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THE GROWTH
OF
ENGLISH INDUSTRY
AND
COMMERCE

DURING THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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THE GROWTH¹
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BY

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

IN recent years the study of English Economic History has been prosecuted with great vigour in France, Germany, Russia and America, as well as in this country, and there has been no little difficulty in making an attempt to bring the present edition completely up to date. It has, however, been a satisfaction to me to recognise how much the knowledge of this branch of history has increased in clearness and in precision since this book was planned some thirty years ago. Many minor alterations have been introduced in the present edition; and owing to suggestions made by Dr L. C. A. Knowles of the London School of Economics, the sections on the effects of the Black Death (§ 119), and on the changes in rural England under the Tudor kings (§§ 150, 151, 152), have been entirely rewritten.

W. C.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
13 August, 1910.

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(c) Thrift was promoted by sumptuary laws as to food and dress. The ends in view have an interesting affinity with those pursued in modern times.

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99. Regulation of trade. The Staple was organised by Edward III., and this institution afforded many economic advantages. The export of wool was superintended by keepers of the Tronage, and efforts were directed towards maintaining a high price for wool exported. The people of Bruges tried to obtain a monopoly and prohibited export by Italian merchants. The Staple was organised within the realm by Edward III., but after some experience it was generally fixed at Calais.

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IV. CRAFT GILDS.

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105. Objects of the craft guilds. The guilds were meant to control the conditions of industry and to ensure reasonable rates. One object of their regulations was the maintenance of good quality in the wares; and they were responsible for their members. It is difficult to ascertain the relation of craft guilds to the gilds merchant. There is no sign of rivalry in England, as some of the gilds merchant appear to have been specialised into guilds of particular crafts, and craftsmen were sometimes members of gilds merchant. The Londoner, who had served an apprenticeship, was allowed to change his trade, and the status of craftsmen was high. Scotch analogies present some interesting points of contrast.

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106. Members of the guilds. There were three classes of gild members, (a) apprentices, whose relations with their masters were carefully regulated, (b) journeymen and servants, (c) masters.

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V. ECONOMIC DOCTRINE.

107. **The Commonwealth.** The time was ripe for reflection on economic phenomena and monetary problems. Nicholas Oresme wrote a treatise on the subject, and business practice gives evidence of City-opinion. . . . 353
108. **Nicholas Oresme.** Oresme's treatise was known in England in the early part of the fifteenth century. He asserts that money belongs to the commonwealth, and contrasts the government of princes and of tyrants. The practical bearing of his treatise was noticeable, and he explicitly adopted the conception of national rather than municipal wealth. . . . 355
109. **Views on the currency.** Oresme treats of the exchange of riches, natural and artificial; and discusses the subject of the material for money. He considers the alteration of money in denomination, by reducing weight and by debasing, and follows out the evil effects of debasement. . . . 357
110. **City opinion on monetary transactions.** City opinion in the fourteenth century condemned a loan for three months at interest. The conditions of mediæval business restricted banking operations. The currency was entirely metallic, and the exchange of coins was a prerogative of the Crown. There was little demand for loans of capital; and special emergencies might often occur in connection with demands for taxation as well as in trade. Merchants had some opportunities for obtaining gratuitous loans and could form partnerships. The total mass of money was so small that there was serious danger of the stocks being monopolised. . . . 360
111. **Grounds for mediæval opinion.** It was thought justifiable to demand security for loans, but that there should be no gain if there was no damage and no risk. The modern justification of interest did not apply in the fourteenth century. Interest on secured loans was charged at monopoly rates; but partnership in risks and profits gave facilities for commerce. Hence it was not obvious that money-lending could be of any benefit to the community. . . . 365

IV. LANCASTER AND YORK.

I. DISINTEGRATION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SOCIETY.

112. **Decay and progress.** Till the reign of Edward III. there were many signs of national progress, both material and social, but the French War and the Black Death had disastrous effects. Hasty generalisations about the fifteenth century have obtained general currency; but the evidence is very conflicting, and it is necessary to discriminate. Distress was general, but relieved in many places by the progress of cloth manufacture and by the success of native Englishmen in ousting aliens. . . . 369
113. **Decay of authority.** The violent economic changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contributed to the decay of the royal authority on land and sea. Parliament was not an effective substitute. The decay of local institutions became apparent in the reign of Richard II., when manorial powers, municipal authority, guilds, and ecclesiastical influence alike declined. . . . 373

114. Anticipations of the mercantile system. In the reign of Richard II. a new departure was made. We find at this time the reversal of the old policy, and the first signs of the mercantile system in the legislation with regard to shipping, tillage, and bullion. 377

115. Social changes. Classes of society became divided, as in modern times, into labourers and capitalists; this was an abiding result in the structure of society. 378

II. THE MERCANTILE CLASS AND THE LABOURERS.

116. Importance of the merchant class. Under Edward III. the merchant class was growing in importance. The Grocers as well as other Livery Companies, such as the Vintners and Drapers, obtained privileges. Wealthy artisans came to the front; and the power of the merchants was very great in London and other towns. Many municipal towns were royal creditors, and we have evidence of municipal opulence from assessments for taxation. 381

117. Changes in the standard of comfort. The habits of a merchant prince in the fifteenth century involved considerable magnificence combined with lack of comfort; the homes of the poor must have been miserable. No accurate comparison with modern conditions is possible, as the change in ordinary requirements has been so great; and we can only fall back on a physical test as to the support and prolongation of human life. Famines and pestilence caused great ravages; the means at the labourers' disposal depended on the rates of wages, and were reduced by irregularity of employment. Holidays were frequent, but the hours of labour were long. It seems probable that there has been an improvement in the condition of the skilled artisan in modern times; and it is certain that in the fifteenth century there was considerable misery and discontent. 388

118. Management of trade. The influence of merchants had its effect on the mercantile policy of the realm. (i) Restrictions were imposed on aliens in internal and retail trade. (ii) The encouragement of English shipping was demanded. (iii) Money and bullion were wanted in the country. The theory of the balance of trade was appealed to by Richard III.'s advisers, who recognised the importance of accumulating treasure. 392

119. The Peasants' Revolt. The landlords were greatly impoverished, and were forced to take to sheep farming, or to let their land on lease. With the introduction of the cash nexus, the distinction between prosperous and poor peasants became more marked, and the rights of the manorial lords were seriously called in question. The revolt was mainly due to agrarian discontent, but it was occasioned by the Poll Tax, and was for the most part directed against monasteries. The peasants found sympathisers among the wage-earners in towns, but the revolt ended in complete failure. 396

120. The effects of sheep farming. The difficulty of arable farming led to the increase of sheep farming. Rural disorganisation was followed by the Game Law. Tillage was encouraged by Corn Laws, which allowed freedom of exporting and prohibited the importing of corn. Poor relief received attention, as clergy and monasteries could no longer cope with the problem, and the foundation of hospitals became common. Signs of a new constructive policy are found as early as the time of Richard II. 405

III. COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

121. English shipping. English shipping was in a state of decay, and the coasts were exposed to attack. Self-protection by merchants was a recognised expedient, but this did not remedy the insecurity of the coasts. Shipbuilding was encouraged, but the Navigation Laws were not regularly enforced. 409
122. Growth of English commerce. The growth of English commerce is shown by commercial treaties and the formation of merchant companies, particularly the Merchant Adventurers. Consuls were first appointed for Mediterranean trades; the English also entered into rivalry with the Hansards, and commenced to trade with Iceland. 414
123. The Hanse League. The position of the men of the Hanse caused considerable difficulty, and there were many negotiations about injuries to shipping, with claims against and by the English. The Hansards had also grievances against the English customers. Arrangements were made for putting down reprisals, and the position of the Hansards was strengthened by Edward IV. 419
124. Italian trade. The business carried on by the Italians was now mercantile and not merely financial; it was conducted by organised fleets of galleys by the sea route. Traders from Florence, Genoa, and Venice frequented English ports. Objection was taken to those branches of the trade which consisted in the import of articles of unproductive consumption and of articles that might be manufactured at home. Complaint was also made of the influence exercised by Italian buyers on the cloth manufacture. 422
125. National industrial policy. The protection of native artisans was carried out under Edward IV., and Parliamentary recognition was given to many craft guilds. 429
126. The supply of bullion. Strict regulations were maintained with regard to the export of money and bullion. Bullion was very scarce in Europe, and the political importance of securing treasure was fully recognised. 431

IV. INDUSTRY AND INTERNAL TRADE.

127. The cloth manufacture. The manufacture of cloth had become a large branch of trade, and the aulnager was an important official. The manufacture flourished in many localities and there were great varieties of qualities; it had become the subject of national regulation. A class of capitalist employers arose, who were known as clothiers. There are signs of conflict between capital and labour; and care was taken to ensure a supply of raw materials. The social conditions of the fifteenth century were unsatisfactory; while the country generally suffered from the decay of tillage and of many towns, the rapid development of the cloth manufacture in other localities affords a strong contrast. 434

128. Craft guilds in the fifteenth century. The national regulation of the goldsmiths' and other trades was carried out by the agency of their guilds; but these bodies were falling into discredit in many places, and there were difficulties between craft guilds and municipal officers, and between

merchants and craftsmen. The condition of journeymen was unsatisfactory; some of them attempted to form brotherhoods of their own, as was done by the cordwainers; and the saddlers and tailors also formed Yeoman guilds. At Coventry, and at Bristol, special arrangements and organisation were allowed to the journeymen tailors. In other trades the introduction of machinery also gave rise to difficulties. Guilds tended to become monopolies, and took a stand against the competition of aliens; they appear to have combined for this among other objects. 441

