

NOTES

Chapter 1 Introduction: The Self in Social History

1. *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to King Henry VI, and Bishop of Bath and Wells*, ed. George Williams, Rolls Series 56.1 (London: Longman & Co., 1872), appendix to introduction no. 7, “Dr Boyd’s Account of the Exhumation of Bekynton, March 1850,” p. cxxv. On Beckyngton, see also A. Judd, *The Life of Thomas Bekynton* (Chichester: Marc Fitch Fund, 1961); and Guy Fitch Lytle, “Wykehamist Culture’ in Pre-Reformation England,” in *Winchester College: Sixth-Centenary Essays*, ed. Roger Custance (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 143–48.
2. Bekynton in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford MS New College C.288, fol. 4r.; it is reproduced in *Illustrated History of Oxford University* ed. John Prest (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 43; see also frontispiece image in Judd, *Life of Thomas Bekynton*.
3. *Middle English Lyrics*, ed. Richard L. Hoffman and Maxwell Luria (New York: Norton, 1974), #240. For a discussion of this tomb form, see Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol. The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 8–10; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 69–70 and 184–86; Margaret Aston, “Death,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 225–27.
4. *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, ed. Stephen Gaselee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 150. “*Mors stupebit et natura/ cum resurget creatura/ iudicanti responsura.*”
5. Hoffman and Luria, *Middle English Lyrics*, #232.
6. William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. John Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 294.
7. This line appears in dozens of vernacular poems in its Latin form, and is from the office for the dead. See, for example, William Dunbar, *Selected Poems*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 105–110.
8. Taunton, Somerset Records Office DD/B Reg. 6, fol. 137.
9. Wells City Ch. #20.
10. The bishop’s water still runs through the streets of the town.

11. For his interesting political work, see *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. George Williams, 2 vols., Rolls Series 56 (London: Longman & Co., 1872), passim.
12. Here's a point of unoriginality. I reinvented this phrase, and then stumbled over the work of George H. Mead, who actually originated the term, and whose ideas were quite congenial. I learned of the relevance of them from Ronald F.E. Weissman's article, "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology: The 'Chicago School' and the Study of Renaissance Society," in *Persons in Groups. Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard C. Trexler (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), pp. 39–46; Mead also inspired Richard D. Logan, "A Conception of the Self in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986): 253–68. See Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, ed. Charles Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 178–86, 200–209; *The Individual and the Social Self*, ed. David L. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). My approach gives more stress to the individual's action and interpretive power.
13. *Creation of a Community*.
14. See, for instance, Miri Rubin, "Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages," in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Jennifer Kermode (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), pp. 132–50; Gervase Rosser, "Essence of Medieval Urban Communities," in *The English Medieval Town. A Reader in English Urban History 1200–1540*, ed. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 216–37; Sheila Lindenbaum, "Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171–88; and Heather Swanson, *Medieval British Towns* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 90–96.
15. The significant exception in medieval England is Margery Kempe; for instance, see Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and the Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Hope Weissman, "Margery Kempe in Jerusalem: *Hysteria Compassio* in the Late Middle Ages," in *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in the Contexts 700–1600*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1982), pp. 201–217; Clarissa Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and World of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983). There has, however, been a long tradition of biographical and prosopographical work, beyond the biographical appendixes to urban histories, for example, Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverly, and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Caroline Barron, "Richard Whittington: The Man Behind the Myth," in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and W.J. Kellaway (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), pp. 197–248; Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), pp. 191–377; Robert Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban*

- Crisis of the Later Middle Ages, 1290–1530* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 131–32 and Appendix F, 288–90. Owing to methodological, evidentiary and conceptual limitations all these works appear tentative or seriously limited for pursuing the social self.
16. Natalie Zemon Davis, “Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France,” in *Reconstructing Individualism. Autonomy, Individuality and the Self in Western Thought*, ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellerby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 53.
 17. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou. Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294–1324*, trans. Barbara Bray (London: Penguin, 1978); cf. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980). The same came be seen in Nancy Partner, “Reading the Book of Margery Kempe,” *Exemplaria* 3 (1991): 29–66, who uses a psychoanalytic close reading to achieve complex results.
 18. Such as communities, classes or their interests, or “society.”
 19. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
 20. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 86.
 21. On atomism in political theory, see Charles Taylor, *Philosophy and the Human Sciences* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 187–210, a critique of the kind of assumptions in Hobbes and Locke, but see also Richard Tuck, “Rights and Pluralism,” in *Philosophy in an Age of Pluralism*, ed. James Tully (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 159–70.
 22. For instance, Richard Southern, *St. Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990); Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Michael Clanchy, *Abelard. A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 5–49; Nigel Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life. Knightly Families in Sussex. 1280–1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Colin Richmond, *John Hopton. A Fifteenth-Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981). See also the excellent collection, *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500*, ed. Caroline Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon Press, 1994).
 23. This is not meant as criticism of what *is* said. The chapters by Gervase Rosser and Stephen Rigby on urban culture and power respectively, are certainly excellent, as is the summary chapter by R.B. Dobson, but the question of the self or social agency had plainly no place as of yet.
 24. Swanson, *Medieval British Towns*.
 25. Judith M. Bennett, *A Medieval Life: Cecilia Penifader of Brigstock, c. 1295–1344* (Boston: McGraw-Hill College, 1998).
 26. *Townpeople and Nation. English Urban Experiences 1540–1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
 27. See Alison Hanham, *The Celys and their World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the*

- Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 1996). This is true of other biographical successes, for instance, Southern, *St. Anselm*; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Clanchy, *Abelard*.
28. See, for example, "Craft Guilds, The Corpus Christi Play, and Civic Government," in *The Government of York in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997), pp. 141–63; " 'For Better, For Worse': Marriage and Economic Opportunity for Women in Town and Country," in " *Woman is a Worthy Wight*." *Women in English Society, 1200–1500*, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg (Gloucester: Sutton Pub., 1992), pp. 108–125.
 29. Sherri Olson, *A Chronicle of All that Happens. Voices from the Village Court in Medieval England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996); Zvi Razi, "Intrafamilial ties and relationships in the medieval village: a quantitative approach employing manor court rolls," in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, ed. Zvi Razi and Richard Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 369–91.
 30. Olson, *Chronicle of All that Happens*, p. 4.
 31. Olson, *Chronicle of All that Happens*, p. 233.
 32. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 23.
 33. (New York and Oxford, 1993); see also her *The Ties that Bound* (New York and Oxford, 1986).
 34. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 68. Kermode discusses the use of biography and prosopography in medieval social history: see p. 5.
 35. *Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); John F. Benton, ed., *Self and Society in Medieval France. The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert de Nogent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984; orig. ed. 1970); Walter Ullmann, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966); Robert Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and other Studies* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1970); Southern *Medieval Humanism, St. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1963), revised as *St. Anselm*. See Aron Gurevich, *The Origins of European Individualism*, trans. Katherine Judelson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), which productively reopens the individualism discussion. Alan Macfarlane's questions were somewhat different, closer in many ways to social historical notions. See *The Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978); and *The Culture of Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); and for response, Stephen D. White and Richard T. Vann, "The Invention of English Individualism: Alan Macfarlane and the Modernization of pre-Modern England," *Social History* 8 (1983): 345–63.
 36. Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 82–109. In a similar vein is Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Reconstructing Individualism. Autonomy, Individuality and*

- the Self in Western Thought*, ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellbrey (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 53–63.
37. Binary, that is. Her subsequent work has continued this approach of self and world, especially *Holy Feast, Holy Fast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
 38. Weissman, “Reconstructing Renaissance Historiography,” and “The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism, and Identity in Renaissance Florence,” in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman (Newark: Associated University Presses, 1989), pp. 269–80; Giddens, *Constitution of Society*.
 39. Logan “Conception of the Self,” 262. His view remains too egocentric to capture the *social* quality adequately, but is a useful reflection on the issues surrounding the nature of the ego in this period.
 40. See her “No Sex, No Gender,” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 419–43; and “Reading the Book of Margery Kempe,” 29–66. Her line of work independently advances the critique of Jean-Claude Schmitt, “La découverte de l’individu, une fiction historiographique?” in *La fabrique, la figure, la feinte: Fictions et Statut des Fictions en Psychologie*, ed. P. Mingal and F. Parot (Paris: Vrin, 1989), pp. 213–36, who argued that personality not individualism was the key issue.
 41. A relevant example of this approach is Rubin, “Small Groups.”
 42. Gurevich, *Origins of European Individualism*, 14.
 43. See Joan Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773–97; and Jay Smith, “Between *Discourse* and *Experience*: Agency and Ideas in the French Pre-Revolution,” *History and Theory* 40 (2002): 116–42.
 44. Partner, “Reading *The Book of Margery Kempe*,” 62. I obviously agree with Partner, but I should point out that the imputation that may rile some is the particularly psychoanalytic one. The difficulty with this is an extreme form of the general concern. But in the psychoanalytic form a person’s situation is interpreted in a lexicon that is radically distant from their own, suggesting that the imputation of feeling leads to the subversion of the individual’s particular life for the sake of understanding it rather than a wholly sympathetic attempt to understand them on their own terms. Obviously, Freudians do not think or understand their interpretations in this light, and the real problem is at the level of the acceptability of their theory. Those outside see it as a heavyhanded import; *they* see it as a sympathetic key to reading difficult and obscured messages. Compare the remarks of Lee Patterson, “Chaucer’s Pardoner on the Couch: Psyche and Clio in Medieval Literary Studies,” *Speculum* 76 (2001): 638–80.
 45. R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, revised edition, ed. Jan van der Dussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 282–302.
 46. Example, David Hume, *History of England* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985), almost any page will show this.
 47. See, for instance, Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 78–115.
 48. *Ecstasies. Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), p. 22.

49. Ginzburg uses it to associate diverse past cultures more than to eliminate the gap between inquirer and object of inquiry.
50. This is part of the problem in the fascinating narrative of time-travelers in the pay of the historian, provided by Keith Hopkins, *A World Full of Gods. The Strange Triumph of Christianity* (New York: Free Press, 1999).
51. See from a hermeneutic perspective, Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (New York: Seabury Press, 1984; orig. 1960); Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989); on reader response criticism, a good introduction is Susan Suleiman and Inge Crosman, ed., *The Reader in the Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), especially Susan R. Suleiman, "Introduction: Varieties of Audience-Oriented Criticism," pp. 3–45; a medieval case study is Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68 (1993):333–62.
52. Rosemary Horrox, ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
53. Perhaps the most comprehensive example is Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
54. While not putting the issues this way, Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995) does provide much for understanding the constitution of social groupings.
55. Rigby, *English Society*, p. ix.
56. Michael Fitzhugh and William Leckie, "Agency, Postmodernism, and The Causes of Change," *History and Theory* 40 (2001): 59–81.
57. Rigby, *English Society*, p. 12 indicates that the concept of systacts is borrowed from W.G. Runciman's theories.
58. I might say that for the purpose of this point, awareness, consciousness, and understanding are synonymous. Understanding is perhaps a stretch, for it seems to be a somewhat fuller state. The point is that a self is a place where meaning exists.
59. Bonaventure, as quoted in Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 243–44. One of the things that most perplexes Dante is the question of how bodies and souls interact and how the semblance of bodies he encounters in the otherworlds are explained. See, for instance, *The Divine Comedy*, ed. C.S. Singleton, *Purgatorio XXV* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, paperback edition), pp. 269–75.
60. See below, chapters 6 and 7.
61. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 300 (bk. I, sect. 6).
62. Initially I was thinking of the kind of full articulation or narrative that is developed in Richard Wollheim, *The Thread of Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), which is familiar from many other recent works, but I have come to think that this model, like the psychoanalytic work to which it is allied, is altogether too rich, too full a story to cover

- most cases; narrative models *did* help to construct the medieval self, as I argue in chapter 2 and later, but these were not typically the full and developing stories *of my* life, but virtue tales that could apply to acts or propensities *in* my life. The full lifestory *was* a possibility for later medieval townspeople. Margery Kempe tells us her story, and she told it to all her confessors, but this was not anything like the usual condition of selfhood—nor do I think it is today, notwithstanding the powerful models, that we possess, to encourage it. The life story is a little too much to be normative. In the event, I have preferred a formulation of Charles Taylor, “The Dialogical Self,” in *The Interpretive Turn. Philosophy, Science, Culture*, ed. David R. Hiley, James F. Bohman, and Richard Shusterman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 304–314, which develops a hermeneutical perspective.
63. This theme is found in Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper, 1962), pp. 85–87, and *passim*; it is a principal theme in Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 235–341.
 64. “Inescapable framework” is a phrase from Charles Taylor’s *Sources of the Self*, p. 3.
 65. Heidegger, *Being and Time*; Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*; Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 1990); Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.
 66. Taylor, “Dialogic Self,” pp. 311–14 explains well why the model of Mead’s interactionism is limited by its failure to give sufficient scope to the agent in whom meanings coalesce. See also the critique of Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, p. 43, focused on the problematic notion of the “I” in Mead.
 67. For an explication of this very useful term see, Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, pp. 52–65.
 68. Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London, 1944), p. 81.
 69. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS, O.S. 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), Book I, chapter 62.
 70. Burke “Thoughts on the Present Discontents,” in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, vol. II, ed. Paul Langford and William B. Todd (Oxford: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 320. I thank Russell Murphy for bringing this to my attention.
 71. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 235–53.
 72. Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 1978), p. 6.
 73. This critique comes from a variety of positions: the skepticism of Hume is carried on by Derek Parfit, *Reasons and Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); but it is also an issue of concern for others, perhaps most resonantly in the French post-structuralism of Foucault, for example, in *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); or any of the volumes of *The History of Sexuality*, 3 vols., trans. Robert Hurley

- (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978–88); see also Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, pp. 480–82 and David Gary Shaw, ed., *Agency after Postmodernism*, theme issue of *History and Theory* 40 (2001).
74. This is strongly, if typically obscurely, argued, for instance, in *The Logic of Practice*, pp. 98–111.
 75. For instance, see Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, *passim* and pp. 288–93 for a modern case study.
 76. According to Joan Scott one of the key criteria for analyzing the power relationship that is gender is to analyze how the structures and symbols get into subjective identities and thus can affect them: see *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 44.
 77. It is not clear how much Bourdieu, for instance, is in line with this perception, for he perhaps overrates the independent standing of “objective indicators,” namely wealth. These, it seems to me, are factored in via social perception, but this may again be a matter of emphasis: see Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, pp. 139–40: he quotes two of my intellectual ancestors on this point: Proust: “Our social personality is created by the thoughts of other people,” and Erving Goffman, “The individual must rely on others to realize his self-image.”
 78. I am certainly not sure this is so. The phrase is the evocative title of Robert J. Lifton’s book *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).
 79. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 13.
 80. See chapter 3. See her *Controlling Misbehavior*.
 81. See chapters 3 and 4 in this book.
 82. See chapter 5 in this book.
 83. See chapter 6 in this book.
 84. See chapter 7 in this book.
 85. See chapters 5 and 8 in this book.
 86. Cf. R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 4. Cf. Partner, “No Sex, No Gender,” 429–31, inspired by George Devereux, *Ethnopsychanalysis: Psychoanalysis and Anthropology as Complementary Frames of Reference* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

Chapter 2 Master Values of Town Life

1. Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948); Rodney Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism*; Philippa Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422–42* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Rosemary Horrox, ed., *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Marjorie McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998); this is also true of recent related works on early modern England, for example, Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early*

Modern England. Honour, Sex and Marriage (London: Longman, 1999). This is in addition to the work of literary scholars.

