

The Entry of Queen Elizabeth Woodville over London Bridge, 24 May 1465

ANNE F. SUTTON and LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

Queen Elizabeth Woodville was formally welcomed into the city of London for the first time on Friday 24 May 1465; on the following day she went in her coronation procession to Westminster, and on the Sunday 26 May, the feast of St Augustine of the English, she was crowned in Westminster Abbey. It is proposed to edit the records of these ceremonies in several parts, beginning here with the queen's entry to London.¹

Et die Veneris, viz. crastino Ascensionis Domini, maior, aldremanni, ac cives Londoniae, quilibet infra in domibus suis citra Shotershyll, obviantes reginae et conducentes eam per Southwerk et Graschurche ad turrim Londoniae.

And on Friday, the day after the Ascension of the Lord, the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, who lived on this side of Shooters' Hill, met the queen and conducted her through Southwark and Gracechurch Street to the Tower of London.²

This bare but accurate record of the entry makes no mention of the pageants laid on by the city, as was customary at a royal entry. Even the chronicle ascribed to William Gregory, loquacious over earlier events, merely stated that Queen Elizabeth was crowned, noting only that many knights of the Bath were created, including five Londoners.³ *The Great Chronicle* made no mention of the entry or its pageants, but merely acknowledged that Elizabeth was crowned 'with gret Solempnyte as to such

¹ The ceremonies leading up to the coronation were complex and linked diplomatically with Edward IV's negotiations with the court of the duke of Burgundy for a renewal of alliance, both political and commercial, and involved a proposed great tournament in the following year. There was an impressively large creation of knights of the Bath by Edward – usually performed on the Vigil of the coronation but on this occasion carried out at the Tower on the 23rd. The Vigil procession from the Tower to Westminster took place on the Saturday and the coronation on the Sunday. The usual coronation tournament followed on the Monday. For some of these events the records are good.

² 'The Annals of the pseudo-William Worcester', in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, ed J. Stevenson, 2 vols in 3 pts, Rolls Series, London 1861-64, vol. 2 pt 2, p. 784, provides the clearest dates of these ceremonies; endorsed by e.g. *The Chronicle of John Stone, Monk of Christ Church 1415-1471*, ed W.E. Searle, Cambridge Antiquarian Society Octavo Series vol. 34 (1902), p. 92, who naturally recorded Canterbury's saint's feast day; and 'A Short English Chronicle', in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society 1880, p. 80, which notes Elizabeth was crowned the week before Whit Sunday.

³ 'William Gregory's Chronicle of London', in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J. Gairdner, Camden Society 1876, pp. 227-28.

Solempnyzacion apparteyneth'; there is a similar silence in the other chronicles.⁴ No significance can be attached to this silence as London chroniclers were often not interested in ceremonies which they saw regularly, and many of them had the habit of making only the most laconic of notes. There is no surviving narrative or text of the speeches at the pageants staged by the city of London to welcome Queen Elizabeth on her first visit to or entry into the city. All that survives are the accounts of the expenses incurred by the Bridge House, as the administration which ran London Bridge was called. The Bridge was funded by the landed estates given by past generations of Londoners 'to God and the Bridge'. They paid for repairs, the chapel dedicated to St Thomas Becket and its priests on the Bridge, and all matters connected to the great structure. When, for example, a monarch crossed the Bridge, the way was cleansed and strewn with fresh gravel; at a formal entry, however, the Bridge House footed a bill for more elaborate festivities. The Bridge was ruled by the Bridge masters or wardens, elected every two years, and their staff, including a clerk of works, worked at the Bridge House, east of St Olave's church in Tooley Street, and east of the Bridge Foot. In the precinct of the Bridge House were stored the materials used in repairing the Bridge, its clerks worked there and its records were housed there; guard dogs protected them. Once across the Bridge in the city, any general expenses, such as the preparing of the streets and pageants, were met by the chamber of the city at Guildhall, a department governed by the elected chamberlain with his own staff of clerks – no accounts for the chamber survive for 1465, only those of the Bridge House.⁵

The great stone Bridge had been completed about 1209, a series of nineteen arches of varying width, with the piers supported on great starlings, and crossing just over 900 feet of water. At the Southwark end an area known as the Bridge Foot comprised all the buildings on the Bridge up to the Stonegate. The end of the Bridge there (and at the northern end) was marked by a pair of posts called the 'staples' or 'stulpes', where bills might be posted and where a chain could be thrown across to bar traffic from the Bridge. The Southwark end of the Bridge was protected by the great Stonegate, which had a portcullis and could be closed and barred. A large portion of it had collapsed in 1437 and its rebuilding was finally completed 1465-66; there the city's arms were displayed. At the seventh arch from the southern end there was a functional drawbridge before the Drawbridge Gate,

⁴*The Great Chronicle of London*, ed A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, London 1938, p. 203. Chronicles, e.g. 'A Short English Chronicle', pp. 64-65, are equally sparse about the entry of Margaret of Anjou on 28 May 1445. See below n. 19.

⁵*London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals 1381-1538*, ed. V. Harding and L. Wright, London Records Society, vol. 31 (1994). For an account of the Bridge's adornment by artists, C.P. Christianson, *Memorials of the Book Trade in Medieval London. The Archives of Old London Bridge*, Woodbridge 1987, pp. 10-13.

where a toll-keeper collected dues both from passengers on the Bridge and from ships which required the drawbridge to be raised. On this gate the heads of traitors were displayed. Moving across the Bridge towards the city, a substantial chapel stood on the largest arch, the ninth from the city side, with a sizeable undercroft and windows glazed with heraldry. It was dedicated to St Thomas Becket, the Londoner canonised in 1173, under whose saintly patronage the Bridge had been rebuilt. The chapel was extra parochial, and the inhabitants of the Bridge were parishioners of the church of St Magnus the Martyr near the northern end of the Bridge. The chapel supported a staff of four priests and three clerks by 1460-61, who said daily masses and kept other observances. Along the Bridge's entire length, on both sides of the street, except for open spaces before the Stonegate, the Drawbridge Gate, and on the northern side of the chapel, were houses and shops of three or more storeys, whose rent supported the Bridge's expenses. The shops restricted the roadway to a narrow passage of about twelve feet, their pentices often meeting at their upper storeys; they were highly desirable selling stations as the Bridge was the only crossing of the lower Thames and one of the greatest tourist sights of England. The restriction of the narrow thoroughfare was to be a prime cause of the monarchs choosing to go by water in the sixteenth century. Apart from its inhabitants, the great edifice employed a large workforce for it was in constant need of repair. A crew of carpenters, with a variety of specialised skills, masons and metal workers were in almost continuous, if casual, employment, by the week or day; under a master carpenter, mason and blacksmith, some of whom could be well known craftsmen of London and wardens of their companies. Such a personality was the smith of the Bridge, William Underwode, who made the spurs used at the coronation of Richard III. For the Yorkist period one of the best known paintings of the Bridge survives as an illustration of the Poems of Charles of Orleans commissioned as a gift for Edward IV.⁶

The city had a long tradition of royal entries and coronation processions – the two did not necessarily go together. The citizens were also used to preparing their own annual processions connected with the mayoralty, the shrievalty and the

⁶For history and description of the Bridge, G. Home, *Old London Bridge*, London 1931 (well illustrated), see esp. frontispiece of Drawbridge Gate, p. 144 (the illumination), and chs 2 and 6; the more recent *London Bridge. 2000 Years of a River Crossing*, ed B. Watson, T. Brigham and T. Dyson, Museum of London Archaeology Service MOLAS Monograph 8, London 2001, pp. 83ff (construction), 96-104 (houses), 105-06, 131 (Stonegate), 107-09 (Drawbridge Gate), 140 (the staples), extensive up-to-date plans and illustrations, e.g. fig. 53 (elevation c. 1500), pp. 109-14 (chapel), 126-27 (Bridge House); and *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, pp. viii-xxi. See also *To God and the Bridge. The Story of the City's Bridges. Paintings, Prints, Plans and Documents*, Exhibition Guildhall Art Gallery 16 June – 28 September 1972. A.F. Sutton, 'William Underwode, blacksmith of London and maker of spurs for Richard III', reprinted from *The Ricardian*, in *Richard III, Crown and People*, ed J. Petre, London 1985, pp. 393-96.

great Midsummer Watches.⁷ They could work at speed if necessary for the city officers and craftsmen involved had standard procedures and knew the skilled clerks and workmen upon whom to call: clerks to dream up the requisite literary, historical or religious symbolism of the devices, conceits and pageants to suit the occasion, and write the necessary speeches; other clerks whose forte was to perform the speeches well and audibly; carpenters to build stands for onlookers and stages for pageants; painters and stainers to paint wood and linen, flags and banners, backcloths and scenery; tailors and stainers to make up costumes that looked magnificent at a distance; and specialist workers to create mechanical devices, carve the head of a giant, as provided for the entry of Henry V over London Bridge after Agincourt,⁸ or devise an angel descending from the clouds, or how to suspend maidens by cords so that they might scatter coins down on the processions of 1357 and 1377. It was also the custom to run wine in the great water conduits on Cheapside.⁹ For some events, such as the entry of Henry V already mentioned, and those for Richard II in 1377 and 1392, the elaboration of pageants could be spectacular, depending partly on the enthusiasm felt – or ordered by the king – for the event, and sometimes on the money the city had available to spend. In other words, London ‘had considerable scenic theatrical expertise’ from an early date.¹⁰

Music and the singing by choirs – every ambitious parish of the city’s over 100 churches had singing men and boys who could provide religious music and often put on secular entertainments when requested – was a natural accompaniment of all festivities. Musicians could walk and play in a procession and trumpeters mark the arrival and departure from the stopping points or pageants. A notable contribution to all ceremonial was made by the fraternity of St Nicholas, the society or company of the Parish Clerks. This important fraternity was renowned for its singing and took part in all important funerals, civic processions and religious services of the city; it had been formally recognised by

⁷For a recent, excellent history of all the city’s ceremonial, A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre. City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558*, Cambridge 2002; including entries, pp. 43-50, 129-40. See also C.M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages. Government and People 1200-1500*, Oxford 2004, pp. 18-22.