129. Agricultural policy. During the fifteenth century, encouragement was given to tillage, by freedom to export corn, and by the prohibition of importation. Sheep farming increased at the expense of tillage, owing to the decrease of labour; and the assessment of wages was resorted to. The attraction of the cloth manufacture interfered with the supply of labourers in husbandry. 447

130. Decay of internal trade. The roads fell out of repair; this was one of the causes which brought about the decay of fairs, such as those of Boston and Winchester, and many of the provincial towns were impoverished. The towns had little recuperative power, and it was necessary to grant considerable remissions in the collection of fifteenths and tenths. The causes of this decay seem to have included incursions of the sea, war, and pestilence, as well as the pressure of taxation. 450

V. MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN ECONOMIC IDEAS CONTRASTED.

131. The determination of prices. There is such a paucity of literature in the fifteenth century that it is not easy to follow the changes with precision. Natural economy had been very generally superseded, and the intervention of money led to the change from customary to competition prices. A reconstruction of society was taking place on the basis of competition, and with fluctuating, not regulated prices. In the Middle Ages the cost of production was a primary factor in the assessing of prices; while in modern times the process is reversed, and price limits the reward of labour. New conceptions were coming into vogue in regard to the reckoning of rent and the power of capital. 457

132. Relations of persons and exchange of things. The social structure was becoming altered, and this affected individual ambition, and led to increased desire for wealth. 464

133. Personal responsibility. In modern conditions it is difficult to apply moral principles to commercial transactions. Formerly the guilds brought home the responsibility for wrong-doing to their members. 465

134. National power. The aim of national power had become operative as a limiting principle. The municipal spirit was giving way before patriotism in the fifteenth century. This is reflected in the *Debate of the Heralds* and by Fortescue. The *Libelle of English Polycye* is also full of a spirit of national ambition. Power was being aimed at rather than plenty, and this object helped to consolidate the mercantile system. The reign of Henry VII. is the turning point when the new scheme of policy was consciously adopted. 467

V. THE TUDORS.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

135. *The Age of Discovery.* The discoveries of America, and of new routes for trade with the East, eventually resulted in a great extension of English commerce, as they were the removal of a physical limit to expansion. The spirit of the age favoured the increase of geographical knowledge, and the tradition of previous voyages to the West survived. The old routes of trade were closed, but Portuguese enterprise pushed along the coast of Africa and succeeded in reaching India; there was much rivalry between them and the Venetians. 473

136. *Growth of the mercantile system.* The material prosperity of the country as a whole was sought for, as a means of gratifying the national ambition. Relative progress was needed to secure relative superiority. The pursuit of private gain was kept in check in the interests of public good. The mercantile policy regarded power as dependent on (a) treasure, (b) shipping, and (c) population. The long period, when these principles were adopted, must be divided according to political relationships. 478

II. ACCELERATED RATE OF CHANGE.

137. *New direction of English ambition.* In the sixteenth century the control of the balance of power became an object of English policy; while the new discoveries gave rise to hopes which superseded the old schemes of continental conquest. 483

138. *The accumulation of treasure.* Treasure was accumulated by Henry VII. through high-handed exactions. Henry VIII. resorted to the confiscation of Church property, and the debasement of the coinage, to obtain resources. 486

139. *Social results.* Through these exactions and confiscations the necessary evils of this period of transition were aggravated. 488

III. SHIPPING.

140. *The navigation policy.* The Navigation Acts were maintained by Henry VII.; under Henry VIII. they were first relaxed and subsequently re-enforced. 490

141. *Commercial policy.* The safety of merchant shipping engaged the attention of Henry VIII. during the French war; important commercial treaties had been made by Henry VII. He secured the right to engage in trade with Iceland for his subjects; there was a considerable Mediterranean trade with Pisa, and in the Levant. Under Edward VI. many advantages were expected from a proposed mart at Southampton. The Hansards in England were now put on the same footing as other aliens. 491

142. *Protection of the coast.* Under Henry VIII. Trinity House was incorporated; the harbours were improved and steps taken for the defence of the coasts. Henry also established a naval arsenal. 497

143. *Policy for the development of shipping.* Increased attention was directed to the supply of naval stores, and encouragement was given

to the training of seamen in the fishing trades by the enforcement of a political Lent.	497
144. England and the discoveries. The Tudors took no part in the great discoveries, and Columbus could get no help from England. John Cabot and the Bristol merchants organised some expeditions, and Cabot obtained a royal license. Sebastian Cabot carried on his father's work, and there were other expeditions, such as those of Thorne and Hawkins. An attempt to find a North-East passage, under Chancellor, led to the foundation of the Russian Company.	500

IV. THE GILDS.

145. The condition of industry. Under the early Tudors the condition of industry was unsatisfactory. The towns still suffered from excessive taxation and were in a state of decay. There were, however, under Henry VIII. some signs of improvement.	506
146. Difficulties in the towns. The older towns suffered from the migration of industry and abuses in the craft guilds; their weakness was shown in inability to control the apprentices who broke into a riot known as Evil May Day. There were also injurious regulations which tended to the oppression of journeymen.	508
147. Legislative action. Under the Tudors the guilds were supported in the struggle with aliens, and were used as executive agents. Regulations were passed for the brassiers, coopers, leather trades, and dyers. The clothing trades in the West Biding were important, and pains were taken to introduce suitable regulations into the Norfolk trade. There was considerable difficulty with regard to the supply and purchase of wool.	512
148. Migration of industry from corporate towns. The continued decay of corporate towns is illustrated by the case of Worcester, which was suffering from the competition of village artisans; the retail trade of the old towns had also been injured. New towns sprang up at Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, and London trade was expanding.	517
149. Capital in industry. In so far as the guilds had not been nationalised, they were of little use, and under Edward VI. a discriminating attack was made on their property and powers. Capitalistic production in factories was coming into vogue, and rules were made as to the numbers of journeymen and apprentices, to check the abuses which accompanied it. Capital was also used for planting new trades.	521

V. THE LAND QUESTION.

150. Enclosing. Improved estate management with enclosure, for sheep, for exclusive use in husbandry, or for deer. Depopulation by landlords, and by prosperous tenants, who united holdings and farmed in severalty so as to save labour.	528
151. Sheep farming and absenteeism. Owing to national dangers statutes were passed to repress sheep farming, and absenteeism, but improved husbandry was not checked.	530

152. The superseding of manorial economy. Farming for the market superseded the old system of catering for household needs, and serfdom passed away; but many traces of collective husbandry survived. 535
153. Conditions of labourer. Labourers' wages and hours of labour were regulated; as there was a continued rise of prices, the men endeavoured to secure better terms by combination. 534
154. The unemployed. In dealing with the unemployed, the Tudors distinguished between stalwart tramps and the impotent poor, who received licenses to beg. Legislation encouraged the raising of funds to relieve the impotent, and ill-considered charity was discouraged. The dissolution of the monasteries was followed by an increase of the evils of pauperism, and the poor were graded and cared for in the London hospitals. The guilds had formerly acted as Friendly Societies, and had prevented men falling into poverty. Under Edward VI. loiterers were severely dealt with, and charity was organised in the parishes. 538

VI. THE REVENUE.

155. The state of the currency. The Tudors felt themselves forced, by the changes in the ratio of the two precious metals, to issue depreciated silver coins. The consequent rise in prices was explained by contemporaries as due to combination. The extravagant use made of the precious metals in the fifteenth century and the hoarding of bullion by Henry VII. had tended to keep prices low. Social conditions in the Middle Ages had on the whole tended to render prices stable. There is some doubt about the modes of payment which were in vogue, and altogether there is great difficulty in interpreting prices. 541
156. Fiscal charges. Tenths and fifteenths were supplemented by general subsidies; these soon became a fixed levy. Changes were made in the collection of customs and new impositions were levied by the Crown. 547

VII. CHANGES IN OPINION.

157. Economic experience. The principles of the mercantile system were not strictly adhered to under Edward VI.; progress was made in the formation of capital. 550
158. Improvements and discoveries. Practical treatises were written on husbandry, surveying, mensuration, and arboriculture, and there was much interest in travel and discovery. 552
159. Moralists and preachers. Starkey's *Dialogue* deals with economic conditions. Preachers and moralists uttered fine sentiments, but did not formulate principles of duty which were applicable in new circumstances. The questions arose how far it was a duty for capitalists to give employment, and how far it was allowable to take gain without running risks. Abuses of the power of capital have given rise to sentimental protests, rather than to any reasoned ethical doctrine. 555
160. National prosperity as a representative principle. Edward VI. desired to retain the old social order, and laid stress on differences of degree and the 'proportion of the country,' but mere repression was impracticable.

The *Discourse of the Common Weal* anticipates many modern views on taxation, self-interest, and the currency, and lays stress on the balance of trade. There are practical proposals for recoinage, for encouraging skilled 'foreigners,' and for remedying depopulation. The Elizabethan economic system followed these lines rather than the principles of Edward VI. 559

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OPEN FIELDS AT CLOTHALL, from a photograph by Miss E. M. Leonard

Frontispiece

MAP of a Normal Virgate in the open fields of Hitchin, reproduced by
the kind permission of Dr Seebohm to follow 44

EXCHEQUER TALLY 157

APPENDIX.

