



RESEARCH FINDINGS

Dick Whittington Heritage Project

ABSTRACT

Extensive research reveals it more likely that Dick Whittington walked to Maidenhead, then on to London via the Thames rather than, as the legend has it, via Highgate Hill

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Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Introduction	4
Medieval Transport Routes	5
Roman Roads.....	5
Where did he go from Gloucester?.....	6
Cirencester to Lechlade	7
Wantage or Abingdon?	8
Towns by the Thames	9
The Thames as a 'Highway' into London.....	9
Western Barges & The Company of Watermen & Lightermen.....	10
Where did Whittington get on the boat?.....	10
Did Whittington stop off in Richmond?.....	11
Dick Whittington Himself (c1350 – 1423).....	12
Early Life	12
Apprenticeship to the Mercers	12
As a Mercer & a Moneylender.....	13
As a Statesmen	13
Love and Marriage	14
His Legacy	14
Does anything here change the route?.....	15
The Structure of London	16
Highgate Hill.....	16
The Mercers in the City of London	16
Whittington in London	17
Queenhithe	17
Conclusions	18
Dick Whittington Himself.....	18
Medieval Transport Routes	18
The Structure of London at the Time	19
What route would we propose to the Whittington Walkers!	19

Acknowledgements.....20
Bibliography.....21
Appendices24
 Appendix A – Full list of civic positions.....24

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Introduction

This project set out to answer the question, 'What route did Dick Whittington take when he travelled to London.'

The legend tells us that Dick Whittington travelled to London via Highgate Hill (1), and he is often depicted as having travelled through Oxford (2).

However, desk research revealed the work of the Whittington Walkers in 2005, where they retraced his route and walked via Cirencester and Lechlade on Thames, to Maidenhead and then sailed into London on a boat (3).

If this is indeed the route that he took, then Dick Whittington will have passed through Kingston on his way to London.

Our research focused on trying to prove a route similar to that of the Whittington walkers to establish if Dick Whittington might be added to the local history of Kingston upon Thames.

We identified three broad areas of research.

MEDIEVAL TRANSPORT ROUTES – Looking at the evidence of 'standard' routes to London from Gloucestershire.

DICK WHITTINGTON HIMSELF – looking for clues of a possible journey from the records on the man himself.

THE STRUCTURE OF LONDON AT THE TIME – Clues for his final destination.

No personal papers from Dick Whittington survive, and no written account of the route that he took from Pauntley to Gloucester has been uncovered. We have therefore had to make the assumption that he travelled straight to London on a well-trodden route and didn't deviate to visit anybody.

We have reviewed maps, itineraries and literature to try and put together a picture that might answer the question 'How did Dick Whittington travel to London'

Medieval Transport Routes

Our starting point was the route that the Whittington Walkers took in 2005 (3). This is detailed as

Day one – Pauntley to Gloucester (walk)

Day two – Gloucester to Cirencester (walk)

Day three – Cirencester to Lechlade on Thames (walk)

Day four – Lechlade on Thames to Wantage (walk)

Day five – Wantage to Henley on Thames (horseback)

Day six – Henley on Thames to Maidenhead (walk)

Day seven – Maidenhead to Richmond (boat)

Day Eight – Richmond to Highgate Hill (walk)

Day nine- Highgate Hill to The City of London (walk)

Desk research revealed very little on the subject of Medieval Roads. At first, it appeared to be a somewhat neglected subject, but a more academic search found that Oxford University had, in the past, been a centre of such research. Medieval roads are somewhat difficult to study as, unlike Roman Roads, they weren't 'built'. Instead, they came into existence by being well-trodden routes. If the established route changed then nature reabsorbed the road, meaning there is little archaeological evidence remaining (4).

Roman Roads

Roman Roads were so well built that their use continued into the medieval period. There is no record of these roads having been maintained by the crown once the Romans had left (4). However, there is no complaint in surviving literature and itineraries of the roads being poor until Tudor times, where John Leland noted that since the reformation, the roads had deteriorated (4). The monks are known to have looked after the roads in the area of their monasteries, and traffic volume was low during the medieval period. It is fair to say that Dick Whittington might have used Roman Roads.

