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THE BEVERLEY TOWN RIOTS, 1381-2.

COMMUNICATED BY CYRIL T. FLOWER, M.A.

'NOUS devons dire ici,' writes the editor of Réville's '*Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs*,' 'que nous n'avons pas pu . . . présenter à notre entière satisfaction les documents relatifs à cette révolte de Beverley, et nous souhaitons que quelque savant Anglais revoie les originaux et contrôle les conclusions.'¹ Without arrogating to himself the degree of erudition which these words imply, an English student might use this note as an excuse for further researches on this subject. Moreover, a fortunate discovery has placed the present writer in a position to supplement both M. Réville's researches and the valuable work which Mr. Leach has done in connection with the history of Beverley. The list of Ancient Petitions at the Record Office shows that the unusually large number of almost fifty consecutive documents appear to relate to Beverley, and after an examination of the documents themselves it was found that with a certain amount of rearrangement they could throw some light on the methods of medieval municipal politics.²

Beverley was a town in which any passing trouble would be likely to find a congenial home. The saintly confessor, who was almost the eponymous hero of the place, had in the latter end left to Beverley a doubtful heritage. His godly life had attached to the fane which was built to his honour

¹ p. civ. n. 2.

² The documents in question were originally preserved among the series known as Chancery Files—the usual receptacle for records sent up from the provinces to the central Chancery.

a well-known right of sanctuary. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries such a privilege did not augur well for the peace and quietness of the town, and had led to considerable difficulties during the reign of Edward III. Beverley was, moreover, a town in which several rival jurisdictions held sway, and this, as we shall see, was in itself a cause of trouble. The conflicting rights of the Archbishop of York and of the chapter of St. John did not lend themselves to the promotion of civic harmony.

Of those who played a conspicuous part in the following episode, Alexander Neville, the turbulent and vigorous Archbishop of York, was perhaps the most prominent. The Archbishop's interests in Beverley were considerable, and it was probably his ambition to extend his influence at the expense of the chapter of St. John. He had a liberty within the town; and his enjoyment of free warren and market-rights had led to considerable litigation at the very beginning of the reign of Richard II. On the other hand, the chapter of St. John of Beverley had claimed considerable rights of jurisdiction to the exclusion of the ministers of the Crown as early as the reign of Henry III.¹; and in the fifth year of Richard II.—more than a hundred years later—the question was still *sub judice*. Such divergence as may be found in the policy of the latter body, at the time of which we are about to treat, may perhaps be traced to a contemporary suit touching the office of provost. We have, moreover, evidence² that the archbishop was involved in personal disputes with the chaplain of the church of St. John and with two of his opponents in the coming struggle. It was therefore natural and easy for the inhabitants of the town to develop a sturdy spirit of partisanship. It would appear that in the strife which ensued at Beverley the Archbishop gave his support to the smaller merchants and tradespeople of the town against those who claimed for themselves the exclusive title of 'probi homines.'

Among these 'graunts gens' the representatives for the

¹ Co. Plac., York, 135.

² Pat. 4 Ric. II, p. 2, m. 3 d.

time being of the families of Beverley and Coppandale appear to have played the chief part. The Beverleys were persons of considerable importance in the town whose name they bore. In 1377 Thomas de Beverley is a member of the commission of the peace for the liberty of St. John; in 1380 the king appoints him, together with the sheriff of York and Daniel Haselrigg, to arrest one Hugh Hoton; he subsequently appears on commissions in the years 1382 and 1383. Richard de Ravenser, in alienating land for the support of twelve poor men and a chaplain in the hospital of St. Nicholas, includes as the special objects of the prayers of the chaplain, the souls of himself, the king and his mother, Thomas de Beverley and Joan his wife. Adam Coppandale was a merchant of York and Beverley, who had reached a ripe old age after filling many important offices in the latter town. At one time he was joint leader of the men of Beverley in an array of arms; and by letters patent of October 9, 1383, the king, in consideration of his sixty-eight years, specially exempted him from the necessity of taking office. Thomas Coppandale is described as a chaplain, and if, as is probable, he was connected with the Chapter of St. John, additional significance is lent to the quarrel of Alexander of York with that body. As late as the year 1502 a lane in Beverley is sufficiently designated as being 'by Mr. Coppandale's.' Among the other prominent members of this oligarchy were John de Erghun, John Gervays, vintner, John Gervays, goldsmith, and William Dudhill.

The ringleaders of the malcontents were Richard de Midelton, Henry de Newark, Thomas White, 'tyler,' and Richard de Bostan. Their followers included 'souters,' tailors, butchers, 'walkers,' and drapers. They represented, in fact, the lower middle class in Beverley—the small shop-keepers.

The struggle between the Archbishop of York and the Chapter of St. John only affected the present disturbance in so far as it ensured the bourgeoisie the powerful support of the prelate.