A. THE ASSIZE OF BREAD.

THE earliest form of regulations for the price of bread, which might possibly have influenced English ordinances on the subject, is to be found in the Frankfort Capitulare of A.D. 794. It aims at limiting the price of corn and of food, no matter what the season might be, and fixes a maximum rate; this was a matter of importance for Charles and his court.

Statuit piissimus dominus noster rex, consentienti sancta synodo, ut nullus homo, sive ecclesiasticus, sive laicus sit, ut nunquam carius vendat annonam sive tempore abundantie, sive tempore caritatis, quam modium publicum et noviter statutum. De modio de avena¹ denario uno, modio ordii² denariis duo, modio sigli³ denarii tres, modio frumenti⁴ denarii quatuor. Si vero in pane vendere voluerit duodecim panes de frumento, habentes singuli libras duas, pro denario dare debeat, sigalatus quindecim æquo pondere pro denario, ordeaceos viginti similiter pensantes, avenaticos viginti quinque similiter pensantes. De vero annona publica domini regis, si venundata fuerit, de avena modius 2 pro denario, ordeo den. 1, sigalo den. 2, frumento mod. denar. 3. Et qui nostrum habet beneficium, diligentissime prævideat, quantum potest Deo donante, ut nullus ex mancipiis ad illum pertinentes beneficium famen moriatur, et quod superest illius familie necessitatem, hoc libere vendat jure prescripto⁵.

In London regulations were made on this subject at a very early date; the following rule, which occurs in close conjunction with one for wages, is certainly not later than the twelfth century, and may be earlier⁶.

DE CONSTITUTIONE ET PONDERATIONE PANIS.

Lune post sanctum lucam constitutum est apud Gildhallam quando frumentum vendebatur pro xl et aliud pro xxxvij d. tunc ponderavit gastellum⁷ de ob. lx solidos et panis bisus⁸ de ob. ix marcas.

¹ Oats.

² Barley.

³ Coarse wheat.

⁴ Wheat.

⁵ *Capitularies*. Migna. xcvi. 198.

⁶ British Museum, Add. 14,252, f. 118 b, in a twelfth century or very early thirteenth century hand.

⁷ Wastel bread, fine bread (Fr. gâteau).

⁸ Brown bread (Fr. bis).

DE CONDITIOE OPERARIORUM.

Et ibidem tunc provisum est ut magister carpentarius et magister macerius¹ et magister tegulator² capiat inde ij d et conredium³ vel sine conredio iij d pro omnibus. Minores vero iij ob. cum conredio, vel sine conredio ij d. Coopertores⁴ vero ut de iunco vel arundine capiat magister iij ob. cum conredio vel iij d sine conredio, minores autem i d et conredium vel ii d pro omnibus, et ita servetur usque pascha.

The same mss. contain (fol. 85 b) an Assize of Bread which is much more elaborately worked out; it is of the time of Henry II., and differs in several important respects from that in the Statute Book. The range of prices for wheat is different, as this runs from eighteenpence to six shillings a quarter, while the Statute Book gives larger variations, from two to twenty shillings. The order is different, as this runs from a high price and small weight to a low price and large weight, while the Statute Book begins with cheap corn and a large loaf and runs to dearer corn and smaller weights. The two lists agree in the size of the loaf when corn was sold for four shillings and sixpence; it was to weigh 30 shillings, each presumably of twelve pence, and the pennies of twenty to the ounce; but in the earlier assize the loaf was smaller than in the later one, both when corn was as dear as six shillings and when corn was as cheap as two shillings the quarter⁵. The allowance for the baker's servants is larger in the later assize, as the baker was to have three halfpence for three servants instead of four, and a halfpenny instead of a farthing for the two lads.

Hec est assisa de pane faciendo et vendendo que probata est per pistores domini regis Henrici secundi, ita quod pistor poterit sic vendere ut subscriptum est et in quolibet quartinario frumenti lucrari tres d. et brennum exceptis duobus panibus ad fornagium⁶. Et quatuor servientibus tres obolos et duobus garcionibus quadrantem. In sale ob. in gesto⁷ ob. in bosco tres d., in candela quadrantem in buneter⁸ ob.

Quando quarterium frumenti se vendit pro sex sol.; tunc debet panis esse bonus et albus et ponderare sexdecim sol. de xx⁹ lorres¹⁰; et panis de toto blado¹¹ debet esse bonus ita quod nichil inde subtrahatur et debet ponderare viginti quatuor sol. de xx lorres. Quando quarterium frumenti se vendit pro quinque

¹ The maker of the wattled sides of a house.

² The tiler.

³ Allowance of food, rations.

⁴ The thatcher.

⁵ According to the assize in Arnold's *Chronicle*, which is probably of the fifteenth century, the prices of wheat given range from 3s. to 20s. the quarter. The weights are given in ounces and pennies; if the ounce was 20d., the farthing loaf was to weigh 296 pence when corn was 4s., as against 360 in the time of Henry III.; this looks as if the debasing of the currency was really felt, but it is too doubtful to be the basis of any inference.

⁶ The payment to the baker himself.

⁷ Yeast.

⁸ A bolting cloth.

⁹ Twenty pence to the ounce; see the patent of 2 R. II. quoted as a note in Record Edition of *Statutes*, I. 200.

¹⁰ Whole meal bread.

solidis et sex denariis tunc debet ponderare viginti sol. et alius panis viginti octo sol. Quando pro quinque solidis tunc debet ponderare viginti quatuor sol. et alius panis xxx^m duos sol. Quando pro quatuor solidis et sex d. tunc debet ponderare triginta sol., et alius quadraginta sol.

Quando pro quatuor solidis tunc debet ponderare triginta sex sol. et alius quadraginta sex sol.

Quando pro tribus solidis et sex denariis, tunc debet ponderare quadraginta duos sol. et alius quinquaginta quatuor sol.

Quando pro tribus solidis tunc debet ponderare quadraginta octo sol. et alius sexaginta quatuor sol.

Quando pro duobus solidis et sex denariis tunc debet ponderare quinquaginta quatuor sol. et alius sexaginta duodecim sol.

Quando pro duobus solidis tunc debet ponderare sexaginta sol. et alius quatuor libras.

Quando pro octodecim denariis tunc debet ponderare sexaginta sex sol. et alius quatuor libras et octi sol.

Et sic deinceps ad plus vendicionis frumenti minor panis et ad minus vendicionis frumenti maior panis.

(Explicunt leges illustrissimi et invictissimi Henrici Regis secundi filii Matildidis predictae imperatricis.)

Other sorts of bread occasionally mentioned are bread of tret, which I take to be tourta, and to correspond to the bread of sigala, though this grain was rarely grown in England (compare Rogers' *Prices*, i. 174): from the frequent mentions in the *Liber Albus* (l. 259, 265, 338, 704, and especially III. 414 note) it appears to be bread made of coarse flour, but it is not clear how this would differ from bread de omni blado, or de toto blado. In the assize in Arnold's *Chronicle*, where several sorts of loaf are specified, the 'loaf of all manner of grain' is distinctly spoken of as a wheat loaf (p. 56). On the other hand we also hear of mixtilionis, which appears to have been composed of different grains, and of horse bread, which was made of beans (Riley in Glossary to *Liber Albus* sub *payn pur chevaux*).

The various loaves mentioned in this assize then appear to be made of wheat and of wheat only: but the *Judicium pillorie*, which is attributed to the time of Henry III., ordains that the jurors who settle the assize of bread should take account of the price, not merely of wheat but of oats. The *Statutum de pistoriibus* too has a special clause *de venditione farine* which refers to the adulteration of oatmeal. It appears that just as the price of wastel bread was given as sufficiently indicating the price of other wheat loaves, so the price of wheat ruled the rate at which rye bread, or any other bread was to be sold. In the face of all the evidence we have that other bread was constantly used for the allowances of servants on estates, it seems impossible to believe that it was never exposed for sale in towns.

The mode of proceeding in attempting to enforce the assize of bread is fully described in the Romney customary, Lyon, *Dover*, II. 337.

B. MANORIAL RECORDS.

I. SERVICES AND EXTENTS.

THE interesting description of the duties of a *Reeve* has been printed by Dr Liebermann from the ms. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (ccclxxxiii. f. 102); for the translation and notes I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Skeat. The ms. dates from about 1100, but the document is probably from the early part of the eleventh century; it immediately follows the well-known *Rectitudines*, and throws considerable light on the system of managing estates in England before the Norman Conquest.

The documents which follow serve to illustrate the conditions of rural life at periods from which much fuller information survives. The first is a remarkably detailed survey of the Manor of Borley in Essex; it was taken in the first year of Edward II. and it shows the obligations and position of the villans before the services were commuted for money. At the time when this extent was taken the manor of Borley belonged to the King. Edward I. had procured it, along with other lands and castles, for a sum of 20,000 marcs; it continued to be vested in the Crown till 1346, when King Edward III. granted it to Christchurch, Canterbury, in exchange for all the rights of the convent in the port of Sandwich and Isle of Sheppey (Morant, *Essex*, II. 318). The extent is now transcribed from a book in the British Museum which belonged to Christchurch (Add. msa. 6159), into which it was probably copied at the time when the monastery came into possession of this manor. A translation has been printed by Prof. E. P. Cheyney in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, vol. IV. p. 275.

