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THOMAS BECKET AND LONDON

PROFESSOR CAROLINE BARRON

Introduction

This lecture is about St Thomas Becket and London, but some background information may be helpful.

Thomas Becket was born in London in 1120, the son of Gilbert and Mathilda Becket whose families had come from Rouen in the wake of the Norman Conquest. Gilbert Becket was a rich and successful Londoner who seems to have made his money by owning and dealing in property. He lived in the small central parish of St Mary Colechurch on the north side of Cheapside. As yet there were no elected mayors of London (this privilege came by a royal charter in May 1215), but the city was allowed to elect its own sheriffs and Gilbert seems to have held this office in the 1130s. The Becket family fortunes were seriously affected by a fire (there were many such fires in early medieval London) which destroyed much of Gilbert's property. In about 1140 young Thomas entered the employment of the sheriff, Osbert Huitdeniers (Eightpence) and became, in effect, a civil servant. He must have had a good education, possibly in one of the schools which we know existed in London at this time. From acting as a clerk to the sheriff, Thomas moved in 1143 to join the prestigious household of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury (1138-1161). Although in minor clerical orders, Thomas enjoyed the 'extravagant and ostentatious' lifestyle of a successful young courtier and he attracted the attention of the king, Henry II who appointed him as his chancellor in 1155.

For the next seven years Becket was the close confidant of the king, travelling with him to France and displaying a love of fine clothing, jewels and horses. He and Henry were friends and Henry trusted him. He also believed that Thomas considered, as Henry did, that the growing power of the Church needed to be curbed. In the twelfth century the claims of the church to protect its priests from secular jurisdiction and to appoint men to ecclesiastical office without royal interference challenged the customary prerogatives of the Crown. When Archbishop Theobald died in 1161, Henry chose Becket to succeed him in spite of the fact that Thomas had to be ordained as a priest on the eve of his enthronement as Archbishop. He hoped by choosing Becket that he had secured a compliant cleric who would allow the customary royal rights to operate in the English church. But he had misjudged his man. Thomas became as committed a churchman as he had been a committed royal chancellor. He opposed the king on a number of issues and was, himself, opposed by a number of the bishops (especially Gilbert Foliot, the bishop of London) who found his stand against Henry to be intransigent and provocative. So, two years after his elevation to the archbishopric, Thomas went into exile and only returned in 1170 after a fragile truce was constructed between these two strong-willed men. But as soon as he arrived back in England, Thomas excommunicated some of the king's supporters and this provoked Henry, then in France, to utter the exasperated words 'Will no-one rid me of this meddlesome priest?'. Four of his knights crossed to England and confronted Becket in his palace in Canterbury where there was an angry altercation. The knights left and Becket and his household retired into the archbishop's private apartments. As they sat discussing the day's events, John of Salisbury, a distinguished member of the archbishop's household who had followed him into exile, remonstrated with Becket for provoking the knights who were obviously looking for a pretext to kill him. 'No-one' John of Salisbury said, clearly exasperated, 'can release you from your obstinacy'.

'We must all die' St Thomas told him, 'You will never find me flinching from what is right for fear of death. And I want to endure death for the love of God. They cannot be any readier to strike than my heart is to suffer martyrdom'

'We' replies Master John 'are not so well prepared that we wish to be handed over to death...I see no-one but you wishing to die'.

In the event (perhaps not surprisingly) John of Salisbury did not witness Becket's death, but one who did was a Londoner, William Fitzstephen, who was a more junior member of Becket's household, and he lived to tell the tale. And tell the tale he did: of the many lives of Becket that were written following his death Fitzstephen's account has been described by Christopher Brooke as 'still one of the best that we have, though written in a rhetorical Latin below the best the twelfth century could achieve'.

The murder of an archbishop before the altar in his own cathedral, apparently on the orders of his king, provoked shock and outrage throughout Europe. The impact may, perhaps, be compared to the news of the death of Princess Diana in 1997. In due course Henry II did penance for Becket's murder and a working compromise was reached over the relations of Church and State in England. But the focus of this talk will not be on the consequences for England or, indeed for Canterbury, of Becket's martyrdom, but will concentrate instead on the various ways in which his death influenced the development of the city of his birth.