⁸*London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, p. 77. See also *London Bridge. 2000 Years*, pp. 114-15, for a brief survey. Christianson, *Memorials*, p. 11.

⁹Recorded for the entry and vigil procession of Margaret of Anjou and therefore unlikely to have been omitted for the vigil procession, at least, of Elizabeth, Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 188-89.

¹⁰For an account of the royal entries, etc., and a discussion of the variations in reports by chroniclers Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 43-50 (1200-1410); quotation, p. 49; and ch. 7 for period after 1410 and the changes which took place, such as the increasing preference for a water procession.

charters of 1442 and 1449. Its members were predominantly laymen by 1465 and consisted of the principal clerks of the parish and collegiate churches of London; they were possibly the descendants of the late fourteenth century body of men who performed increasingly elaborate plays spanning several days, both in the city and before the court.¹¹ In the fifteenth century the companies of London tended to prefer slighter plays or entertainments in their halls for their election dinners, calling upon small numbers of semi-professional groups of men or boys with varying specialities,¹² but the expertise of the clerks remained in demand, not only for these more restricted entertainments but also for such occasions as a royal entry, the procession of a mayor or the funeral of an alderman.

On 7 April, the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs received their first formal notification from the king that the coronation of his queen would take place on the Sunday before Whit Sunday (26 May). They were to be 'in suche apparel as is according to youre astate and honour'. The city had the rest of April and almost all May to prepare. On 27 April and 17 May the common council ordered the decoration of the city streets for the entry and the vigil procession on the following day at a cost of 200 marks (£133 6 s. 8 d.). This was a generous sum but there was a hint of lack of ready cash in its provision,¹³ it did not include the £21 14 s. 6½ d., which the Bridge House was to spend. A parish or ward might make additional contributions on their own account if they were on the route of the procession: the householders on the route hung out the best arras and cloths of silk and cloth of gold they could lay their hands on – they also let out their upper rooms to friends and associates to watch the procession. The livery companies, whose members lined the route, standing on scaffolds specially erected in their allotted places, were in their best liveries, and those among them who had been chosen to ride in attendance on the queen would have had new liveries for the occasion, paid for by their company's common box or by a special levy on all

¹¹N.W. and V.A. James, eds, *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St Nicholas*, 2 vols, London Record Society, vol. 39 (2004), vol. 1, pp. xiv-xvi; many Londoners joined the fraternity in order to benefit from the fraternity's prayers after their death, and several of the suppliers and workmen on this project were among these (see below).

¹² For the Clerkenwell/ Skinners' Well play and its successors, Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 54-62, 69-94.

¹³ Corporation of London Records Office, *Journal of the Common Council* 7, ff. 97v (27 April), 99v (17 May). No details are given of the decorations, which included the Cross in Cheapside, where the queen would pass during the Vigil procession. Money arising from fines in the court were to finance the decorations and the loan fund in the Bernes' Chest was to be raided, which a contemporary marginal note said was 'badly done', *Journal* 7, f. 99v (17 May). Unfortunately the lack of the city's chamber accounts means that no comparison of the sums spent on entries over the years can be made, though it is likely the city rarely dared to be conspicuously parsimonious.

members – along with their horses and other necessities. On 2 May the common council ordered that the livery companies' riders were to be in murrey (mulberry colour, one of the livery colours of Edward IV) and set the numbers of the riders from each company, for example twenty-five each from the Mercers, Drapers and Grocers, twenty from the Goldsmiths and Tailors, twelve from the Vintners, and so on down the civic hierarchy.¹⁴ On 9 May 1465 the court of the Mercers' Company considered that their four wardens, or two of them, with five others of the company (John Reynkyn, Richard Wise, John Norlong, William Sewster and Roger Copley) should select twenty-five of the company, 'parsonable and good horsemen' to meet the queen on horseback with the mayor and aldermen. The careful search for good-looking young men who were competent horsemen shows how much the companies wanted their representatives to be a credit to them, and also that neither characteristic was a norm among young city men. The riders were to be ready to ride when ordered or to appoint a suitable deputy to take their place, and a fine of 40s was to be visited on anyone who failed. The colour chosen for their riding gowns was murrey, as instructed by the common council, and each man was to collect the cloth from the company's hall, all costs to be borne by the company. Four days later on 13 May the Mercers further decided that the riders were to be rewarded with more than the cloth for their gowns, and everyone not riding should contribute: those who had served as a warden 2 s.; those in the livery 16 d.; the shop-keepers of the company and those not in the livery, 8 d.. A man's progress in prosperity up through the ranks of the company took him into higher tax brackets. The amount collected by two of the riders, Thomas Sauston and Robert Say, and the beadle Richard Box, came to £5 16 s. and this was divided among the twenty-five riders.¹⁵ The other livery companies of London would have gone through a similar process, and the members of the company not riding would have taken their allotted places on the route. The rest of the interested populace crowded into any space left along the route of the royal procession of the entry and the vigil coronation procession on the following day.

Similar warnings of the event went to the many religious establishments within the city, but no records survive of their reaction and plans. The meagre details that remain in the Bridge House accounts concerning the parishes of St George Southwark and St Magnus Martyr reveal how enthusiastic might be the response by the local choirs. The sheer number of clergy in the city always ensured they were a significant element in any royal entry or procession, although not

¹⁴ Journal 7, f. 98 (2 May).

¹⁵ *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453-1527*, ed L. Lyell and F. Watney, Cambridge 1936, p. 281; misdated to 1466 by the 16th-century copyist/editor of these acts. Sewster and Copley, for example, had previous experience of such ridings: both of them had ridden to meet Edward IV in 1461 and Copley in 1463 as well, *ibid.*, pp. 49, 59.

always commented upon by the chronicles. At the entry of Henry VI in 1432 after his coronation in Paris a particularly lavish clerical attendance included '120 rectors and curates in their richest copes and 500 secular chaplains in white surplices. With them were 500 monks and others bearing crosses, tapers, and incense, and chanting psalms and antiphons in gratitude for his safe return'.¹⁶

On 2 May the mayor and aldermen agreed that they should wear for the queen's entry gowns of blue parted with musterdevilers cloth (usually a blue/grey mixture);¹⁷ they did not mention anything different for their hood, so they were presumably party-coloured in the same fashion.¹⁸ The choice of blue may again have been a compliment to the other colour of the house of York; and party-coloured gowns and hoods were always dramatic. At the first entry of Queen Margaret of Anjou to London on 28 May 1445 the mayor and aldermen were recorded as being in scarlet with the 500 commoners in brown-blue gowns, embroidered on the sleeves with the cognizances of their companies, for example, the maid's head of the Mercers, and in red hoods. They had met Margaret at Blackheath and escorted her through Southwark to the Bridge. 'The which gave a myghty shew', and there were three pageants on the Bridge and others at set places in the city as far as the bishop's palace at St Paul's where the queen lodged.¹⁹ In 1465, however, Queen Elizabeth proceeded due north from the Bridge up Bridge Street and Fish Street, into Gracechurch Street and then swung to the east, via Fenchurch Street and

¹⁶*Calendar of Letter Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London A-L., AD 1275-1499*, ed R.R. Sharpe, London 1899-1912, *Letter Book K*, p. 138, from calendar of Carpenter's letter.

¹⁷A woollen cloth originally made in Montvilliers, Normandy, but by 1465 also made in places like Colchester and Essex.

¹⁸*Letter Book L*, p. 59. Journal 7, f. 98. A.F. Sutton, 'Order and fashion in clothes: the king, his household and the city of London at the end of the fifteenth century', *Textile History*, vol. 22 (1991), pp. 259-67, for liveries of court and city.

¹⁹*Great Chronicle*, p. 178; which goes on to say she lodged there until the end of the month and then had her vigil procession from the Tower to Westminster on 29 May and was crowned the next day. This corrects the sparser detail in 'A Short English Chronicle', p. 64. And see Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales*, London 1895, pp.141-42, who transcribe orders of the common council for liveries for the entry by Margaret 'August 1444' and an escorted entry procession to the Tower April/May 1445 (a confusion of dates, possibly due to the mis-binding of the Journal). R. Griffiths, *Henry VI*, London 1981, p. 488, dates the entry to 28th, and the coronation to the 30th May. See also Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 188 who records the vigil procession from St Paul's to Westminster, not the Tower, as does G. Kipling, 'The London pageants for Margaret of Anjou: a medieval script restored', *Medieval Theatre*, vol. 4 (1982); this would have been odd as it deprived Margaret of important ceremonies at the Tower; see also n. 59 below. For the vigil procession of Queen Elizabeth the mayor and aldermen would have changed to their most sumptuous scarlet, although this is not specified.

Mark Lane, and on to the Tower; unfortunately there is no record of the pageants staged for her along this route once she had left the Bridge, and no precise mention of her route which must be reconstructed from reference to other processions.²⁰ Londoners knew the route and did not need to record it.