We began by looking at a map of the Roman Roads in Britain (5) and comparing known Roman Roads to the route suggested by the Whittington Walkers. There is evidence of Roman Roads from very near Pauntley to Gloucester and on to Cirencester, which was a major Roman settlement.

Beyond Cirencester are two Roman Roads which could be considered routes to London. The most prominent swings down to Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum) before swinging back up and entering London along the modern-day M4 route.

The second swings up to Bicester before swinging back down and entering London along the modern-day M40. This road is not complete on the map, which seems to intimate that the Romans used it to travel from Cirencester to Bicester, and not for an onward journey to London. This road goes north of modern-day Oxford, which wasn't settled until around 900AD by the Anglo Saxons (6).

It is highly likely that Dick Whittington walked from Pauntley to Gloucester along a Roman Road, either the actual structure or what was left of it. If he continued to Cirencester as is intimated by the work of the Whittington Walkers, then it's likely that he walked down a Roman Road to get there. However, as the legend takes Dick through Oxford and into London via Highgate Hill, we also needed to investigate that Dick may have travelled in an NWW direction out of Gloucester.

[Where did he go from Gloucester?](#)

We compared the map of the City of Gloucester as featured in John Speeds map of Gloucestershire (7) with a modern-day map (8). We can see that several roads from the time John Speed created his map (1611) have survived through to today.

- The road out to the South correlates with the modern-day Stroud Road.
- The road out to the East correlates with the Metz Way, though this may be a new road.
- The road out of the North East correlates with the London Road and Cheltenham Road, with the northern fork being the Cheltenham Road, and the Southern fork being the London Road.
- The road going north corresponds with the Tewkesbury Road.

Given that the roads are all named after the destination to which they take their traveller, we believe it is fair to assume that Dick Whittington will have taken the London Road from Gloucester which would have taken him to Cirencester. This theory gain weight thanks to the writings of Sir Robert Atkins in *The Ancient and Present State of Glocestershire* (9) where he lists the 'Many great Roads' that 'lye thro: these hills:' He goes on to list the hills and their routes.

"The Road from London to Wooster down Campden Hill; the Way from Stow to Tewksbury, down Winchcomb-Hill; the Road from Oxford to Gloster, down Crickly-Hill; the great Road from London to Gloster, down Birdlip-Hill; the Way from East-Cotswould to Parton-Passage, down Rodborough-Hill; the Road from Bath to Gloster, down Nimpsfield-Hill; the Road from the Cotswould to Bristol, down Sodbury Hill; the great Road from London to Bristol, down Tog-Hill; the Road from the Cotswould to Bath, down Fryson-Hill"

Whilst there is a road listed from Gloucester to Oxford, he lists the road from London to Gloucester as a Great Road, seemingly giving it more importance than the other routes, and travelling through Bird-lip Hill. This is the same road identified as the London Road on the John Speed map just over 100 years earlier.

As additional support to this theory, the London Road as was is now a major route, the A417, and continues to be the main road from Gloucester to Cirencester.

[Cirencester to Lechlade](#)

The next stop for the Whittington Walkers was Lechlade on Thames. The town appears as a major settlement on John Speeds map (7) and is significantly larger than the surrounding towns.

Lechlade also appears on the strip map from London to St David's as featured in John Ogilby's *Brittania* (10) in 1675, thus establishing it as a stopover for travellers. Of all the strip maps in the collection, this is the only one that features Gloucester, suggesting that this was the established route travellers of the time took.

But perhaps the most compelling evidence is that the modern-day A417 which links Cirencester to Lechlade is still called London Road, and is a continuation of the road of the same name out of Gloucester.

Wantage or Abingdon?

The A417 continues to Wantage, the next stop of the Whittington Walkers. Ogilby's strip map has directions off to Wantage, but the route featured takes the traveller a little further north, through Abingdon (10). On an earlier atlas, the Saxton Atlas of 1579 (11) which doesn't feature roads, the town of Abingdon appears; the town of Wantage does not.

There are some remarkable features that make Wantage a candidate for Dick to have travelled there. It is the birthplace of King Alfred the Great (12), and was the home to a palace in Saxons times, thus would have been a well-established settlement. It sits on the crossroad of the A417, which then continues on to Streatley and in parts is still called London Road today.