The course of the rising really turned on two questions, one of which had reference to the forms of government of Beverley. It will be well to treat the constitutional point at issue first. The charters and records of that town show that the normal government lay in the hands of a body of twelve men, who were chosen annually on St. Mark's Day at the Guildhall by the burgesses, and who at the expiration of their period of office had to render an account of their actions to the twelve who were elected to succeed them. Only twice during the past fifty years had this form of government been superseded. But in the year 1380 the malcontents in Beverley, remembering this precedent and taking advantage of the disturbances of the time, elected Richard de Midelton as Alderman and Henry Newark and Thomas White as chamberlains. The contest was continued into the next year, when we find Thomas de Manby alderman, Simon Cartwryght and William Ithun chamberlains. On March 18, 1382, the king sent a mandate to the good men and burgesses of Beverley to the effect that the town must return to its old form of government; and on April 26 there followed a confirmation of the Beverley charter in favour of the canons and clerks of the church of St. John of Beverley. The rights of the case can be easily determined; it is certain that the oligarchy had the law on their side; it is equally certain that the government had as a matter of fact fallen into the hands of an extremely close corporation, whose method of rule had given those outside this charmed circle a strong inducement to effect a change; nor must it be forgotten that in seeking to do this they were not embarking on an entirely new experiment.

In the actual march of events, this constitutional question was only a side issue. The crisis was reached after a prolonged struggle during which the combatants fought now *vi et armis*, now with the subtler weapons of intrigue and sedition. It is hard to determine the precise facts of the matter or the exact order of events; both parties found expression for their case in legal records which are still extant

and which probably contain their full measure of legal fiction. Naturally their statements do not always coincide. Where they vary, it has generally seemed advisable to accept the statements of the 'probi homines.' In the first place the documents on which they relied are preserved among the Ancient Petitions. Secondly, they were undeniably correct in their statement of the constitutional position.

Fortune at first was on the side of Midelton and his party. Having already secured the common seal of the town and the appointment of their own leaders as alderman and chamberlains of Beverley for the ensuing year (1380-1381), in May of that year they arraigned their opponents before a commission, over which John Bygot presided; and the verdict of the jurors was in their favour.¹ It was held to be proven that Adam Coppandale and others had stolen from the Guildhall of Beverley the sum of £20, the common seal and various charters to the value of £100, and had purloined a further sum of £100, which was to have been paid to Alexander of York as rent for Westwood; that Adam de Coppandale '*vi et armis et in prejudicium prefati Archiepiscopi*,' had on the preceding Michaelmas built a wall and house on the common street of Beverley between the common sewer and his own tenement. It was proved before the same court, but before a different body of jurors, that Thomas de Beverley had in July 1378 stolen £24 from the Guildhall; that he had erected buildings at Lathegate and Bradewellayne to the prejudice of the Archbishop; that Adam Coppandale and others had stolen charters and other goods to the value of £20 in November 1380; that Gervays and others sold wine in false measures; that on August 1, 1379, Robert Butemond had with the connivance of Richard de Ravenser—who was, one may notice in passing, a public benefactor of Beverley—stolen a chest and its contents worth £10; that Coppan-dale had obstructed the river Hull and the high road at St. Mary's Gate. This success emboldened Midelton and his party. In the following month they took a further step.

¹ Coram Rege, Easter, 5 Ric. II. m. 25.

Midelton, Newark and White were now approaching the close of their year of office ; and their methods of procedure ceased to be strictly official. On various days between June 8, 1381, and the end of the month, they visited the houses of their leading opponents and by forcible means extracted from each of them a bond with its defeasance, the latter appearing either on the dorse or on a separate piece of parchment. One pair of these documents may be taken as typical of the rest.¹ In the bond Adam de Coppandale promises to pay to Richard de Midelton, alderman of Beverley, £200 sterling on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next following. The defeasance of the bond is conditional, in the first place, on Coppandale's abiding by the judgment of Alexander of York and his council in all things wherein the commonalty of Beverley can show that he has offended against them, and secondly on his good behaviour for the future. Fourteen of these bonds and eleven defeasances are still extant.

They also extracted certain sums for the king's marriage, which the king never received.

