

The Name of Navarino.

SINCE I wrote the note on this subject in the last volume of this Review (xx. 307) I have found two other passages which confirm the view that the name of Navarino existed before the Navarrese Company entered Greece. They occur in the *Commemoriali*,¹ where we find Venice complaining to Robert, prince of Achaia, and to the baily of Achaia and Lepanto that the crew of a Genoese ship had started from *Navarrino vecchio* and had plundered some Venetian subjects. The dates of these two documents are 1355 and 1356. Professor Krumbacher, in the last number of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (xiv. 675), agrees that Hopf's derivation has been disproved by my article, but thinks that the name of Navarino comes not from the Avars, but from the Slavonic *javorina*, 'a wood of maples.'

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¹ Ed. Predelli, ii. 231, 248.

Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.

IN the well-known English chronicle called *Brute*, or the *Chronicles of England*, the whole story of the rebellion commonly known as that of Wat Tyler is attributed to Jack Straw. Further researches have convinced me that Wat Tyler and Jack Straw are one and the same person, and in order to prove this theory I propose to examine all contemporary records in chronological order.¹

We should expect to find the most trustworthy accounts in the chronicles of London, whose vicinity formed the scene of the most important events connected with the rising; but the most detailed contemporary report we possess is not found in a London record, but in 'an anomynalle cronicle belonging to the abbey of St. Maries in Yorke,' which was edited by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan from Francis Thynne's transcript (Stow MS. 1047) in this Review in 1898.² It affords much valuable matter, and supports my theory by mentioning only the name of 'Wat Teghler de Maydestone,' and omitting that of Jack or John Straw.

Among the London authorities, Chaucer, who was probably an eye-witness of the rebellion, refers to it in the *Nonne Preestes Tale*.³

Certes he Jakke Strawe and his meynee
Ne made never shoutes half so shrille
Whan that they wolden any Fleming kille;

¹ The best, but still insufficient, account of the rising of 1381 is *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381*, by André Bévillie and Charles Petit-Dutaillia. Paris, 1898.

² *Ante*, vol. xiii. 509-522.

³ *Works*, iv. 237, ed. Skeat.

and the killing of the Fleming is unanimously ascribed to Wat Tyler by modern historians. We shall see shortly that Chaucer is in agreement with all the other London authorities. In a contemporary poem entitled 'The Rebellion of Jack Straw'⁴ Jack Straw is slain at Smithfield in the king's presence:—

Owre kyng hadde no rest, alii latuere caverna,
To ride he was ful prest, recolando gesta paterna;
Jack Straw down he kest, Smythfeld virtute superna.

Here again Jack Straw takes the place which is commonly occupied by Wat Tyler. To this must be added some Latin verses of a poem likewise contemporary, which is called 'Memorial Verses on Edward III and Richard II:—'⁵

Vulgaris populus in regem sub duce Jack Straw
Consurgitque necat, et loca plura cremat.
Quo mox depresso, reliqui pacem violantes
Suspensi pereunt, et fugiendo ruunt.

The two names are positively identified by the author of the continuation of Knighton's *Chronicle*, extending from 1377 to 1395. He was a contemporary of the events he relates, and his description of the rising in 1381 has been generally regarded as one of the most accurate.

Die vero sequenti, scilicet Sabbato, iterum adunati sunt in Smythfeld, ubi rex venit mane ad eos, qui licet aetate iuvenis tamen animi sapientia prudenter doctus. Cui appropinquavit ductor eorum proprio nomine Watte Tyler, sed iam nomine mutato vocatus est Jakke Strawe. . . . Cumque rex de huiusmodi concessione cum deliberatione tardaret, Jakke Strawe propius accedens et regem [verbis] minacioribus alloquens, fraenum equi regis, quo ausu nescio, manu arripuit. Quod Iohannes de Walworth burgensis Londoniensis intuens, et mortem regi imminere pertimescens, arrepto basillardo fixit Jakke Strawe in gutture. . . . In illa misera multitudine recensebantur XX. mille. Isti fuerunt ductores eorum, Thomas Baker primus motor sed postea principalis ductor, Jakke Strawe, Jakke Mylner, Jakke Carter, Jakke Trewman.⁶

Another independent contemporary writer, Adam of Usk, also ascribes Wat Tyler's part to Jack Straw.⁷

Unde illud accidit monstrosum, ut plebei regni, et potissime Cancie et Essexie, sub misero duce, Jac Straw . . . in multitudine onerosa insurgendo, Londoniam, in vigilia Corporis Christi, anno Domini millesimo CCC^o octogesimo primo venerunt.

⁴ *Political Songs and Poems*, i. 226, ed. Wright (Rolls Series, 1859).

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 458.

⁶ *Henrici Knighton Chronicon*, ii. 137 seq., ed. J. B. Lumby (Rolls Series). The continuator's identification is discredited both by his last editor (ii. p. lxxix), who speaks of a 'confusion,' and by MM. Réville and Petit-Dutaillis, who only comment (p. lxxvii n. 1) that *cette erreur a passé dans l'History of Norfolk de Blomefield*, iii. 105.