Meanwhile the Bridge masters would have been warned of the queen's entry over their Bridge: Peter Alfold, mercer, and Peter Calcot or Caldecote, draper, were experienced men and both served for many years in this post: Alfold 1457-67, 1468-69, and Calcot 1459-69, 1470-73, 1474-75.²¹ Although they collected and disposed of a large annual income, the Bridge habitually absorbed it all, so a royal entry was always a burden. The two wardens were presumably conspicuous at some point during the ceremonies on the Bridge as is the habit of officials in the presence of royalty. The clerk of works to the Bridge House at this time was William Bourchier (1460-81) and he would have had to be heavily involved in the preparations.²²

Preparations paid for by the Bridge House took place over at least twelve days, this being the longest period any of the carpenters or stainers was employed on the works. Before these workers were called in, however, the overall plan and choice of subjects had to be decided upon: a writer had to be found, musicians commandeered and actors chosen to portray the historical personages who were to speak – the city knew where to find its best voices, as explained above, and where to find costumes that might be reused. An easy decision would have been the choice of St Paul to be the first personage to welcome the queen on the boundary of the City in Southwark. St Paul was the city's patron saint and his sword appeared in its coat of arms. Who composed the six ballads presented to the queen is not known or whether they formed part of the singing and speeches; it is only known that a John Genycote was paid 3 s. for writing them on parchment and illuminating the same so that they could be presented to the queen, either in the form of a booklet or a roll. The ballads were also painted up on boards fixed to the pageants built at the Bridge Foot and the Drawbridge so that everyone might read them; for this John Thomson, a master stainer, was paid 8d. This suggests that the ballads described the scenes depicted, and as statues of eight worthies (two male and six female) were built as part of the two pageants, the ballads may have been linked to them.

It is not impossible that there were a series of suggestions or even orders from the queen's servants, or her energetic father, Lord Rivers, suggesting suitable

²⁰ For the usual routes of these processions, Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 47. The size of London streets dictated and maintained the route.

²¹ *Letter Books K and L*, passim.

²² *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, pp. x-xiii. Christianson, *Memorials*, p. 36; despite his long tenure little is known of Bourchier.

subjects. Elizabeth may already have decided to make a devotion to the feast of the Visitation and her namesake, St Elizabeth, the mother of the Baptist, a feature of her reign, and this could have been emphasised to the city officials.²³ The queen's name made St Elizabeth an obvious choice for the main Bridge pageant. St Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary were worshipped together in the feast of the Visitation, a celebration of the meeting of the two pregnant women, one bearing St John the Baptist and the other the Christ child, a favourite illustration in books of hours and stained glass windows. This feast was becoming increasingly popular and in 1480 the pope fixed it at 2 July. As this date threatened to overshadow two other important feasts particularly celebrated in England, it was to be Queen Elizabeth who asked the pope that English people might say the devotions of the new feast in private along with their more public devotions to the other feasts, and still obtain the full indulgences attached to the new feast. The pope agreed and his letter mentioned that Elizabeth had a 'singular devotion to the feast of the Visitation'.²⁴ The second, perfect choice of a saint to address the queen was Mary Cleophas: she was the half-sister of the Virgin Mary and had been married twice, like Elizabeth Woodville herself. The citizens of London thus took the marital status of the king's bride on board and loyally celebrated it as a compliment. Kings might in theory be expected to marry virgin princesses, but London citizens knew that the hard facts of life and death meant that most ordinary men and women married more than once.²⁵

As regards more minor decorative features, no reference to Elizabeth's device of the gillyflower occurs among the preparations – perhaps she had not decided upon it yet,²⁶ but there is equally no reference to the white rose and sun in splendour, both such attractive devices they could hardly have been neglected in any Yorkist ceremonial.

It is not known who composed the speeches of St Paul, Mary Cleophas

²³Compare the conveyance of Richard III's wishes to York sent by John Kendall in 1483 before his visit, which were hardly necessary as they were as used to civic 'theatre' as were the Londoners, but they rewarded Kendall nevertheless, R. Davies, ed., *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York*, London 1843, pp. 163-64, 171-72.

²⁴A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "A most benevolent queen". Queen Elizabeth Woodville's reputation, her piety and her books', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (1994-96), pp. 214-45, esp. pp. 226-27 on entry and pp. 233-34 on Visitation.

²⁵In 1445 the pageants known for the Bridge were verses of welcome spoken at the Bridge Foot by Peace and Plenty; at the Drawbridge there was an 'expositor' probably in the guise of Noah, see Kipling, 'London pageants for Margaret of Anjou', pp. 19-20. *The Great Chronicle*, p. 178, adds that St Margaret's life was one of the chosen subjects in 1445, but this was presumably a pageant in the city.

²⁶A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The device of Queen Elizabeth Woodville: a gillyflower or pink', *The Ricardian*, vol. 11 (1997-99), pp. 17-24.

and St Elizabeth – presumably the speeches are not to be identified as the ballads. It has been suggested that by the early fifteenth century English entries and pageants consisted of speeches which were acted by performers, in contrast to those across the channel which were usually tableaux or dumb-shows, with no spoken elements.²⁷ The poet John Lydgate is known to have been employed on some London pageants in the early fifteenth century;²⁸ later well-known contributors included William Lily and John Leland. No authors can be suggested for 1465, but there would have been compositional talents among the common clerk, the clerk of the chamber, and their staffs at Guildhall: the common clerk, William Dunthorne (1461-90), who was later to compile a finely illuminated city customal in 1474; the clerk of the chamber, Robert Langford (1454-78); and the clerks of the Bridge House can not be left out of a list of possible authors.²⁹ Langford's successor was John Hert (1478-1505) – was he a connection of the Edmund Herte who played Mary Cleophas?³⁰

Practical preparations were diverse and labour intensive. A room had to be hired overlooking the Bridge Foot, from where a choir would sing to the queen. They perhaps practised there as well, as the cost amounted to 6 s. 8 d., a sizable sum; the prime site of the house would have meant the owner could have easily hired out his rooms to an eager audience. The room was in the house of Peter Johnson which was near the southern staples of the Bridge, and he can be identified as a well-to-do shoemaker, originally from the Low Countries, and in 1465 as a parishioner of St Olave's Southwark.³¹ Another item which could be hired (for 5

²⁷Kipling, 'London pageants for Margaret of Anjou', pp. 5-6. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 130, suggests a 'major shift in entry practice' between 1465 and 1487, emphasising the use of a water procession to the Tower instead of the cramped land entry over the Bridge for the monarch before coronation, see also, pp 143-54. Royal entries were always a variable dictated by circumstances, e.g. Edward IV did not have an entry before his coronation, nor did Richard III, as both had 'entered' the city previously; Richard, for example, is known to have gone to the Tower by water. See also n. 59.

²⁸Kipling, 'London pageants of Margaret of Anjou', passim, argues strongly against his involvement in 1445.a

²⁹John Carpenter, common clerk 1417-38, had been extensively involved in entries and composed a long description of Henry VI's entries to Paris and London, in full in H.T. Riley, ed., *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, 3 vols, Rolls Series, London 1859, 1860, vol. 3 *Liber Albus*, app. 3, and calendared *Letter Book K*, pp. 135-39.

³⁰Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 184-88, 363-64.

³¹He moved to All Hallows Staining, Langbourne ward, by 1483, with a wife and eight servants; he died 1489, J.L. Bolton, ed., *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century. The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4*, London 1998, p. 75 and n. 126. A Piers Shoemaker was supervisor of the will of another Dutchman, Christian Colborne, painter and supplier of Richard III's great wardrobe, in 1486, *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 356 where it was asked if Piers Shoemaker was Piers Herton, another alien shoemaker.

s.) was angels' apparel from a Robert Brangthwaite, perhaps the impresario of a semi-professional troupe; after all angels were almost an essential accompaniment of any medieval procession or religious festival. Brangthwaite cannot be identified, so few records survive of the capital's entertainments such as the annual Corpus Christi procession of the Skinners' Company.

Materials and workers were required and all had to be carefully recorded: all the names of the carpenters and stainers and their days of work, but unfortunately not necessarily all the suppliers. The two main groups of workers were the stainers and the carpenters. The stainers were always so described in the accounts, but many of their tools were referred to as those of painters. In London the two crafts had formed one company, the Painter-Stainers in 1433. Stainers stained linen rather than painted wooden panels, an extensively used technique which produced decorative hangings for a house much more quickly and cheaply than the expensive woven tapestries and arras. These stainers were doing just that, painting quickly on linen for brilliant and temporary effect. Many pigments were bought in from grocers to paint wood, linen and leather: 'general' a ground colour or compound used as a base for many colours, and 'moty' another commonly used pigment of uncertain appearance;³² white and red lead, vermilion, indigo, verdigris for green, produced by subjecting copper to fatty acids, brazil, a hard wood used to produce a red colour, and the pink-yellow, of which an entire gallon was used, no doubt for the faces and flesh of the eight three dimensional figures and any figures painted on a flat surface;³³ black chalk may have been for sketching out the designs; flour-paste was also used by the painters; and there were brushes with which to apply paint, paste and glue, and additional hog's hair to replenish them, besides four pairs of scissors, perhaps to trim the brushes, and clay pots and dishes in which to mix the colours. Did the stainers also use the pails and wooden bowls supplied by Simon Turnour, and the rock alum? Apart from the pigments, the stainers would also have applied the several foils of tin, silver, and 'party' gold to the decorations requiring them. Nine stainers were employed at several rates of pay: John Brendewode,³⁴ Martin Cokke, Robert Couper, John Hornton, and John Thomson were all paid the high rate of 12 d. a day, and Thomson was paid an extra 8 d. for painting the words of the ballads on boards. Of these master craftsmen Thomson and Brendewode were allowed their own servants at 3 d. a day, and John Hornton was

³²*OED*, general (4), and L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, Oxford 1952, p. 168. Moty was an earth based pigment, mottled or reddish in colour, *MED*, *OED*, Salzman, pp. 159, 168.