William Fitzstephen's Life of Becket

It is generally acknowledged that Fitzstephen's account of the life of Becket (and many were written) is the best because it provides eyewitness accounts of incidents and the author has a telling eye for detail. But what is exceptional about Fitzstephen's account is that he begins his text with several pages in which he describes the city of London as the setting for the life of Becket. Fitzstephen, however, gets carried away and provides a long and detailed account of what it was like to be a young man and alive in late twelfth century London: he describes the schoolboy disputations, the contests on boats in the Thames and on horses at Smithfield, the availability of ready-cooked food in the cookshops in the lanes leading down to the river, and the winter sports on the frozen marshes of Smithfield. Fitzstephen has little to say about the way in which the city was governed, or about the commercial activities of the inhabitants, or about the buildings, but his account is exceptional in the way in which he is able to describe what it was like to be a young man alive in London in the twelfth century. There is nothing comparable written about London until the account of John Stow in the late sixteenth century. If Thomas Becket had not been murdered in Canterbury, we should not have had this remarkable contemporary account of his native city.

London Bridge

The Romans had built the first wooden bridge linking Londinium to Southwark across the Thames. The arrival of the Normans prompted a rash of stone building: The Tower of London, Westminster Hall, great churches like St Bartholomew's in Smithfield and Holy Trinity at Aldgate. The project to replace the wooden bridge with one built of stone was probably begun before Becket's murder, but his death provided a renewed impetus for the project. The moving spirit behind the building of the new stone bridge seems to have been a man named Peter who was the priest in charge of St Mary Colechurch, the small parish on Cheapside in which the Becket house was located and where, it is presumed, young Thomas was baptised. It may have been this connection which led Peter of Colechurch to dedicate the chapel halfway across the new bridge to Thomas Becket. Chapels were common on the bridges that were being built at this time and Peter probably realised that a chapel dedicated to the new saint (Becket was canonised in 1173) would be a money-spinner. Peter himself died in 1205 and was buried in the bridge chapel. The new bridge was not completed until 1212 because the task of building a bridge in a fast-flowing tidal river must have been not only difficult and dangerous, but also expensive. The bridge had taken about forty years to build but, without the income from the chapel offerings it might never have been completed.

Hospital of St Thomas in Southwark

The exact date of the foundation of this hospital run by Austin canons is not known. It was later alleged to have been founded by Becket himself, but this is unlikely. By the mid 1170s Gilbert Foliot, the bishop of London who had frequently opposed Becket, granted an indulgence to support the building of the hospital which was being built in Southwark 'in honour of God and Blessed Thomas the Martyr of London'. The hospital was originally established within the precincts of the Priory of St Mary Overy but after another of London's

disastrous fires in 1212, the hospital moved to the east side of Southwark High Street. But like St Bartholomew's Hospital, which was also a house of Augustinian canons, the Southwark hospital dedicated to St Thomas was an important medical and spiritual resource for Londoners and it attracted support and endowments initially because of the link with Becket.

House of St Thomas of Acre in Cheapside

After Becket's death the family house in Cheapside in the parish of St Mary Colechurch passed to Becket's sister Agnes and then by descent to her grandson or great nephew, Thomas of Helles. It is clear that London citizens were interested in acquiring property so closely associated with the saint and Thomas de Haverall who was sheriff of London in 1203-04 gave an annual rent of 20s to 'quit the service due to the capital lord annually from the land where St Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury was born in the parish of St Mary Colechurch'.

Meanwhile during the course of the Third Crusade (1188-1192) which was led by Richard I, a ship carrying many London crusaders was caught in a storm off Portugal. Blessed Thomas appeared to them and told them to repent of their sins and the storm would cease and, indeed, the Londoners were saved. Following the crusaders' conquest of Acre in 1191 King Richard founded a chapel dedicated to St Thomas of Acre. Twenty-eight years later the Order of St Thomas of Acre was founded in that city and followed the rule of the Teutonic Knights. It was a much smaller and less significant order than either the Templars or the Hospitallers, and its focus was more charitable than military, but it held a special place in London and in 1227 Thomas of Helles granted the site where Thomas Becket had been born in London, to the Master and Knightly Brothers of the Order of St Thomas of Acre. In the course of the next twenty years the Brothers built a church, cloister, chapter house and library on the site, and the hospital seems to have cared for a small number of poor people. Although the hospital was modest and not richly endowed, it came to play a significant role in the city because it was founded on the birthplace of the saint.