⁷ *Chron.* (ed. by Sir E. M. Thompson, 1904), p. 1.

The City chronicles of the fifteenth century all agree in mentioning alone the name of Jack Strawe. In London, if anywhere, the memory of the time of danger and of the brave conduct of the mayor, William Walworth, must have been kept alive. Hence I am inclined to attach much credit to these records, scanty as they are. It is true that in their present form they are not contemporary; but usually the entries in them were made year by year, so that a passage which occurs in a City chronicle continued sixty years further may rank as an original and contemporary authority. The best account of the rising is that in the *Chronicle of London, 1089-1483*, which closed originally in 1442—⁸

and there they metten with Jake Strawe ledere of the upryrsers. And this Jake Strawe spak to the kyng heded as it hadde be to his felawe: and John Blyton that bar the maires swerd of London bad hym don of his hode while he spak to the kyng; wherfore Jake Strawe wax an angred and mynte to caste his daggere to Blyton. And thanne William Walworthe, maire of London, drew his baselard and smot Jake Strawe on the hed: and with that, Rauf Standysssh, that bar the kynges swerd, roof Jake Strawe through the body with a swerd; and there he fyll doun ded.

In Gregory's *Chronicle* it is said—⁹

And that tyme was Syr Wyllyam Walworthe made a knyght in Smethe Fylde for that he slowe the chefteyn of hem the whiche that were rysers, that was called Jacke Strawe.

The unpublished City chronicle preserved in the Cotton MS., Vitellius A, xvi, gives an account of the rebellion very similar to that of the *Chronicle of London*, but closes like Gregory:—

And that same tyme the king made knyghtes that is to wete sir William Walworth that was Mayre of london for he slewe the Captayn of the Risers in the kynges presence that was called Jak Strawe.

None of the editors of these works expresses surprise at finding Jack Straw mentioned without Wat Tyler, and at the place which, according to tradition, belongs to the latter.

On the other hand there is no doubt that even during the time of the rebellion some people believed that Wat Tyler and Jack Straw were two different persons. For the most part, however, they know nothing of Wat Tyler but his name, while all the events they record are connected with the person of Jack Straw. This is the case with the *Brute*, or the *Chronicles of England*, ending in 1419, of which the source of the part from 1377 to 1419 is a lost City chronicle.¹⁰

⁸ Ed. by Sir N. H. Nicolas. London, 1827.

⁹ *Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 91, ed. J. Gairdner.

¹⁰ This I propose to show in my forthcoming edition of the work for the Early English Text Society.

. . . and they of Kent and of Essex made hem II Cheuentaynes to ruell and gouerne the Company of Kent and of Essex that one men callede Jake Strawe and that othir wille [*v.l.* Watte] Tyler. . . And this Jake Strawe thanne made an oye [*v.l.* crye] in the felde that alle the peple shulde come nere and hire his clamoure and his Crye and his wylle. . . And anon William Wallworthe that tyme being Mayor of London draw out his knyff and slowe Jakke Strawe and anon ryght there dyde smyte of his hede.¹¹

Similar to this is the account of Hardyng, who was born in 1378, and wrote his *Chronicle*¹² about 1464 :—

They asked Iake Strawe & Wat Tiler
To bee made dukes of Essex and Kente,

but five verses later on he speaks of Jack Straw as slain in Smithfield :—

Afore Jake Strawe þe kyng then stode hodlesse,
Of which Walworth, the mayre of London trewe,
Areasoned hym then of his greate lewdenesse,
With a dagger in Smythfelde then hym slewe.

Fabyan, who wrote about 1513, must also have had access to a similar authority, for in the beginning of his narrative he refers to Wat Tyler and Jack Straw as two different persons, 'the whiche namyd theyr leders Jacke Strawe, Wyl Wawe, Watte Tyler, Jacke Shepherde, Tomme Myller, and Hobbe Carter;' but in the following narrative he speaks only of Jack Straw :—

Whan Jacke Strawe had thus done all thyng at his wyll, & sawe þat no resystence was made agayne, he was smytten with so huge a presumption þat he thought no man his pere, & so beyng enflawmyd with that presumption and pryde, rode vnto the Towre, where the kyng beyng smally accompanied of his lordes, caused hym to ryde about some parte of þe cytie. . . .¹³

A curious instance is presented by a contemporary writer whom we have not yet mentioned, John Malverne, a monk of Worcester, one of the continuators of Higden, who died probably about 1415. He gives a very good account of the rising, but confers the sole leadership on one Iohannes tegulator, who is killed by the mayor of London.¹⁴ It is obvious that he knows only of one person who is called by mistake Iohannes tegulator. We shall come across the same error again.

MM. Réville and Petit-Dutaillis¹⁵ were mistaken in speaking of a proclamation of the clergyman and clerks of St. John's in Thanet in the name of Jack Straw and Wat Tyler.¹⁶ The docu-

¹¹ Harleian MS. 24.

¹² P. 339, ed. H. Ellis.

¹³ Fabyan's *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis, p. 530.

