrolled. On balance, therefore, it seems likely that John Adrian [B] not only served as sheriff, but was also the son of John Adrian [A] and an alderman. In the appendix, 1277–78 is assumed to be the period when John Adrian [A] passed his aldermanry to John Adrian [B], but the transition may have occurred prior to this date.

<sup>86</sup> GL MS 25121/159; Ransford 1989, lxxviii; Ekwall 1947, 62–3.

<sup>87</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 244.

<sup>88</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 687; Sharpe 1889–90, 49.

<sup>89</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 716. John Viel (junior) appears in the parish of St Nicholas Cole Abbey, which is problematic because the parish is shared between Bread Street and Queenhithe wards. Due to his father’s and brother’s connection with Bread Street it is probable that John Viel was acting as alderman of Bread Street.

<sup>90</sup> John Viel (junior) served as sheriff in 1241–42 and married a daughter of Richard son of Renger, but it was his brother William who ultimately succeeded their father as alderman of Bread Street (GL MS 25121/1070; Hassall 1949, no. 353).

<sup>91</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archive DCc-ChAn/L/3. The property was in the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street, which was shared between Bridge ward and Billingsgate. The deed states that the boundaries of the property included a house called ‘Tyhtting Woves’, which lay in the parish of St Leonard Eastcheap: Harben 1918, 596. This suggests that the property fell in the Bridge ward portion of St Margaret Bridge Street.

<sup>92</sup> Susan Reynolds and Eilert Ekwall are important exceptions, although the focus of their work is on the 12th and early 13th centuries: Reynolds 1972, 345–7; Ekwall 1947, 100–2.

<sup>93</sup> For a critical comment, see Weinbaum 1976, xxxii.

<sup>94</sup> Williams 1961, 82. In his subsequent book, he offers a more detailed exposition of his argument, although he reports that his analysis was based on the same sample of evidence: Williams 1963, especially 320.

<sup>95</sup> Barron 2004, 308–74.

<sup>96</sup> This table is based on more than 1,600 references to aldermen collected from a wide range of sources. Due to the constraints of space, only a selection of key references have been included for each alderman.

<sup>97</sup> For convenience, the dates supplied by Beaven are provided in the fourth column. Where he includes a man in his listing but does not offer a date, it is noted as ‘n.d.’ (no date given). If a man served as sheriff or mayor the date of his term(s) of office, taken from Barron 2004, are provided in the fifth and sixth columns.

<sup>98</sup> Barron 2004, 308–74.

<sup>99</sup> Hunnisett 1972.

<sup>100</sup> TNA E40/7295.

<sup>101</sup> TNA E40/7826.

<sup>102</sup> TNA E40/1905.

<sup>103</sup> Hodgett 1971, no. 241.

<sup>104</sup> Hodgett 1971, no. 152.

<sup>105</sup> TNA E40/5915.

<sup>106</sup> BL Harley MS 4015, fol 106a.

<sup>107</sup> Mason 1988, no. 381.

<sup>108</sup> Mason 1988, no. 375.

<sup>109</sup> GL MS 25121/1304; Mason 1988, no. 367.

<sup>110</sup> Kerling 1973, nos 116, 319.

<sup>111</sup> BL Harley MS 4015, fol 35b; TNA E40/1476. He is also known as ‘Robert son of Bartholomew’: TNA E40/2507; TNA E40/7822.