2. In other words, radical commentators are probably right to assert, for instance, that advice literature “is in fact the values and outlook of those with a stake in the smooth-running of local society and the respectability of the working household” but this doesn’t even address the important question of who had such a stake. It is a common problem of certain critical lines that they assume only the police have an interest in keeping the peace, and interest aside, the power of ideas is such that often, almost everyone already has a prejudice in favor of the dominant interest. This may be a measure of the success of some ancient power but often this is pure conjecture. Felicity Riddy, “Mother Knows Best. Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text,” *Speculum* 71 (1996): 66. See also Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy. Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain Poet* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985), pp. 57–74 for context.
3. Popular means directed at or with an interest in the “populo,” the broader society.
4. On literacy and the dissemination of ideas, see Jo Ann Hoepfner, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340–1548: Learning, Literacy and Laicisation in pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 174–211, esp. 205 on plebeian access to literate materials; compare Margaret Aston, “Lollards and Literacy,” *History* 62 (1977): 193–218; on access to sermons, see H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 70–76, 95–108; more generally, Roger Chartier, “Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe,” in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), pp. 103–120. On the association of lay and clergy, see Wells Reg. I–III, passim; Ann J. Kettle, “City and Close: Lichfield in the Century Before the Reformation” in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Charles Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), pp. 158–65; R.B. Dobson, “Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Cities: York, Durham, and Carlisle in the Fifteenth Century,” *Northern History* 19 (1983): 15–44.
5. See, for a concrete example, Riddy, “Mother Knows Best,” 70–73.
6. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech (EETS 212, 1940), p. 37; and Barry Windeatt, “Introduction,” *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Windeatt (London: Longman, 1985), pp. 15–18. There is a dispute about the level of literacy in England. Moreover, it has been argued that women’s rate of literacy and its growth were very low. See Shannon McSheffrey, “Literacy and the Gender Gap in the Late Middle Ages: Women and Reading in Lollard Communities,” in *Women, the Book and the Godly*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (Cambridge, Eng.: Brewer, 1995), pp. 157–70; and L.R. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 280–87; cf. Moran, *Growth of English Schooling*, pp. 152–62. The rise in urban rates, especially among the merchants, seems agreed.

7. Marjorie McIntosh, "Finding Language for Misconduct. Jurors in Fifteenth-Century Local Courts," in *Bodies and Disciplines. Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1996), p. 102.
8. *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 37.
9. For more on how agents, remaining free, work with discourse and pre-given structures, see chapter 1 and David Gary Shaw, "Happy in Our Chains: Agency and Language in the Postmodern Age," *History and Theory* 40 (2001): 1–9.
10. She is not easy to evaluate in these terms, as she was a realist, working with the constraints of her world. For an introduction, see *Selected Writings of Christine de Pisan*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997).
11. Two good and concrete discussions of these questions in urban context are Shannon McSheffrey, "Men and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture, Governance, Patriarchy, and Reputation," in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities. Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 243–78; and Derek Neal, "Suits Make the Man: Masculinity in Two English Law Courts, c. 1500," *Canadian Journal of History* (2002): 1–21.
12. *Middle English Lyrics*, ed. Richard L. Hoffman and Maxwell Luria (New York: Norton, 1974), #125 (anon.).
13. That is, when they weren't the straightforward prejudice against outsiders.
14. Especially in chapter 6, "Taking Possession."
15. See chapters 5 and 8.
16. *A Crisis of Truth. Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). This is a complex book, a sterling example of literary history doing "real" history by its shrewd deployment of legal and social texts and evidence. My belief is that many of the values that once were covered by truth (see Green's catalogue, p. 9) found other ways out, through different words. Fidelity goes on and on, but narrows over time as the circle of true friendship itself narrowed. Green is exciting for his assertion that c.1400 is the time of the crisis and the role that he assigns the growth of literacy in the change.
17. Rosemary Horrox, "Service," in Horrox, ed., *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, p. 61. Her article is the most apposite for my discussions in this chapter, although it is mainly concerned with another context of these master values, namely, that of country society.
18. Other examples of this were central to ecclesiastical rhetoric, see the 86 sermons of Bernard de Clairvaux, *Sermones super Canticularum*, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H.M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–58); and Caroline Walker Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother," in *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 110–69.
19. *Middle English Lyrics*, #103 (anon.). The editors gloss this as heaven, but I like the idea that trone might here refer to a different word, the public scales.

- Thus God's scales are true, not deceitful, the mercantile and majestic blending.
20. *Compendium of Theology*, trans. Cyril Vollert (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1947), p. 5.
 21. *Middle English Lyrics*, #128 (anon.).
 22. In addition to the Towneley Plays cited in n. 23, see and compare, *Ludus Coventriae, or, the Plaie Called Corpus Christi*, ed. K.S. Block (EETS 120, 1922), pp. 43–51; and *Chester Plays*, ed. Hans Deimling, (EETS 62, 1893), pp. 63–83.
 23. *The Towneley Plays*, ed. George England and Alfred W. Pollard (EETS 71, 1897), p. 43.
 24. *Towneley Plays*, pp. 41–42.
 25. *Towneley Plays*, p. 47.
 26. *Book of Margery Kempe*, p.111.
 27. For the fascinating link between faithfulness, social life, and the law of contract underlying so much business dealing, see F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 188–203.
 28. On oath and faith breaking as a church crime see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, p. 198; and Richard Wunderli, *London Church Courts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1981), p. 104. See also, Green, *A Crisis of Truth*, pp. 78–120; for the effects on his status and masculinity, see Neal, “Suits Make the Man.”
 29. Craig Muldrew, “Interpreting the Market: the ethics of credit and community relations in early modern England,” *Social History* 18 (1993): 177 and generally, 163–83.
 30. Gervase Rosser, with E. Patricia Dennison, “Urban Culture and the Church,” *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. David Palliser (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 368.
 31. *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. W. Nelson Francis (EETS 217, 1942), pp. 40–41.
 32. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 37 Edward III, p. 391 (9–29–1363); the pardon itself is dated 10–12–1363; the story, as narrated, would be more plausible to us if Henry willfully but justifiably stabbed his brother with the knife his brother had, or indeed another. But justice taught juries and others to frame narratives to the law's means and language, so it was better to have Richard do himself in. For juries' manipulation of cases, see Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, pp. 123–29.
 33. *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. C.I. Litzinger (Chicago: Regnery, 1964), II, p. 576.
 34. *Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 98.
 35. *Cely Letters, 1472–1488*, ed. Alison Hanham (EETS 273, 1975), *passim*.
 36. *Cely Letters*, pp. 60 and 62 show the father's worry when his son was sick.
 37. John Mirk, *Mirk's Festial. A Collection of Homilies*, ed. Theodor Erbe (EETS 96, 1905), p. 1.
 38. *Cely Letters*, e.g. pp. 143, 155.
 39. *Cely Letters*, p. 59.

40. *Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales*, p. 654.
41. Barbara Hanawalt, "Keepers of the Lights: Later Medieval Parish Guilds," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984): 21–37; A.G. Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages," in *Parish, Church, and People*, ed. S.J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 29–55; Katherine L. French, "Maiden's Lights and Wives' Stores: Women's Parish Guilds in Late Medieval England," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29 (1998): 399–425; Ben R. McRee, "Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 32 (1993): 195–225; *English Gilds*, ed. Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith (EETS 40, 1870), passim.
42. Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem, or the Politics of Sex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 94–112; A.G. Rosser, "Going to The Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994): 430–46.
43. *Acts of the Court of the Mercers' Company*, ed. Laetitia Lyell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. 148–51.
44. On other familial aspects of fidelity, see on the master–apprentice relationship, Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 129–72; on the marital allegiance, Jennifer Ward, "Townswomen and their Households," in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 27–42; Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450–1700* (London: Longman, 1984), pp. 96–105.
45. See J.A. Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander in Early Modern England: the Church Courts at York* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1980), pp. 19–20.
46. See, for example, Mervyn James, "English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485–1645," in *Society, Politics, and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 308–415; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; and *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Sixth Series 6 (1996), which contained a collection of essays on early modern honor.
47. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, orig. 1651), p. 248.
48. Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem*, p. 1.
49. For honor as a right, see Frank Stewart Henderson, *Honor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
50. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 63.
51. Pierre Bourdieu, "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society," in *Honor and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 208. 'Cost what it may' may be considered the Mediterranean effect, rarer in England than in the southern ideal.
52. See James, "English Politics and the Court of Honour"; and Philippa Maddern, "Honour among the Pastons," *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 357–71.

53. “‘To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced Moon’: Gender and Honour in the Castlehaven Story,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series 6 (1996): 137.
54. This postmodernist view seems represented by, for instance, Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers. Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 113.
55. Maddern, “Honour among the Pastons,” 370.
56. Christine de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 55, to risk a cross-channel proof.
57. *The Dance of Death*, ed. Florence Warren (EETS 181, 1931), p. 21, slightly amended to conform to my sentence’s grammar.
58. Bourdieu, “Sentiment of Honour,” p. 228.
59. Its existence in all social milieux was argued by Sharpe, *Defamation and Slander*, pp. 2–3.
60. *Dives and Pauper*, ed. Patricia Heath Barnum (EETS 275, 1976), p. 104.
61. See Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi. Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 69–71.
62. Jean-Claude Bibolet, “Les gestes d’adoration, de prière, d’offrande et de violence dans ‘Le mystère de la passion de Troyes,’” in *Le geste et les gestes au moyen âge* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, Centre d’Aix, 1998), p. 94.
63. Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, p. 105.
64. “If ony man biddith the worshcip, and wolde wedde thee. . .” ll. 32 “How the Good Wijf taught hir Doughtir,” in *The Babees Book*, ed. James Frederick Furnivall (EETS 32, 1923), p. 37.
65. “How the Good Wijf taught hir Doughtir;” p. 37.
66. “The Young Children’s Book” in Furnivall *The Babees Book*, p. 25. (c. 1500).
67. “Of the manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare” in *Babees Book*, p. 34.
68. *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England*, trans. Charlotte Augusta Sneyd (London: Camden Society 37, 1847), p. 22.
69. For example, *Towneley Plays, passim*.
70. *Coventry Leet Book, or Mayor’s Register*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (EETS 134, 135, 138 and 146, 1907–13), *passim*.
71. Russell Hope Robbins, ed., *Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), #197, p. 198.
72. *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (EETS 15, 1866, reedited 1903), p. 97.
73. See, for instance, Faramerz Dabhoiwala, “The Construction of Honour, Reputation, and Status in Late Seventeenth- and early Eighteenth-Century England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series (1996): 201–13; more generally and chronologically closer to our concerns, Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, chapter 4.
74. Whether or not his sexual life factored into his honor at all is a different question, for which, see Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; Neal, “Suits Make the Man,” p. 8.
75. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 110.