The City's Common Seal

In the years following the death of Thomas Becket the city of London, or more particularly the self-styled 'barons of London' were asserting a measure of independence and self-government from a Crown weakened by Richard's absence in the Mediterranean and John's military reverses in Normandy. This new civic self-consciousness found expression in the commissioning of a magnificent Common Seal for the city. This double-sided seal was modelled on the royal great seal, but far surpassed it in the intricacies of its design. On the obverse there was an image of St Paul sitting above the walled city with the Thames lapping at the water-gate and the inscription 'sigillum baronum Londoniarum'. The reverse depicted Saint Thomas seated above another depiction of the city full of church spires and on either side of him groups of Londoners. The inscription read 'me que te peperit ne cesses Toma tueri' (do not cease, Thomas, to protect me who gave you birth). This is a remarkable text to have inscribed on a seal and emphasises Thomas's special responsibility for his native city which is here given a human persona. This remarkably fine seal is first referred to in 1214 but may have been made earlier and was a tangible manifestation of the Londoners' claim to a measure of autonomy and to the protection of their citizen saint.

On this Common Seal, and also on the seals of the Bridge, St Thomas's Hospital and the house of St Thomas of Acre, St Thomas is depicted as a seated archbishop. Whereas the St Thomas's seals from Canterbury depict the martyrdom of the saint, the London seals focus instead on his role as the bishop of his flock and the protector of his native city.

The continuing influence of St Thomas: thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries

London Bridge: whereas the Bridge had originally been run as a religious enterprise under the control of a Bridge Brotherhood, by the early fourteenth century it had become, in effect, a branch of the city government run by two bridge-wardens elected annually and accountable to the city chamberlain. But it continued to attract charitable bequests as a pious Christian enterprise. The bridge chapel was rebuilt on a magnificent scale in the late fourteenth century by the master mason Henry Yevele and the accounts of the bridge-wardens reveal that modest offerings continued to be made in the chapel, but it was not a site of significant veneration.

Hospital of St Thomas in Southwark: Southwark became the disreputable suburb of medieval London and undesirable activities were clustered there. These included brothels and it may be for this reason that St Thomas's Hospital quite early on had a maternity ward and in 1295 24 shillings was spent annually on coals and fuel for women lying in childbed. It was again Henry Yevele who made a bequest to the hospital to 'rebuild the aisle where poor patients lie'. Another benefactor was the mercer, Richard Whittington (d. 1423) who, according to a fifteenth century chronicler 'made a new chamber with eight beds for young women that had done amiss in trust of good amendment. And he commanded that all the things that were done in that chamber should be kept secret...on pain of losing their living. For he would not shame no young woman in no wise for that might be cause of her losing her marriage'. So, it seems that the hospital in Southwark continued to provide distinctive care for the inhabitants of Southwark, and London citizens continued to leave bequests to the hospital in their wills.

House or Hospital of St Thomas of Acre: as the role of crusaders in the Holy Land diminished it is not surprising that by the 1320s the Order of St Thomas of Acre had severed its link with Acre. The London house became the head house of the order and in 1327 the brothers gave up all their military pretensions and adopted the rule of St Augustine, i.e. they became a house or hospital of Austin canons like St Thomas's and St Bartholomew's. But they seem not to have had any particular concern for the sick or the poor. Since the house was in Cheapside, and this was the centre of the activities of the London mercers, it is not surprising that in the course of the fourteenth century the links between the mercers and the House of St Thomas became closer. Although the first documented reference to the Mercers Company using the hall of St Thomas of Acre for their feast does not occur until 1391 yet it is likely that the Mercers were adopting the House somewhat earlier. The hospital chapel was rebuilt on a grand scale in the 1380s where the new windows in the north aisle depicted the life of St Thomas, and there was also a text hanging in the church explaining the birth of the saint on that site.