³³Brazil, a hard red wood used by dyers to produce the colour of red, originally from the East.

³⁴Brendewode witnessed a gift of goods and chattels by the rector of St Peter Broad Street by the Austin Friars 1439, *CPMR 1458-82*, p. 162.

allowed two servants at 6 d. a day each. Apparently less accomplished, but paid the good, standard rate for a master craftsman of 6 d. a day, were Henry Poterich and John Warthow; John Aleyn was paid only 5 d. a day, while Thomas Wodeward was apparently yet another stainer working on the same works at 8 d. the day. Between them they worked for a total of eighty-four days – a figure which gives some idea of the elaboration of the decorations. Unfortunately none of these men has been identified further and no records of the company of the Painter-Stainers survive for this period.³⁵

Carpenters employed on pageant work by the Bridge were paid less well than stainers. Ten men received 7 d. a day: Stephen Betcock, William Burton, John Chambre,³⁶ William Crosby, William Exhurst, John Holme, John Newynton, Thomas Osemond, Roger Payn and John William; and a Nicholas only received 4 d. a day. Their work for the entry included the building of stages or pageants at the Bridge Foot or Staples and the Drawbridge, and they worked a total of 110 days. Five of these men can be found working for the Bridge in 1461-62, doing tide work, as it was called, on the supports of the Bridge, or hewing elms at places like Carshalton, and they probably could be found in the accounts of other years; one of them can be found in the contemporary accounts of the Carpenters' Company.³⁷ Supplies for the carpenters to build the stages or pageants included no recorded timber and it must be assumed this was taken from the regular Bridge House stock and would be returned to it. They may also have made use of the unspecified old materials brought over from Guildhall. Nails, however, had to be bought, of all sizes and priced by the hundred: a 1000 threehalfpenny nails,

³⁵The main London sources have been searched. For their early history, W.A.D. Englefield, *The History of the Painter-Stainers' Company of London*, London 1923, pp. 31-49.

³⁶A John Chambre, carpenter of Westminster, made a gift of goods and chattels to his wife and others 1473, possibly to avoid probate duties, *CCR 1468-76*, no. 1165.

³⁷Those working for the Bridge 1461-62 were Stephen Betcock (61 days), John Chambre (19 weeks and 160 days working at tides and on The Crown in Southwark), John Holme (31 weeks same work as Chambre), Thomas Osemond (250 days including hewing elms at Carshalton and elsewhere) and Roger Payne (248 days), *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, item 341; ms accounts of the Bridge have not been searched. Betcock was admitted to the Carpenters in 1456 and was mentioned regularly in relation to an obligation and his arrest in a law suit, *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed Bower Marsh *et al.*, 7 vols, Oxford and London 1913-68, vol. 2, *Wardens' Account Book 1438-1516*, pp 21, 28, 31, 33, 35, 36. Thomas Osemond may have been a relative of William Esmond, a carpenter, employed on the 1483 coronation, *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 340; and William Crosby may have been a relative of Robert Crosby, a warden of the Carpenters in 1477, E.B. Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London*, 2nd ed. W.W. Pocock, London 1887, p. 7. For their very various skills, J. Munby, 'Wood', *English Medieval Industries*, ed J. Blair and N. Ramsay, London 1991, pp. 379-405, esp. pp. 387-89.

3000 'card' nails, 1000 'patyn' nails.³⁸ They also used 10,500 brackets in their work. Whether it was the carpenters who made use of the four small pulleys or wheels bought, is not known.

The identity of the workmen who made the images of eight famous personages is most intriguing, but the accounts do not make this clear. Such figures, chosen for their relevance and complimentary nature, were a common feature of an entry, for example, at the duke of Bedford's entry in 1426 effigies of the Nine Worthies had greeted him.³⁹ Certainly the two cofferers were involved and the tailors who dressed them. The two cofferers, William Love,⁴⁰ and Thomas Malmayn were paid 8 d. a day. Their skill was in working leather, encasing objects, such as coffers, in wet leather which dried smoothly over the wooden carcase⁴¹ – perhaps they did this for the carved masks of the images. Who made the basket-work bodies of hazel rods and stuffed the gloves that acted as the hands of the figures is not mentioned. Perhaps some of the miscellaneous workers employed worked on them, such as Thomas Crulle, either the bowyer of that name or Thomas his son, an ironmonger, both relatives of the Robert Crulle, a bowyer who lived on the west side of the Bridge from 1420-21.⁴² Thomas Crulle was employed at 6 d. the day, with an unidentified, William Martyn, (also paid 6 d. a day) to fix the linen over the wooden stages. Their wages indicate that they were master craftsmen but not their precise skill. Did they also help to make the angels' wings with the 900 peacock feathers and dye the flax with the saffron to make the long yellow hair of the angels and maidens? The tailors employed to prepare and make clothes for the several figures were William Parys and Richard Westmyll, each paid 3 s. for three and half days work. They would have cut and sewn the gowns and other garments for the figures of 'siltwich' and buckram, the first a standard, cheap linen, and the latter often a high quality or heavy duty linen used for stiffening. Some of the buckram supplied was red (2 s. 6 d. the piece), and some purple (3 s. 4 d. the piece), and might have been used to create the stiff folds of a royal cloak or robe. Twopence worth of fringe decorated some portion of their

³⁸For various penny nails, L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, Oxford 1952, p. 315; for nails in general, his ch. 19, and esp. pp. 304-17.

³⁹Christianson, *Memorials*, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰William Love was involved in two gifts of goods and chattels in 1470, the second of which was probably to avoid the necessity of making a will (one of the recipients was Richard Westmyll, tailor, who also worked on this entry), *CCR 1468-76*, nos 507, 567, as he was recorded as dead in that year by the Parish Clerks, *Bede Roll*, 1470 no. 130.

⁴¹Munby, 'Wood', p. 314.

⁴²The father made a gift of goods and chattels to his sons, Thomas and William in 1472, presumably to avoid probate duties, *CCR 1468-76*, no. 940. *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, nos. 134, 137, 217, 218; a descendant, Thomas Crull, was a Bridge warden 1537-38, *ibid.*, no. 441.

work. They presumably draped the heads and necks of the female figures in the lawn kerchiefs made in Piacenza, and they used 1000 pins to fix the garments on all eight figures. They were supplied with twopence worth of needles, white and blue thread, and several skeins of packthread. Westmyll was to be an administrator of the estate of his fellow-worker, the cofferer, William Love, in 1470,⁴³ and they were not the only men among the workers and suppliers of this project who knew other craftsmen outside this work. The other tailor, William Parys, was an associate of William Thomset, saddler, who was working for the king's great wardrobe between 1462 and 1465, a yeoman of the royal stables by 1466 and king's saddler by 1481.⁴⁴ Just as carpenters might form working relationships while doing regular work for the Bridge, tailors of talent might do the same while in royal employ at the great wardrobe; there they were often called upon for days of intensive work on the clothes for royal events such as coronations.⁴⁵ There is no record of any of the tailors who worked on Elizabeth Woodville's robes in 1465.

The large quantities of paper bought, presumably went to make decorations and perhaps adorn the eight figures: expensive gold paper, red, white and black, a ream each of the last two. All the workers would have had recourse to the glue supplied, in varying degrees, and also the 'lyne' and wire, but which of them used the two pounds of red wax? Materials for which no use can be guessed, are the two pounds of 'osmode', possible the Swedish steel known as osmond, and the curious six 'counterfete mystell' supplied by a girdler. The identity of 'florrey' is not certain, possibly flour, though *farina* is used elsewhere, or possibly floret or floss silk.⁴⁶

Before leaving the workers, their food and drink at the alehouse, The Crown, adjacent to the Bridge House, was paid for by their employer, and amounted to £2 6 s. 10 d.; and a kilderkin of ale kept the builders and decorators of the stage going while they worked in the Bridge House yard, at a cost of 1 s. 8 d. The 'cole' supplied may have been used in charcoal brasiers burning while they worked, and four pounds of candles were consumed in night-work.

Turning to the suppliers, they like the workers were often known to each other, subscribed to the fraternity of St Nicholas, and were near the top of their companies. They included one mercer, who specialised in linen, the most important of all mercery goods. For covering the stages, pageants and dressing the figures,

⁴³For Westmyll and Love, see n. 40. Westmyll gave his own goods and chattels to a fuller and an upholsterer in 1469, *CCR 1468-76*, no. 417.

⁴⁴*CCR 1461-68*, p. 304. Thomset, *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 405.

⁴⁵See e.g. *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 130-31, when 73 tailors worked 412 days.