Coppandale and his party placed no reliance on the tender mercies of Alexander, and preferred the alternative of flight. On the 30th of the same month, however, it would appear that Thomas de Beverley succeeded in extracting 600*l.* from the commons of Beverley—a Parthian shot almost too effective to be credible.²

But the malcontents had almost had their day. Their successes had probably been far more considerable than appears from the legal records, where one can trace only the careers of a chosen few among the ranks of the opposing forces. However, during the summer of 1381 the general revolt weakened, and the chances of the malcontents in Beverley grew less bright. It was not long before the exiled patricians of the town began to conceive hopes of returning and as a first step towards that end sought the royal ear in a series of petitions, five of which are still on record. Taken

¹ Ancient Petitions, 11201, 11210.   ² *Coram Rege*, Hil. 6 Ric. II. m. 21.

together, these petitions afford a summary of the grievances of the 'probi homines,' setting out¹ :—

i. That 'les riotours et barettours' had by violence and force of arms compelled the 'good men' to make certain bonds.

ii. That they took the common seal from its proper custody and executed a bond of 1,000 marks.

iii. That they appointed as their authority a recorder, an alderman, two chamberlains, and twenty-four guardians. (Here we have the new polity set out in full.)

iv. That they caused it to be put on record that the bonds they had exacted had never been discharged.

v. That they assaulted the houses of the petitioners and drove them and their wives from Beverley.

vi. That the petitioners are in fear of their lives, and dare not return to their homes.

vii. That the rioters imprisoned Paul de Buddely, a royal servant.

The petitioners therefore prayed that a remedy might be found for these evils, and that the bonds in question, as well as certain indictments heard before John de Bigot, might be cancelled.

These petitions evidently received attention. A steady and persistent flow of royal writs began to descend on all those who held positions of authority in Beverley. On September 26 the king, 'thinking it horrible' that bonds extracted by force should become the basis of legal action, issued a writ² directing the sheriffs of the Archbishop of York and other officers within Beverley to put a stop to any such proceedings. On December 10 Thomas de Manby, alderman of Beverley, and the two chamberlains were directed³ to produce the bonds in Chancery in the following Hilary term and to cause the appearance of Midelton, White, and Newark at the same time and place. The originals of this and a number of other writs are preserved among the set of Ancient Petitions to which reference has been already

¹ Ancient Petitions, 4688, 4700, 8356, 13260, 13262.

² Close 5 Ric. II. m. 34d.

³ Ancient Petitions, 11205.

made, and in the endorsements we have the various returns to these writs. On this occasion Manby declared that the bond had never been in his custody, and that Midelton and the others could not be found. This answer being deemed unsatisfactory, a stringent writ was issued on February 12 directing Manby to produce both bonds and offenders for March 3 ; failing this, he and the chamberlains must appear in person under a penalty of 2,000 marks ; and in the course of the writs doubt is frankly and openly cast on the genuineness of the excuses contained in Manby's previous return.

Meanwhile Beverley, Coppandale, and others had taken advantage of a clause in the general pardon of December 13,¹ and had applied for and received on December 20 a protection² in their proceedings before Parliament in the matter of the bonds to extend to the ensuing Easter.

It is to be presumed that Manby appeared on March 3 and pleaded failure, for on March 13 writs³ are sent out directly to Richard de Bostan (who may have held the office of recorder in Beverley during the preceding year), Newark, and White. These writs set forth that the bonds which were the *fons et origo mali* were in the town chest, secured by four keys ; two were with Manby, and two with Midelton and White ; the key of the house in which the chest lay was in the custody of Bostan. The recipients of the writs were directed to open the doors of the house, be present at the extraction of the bonds, and appear before the king on the octave of Easter under pain of 2,000*l*. The writs are issued 'per concilium,' which may be taken to indicate the increased attention of the royal ear. Manby was also summoned, and the sole result of the writs was his appearance with fifteen bonds and four other documents.

Matters were now approaching a climax in another point at issue—that of the verdicts which had been given against Coppandale's party by the jurors under Bygot's commission. On March 18 a writ was issued to Bygot to produce the

¹ Close 5 Ric. II. m. 23d.

² Pat. 5 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 3.

³ Ancient Petitions, 11206–11208.

records of the case before the king for the Easter term. Coppandale and the others put in an appearance on the date mentioned and were temporarily committed to the Marshalsea. In the ensuing term, however, they gained a complete success. The decision of the jury was reversed in every case, and it is significant that in several instances the reason was the production of letters of pardon dated in the preceding term.

So far the 'probi homines' had been eminently successful. The question of the bonds remained to be determined. On April 16 a number of writs were issued.¹ Midelton, who had put in an essoin of sickness, was required to appear before the king on May 5 to show cause why the bonds should not be cancelled. A writ for the arrest of White and others was issued to the sheriff of Yorkshire, who entrusted its execution to various officials in Beverley. The returns show some diversity. The bailiff of the liberty of the chapter of St. John of Beverley replied that he dared not make the arrest for fear of his life. Manfeld answered² that, the offence not being of an ecclesiastical nature, the arrest was inconsistent with his priestly office; the others replied that they could not find the parties named.³ William de Erghom, the sheriff of Yorkshire, adopted the last reply in framing his return to the original writ. The various answers point to a divergence of policy and a continuance of civic strife.