- <sup>112</sup> TNA E40/1936; Moore 1897, 588–90.  
<sup>113</sup> TNA E40/1936; GL MS 25121/159.  
<sup>114</sup> TNA E40/2502.  
<sup>115</sup> GL MS 25121/1574; Weinbaum 1970, no. 417.  
<sup>116</sup> TNA E40/2493.  
<sup>117</sup> BL Harley MS 4015, fols 80b–81a.  
<sup>118</sup> Mason 1988, no. 366; Jenkins 1962, no. 744.  
<sup>119</sup> GL MS 25121/270.  
<sup>120</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 683. For the date of this document, see Hassall 1949, nos 246, 251.  
<sup>121</sup> TNA E40/1663.  
<sup>122</sup> LMA CLA/007/EM/02/B/095.  
<sup>123</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 694; TNA E40/1631.  
<sup>124</sup> TNA E40/1499.  
<sup>125</sup> TNA E40/1499. He is also known as ‘Andrew son of Peter’: GL MS 25121/290; Kerling 1973, no. 774.  
<sup>126</sup> TNA E40/1499.  
<sup>127</sup> TNA E40/1499.  
<sup>128</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 867.  
<sup>129</sup> TNA E40/1499; Hassall 1949, no. 288.  
<sup>130</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 345.  
<sup>131</sup> Mason 1988, no. 376; TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>132</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 623; WAM, deed 13420.  
<sup>133</sup> GL MS 25121/476.  
<sup>134</sup> TNA E40/7376; Kerling 1973, no. 842.  
<sup>135</sup> TNA E40/7376; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/B/015. He is also known as ‘Richard son of William Renger’ and ‘Richard son of William’: TNA E40/1954, TNA E40/9849.  
<sup>136</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 896.  
<sup>137</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 223.  
<sup>138</sup> Turner & Salter 1915–24, ii, 517; TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>139</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 541.  
<sup>140</sup> TNA E40/1930.  
<sup>141</sup> TNA E40/6080; TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>142</sup> TNA E40/2022; BL Harley Ch. 55 B 11.  
<sup>143</sup> TNA E40/1819; TNA E40/1955.  
<sup>144</sup> BL Harley Ch. 43 A 56.  
<sup>145</sup> TNA E40/7579; TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>146</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 262; TNA E40/1912.  
<sup>147</sup> TNA E40/2113; TNA E40/1716.  
<sup>148</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 270.  
<sup>149</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 226.  
<sup>150</sup> GL MS 25121/195.  
<sup>151</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 973. He may also have been known as ‘Robert Blund de Solio’, see seal appended to St Bartholomew’s Hospital deed 1235 (Kerling 1973, no. 1009).  
<sup>152</sup> Kingsford 1915, 146.  
<sup>153</sup> BL Harley Charter 53 B 7; TNA E40/1955.  
<sup>154</sup> TNA E40/1881; WAM deed 13376.  
<sup>155</sup> TNA E40/1881; TNA E40/7824.  
<sup>156</sup> TNA E40/1675; GL MS 25121/1818. He is also known as ‘John Viel, senior’: GL MS 25121/542.  
<sup>157</sup> Weinbaum 1970, no. 45.  
<sup>158</sup> TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>159</sup> TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>160</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 868.  
<sup>161</sup> TNA E372/72, rot 6.  
<sup>162</sup> TNA E372/72, rot 6; GL MS 25121/1716.  
<sup>163</sup> TNA E372/72, rot 6; Weinbaum 1970, no. 108.  
<sup>164</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 585; GL MS 25121/688.  
<sup>165</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 716. He is also known as ‘John Viel, junior’: GL MS 25121/240.  
<sup>166</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 1010.  
<sup>167</sup> TNA E40/1955.  
<sup>168</sup> TNA E40/1955.  
<sup>169</sup> BL Lansdown Charter 652; Riley 1863, 39.  
<sup>170</sup> LMA CLA/007/EM/02/A/018.  
<sup>171</sup> TNA E40/1791.  
<sup>172</sup> Hassall 1949, no. 339.  
<sup>173</sup> TNA E40/7843; GL MS 25121/501; Riley 1863, 16–17.  
<sup>174</sup> GL MS 25121/ 301; BL Harley MS 4015, fol 112a.  
<sup>175</sup> LMA CLA/007/EM/04/001, fol 566, no. 575; TNA E40/1912.  
<sup>176</sup> TNA E40/2447; TNA E40/7824.  
<sup>177</sup> BL Harley Charter 46 A 22; Riley 1863, 35, 39.  
<sup>178</sup> TNA E40/2017; TNA E40/7305.  
<sup>179</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 1014; Riley 1863, 35.  
<sup>180</sup> TNA E40/7824; Weinbaum 1970, no. 161.  
<sup>181</sup> TNA E40/7824; BL Harley MS 4015, fol 28b.  
<sup>182</sup> GL MS 25121/475; GL MS 25121/231.  
<sup>183</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 815; TNA E40/1646.  
<sup>184</sup> Weinbaum 1970, no. 240; GL MS 25121/678.  
<sup>185</sup> Jenkins 1962, no. 733; TNA E40/1673.  
<sup>186</sup> Weinbaum 1970, no. 401.  
<sup>187</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 384.  
<sup>188</sup> BL Harley Charter 50 A 13.  
<sup>189</sup> Weinbaum 1970, no. 425; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/B/085.  
<sup>190</sup> TNA E40/1987; BL Harley MS 4015, fols 98b–99a. He is also known as ‘William Ashwy, draper’: GL MS 25121/1679.  
<sup>191</sup> Weinbaum 1970, no. 466; TNA E40/7829.  
<sup>192</sup> Weinbaum 1970, no. 452; Kerling 1973, no. 834.  
<sup>193</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 710; GL MS 25121/263.  
<sup>194</sup> GL MS 25121/102; Kerling 1973, no. 828.  
<sup>195</sup> GL MS 25121/102; BL Harley MS 4015, fols 54b–55a. He is also known as ‘John Adrian, draper’: TNA E326/2104.  
<sup>196</sup> Riley 1863, 16–17; Hodgett 1971, no. 467.  
<sup>197</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 370; Riley 1863, 35, 39.