76. *Le Menagier de Paris*, ed. Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 55.
77. *English Lyrics* #129, p. 121.
78. Furnivall, *Babees Book*, p. 34.
79. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 106; whether men's honor was significantly sexual is a matter of debate, but the stakes were certainly lower for them. Cf. Neal, "Suits make the Man," 6–7 and n. 22; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1988), pp. 98–104.
80. *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 15. I've modernized the spelling.
81. See also Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 183–85.
82. For example, Meech, *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 37. Her father was at the top of the urban elite, her husband at best in the middle and probably sinking: see David Gary Shaw, "The Worshipful Ferrour and Kempe. Social Selves in a Medieval Town," in *Studying Medieval People*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (London: Edward Arnold, 2005), pp. 3–21.
83. *Mirk's Festial*, p. 290.
84. Keith Wrightson, "'Sorts of People' in Tudor or Stuart England," in *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800*, ed. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 28–51.
85. For the cosmic background, see the classic discussion by A.O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), esp. chapter three. Aquinas, Dante, and Nicholas of Cusa are all important medieval sources.
86. See K.L. Kurtz, *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 1934); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 153–59; and Edelgard E. DuBruck, "Death, Poetic Perception and Imagination (Continental Europe)," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusich (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 296–314.
87. From the "Verba transalatoris" of the Ellesmere ms. "The Daunce of Death," in *The Dance of Death*, (EETS 181, 1931), p. 2.
88. *The Dance of Death*, p. 6.
89. Plainly Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, pp. 288–99 even in assuming its relevance, realized how inadequate it was.
90. This was also the case with Chaucer. The Ellesmere manuscript has a "lady of gret astate," an "Abbesse" and a "Gentilwoman amerous," while the Landsdowne manuscript substitutes an empress for the great lady.
91. Cordelia Beattie, "The Problem of Women's Work Identities in Post-Black Death England," in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg, and W.M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 1–19; see also Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History*, p. 282–85. On the women's dances, see *The Danse Macabre of Women*,

- ed. Ann Tukey Harrison and Sandra L. Hindman (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994); and Suzanne F. Wemple and Denise A. Kaiser, "Death's Dance of Women," *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986): 333–43.
92. *The Dance of Death*, p. 40.
 93. *The Dance of Death*, p. 27.
 94. *The Dance of Death*, p. 47.
 95. *The Dance of Death*, p. 66.
 96. Maurice Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348–1500* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), pp. 1–24; Rodney Hilton, "Ideology and Social Order in Late Medieval England," in *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 173–79.
 97. *Chaucer*, ll. 37–40, p. 24.
 98. *English Society in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 154.
 99. To some extent, this jostling for position must represent the substratum of the development of the kind of social changes, both of exclusion and "usurpatory struggles" that Stephen Rigby has discussed. See *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), chapter 4, but see chapter 9 on the role of ideology.
 100. "Estate, Nobility, and the Exhibition of Estate in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 684–709. The language of performance is widespread now, partly deriving from postmodernist theoretical work. For a medieval application, see Kathleen Biddick, "Genders, Bodies, Borders: Technologies of the Visible" *Speculum* 68 (1993): 389–418; but there are other traditions, see Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, pp. 83–6.
 101. Thomas Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works, I, The Minor Poems*, ed. Frederick H. Furnivall (EETS 61, 1892), p. 135.
 102. *Caxton's Mirror of the World*, ed. Oliver H. Prior (EETS 90, 1913), pp. 90, 145.
 103. *Statutes of the Realm*, volume I (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1819), 380 and II, pp. 468–70. For discussion of the sumptuary laws in Europe, see Francis E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1926); Diane Owen Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 69–99; and Catherine Koves Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and John Scattergood, "Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages," in *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 257–59. The efficacy of these laws is beside the point here.
 104. *Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales*, I. A. 716.
 105. "Urbanitatis," *Babees Book*, p. 15.
 106. *Coventry Leet Book*, p. 220; see the important articles of M.R. James, "Ritual Drama and the Social Body in the Later Medieval Town," *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 1–29; and Sheila Lindenbaum, "Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*,

- ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171–88.
107. *York Memorandum Book*, vol. 2, ed. Maud Sellars (Surtees Society 125, 1915), p. 156.
 108. Serel, p. 40.
 109. “Urbanitatis,” *Babees Book*, p. 14.
 110. “John Russell’s Book of Nurture,” *The Babees Book*, p. 187.
 111. For example, *The Dance of Death* or Christine de Pisan, *The Treasury of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 171–80, who spends a page on laborers, three on the poor and three on prostitutes.
 112. “John Russell’s Book of Nurture,” *The Babees Book*, pp. 188–89.
 113. See Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 158.
 114. SRO, DD/B Reg 6, fo. 208.
 115. “John Russell’s Book of Nurture,” p. 194.
 116. On hierarchy, degree and class in general see, Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire: the Literature of Social Classes in the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages*, passim.
 117. Dante, *Inferno*, V.
 118. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, ed. Henry T. Riley (London: RS 28, 1864), p. 32.

Chapter 3 *E Pluribus Unum: Peer Pressures*

1. See Marjorie McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.39, who discusses the context and development of community control of individual behavior. She suggests that public negative discipline was rising in urban contexts in the fifteenth century. See also Margaret Spufford, “Puritanism and Social Control,” in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 41–57.
2. Gervase Rosser and E. Patricia Dennison, “Urban Culture and the Church,” in *Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 600–1540*, vol. I, ed. D.M. Palliser (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 340. Cf. D.M. Palliser, “Urban Society,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 146.
3. McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*.
4. This would seem to be the view for the later Middle Ages of Sherri Olson, *A Chronicle of All that Happens* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996), pp. 231–33 and passim.

5. Lorraine Attreed, *The King's Towns. Identity and Survival in Late Medieval English Boroughs* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001).
6. On such towns, see Norman M. Trenholme, *The English Monastic Boroughs* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1927); Rodney Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society. A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, UK.; Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 25–52; Margaret Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community. Durham and its Overlords* (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chapter 4; Christopher Dyer, “Small Towns, 1270–1540,” in *Cambridge Urban History*, I; and Dyer, “Small Town Conflict in the Later Middle Ages: Events at Shipston-on-Stour,” *Urban History* 19 (1992): 184–210; but also Jennifer Kermode, “The Larger Towns: 1300–1540,” in *Cambridge Urban History*, I, p. 456, who notes how often the weakly franchised towns managed to evince a good deal of self-government comparable to the more richly enfranchised.
7. For details of this story, Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 114–38.
8. See Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages*, chapter 4 generally, esp. pp. 158–59 and 170–76. In his language, this chapter also shows the parameters of a “systact,” a group that was the product of interests and the success of exclusionary mechanisms. The hard part is being sure that a club that wants members has some prestige, but still can’t attract as many members as it wants, can properly be said to be employing exclusionary methods. Yet, this was the situation with borough communities and the franchise across England. There were certainly important transitions toward de facto exclusion in the later fifteenth century, for which see Rigby and Ewan, “Government, Power and Authority,” pp. 309–12; Stephen Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby. Growth and Decline* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1993), pp. 108–12.
9. D.M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn. A Documentary Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 63.
10. It is worth noting that the pleas the court supervised were pretty much identical with other borough courts: cf. Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, p. 80.
11. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 40: “Strategies aimed at producing regular practices are one category, among others, of officializing strategies, the object of which is to transmute ‘egoistic’, private, particular interests (notions definable only within the relationship between a social unit and encompassing social unit at a higher level) into disinterested, collective, publicly avowable, legitimate interests.”
12. Much importance was attached to these symbols of masculine power: see *York Memorandum Book*, vol. 3, ed. Joyce M. Percy (Surtees Society 186, 1973), p. 123; *The Great White Book of Bristol*, ed. Elizabeth Ralph (Bristol Record Society 32, 1979), p. 73; and *Coventry Leet Book, or Mayor's Register*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (London: EETS 134, 135, 138, and 146, 1907–13), p. 425.

13. For such benefits, see Maryanne Kowaleski, "The Commercial Dominance of a Medieval Provincial Oligarchy: Exeter in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Medieval English Town. A Reader in English Urban History*, ed. R. Holt and A.G. Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 184–215; and the outline of such links in Kermode, *Medieval Merchants. York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 90–115.
14. The phrase is Pierre Bourdieu's adaptation of the anthropological concept of rite of passage: see Bourdieu, "Rites as Acts of Institution," in *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, trans. Roger Just, ed. John. G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 78–89.
15. The admission oath is recorded in CBI: 1.
16. See Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 197–99 on initiation, 142–52 on the meaning of membership.
17. For the extreme view, Sheila Lindenbaum, "Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 184–215. I am content to use the term ritual in the light, easygoing manner I have here, notwithstanding the pitfalls of the term outlined in Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); or Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Similarly, the functionalism latent in my interpretation here is offset by the later egocentric assumptions I develop throughout the book below.
18. *York Memorandum Book*, vol. 2, pp. 200–201.
19. *York Memorandum Book*, vol. 2, pp. 201–202.
20. These were the cases involving more than 40s. *Statutes of the Realm*, I (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1810), p. 48.
21. This oath-supported jurisdiction was also a feature of other guilds: see for example, *English Guilds*, ed. Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: EETS 40, 1870), pp. 450–51 for the St. George Guild of Norwich, but compare the more ambiguous rule of the St. Katherine's Guild, Norwich, p. 21. The St. George's Guild appears to have many similarities to the Wells Community fraternity, see pp. 443–60; and Ben R. McRee, "Religious Guilds and Civic Order: the Case of Norwich in the Late Middle Ages," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 69–97.
22. There were 66 debt cases, 10 trespass, 3 bailment, 9 withholding chattel, and 26 unidentified.
23. See chapter 4 in this book.
24. For example, see Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*; or R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
25. *The Black Book of Southampton*, ed. A.B. Wallis Chapman (Southampton Record Society 13, 1912), pp. 6–9; probably dated 1482, possibly 1349.
26. CBI:158–59 (March 27–May 15, 1404).

27. Failure to answer summonses between 1377 and 1429 was as follows: broken contract (9.5%); broken guarantee (20.5%); debt (28.1%); trespass (11.5%); withholding chattels (9.4%).
28. The percentage of suitors failing to reply to summons varied by kind of offence. It is clear, however, that those cases in which cash was at issue—debt and guarantee—were much more likely to have absent defendants than the more personal affronts of trespass, broken contract, or the most material charge of detaining chattel. See n. 29.
29. In the event, even after 1404, the traditional practices continued, apparently unless the plaintiff brought pressure against dilatory defendants.
30. CBI: 231.
31. CBI: 101; they were Stephen Windford and John Ronburgh.
32. Only nine cases failed after arbitrators were appointed.
33. CBI: 44.
34. For example, CBI: 251 *Leste vs. Stokes*; CBI: 220 *Tapener vs. Tucker*; CBI: 196 *Romesy vs. Sholer*.
35. CBI: 191.
36. *York Memorandum Book*, II, p. 201.
37. Barbara Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute. Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 23–24 shows that assault on the mayor was also, in London, the most heinous civic crime.
38. Elsa Gyllyng was the only woman admitted *qua* burgess. She was apparently a widow but possibly not a burgess'; why the admission was necessary is unknown, and probably speaks more to a moment of conceptual confusion on the part of the burgesses as a whole, or to particular circumstances. Perhaps her husband had previously been ejected from the fraternity. She doesn't appear to have had any privileges superior to the other widows CBI: 72 (1387). On the status of women in the fraternity, see Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 146–48.
39. Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 213–214.
40. *York Memorandum Book*, II, p. 261.
41. *Contumelia* was a favorite word of the fifteenth-century town clerk John Beynton.
42. This from a 1516 ordinance: *Coventry Leet Book*, pp. 647–48.
43. For example, CBI: 31 *Shorthose vs. Galon*.
44. *Cutte vs. Chynnok*, CBI: 295–96.
45. *Coventry Leet Book*, pp. 647–48.
46. CBI: 186 (1410).
47. CBI: 156, 174, 281 (1403, 1408, 1433).
48. CBII: 2.
49. CBI: 79.
50. CBI: 60 (11–9–1385).
51. Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 213–14.
52. See Ruth M. Karras, *Common Women. Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 15–19.

53. There are many specific cases in the *York Memorandum Book*, II, principally of Scots in the time of war.
54. *Acts of the Court of the Mercers' Company*, pp. 148–51. Cf. Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, 29–31; see chapter 2 in this book, p. 28.
55. The locus classicus on reciprocity is Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. I.G. Cannison (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954); see also Peter Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (New York: J. Wiley, 1964), for a different direction; a useful overview is Hans van Wees, “The Law of Gratitude: Reciprocity in Anthropological Theory,” in *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, ed. Christopher Gill, Norman Postelthwaite, and Richard Seaford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 13–49. See also J.K. Chadwick-Jones, *Social Exchange Theory. Its Structure and Influence in Social Psychology* (London: Academic Press 1976).
56. *York Memorandum Book*, II, p. 60; courts of criminal law always made a clear determination in sharp contrast to the old system in which compositions would be negotiated between families or individuals in the hope of avoiding blood. For a taste of the old, see William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking. Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), chapters 6 and 8. Generally, a sense for the ending of law cases can be found from Alan Harding, *The Law Courts of Medieval England* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973); this was the case even in local courts of limited jurisdiction, such as Wells’s own Hundred and Frankpledge courts: see, for example, London, Lambeth Palace Library ED 1176–89.
57. CBI: 53.
58. CBI: 66.
59. CBI: 73.
60. CBI: 101.
61. CBI: 133.
62. See Clanchy, M.T., “Law and Love in the Middle Ages,” in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 59 explicitly establishes the connection of kisses of peace and the custom of love and love-days.
63. CBI: 36.
64. Similar transactions occurred in other urban communities of course: see, for example, Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, p. 48.
65. CBI: 137.
66. See Julian Pitt-Rivers, “The Place of Grace in Anthropology,” in *Honor and Grace*, pp. 215–46.
67. CBI: 207.
68. Richard M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1981), p. 51 notes that practice and theory (Lyndwood’s) in the ecclesiastic courts also required that the financial “penance” be made to a charity rather than the court *per se*; civic and parish guilds such as Wells’ were close kin to the church.