⁴⁶'Florrey' identified as flour by Salzman, *Building*, p. 168, but *farina* is used elsewhere in these accounts; possibly floret or floss silk.

ninety-six ells of 'siltwich', an unidentified type of linen probably from Westphalia, was bought from Richard Syff, a mercer of medium standing, originally from Norfolk, living in the wealthy and central London parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street at this date, and married to a daughter of William Tailleur, a grocer who was shortly to be mayor (1468-69). Like several of the workers and suppliers to the Bridge House, he and his father-in-law were on the bede roll of the Parish Clerks and received their prayers after they were dead.⁴⁷ William Brown, a member of the Grocers, the company which ranked second in the civic hierarchy – much to their occasionally violent irritation – supplied pigments for the painter-stainers. Brown had served as a warden of his company in 1463-64,⁴⁸ but neither he nor the other grocer, William Westram, have proved easy to trace, although Westram appears to have supplied a wide variety of goods, especially pigments. Party-gold and silver foil was supplied by members of the Goldsmiths' Company to adorn the decorations: John Abraham and Alan Newman, both goldbeaters, who specialised in producing the extremely fine sheets of metal used to gild ornaments. Abraham lived in the prosperous parish of St Laurence Old Jewry, was reenterwarden of his company 1479-80, and died in 1482. As he sought membership in 1469 of the fraternity of the Parish Clerks, whose singing celebrated the queen's entry, he benefited from their prayers after his death.⁴⁹ Alan Newman was equally prosperous, serving as reenterwarden 1471-72 and, surviving Abraham, he went on to be a warden 1483-84. He must have fallen on bad times or just grown too old to work, for he ended as an almsman of his company in 1496.⁵⁰ Thomas Ostrich, the haberdasher, who provided a few of the miscellaneous goods that were the province of haberdashery, was a great man in his company. He had been a client of the Borromei Bank of Milan when it had operated in London in the 1430s, and was to die possessed of suit of armour of that city. He was an associate of Richard Syff, the mercer, both acting as sureties for the estate of the extremely wealthy Geoffrey Boleyn in 1467; and in 1483 he was one of the common councilmen

⁴⁷An English ell was 45 inches, a Flemish ell 27 inches. Syff died 1476 aged 51, A.F. Sutton, 'The women of the Mercy: wives, widows and maidens', *London and the Kingdom. Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed M. Davies and A. Prescott, Harlaxton Medieval Studies vol. 16, Donington 2008, p. 171 and n. 43. *Bede Roll*, 1477 no. 194.

⁴⁸Brown as warden, W. Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols, London 1837, vol. 1, p. 312. Brown was the recipient of gifts of goods and chattels, *CCR 1468-76*, no. 1162, and *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London 1458-82*, ed P.E. Jones, Cambridge 1961 (hereafter *CPMR 1458-82*), p. 178, and therefore seems to have survived into the 1480s.

⁴⁹T.F. Reddaway and L.E.M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509*, London 1975, p. 338. *The Bede Roll*, 1469 no.121, 1483 no. 24. *CCR 1461-68*, p. 382. Guildhall Library MS 9171/6, f. 338 (his will).

⁵⁰Reddaway and Walker, pp. 299, 337, 338.

elected to attend the coronation of Richard III and represent the city. He died in 1484 and after nearly thirty years of subscription to that fraternity, he received the prayers of the Parish Clerks.⁵¹ A far less eminent workman-supplier was Simon Turner, a turner by company, who provided pails and bowls – fortunately the fact that his name and company were identical was recorded when he stood a surety at the Guildhall.⁵² Lastly, a girdler supplied packthread, paper and the unidentified ‘counterfete mystell’, William Tange, another craft sufficiently low down the hierarchy to ensure that little can be found about him as an individual.⁵³

As a result of all this miscellaneous information, and the other payments to players and singers, it is possible to reconstruct in part the events of the entry in the order of the day’s events.

Immediately before the queen arrived, cleansing of the thoroughfare was carried out – at the Drawbridge specifically – presumably clearing away any accumulation of rubbish and ordure of horses. Forty-five loads of sand were spread over the entire passage way, at a total cost of 18 s. 4 d. This could not be done too early when so much traffic depended on the Bridge being open.

The mayor, Ralph Josselyn, draper,⁵⁴ his two sheriffs, John Tate, mercer,⁵⁵ and John Stone, tailor,⁵⁶ the aldermen, the mayor’s swordbearer and the city’s other officers, in their blue and blue-grey parted gowns and hoods, and the riders from the livery companies in their murrey gowns – the mayor’s own drapers in pride of place – met the queen at Shooters’ Hill and conducted her to Southwark. It is

⁵¹Ostrich, ex info J.L. Bolton. *The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479 to 1486*, ed. L. Boatwright et al., 2 vols, Knaphill 2008, vol. 2, no. 284. *Letter Book L*, pp. 72, 208. *Bede Roll*, 1459 no. 57, 1484 no. 256.

⁵²CPMR 1458-82, p. 77. *Letter Book L*, p. 99 (surety for the estate of a draper’s children). For the craft of turning, Munby, ‘Wood’, p. 384.

⁵³Tange was the joint recipient of two gifts of goods and chattels, 1468 and 1471, the latter from another girdler, Thomas Mann, *CCR 1468-76*, nos 126, 828.

⁵⁴Josselyn was to be conspicuous in defending the Bridge in 1471 from Fauconbridge’s attack, *London Bridge. 2000 Years*, p. 108.

⁵⁵John Tate I came from Coventry to London and although a member of the Mercers operated mainly as a stapler; he served as mayor of London 1473-74 and died 1479; his son, John Tate III became famous as the first papermaker of England, A.F. Sutton, *A Merchant Family of Coventry, London and Calais: The Tates, c. 1450-1515*, London 1998, pp. 17-21.

⁵⁶John Stone, tailor, was a warden of his company 1439-40 and master 1449-50; he endowed an 100 year obit which was regularly observed by his company, M. Davies, ed., *The Merchant Tailors’ Company of London: Court Minutes 1486-1493*, Stamford 2000, pp. 57 n. 38 and see 224, 259, 279, 288.

very possible that the mayor made a speech of welcome.⁵⁷ No doubt groups of the local inhabitants and clergy had also staged welcomes, perhaps with speeches, perhaps with singing by the local church choirs, along her route from Greenwich or Shene, where she had recently been with the king. Nothing is known of the queen's procession, nor whether she travelled in a more formal litter hung on poles between horses as was usual and traditional for the Vigil procession, or whether she had the latest of carriages, or even rode pillion.⁵⁸ It can only be certain that she was well accompanied and that all was intended to make a sumptuous show.

Despite the lack of the words spoken, the pageants of the entry to the city can be partially reconstructed by careful analysis of the surviving Bridge House accounts and comparison to the verses for the pageants that greeted Margaret of Anjou almost exactly twenty years before on 28 May 1445. The areas where a pageant could be staged on the Bridge were limited by the structure of the Bridge to the three open spaces: the Bridge Foot, Staples or Stulpes; the Drawbridge Gate, and the area immediately after (including the doorway) the chapel of St Thomas Becket (see above).⁵⁹

After the joining of the city's procession with that of the queen at Shooters' Hill, the first event which was orchestrated in part by the city was the speech delivered on a stage built before the church of St George, Southwark, by Robert, the clerk of that church,⁶⁰ taking on the persona of St Paul, the patron saint of the city. He welcomed and blessed the queen appropriately, and was rewarded by the Bridge House with 20 d.

The queen then moved on to the Bridge Foot, where a choir greeted her, composed of 'clerks', singing from the window of an upper room of Peter

⁵⁷It is known that mayors made such speeches on other occasions, e.g. the mayor while presenting Henry VI with a purse of money during his entry through the city in 1432, Riley, *Liber Albus*, app. 3, p. 463.

⁵⁸The decoration of her 'chairs, saddle and pillion' had recently been provided for, Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 1, p. 375. Compare the provision of litter, chairs and pillion for Katherine of Aragon, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner, Rolls Series, London 1861, 1863, vol. 1, pp. 409-10.

⁵⁹Kipling, 'London pageants for Margaret of Anjou', pp. 5-7; pp. 14-16, for the placing of Margaret's pageants. Kipling was dealing with an unclear text in which he identified three apparent rubrics for the location of pageants on the Bridge, but with only two speeches to allot to them. He assumes there was a third pageant between the Bridge Foot and the Drawbridge (p. 7), but we would suggest there were only two pageant stations and that the third rubric is merely a repetition in different words. Nothing is known of any pageant in the city on the way to the Tower where Elizabeth spent the night before their coronation. Margaret's entry does not help as she proceeded west to St Paul's and according to the Great Chronicle stayed the night at the bishop's palace; she must therefore have moved to the Tower the next day for her vigil procession, probably by water. See also nn. 19, 27.

⁶⁰Robert has not been further identified.

Johnson's house which looked down on the southern staples of the Bridge. It is certain that one of the pageants built by the carpenters and decorated by the stainers stood here, with some of the boards displaying the newly composed ballads forming part of the decoration. And here stood some of the eight figures.⁶¹ How the area was decorated is not even suggested in the accounts, except that carpenters' work was extensive. The best comparison is the pageant built for Katherine of Aragon in November 1501 which consisted of tall but shallow tiers of tabernacles inhabited by St Katherine and St Ursula surrounded by virgins, with the main tabernacles surmounted by images of the Holy Trinity.⁶² It seems likely that it was here that Queen Elizabeth was addressed by Mary Cleophas, played by Edmund Herte who was rewarded with 20 d. for his pains.⁶³ It is also possible to suggest that the life-size images, certainly used here, may have represented other members of the Holy Family. Their arrangement in a series of shallow tabernacles would have been appropriate.