- <sup>198</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 1038; Riley 1863, 35, 39.  
<sup>199</sup> TNA E40/1653; Hodgett 1971, no. 90. He is also known as 'Gervase Baron': TNA E40/2082; Ekwall 1947, 137–8.  
<sup>200</sup> TNA E40/2407; TNA E40/7305.  
<sup>201</sup> TNA E40/2226; Kerling 1973, no. 846.  
<sup>202</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archive, DC-CHANt/L/37.  
<sup>203</sup> GL MS 25121/1482; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/A/22.  
<sup>204</sup> Hodgett 1971, no. 1021; TNA E40/1800.  
<sup>205</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 770; BL Harley Charter, 49 I 56.  
<sup>206</sup> GL MS 25121/238; Kerling 1973, no. 289.  
<sup>207</sup> Hodgett 1971, no. 912; TNA E40/1512.  
<sup>208</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 182. He is also known as 'John Juvene, capmaker'.  
<sup>209</sup> GL MS 25121/1233.  
<sup>210</sup> Riley 1863, 37; GL MS 25121/989.  
<sup>211</sup> GL MS 25121/700; GL MS 25121/694.  
<sup>212</sup> TNA E326/ 2104; TNA E40/1901.  
<sup>213</sup> TNA E40/1493; TNA E326/2306. He is also known as 'John de Blackthorn, goldsmith'.  
<sup>214</sup> TNA E40/2498.  
<sup>215</sup> TNA E326/2024.  
<sup>216</sup> TNA E40/1668; Sharpe 1899, 163.  
<sup>217</sup> WAM Muniment Book 11, fol 482a; TNA E40/2043.  
<sup>218</sup> Kerling 1973, nos 1016, 1020.  
<sup>219</sup> Weinbaum 1976, no. 129.  
<sup>220</sup> TNA E40/2394; *Rot Hund* 1812–18, i, 424–5.  
<sup>221</sup> BL Harley MS 4015, fol 118b; Sharpe 1899, 11.  
<sup>222</sup> TNA E40/7305.  
<sup>223</sup> TNA E40/2043; TNA E40/11864.  
<sup>224</sup> GL MS 25121/1557; Sharpe 1900, 1.  
<sup>225</sup> WAM Muniment Book 11, 481a; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/F/49.  
<sup>226</sup> TNA E326/2110; GL MS 25121/370.  
<sup>227</sup> GL MS 25121/592; GL MS 25121/285.  
<sup>228</sup> WAM Deed 63966; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/F/49.  
<sup>229</sup> TNA E40/1776; Sharpe 1899, 117.  
<sup>230</sup> TNA C146/1172; Sharpe 1899, 224–5.  
<sup>231</sup> WAM Deed 13986.  
<sup>232</sup> GL MS 25121/1319; LMA CLA/023/CP/01/001, m.2.  
<sup>233</sup> LMA CLA/007/EM/02/F/045; TNA E326/2064.  
<sup>234</sup> TNA C146/3612; TNA C146/1040.  
<sup>235</sup> TNA E40/1709; Sharpe 1899, 191.  
<sup>236</sup> LMA CLA/023/CP/01/002, m.2; Weinbaum 1933, ii, 247; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/F/1.  
<sup>237</sup> LMA CLA/023/CP/01/002, m.1, 2; Weinbaum 1933, ii, 247; WAM deed 13992.  
<sup>238</sup> LMA CLA/023/CP/01/002, m.9; Weinbaum 1933, ii, 247; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/B/037.

- <sup>239</sup> LMA CLA/023/CP/01/002, m.2; Weinbaum 1933, ii, 247; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/F/019.  
<sup>240</sup> GL MS 25121/356; GL MS 25121/355.  
<sup>241</sup> *Rot Hund* 1812–18, i, 424, 430–1; TNA E40/2487.  
<sup>242</sup> *Rot Hund* 1812–18, i, 424, 429; Sharpe 1899, 123.  
<sup>243</sup> TNA E40/1612; Sharpe 1899, 18.  
<sup>244</sup> Kerling 1973, no. 140; Sharpe 1899, 180.  
<sup>245</sup> Sharpe 1899, 157, 205.  
<sup>246</sup> Sharpe 1899, 180, 205–6.  
<sup>247</sup> TNA E40/2261. He is also known as 'Walter Cornwaleys', see TNA E40/2709.  
<sup>248</sup> LMA CLA/023/CP/01/008, m.1.

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