69. The Borough Community's economic resources were based on real estate, donated by the membership over the years. See *Creation of a Community*, pp. 48–54; and A.J. Scrase and Joan Hasler, *Wells Corporation Properties* (Somerset Record Society, 87, 2002), pp. 29–41 for some of the extensive evidence of rentals, etc.
70. Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, p. 24.
71. The significance of the crimes is the concern of chapter 6.
72. *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, ed. Henry T. Riley, II (Rolls Series, 1859), p. 600; see Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, pp. 24–26.
73. See McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*, pp. 63–65, 69, and 87–88 and 115.
74. *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. John Silvester Davies (CS 64, 1856), p. 59. See Ralph Griffiths, “The Trial of Eleanor Cobham,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968–69): 381–99.
75. *Lincoln Diocese Documents: 1450–1544*, ed. Andrew Clark (EETS 149, 1914), pp. 126–28.
76. “The Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, p. 158.
77. See McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*; and Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), part IV.
78. For the collective notions, see Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 183–97.
79. This speculation might be part of an answer that links the McIntosh views with those of Olson, *Chronicle of All that Happens*, pp. 231–33, who reads the decline of community as the rise of individualism, but it may mean the rise of a subgroup of a formerly more coherent community.

Chapter 4 The Marriage of Self and Structure

1. *Towneley Plays*, ed. George England and Alfred W. Pollard (EETS 71, 1897), pp. 114–15.
2. *Towneley Plays*, p. 115.
3. *Towneley Plays*, p. 100.
4. *Towneley Plays*, p. 101.
5. *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), p. 323. Master values, I should add, are not an ideology but at most an ideology's talking points, closer to the terms that make conversation possible.
6. “Honour and Social Status,” in *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 39, as well as the other papers in that same seminal collection; see also, the reflections of Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany in their introduction to *Honour and Grace in Anthropology*, ed. J.G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
7. To some extent, this is the underlying justification for chapter 2. Note especially again, Craig Muldrew, “Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit

- and Community Relations in Early Modern England,” *Social History* 18 (1993): 163–83.
8. Other works whose approach to the meaning of arbitration are especially important for me are Fredric Cheyette, “*Suum Cuique Tribuere*,” *French Historical Studies* 6 (1970): 287–99; Stephen D. White, “‘*Pactum . . . Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium*.’ The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France,” *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978): 281–308.
 9. The history of urban arbitration remains incomplete partly because of its frequent informality. Most suggestive is Ben R. McRee, “Peacemaking and Its Limits in Later Medieval Norwich,” *English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 831–66, who nicely reveals how an institution that fosters community exists within a world of tension and disharmony; Barbara Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute. Gender and Social Control in Medieval London* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 36, 38–41; see also Lorraine Attreed, “Arbitration and the Growth of Urban Liberties in Late Medieval England,” *Journal of British Studies* 31 (1992): 205–35, although this is really about corporate arbitration; and *ibid.*, *The King’s Towns. Identity and Survival in Late Medieval English Boroughs* (New York: P. Lang, 2001), pp. 244–46. See also *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant, II–III*, ed. Hubert Hall (Selden Society 44, 49, 1930, and 1932). It is notable, however, that arbitration is both infrequent and mainly involves foreign merchants. The local court records in *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant, I*, ed. Charles Gross (Selden Society 23, 1908) contain many more indications of love-days and licenses to compromise outside court, although few actual cases of arbitration. For the limited discussion in the common and royal law context, see S.F.C. Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law* (London: Butterworths, 1969); more helpful is E.W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 126–30, although the place of the practice still seems small. For its development and the role of equity, see J.B. Post, “Equitable Resorts before 1450,” in *Law, Litigants and the Legal Profession*, ed. E.W. Ives and A.H. Manchester (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), pp. 68–79; arbitration may have been involved in thirteenth-century compromises such as those noted in Sue Sheridan Walker, “The Action of Waste in the Early Common Law,” in *Legal Records and the Historian*, ed. J.H. Baker (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), p. 189. For the violent possibilities from which arbitration may have emerged, see William I. Miller, “Avoiding Legal Judgment: The Submission of Disputes to Arbitration in Medieval Iceland,” *American Journal of Legal History* 28 (1984): 107–11.
 10. Edward Powell, “Arbitration and the Law in England in the Later Middle Ages,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 33 (1983): 49–67; *ibid.*, “Settlement of Disputes by Arbitration in Fifteenth-Century England,” *Law and History Review* 2 (1984): 21–43; McRee, “Peacemaking and Its Limits.” Llinos Beverley Smith, “Disputes and Settlements in Medieval Wales: The Role of Arbitration” *English Historical Review* 106 (1991): 835–60; Ian Rowney, “Arbitration in Gentry Disputes of the Later Middle Ages,” *History*

- 67 (1982): 367–76; William Palmer, “Scenes from Provincial Life: History, Honor, and Meaning in the Tudor North.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53:2 (2000): 425–48; Carole Rawcliffe, “The Great Lord as Peacekeeper: Arbitration by English Noblemen and their Councils in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Law and Social Change in British History*, ed. J.A. Guy and H.G. Beale (London: Royal Historical Society, 1984), pp. 34–54; *ibid.*, “‘That Kindliness Should Be Cherished More, and Discord Driven Out’: The Settlement of Commercial Disputes by Arbitration in Later Medieval England,” in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Jennifer Kermode (Stroud, Glos.: Alan Sutton, 1991), pp. 99–117; Simon Payling, “The Amptill Dispute: A Study in Aristocratic Lawlessness and the Breakdown of Lancastrian Government,” *English Historical Review* 104 (1989): 881–907; Cheyette, “*Suum Cuique Tribuere*”; H. Janeau, “L’arbitrage en Dauphiné au Moyen Âge,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 24–25 (1946–47): 229–71; Jenny Wormald, “An Early Modern Postscript: The Sandlaw Dispute, 1546,” in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 191–205. An interesting discussion of the approaches of historians and their anthropological sources is Thomas Kuehn, *Law, Family and Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 20–24.
11. The selection of an even number of arbitrators was the norm in medieval Europe. Remarkably, the Romans had preferred an odd number, and the difference is culturally pregnant. Consensus was the medieval way, especially because the ability of an individual to flout the system was greater than in the Roman imperial context. See Janeau, “L’arbitrage en Dauphiné,” p. 247; and Jan Rogozinski, *Power, Caste, and Law. Social Conflict in Fourteenth-Century Montpellier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1982), pp. 101–102 and n. 60; and Marc Bouchat, “La justice privée par arbitrage dans le diocèse de Liège au XIII^e siècle: Les arbitres,” *Môyen Age* 95 (1989): 450–51.
 12. CBI: 54.
 13. CBI: 33.
 14. And 41.6 percent of all cases.
 15. On love-days, see M.T. Clanchy, “Law and Love in the Middle Ages,” in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 47–67; and Josephine Waters Bennett, “The Mediæval Loveday,” *Speculum* 33 (1958): 351–70.
 16. Cf. Christopher Dyer, “The Small Towns, 1270–1540,” *Cambridge History of Urban Britain, 600–1540* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 528. On similarity to guild tribunals, see Sarah Rees Jones, “Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns,” in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. James Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg, and W.M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), p. 150; and Ben R. McRee, “Religious Guilds and the Regulation of Behavior in Late Medieval Towns,” in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle*

- Ages*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal and Colin Richmond (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1987), pp. 108–122. See evidence in *English Guilds*, ed. Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith (EETS 40, 1870), pp. 55, 76, 84, passim.
17. John S. Beckerman, “Adding Insult to *Iniuria*: Affronts to Honor and the Origins of Trespass,” in *On the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. Morris S. Arnold, Thomas A. Green, Sally A. Scully, and Stephen D. White (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 159–81; Morris S. Arnold, ed., *Select Cases of Trespass from the Royal Courts, 1307–99*, vol. I (Selden Society 100, 1985), p. ix. More generally, Julian Pitt-Rivers, “Honour and Social Status,” in *Honour and Shame. The Values of a Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 21–77.
 18. *Middle English Sermons*, ed. Woodburn O. Ross (EETS 209, 1940 for 1938), p. 50. See the relevant discussion on the linkages among trespass, defamation and honor, R.H. Helmholz, ed., *Select Cases of Defamation*, Selden Society 101 (London: Selden Society, 1985), p. li.
 19. See Helmholz, *Select Cases of Defamation* for its complex history in a wide variety of courts; and Milsom, *Historical Foundations*, pp. 332–33.
 20. *Middle English Sermons*, p. 177.
 21. CBI: 12.
 22. CBI: 24.
 23. There is a substantial literature on the meaning of practices such as arbitration and non-adjudicated dispute resolution. A good overview of the interpretive issues is Simon Roberts, “The Study of Dispute: Anthropological Perspectives,” in Bossy, *Disputes and Settlements*, pp. 1–24; see also thoughtful comments by White, “‘*Pactum. . . Legem Vincit et Amor*’”; Cheyette, “*Suum Cuique Tribuere*”; Clanchy, “*Law and Love*.”
 24. Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth. Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 39–40 and passim. Cf. Barbara Hanawalt’s view of arbitration as a traditional or folk mode that coexisted with “normative law” in *Of Good and Ill Repute*, p. 36.
 25. Delays were involved in approximately 35 percent of debt cases, but only 18 percent of trespass cases. Failed guarantees and broken contracts—also involving written, financial arrangements—saw delay rates of about 30 percent. The role of time-techniques of dispute resolution was discussed in chapter 3 in this book, pp. 62–63.
 26. Interestingly, Barbara Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute*, p. 41 argued that in London arbitration was less effective in these cases and that mediation was preferred.
 27. Such a tendency was also bolstered by the practices of other urban and common law courts, which tended to solve debt cases by wager of law, the assembling of supportive oath-helpers. It should be noted, however, that nowhere in local and urban courts was there an easy and simple division of pleas and settlement techniques. Law merchant practices were various, flexible, and case-specific, while the customs of London long preferred wager of law for all kinds of cases—criminal, debt, and trespass. See *Select Cases in the Law Merchant, I, II, III*; and “Liber Albus” in *Munimenta Gildhallae*

- Londoniensis*, ed. H.T. Riley (Rolls Series 12.1, 1859), pp. 203–204; see Robert L. Henry, *Contracts in the Local Courts of Medieval England* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926), pp. 48–90; Frederick Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, ed. S.F.C. Milsom (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1968; orig. ed. 1895), pp. 634–36.
28. It is certainly possible that arbitration functioned differently elsewhere. In some places it was apparently used as a mode of avoiding the ignorant, slow, or arbitrary determination of the courts. Rawcliffe has shown—and some Wells evidence agrees—that the arbitrators were sometimes particularly skilled in the business in which the dispute arose “That Kindliness Should Be Cherished More,” pp. 100–102, and *passim*.
 29. This was a universal term for arbitrators, sometimes used in Wells, and capturing well the culture of arbitration. See Karl S. Bader, “Arbiter, Arbitrator seu amicable compositor,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 77 (1960): 239–76 illustrates the term’s prevalence.
 30. The power of the leadership was the great political issue of the first part of the fifteenth century: see *Creation of a Community*, pp. 167–76, 188–89 for a discussion of oligarchy and the mentality connected to it. The quotations are from a sort of constitution that was transcribed in Thomas Serel, *Historical Notes on the Church of St Cuthbert in Wells, etc.* (Wells: J.M. Atkins, 1875), pp. 37 and 40; the original is apparently lost.
 31. *Middle English Lyrics*, #121.
 32. Cf. Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverly, and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 47; S.H. Rigby and Elizabeth Ewan, “Government, Power and Authority, 1300–1540,” in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, volume 1, 600–1540*, ed. David M. Palliser (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 302. Problems of office avoidance were not systematic or endemic in Wells in this period.
 33. Wells had only one parish, and this was particularly in the control of the Borough Community who directed the lay business of the church and selected churchwardens annually, and audited their accounts: see *Creation of a Community*, pp. 258–61.
 34. It should be stressed that this is not a biographical summary. That is, I have not followed individuals through their entire careers and then declared them elite or commoner. Rather, one individual counts as a commoner until he is elected to an office and his cases from then on are classed in the new status. The pre-promotion cases remain as evidence of activity at that lower level. Needless to say, this is an imperfect system but for present purposes superior to treating, for instance, a given burgess as always having been of magisterial standing because he would one day, sometimes decades later, attain it. The fluid basis of this analysis makes it difficult to say how many commoners there were in the period. Everyone was a commoner for some amount of time. But I can report the numbers of individuals who held the various offices in the period under examination. There were twenty-two different masters and thirty-seven constables, constituting the elite group. There were thirty-six rent collectors and twenty-nine different churchwardens combined

into the middling category in my analysis. The petty offices were filled by 50 different shambleskeepers and 101 streetwardens. Everyone was for at least a few minutes a commoner. But the analytic group includes about 400 men who never attained any civic office. By contrast, a total of 182 different people did hold office in the years under examination. The few women who appear in the court record—generally widows—have been set aside, their complex status often hidden and their legal standing hybrid or confused.