Some other extracts are appended as illustrations of the changes which occurred when lands were let at a rent, and the services were commuted for money. The information about Barrington is extracted from an extent which occurs in a book of deeds relating to property there, written in a fifteenth century hand, and now in the muniment room of Trinity College, Cambridge. It shows that before the third year of King Edward III. the services of the villans were all valued, so that they might be actually rendered or else paid in money; they were then commuted for regular rents.

The extract from the Winslow Court Rolls is from the twenty-first year of Edward III., that is before the Black Death, and is interesting as showing that the Abbey endeavoured to maintain the collective responsibility of the tenants for the money payments, just as they had been collectively responsible for services. The other cases occurred after the Black Death. There are two extents of the manor of Rustington, Sussex, in a fifteenth century hand in a ms. (O. I. 25) in the Trinity College Library at Cambridge: one of these was made in the third year of Edward III., and the other in the eighth year of Edward IV. They

illustrate very clearly the change which was going on at this time. From another document in the same book it appears that a considerable alteration occurred in the forty-second year of Edward III., and there were farther changes in the twenty-first of Richard II., as we learn from the body of the later extent. One or other of these is probably the event which is referred to by a clerical error in the extract as occurring in the twentieth year of Edward III.

For the example of a stock and land lease I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. W. Hunt. It has been already printed by Mr Archbold in his *Somerset Religious Houses*, p. 355, along with much valuable information on the condition of the monasteries and their property. It affords an illustration of a type of contract which has long ceased to be familiar; this lease was made by the Prior of Bath Abbey in 29 and 30 Henry VIII., just before the dissolution of the monasteries, and it serves to show that this method of letting land survived till a much later date than is generally supposed.

A considerable number of documents similar to the specimens here given have been printed at different times, and may be found in County Histories and other publications. The excellent *Classified List of Printed Original Materials for English Manorial and Agrarian History*, by Miss F. G. Davenport (Radcliffe College Monographs), forms an invaluable guide to the available sources of information.

1. BE GESCEADWISAN GEREFAW.

[1] Se scadwis gerefa sceal ægðer witan ge hlaforðes landriht ge folces gerihtu, be ðam ðe hit of ealddagum witan geræddan, and ælcra tilðan timan ðe to tune belimpð; for ðam on manegum landum tilð bið redre ðonne on oðrum; ge yrðe tima hredra, ge mæda rædran, ge winterdún eac swa, ge gehwile oðer tilc.

[2] Hede se ðe scire healde þæt he friðige and forðige selce be ðam ðe hit selcst sy; and be ðam he eac mot ðe hine weder wisað. He sceal snotorlice smeagean and georne ðurhsmugan ealle ða ðing ðe hlaforðe magan to ræde.

[3] Gyf he wel aginnan wile, ne mæg he sleac beon ne to oferhydig; ac he mot ægðer witan ge læsse ge mare, ge betere ge mætre ðæs ðe to tune belimpð, ge on tune ge on dune, ge on wuda ge on wætere, ge on felda ge on falde, ge inne ge ute; for ðam to soðe ic secge, oferhogie he oððe forgyrne ða ðing to beganne and to bewitanne, ðe to scipene oððe to odene belimpað, sona hit wyrð on berne þæt to ðam belimpað.

[4] Ac ic læra þæt he do swa ic ær cwæð: gyne ægðer ge ðæs selran ge þæs samran, þæt naðor ne misfare, gyf he wealdan mæge, ne corn ne sceaf, ne flæsc ne flotsmeru, ne cýse ne cýslyb, ne nan ðera ðinga ða æfra to note mæge.

[5] Swa sceal god scyrman his hlaforðes healdan, do ymbe his agen swa swa he wylle. A swa he gecneordra swa bið he weorðra, gyf he wið witan hafoð his wisan gemæne.

[6] Symle he sceal his hyrmen scyrpan mid manunge to hlafordes neode *and* him eac leanian be ðam ðe hy earnian.

[7] Ne læte he næfre his hyrmen hne oferwealdan, ac wille he æine mid hlafordes crafte *and* mid folcrihte. Selre him his æfre of folgoðe ðonne on, gyf hine magan wyldan ða ðe he scolde wealdan. Ne bið hit hlaforde ræd þæt he þæt ðafige.

[8] Æfre he mæg findan on ðam he mæg nyt beon *and* ða nytte don ðe him fylstan scylan; huru is mæst neod þæt he asece, hu he yrde mæge fyrne geforðian ðonne ðæs tina sy.

[9] Me mæg in Maio *and* Junio *and* Julio on sumera fealgian, myxendingan ut dragan, lochyrdla tilian, sceap scyran, bytlian, bote atan tyran, tymbrian, wudian, weodian, faldian, fiswer *and* mylne macian;

[10] on hærfeste ripan, in Agosto *and* Septembri *and* Octobri; mawan, wad spittan, fela tilða ham gaderian, ðacian, ðecgan *and* fald weoxian, scipena behweorfan *and* hlosan eac awa, ær to tune to stið winter cume, *and* eac yrðe georne forðian;

[11] on wintra erian *and* in miclum gefyrstum timber cleofan, orceard ræran *and* mænige inweorc wyrcean, ðerhsan, wudu cleofan, hryðer anstyllan, swyn stigian, on odene cygne macian—ofn *and* aste *and* fela ðinga sceal to tune—ge eac henna hrost;

[12] on længtene eregian *and* impian, beana sawan, wingearð settan, dician, deorhege heawan *and* raðe efter ðam, gif hit mot gewiderian, mederan settan, linsed sawan, wadsed eac swa, wyrtn plantian *and* fela ðinga ic eal geteallan ne mæg, þæt god scirman byegan sceal.

[13] A he mæg findan hwæt he mæg on byrig betan; ne ðearf he na unnyt beon ðonne he ðær binnan bið: oððe hus godian, rihtan *and* weoxian *and* grep hegian, disceard betan, hegas godian, weod wyrtwalian, betweox husan bricgian, beoddian, beccian, hors anstyllan, flor feormian oððe synnes sum ðing ðe to nyte mæge.

[14] He sceal fela tola to tune tilian *and* fela andlomena to husan habban:

[15] Æese, adsan, bil, byrse, scafan, sage, cimbiren, tigehoc, næfebor, mattuc, ipping-iren, scear, cultur *and* eac gadiren, siðe, sicol, weodhoc, spade, scoffe, wadspitel, berwan, besman, bytel, race, geaße, hlaedre, horscamb *and* sceara, fyrthane, wæipundern; *and* fela towtola: flexlinan, spinle, reol, gearwindan, stodlan, lorgas, presse, pihten, timplean, wifte, wefe, wulcamb, cip, amb, cranctæf, accabele, seamstocan, scearra, nædle, slic.

[16] And gif he smeawyrhtan hæfð, ðam he sceal to tolan fylstan. Mylewerde, sutere, leodgotan *and* oðran wyrhtan selc weore sylf wisad hwæt him to gebyreð; nis ænig man þæt atellan mæge ða tol calle ðe man habban sceal.

[17] Man sceal habban wængewædu, sulhgesidu, egeðgetigu *and* fela ðinga ðe ic nu genæmnan ne can, ge eac mete, awel *and* to odene figel *and* andlamena fela: hwer, lead, cytel, hlaedel, pannan, crocca, brandiren, dixas, stelmelas, cyfa, cyfla, cyrne, cystæt, ceodan, wilian, windlas, systras, syfa, sædleap, hriddel,

hersyfe, tæmespilan, fanna, trogas, æscena, hyfa, hunigbinna, beorhydene, bæsfæt, beodas, butas, bleda, melas, cuppan, seohhan, candelstafas, sealtfæt, sticfodder, piperhorn, cyste, mydercan, bearmteage, hlydan, sceamelas, stolas, læflas, leohtfæt, bliacern, cyllan, sapbox, camb, yrsebinne, fodderhec, fyrgebeorh, meluhudern, ælhyde, ofnraçe, meixsoffe.

[18] Hit is earfoðe eall to geseccganne þæt se beþencan sceal ðe scire healt; ne sceolde he nan ðing forgyman ðe æfre to note mehte: ne forða-mustellan ne, þæt git læsse is, to hæpsan pinn; fela sceal to holdan hames gerefan and to gemetfæstan manna hyrde.

[19] Iç gecende be ðam ðe ic cuðe; se ðe bet cunne gecyðe his mare.

(1) The sagacious reeve ought to know both the lord's land-right, and the folk-rights, even as the counsellors of olden days have determined; and the season of every crop that pertains to a homestead; since, in many districts, the farm-work is earlier than in others; that is, ploughing-time is earlier, the season for mowing is earlier, and so likewise is the winter-pasturing, and every other kind of husbandry.

(2) Let him who holds such office take heed that he guard and further every work according as is best for it; and he must act with regard to it as the weather directs him. He ought prudently to consider and diligently to look into¹ all the things that may be for his lord's advantage.