The second stopping place and pageant was at the Drawbridge Gate, once again decorated with some of the ballad-boards and the remaining model figures. Here twenty-five men of the Fraternity of Parish Clerks sang with their master. The master was paid 12 d. and each of the twenty-five 8 d. each. Simon Batell addressed the queen in the persona of St Elizabeth, the mother of St John the Baptist – the model figures may once more have represented figures of the extended Holy Family. Batell was a clerk of the Bridge Chapel and was rewarded with 20 d. Did either Batell or Herte compose the speeches of the saints they played?⁶⁴

The next entertainment involved no pageant. At the doorway of St Thomas's chapel, sweet music and song was provided by Master Holme, precentor, and his choir boys, presumably the choir of St Thomas's Chapel, although the Bridge House clerk's lack of knowledge of Holme's full name may indicate they were outsiders. The chapel employed or retained several clerks on a regular basis,

⁶¹See the entry for Peter Johnson regarding the unspecified 'clerks' singing in his house; and the entry for William Parys and Richard Westmyll for the figures at the Staples and at the Drawbridge.

⁶²S. Anglo, 'The London pageants for the reception of Katherine of Aragon: November 1501', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 26 (1963), pp. 56-61; the precise placing of the single Bridge pageant for Katherine is not specified but the elaborate decoration of two large posts (p. 56) suggests it was at the stulpes.

⁶³The clerk's entry concerning Mary Cleophas follows that concerning St Elizabeth, and his use of *ibidem* implies both saints were in the same place. The clerk's precision on this point may be doubted as it leaves no speaker for the Bridge Foot pageant. Edmund Herte has not been identified.

⁶⁴Simon Batell is described as a clerk of the Bridge House Chapel, taking a wage of 16 d. a week, BH Accounts 1464-65, f. 95v; not otherwise identified.

so it should have been able to rise to the occasion of an entry.⁶⁵ Holme and his choirboys only received 3 s. 4 d., compared to higher sum paid to the adult men of St Nicholas's fraternity.

The last festivity mentioned occurred almost out of the Bridge's most northerly jurisdiction and in the city parish which had the Bridge in its cure: Roger, the clerk of St Magnus the Martyr church, and his boys greeted the queen with song. They were paid 7 s. 2 d., which included the cost of washing their albs and amices. The clerk of St Magnus and his children or company were still a well-known source of singing and entertainments in the 1530s, and it seems that this tradition may have been a long one⁶⁶ – the competitiveness over liturgy and musical improvements between London parishes was intense.

There remain two unknown quantities in these celebration. Where did the angels and maidens, who wore the wigs of saffron-dyed flax appear? Where stood the angels with wings composed of 900 peacock feathers – the feathers appropriate to cherubim, the second highest of the nine orders of angels? The mention of maidens suggest living attendants not mere painted images, and clusters of maidens, usually with gold hair and white gowns, were a common compliment paid to queens, sometimes to the number of the queen's years. Angels' apparel had been hired from Robert Brangthwayte, as mentioned above. Secondly, how was the representation of the Holy Spirit, provided by a John Raby, used? The accounts are ambiguous: Raby either provided a drawing (figure) of the subject which was turned into an image by others; or he enabled the image to be hired. It may have been a tableau or portable pageant of the type regularly used in the mayoral procession or a religious procession of some London body – reuse of such properties was commonplace, as seen above. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to identify John Raby. An image of the Trinity was not uncommon in entries to emphasise the support of God for the monarch, Henry VI's entry after his return from his French coronation was a case in point.⁶⁷ The Holy Spirit would guide Elizabeth Woodville as queen as soon as she was anointed and crowned.

Once out of the purlieu of the Bridge, the queen proceeded up New Fish

⁶⁵*London Bridge. 2000 Years*, pp. 113-14, mentions the names of John Beller, William Holford and William Clotton as employed for various periods in 1460. In 1465 Salamon Batell was a clerk of the Chapel at 16 d. a week, William Richard and Robert Forde were other clerks, and William Cheyne, John Elmes and Stephen White took 10 mks each p.a., and William Kyng was their cook and chaplain, BH Rental and Accounts 1460-84, f. 95v. For the religious books of the chapel and their care, Christianson, *Memorials*, pp.14-18.

⁶⁶Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 83, 255 n. 75. Roger the clerk has not been further identified. At this date John Crall alias Sudbury was rector of St Magnus newly presented by Sir Thomas Montgomery in Jan. 1465, G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, London 1898, p. 274.

⁶⁷Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 131.

Street, no doubt with local choirs and clergy conspicuous on the route. There is no record of the particular pageants laid on. In Gracechurch Street, it would be pleasant to think that William 'off Greschurche' contributed to a pageant. He had been paid 7 d. for a 'pley' in 1461 and was to be paid 8 s. 4 d. with 'his felows' in 1465 by the Grocers for an entertainment at their election feast.⁶⁸

The procession ended at the Tower and the queen was conducted to her apartments to prepare for the next day's Vigil procession.

Lastly, it has been suggested that an additional London celebration may have followed in June 1465, a 'special' Midsummer Watch. This was the annual two-day torch-lit march and muster of the city's military forces under the mayor and sheriffs. Such a 'special' Watch had followed Margaret of Anjou's end of May coronation in 1445. In 1465 one of the sheriffs was a tailor, and the Tailors invited Edward IV and his new queen to their St John's Feast on Midsummer Day, 24 June.⁶⁹

The Entry of Queen Elizabeth Woodville to London over London Bridge: The Expenses of the Bridge House: the Text

The brief accounts of the expenses incurred over the coronation of Queen Elizabeth Woodville by the Bridge House, as the administration of London Bridge and its estates was called, exist in the Bridge House Rental and Accounts 1460-84, folios 94v-95, among the records of the Corporation of the City of London. This volume of the rentals and accounts of the Bridge House was translated in manuscript in the early twentieth century, a volume also among the Corporation's records. The section on the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville was edited and translated by Glynne Wickham in his *Early English Stages 1300-1660*, Appendix B. He did not, however, extend the Latin or note the deletions of the section relating to the doorkeeper and the second entry concerning hog's bristles; and not all the words were correctly translated.

The text of the original is written in one block of run-on text between two ruled lines down each margin with a token indication of the central curl of a bracket where a marginal title has been inserted; the marginal heading for these expenses has been rendered by italics or put in a note. The clerk's indication of abbreviations is careless, for example he used a superscript ° for any ending he was either not sure of or too lazy to distinguish, and his abbreviations for *per* and *pro* were the same. Doubtful cases have been accorded the correct (medieval)

⁶⁸Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 83. Their accounts ran from August by this date.

⁶⁹Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 155, 293 n. 5.

Latin extension. The text has been divided into paragraphs to facilitate reading and reference, and separate lines allotted to each item. The usage of u and v has been modernised, as has capitalisation.

Persons have been identified in the introduction. Obscure English words have often been explained in the introduction, but these have been duplicated in the notes to the translation.

Corporation of London Records (at present temporarily housed at the London Metropolitan Archives, Clerkenwell, Middlesex), Bridge House Rentals, 1460-84, ff. 94v-95. By kind permission of the City of London, London Metropolitan Archives.

[f. 94v] *Expense facte ad coronacionem regine.*

Et in denariis solutis janitori prioratus Beate Marie de Overey in Suthwerk pro suo labore et attendencia in apertiendo portam dicti prioratus temporibus nocturnis pro passagio carpentariorum⁷⁰ et aliorum operariorum et servientium pontis predicti inde transeuntis ad opera ex parte occidentali eiusdem pontis pro hoc anno prout allocatum fuit in annis precedentibus ...⁷¹

Et Thome Ostrich, pro ij lb. osode [*sic*], iij s. iij d.

Et eidem pro v dosenis et dimidio gold papiro, pro qualibet dosena xiiij d., vj s. [*sic*].

Et eidem pro j dosena et dimidio⁷² de cinopre papiro, ij s.

Et eidem pro j pecia de redbokeram, ij s. vj d.

Et eidem pro ij grossis tynfoile, viij s.

Et Willelmo Broune, grocer, pro xix foliis de sinopre papiro, et iij foliis papii viridis, iij s.

Et eidem pro iij lb. generall, xij d.

Et pro j lb. vermelonis, xv d.

Et pro dimidio lb. ynde, vij d.

Et pro j lb. verdgrece, xiiij d.

Et Et [*sic*] pro vj lb white lede, ix d.

Et pro vj lb. redlede, ix d.

⁷⁰Or *carpentarii*. The ms has *carpentar* and it is not clear whether one or more carpenters are meant.

⁷¹The first four lines, our first paragraph, was left incomplete and crossed out, and over the first line was written: *quod inter [...] expensis necessariis*, in other words this entry had been repeated here in error.

⁷²*et dimidio* inserted above the line.

Et pro j grosso tynfoille, iij s.

Et Willelmo Tange, pro ij scaynes de pakthrede, xiiij d.

Et pro ij scayles⁷³ de small packthrede, xij d.

Et pro dimidium dosena de counterfete mystell, vj d.

Et pro j reme de papiro albo, ij s. vj d.

Et pro j reme papiri nigri, xv d.

Et Ricardo Syffe, mercer, pro iiij^{xx} xvj ell' de sultwych, pretio cuiuslibet ell' iiij d. ob., xxxvj s.

Et eidem pro ij peces de bokeram, x s. vj d.

Et pro j pece de bokeram purpul, iij s. iiij d.

Et pro ij virgis et dimidium de de purpull bokeram, xx d.

Et Alano Newman, pro CCC party gold, C ad ij s. viij d, viij s.

Et pro CC silver, xx d.

Et Johanni Abraham, pro vjC party gold, xvj s.

Et Simoni Turnour, pro iij pailes ix d.⁷⁴ et ij bollis ligni viij d.,⁷⁵ xvij d.

Et Willelmo Westram, grocer,⁷⁶ pro xij lb. glew, qualibet lb. ad ij d. ob., ij s. vj d.

Et pro red wax ij lb, xvj d.