35. For examples, see CBI: 3, 83, 91 (2), 96, 98, 111, and 190 (2).
36. For more on the status of women in the guild and in Wells, see *Creation of a Community*, pp. 145–48, 242–43, 248–53.
37. Women's status in towns could vary considerably. They could be fuller citizens in some places in some ways. See Martha C. Howell, "Citizenship and Gender: Women's Political Status in Northern Medieval Cities," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 37–60.
38. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order. East Anglia, 1422–1442* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 98–104, detailing the vulnerability of women and servants especially.
39. CBI: 221.
40. For example, William Ian Miller, "Choosing the Avenger: Some Aspects of the Blood-Feud in Medieval Iceland and England," *Law and History Review* 1 (1983): 159–204.
41. This idea, developed by Marcel Mauss, *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954).
42. Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," p. 31.
43. Rawcliffe, "The Great Lord as Peacekeeper"; Smith, "Disputes and Settlements," pp. 853–56, who notes also the place of kin and experts, mainly of fairly high status themselves; Cheyette, "*Suum Cuique Tribuere*," pp. 291–93.
44. In what follows, I have limited all my counting and numerical analyses to arbitration in trespass and debt cases. This was done for pure convenience, but is easily justified as such cases comprised about 93 percent of all arbitration cases. It should also be kept in mind that I have for the most part been counting the individual shares of arbitration rather than the cases that were arbitrated. Thus, a typical case includes four such shares or acts of arbitration, one per arbitrator.
45. Other fifteenth-century towns banned arbitration by their principal officers: see Bennett, "The Mediaeval Loveday," p. 363. By the sixteenth century, the masters formed a kind of official inner cabinet of the Community reflected in the Elizabethan charter, Wells City Ch. 29.
46. *Medieval English Lyrics*, #112.
47. *Medieval English Lyrics*, #112.
48. See *Creation of a Community*, pp. 211–212.
49. See *Creation of a Community*, pp. 178–79, 190–97, 201, 205; M.K. James, "Ritual Drama and the Social Body in the Later Medieval Town," *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 1–29; Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*.

Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 128–41; Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), pp. 13–41, 164–66, 288–311; Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1989), pp. 150–71; and of course the reflected images in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

50. This was commonly the story in Wells, *Creation of a Community*, pp. 173–75 and n.117 for bibliography; but see also Maurice Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), pp. 1–24; Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, pp. 199–206; Robert S. Gottfried, *Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis of the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 60–61; see Payling, “The Ampthill Dispute”: pp. 881–907 to watch men of lordly status look very unsure and unstable; Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, pp. 75–110 is particularly rich in material linking status and anxiety, although with a greater assumption of hierarchical stability than might actually have been the case.
51. For a variety of views on oligarchy, see Sheila Lindenbaum, “Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171–88; Heather Swanson, *Medieval British Towns* (Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 89–96; Susan Reynolds, “Medieval Urban History and the History of Political Thought,” *Urban History Yearbook* (1986): 14–23; Stephen Rigby, “Urban ‘Oligarchy’ in Late Medieval England,” in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. John A.F. Thomson (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988), pp. 62–86; Jennifer Kermode, “Obvious Observations on the Formation of Oligarchies in Late Medieval English Towns,” in *Towns and Townspeople*, pp. 87–106. See also Maryanne Kowaleski, “The Commercial Dominance of a Medieval Provincial Oligarchy: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 355–84. See Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 182–244 for subsequent crucial developments.

Chapter 5 Friends, Enemies, Patrons

1. Indeed, some might assume that the prima facie concern should be that our court records only tell us of enmity and tensions.
2. Josephine Waters Bennett, “The Mediaeval Loveday,” *Speculum* 33 (1958): 363–65. More balanced worries are represented in *Middle English Sermons*, ed. Woodburn O. Ross (EETS 209, 1940 for 1938), p. 132, which warned that “ye that have mad lovedayes, be-ware that it be not iudas loveday, that spake fayre to Crist, and yitt he be-trayed him.”
3. Serel, 37 and 40 original lost.
4. *English Gilds*, ed. Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith (EETS 40, 1870), p. 38.

5. Depending on the social and legal circumstances, pledging could be of considerable importance, sometimes connected to money, sometimes to security. See Martin Pimsler, "Solidarity in the Medieval Village? The Evidence of Personal Pledging at Elton, Huntingdonshire," *Journal of British Studies* 17 (1977): 1–11; Sherri Olson, *A Chronicle of All that Happens* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996), pp. 44–103 and *passim*.
6. See below, p. 113.
7. CBI: 58.
8. CBI: 44.
9. CBI: 49.
10. CBI: 29.
11. CBI: 40.
12. CBI: 58–60.
13. CBI: 60.
14. CBI: 65.
15. CBI: 68.
16. CBI: 73.
17. CBI: 77.
18. I take the phrase "imperial self" from Christopher Lasch, *The Minimal Self* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), pp. 15–17.
19. Burgesses were usually first admitted to the freedom in their mid-twenties. See *Creation of a Community*, pp. 143–45; Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City. Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 124–28; Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverly, and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 86 finds her merchants surviving into their fifties.
20. While all kinds of burgesses did arbitration, there were sharp disparities. As a group, commoners did 26.4 percent of the arbitration. It was the oligarchs, however, who were the impressively recurrent figures on a per capita basis. They did the largest share of arbitration notwithstanding the smallness of their group (37.9% of all arbitration was done by men who currently held that status). See chapter 4, table 4.3. Masters and constables arbitrated at a rate of about ten times that of commoners.
21. See table 4.3. The median for the commoners in the sample was 0. The commoners had a group average of .8, but certain individuals contributed much of this.
22. The pioneering use of this technique in medieval history is Richard Smith, "Kin and Neighbours in a Thirteenth-Century Suffolk Community," *Journal of Family History* 4 (1979): 219–56; an important, more recent application is Christine Carpenter, "Gentry and Community in Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994): 340–80, esp. 365–74. The notion of "social network," in distinction to the technique, is now quite common. A recent modern contribution is Charles Wetherall, Andrejs Plakans, and Barry Wellman,

“Social Networks, Kinship, and Community in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (1994): 639–63. There are other micro-relational approaches being pursued in European history, for instance, Claire Dolan, “The Artisans of Aix-en-Provence in the Sixteenth Century: A Micro-Analysis of Social Relationships,” in *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, ed. Philip Benedict (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 174–93. There is, however, growing interest and use of the general idea if not the methodology of networks within history. See, for instance, Geneviève Xhayet, “Autour des solidarités privées au moyen âge: partis et réseaux de pouvoir à Liège du xiii^e au xv^e siècle,” *Le Moyen Age* 100 (1994): 205–219, although her model relies rather more on a concept of patronage, one kind of substantial network, and related structures. An interesting connection exists in work on financial networks and the social facts underlying them in several articles in *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilizations* 49 (Nov.–Dec. 1994), “Les Réseaux de crédit en Europe, xvi^e au xviii^e siècles:” esp. 1359–409. An example of the construction, with subtlety and an excellent source, of a very late medieval network is Barbara A. Hanawalt, “Lady Honor Lisle’s Networks of Influence,” in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 188–212. For details on methodology, the sample group, etc., please see the appendix.

23. I reiterate that those with whom an individual had direct, recorded links constitute his inner circle.
24. The correlation was .942 across the sample.
25. C.J. Calhoun, “Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization for Comparative Research,” *Social History* 5 (1982): 105–29 uses the term “diffuse obligations” to capture this kind of relation.
26. This also shows the intergenerational element in civic social relations: not all contacts were contemporaries with each other.
27. This concern is weakened by the fact that the size of the outer circles exceeded the entire live community in most cases, indicating that they are reflecting vicissitudes, the diachronic element of soured relationships and a changing population.
28. Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” in *Social Networks*, ed. Samuel Leinhardt (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 347–67; Carpenter, “Gentry and Community,” 370–71 did not corroborate the importance of these in her study of Philip Chetwynd. But there is some support from Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, pp. 15–17.
29. I discuss the community-building consequences of the guild elsewhere: *Creation of a Community*, ch. 6 passim; see also, Gervase Rosser, “Essence of Medieval Urban Communities,” in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200–1540*, ed. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 216–37; *ibid.*, “Going to The Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England,” *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994): 430–46; Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp. 118–22, 170–79; and his “Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal

- Year at Coventry 1450–1550,” in Holt and Rosser, *English Medieval Town*, pp. 238–64; McRee, “Religious Gilds and Civic Order: The Case of Norwich in the Late Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 67 (1992): 69–97.
30. In fact, Pope appears strongly and positively attached to Ralph Avere and strongly, but perhaps somewhat ambiguously or negatively related to John Bowyer.
 31. Of course the problem for Arnold was more metaphysical than social and thus less easily solved. Cf. to the concept of brokerage in Roger V. Gould, “Power and Social Structure in Community Elites,” *Social Forces* 68 (1989): pp. 531–52.
 32. WcaCh 629 (1447).
 33. CBI: 43 and 21.
 34. CBI: 64.
 35. AH 94, 96 (Broun witnessing a transaction of Tanner’s), 100, 101.
 36. CBI: 95, 103, 115, and 122.
 37. *SMW I*, pp. 6–8.
 38. *Selected Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt (London: Longman, 1996), p. 175.
 39. Taunton, Somerset Record Office, DD/WM/1/5.
 40. Cf. Hanawalt, “Lady Honor Lisle,” pp. 188–212.
 41. Martha C. Howell, “Citizenship and Gender: Women’s Political Status in Northern Medieval Cities,” in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 37–60; Cf. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp. 90–91; see also chapter 6, pp. 132–43.
 42. Note that they both go with their collections of supporters to make their complaint at court, but the women come, as it were, as a consequence of the men’s previous discussion, although the women are noted first as the actors: as crucial, the citizen acted so that he “wold of that despit be venged” but vengeance works here in a wholly civil and sociable manner, the high emotion in the quotidian action.
 43. See Caroline M. Barron, “The ‘Golden Age’ of Women in Medieval London,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989): 35–58.
 44. *Creation of a Community*, p. 278.
 45. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, I* (London: H.M. Stationery office, 1907–1914), p. 254 for the year 1298. The document captures the ongoing interaction, but repeats old complaints that may no longer reflect the situation in the fourteenth century. Interaction with the cathedral as opposed to the bishop conforms to the basically positive view of R.B. Dobson, “Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Cities: York, Durham, and Carlisle in the Fifteenth Century,” *Northern History* 19 (1983): 15–44. But see Kermode, “The Greater Towns, 1300–1540,” in *Cambridge Urban History*, I, p. 457 who is less optimistic. See also Ann J. Kettle, “City and Close: Lichfield in the Century Before Reformation,” in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society*, ed. Caroline Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985), pp. 158–65; Michael Franklin, “The

- Cathedral as Parish Church: The Case of Southern England,” in *Church and City, 1000–1500*, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 173–98 dealing with the central Middle Ages.
46. I suspect this was just a matter of record-keeping rather than of changing levels of interaction or ethical standards.
 47. Wells Reg. II, fo. 61.
 48. Wells Reg. II, fos. 61d.–3. See Ruth M. Karras, *Common Women. Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 77 on clergy–prostitute relations; and R.N. Swanson, “Angels Incarnate: The Clergy and Masculinity from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation,” in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 160–77 on the clergy and masculinity.
 49. Karras, *Common Women*, pp. 95–101 on their marginality.
 50. CBII: 220.
 51. William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 78–79. See Rosemary Horrox, “The Urban Gentry in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983), pp. 22–44; and Stephen O’Connor, “Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel: Perceptions of Status among Merchants in Fourteenth-Century London,” in *Trade, Devotion, and Governance*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard G. Davies, and Peter McNiven (Stroud: A. Sutton, 1994), pp. 17–35.
 52. AH 172.
 53. John Henry Parker, *The Architectural Antiquities of the City of Wells* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1866), p. 45.
 54. See Stephen O’Connor, “Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel,” pp. 17–35, especially the analysis of Adam Fraunceys.
 55. See, for instance, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen (EETS 212, 1940), pp. 225–26.
 56. CBII: 220, 224.
 57. “Putting Thieving Millers and Bakers to the Pillory” in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (EETS 15, 1866), p. 56.
 58. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 136 notes how smaller groups such as guilds and fraternities “signaled group identities on a scale smaller than the entire town.” Cf. Stephen Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), pp. 158–59; see Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp. 104–117 for an account of craft guild coherence, in which, however, little attention is paid to the distinctly interpersonal features of the association, as opposed to the corporate quality possible. The relative importance of craft guilds in Europe was wide and their importance remains contentious. See David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1997), pp. 217–27; Heather Swanson, “The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns,” *Past & Present* 121 (1988): 29–48; M.P. Davies, “Artisans, Guilds and Government in Medieval London,” in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. R.H. Britnell (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 125–50; A.G. Rosser, “Crafts, Guilds, and the

- Negotiation of Work in Medieval Towns,” *Past & Present* 154 (1997): 3–31; and Sarah Rees Jones, “Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns,” in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. James Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg, and W.M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 133–53.
59. Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1989), pp. 10–14; see also *English Guilds*, pp. 336–37 and 381 for bakers regulation suggesting their importance and limitations.
 60. LPL, Estate Document 1181; five or so does seem plausible given numbers recorded elsewhere, for example, Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 14; Richard H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 274.
 61. CBI: 68.
 62. A.H. Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); and P.J.P. Goldberg, “Craft Guilds, The Corpus Christi Play, and Civic Government,” in *The Government of Medieval York*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997), pp. 141–63.
 63. See, for example, *Coventry Leet Book*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (EETS 134, 1907), p. 220. Less cozy conclusions about such occasions are drawn by Sheila Lindenbaum, “Community and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171–88.
 64. For example, John Skinner (CBI: 57), Richard White (CBI: 66), and Thomas Baker (CBI: 70).
 65. He only served once (1388) and held no other offices; CBI: 76.
 66. On the role of master to his apprentices see Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 155–72.
 67. Rawcliffe, “That Kindliness Should Be Cherished More,” pp. 100–102.
 68. CBI: 33.
 69. CBI: 98.
 70. I began with a sample of 125 burgesses and a few of their wives. But for statistical reasons, I have eliminated all men and women who had only one or two court appearances, reducing the core sample group to ninety-eight men and no women. Women disappear because very few of them had a lively independent court presence. There were women, however, who did not turn up in the random sample, who would have made the cut. The links that I have analyzed are limited to those recorded in the Convocation Books’ legal disputes; I have not attempted to integrate material from property transactions, witness lists, wills, or the pledges recorded in the admission to the freedom of the city. This is partly for practical convenience, but also to present a level political playing field for all burgesses. These additional sources all tend to focus even more on the economic elite rather than their cross-group interactions.
 71. *Creation of a Community*, pp. 54–58, 142–43 provides some context for the estimate of total population and total burghess population.