(3) If he wants to begin well, he must not be too lax nor too overweening, but he must know both the less and the more, both the greater and the less important matters that concern a homestead, both in the farm-yard and on the down, both in wood and in water, both in field and fold, both indoors and out. For I tell you of a truth, if he be too proud or negligent to undertake and attend to the things which belong to cattle-stall or threshing-floor, the result, in so far as it depends on such matters, will soon shew itself in the barn².

(4) But I advise that he do as I said before. Let him pay attention to things great and small, so that neither go wrong as far as he can control it; neither corn nor sheaf, nor flesh nor cream³, nor cheese nor rennet⁴, nor any of the things that can ever be of use.

(5) So should a good reeve keep his lord's goods; let him do what he will with his own. Ever, as he becomes more diligent, will he be more valued, if he observes a course like that of a wise man.

¹ Lit. 'to creep into'; but *ðurhemagan* was used (like the Icel. *smjuga*), with the particular sense of putting the head through the neck-hole of a smock-like garment; see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s.v. *smock*. Hence the sense of 'peer into,' 'look into,' or 'investigate.'

² Perhaps a proverbial phrase.

³ Here 'flesh' means what we now call 'meat.' *Flaternu* is obviously 'cream,' though poorly translated hitherto by 'floating-fat.' However, the Icel. *smjör* is the usual word for 'butter'; and 'float-butter' is obviously 'cream.'

⁴ Prov. Eug. *cheeselope*.

(6) He should ever stimulate his servants by an admonition (to observe) their lord's desire; and moreover should pay them according to what they deserve.

(7) He should never let his servants get the upper hand of him, but let him wish (to direct) each one, with a lord's authority and according to folk-right. Far better were it for him to be always out of office rather than in it, if they whom he should rule come to rule him. It will not be prudent for his lord to permit this.

(8) He can ever be finding out something to be useful in, and be thinking of useful things to assist him. However, it is most desirable for him to search out how he may promote the estate by farming¹, when the right time for it comes round.

(9) In May and June and July, in summer, one may harrow, carry out manure, set up sheep-hurdles, shear sheep, build up², repair, hedge³, build with timber, cut wood, weed, make folds, and construct a fish-weir and a mill.

(10) In harvest one may reap, in August and September and October one may mow, set woad with a dibble⁴, gather home many crops, thatch them and cover them over, and cleanse⁵ the folds, prepare cattle-sheds and also shelters⁶, ere too severe a winter come to the farm; and also diligently prepare the soil.

(11) In winter, one should plough, and in severe frosts cleave timber, make an orchard, and do many affairs indoors; thresh, cleave wood, put the cattle in stalls and the swine in pigsties, set up a stove on the threshing-floor—for an oven and a kiln⁷ and many things are necessary on a farm—and moreover (provide) a hen-roost.

(12) In spring one should plough and graft, sow beans, set a vine-yard, make ditches, hew wood for a wild-deer-fence; and soon after that, if the weather permit, set madder, sow linseed (i.e. flaxseed) and also woad-seed, plant a garden, and (do) many things which I cannot fully enumerate, that a good steward ought to provide.

(13) He can always find something on the manor to improve; he need not be idle, when he is in it; he can keep the house in order, set it to rights and clean it; and set hedges along the drains⁸, mend the breaches in the dikes, repair the hedges, root up weeds, lay planks between the houses, make tables and benches, provide horse-stalls, scour the floor; or let him think of something that may be useful.

¹ I here venture to translate *fyrme* literally.

² I alter the punctuation, to give some sense; the passage is certainly corrupt, but the emendation *botettas* (for *bote atan*) is almost certain.

³ Omitting *atan*; see note 2.

⁴ See sect. 15, for *waddspitel*.

⁵ Zupitza suggests that this is cognate with *G. wischen*; see also *Swed. viska*, to wipe over with a brush. ⁶

⁷ A guess; supposed to be allied to *Alton*.

⁸ Lit. an oat-house.

⁸ Liebermann translates *grop* by *Ger. Lanicken*. However, the Epinal gloss has: "Scrobibus, *gropum* (= *gripum*)."⁹ The reference is obviously to the setting of hedges with trenches below them, in the ordinary way.

⁹ *synne* is obviously wrong, but the final *s* was due to the *s* in *sun*. Read *synne* = *sinne*, let him think of. It should govern a genitive.

(14) He should provide many tools for the homestead, and get many implements for the buildings: (as, for instance)—

(15) An axe, adze, bill, awl, plane, saw, chimbe-iron¹, tie-hook², anger, mattock, prise³, share, coulter; and also a goad-iron, scythe, sickle, weed-hook, spade, shovel, woad-dibble, barrow, besom, beetle, rake, fork, ladder, horse-comb and shears, fire-tongs, weighing-scales, and many spinning-implements, (such as): flax-threads⁴, spindle, reel, yarn-winder, stoddle⁵, weaver's beams, press, comb, carding-tool⁶, weft, wool⁷, wool-comb, roller⁸, slay⁹ (?), winder with a bent handle, shuttle, seam-pegs¹⁰, shears, needle, slick-stone¹¹.

(16) And if he has skilled workmen, he should provide them with tools.⁹ As for the mill-wright, shoe-maker, plumber, and other artisans, each work itself shews what is necessary for each; there is no man that can enumerate all the tools that one ought to have.

(17) One ought to have coverings for wains, ploughing-gear, harrowing-tackle, and many things that I cannot now name; as well as a measure, an awl, and a flail for the threshing-floor, and many implements besides; as, a caldron, leaden vessel, kettle, ladle, pan, crock, fire-dog, dishes, bowls with handles, tubs, buckets, a churn, cheese-vat, bags, baskets, crates, bushels, sieves, seed-basket, wire-sieve, hair-sieve, winnowing-fans, troughs, ash-wood-pails, hives, honey-bins, beer-barrels, bathing-tub, bowls, butts, dishes, vessels, cups, strainers¹², candle-sticks, salt-cellar, spoon-case, pepper-horn, chest, money-box, yeast-box, seats¹³ (?), foot-stools, chairs, basins¹⁴, lamp, lantern, leathern bottles, box for resin [or soap?], comb, iron bin, rack for fodder, fire-guard, meal-ark¹⁵, oil-flask¹⁶, oven-rake, dung-shovel.

(18) It is toilsome to recount all that he who holds this office ought to think of; he ought never to neglect anything that may prove useful, not even a mouse-trap, nor even, what is less, a peg for a hasp. Many things are needful for a faithful reeve of a household and for a temperate guardian of men.

¹ Prov. Eng. *chimbe*, the prominent part of the staves beyond the rim of a barrel. A *chimbe-iron* was probably a sort of spokeshave, to make the stave-ends even.

² I do not see how a 'tie-hook' can mean a vice, as suggested. I take it to be a hook such as is used for twisting hay-bands.

³ Prov. E. *prise*, a lever for opening a box; the A. S. word means 'opening-iron.'

⁴ Translated by Ger. *fachswinde*, without authority; the A. S. *hæc* (pl. *hæan*) means 'a line.'

⁵ Palsgrave has: 'Stodyll, a toole for a wever'; sense unknown.

⁶ Perhaps allied to prov. E. *to tum*, to card wool for the first time.

⁷ *Cladisa, weþ vel oweþ*; Gloss. 18. 23; and *oweb* = wool.

⁸ *Kip-trea*, the horizontal roller of a draw-well; Halliwell.

⁹ See Bosworth.

¹⁰ I.e. pegs to hold a thing for sewing.

¹¹ See Halliwell.

¹² See Toller; from *ston*, to strain.

¹³ If = *hilda*.

¹⁴ Lat. *labella*.

¹⁵ Hardly a meal-house, but rather a meal-ark or box, called a meal-house as being a place where it is stored.

¹⁶ I take *æl* in the sense of 'oil,' not 'oel.'

(19) I have declared all as well as I could; let him who knows better declare more than this.

2. EXTENTA MANERII DE BORLEE.

¶ Extenta Manerii de Borlee facta ibidem die martis proxima post festum sancti Mathæi Apostoli Anno domini mcccviii regno Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi primo, coram Johannem le Doo Seneschallo per manus Willielmi de ffolesham clerici per sacramentum Philippi le Reve de Borlee, Henrici Lamberti, Dionisii Rauf, Ricardi atte Mere, Walteri Johan, et Roberti Ernald tenentes domini in predicta villa de Borlegh, Qui omnes jurati dicunt quod est ibidem unum mesuagium bene et rationabiliter edificatum et sufficit pro exitibus manerii et continet in se infra situm manerii quatuor acras per estimationem. Et valet herbagium inde per annum per estimationem ij s. ¶ Et curtillagium inde valet per annum xij d. aliquando plus et aliquando minus secundum quod appretiat. Et gardinum inde valet per annum ut in pomis et uvis vinearum cum acciderint v s. et aliquando plus. ¶ Summa vij s.

¶ Mesuagium.

¶ Curtillagium.

¶ Gardinum.

¶ Et sciendum quod dominus est verus patronus ecclesie de Borlee, et valet dicta ecclesia ut in Bladis oblati subventionibus et aliis minutis decimis per annum secundum taxationem x libras.

¶ Advocatio Ecclesiarum.

¶ Et ibidem unum molendinum aquaticum in manerio, et valet per annum ad dimittendum ad firmam lx s. Et piscarium in stagno¹ valet per annum per estimationem cum avalatione Anguillarum de gurgitibus xij d. ¶ Summa lxi s.

¶ Molendinum cum piscario.