The relations between the house and the Mercers became even closer in the fifteenth century. The influential master, John Neel (1420-63) established a school in the hospital, music became important and many mercers chose to be buried there. By 1509 the Mercers had transferred their annual feast from the day of St John the Baptist (29 June) to the feast of the Translation of St Thomas (7 July). In 1514 the Mercers' Company became the official defenders and advocates of the Master and Brethren of St Thomas's Hospital. So, the merger (or take-over) was almost complete.

Further Developments of the Cult of St Thomas in London:

Story of Gilbert Becket and the Emir's Daughter: Alongside the 'official' life of St Thomas Becket there developed a more exciting popular account which focussed on the parents of the saint. In this 'rogue' account, which first appeared in the mid thirteenth century, Gilbert Becket is a crusader who is captured in the Holy Land by the Saracens. While in captivity he and the daughter of the Emir fall in love. But when Gilbert manages to escape, he leaves the Emir's daughter behind and makes his way back to England. She, however, decides to follow him and journeys across Europe and finds her way to London where the only word of English that she knows is 'London'. While she is wandering the streets of the city, she is recognised by some members of Gilbert's household who take her in. Gilbert consulted six bishops who happened to be at a Council in London, and they advised him to marry her since their child would be a saint. The Saracen's daughter is baptised as Alexandria, marries Gilbert and produces the baby Thomas. At which point the story of the life of the saint reverts to its conventional channel.

It is possible to see why such a story was developed: it may reflect the links between St Thomas and Acre in the Holy Land, and the crusading Gilbert may have been influenced by the existence of Londoners on the third crusade, admittedly a generation later than the historical Gilbert. But whatever its origins, it was widely popular. The only known pageant in London depicting the life of St Thomas was put on by the Skinners' Company in 1518. There is no text for this pageant, but the Skinners accounts include payments for men to take the parts of crusaders, of Gilbert Becket, a Jewess (rather than a Saracen princess), a gaoler and for a pageant prison. It is clear that the story of St Thomas's life had been enlivened to have more mass appeal.

The Development of Civic Pageantry: The leading lay intellectual of early fifteenth century London, was the Common (or Town) clerk of the city, a man named John Carpenter. He held office from 1417 until 1438 and during that time his hand can be detected in a number of civic projects: as the principal executor of the fabulously wealthy mercer, Richard Whittington, he seems to have used Whittington's fortune to fund a number of civic projects including the College of Priests and almshouses run by the Mercers' Company, a new public library near Guildhall to which Carpenter left some of the books from his own extensive library, the commissioning of the painting of the Dance of Death for the new Pardon Churchyard in St Paul's Cathedral where Becket's parents were said to be buried, and the new ward in St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark.

Carpenter was also active in his day job as the City's Common Clerk and in 1419, encouraged by Whittington who was mayor at the time, he compiled a comprehensive book, known as the Liber Albus, or White Book, in which he recorded city customs and earlier precedents culled from the city's record books. It was customary for the newly elected mayor on October 29th (the day following his election) to ride to Westminster to be sworn into office. Carpenter records as 'ancient custom' that on the same day, after dinner, the mayor and aldermen would gather at the house of St Thomas in Cheapside dressed in their livery and then process to St Paul's Cathedral where they would pray for the soul of Bishop William who had secured the city's first charter from King William in 1087. They would then move into the churchyard and, at the grave of the parents of Thomas, late archbishop of Canterbury, they would say a *de profundis* on behalf of all the faithful departed before returning through Cheapside to the house of St Thomas. Carpenter goes on to record other civic processions on particular saints' days and they all begin at the house of St Thomas of Acre. Since there is no earlier reference to these processions, it seems possible that Carpenter may have devised these 'ancient' civic rituals and brought the house of St Thomas and the grave of his parents into the forefront of civic consciousness.