72. Such aspects are introduced clearly in J. Clyde Mitchell, "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," in *Social Networks in Urban Situations*, ed. J. Clyde Mitchell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), pp. 20–24. There is much variation in the social scientists' formulations on this and other points, and I believe historians can for the most part remain indifferent to the contradictory theoretical approaches and issues that Mitchell discusses and that have developed since; however, there are important additional discussions and help that can be recommended: J.A. Barnes, "Networks and Political Process," in Mitchell, ed., *Social Networks in Urban Situations*, pp. 51–76; J. Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London: Sage Publications, 1991); *Social Networks*, ed. Samuel Leinhardt (New York: Academic Press, 1977), a key anthology: note especially parts II and III, and preeminently, J.A. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish," pp. 233–52; Elizabeth Bott, "Urban Families: Conjugal Roles and Social Networks," pp. 253–92; Adrian C. Mayer, "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies," pp. 293–315; and Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," pp. 347–67; Claude S. Fischer et al., *Networks and Places. Social Relations in the Urban Setting* (New York: Free Press, 1977); Barry Wellman and S.D. Berkowitz, "Introduction: Studying Social Structures," in *Social Structures: A Network Approach*, ed. Wellman and Berkowitz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 1–14, but many of the articles are suggestive: see especially, Barry Wellman, Peter J. Carrington, and Alan Hall, "Networks as Personal Communities," pp. 130–84; see also Barry Wellman and Barry Leighton, "Networks, Neighbourhoods, and Communities," in *New Perspectives on the American Community*, ed. Ronald L. Warren and Larry Lyon (Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1988), pp. 57–72; Karen S. Cook, "Linking Actors and Structures: An Exchange Network Perspective," in *Structures of Power and Constraint*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Marshall C. Meyer, and W. Richard Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 113–28. For medieval work taking this literature into account and practicing the technique in a preliminary way, see Carpenter, "Gentry and Community," pp. 365–74.
73. Many who have promoted social network theory have been especially attracted to its nonindividualistic possibilities, its capturing dynamic structure, see for example, Wellman and Berkowitz, "Introduction."
74. Carpenter, "Gentry and Community," p. 373 uses the terms first-order and second-order for these relations. My formulation is more suggestive and in this respect begins to capture the kind of potential implicit in the Granovetter, "Strength of Weak Ties" idea of weak and strong ties. Carpenter does make considerable use of strong and weak ties in a way that I don't here.

Chapter 6 Battles at the Boundary of the Self

1. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self. The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 195–97.
2. Julian Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Shechem, or The Politics of Sex* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 4 and 8. See also Pierre Bourdieu,

- Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 11; and George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 42–43.
3. Autonomy here does not mean complete independence but something closer to mastery, the status of the superior, who typically has a large number of dependents, upon whom he reciprocally depends.
 4. Speech as violence, mainly against authority, is discussed briefly by Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980), pp. 125–27.
 5. Authority could also employ violent language in a licit way. The pronouncement of solemn excommunication was partly this kind of act in the later Middle Ages, as was the formulaic curse: see Elizabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), esp. pp. 44–69, on its community impact; and Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
 6. R.H. Helmholz, ed., *Select Cases of Defamation* (Selden Society 101, 1985), p. 1.
 7. *Statutes of the Realm*, volume 2 (London: Dawsons, 1816), p. 9.
 8. Similarly, some anticlerical assaults such as those that the Lollards made were taken as more serious cross-class attacks, and were treated as fundamentally more dangerous.
 9. Marjorie McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 200.
 10. Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 33. This needs, however, careful collation with the medieval evidence. See Helmholz, *Select Cases of Defamation*, p. xliii, on the trajectory of business in church courts.
 11. Helmholz, *Select Cases of Defamation*, introduction; Richard M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1981), pp. 63–80; R.H. Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation in Medieval England,” *American Journal of Legal History* 15 (1971): 255–68; S.F.C. Milsom, *The Historical Foundations of the Common Law* (London: Butterworths, 1969), pp. 332–34, which mainly indicates its nonexistence in the common law; my examples below indicate sources for the local and guild cases.
 12. Wunderli, *London Church Courts*, p. 72; and Brian L. Woodcock, *Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 87–89.
 13. Wunderli, *London Church Courts*, p. 63.
 14. See Helmholz, *Select Cases of Defamation*, pp. xiv–xli.
 15. The key idea was articulated in the fifth canon of the Council of Oxford of 1222: “*maliciose crimen imponunt alicui*.” See *Councils and Synods II, part I: 1205–65*, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 107.
 16. The cases were decided generally by compurgation, the mustering of a number of helpers who could swear in favor of your claim. This further

- indicates that the assessment of reputation rather than the narrow and technical finding of fact was at issue. But from around 1500, at least in some jurisdictions, there was an increasing use of witnesses: see Wunderli, *London Church Courts*, pp. 68–72.
17. Wunderli, *London Church Courts*, p. 63 makes this point.
 18. Virgil, *Aeneid*, lines 101–102 for the mysterious way rumor stalked the city like a bird; for recent historical considerations, see Steve Hindle, “The Shaming of Margaret Knowsley: Gossip, Gender and the Experience of Authority in Early Modern England,” *Continuity and Change* 9 (1994): 391–419; Phillip R. Schofield, “Peasants and the Manor Court: Gossip and Litigation at the Close of the Thirteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 159 (1998): 3–43; and Chris Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance Among the Medieval Peasantry,” *Past and Present* 160 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 3–24.
 19. Perhaps the quickest clear study of such a court’s omnibus character is J.A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1964); or, Zvi Razi and Richard Smith, eds., *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
 20. Christine de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies, or the Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. Sarah Lawson (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 116.
 21. Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation,” p. 266.
 22. For example, in *Depositions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Court of Durham* (Surtees Society 21, 1845), p. 29: “restituta est pristinae fama,” and on p. 27 “restituta ad famam.”
 23. John Gower, *Mirour de l’Homme / The Mirror of Mankind*, trans. William Burton Wilson and Nancy Wilson Van Baak (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1992), p. 41. See also “Yit is ther on, and that is he / Which cleped in Detraccioun. / And to conferme his accioun, / He hath witholde Malebouche, / Whos tunge neither pyl ne crouchem [plunder nor coin] / Mai hyre, so that he pronounce/A plein good word withoute frounce / Awher behinde a mannes bak.” John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G.C. Macauley, vol. 2 (London: EETS 81, 1900), p. 141.
 24. *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 244.
 25. Cf. Bourdieu, “Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society,” in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1966), p. 199.
 26. It should be noted that the Wells Borough Community Court continued to see defamation cases, even though they apparently died out mysteriously in other borough courts around 1400. See Helmholz, “Select Cases of Defamation,” pp. viii–lxi; L.R. Poos, “Sex, Lies and the Church Courts in Pre-Reformation England,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25 (1995): 587.
 27. CBI: 309 (7/19/1443).
 28. This is in line with the meaning of their interventions that we describe in chapters 3 and 4. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 113 has said rightly that there was “an overall system of beliefs and ideals in which a definition of morality was used to judge reputation.”

29. Julian Pitt-Rivers, "The Place of Grace in Anthropology," in *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, ed. John G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 217–218.
30. Wunderli, *London Church Courts*, p. 64, notes that fines were not to be paid as damages to the accuser.
31. Cf. Peter Fleming, "Conflict and Urban Government in later Medieval England: St Augustine's Abbey and Bristol," *Urban History* 27 (2000): 321–43 for a comparable official posturing after an important dispute.
32. *Acts of the Court of the Mercers' Company*, ed. Laetitia Lyell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 85. Another case of brothers and slandering is recorded by Daniel R. Lesnick, "Insults and Threats in Medieval Todi," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991): 71–72.
33. *Acts of the Mercers' Company*, pp. 85–86. Poos, "Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts," p. 591 notes that 'harlot' was only at this time becoming predominantly a sexual term.
34. These were all crimes, either lay or spiritual or both: see Wunderli, *London Church Courts*, p. 76. Cf. also the high prominence of money concerns in Lesnick, "Insults and Threats," p. 75; and Mary Beth Norton, "Gender and Defamation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 9.
35. Rodney Hilton, "Small Town Society in England before the Black Death," in *The English Medieval Town. A Reader in English Urban History 1200–1540*, ed. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 89–90; this is developed by Poos, "Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts," p. 592; and in later context, in considerable detail, by Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, esp. p. 62: "There was no way of calling a man a whore. . . ."
36. Carol Clover, "Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 363–87; she interprets this in light of the "one-sex model" discussed as a principal premodern option by Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).
37. Whether men's sexuality was an important part of their proper public identity, a different question, is debated, especially in early modern Britain: see Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England. Honor, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999); Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1988), pp. 98–104; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, ch. 3. For medieval material, see Clover, "Regardless of Sex"; and most relevant, Derek Neal, "Suits Make the Man: Masculinity in Two English Law Courts, c. 1500," *Canadian Journal of History* 37 (2002): 1–22.
38. Neal, "Suits Make the Man," pp. 13–15 develops a dichotomy of a moralistic masculinity, not associated merely with strength and weakness. Truth is a central part. See also Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth. Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
39. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 4.
40. Cf. Neal, "Suits Make the Man," pp. 7–8; Poos, "Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts," p. 595.

41. CBI: 18 (10/15/1383).
42. CBI: 24 (6/30/1384).
43. Here again secular value and church value were probably divergent: confessors asked “Hast thow I-land any thyng / To have the more wynnyng,” and the manual commanded: “Usure and okere that beht al on/ Teche hem that they use non,” which represents a high standard for usury that was probably not fully replicated in urban courts or assumptions. John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Frederick James Furnivall (EETS 31, 1868 and 1902), pp. 36 and 12.
44. *York Memorandum Book*, vol. 2, ed. Maud Sellars (Surtees Society 125, 1915), p. 67. John Besyngby sr. vs. Henry Appilby (1418), “*publice vel occulte*.”
45. See Green, *A Crisis of Truth*, pp. 1–40 who sets out this understanding of truth.
46. CBII: 142 (Thursday after St Matthew 1484). Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice*, 125–37 focuses on this kind of verbal violence. On oaths, see Green, *Crisis of Truth*, pp. 78–120.
47. CBII: 142.
48. See, *The Creation of a Community*, pp. 191–97. Cf. Barbara Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 16–31, 48.
49. CBII: 150.
50. CBI: 158.
51. One of the helpful qualities of the Wells court material is that we can be sure that all the violence we find was indeed minor. The right and requirement to preserve the peace and apprehend violent criminals and judge their crimes was firmly within the royal prerogative. This power was of course considerably devolved when it came to enforcement. Minor disturbances of the peace—perhaps some quite like our cases—would have been brought by those on watch and ward or others to the attention of the town constables of the peace. They reported to both the Master and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had jurisdiction over the city. But any act or affray that smacked of felony, of serious or bloody wrongdoing should have ended up in a royal court, with the exception of thieves caught in the act or with the goods, whom the bishop had the authority—whether or not used—to execute summarily. See *Placita de Quo Warranto Edward I–Edward II*, ed. W. Illingworth, vol. ii (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1818), p. 703; “Statute of Winchester,” *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. I (London: Dawsons, 1810), pp. 96–98 for the role of petty policemen such as the constables, required in all communities.
52. On the mundane, accidental quality of medieval violence, see A.J. Finch, “The Nature of Violence in the Middle Ages: An Alternative Perspective,” *Historical Research* 70 (1997): 249–68.
53. CBII: 112.
54. CBII: 122.
55. CBII: 152.
56. CBII: 162.

57. See also CBII: 186. This was the case elsewhere: *The Bailiff's Minute Book of Dunwich*, ed. Mark Bailey (Suffolk Record Society 34, 1992), p. 28; Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflicts in English Communities 1300–48* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 100.
58. CBII: 142.
59. CBI: 57 Philip Don insulted John Noreys, for which he was fined and expelled, an unusually harsh treatment. But Don was readmitted and forgiven because he returned to active participation in the guild the year following (CBI: 63/64).
60. See chapter 4 in this book, for an interpretation of the honor- and self-centered nature of trespass pleas.
61. CBI: 175.
62. CBI: 44.
63. CBI: 112.
64. CBII: 186.
65. CBI: 165.
66. CBI: 117.
67. This is the theme of chapter 7, in this book.
68. *Creation of a Community*, pp. 178–80.
69. Philippa Maddern, *Violence and Social Order. East Anglia 1422–42* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 98. Pages 98–104 examine women as perpetrators and victims of violence.
70. *Creation of a Community*, pp. 190–97, 213–215.
71. Barbara Hanawalt, “Violence in the Domestic Milieu of Late Medieval England,” in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. Richard W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 197–99.
72. *Summa Theologiae* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1941), 2a–2ae, lvii, art. 4; I’ve favored the strong translation of *St Thomas Aquinas. Philosophical Texts*, ed. and trans. Thomas Gilby (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 375.
73. See William of Ockham, *A Short Discourse on Tyrannical Government*, ed. and trans. Arthur Stephen McGrade and John Kilcullen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 101–102; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 139–40.
74. “La Belle dame sans merci,” in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (EETS 15, 1866 and 1903, reedited), p. 92. It should be noted that this is overtly a play of rhetoric, as the lover counters that love makes women the masters and men the servants.
75. Rosemary Horrox, “Service,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 68.
76. This case from cause paper evidence is recounted in P.J.P. Goldberg, “‘For Better, For Worse’: Marriage and Economic Opportunity for Women in Town and Country,” in *‘Woman is a Worthy Wight’. Women in English Society, 1200–1500*, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg (Stroud: A. Sutton, 1992), p. 118.