It is also where Alice Fitzwarren grew up. Perhaps that's why the Whittington Walkers came this way, as they were commemorating 400 years since the publication of the play, *The Legend of Dick Whittington!*

The case for Abingdon is, perhaps, a little stronger. Dick would have continued along the A417 to Faringdon. Here he would have turned left along a road which is still known today as London street which would have taken him to Abingdon.

The Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Cranley passed away in Faringdon in 1417. He was on his way to London (13).

The next town on from Abingdon on John Ogilby's strip map is Dorchester (Oxfordshire). He describes it as

"...an ancient Town formerly an Episcopal See, at present not so much as a Market Town, yet Accommodated with several good Inns for Entertainment."

This evidence would suggest that Dorchester is a place for travellers, and we believe strengthens the case for Abingdon as a stop.

Towns by the Thames

Abingdon, Dorchester, Henley-on-Thames and Maidenhead are listed as consecutive stops on the London to St David's road by John Ogilby (10), and each is situated on the Thames. The Whittington Walkers have supposed that Dick Whittington will have picked up the boat at Maidenhead.

At this point, the modern day names of the towns don't serve as much of a clue to further locations. Abingdon and Dorchester are linked by the Abingdon Road, and Dorchester & Henley by the Henley Road.

It is possible that Dick could have joined the Thames at any one of these towns.

It is also possible that he didn't join the Thames at all. If that were the case, then he would have continued to follow the road, taking him through Colebrook, Hounslow, Brentford and into London at Westminster. Given his families links with parliament, we certainly can't rule this out.

At this point, we looked to the river to see if we could find compelling evidence for Dick having sailed into London.

The Thames as a 'Highway' into London

The Thames has been an important river since at least Roman Times, where they were able to sail into London and continue up the Thames all the way to their base in Cirencester (14). It is mentioned frequently in Assers Vita Alfredi (15) as a route for invaders, and the Anglo Saxon chronicle states that it was used as a means of navigation and battle, with the invaders having made camp at Fulham and the Anglo Saxons being based further upstream (16).

The Thames is also mentioned in the Magna Carta with reference being made to removing fish-weirs in order to allow free passage of boats (17). This might be, in part, due to Royalty who have been making use of the river to travel to their residences at Westminster, Richmond, Hampton Court and Windsor since the time of King Alfred (14). Fast forward to the Tudor era, and the Thames is well known to have been congested, particularly in London.

Given its significance, and the consistent references to traffic on the Thames both before and after Whittington's time, we feel it is safe to conclude that the Thames will have been a major transport route during his lifetime.

Western Barges & The Company of Watermen & Lightermen

Before the 14th century, most passengers will have travelled with the Western Barges. These were cargo boats, and passengers were given some straw at the back of the boat to sleep on and a canopy to keep off the rain (14).

During the 14th century, it was possible to hire a Waterman to row you from Windsor to London in a skiff, wherry, tilt-boat or shallop, and from 1514 through to the coming of the coaches, the only 'means of conveyance of Royalty and the public between the ancient palaces of Windsor and The Tower was by boat (14).

This would seem to indicate that the choice between boat or walking was down to means, and as the son of a knight, we can assume that Whittington had means.

Where did Whittington get on the boat?

Records of passenger services up from Maidenhead are sparse before the 17th century, and it's more likely that boats running on this part of the river will have been commissioned rather than run to a regular timetable.

However, between Maidenhead and London, there are a number of records of passenger services running to a regular timetable. We read in *The Carriers Cosmographie* of John Taylor, 1637:

“Great Boats that doe carry and Recarry Passengers and goods to and fro betwixt London and the Townes of Maydenhead, Windsor, Stanes, Chertsey, with other parts in the Counties of Surry, Barkefhire, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire, do come every Munday, and thursfday to Queenhith, and they doe goe away upon tuesdayes and thufdaies” (18)

Whilst this timetable is written nearly 200 years after Whittington made his journey, it is likely that the stops as detailed by John Taylor had been in use for some time. Windsor castle was in use by the Royal family during the 14th century, with both David King of Scots and John, King of France being held prisoner at the time Whittington is likely to have travelled to London ((19).