¶ Boscus. ¶ Est ibidem unus boscus vocatus le Hoo et continet in se x acras, et valet herbagium inde per annum v s. Et suboscus inde valet per annum, et hoc sine wasto, v s. Et pannagium² inde valet per annum xii d. Et ibidem quidam alius boscus vocatus Chalvecroft et continet in se v acras cum fossatis. Et valet herbagium inde per annum ij s. vi d. Et suboscus inde valet per annum iij s. Et pannagium valet inde per annum vi d.

¶ Summa valoris xvij s.

¶ Terre in dominico. ¶ Sunt ibidem de terra arabili in dominico in diversis campis ccc acre terre per minus centum. Et valet per annum ad dimittendum, xv li. precium acre xij d.

¶ Summa acrarum ccc.

¶ Summa valoris xv li.

¶ Et sciendum quod pertica terre in isto manerio continet xvi pedes et dimidium ad terram mensurandam. Et quilibet acra potest congrue seminari de ii bussellis et dimidio frumenti, de duobus bussellis et dimidio siliginis, de ii bussellis et dimidio pisorum, de iij bussellis avene, et hoc annuatim et de iij^o

¹ Weir or milldam.

² Payment for permission to feed swine in the lord's wood.

bussellis orde per mensuram rasam¹. Et quelibet caruca debet jungi de iiij^m bobus et iiij^m affris. Et caruca potest communiter arrare per diem unam acram terre et aliquando plus.

¶ Sunt ibidem de prato falcabili in diversis locis xxix acre et ¶ Pratum i roda. Et valent per annum vij li. vi s. et iij d. precium acre vs. falcabilis.

¶ Summa acrarum xxix acre, i roda.

¶ Summa denariorum vij li. vi s. iij d.

¶ Sunt ibidem de pastura separabili xxvij acre et valent per ¶ Pastura annum xlii s. precium acre xvij d. de quibus xvi acre assignantur separabilia. vaccis pro daeria. Et xii bobus et stottis. ¶ Summa xlii s.

¶ Sciendum quod dominus potest habere in communia pastura ¶ Pastura (sic) de Borlee cum esiamento friscorum et dominicorum domini communia. tempore aperto² C bidentes per maius centum³.

Et valet pastura eujuslibet capitis per annum ij d. et non plus propter resumptionem cibi Berkar⁴.

¶ Summa xx s.

¶ Est ibidem quedam curia de libere tenentibus domini et ¶ fines et customariis de iii septimanis in iij septimanas. Et valent fines perquisite curie et Lote. et perquisite inde per annum cum visu franci plegii xx s.

¶ Summa patet.

¶ Willielmus filius Radulphi Miles tenet de domino xvij ¶ Libere acras reddendo inde per annum ad pascha xvij d. ad festum tenentes. Sancti Michaelis xvij d.

¶ Henricus de Lathelaye tenet de domino I acras terre reddendo inde per annum ad Pascha xxi d. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis xxi d. Et debet sectam curie.

¶ Johannes de Lystone tenet de domino in Borlee xl acras terre et iiij acras prati reddendo inde per annum ad festum Sancti Michaelis vj d. pro omnibus serviciis.

¶ Willielmus Joye tenet de domino unum mesuagium et xx acras terre et ii acras prati et dimidiam acram pasture, reddendo inde per annum ad festum Sancti Michaelis xij d. Et debet sectam curie.

¶ Hugo atte ffen tenet de domino vi acras terre et dimidiam acram prati et i rodam pasture, reddendo inde per annum ad predictos duos terminos ij sol. ix d. Et debet sectam curie.

¶ Reginaldus Crummelond tenet de domino xii acras terre reddendo inde per annum x s. et debet sectam curie.

¶ Willielmus le Yacher tenet de domino in dominico et servitio ij acras terre et dimidiam acram prati, reddendo inde per annum ad Pascha et ad festum sancti Michaelis per equales portiones vij d. Et debet sectam curie.

¶ Tenentes terre Simonis Aunsel videlicet.

¹ Corn was either heaped in the bushel, or straked so as to fill the measure and no more; this latter was *mensura rasa*. When the bushel was heaped (*cumulata*) an allowance was made *pro cumulo* in keeping the reckoning; see below, p. 602.

² When the temporary fencing was removed and all the fields lay open.

³ He might pasture 100 sheep, by the greater hundred, i.e. 120.

Molmen¹. ¶ Johannes Aunsel tenet unum cotagium et unam rodam terre. ¶ Rogerus atte Remete iiij^m acras et iii rodas terre, Ricardus Gakoun ij acras terre. ¶ Willielmus Oslock² i acram terre. ¶ Augustus le Clerk³ ij acras et dimidiam terre. ¶ Walterus Morel ij acras terre. ¶ Dionisius Raufus i rodam prati. Et reddunt inde per annum videlicet ad Pascha ix d., et ad festum Sancti Michaelis ix d. Et ad purificationem de Unthiel ij s. ij d. ob. q. Et ad Natale domini unam gallinam precii i d. ob. Et invenient ii homines metentes ad unum Bedrepe⁴ in autumpno pro voluntate domini ad cibum domini ut patet inferius. Precium ejuslibet operis ij d. Et facient sectam curie.

¶ Willielmus Oslock tenet de domino i mesuagium et xx acras terre et i rodam prati, Reddendo inde per annum ad predictos ij terminos iiij s. Et de Unthield ad purificationem Beate Marie ij s. ij d. ob. q⁵. Et ad Natale domini i gallinam precii i d. ob. Et metet in autumpno ad unum Bedrepe per duos homines ad cibum domini ut supra. Et debet merchet. Et facit sectam curie.

¶ Summa redditus assise de termino Sancti Michaelis libere tenentium ix s. viii d.

¶ Item v s.

¶ Summa termini purificationis de Unthield per annum iiij s. v d. ob.

¶ Summa redditus termini pasche viij s. ij d.

¶ Item v s.

¶ Summa Gallinarum de termino Natalis domini ij d.

Custom-
ary.

¶ Walterus Johan tenet de domino in villenagio unum mesuagium et x acras terre Reddendo inde per annum ad festum Purificationis Beate Marie de Hunthield iiij s. v d. ob. Et ad Pascha xx d. ob. Et ad festum Sancti Michaelis xxi d. ob. Et ad festum Natalis domini i gallinam et dimidiam precii galline i d. ob. Et a festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula qualibet septimana tria opera per unum hominem sine cibo domini precium operis ob. Exceptis iibus septimanis, videlicet septimana Natalis Domini, Pasche, et septimana Pentecostes in quibus non operabunt, nisi indigeat de necessitate pro blado in autumpno ligando, et fenis⁶ levandis. Et arabit cum caruca sua, sive iungat sive non iiij^m acras terre domini sine cibo domini precium cuiuslibet acre v d. q⁷, unde ii acras tempore seisonis frumenti⁸ et ii acras ad avenam. Et cariaabit fima⁹ domini in magerio cum equo et caretta sua ad cibum domini, videlicet quolibet die i panem et dimidiam siliginis unde de quarterio debent fieri xl panes. Et sarclare bladum¹⁰ domini quamdiu fuerint sarclandum et allocabitur

¹ Men holding in villainage but paying money rent, with light services. Vinogradoff, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* i. 734. Bound, *Ibid.* ii. 108.

² Reaping done at the lord's bidding.

³ Hay.

⁴ Time for sowing wheat (autumn).

⁵ Manure.

⁶ To weed the corn.

in operibus suis. Et debet falcare¹ prata domini videlicet i acram et tertiam partem unius acre per mensuram ydoneam. Et allocabitur in operibus suis, videlicet pro qualibet acra iij opera.

¶ Et sciendum quod quodocunque ipse simul cum aliis customariis ville falcauerint pratum de Rainholm, habebunt ex consuetudine iij bussellos frumenti ad panem et unum Hurdardum² precii xvij d., et i lagenam butyri et unum caseum ex daeria domini post meliorem, et sal et farinam avene pro patagio suo et totum lac matutinale de omnibus vaccis totius Daerie ad ipsum tempus. Et sparget, levabit et cumulabit predictam acram et dimidiam feni et cariaabit ad manerium et allocabitur in operibus suis. Et habebit pro quolibet opere falcationis tantum de herbagio viridi cum falcauerit, quantum poterit levare super punctum falcis sue. Et cum cariauerit dictum fenum habebit in fine dicti cariagii de feno plenum corpus carette sue. Et metet in autumpno a festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis per totum autumpnum xxiiij opera sine cybo domini pretium operis i d. Et cariaabit bladum domini et tassabit et allocabitur in operibus suis. Et habebit quotiens cariauerit i garbam vocatam meneschef³, et averabit cum equo suo xii leucas circa manerium ad pondus duorum bussellorum salis, vel iij bussellorum frumenti, siliginis et pisorum et fabarum. Et de avena iij bus. avene. Et debet querere predictum bladum ad granarium domini cum predicto equo et sacco proprio. Et habebit quotiens averaverit de avena quantum potest ter in manu sua palmare et levare poterit. Et si non averaverit nihil dabit set allocabitur pro quolibet (sic) avera i opus precium ob. Et dabit auxilium et faciet sectam curie. Et dabit merchetum pro filia sua maritanda ad voluntatem domini.