¹⁴ Higden's *Polychronicon*, ix. 1-8, ed. J. R. Lumby (Rolls Series).

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* p. lxxix.

¹⁶ Printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, iii. 71-3, 76.

ments cited speak of John Rakestraw,¹⁷ whom these scholars identify with Jack Straw, but they quote also the following verses of a contemporary poet, who distinguishes the two :—

Jak Chep, Tronche, Jon Wrau, Thom Myllere, Tyler, Jak Strawe,
Erle of the Plo, Rak to, Deer, et Hob Carter, Rakstrawe.¹⁸

John Rakestraw has been frequently confounded with the surname of Wat Tyler, i.e. Jack Straw. Such seems to be the case in the Coram Rege roll, Trin. 7 Ric. II, m. 23,¹⁹ where the expression *per compulsionem Iohannis Strawe et Walteri Tyler*, John Rakestraw not being named, implies that he ought to take the place of John Straw. If we except the above-cited verses, where perhaps Tyler may be meant to qualify Jak Strawe, there is only one contemporary record which clearly distinguishes between Wat Tyler and Jack Straw as two different leaders. This is a statement in the parliamentary rolls, where both names are twice mentioned : . . . come Wauter Tylere del Countes de Kent, Jakke Strawe en Essex . . . Que le ditz Wauter, Jakke Straw;²⁰ and, this instance standing quite alone, we think that Jack Straw is a mistake for John Rakestraw.

Two other authorities, both belonging to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, remain to be discussed. In the continuation of a copy of the Anglo-Norman *Brut* (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 78), which has escaped the notice of historians, a distinction is made between one John Tiler and Wat Tiler, but this is obviously due to a mistake; for John Tiler²¹ is described as the chief leader during the meeting in Blackheath, while Wat Tiler is killed by William Walworth in Smithfield. At the end of the story, however, one John Straw is introduced, whose confession and execution are related at some length. This tale agrees very well with the other authority, Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, which affords the fullest account of the rebellion we possess. He calls the two chief leaders Walter Tyler and Iohannes Strawe.²² The history of each is told separately. Walter Tyler forms the centre of the proceedings in London, but it is expressly stated that John Straw, who was executed much later, was present there too. It is tempting to change Jack Straw into John Straw; but considering that Walsingham does not mention the name of another leader, John Rakestraw, it is more natural to conjecture that John Straw is in fact the man otherwise known as John Rakestraw. If we substitute John Rakestraw for John Straw in

¹⁷ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, iii. 76.

¹⁸ *Political Songs and Poems*, i. 230.

¹⁹ Bérville and Petit-Dutaillis, p. 214.

²⁰ *Rot. Parl.* iii. 175.

²¹ This John Tiler has nothing to do with the person of the same name in John Stow's *Chronicle*, who is said to have given the signal for the rising in Kent by killing a collector of the poll tax.

²² *Hist. Anglic.* ii. 11 (Rolls Series).

the *Brut* and the *Historia Anglicana*, then we have only to do with him and Wat Tyler, the name of Jack Straw not being mentioned. The account given by Walsingham reappears in the *Historia Vitae et Mortis Ricardi II*, an authority contemporary with the *Historia Anglicana*, and in some part dependent upon its original. Here Watte Taylar and Jak Straw are mentioned as two of the leaders in London,²³ but afterwards the confession and execution of one Iohannes Straw²⁴ are recorded. As John Straw is here expressly distinguished from Jack Straw we must suppose that the former name should be replaced by John Rakestraw. On the other hand it is evident that the author is thinking of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw as two different persons.

None of the later chroniclers can claim to be original in what they say about the rebellion. For the most part they are dependent on Walsingham's narrative, and so are the majority of the modern historians, if they do not give more credit to the still more recent accounts of Froissart and John Stow. None of them has any suspicion that Wat Tyler and Jack Straw are one and the same person. For the most part they do not know what to do with Jack Straw, and make him, as, for instance, Froissart does, a shadowy companion of Wat Tyler.

To sum up, the earliest accounts of the rising name only one leader, who is sometimes called Wat Tyler and sometimes Jack Straw. The continuator of Knighton tells us that both names belong to the same person; but very soon people began to ascribe them to different persons. This confusion was increased by the fact that there was another leader called John Rakestraw whose name became transformed into John Straw, probably in imitation of 'Jack Straw.' It is not particularly strange that we should find one of the leaders of the rising bearing two names. Very likely Wat Tyler (or Walter the Tiler) in fact called himself Jack Straw. For such a procedure several parallels may be quoted. During the rising of the Lollards in 1431 William Perkins (otherwise called Mandeville), the Lollard rebel and weaver of Abingdon, assumed the name of Jack of Wigmoreland. The well-known rebel Jack Cade in 1450 called himself John Amende-alle²⁵; and in the same year Thomas Cheyney (otherwise known as Thomas Thany) during the revolt raised by him adopted the name of Bluebeard.

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²³ P. 24, ed. Hearne.

²⁴ P. 81 ff.

²⁵ *English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, &c.*, p. 64, ed. J. S. Davies.