Two days later a mandate was addressed to the inhabitants of Beverley by which the power of the new constitution to levy money was temporarily suspended.⁴ Two days later still Midelton and twelve others of his party were summoned to appear on May 12 to answer a charge of extorting money from John Ryton, butcher, and William Roulestan, the occupation of the former of these two indicating a division in the camp of the 'mediocres viri.' From a writ dated May 12 it would appear that this matter was postponed to the fol-

¹ Ancient Petitions, 11221, 11223, 11224, 11231. ² Ancient Petitions, 11220.

³ Ancient Petitions, 11221.

⁴ Close 5 Ric. II. m. 11.

lowing Monday. Meanwhile Spofford and Woodmanse, two of Coppandale's following, found lodging in the Marshalsea.

About the same date as these proceedings two further petitions were sent up to the king. One emanated from the Archbishop of York.¹ Without condescending to go into details, he stated that he had been accused by Coppandale and others of being privy to certain rebellions, and he asked for a trial of the matter. The other is from the good men of Beverley.² Its date must be some time in June. It sets forth that on Monday in Whitsun week the men of Beverley were summoned to the Great Hall before Bygot and Sir John de Midelton, clerk. They were requested to sign a blank roll and come to London to justify their evil deeds. There had arrived at Tottenham some sixty who had filched their steeds from the common pasture. These now threaten the good men from day to day that they will meet them outside the king's court (devers l'ostell) and go about with pole-axes and swords in the city of London, so that the good men are in fear of their lives. Prayer is made to the king to examine these evildoers, and also the Lady Isabella, the king's aunt, Robert Rous, and others, serjeants-at-arms and carriers of writs to Beverley, as to the truth of the rebellion of the evildoers, and to enable the petitioners to dwell in safety at Beverley. Much of the matter of this petition is far from clear. The sudden introduction of Isabel de Courcy is bewildering. But it is evident that the *mise-en-scène* has been transferred to the environs of London and that matters could not remain as they were.

A resolution of the difficulties was, however, at hand: A promise by Coppandale and others was entered into on June 14, to keep the peace whilst securities were taken from all the men of Beverley by the Archbishop of York. A list is given of those from whom such securities were taken on June 27.³

This seems to have settled the question of the bonds;

¹ Ancient Petitions, 11204.

² Ancient Petitions, 11237.

³ Ancient Petitions, 11242.

and, as they are still to be found among the Chancery documents relating to this matter, it is to be presumed that they were cancelled.

On October 18 a general pardon was granted for all misdeeds committed before September 14 last past. Restitution of goods confiscated, and a collective fine of 1,100 marks, were the conditions of pardon.

Certain charges against Thomas de Beverley and his son were, however, held over until the ensuing February, when a royal pardon was pleaded and both were acquitted.

Beverley, however, continued in a state of unrest for some years.

In December 1384 an entry on the Patent Rolls records the pardon of John Rasin,¹ who had caused the death of Richard Bostan, chief captain in the late insurrection. In the *Coram Rege* roll of Easter 1385 we find a record of the trial of John de Erghun and other supporters of the 'probi homines' for a long series of misdeeds, which included a violent assault on Richard de Midelton and the procuring of a false accusation against Botelstane (*i.e.* Bostan) and others. The result of the trial was what might have been expected: Erghun was acquitted.

Even as late as the year 1408 we find an entry on the Patent Rolls,² which brings back upon the stage some of the most prominent figures in the stirring scenes of the previous reign. It is a commission of *oyer and terminer*, in form quite normal, but with a certain originality of matter. Robert Manfeld, now, as in the early years of the reign of Richard II., provost of Beverley, complains that certain malefactors and disturbers of the peace of the town have rendered into English certain letters patent, conferring a pardon on the provost for sundry trespasses: these they have posted on the doors of many of the inns of Beverley, setting forth that they are the provost's letters of ordination! Their offence was not diminished by the fact that it took

¹ Pat. 8 Ric. II. m. 1.

² 9 H. IV. 2, m. 7d. The writer is indebted to Mr. R. C. Fowler for notice of this entry.

place during Rogation Days, when the most important religious processions of the year were celebrated at Beverley. Comment is unnecessary: the most dignified ecclesiastical figure in Beverley is exposed to the keenest ridicule at the very moment when his pomp and circumstance should reach their culminating point. There follow the usual allegations of riot, murder, mutilation, and violence, in which the bailiff and governors of Beverley, including Thomas son of Adam Coppandale, appear to have been the ringleaders. It was to inquire into and, if necessary, punish these misdeeds that the commission issued.