However, Maidenhead seems to be the more likely candidate for Whittington's embarkation. Originally settled by the Romans, the riverside area was named

'Maiden Hythe' by the Saxons, Hythe meaning Landing Place in old English. The town built a bridge around 1280AD, and the Great West Road from London to Gloucester was diverted over it. Within a few years, a new Wharf was built beside it, replacing its Saxon predecessor. This led to the growth of medieval Maidenhead as a river port and market town (20).

[Did Whittington stop off in Richmond?](#)

Our research indicates that it's highly unlikely that Whittington stopped off in Richmond. Richmond Palace was built by Henry VII by which time Whittington was an established Master Mercer in London. Prior to this, there was a manor house in what was known as Sheane. The lands surrounding it were largely agricultural (21).

At the time, Kingston was a much larger town, and certainly the most established in the local area. Kingston Bridge was erected sometime after 1170AD and was the first to be built upstream from London Bridge. Replacing a Ford, the bridge made Kingston a place of strategic importance in terms of protecting the realm but also started to bring with it an increase in road traffic. The town grew, and by the fourteenth century was a centre for trade (22).

Kingston had a wool market near the Market Place. St Blaise, the patron saint of woolcombers and of the wool and cloth trades in general, were important in Kingston, when in 1303 Merton Priory granted the vicar of Kingston the oblations (offerings) made on the saint's feast day. Kingston traded in wool and wool cloth, some of which would certainly have been made in London(22). Were Whittington travelling on a trade boat, it's quite possible that he could have also been travelling with supplies for his employer.

However, without knowing how he travelled, it is hard to say for certain exactly where he would have stopped. The journey from Maidenhead to Queenhithe has been recorded as being anywhere from 4 hours to 4 days.

The Thames measures just over 41 miles from Maidenhead to Queenhithe, and the barges would have been pulled along by horses. Allowing for the average walking pace of the horse being 4 miles per hour, this would equate to walk of just over 6 hours to Kingston. From Kingston to Queenhithe would take another approx. 4 and a quarter hours. This doesn't take into consideration that the horses will have needed to rest, or be changed. Once factored in, it seems the most likely option would have been an overnight stay in Kingston.

Dick Whittington Himself (c1350 – 1423)

Early Life

Richard Whittington, known as Dick, was born around 1350 in Pauntley, Gloucestershire. He was the third son of Sir William Whittington and Joan Maunsell (23). Sir William, a minor landowner, died in 1358 and, as per the story, he did indeed leave a debt behind him, albeit a small one.

Little is known of Whittington's early life as he doesn't appear in official records until after his apprenticeship.

His Father served as an MP and sat in the commons in 1348, as did his Grandfather (1327) and two elder brothers, William (1377) and Robert (1384, 1391, 1404, 1406, 1411 & 1414) (24). Given the families status as MPs, it would be fair to assume that they were familiar with the journey to London. We've not gone on to ascertain the exact location of where these parliaments met, but we do know it was in the area of Westminster, if not at the palace itself. Westminster is easily accessed from the Thames. (25)

It is likely that Whittington was still in Gloucestershire upon the death of his Father. His elder brother inherited the estate in outlawry due to outstanding debt. Given the status of the estate, we believe it most likely that Dick Whittington will have walked from Pauntley, though he won't have left home entirely empty-handed. As the son of a Knight, it's highly likely that he had money to pay for his passage on a boat. How much precisely we'll never know.

Apprenticeship to the Mercers

There is plenty of evidence of Whittington's work as a Mercer, so whilst his apprenticeship isn't documented, and we've been unable to ascertain to whom he was apprenticed, it is reasonably safe to say that this is the reason he left Gloucestershire. He came from a good family with links to London, so an apprenticeship could well have been 'bought' for him, perhaps even before his father died. During the medieval period, it was seen as 'good for a child' to be sent away from home to work, sometimes from as young as the age of 9 and certainly before they were 14. Children from impoverished families will have worked as servants for obvious financial reasons, but parents of means will have saved up to buy an apprenticeship for their children. (26)

Whittington was born shortly after the Black Death, and with a heavily depleted population (27), it is not unreasonable to suppose that he started his apprenticeship sooner rather than later.