Et pro iij lb. moty, j d. ob.

Et pro blak chalke, xvij lb., iij s.

Et roche alem, j quarter, ij d.

Et j unce de safurn pro tinctura lini, expensum in factura crinis pro angelis et puellis, x d.

Et pro ollis et discis terre emptis pro pictoribus, xx d.

Et pro brusshes et crinibus porcinis emptis pro eisdem pictoribus, xxij d.

Et pro ixC plumis pavonum pro alis angelorum inde fiendis, xxj d.

Et pro florrey emptis, iij s. iiij d.

Et pro virgis de corulo emptis pro imaginibus inde fiendis, iiij d.

Et pro acubus emptis, ij s.

⁷³*Sic, recte 'scaynes'.*

⁷⁴The *ix d.* inserted between the lines.

⁷⁵The *vij d.* inserted between the lines.

⁷⁶It is by no means certain that all the items that follow Westram's name were bought from him.

Et pro iij lb. lini emptis, expensum in similitudine crinis angelorum et virginum, ix d.

Et pro dimidio lb. brasell empto, xx d.

Et pro j lagena de pynke yelow empta, ij s. viij d.

Et pro iiiij parvis shevers emptis, ij d.

Et pro filo albo et blodio empto, iiiij d.

Et pro viij paribus cirotecarum emptis pro signo manuum viij ymaginum, ix d.

Et pro j lb. flokkes emptam pro obstupacione dictarum cirotecarum, j d. ob.

Et pro vj kerchyfes de plesaunce emptis pro apparatu vj ymaginum muliebrum, viij s. viij d.

Et pro frenge, ij d.

Et pro farina empta pro factura paste per pictores, xiiij d.

Et pro iiiij lb. candelarum expensis pro operariis tempore nocturno, iiiij d. ob.

Et pro iiiij paribus forpicis emptis pro pictoribus, viij d.

Et pro cole empte, xiiij d.

Et pro pro [*sic*] M^l pynnes emptis et expensis in fixura vestimentorum ymaginum, xiiij d.

Et pro j kilderkyn cervisie expensum pro operariis infra domum pontis operantibus in factura ordinacionem positam super pontem erga adventum regine ad coronacionem suam, xx d.

Et pro M^l iij half peny naill, xv d.

Et pro x M^l et dimidio de braket, iij s. vj d.

Et pro M^lM^lM^l cardenaill, x d.

Et pro M^l patynnaill, v d.

Et pro crinibus porcinis emptis pro brusshes inde fiendis occupate per pictores, viij d.⁷⁷

Et pro lyne [*sic*] empte, vj d.

Et pro wyre emptum et occupatum in eisdem operibus, iij s.

Et pro cariagio iij lode⁷⁸ veteres stuffurum [*sic*] a Guyhalda Londoniensi usque domum pontis, ix d.

⁷⁷This entry is struck through and *quod supra* inserted over *porcinis* and *et quod supra* over *viij d.*

⁷⁸*ij lode* inserted between the lines. This entry is separated from the preceding one by a short space to differentiate it.

Et Willelmo Love,⁷⁹ per unum diem, Thome Malmayn per vj dies, coferers, operantibus in operibus predictis, utriusque eorum per diem viij d., iij s. viij d.

Et Willelmo Martyn, per duos dies, et Thomae Crulle iij dies, secum operanti in fixura pannum lineum ad ordinacionem predictam, utrique per diem vj d., ij s. vj d.

[f. 95]⁸⁰ Et Johanni Brendwode, per ix dies, Johanni Hornton per viij dies, Johanni Thomson per viij dies et dimidium, Martinus Cokke et Roberto Couper per viij dies, steynors, operantibus in operibus predictis, omnibet eorum per diem xij d., xlj s. vj d.

Et Henrico Poderich et Johanni Warthow, secum operanti in eisdem operibus per ix dies, utrique per diem vj d., ix s.

Et Thome Wodeward, operanti in eisdem operibus per v dies et dimidium, capienti per diem viij d., iij s. viij d.

Et Johanni Aleyn, operanti in eisdem operibus per vj dies, capienti per diem v d., ij s. vj d.

Et dicto Johanni Hornton pro ij servientibus suis secum operantibus in operibus predictis per viij dies, capientibus pro eis per diem xij d., viij s.

Et pro Johanni Brendwode pro servienti suo secum operanti per ix dies, capienti per diem iij d., ij s. iij d.

Et Johanni Thomson, pro servienti suo secum operanti per vij dies, ad iij d. per diem, xxj d.

Et Willelmo Parys et Ricardo Westmyll, sissoribus, operantibus in aptura et factura vestimentorum pro diversis imaginibus ordinatis pro adventu regine ad stapulas pontis et ad pontem traxibilem, per tres dies et dimidium, vj s.

Et Johanni Genycote, pro scriptura et lymnyng vj balades porrectas regine in adventu suo, iij s.

Et Johanni Thompson, pro scriptura dictorum vj balades super tabulas fixas ad paginas apud pontem, viij d.

Et in denariis solutis pro expensis dictorum operatorum, per ipsos expeditis in tenemento brasineo vocato The Croune iuxta portam domus pontis tempore facture ordinacionis predictae, xlvj s. x d.

⁷⁹The clerk started a new paragraph with William Love.

⁸⁰Halfway down the left margin opposite the point of the new page's full length bracket: *Adhuc expense facte ad coronacionem regine.*

Et in denariis solutis Radulpho Brangthwayte pro conduccione apparatus angelorum, v s.

Et Johanni Raby, pro figura Spiritus Sancti per ipsum prestita et occupata in ordinacione predicta ac pro labore et attendencia per ipsum impensa, xx d.

Et Petro Johnson, pro camera ab ipso conducta apud stapulas pontis⁸¹ pro clericis ibidem existentibus et cantantibus in adventu regine, vj s. viij d.

Et Rogero [blank], clerico ecclesie Sancti Magni, pro se et pueris suis ibidem⁸² cantantibus etc., ac pro lavacione vj albarum et vj amictuum, vij s. ij d.
Et in expensis eorundem ibidem, iij s. vij d.

Et Roberto [blank], clerico ecclesie Sancti Georgii ibidem recipienti reginam in⁸³ pagine in signo et vice Sancti Pauli, xx d.

Et magistro societatis clericorum pro se et xxv personis cantantibus apud pontem traxibilem in adventu regine, pro dicto magistro, xij d. et pro quolibet aliorum xxv, viij d, xvij s. iij d.
Et in expensis eorundem ibidem v s. vij d.

Et [blank] Holme, cantatori, pro se et pueris suis cantantibus apud hostium capelle super pontem in adventu regine, iij s. iij d.

Et Salamon Batell, pro labore suo vice et loco Sancte Elizabethhe loquenti regine ad pontem traxibilem, xx d.

Et Edmundo Herte, ibidem existenti loco Marie Cleophe, xx d.

Et pro fumigacione facta apud pontem traxibilem in adventu regine, iij s. iij d.
Et pro cariagio xlv lodes arene sparse super pontem erga adventum regine, pro qualibet lode, iij d., xv s.

Et Stephano Betcock, Johanni Holme, Rogero Payne, Thome Osemond, Johanni William, Willelmo Burton, Willelmo Exhurst, carpentariis operantibus in factura opus ligneum pro ordinacione predicta, cuilibet eorum per xij dies capienti per

⁸¹The last three words *apud stapulas pontis* were inserted between the lines.

⁸²*ibidem* inserted between the lines with a caret mark.

⁸³*ibidem* crossed out and *in* inserted between the lines.

diem vij d., xlix s.

Et Johanni Chambre' iij s. vj d.⁸⁴ per sex dies, Willelmo Crosby, ij s. iiij d.⁸⁵ per iiij dies et Johanni Newynton ij s. iiij d.⁸⁶ per iiij dies, cuilibet eorum per diem vij d. Et Nicholao Carpenter iiij s.⁸⁷ per xij dies ad iiij d. per diem secum operanti in eisdem operibus, xij s. ij d.⁸⁸

Summa xxj li. xiiij s. d. vj ob.

Translation

[f. 94v] *Expenses incurred at the Coronation of the Queen.*

And in money paid to the door-keeper of the priory of the Blessed Mary of Overey in Southwark for his labour and attendance in opening the door of the said priory at night time for the passage of the carpenter(s) and other workers and servants of the Bridge crossing thence to the work from the western side of the said Bridge, as has been allowed in preceding years.⁸⁹

And to Thomas Ostrich for two pounds of steel [?],⁹⁰ 3 s. 4 d.

And to the same for five and a half dozen of gold paper, price of each dozen 14 d., 6 s.

And to the same for one and a half dozen of red paper, 2 s.

And to the same for a piece of red buckram,⁹¹ 2 s. 6 d.

And to the same for two gross of tin foil, 8 s.

And to William Brown, grocer, for nineteen leaves of red paper, and four leaves of green paper, 3 s.

And to the same for 3 pounds of 'general',⁹² 12 d.

⁸⁴ *ij s. vj d.* inserted between the lines.

⁸⁵ *ij s. iiij d.* inserted between the lines.

⁸⁶ *ij s. iiij d.* inserted between the lines.

⁸⁷ *iiij s.* inserted between the lines.

⁸⁸ At the level of the next (blank) line *xij li. xij d.* was written in the left margin and some words or figures were deleted in front of those figures.

⁸⁹ This entry was crossed out and a note above the first line says 'because under the heading of necessary expenses', i.e. earlier in these accounts and not part of the coronation expenses.

⁹⁰ *osode*; this is probably an error for osmond, Swedish steel.