With regard to the connection of the movement in Beverley with the Peasants' revolt in other parts of England, one has to content oneself with guarded and general statements. It is useless to attempt to build an elaborate superstructure of theory on slight or uncertain foundations of fact. On the one hand, the coincidence of dates is at best incomplete, and there is at Beverley a series of entirely local questions at issue. On the other hand, both the local and the general movement were largely the outcome of the misgovernment which characterised the latter half of the reign of Edward III. It is certain that at Beverley excessive and continuous local taxation was a deep-seated cause of trouble.¹ It is at any rate safe to assume that the success or failure of the larger movement had a vital meaning for those who were engaged in the smaller struggle. Again any connection that may exist between this movement and the history of the gild is at any rate not apparent on the face of the record. It must be admitted that the details of the rising are complicated and of no very great intrinsic importance; but the methods of the two parties and the local questions at issue perhaps lend a certain interest to the story.

There is much that calls for explanation. The order of events given is partly conjectural. The attitude of the alderman of Beverley for 1382 and his colleagues is not quite clear; the mention of Isabel de Courcy is sudden and

¹ Ancient Petitions, 11238.

unexpected ; and it is possible that a close examination of the quarrel between the Earl of Northumberland and John of Gaunt, both of whose names appear in the records, might be of service.

All the documents on which this paper is based are among the Ancient Petitions¹ of the Chancery, with the exception of those cited in Réville's work and a few entries on the Patent and Close Rolls of various dates.

The writer has to express his indebtedness to Mr. C. G. Crump of the Public Record Office, who first called his attention to these Beverley records and gave him much help for their interpretation.

APPENDIX

I²

NOVERINT universi per presentes quod ego Adam filius Willelmi Coppandale de Beverlaco, senioris, teneor et per presens scriptum firmiter obligatus sum Ricardo de Midelton Aldermanno Beverlaci in ducentis libris sterlingorum solvendis eidem Ricardo vel suo certo attornato apud Beverlacum in festo Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo futuro sine ulteriori dilacione ; ad quam quidem solutionem modo predicto bene et fideliter faciendam obligo me heredes et executores meos ac omnia bona et catalla mea per presentes In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum apud Beverlacum octavo die mensis Junii, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie quarto.

II³

Hec indentura testatur quod cum Adam filius Willelmi Coppandale de Beverlaco, senioris, teneatur et per scriptum suum obligatorium firmiter obligetur Ricardo de Midilton aldermanno Beverlaci in ducentis libris serlingorum (*sic*) solvendis certis die et loco in predicto scripto contentis, predictus tamen Ricardus vult et concedit pro se, heredibus et executoribus suis, per presentes, quod si predictus

¹ Nos. 11202-11242.

² Ancient Petitions, no. 11201.

³ Ancient Petitions, no. 11210.

Adam racionabiliter stet ordinacioni et iudicio venerabilis patris Alexandri archiepiscopi Eboracensis et boni consilii sui in omnibus hiis que per communitatem Beverlaci eidem Ade racionabiliter et legaliter monstrari poterit veraciter et probari quod eidem communitati deliquerit, et quod se bene de cetero ut unus communitatis ville predictæ gerat in omnibus lictis erga dictam communitatem, extunc predictum scriptum obligatorium pro nullo habeatur, alioquin in suo robore perseveret et virtute In cujus rei testimonium hiis indenturis partes predictæ alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt Data apud Beverlacum nono die mensis Junii anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie quarto.

III¹

A conseil nostre sieur le roy soi compleignent ascuns de les bones gentz de la ville de Beverley que come Richard de Boston, Richard de Middelton, Richard de Caldewell Henri de Newark Thomas White Telar Johan Williamson flessshewar William de Bury skynner Johan Lekynfeld barker et Geffray Breid riatours et rebellours a nostre dit sieur le roy, par confederacie et conspiracie entre eux faitz, ont levez touz les menes comunes de la dite ville encontre les meutz vaillantz de mesme la ville par fort mayne, et ensaillerent les mesons de plusours de les grantz si que la mesons William Dudhill et Johan Gervays et les maisons de xij autres persons meutz vaillantz de mesme la ville, dont ascuns demuront unquore seallez, et la maison Adam Coppandale un de les plus grantz de mesme la ville abatuez, traittez et despoillez, la merisme [et] la coverture et les . . rres dicelles pris et emportez, acrochant sur eux roial poiar, et diverses burgeis lour femmes et enfantz oustez de lour maisons et les ditz maisons enseallez et divers . . . et raunsons contre la volente de ditz burgeys pris as divers foitz. Et pur doute de mort les ditz grauntz nosent pas demurrer en la dite ville naprocher lour mansions lour femes nenfauntz lour biens ne lour chateux en ycelle et lour comune seal de la dite ville ont pris a force et ont enseallez une obligacion de mille marcs pur paier v^o marz soutz le dit seal a un certain person en charge de les grantz et riens en lour avantage, et ont ordeigne officers de eux mesmes en la dite ville pur eux faire jugges en lour causes propres, en desheritance de les ditz grauntz et subversion de la dite ville et de les bones usages avant ses hures en ycelle usez. Et la un Paul de Buddeby qi fuit serviente pur poursuivre une bille pur nostre dit sieur le roy

¹ Ancient Petitions, no 4700.

vers les ditz rebelles et avoit proteccion nostre dit sieur le roy fuist emprisonne en presence dun serjant darmes nostre dit sieur le roy, a cause qil pursua la dite proteccion et pur accomplir la volente nostre dit sieur le roy, qi ne purroit estre delivre sanz heignous fyn faire a eux, come le dit Paul plus pleinement vous seit monstrier sil fuist present. Qe pleise au dit conseil considerer la dite matiere [et] ordeigner remede pur dieu et en oeuvre de charite.