77. See Hanawalt, "Violence in the Domestic Milieu," pp. 200–207; Shannon McSheffrey, "Men and Masculinity in Late Medieval London Civic Culture. Governance, Patriarchy, and Reputation," in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities. Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 243–78.
78. *Depositions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts of Durham*, ed. James Raine (Surtees Society 21, 1845), pp. 14–20, which records all the witnesses using the same terms. This case took place in 1370.
79. *Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings*, p. 18.
80. *Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings*, pp. 15, 17, and 18 provide three slightly different direct quotations; I translate: "Vade tu et interficias ipsum Willelmum, falsum presbiterum."
81. *Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings*, p. 18.
82. Nor is it unique. See Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London. The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 190, although the following pages show servant-on-master violence. On the tenor and context of master-servant relations, see P.J.P. Goldberg, "Masters and Men in Later Medieval England," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 56–70.
83. Cf. Hanawalt, "Violence in the Domestic Milieu," pp. 212–213.
84. Discussions of serious violence are as numerous as small violence is unstudied: see, for instance, Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*; C.I. Hammer, "Patterns of Homicide in a Medieval University Town: Fourteenth-Century Oxford," *Past and Present* 78 (1978): 3–23; J.G. Bellamy, *Criminal Law and Society in Late Medieval and Tudor England* (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1984); Barbara Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); and Hanawalt, "Violence in the Domestic Milieu."
85. CBI: 49.
86. CBI: 97.
87. CBI: 113.
88. For example, CBI: 128 Stephen Skynner vs. Richard Gros. Cf. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p. 184.
89. CBI: 153.
90. Servants must have had recourse to other courts, the royal or the manorial, but it is an open question how often they would have used them or whether their concerns would have been considered legitimate. See, however, Goldberg, "Masters and Men," pp. 57–64.
91. *Creation of Community*, pp. 98–101.
92. See Chris Given-Wilson, "The Problem of Labour in the Context of English Government, c. 1350–1450," in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg, and W.M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 85–100.
93. See *Select Cases of Trespass from the Royal Courts*, vol. 1, ed. Morris S. Arnold (Selden Society 100, 1985), pp. 99–106.

94. CBI: 173.
95. CBI: 43.
96. CBI: 64.
97. CBI: 68.
98. See Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, pp. 170–72, 190ff.
99. On this, see Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, pp. 99–100.
100. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, “The Wife of Bath’s Prologue,” pp. 115–16; *Towneley Plays*, ed. George England and Alfred W. Pollard (EETS 71, 1897), pp. 29–30, 34–35.
101. CBI: 97.
102. CBI: 85.
103. See R.N. Swanson, “Angels Incarnate: The Clergy and Masculinity from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation,” in Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 160–77; and P.H. Cullum, Clergy, “Masculinity and Transgression in Later Medieval Europe,” in Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 178–92.
104. McSheffrey, “Men and Masculinity in Late Medieval London.”
105. Hilton, “Small Town Society,” p. 84 found relatively little female-initiated violence, ranging in the first part of the fourteenth century in the small town of Halesowen from 15–35 percent of the attackers in cases of presentment, but he notes: “Women were frequently the victims of men; men rarely the victims of women.” Courts were tough on women who sued, but indulgent of those who were being prosecuted, even for felonies—see Hanawalt, *Crime and Communities*, p. 54.
106. CBI: 114.
107. This confusing entry could mean that the assailant was trying to take his *own* wife from Rydon, for whom she may have worked or been otherwise involved. Some violence, although of different timbre, is implied either way. CBI: 160.
108. CBI: 147.
109. CBI: 33. Literally, the 2s. was to guarantee his future behavior, but it appears to have been given to Forbour, a *de facto* fine.
110. *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 111.
111. See Christine de Pisan, *Treasury of the City of Ladies*; and Rowena Archer, “‘How Ladies. . . Who Live on their Manors ought to Manage their Households and Estates’: Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Woman is a Worthy Wight*, pp. 149–81.
112. CBI: 43. *Creation of a Community*, p. 264.
113. CBI: 42.
114. Some of this is evident in Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 84–85.
115. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, 99 quotes from the *Paston Letters*, ii, p. 85: “[he] asked hym if a man myth not betyn hes owyn wyfe.”
116. Hanawalt, “Violence in the Domestic Milieu,” p. 206.
117. See for penitential practices of an extreme sort, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), *passim*.

118. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, pp. 75–110.
119. “Ordinances and Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Wells,” in *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, ed. Aelred Watkin (SRS 56, 1941), p. 103; the vicars–choral rules are at pp. 139–49.
120. Cf. the situation in Florence, D. Kent and F.W. Kent, *Neighbourhood and Neighbours in Renaissance Florence. The District of the Red Lion* (Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1982), p. 53.
121. For example, Poos, “Sex, Lies and Church Courts”; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*.
122. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 123.
123. Again, Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, p. 99, provides some evidence; see also, Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 208–210.
124. Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict*, p. 25; Maryanne Kowaleski, “Women’s Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century,” in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 150–51.
125. Pierre Bourdieu, “Rites as Acts of Institution,” in *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, p. 88, suggests that facts of social life do provide people with a greater or lesser amount of identity or being.

Chapter 7 Self-Possession

1. William Harrison, *Description of England* (Washington and New York: Dover Publications, 1994), p. 146.
2. See John Scattergood, “Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages,” in *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 255–72.
3. See Susan Crane, “Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1996): 297–320; see also, Katherine French, “The Legend of Lady Godiva and the Image of the Female Body,” *The Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992): 3–19.
4. Thomas Patterson, “Self-worth and Property: Equipage and Early Medieval Personhood,” in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. William D. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 66.
5. John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Frederick James Furnivall (EETS 31, 1868 and 1902), p. 32.
6. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS, O.S. 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 32.
7. Scattergood, “Fashion and Morality,” p. 269. Cf. P.J.P. Goldberg, “Women,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 124.
8. Dyan Elliott, “Dress as Mediator Between Inner and Outer Self: The Pious Matron of the High and Later Middle Ages,” *Mediaeval Studies* 53 (1991): 290 speaks of a wife’s “paraphernalia” as part of her identity.

9. On the question of commercialization's ambiguous later medieval advance, see R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); on the question of mobility, see J. Ambrose Raftis, *Peasant Economic Development*, passim (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), passim; and R.H. Hilton, "Social Concepts in the English Rising of 1381," *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 216–26; and "Ideology and Social Order in Late Medieval England," in *Class Conflict*, pp. 246–52, where the argument between group mobility and frustration and individual mobility is discussed.
10. *Middle English Lyrics*, ed. Richard L. Hoffman and Maxwell Luria (New York: Norton, 1974), p. 120.
11. *Creation of a Community*, pp. 70–85. See A.R. Bridbury, *Medieval Clothmaking* (London: Heinemann, 1982).
12. *Statutes of the Realm*, I (London: Dawson, 1810), p. 380. Similarly, the second poll tax (1379) assimilated civic worthies to country ones. Wells' Master was probably taxed like a knight: see *Anonimale Chronicle, 1333–1381*, ed. V.L. Galbraith (Manchester and London: Longman, Green & Co., 1927), pp. 127–28.
13. Hilton, "Some Concepts," doubts there was significant real mobility, although he perhaps underestimates the importance of mobility *within* a social group.
14. Who controlled such meanings throughout the culture is now much debated. See, for example, Sarah Beckwith, "Making the World in York and the York Cycle," in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 254–76.
15. *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, ed. Aelred Watkin (SRS 56, 1941), p. 130; cf. Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Paton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 325–28 surveying secular rituals finds another and inconsistent level of color-meaning.
16. *Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, p. 12.
17. *Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, p. 22.
18. This was in the 1330s. *Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, p. 23.
19. *Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, p. 104.
20. *Chaucer, Canterbury Tales*, I, A 195–97, p. 157.
21. AH 17.
22. *SMW*, I, p. 27.
23. *SMW*, I, p. 75.
24. *SMW*, II, p. 169. See Harrison, *Description of England*, p. 146.
25. *SMW*, II, pp. 389–90.
26. CBII: 251 and 266.
27. CBII: 567.
28. Cf., *The Coventry Leet Book: or Mayor's Register*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (EETS 134, 135, 138, 146 combined, 1907–13), pp. 220 and 230.

29. CBIII: 40, a mid-sixteenth-century document. For examples of processions, *English Gilds*, ed. Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith (EETS 40, 1870), p. 55; *York Memorandum Book*, vol. 2, ed. Maud Sellars (Surtees Society 125, 1915), p. 118; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 243–71.
30. *Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, p. xxvii; See Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 10–12. On the role of such dressing and acting as social criticism, reinforcing the order see Natalie Z. Davis, “Women on Top,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 124–51.
31. Robert Dinn, “Death and Rebirth in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds,” in *Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and Dead*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 155.
32. *SMW*, I, p. 74. Dinn, “Death and Rebirth,” p. 155 found that funeral colors were still settling toward black.
33. R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 55–56 on russet cloth, which was typically a gray or russet color, never at any rate bold or bright.
34. On the entire process of managing the end of life and its immediately following actions, see Dinn, “Death and Burial,” pp. 151–69.
35. “Liveries and Robes in England, c. 1200–1339,” *English Historical Review* 111 (1996): 289.
36. *Cely Letters, 1472–1488*, ed. Alison Hanham (EETS 273, 1975), #175, lines 12–13, p. 162. This is a double association: Celys to Sir John Weston; and Sir John to his liveried “friends.”
37. See, for example, *York Memorandum Book*, II, pp. 200–202 (1456) and *Coven-try Leet Book*, p. 374 (1472).
38. Richard II’s 1389 guild inquiries were motivated by such political suspi-cions: see *English Gilds*, pp. 127–31.
39. Serel, p. 39.
40. Barbara Hanawalt, “At the Margin of Women’s Space in Medieval Europe,” in *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Robert R. Edwards and Vickie Ziegler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 17 makes this point in the context of women’s space, that is, of where certain kinds of clothes were required.
41. *Cely Letters*, #175, p. 161.
42. From the “Baron O’Brackley,” *Folk Songs and Ballads of Scotland*, ed. Ewan MacCull (Music Sales Corp.: New York, 1965), Child #203.
43. *Cely Letters*, #175, p. 161.
44. See, for instance, the nuanced discussion of women, work and society in Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women’s Work in a Chang-ing Society, 1300–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. the conclusion pp. 145–57.
45. In reality, women sometimes did achieve recognition based on the eco-nomic roles they played although these were less certain than men’s similar

- work identities: see Cordelia Beattie, "The Problem of Women's Work Identities in Post-Black Death England," in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg, and W.M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 1–19.
46. Adam of Cobsam, *The Wright's Chaste Wyf* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (EETS 12, 1865), pp. 3–4.
 47. The commitment to work and a work ethic may be related, but Christopher Dyer, "Work Ethics in the Fourteenth Century," in *Problem of Labour*, pp. 21–41 is unfortunately too little interested in the master craftsmen to consider them as workers rather than mere employers of labor. A sense for the full seriousness of craftperson and his product can be gleaned from John Harvey, *Mediaeval Craftsmen* (London: Batsford, 1975); see too Heather Swanson, *Mediaeval Artisans* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1989).
 48. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 368–90 for very un-medieval manners.
 49. CBII: 89. Stowell had a typical mason's pattern of no official office-holding, few lawsuits, and sometimes missed appearances at those. On his career, see John H. Harvey with Arthur Oswald, *English Mediaeval Architects: a Biographical Dictionary down to 1500* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1987), p. 286.
 50. Wells, Wells Cathedral, Fabric Account, 1457–58.
 51. CBII: 89.
 52. "I will not tyne that I have wrought." *Towneley Plays*, ed. George England and Alfred W. Pollard (EETS 71, 1897), "The Annunciation," p. 86.
 53. Katherine French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 102–105; Julia Carnwath, "The Churchwardens' Accounts of Thame, Oxfordshire, c. 1443–1524," in *Trade, Devotion, and Governance*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard G. Davie, and Peter McNiven (Stroud: A. Sutton, 1994), p. 191 where the evidence of making with one's hands for the church is clear.
 54. Mr. Goodall's Book, p. 33.
 55. Mr. Goodall's Book, p. 34.
 56. AH 226k.
 57. See A.J. Scrase, "Development and Change in Burghage Plots: The Example of Wells," *Journal of Historical Geography* 15 (1989): 49–65, which provides some background.
 58. William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The C Version*, ed. George Russell and George Kane (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 373.
 59. Useful on old age, with some attention to decrepitude are Nicholas Orme, "Sufferings of the Clergy: Illness and Old Age in Exeter Diocese, 1300–1540," in *Life, Death and the Elderly. Historical Perspectives*, ed. Margaret Pelling (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 62–73; Richard M. Smith, "Manorial Court and the Elderly Tenant in Late Medieval England," in Pelling, *Life, Death and the Elderly*, pp. 39–61; Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 72–145 provides a global account of dealing with sickness and mortality.
 60. AH 172.