⁹¹ 'Buckram', a stiff linen used to line garments.

⁹² General was a base compound used in paints, see n. 32 above.

And for one pound of vermilion, 15 d.

And for half a pound of indigo, 7 d.

And for one pound of verdigris, 14 d.

And for six pounds of white lead, 9 d.

And for six pounds of red lead, 9 d.

And for one gross of tin foil, 3 s.

And to William Tange for two skeins of packthread, 14 d.

And for two skeins of small packthread, 12 d.

And for half a dozen counterfeit 'mystell',⁹³ 6 d.

And for one ream of white paper, 2 s 6 d.

And for one ream of black paper, 15 d.

And to Richard Syff, mercer, for ninety-six ells of 'siltwyche',⁹⁴ price of each ell, 4½ d, 36 s.

And to the same for two pieces of buckram, 10 s. 6 d.

And for one piece of purple buckram, 3 s. 4 d.

And for two yards and a half of purple buckram, 20 d.

And to Alan Newman for three hundred 'party gold'⁹⁵ at 2 s. 8 d. the hundred, 8 s.

And for two hundred silver, 20 d.

And to John Abraham for six hundred 'party gold', 16 s.

And to Simon Turnour for three pails, 9 d., and two wooden bowls, 8 d., 17 d.

And to William Westram, grocer, for twelve pounds of glue, at 2½ d. a pound, 2 s. 6 d.

And for red wax, two pounds, 16 d.

And for four pounds of 'moty',⁹⁶ 1½ d.

And for black chalk, eighteen pounds, 3 s.

⁹³*mystell* unidentified.

⁹⁴'Siltwyche' was a German linen, probably from Westphalia, but the place remains unidentified.

⁹⁵Party gold was 'partly' gold, in other words gold mixed with another baser metal and suitable for use in temporary decorations.

⁹⁶Moty was an earth based pigment, which when applied had a mottled or red appearance, see n. 32 above.

And 'Roche' alum,⁹⁷ one quarter, 2 d.

And one ounce of saffron used for dying the flax to make the hair for the angels and maidens, 10 d.

And for pots and dishes of clay bought for the painters, 20 d.

And for brushes and hogs' hairs bought for the same painters, 22 d.

And for nine hundred peacock's feathers for making the angels' wings, 21 d.

And for 'florrey'⁹⁸ bought, 3 s. 4 d.

And for rods of hazel bought for making images,⁹⁹ 4 d.

And for needles bought, 2 d.

And for three pounds of flax bought and used in the likeness of hair for the angels and maidens, 9 d.

And for half a pound of brazil¹⁰⁰ bought, 20 d.

And for one gallon of 'pynke yelow'¹⁰¹ bought, 2 s. 8 d.

And for four small wheels¹⁰² bought, 2 d.

And for thread white and blue bought, 4 d.

And for eight pairs of gloves bought to represent the hands of eight figures, 9 d.

And for one pound of flock bought for stuffing the said gloves, 1½ d.

And for six kerchiefs of 'Plesaunce'¹⁰³ bought for the apparel of six figures of women, 8 s. 8 d.

And for fringe, 2 d.

And for flour for making paste for the painters, 13 d.

And for four pounds of candles used for working at night time, 4½ d.

And for four pairs of scissors bought for the painters, 8 d.

Paid for coal¹⁰⁴ bought, 14 d.

And for a thousand pins bought, and used in fastening the clothes to the figures, 14 d.

⁹⁷I.e. roche alum, a kind of alum, occurring in small fragments; so called from Rocca, Syria, whence alum is said to have been obtained, also called 'rock alum'.

⁹⁸'Florrey', unidentified; possibly flour or floret or floss silk, see n. 46 above.

⁹⁹I.e. to make the hollow basket-woven shapes, later covered with painted cloth.

¹⁰⁰Brazil, see n. 33 above.

¹⁰¹'Pynke yelow', a pink pigment with a yellow tint.

¹⁰²Sheaves, wheels or pulleys (nautical).

¹⁰³Piacenza, Italy, which was famous for the manufactures of fine veils and kerchiefs.

¹⁰⁴Charcoal.

And for one kilderkin¹⁰⁵ of ale, used for the workers within the Bridge House, working in making the stage¹⁰⁶ placed upon the Bridge against the arrival of the queen for her coronation, 20 d.

And for one thousand threehalfpenny nails,¹⁰⁷ 15 d.

And for ten and a half thousand brackets, 6 d.

And for three thousand card nails,¹⁰⁸ 10 d.

And for a thousand patten nails,¹⁰⁹ 5 d.

And for hogs' hair bought for making the brushes used by the painters, 8 d.¹¹⁰

And for line bought, 6 d.

And for wire bought and used in the same work, 3 s.

And for the carriage of three loads of old material from the Guildhall, London, to the Bridge House, 9 d.

And to William Love, for one day, Thomas Malmayn for six days, cofferers, working in the aforesaid work, to each of them 8 d. a day, 4 s. 8 d.

And to William Martyn, for two days and Thomas Crulle for three days working with him, in fixing the linen cloth to the aforesaid stages, each of them 6 d. a day, 2 s. 6 d.

[f. 95]And to John Brendwode, for nine days, John Hornton for eight days, John Thomson for eight and a half days, Martin Cokke and Robert Couper for eight days, stainers, working on the aforesaid work, to each of them 12 d. a day, 41 s. 6d.

And to Henry Poterich and John Warthow, working with them on the same works for nine days, to each of them 6 d. a day, 9 s.

And to Thomas Wodeward, working on the same works for five and a half

¹⁰⁵ A kilderkin was a cask for liquids or commodities, capacity varying with contents.

¹⁰⁶ *Ordinatio* appears to represent a physical object(s), and this meaning seems the likeliest.

¹⁰⁷ For many prices of nails, at 1 d. etc the hundred, see n. 38 above.

¹⁰⁸ 'Card nails', unidentified precisely.

¹⁰⁹ Nails used by the makers of pattens or clogs.

¹¹⁰ This entry was crossed out and a note added: 'because above'.

days, taking 8 d. a day, 3 s. 8 d.

And to John Aleyn, working on the same work for six days, taking 5 d. a day, 2 s. 6 d.

And to the said John Hornton, for his two servants working with him on the aforesaid work for eight days, taking 12 d. a day for them, 8 s.

And to John Brendwode, for his servant working with him, for nine days, taking 3 d. a day, 2 s. 3 d.

And to John Thomson, for his servant working with him for seven days at 3 d. a day, 21 d.

And to William Parys and Richard Westmyll, tailors, working at preparing and making the clothes for divers figures ordered for the arrival of the queen at the Staples of the Bridge and at the Drawbridge, for three and a half days, 6 s.

And to John Genycote, for writing and limning six ballads presented to the queen at her approach, 3 s.

And to John Thomson, for writing the said six ballads on boards fixed to the pageants at the Bridge, 8 d.

And in money paid for the expenses of the said workers, incurred by them in the alehouse called the Crown next the door of the Bridge House at the time of making the aforesaid preparation, 46 s. 10 d.

And in money paid to Ralph Brangthwayte, for the hire of the angels' apparel, 5 s.

And to John Raby, a figure of the Holy Spirit provided by him and used on the said stage, and for the labour and attendance given by him, 20 d.

And to Peter Johnson, for a room hired from him at the Staples of the Bridge for the clerks being there and singing at the approach of the queen, 6 s. 8 d.

And to Roger [blank], clerk of the church of St Magnus, for himself and his boys singing there, etc, and for washing of six albs and six amices, 7 s. 2 d.

And in the expenses of the same there, 3 s. 7 d.

And to Robert [blank], clerk of the church of St George, receiving the queen

there in a pageant in the form and manner of Saint Paul, 20 d.

And to the master of the Society of Clerks for himself and twenty-five persons singing at the Drawbridge at the arrival of the queen, for the said master, 12 d., and for each of the other twenty-five, 8 d., 18 s. 4 d.

And for the expenses of the same there, 5 s. 7 d.

And to [blank] Holme, precentor, for himself and his boys singing at the door of the chapel on the Bridge at the approach of the queen, 3 s. 4 d.

And Salamon Batell, for his labour in the form and place of St Elizabeth addressing the queen at the Drawbridge, 20 d.

And to Edmund Herte, being there in the place of Mary Cleophas, 20 d.

And for cleansing done at the drawbridge at the approach of the queen, 3 s. 4 d.

And for the carriage of forty-five loads of sand sprinkled on the Bridge against the approach of the queen, for each load 4 d., 15 s.

And to Stephen Betcock, John Holme, Roger Payn, Thomas Osemond, John William, William Burton, William Exhurst, carpenters, working in making the woodwork for the aforesaid stages, each of them for twelve days, taking 7 d. a day, 49 s.

And to John Chambre 3 s. 6 d.¹¹¹ for six days. William Crosby 2 s. 4 d.¹¹² for four days, and John Newynton, 2 s. 4 d. for four days, to each of them 7 d. a day.¹¹³ And to Nicholas Carpenter, 4 s.¹¹⁴ for 12 days, at 4 d a day, working with them in the aforesaid work. 12 s. 2 d.¹¹⁵

Total: £ 21 14 s. 6½ d.

(To be continued with The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth Woodville.)

¹¹¹ *ijj s. vj d.* inserted above the line.

¹¹² *j s. iij d.* inserted above the line.

¹¹³ *jj s. iij d.* inserted above the line.

¹¹⁴ *iiij s.* inserted above the line.

¹¹⁵ In margin, one line below: £ 13 12 d.; probably an auditor's calculation.