IV¹

A lour tresredote sieur le roy et a son tressage conseil suppliant ses lieges le grauntz et les plus suffisantz burgeis de la ville de Beverle qe par la ou certeinz riotours et barettours de la dite ville, par conspiracie et confideracie entre eux faitz, leveront touz les menes comunes de la dite ville encontre et sur les ditz grants burgeis et par fort mayne manace et imprisonment de diverses persones des ditz grantz burgeis ount fait, et les ditz grantz burgeis constreint destre obligez par lour obligacions a certeinz persones, ascuns en mille marcz, et ascunz en pluis, et ascunz en meynz; et . . . ceo les ditz comunes acrochauntz a eux real power pristrent le comune seal hors de gardz des gardeins du ycelle et enseallerount un obligation de v^e marcz a un certain persone sur charge les ditz suppliantz; et ont fait de nouvelle par lour autorite demene un recordour, un altherman et deux chaumberleyns et xxiv gardeins, encontre lour bones usages et chartres et confermementz sibien de nostre sieur le roy comme de ses progenitours, a tort et contempe de nostre sieur le roy et de sa real mageste; sur qoy les ditz suppliantz nosent approcher le dit ville pur dout mort issuit, qe les ditz riotours, barettours, conspiratours et confideratours safforcent de recorder par proces de loy merchant leffecte de lour obligacions et covenantz issuit faitz par dureste et par default selonc la loy merchant. Qe pleise a dit conseil mander as ministres de la dite ville de surcesser, et sur ser (*siz*) sur certain peine de touz maners proces et execucion tochantz les dites obligacions et covenantz faitz puis le fest de Pentecost darrein passe, tanque que lavantdite matier soit pleinement discus par le conseil nostre sieur le roy et aux ordiner autre remede par dieu et en oeuvre de charite

V²

Pleise a nostre tresexcellent et tresredoute sieur le roi et a son sage conseil granter et ordeigner en ceste present parlement qe Adam Coppendale, Thomas de Beverley, Johan Gervais, William

¹ Ancient Petitions, no. 8356.

² Ancient Petitions, no. 13262.

Dudhill, Johan de Erghum et autres bones gentz de Beverley, queux sont exilez de la ville de Beverley par barettours et rebellours nostre dit sieur le roi en mesme la ville, acrochantz a eux roial poair, par quei ils noeseient approcher la dite ville bien pars ceste an, ne unquore noesent par doute de mort : qils puissent saluement v[enir ?] a Beverley demurer et retourner come les lieges nostre dit sieur le roi, sur peyne de forisfaiture de lour franchise : et qe toutz les obligacions [faitz] par les ditz rebellours en charge de la dite ville soient adnullez. Et qils puissent avoir lour aunciene bone governaille, usee par ces l, ans, grantez et confermez par nostre dit sieur le roi et ses progenitours ; et vienz toutz les enditementz faitz en temps de rumour par les ditz rebellours de les dites bones gentz malicieusement devant monsieur Johan de Bigot et ses compaignons, les queux enditementz sont faitz venir en banke le roi devant monsieur Robert Tresulyan, et considerez les perdones de les ditz endites, et sils soient adnullables soient adnullez, et qe due pronouncement soit fait de les ditz trespasours, en salvacion de tout le royaume, par dieu et en oevre de charite.

VI¹

Ricardus dei gratia rex Anglie, Francie et dominus Hibernie dilectis sibi Thome de Manby aldermanno, Simoni Cartwryght et Willelmo Ithoun camerariis ville Beverlaci salutem. Quia facta conquestione nobis in parlamento nostro quod quamplures malefactores et pacis nostre perturbatores de communitate ville predictae, sue prosperitatis immemores, nuper in conventiculis contra pacem nostram insurgentes, in villa predicta ad domos et mansiones quorundam ligeorum nostrorum ibidem armata potencia accesserunt et eisdem ligeis nostris ad ipsos interficiendos ac mansiones et domos suas prosternendas sive comburendas minati fuerunt ; et insuper Adam Coppendale Thomam de Beverley Johannem Gerveys Willelmum Dudhill et alios probos homines ejusdem ville diversa scripta obligatoria quammagnas summas continencia, Ricardo de Middelton nuper aldermanno ac Thome White Tyler et Henrico de Neuwerk nuper camerariis ville predictae ad certum terminum sub certis forma et condicione solvenda, per hujusmodi vim minas et metum mortis facere et liberare compulerunt ; et nobis est supplicatum de remedio in hac parte providere ; nos unicuique ligeorum nostrorum quod justum fuerit cupientes de assensu et consilio procerum et magnatum in dicto parlamento nobis assistencium, vobis