¶ Idem Walterus tenet i toftum qui continet ij acras terre. Et faciet a festo Trinitatis usque ad Gulam Augusti⁴ qualibet septimana ij opera precium operis ob. Et pro dimidio tofto qualibet septimana per idem tempus i opus precium ut supra. Et a Gula Augusti usque festum Sancti Michaelis qualibet septimana i opus et dimidium sine cibo domini precium operis i d. Et habebit j garbam vocatam Tofscheff⁵ quantum poterit ligare in quodam ligamine metato et non abradicato⁶, neque cum radicibus ne terra extracto.

¶ Ricardus atte Mere tenet de Domino in villenagio xx acras terre reddendo inde per annum de Unthield ad festum purificationis iij s. v d. ob. et ad pascha xvi d. Et ad festum Sancti Michaelis xvij d., et ad Natale domini i gallinam precii ut supra. Et operabit a festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Sancti Petri ad vincula qualibet septimana ut Walterus Johan.

¹ To mow.

² A ram.

³ Men's sheaf, which two reapers received while at work, Scrope, Castle Combe, 50.

⁴ August 1. Lammus Day.

⁵ Possibly the sheaf received by the holder of a toft who worked in harvest; Spelman gives *toftman*, the owner of a toft.

⁶ Stubble was much valued, and in reaping a great deal of straw was left.

Et arrabit, cariaabit fimum, sarclabit bladum, falcabit pratum, sparget, cumulabit et ad Manerium cariaabit, metet in autumpno, averabit et faciet omnia alia servicia ut predictus Walterus Johan. Et dabit auxilium et merchet et faciet sectam curie.

¶ Idem Ricardus tenet unum toftum. Et facit a festo Trinitatis usque ad Gulam Augusti qualibet septimana ij opera precium ut supra. Et a festo Gule Augusti usque festum sancti Michaelis qualibet septimana i opus sine cibo domini precium j d.

¶ Robertus Ernald tenet de domino in villenagio xx acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo omnia servicia et consuetudines in omnibus sicut dictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et dabit auxilia et merchet et faciet sectam curie. Et tenet i toftum de domino et facit in omnibus et singulis sicut predictus Ricardus atte Mere.

¶ Matilda Davy tenet de domino in villenagio xx acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus sicut dictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et etiam pro tofto suo sicut dictus Ricardus. Et dabit auxilia et faciet merchet et sectam curie.

¶ Philippus le Reve tenet de domino in villenagio x acras terre reddens inde per annum ad purificationem beate Marie de Unthield ij.s. ii d. ob. q. Et ad Pascha vijj d. Et ad festum Sancti Michaelis vijj d. Et ad Natale domini i gallinam precii i d. Et arrabit, cariaabit fimos, sarclabit bladum, falcabit prata, sparget, cumulabit. Et faciet omnia alia servicia medietate ut terra predicti Ricardi atte Mere. Et dabit merchet et faciet sectam curie.

¶ Idem Philippus tenet unum toftum et facit pro eo omnia servicia ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere et sectam curie.

¶ Dionisius Rolfus tenet de domino in villenagio x acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo in redditu et omnibus aliis serviciis ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et pro uno tofto quod tenet faciet in omnibus sicut idem Ricardus. Et idem Dionisius tenet unam acram terre reddendo inde per annum xii d. ad festum pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones.

¶ Petrus ad crocem tenet de domino in villenagio x acras terre. Reddendo inde et faciendo redditum et alias consuetudines et servicia ut predictus philippus le Reve. Et pro uno tofto quod tenet facit in omnibus sicut idem Philippus et facit sectam curie.

¶ Edmund Nel tenet de domino in villenagio x acras terre reddendo inde per annum et faciendo omnia servicia ut predictus philippus. ¶ Idem Edmund tenet dimidium toftum et facit in omnibus omnia servicia medietate ut toftum predicti philippi.

¶ Wualterus de Lynton tenet de domino in villenagio x acras terre Reddendo inde et faciendo omnia servicia et consuetudines ut predictus Philippus le Reve.

¶ Idem Wualterus tenet de domino dimidium toftum et facit in omnibus sicut predictus Edmund Neel.

¶ Aschelot le Yonge tenet de domino in villenagio x acras terre et dimidium toftum et facit in omnibus ut predictus Walterus de Lynton'.

¶ Henricus Lamberd tenet de domino x acras terre et dimidium toftum. Et facit in omnibus et singulis sicut Walterus de Lynton'. Et insuper pro quadam strata vocata Rapstrete ij d. per annum.

¶ Johannes Rolf tenet de domino x acras terre et dimidium toftum. Et facit in omnibus serviciis sicut dictus Walterus. Et pro quadam Rapstrete ii d. per annum.

¶ Johanna Gille, Willielmus Gille et Petrus Gille tenent x acras et dimidium toftum, et faciunt in omnibus serviciis sicut dictus Walterus de Lynton'.

¶ Agnes Selone tenet de domino x acras terre et dimidium toftum. Et facit in omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus sicut dictus Walterus.

¶ Thomas de Reculver clericus tenet de domino quamdam terram vocatam Stanegroundeslond que continet x acras terre et dimidium toftum. Et facit omnia alia servicia et consuetudines in omnibus serviciis sicut dictus Walterus de Lyntone.

¶ Willielmus Warengus et Matilda Warengus tenent de domino in villenagio v acras terre. Et reddunt inde per annum ad festum purificationis beate Marie de Unthield xij d. ob. Ad pascha iij d. Ad festum sancti Michaelis iij d. q. Et ad Natale domini j gallinam precii ut supra. Et facit in omnibus aliis serviciis et consuetudinibus medietatem ut terra Philippi le Reva.

¶ Idem Willielmus et Matilda tenent unum toftum et faciunt in omnibus sicut predictus Philippus.

¶ Idem Willielmus tenet v acras terre per se. Et facit in omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus medietatem ut predictus Philippus. Et pro quarta parte unius tofti quod tenet, facit quartam partem sicut et alii solvunt pro tanto tenemento.

¶ Idem Willielmus debet pro Warengerestrete ij d. per annum ad terminos prescriptos.

¶ Willielmus Faber tenet de domino vi acras terre pro ferramento carucarum domini de proprio ferro eiusdem domini fabricando. Et reddit de Unthield xii d. ob. q.

¶ Dionisius State tenet de domino in villenagio v acras terre, et quartam partem unius tofti, Reddendo et faciendo in omnibus et singulis per annum sicut dictus Willielmus Warengus pro v acris terre et quarta parte unius tofti sui.

¶ Nicholaus Hervy tenet de domino in villenagio v acras et iij^{mas} partem j tofti, reddendo et faciendo in omnibus per annum sicut dictus W. Warengus pro tanta terra.

¶ Willielmus Selone tenet de domino in villenagio v acras terre et iij^{mas} partem j tofti, Reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus per annum sicut dictus W. Warengus pro tanta terra.

¶ Margeria Simondes tenet de domino v acras terre, reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus sicut dictus Willielmus pro tanta terra.

¶ Walterus Arnewy tenet de domino in villenagio v acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo omnia servicia sicut predicta Margeria.

¶ Mabillia atte Mere tenet de domino v acras terre, Reddendo et faciendo in omnibus et singulis sicut predicta Margeria.

¶ Mabillia Nicole tenet de domino v acras terre, reddendo et faciendo in omnibus et singulis sicut predicta Margeria.

¶ Idem Walterus Mabillia atte Mere et Mabillia Nicole tenent unum toftum reddendo inde et faciendo servicia sicut Philippus le Reve pro tofto suo.

Cotamen.

¶ Radulfus Denys tenet de domino unum toftum reddendo inde per annum in omnibus sicut dictus Philippus le Reve. Et propter hoc debet aperire sulcos aquaticos in yeme super terram domini, tempore seisonis frumenti. Et debet spargere fima domini quamdiu fuerint spargenda qualibet seisona anni. Et si non aperierit neque fima sparserit nichil dabit.

¶ Mabillia de Alfetone et Gundreda soror eius tenent de domino j toftum et faciunt in omnibus sicut predictus Radulphus Dynia.

¶ Willielmus Nenour tenet de domino j cotagium et facit qualibet septimana operabili j opus die lune precium ob, videlicet a festo sancti Michaelis usque festum sancti Petri ad vincula et a festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis qualibet septimana j opus precio operis j d.

¶ Walterus Solone tenet de domino j cotagium et facit in omnibus sicut Walterus Nenour.

Notandum.

¶ Et sciendum quod si predicti W. Nenour et Walterus Solone tritaverint bladum in Grangia domini habebunt de domino de foragio quantum poterunt simul et semel cum uno rastro in area dicte Grangie congregare. Et sic de feno cum in prato domini eum congregaverint. Et hoc a tempore quo non extat memoria, ut dicitur.

Notandum.

¶ Sciendum quod omnes custumarii supradicti debent metere in autumpno per unum diem ad unum Bedrepe de frumento. Et habebunt inter eos vj bussellos frumenti ad panem suum in manerio furnitum et potagium et carnem videlicet duo homines j ferculum carnis bovine et caseum et cervisiam ad bibendum. Et predicti custumarii operabunt in autumpno ad duas precarias avene. Et habebunt vi bussellos siliginis ad panem suum ut predictum est. Potagium ut prius, et alleces¹ videlicet quilibet duo homines vi alleces et caseum ut prius et aquam ad bibendum.