The decline of the cult of St Thomas Becket in later medieval London

In spite of Carpenter's efforts there is little evidence that there was great enthusiasm for the cult of St Thomas in later medieval London. In the century following the Black Death of 1349 numerous parish fraternities were founded in parish churches in London, to honour a particular image or honour a special saint. It is not possible to know exactly how many such fraternities there were in the city since we largely rely on chance references to them in wills. But whereas we know of six fraternities founded in honour of St Thomas, there eighteen dedicated to St John the Baptist and twenty-three for St Katherine. Moreover, in the 1440s an altar at the east end of the north aisle of St Paul's Cathedral which had been dedicated to St Thomas, was now dedicated to St George.

Perhaps not surprisingly we know of only a few relics of St Thomas in London churches. The Temple church claimed to have the sword with which St Thomas was killed; the church of St Stephen Walbrook had a silver cup containing relics of St George and St Thomas, and All Hallows, London Wall had a vestment of St Thomas enclosed in silver. The inventories of the treasures of St Paul's Cathedral record a staff or crozier 'which was said to have belonged to Becket' and some fragments of his skull, his hair and some of his clothing enclosed in a crystal vase. It would seem either that St Thomas's relics were hard to come by, or they were not of great interest to Londoners.

The Impact of the Reformation

In his proclamation of 16 November 1538 Henry VIII appears to have had two objectives which might seem contradictory. In the first place he was clearly attempting to put a brake on the various reforms which were sweeping through the English church or, as been said, 'to stop reform in its tracks'. But in the second part of the proclamation the king makes clear his intention that all images of Saint Thomas Becket were to be erased.

'...Foreasmuch as it appeareth now clearly that Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly to withstand the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy by the King's highness most noble progenitor, King Henry II, for the commonwealth, rest and tranquillity of this realm, of his froward mind fled the realm into France and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm'

The king goes on to argue that Becket provoked his own death by insulting and attacking the knights so ‘...there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince... Therefore his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth...that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels and other places...and all services, festivals to be ‘erased and put out of all the books’

London was a hot bed of religious reform, but it was also very close to the king’s highness and whereas it might be possible to ignore a royal proclamation in Devon or Lancashire, it was not possible in London. The surviving churchwardens’ accounts of London parish churches show how quick they were to respond to the royal command. In the year 1538-39 the churchwardens of St Dunstan in the West paid a glazier thirty-nine shillings ‘for new making of the glass and the arms wherein Thomas Becket late stood’ and the churchwardens of All Hallows London Wall paid twelve pence to Roger Roggerson to erase Thomas Becket from the church’s books.

St Thomas had been the patron saint of the Brewers Company. The archbishop was portrayed on their funeral pall, in the glass in their parlour window and on their banners. In 1538-39 the Company decided not to destroy the images but to adapt them, so Archbishop Thomas was replaced by St William who had been an archbishop of York in the twelfth century. William replaced Thomas in the parlour window and the image of St Thomas remained on the funeral pall but the writing on the scrolls was adapted. And a painter was paid 13s 8d ‘for putting out of Thomas Becket in our banners and setting in of St Thomas the Apostle’.

The city took a little longer to comply with the royal command, but on 28 September 1539 Common Council decided:

‘foreasmuch as the Common Seal of this city is made with the image of Thomas Becket, late archbishop of Canterbury, and all such images ought by the king’s highness proclamation to be altered, changed and abolished within all his dominions... it is now established that the said common seal shall be altered and changed and the arms of the city to be made in the place of the said Thomas on the one side, and on the other side the image of St Paul as hath been accustomed’

Almost two years later, 12 July 1541, it was the turn of the seal of London Bridge. Common Council agreed to remove the image of Becket and replace it with a view of three arches of the bridge surmounted by the city’s arms. But the bridge wardens had already paid a painter from Southwark two shillings for the ‘defasyng and mendyng of dyvers pcyctures of Thomas Beckett in our Lady Chapell’ and in 1543 they found an embroiderer who converted their embroidery depicting the martyrdom of St Thomas into the image of Our Lady. Ten years later, 22 January 1549 the wardens of the bridge decided that the following day ‘the surveyors of the works of the Bridge, were to begin to cause the chapel upon the same bridge to be defaced, and translated into a dwelling house with as much speed as they conveniently may’.