As a Mercer & a Moneylender

The first record of Dick Whittington as a Mercer is in 1379, when he contributed 5 marks towards a civic gift to the nobles of the realm. By 1388 he was a major supplier to the royal court, and by 1389 he was selling his wares to King Richard II. The pattern continued, with Whittington recorded as supplying Mercery to Henry IV's great wardrobe and for the marriages of Henry IV's daughters, Blanche and Philippa.

His close connections with wealthy customers left him in an advantageous position as a money lender. He is recorded as lending to the crown on nearly sixty occasions. He also lent money to individuals. He kept his capital liquid rather than investing it into a large estate which meant that he was able to make consistently large loans over a sustained period of time.

During the reign of Edward III, it is probable that he also engaged in trade with Italy in the rapidly expanding export of English woollen cloth. He is known to have collected on royal debts via wool subsidies. He served as a collector of the wool subsidies in all of London twice between 1401 and 1410, which would have been very lucrative indeed.

His professional interests diversified over time, and in the last decade of his life he enacted fewer sales and took on fewer apprentices, but he continued to import linens and deal in Mercery until the end.

As a Statesmen

As Whittington climbed the ranks of the social echelon, so he also followed in the family tradition with a successful civic career. Below is a list of notable offices held, with a full list in Appendix A. (23).

1384 to 1393	Common Councilman for Coleman Street Ward
1393 to 1397	Alderman of Broad Street
1393	Sheriff of London
1395	Warden of the Mercers Company
1397	Lord Mayor of London (appointed by Richard II)
1397	Lord Mayor of London (via election)
1399 to 1400	Member of Henry IV's first council
1401 to 1402	Warden of the Mercers Company
1405 to 1423	Mayor of the staple of Westminster
1406 to 1413	Mayor of the Calais staple

1406	Lord Mayor of London (via election)
1408 to 1409	Warden of the Mercers company
1416 to 1417	MP for the city
1419	Lord Mayor of London (via election)
1421	Judge in Ursury Trials, London

Love and Marriage

Dick Whittington married Alice Fitwarin around 1402. He bought a large house in The Royal, next to the church of St Michael Paternoster Royal, where they lived together. They had no children.

Just nine years later, Alice died. At that time, it would have been customary for a man of Whittington's standing to take another wife, but he died a widower. Immediately after her death, his demeanour appears to have changed. He took a break from civic life and wound down the elements of his business that would have involved him investing time in work colleagues. A man of his standing would have been expected to take another wife, yet there was no-one else, or if there was there is no official record of that person.

The evidence tends towards the conclusion that he was a man who waited a relatively long time find the love of his life, and was heartbroken when he lost her.

He paid for the rebuilding of the church St Michael Paternoster Royal as a final resting place for himself and Alice. It burned to the ground during the great fire of London and was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. Although the tomb is lost, there is a stained glass window commemorating his direct link to the church.

His Legacy

During his lifetime Dick Whittington gave to good causes and set up some of his own. Some of those documented causes include a library at Greyfriars, a refuge for unmarried mothers and more unusually a longhouse which included the largest provision of public lavatories at that time, and an almshouse.

His life and work were given in service of the people of London, and so it seems fitting that he decided to leave his entire fortune to them via various charitable endeavours. These included rebuilding Newgate Prison, rebuilding the south wall of St Bartholomew's Hospital, establishing a library at the Guildhall and installing public fountains in the city.

The fruits of his generosity still linger, with many of the institutions he founded or supported still run today. It was this final act of extreme generosity that gave rise

to the legend of Dick Whittington. By the early seventeenth century the story of the orphan boy Whittington from Gloucester who came to London and made good was being circulated. A poor kitchen Scullion, he was befriended by the daughter of the master of the house, Alice Fitzwarren, but was plagued in his attic bedroom by rats and mice. He bought himself a cat who drove the vermin away. Alderman Fitzwarren offered all of his servants the opportunity to contribute to his trading ship, The Unicorn, but the only thing Dick could offer was his cat. When the Unicorn docked in North Africa, the King there bought the cat for 10 times more than all the other merchandise to solve his rat problem. Dick had lost faith in the Aldermans return and was leaving for Gloucestershire, but as he walked over Highgate Hill the Bow Bells called him back. He returned to discover that The Unicorn had docked and that he was a rich man.