¹ Ancient Petitions, no. 11205.

precipimus districtius quo poterimus injungentes, quod eadem scripta obligatoria que penes vos jam resident, ut dicitur, coram nobis in cancellaria nostra in quindena sancti Hillarii proximo futuri ubicumque tunc fuerit salvo et secure mittatis; et insuper prefatis nuper aldermanno et camerariis ex parte nostra sub forisfactura summe in dictis scriptis contente detis in mandatis, quod tunc sint ibi in propriis personis suis ad ostendendum si quid pro se habeant vel dicere sciant, quare dicta scripta ut ea que per duriciam et compulsionem contra legem regni nostri Anglie facta fuerunt cancellari non debeant et adnullari; ac prefatos nuper aldermannum et camerarios coram nobis tunc ibidem venire faciatis ex causa predicta, ut, auditis eorum rationibus in hac parte inspectisque et diligenter examinatis scriptis predictis, ulterius in premissis fieri jubere valeamus quod justum fuerit et rationis. Et habeatis ibi hoc breve, nos de eo quod ad presens mandatum nostrum feceritis distincte et aperte certificantes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium x die Decembris anno regni nostri quinto.

Martyn.

[*In dorso.*]

Responsum Thome de Manby aldermanni et camerariorum ville Beverlaci infrascriptorum; Quo ad mittendum quedam scripta obligatoria in brevi isto contenta, nulla talia scripta penes nos resident nec unquam in custodia nostra devenerunt, per quod scripta illa ad diem in brevi isto contentam mittere non possumus. Et ulterius dicunt quod Ricardus de Middelton nuper aldermannus, Thomas Whyte Tylere, et Henricus de Newark nuper camerarii infrascripti non fuerunt inventi infra libertatem Beverlaci post receptionem istius brevis; propter quod executionem istius brevis in premissis fieri non potuimus.

VII¹

[Return to writ directed to the provost of St. John's Church, Beverley, enjoining him to produce White, Newark, and Bostan, in Chancery, dated April 16, 5 Ric. II.]

Responsum Alexandri Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Anglie primatis et apostolice sedis legati. Quia tenore istius brevis inspecto ac contentis in eo et eorum circumstantiis debite consideratis, ex probabili informacione recepi quod infrascripti Thomas White tyghler, Henricus de Newark, et Ricardus de Botston occasionati fuerunt, et sunt, de diversis criminibus et feloniis, tam ad sectam partis quam aliis viis et modis, executionem ejusdem brevis in sui forma propter metum irregularitatis facere non potui nec facere tenebar, ex quo

contenta in dicto brevi ad forum ecclesiasticum non pertinent et eorum executio ordini episcopali et ejus honestati obviat et repugnat. Omnia tamen mandata mihi directa et dirigenda, que salvo ordine meo congrue exequi potero, paratus sum et ero facere executioni debite demandare. Me igitur super non executione brevis predicti habere velit magestas regia excusatum. Et Thomas de Grimeston ballivus dicti domini archiepiscopi libertatis sue Beverlaci sic respondet quod post receptionem istius brevis predicti Thomas White, Henricus de Newark et Ricardus de Boston non fuerunt inventi in balliva sua.

VIII¹

A son tresgracious et tres redoute seigneur nostre seigneur le roi supplie humblement son liege lercevesque d'Everwyk come il, par meyns veritables suggestions faitz par Thomas de Beverlay Adam de Coppendale et autres accusours de lour coneyve par procurement de ses adversairs a son dit seigneur liege de diverses outrages et rebellions faitz par le dit ercevesque encontre son dit seigneur liege et ses gentz deinz le comitee d'Everwyk, soit grevousement et nient veritablement accusez, come il ad entendue, en graunt esclaundre de sa persone et arrierissement de son estat envers son dit seigneur liege, queux accusementz sont nient veritables come il est notoirement conne par tout le dit comitee ; que plese a son dit tresredoute seigneur liege pour salvacion de lestat le dit ercevesque et pour lui purgere de les dit accusementz comandre a son sage conseil de faire venir les ditz accusours devaunt le consail pour declarer lour ditz accusementz et pour trouver suffisant seurtee de prover mesms leurs accusementz come par la ley en tiel cas soit purveu et ordine ; parensi que si leurs accusementz ne soient trovez veritables, quils eient le jugement come est ordine en celle partie pour Dieu et en overe de charitee.