St Thomas’s Hospital in Southwark, as it was a religious house of Austin Canons, on 14 January 1540 was surrendered to the king as a result of the royal policy to dissolve the religious houses. The house remained in the hands of the Court of Augmentations but in August 1551 the young Edward VI was persuaded to grant the hospital, together with some of its endowed lands, to the city of London. In November 1552 the hospital, now dedicated to St Thomas the Apostle, admitted its first patients. In 1862 the hospital moved to a new site in Lambeth where it remains.

The house of St Thomas of Acre had been attracting unwelcome attention even before the dissolution of the religious houses and the royal proclamation against Thomas Becket. Robert Ward, an apostate friar who left his house and married, was an ardent reformer and keen to report on ‘superstitious’ practices to Thomas Cromwell. In 1535 he wrote to his master that he had attended a service in St Thomas of Acre and while listening to the sermon, which clearly did not hold his attention, ‘on the north side of the church I spied certain windows wherein was pictured the life of St Thomas especially a superstitious and popish resemblance in the absolution of the king of that time. There were diverse monks portrayed with rods in their hands, and the king was kneeling naked before a monk as he should be beaten at the shrine of St Thomas’. Even before Henry’s proclamation erasing St Thomas Becket, the house had been surrendered to the Crown and the conservative chronicler,

Charles Wriothesley reported that Becket's image 'was taken down that stood at the high altar of St Thomas of Acres in London, by my Lord Cromwell's commandment, and all the glass windows in the said church that was of his story were taken down, with the image of his putting to death that was at the altar'. But by this time the house had become almost an annex to the hall of the Mercers' Company and so the company made strenuous efforts to raise the large sum (almost £1000) needed to buy the church of St Thomas Acre and the adjacent properties. The sale was completed in December 1538. None of the medieval buildings still remain, but a blue plaque attached to the wall in Cheapside records, somewhat quaintly, that St Thomas Becket was born 'near this spot'.

Conclusion:

St Thomas Becket had a considerable impact upon his native city in the years immediately following his death in 1170. But the dramatic events of his life happened in Canterbury and not in London. Londoners seem to have visited his shrine in large numbers, but his cult never flourished in his native city. In spite of the addition of a Saracen mother and a crusading father to his story, and in spite of John Carpenter's efforts to incorporate St Thomas into civic ritual and consciousness, the exciting lives of St Katherine or St George proved more compelling. The royal proclamation of 1538 led to the wholesale removal of images of Becket from buildings and books in London. William Fitzstephen pointed out that St Thomas had adorned both Canterbury and London: Canterbury by his setting and London by his rising. Nine hundred years since his birth, it is time to celebrate St Thomas in his native city.

Further reading:

Map of Medieval London: the City, Westminster and Southwark (Historic Towns Trust, 2019)

Map of Tudor London (Historic Towns Trust, 2018)

John Jenkins, 'St Thomas Becket and Medieval London', *History* (2020), forthcoming

For accounts of the lives of St Thomas Becket, William Fitzstephen and Peter of Colechurch, see *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Christopher Brooke, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975)

For London Bridge, see Bruce Watson et al., *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing* (London, 2001); Christopher Wilson, 'L'architecte bienfaiteur de la ville: Henry Yevele et la chapelle du London Bridge', *Revue de L'Art*, 166 (2009), pp. 43-51

For the Hospital of St Thomas in Southwark, see the account in Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies eds., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London, 2007); Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London, 1996)

For St Thomas of Acre, see Barron and Davies, *Religious Houses*; A.J.Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), pp. 481-503

For the City's Common Seal and other seals see John A. McEwan, *Seals in Medieval London 1050-1300* (London Record Society, 2016); Elizabeth New, 'The Common Seal and Communal identity in Medieval London' in S. Solway ed., *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 297-318

For the Mercers' Company, see Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot, 2005)

For the popular legend of St Thomas Becket, see *The Early South-English legendary or Lives of Saints* ed., Carl Horstmann (Early English Text Society, 1887), pp. 106-177; Robert Mills, 'Becket's Heathen Mother' in H. Blurton and J. Wogan Brown eds., *Rethinking the South English Legendaries* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 381-402

For the Reformation in London, see Susan Bridgen, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989); Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2016) especially pp. 362-390

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