[Does anything here change the route?](#)

As a team, we have concluded that it doesn't change our expected route for Whittington. What it might suggest is that Whittington wouldn't have travelled alone, or at least may have been accompanied part of the way, perhaps to Maidenhead.

Our suggested route remains:

1. It is most likely that Dick Whittington followed the Roman Roads to travel from Pauntley to Gloucester and on to Cirencester.
2. We believe that he will have walked to Lechlade.
3. From Lechlade, we think it more likely that he continued to Abingdon.
4. From Abingdon we believe he travelled through Henley to Maidenhead.
5. At Maidenhead Whittington boarded a boat
6. Stopped off at Kingston overnight
7. Continued into London, getting off the boat at Queenhithe

The Structure of London

Highgate Hill

The legend tells us that Dick entered London via Highgate Hill (1), and in some versions travels via Oxford, making his journey comparable to the route of the modern-day M40 (2).

At 129m above sea level, Highgate Hill is the highest point in London, meaning in times gone by it's the furthest you can go in that direction and still have London in view (28). The 'point of no return', as we storytellers would romantically spin it!

The land that makes up Highgate originally adjoined the estate of the Bishop of London, and one of the major roads to the north travelled through it. In 1374, King Edward III authorised a toll to be added to the road to help pay for repairs, so it was certainly in use during the time of Whittington (29).

But perhaps the most compelling reason for including it in the story is that the Mercers held land up there. Master Mercer, Richard Rawson, was registered as owning land in Highgate Hill in 1480. The Master Mercer is also known to have had a house in Highgate Hill.

Some speculate that the Mercers had the Highgate Hill reference inserted into the story as a 'marketing tactic', using the good name of the most famous Mercer, Dick Whittington, to further their business interests. We have been unable to find evidence to prove this claim either way. As a storyteller myself, I can see that the troubadours of the time would have included Highgate Hill as a source to help to ground their story in reality. Using a modern-day reference would have given weight to the truth of their story. Highgate Hill adds both drama and fact to the 'true' story of Dick Whittington. We would, therefore, dispute the argument that it was the Mercer's who inserted Highgate Hill, but rather the storytellers to bolster their already fantastic version of events.

The Mercers in the City of London

In the 1300s, the Mercers held their meetings in the Augustinian's Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon on Cheapside. They built the Mercers Chapel (with the hall above it) on the same site between 1517 to 1524. Upon the dissolution of the monastery in 1538, were allowed to buy the land (30). Whilst Whittington will have certainly

attended meetings at the Hospital, we surmise it unlikely that it was his destination upon arrival in London.

It was more likely that he made his way directly to his new employer. No record of his employer exists. The Mercer's were based in and around the area of Cheapside. Sopers Lane, just off Cheapside, was renowned for its Mercery. It is quite possible that, on getting off the boat, Whittington headed to Cheapside, or somewhere in that vicinity (31).

Whittington in London

Whittington had several properties in London. He is known to have had a house in what is now College Hill, and there is a plaque dedicated to him at that location (32). He paid for the rebuilding and enlargement of St Michael Paternoster Royal where he and his wife Alice were laid to rest.

His house was located in the Vintry Ward, which according to the AGAS map of Early Modern London also contains streets called Whyttington College Street (which correlates with the modern day College Street), and St Thomas Apostel street (33).

Queenhithe

The Agas map shows plenty of steps from the Thames which would have been used by passengers to alight from rowing boats, showing that this was clearly already the practice. The main dock west side of London Bridge is shown as Queenhithe and was known as a place for the importing of corn into London (34). The dock is also very close to the Vintry district, and Cheapside is easily accessed from here. As we are proposing that Whittington travelled on a trade boat from Maidenhead, it is most likely that he would have alighted at Queenhithe.

Conclusions

Dick Whittington Himself

Whittington was a politician from a family of politicians. Whilst his Father left debts on his death, the family certainly weren't poor, and William Whittington managed to turn around the families fortunes in a relatively short period of time.

Given their high status locally, and their associations with London, it is fair to say that the Whittington family would have bought him his apprenticeship. The Mercers were considered one of the most prestigious guilds to become a member of, so his families status may have helped to secure his training.