IX²

A notre tresexcellent et tresredoute sieur le roi :

Monstrent humblement ses lieges prodeshommes de Beverley compleignantz par tout ceste an, que come le lundy en la semaigne de Pentecost darrein proclamacion fuist faite parmy toute la dite ville par Piers de Santon et autres par une saigne sonant, que toutz maners burgeis et autres communs serroient a la grante Sale de

¹ Ancient Petitions, no. 11204.

² Ancient Petitions, no. 11237.

Beverley devant monsieur Johan Bigot et Sire Johan de Middleton clerc al heure de Prime sur peyne de forsfaiteur de toutz lour biens et enprisonement de lour corps : les queux viendroient et illoeques ensealeront un Ragman blank ove grant nombre, et sur ceo feurent chargez de venir cy a Loundres pur mainteignir lour malveistes encontre les ditz bones gentz : des queux sont venuz cy a Totenham a nombre de lx, ascuns ove lour volentee, et ascuns encontre lour volentee ; les queux malefesours ont pris diverses chivaux hors de commune pasture encontre la volentee de ceux as queux les chivaux sont : manaceantz de jour en autre les ditz prodeshomes de les encontretr devers lostell en malicieuse manere : ascuns alantz ove polax et espeyes en la cite de Loundres ; par quei les ditz bones gentz sont en grant paour de lour vies : qe pleise a son tresgracious roial mageste en qei tout remede gist en ceo cas de mander pour les ditz malfesours et les faire charger par quei coment et en quele manere ils sont faitz venir cy : et qe madame dame Isabelle aunte a notre dit tresredoute sieur le roi, monsieur Robert Rous, Richard Hembreg, Nichol Prake, James Lyons et Johan Noselay, sergeantz darmes et messagers portours et conveiors des briefs et mandementz notre dit sieur le roi a Beverley, soient examinez et chargez de dire la verite des rebellions des ditz malfesours, et ordeigner que les ditz compleignantz puissent saluement venir a Beverley demurer et retourner come ses lieges sanz empechement : pour Dieu et en oevre de charite.

X¹

Ceux sont les noms de rebelles de insurreccion contre mess^r. le roi demurantz en la ville de Totenham :

Galfridus Bridon suter
 Johannes Whyte tyler
 Ricardus Wodmanse carnifex
 Rogerus Spoford taillor
 Willelmus Scofer walker
 Johannes de Scaennes
 Thomas Chandeler
 Thomas Priston
 Willelmus Kend
 Robertus Sherbrun walker
 Robertus Bekynfeld tannor
 Robertus Coteler

¹ Ancient Petitions, no. 11233.

Johannes Miller
 Johannes Cuteberd tailor
 Rogerus Bedeford
 Thomas Bedeford
 [and 53 others].

XI¹

Ceux sont les bones gentz de Beverley presentz

Adam Copandale
 Thomas de Beverley
 Johannes de Kelke
 Johannes Jervas
 Thomas Manby
 Thomas Gerveys
 Willelmus Dudyll
 Stephanus Coppandale
 Thomas Yole
 Adam Barkar
 Willelmus Roleston
 Thomas Cator
 Ricardus Aglyoun
 Robertus Cotyngnam
 Johannes Carleton
 [and 37 others].

Excipiantur isti de submissione et plures alii quorum nomina ad presens ignorantur.

XII²

Nos Alexander permissione divina Eboracensis archiepiscopus Anglie primas et apostolice sedis legatus personaliter existens apud Beverlacum xxvij die mensis Junii anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo}. lxxx^{mo} secundo, in presencia domini de Nevyll fratris nostri, Willelmi de Erghom militis vicecomitis Eboraci, Roberti de Nevyll militis de Horneby, et aliorum plurimorum militum comitatus Eboraci, cepimus securitatem de Willelmo Raynald de Beverlaco et omnibus aliis infrascriptis tenentibus nostris ejusdem ville usque ad numerum ccclij personarum ; videlicet, quod predictus Willelmus et quilibet predictorum manuceperunt pro se et suis ad gerendum

¹ Ancient Petitions, no. 11235.

² Ancient Petitions, no. 11242.

pacem cuilibet subsidito et populo domini regis, quilibet eorum sub pena c marcarum levandarum de bonis et catallis ejus: et de Ada de Coppandale et de aliis post ipsum nominatis cepimus securitatem de pace gerenda in forma supradicta; videlicet, quilibet eorum manucepit pro se et suis sub pena c librarum levandarum de terris bonis et catallis suis ad opus domini regis.

Willelmus Raynald

Johannes Webster

Petrus Whyte

Willelmus Taillor

Petrus Lenge

Johannes Whyte

Adam Leche

Johannes Raynar

[and about 400¹ other names, the majority of which are grouped under local divisions].

¹ The last membrane, containing about 50 names, appears to be a subsequent addition; this would reconcile the actual number of names with the number given in the preamble.