61. See, for instance, Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1998); Margaret Aston, “Death,” in Horrox, *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, pp. 202–28; Dinn, “Death and Rebirth” and “Monuments Answerable to Man’s Worth. Burial Patterns, Social Status and Gender in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 237–55; Clare Gittings, “Urban Funerals in Late Medieval and Reformation England,” in *Death in Towns*, pp. 170–83.
62. “A Lyke Wake Dirge” in *Norton Anthology of Poetry*, ed. Alexander W. Allision, 3rd Edition (New York: Norton, 1983), p. 61; Dinn, “Death and Rebirth,” pp. 159–60.
63. See Caroline W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), esp. part 3 for the theological and spiritual discussion of the problem.
64. *SMW*, II, p. 199; Margery Churchstile “commends her soul to God, and St Mary and all the saints of heaven” (AH 17); and Thomas Tanner left his “to God Almighty my redeemer, the Blessed Mary and all the saints” (*SMW*, I, p. 6.)
65. For example, *English Gilds*, pp. 7, 10 from among many.
66. AH 17 (1313).
67. *SMW*, I, pp. 160–61.
68. Vanessa Harding, “Burial Choice and Buried Location in later Medieval London,” *Death in Towns*, p. 130 shows that in some places variable sums were charged according to desirability.
69. AH 116 (1405).
70. *SMW*, I, pp. 230–31; *SMW*, I, pp. 25–27.
71. This is perhaps the difference of thinking with the social self and represents a difference of emphasis to the comprehensive results of Dinn, “Monuments Answerable to Men’s Worth,” esp. pp. 244–45.
72. See especially Dinn, “Monuments Answerable to Men’s Worth”; and Harding, “Burial Choice and Burial Location.” Cf. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 141; and Margaret Aston, “Death,” in Horrox, *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, pp. 216–19.
73. For the citizens it was akin to the cloister churchyard in the cathedral at the other end of town, to which all vicar and canons could expect burial, if their wealth and social selves did not validate something more.
74. Not everyone would be permitted to be buried inside the church. A Chichester council may have been typical in admitting only church benefactors from among the common laity. See *Councils and Synods*, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II, p. 1117.
75. For example, oligarchs Richard Vowell (*SMW*, I, p. 368), John Horewode (*SMW*, I, p. 74), Edward Curteys requested burial before the altar of the High Cross in the nave (*SMW*, I, p. 64). This was much sought after: Harding, “Burial Choice and Burial Location,” p. 131.
76. *SMW*, I, p. 237.
77. *SMW*, I, p. 195.
78. *SMW*, I, p. 77.

79. *SMW*, II, p. 107.
80. Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*.
81. *SMW* I, p. 6.
82. *Dives and Pauper*, ed. Patricia Heath Barnum, vol. I (EETS 275, 1976), pp. 214–15.
83. *SMW*, II, p. 17.
84. *SMW*, II, p. 114.
85. *Norton Anthology*, p. 61.
86. Elliott, “Dress as Mediator Between Inner and Outer Self,” 279–308 has argued, however, that the regimented focus on conformity and the “exterior” self could lead to the development of the inner self typical of later medieval spiritual religion, especially among women.
87. Caroline Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) for this kind of argument. It is all the more striking that this mode was less performed in England.

Chapter 8 A World of Individuals

1. Wells Reg. II, fo. 63.
2. Wells Reg. II, fo. 67.
3. On prostitution in England generally, see Rose Mazo Karras, *Common Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 48–64 and 95–101; see also, Ann J. Kettle, “Ruined Maids: Prostitution and Servant Girls in Later Medieval England,” in *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Robert E. Edwards and Vickie Ziegler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), pp. 19–31; and Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle*, pp. 149–55; and Leah Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Institution in Langued’oc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), who notes (p. 63) the difficulty of learning details about the individual women involved.
4. See, for instance, John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 106–108.
5. Stephen O’Connor, “Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel: Perceptions of Status among Merchants in Fourteenth-Century London,” in *Trade, Devotion, and Governance*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard G. Davies, and Peter McNiven (Stroud: A. Sutton, 1994), pp. 17–35 shows that this doesn’t necessarily mean giving up the urban focus of their identity or aspirations.
6. CBI: 169.
7. Chapter 5 in this volume.
8. Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 124–28.
9. Even a seigneurial borough such as Wells may well have been on a trajectory to arrive at the “triumph of oligarchy” discussed for the later sixteenth century by Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the English Towns* (Oxford: Clarendon

- Press, 1998), part III; and by S.H. Rigby and Elizabeth Ewan, "Government, Power and Authority, 1300–1540," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 1, 600–1540*, ed. David M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 309–12.
10. CBI: 160; CBI: 222.
 11. CBI: 226.
 12. For the dynamics of group formation, particularly of 'systacts', with common interests, see Stephen Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages. Class, Status and Gender* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
 13. Rosemary Horrox, "The Urban Gentry in the Fifteenth Century," in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983), pp. 22–44; O'Connor, "Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel," pp. 17–35 has effectively argued for the complexity of the gentleman-citizen nexus, which was not inevitably about land; Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), pp. 256–87 charts the complexities of citizen-gentlemen intersection, as well as the mentality of social climbing, pp. 300–11.
 14. CBI: 225.
 15. CBI: 226.
 16. See, for example, CBI: 227; CBI: 231; CBI: 233 (2); CBI: 240.
 17. CBI: 257.
 18. Christine Carpenter, "Town and 'Country': The Stratford Guild and Political Networks of Fifteenth-Century Warwickshire," in *The History of an English Borough. Stratford-upon-Avon*, ed. R. Bearman (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 62–79 mainly considers the countryside of the equation and in considering the town (p. 77) focuses on the collective rather than the individual relevance of such networks and links.
 19. Wells Cath. R. III, fo. 259. See also *Creation of a Community*, pp. 129–38 for the political context of this transition.
 20. CBI: 269.
 21. CBI: 312.
 22. *List of Escheators for England and Wales*, List and Index Society 72 (London: Swift, 1971), anno 1474.
 23. *Bridgwater Borough Archives, 1400–1445*, ed. T.B. Dilks (SRS 54, 1938), sub Gascoigne; see also WCacH 669, which outlines some of his extensive lands, including church advowsons and parts of manors.
 24. CBI: 279.
 25. On the whole question of urban gentry, see Horrox, "The Urban Gentry in the Fifteenth Century," pp. 22–44.
 26. CBI: 290.
 27. SRO D/D/B Reg. 6 (Beckyngton), fo. 231.
 28. SRO D/D/B Reg. 6 (Beckyngton), fos. 432–33.
 29. CBII: 36 and 67.
 30. CBII: 47.
 31. CBII: 48.
 32. For example, CBII: 96; CBII: 75.

33. CBII: 67. See Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 66–67.
34. CBII: 68.
35. CBII: 123. Miri Rubin, “The Poor,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 171; on the question of hospital and almshouse admissions and the life within, see, for instance, Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 148–72; and Patricia H. Cullum, “‘For Pore Popele Haberles’: What was the Function of the Maisondieu?” in *Trade, Devotion and Governance*, pp. 36–54, which focuses on almshouses more modest than Wells’.
36. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen (EETS 212, 1940), book I, chapter 76.
37. See AH 172, the almshouse foundation charter of 1436; and see *Creation of a Community*, pp. 241–48.
38. AH 275–78, 289, 302–303, 305.
39. *Chaucer*, Fragment II, Group B, line 101, p. 88.
40. AH 275.
41. This is the argument of Katherine French, *People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) pp. 68–98, the best look at the role of this newly important later medieval lay officer; *Creation of a Community*, p. 166.
42. CBI: 84, 100, and 101.
43. CBI: 58, 102, and 117.
44. CBI: 93 for a loan of 5s. 6d. Rowburgh had taken cloth from Smart.
45. Serel p. 102; cf. “Mr Goodall’s Book,” pp. 32–38.
46. CBI: 137 and 153.
47. See N. Pevsner, *North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958).
48. CBI: 117.
49. He is sometimes, rarely, called Pomerey.
50. WCC 133, where he appeared as a witness, listed last and perhaps not a regular.
51. See, for example, Wells City Ch. 143, 152, and 155–57.
52. WCCh 504–506. He held the property till 1402. It was in the High Street opposite La Pool lane, and it was worth 20s. along with a nearby house of Agnes or Joan Riche.
53. “Yeoman of Wells” in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 6 Henry V*, p. 166.
54. On these men, farming out and the transition of rural life in these years, J.A. Raftis, *Peasant Economic Development within the English Manorial System* (Montreal: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 75–8.
55. London, Lambeth Palace Library ED 1184/6 (1390).
56. CBI: 42.
57. CBI: 121.
58. CBI: 33.
59. CBI: 12.
60. CBI: 31.
61. CBI: 130.

62. On 81 of 139 occasions.
63. *Creation of a Community*, pp. 44, 277–81.
64. See *Victoria County History Somerset*, vol II, W. Page (London: Constable, 1911), pp. 158–60.
65. *Creation of a Community*, pp. 241–43 and AH 172.
66. Tarsus according to *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, Bath and Wells Diocese, 1300–1541*, vol. 8, ed. B. Jones (London: Athlone Press, 1964), p. 7.
67. *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae, sub nomine*; A.B. Emden, *Biographical Register of Oxford University to 1500*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 491–92.
68. The common fifteenth-century term for Oriel, for example, *Oriel College Records*, ed. Shadwell and Salter (Oxford Historical Society 85, 1926), p. 141.
69. *The Dean's Register of Oriel, 1446–61*, ed. Richards and H.O. Salter (Oxford Historical Society 84, 1926), p. 6; this was in 1504.
70. Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fo. 52.
71. SRO D/D/B Reg. 7 (Stillington), f. 113.
72. For example, Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fos. 59 and 92.
73. Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fos. 59 and 92.
74. Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fo. 34d: May 15, 1491 “In the great parlour within the dean's house, Thomas, Bishop of Tine, prayed leave to perform the office at the burial of Robert, late bishop of Bath and Wells; which leave was granted, without prejudice to the statutes and customs of the cathedral.”
75. In 1503/04: Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fo. 100.
76. WCaCh. 736. Very possibly, this was in anticipation of Cornish's death and a kind of trust agreement.
77. CBII: 220 and see *Creation of a Community*, 196.
78. *SMW*, II, 169, 199.
79. Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fos. 55d., 61 (1495–97), and 72d.
80. See Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), pp. 195–208.
81. *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, I, 492.
82. Oliver King, former bishop of Bath and Wells had appointed him an executor: *SMW*, 1501–30, pp. 45; *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, II, ed. William H. Bird and W. Paley Baildon (Historical Manuscript Commission, 1914), p. 175.
83. Wells Cath. Reg. IV, fo. 90; on precentors, see Edwards, *Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 159–67.
84. *The Dean's Register of Oriel College, 1446–1661*, 15.
85. Emden, *Biographical Register*, 363–64.
86. He rented this from the cathedral for 4s. p.a. and then fixed it up and was receiving 40s. from its tenants. *SMW II*, 168.
87. *SMW II*, 169.
88. *Wells Cathedral*, II, 238.
89. Wells City ch. 178.
90. Judith Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 142–76.

91. *Creation of a Community*, 252; I discuss Isabel Tanner in one paragraph on pp. 251–52.
92. Cf. Jennifer Ward, “Townswomen and their Households,” in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 30–31. See also Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450–1700* (London: Longman, 1984), pp. 96–105; and Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
93. *Book of Margery Kempe*, pp. 225–26, 247.
94. Wells City ch. 151, 153, 154, 156.
95. See B.F. Harvey, “Draft Letters Patent of Manumission and Pardon for the Men of Somerset in 1381,” *English Historical Review* 80 (1965): 89–91; Raftis, *Peasant Economic Development*, p. 116 categorizes some manumissions as “prestige,” which probably fits this case. See also Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1964), pp. 83–89.
96. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Henry IV*, pp. 53–54.
97. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 9 Henry IV*, p. 370.
98. *The Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, ed. T. Scott Holmes (SRS 29, 1914), p. 86.
99. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 10 Henry IV*, p. 48.
100. Wells City ch. 16.
101. This tablet can still be seen at St. Cuthbert’s.
102. CBI: 154.
103. Mr Goodall’s Book, p. 35, identifies Atwood as her executor. His role is hard to know for sure as her will has not survived. The inventory of bequests is at Mr Goodall’s Book, pp. 34–35 and is dateable to 1446.
104. While there is a possibility that Isabel lived till 1437, she was certainly alive into the 1420s.

Chapter 9 Conclusion: The Shape of the Social Self

1. Again, this is stressed by Stephen Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995).
2. See Christopher Dyer, “Small Town Conflict in the Later Middle Ages. Events at Shipston-on-Stour,” *Urban History* 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 190.
3. *Chronicle of All that Happens*, ch. 4 and pp. 231–33. Obviously, I can’t believe the community–individual polarity she uses is the best way to work through this problem.
4. Tittler, *Reformation and the Towns*, who discusses this in terms of the political and cultural transformation that followed the Reformation; Rigby and Ewan, “Government, Power and Authority, 1300–1540,” pp. 309–12; Stephen Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby*, pp. 108–112, although the evidence is ambiguous, much of which remains is susceptible of the kind of interpretation provided by Carl I. Hammer, “Anatomy of an Oligarchy: The Oxford Town Council in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,”

Journal of British Studies 18 (1978–79): 1–27; and Stephen Rappoport, *Worlds Within Worlds. Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

5. This was always important to many towns' power systems: see Maryanne Kowaleski, "The Commercial Dominance of a Medieval Provincial Oligarchy: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 355–84.
6. Any of Foucault's works would do, for example, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
7. Or, in John Demos' phrase "A Little Commonwealth," from the book of the same (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).
8. *The Value of the Individual. Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
9. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
10. *Jesus as Mother* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
11. Most powerfully argued by John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
12. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*; Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns*; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
13. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
14. It is a virtue of Alan Macfarlane's work to have tried to capture the social feature, but unfortunately without the social self. See his *Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978) and *Culture of Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

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