Dick Whittington travelled to London alone. Whilst we'll never know for sure, we would like to put forward the proposition that Whittington would have been accompanied as far as Maidenhead. The route to London was well established by the time Whittington travelled it, and there would have been regular users of the route. He may have 'hitched a lift' with one of them, or had company. Equally, a family member may have taken Whittington as far as Maidenhead. Whilst we can say with some certainty the route that he took, we will never be sure if he travelled in company.

Medieval Transport Routes

The route to London from Gloucester was well established by the 14th century. John Ogilby's strip map was the first to detail the route. Whilst this wasn't published until 1675, some 300 years after Whittington will have made his journey. Earlier maps give emphasis to the 'stops' along the way. The death of the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Cranley, in 1457 en-route to London in Farringdon gives weight to the argument that this road was being used during Whittington's lifetime.

Travel overland was considered more dangerous than travel by river at that time, so we agree with the Whittington Walkers that he would have headed for the Thames. Maidenhead certainly seems to be the most likely place for Whittington to have picked up a boat.

From here, his journey is much harder to track. However, the timetables that began to exist after Whittingtons lifetime seem to point to an 'established' route, with Kingston being a part of that. Whether he would have made an overnight stop in Kingston can never be proven, but the evidence certainly points that way. Kingston was the main stop outside of London and is halfway between the two. If

Whittington travelled on a trade ship, then it would have been pulled by horses who would have needed to rest.

The Structure of London at the Time

As a final destination, we would propose Queenhithe. It was the most established dock west side of London Bridge for trade vessels, and in good proximity to the Vintry district and Cheapside, which were key areas of London for the Mercers.

What route would we propose to the Whittington Walkers!

The work of the Whittington Walkers certainly put us on the right track, and we owe them our thanks. It would have been good to talk to them about the decision they made along the way for stops, though lockdown hampered this part of the research somewhat.

Below is our proposed route for Whittington, compared to that of the Whittington Walkers.

DAY	Whittington Walkers	Story Storks
1	Pauntley to Gloucester	Pauntley to Gloucester
2	Gloucester to Cirencester	Gloucester to Cirencester
3	Cirencester to Lechlade	Cirencester to Lechlade
4	Lechlade to Wantage	Lechlade to Abingdon
5	Wantage to Henley on Thames	Abingdon to Henley on Thames
6	Henley on Thames to Maidenhead	Henley on Thames to Maidenhead
7	Maidenhead to Richmond	Maidenhead to Kingston
8	Richmond to Highgate Hill	Kingston to Queenhithe
9	Highgate Hill to the City of London	

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Appendices

Appendix A – Full list of civic positions

Common councillor, Coleman Street Ward 31 July 1384-6;

2 alderman of Broad Street Ward 12 Mar. 1393-aft. 24 June 1397, Lime Street Ward by 13 Feb. 1398-*d*;

Mayor, London 8 June 1397-13 Oct. 1398, 13 Oct. 1406-7, 1419-20.3
Sheriff, London and Mdx. Mar. 1393-4.

Commr. to make arrests, London Mar., Apr. 1394, Nov. 1407; of gaol delivery Oct. 1397, June 1398; oyer and terminer Sept. 1401 (ransom of the count of Denia), Mar., Apr., Oct. 1403, Nov. 1405 (*bis*), May 1406, Nov. 1407, June, July 1409, May 1414, Feb. 1416, Dec. 1417, Nov. 1418;

To supervise the collection of Peter's Pence in England Aug. 1409;
of inquiry, London Jan. 1412 (liability for taxation), Dec. 1412 (seizure of merchandise), Jan. 1414 (lollards at large), July 1418 (possessions of Sir John Oldcastle*);

To administer revenues for building work at Westminster abbey Dec. 1413; recruit carpenters for the same Mar. 1414.

Warden, Mercers' Co. 24 June 1395-6, 1401-2, 1408-9.4

Member of Henry IV's council 1 Nov. 1399-18 July 1400.5

Collector of the wool custom, London 6 Oct. 1401-5 Nov. 1405, 20 Feb. 1407-26 July 1410.6

Receiver-general in England for Edward, earl of Rutland, by 7 May 1402.7

Mayor of the Staple of Westminster 3 July 1405-*d*, 8 Calais by 25 Dec. 1406-aft. 14 July 1413.9