¹ Herrings.

Summa redditus assise customariis de termino Sancti Michaelis per annum	xviii s. xi d. ob. q.	¶ De termino Michaelis.
Summa redditus de Unthield de termino purificationis	lv s. vii d.	¶ Purificationis.
Summa redditus de termino Pasche.	xvii s. ii d. ob.	¶ Paschalis.
Summa redditus Gallinarum dictorum customariorum de termino Natalis Domini	ii s. xi d. q.	¶ Natalis domini.
Summa redditus assise de termino pasche tam libere tenentium quam customariorum	xxv s. iv d. ob.	
Summa redditus eorundem de termino sancti Michaelis per annum xxvij s. vij d. Item x s. ad predictos terminos		
Summa Customorum vocatorum Unthield ad purificationem beate Marie per annum	lx s. ob.	
Summa redditus Gallinarum de Natali domini	iii s. ii d. q.	
Summa summarum predictarum cum Unthield per annum	cxvij s. iii d.	

¶ Item de Reginald' Crummelond' x s. redditus per annum inveniencie... post extentam factam.

¶ Sunt ibidem de operibus customariis ut patet superius a Opera festo sancti Michaelis usque ad gulam Augusti per xliij septimanas mcccc iiiij^m et v opera per septimanam ij opera.

¶ Et de duobus cotagiariis per idem tempus iij^m viii opera de quolibet eorum per septimanam i opus.

¶ Et de xvj toftmen a festo sancte Trinitatis usque ad gulam Augusti per x septimanas cce et xx opera precium cuiuslibet operis ob. de quibus retractatur pro ij septimanis videlicet Natali Pasche et Pentecostes allocandis. Et etiam pro ij cotagiis et pro arruris gabule... ad seisonas diversas allocandis, ciii opera. Et remanet mdccxlij opera precium operis ob.

¶ Summa iij li. vj s. viij d. ob.

¶ Sunt ibidem de exitu predictorum customariorum xxij gabule et dimidia quarum quelibet gabula debet arrare super terram domini ad diversas seisonas. Et valet gabula ad commodum domini ad omnes seisonas x d. ob.

¶ Summa xix s. viij d. q.

¶ Sunt ibidem de operibus autumpnalibus predictorum customariorum a gula Augusti usque ad festum sancti Michaelis cccc xxliij opera precium operis ij d.

Summa xlj s. ij d.

¶ *Summa totius valoris per extentam xliij li. xix s. ob. q.*

¶ *Item de Reginald' Crummelond' x s. per annum inveni-
ente post confectum extente ut supra, de quibus retractis vij d.
redditus debiti Domine felicis de Sencler per annum pro quodam
prato vocato Baselyemedo apud Radbrygge.*

¶ *Remanet xliij li. xvij s. v d. ob. q.* ¶ *Item. x s. ut supra.*

¶ *Et sciendum quod dominus prior Ecclesie Christi Can-
tuariensis habet libertatem suam in villa de Borlee. Et habet
Infangenethief¹, et Utfangenethief² cum manu opere capto videlicet
Hondhabbande³, Bakberande⁴. Et furce judiciales eiusdem liber-
tatis stant et debent stare ad Radbrigge. Et inde ad inquiren-
dum de pilloria et Trebuchet⁵. Et inquisitum est quod debetur
stare extra portas exteriores versus occidentem iuxta porcarium,
domini.*

ndum. ¶ *Et memorandum quod quocienscunque indigerit quod iij
homines et praepositum extiterint coram iusticiariis in itinere
vel alibi videlicet ad gaolas domini Regis deliberandas vel alibi
ubicumque fuerint. Dominus debet invenire duos homines
sumptibus suis coram eisdem iusticiariis. Et villata de Borlee
sumptibus suis iij homines invenient. Et hoc per consuetudinem
a tempore quo non extat memoria ut dicitur.*

ndum. ¶ *Et sciendum quod si quis custumarius domini in isto
manerio obierit Dominus habebit de herietto⁶ meliorem bestiam
ipsius tenentis tempore mortis sui inventam. Et si bestiam non
habuerit, dabit domino pro herietto ij s. vi d. Et heres faciet
finem domino pro tenemento quod fuit patris sui, si sibi viderit
expedire, sin autem nichil inde habebit. Salvo tamen uxori
eiusdem tenentis defuncti toto tenemento quod fuit viri sui
die quo obiit ad tenendum de domino ut liberum bancum suum
ad terminum vite sue, si se tenuerit sine marito, et faciendo
servicia domino inde debita et consueta. ¶ Si autem per licen-
ciam domini se maritaverit, heredes predicti defuncti predictum
tenementum per licenciam domini intrabunt et uxorem relictam
dicti defuncti de medietate dicti tenementi dotabunt.*

3. COMMUTATION OF SERVICES FOR RENT. BARRINGTON.

*Sequitur servitium quod dicti tenentes tenentur facere annua-
tim sub hac forma. Memorandum quod dimidia virgata terre
custumabilis in villa de Barenton de homagio domini Ricardi
de Munfichet dabit operari per annum viz a festo sancti Michaelis*

¹ Jurisdiction over a thief caught on the manor.

² Jurisdiction over any of the men of the manor taken for felony, out of his fee.

³ When the thief had stolen goods in his hand.

⁴ When the thief was bearing stolen goods on his back.

⁵ A tumbrel.

⁶ In early times the horses and arms of military vassals went to the king when they died, and a similar obligation was long discharged by villains with inferior animals.

usque ad Natale Domini in qualibet quindena tres operationes precium operis ob. Et debet arrare per unum diem et dimidium et erit allocata pro tribus operationibus. Et valet arrura si non arat vi d. Et debet herciare quinque dies cum j equo et allocabuntur ei v operationes, et valet si non herciat v d. Et dabit ad festum sancti Martini j d. ad Warhpayn et ij d. ad Slayrecher et ii gallinas ad Natale domini precii ii d. Et debet averare ter per annum et erit allocatum pro tribus operationibus. Et si sit foris per unam noctem habebit sibimet cibum et equo suo de custu domini, et erit allocatum de quolibet averag[i]o ii operationes et valet vi d. Et faciet quarterium brasii contra Natale domini vel ii d. Et inveniet foragium ad ii equos domini per ij noctes infra Natale domini ad domum suam si dominus habet hospitem. Et debet operare a Natali domini usque ad Pascha in qualibet quindena, iij operationes precium operis ob. Et debet arrare per i dies et dimidium et erit allocatum pro tribus operationibus, et valet si non arat vj d. Et faciet j quarterium brasii¹ contra pascha vel ij d. et dabit x oua ad pascha et valet ob. Et debet operare a pascha usque ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste in qualibet quindena iij operationes precium operis ob. Et debet arrare per unum diem et dimidium. Et erit allocata pro iij operibus. Et valet si non arat vi d. Et debet operare a festo sancti Johannis Baptiste usque ad gulam Augusti in qualibet quindena iij operationes precium operis ob. Et falcabit holmum domini infra clausum et omnes customarii simul * * * pro multons suo precium x d. ob. Et falcabit aliud pratium et levabit pro ij operibus. Et sarclabit per unum diem pro amore, viz quod a festo sancti Michaelis usque ad gulam augusti quum debet triturrare pro operibus xxiiij garbas frumenti triturrabit pro uno opere et xxx ordei pro uno opere et tantum fabarum et pisorum pro i opere. Et si ad opus fecerit operabit a mane usque ad nonam pro uno opere. Et de gula augusti usque ad festum sancti Michaelis debet in qualibet quindena v operationes per totum diem cum j homine precium operis j d. et ob. Et debet facere iij precarias per iij dies quolibet die cum ij hominibus et habebit cibum suum. Et debet facere iij lovebones post precarias cum j homine suo opere et suo cibo precium cuiuslibet i d. et ob. Et carriabit xvi carectas bladi suo opere precio cuiuslibet carecte ob. Et falcabit j sellionem de dolo domini si dominus vult, et carriabit ad hospicium domini pro j opere. Et si sit dimidia sacra falcabit pro ij operibus et dabit dimidiam aucam ad festum sancti Michaelis precio j d. Et dabit j garbam frumenti propter quod equi sui manducant dum intrant bladum suum aliqua occasione.

Et sciendum quod infra xij dies Natalis domini, septimanas pasche et Pentecostes quietus erit ab omni opere, et si dies operationis sue sit in die apostoli vel in alio festo de quo habetur vigilia quietus est ab omni opere, et consuetudine. Et non potest ponere filium suum ad studium neque maritare filiam suam

¹ Malt.

sine licentia domini. Ista vero opera supra dicta mutata sunt in pecuniam et sic isto die non faciunt opera sed solvunt ut sequitur. [The names and payments follow.]

WINSLOW. (Monday after S. Ambrose Ep. in the twenty-first year of Edward III.) *Dimissio terrarum.*

Memorandum quod omnes tenentes infra scripti tam de Wynslow quam de Greneburgh concedunt pro se et suis heredibus quod quociens et quando redditus terrarum et pasturam infrascriptus aretro esse contigerit ad aliquem terminum in parte vel in toto, quod dominus per ballivos suos in omnibus aliis terris et tenementis que de domino tenentur in Wynslowe et in Greneburgh predictis possit distingere et districtos retinere quousque de predictis redditibus sive arreragiis, plenarie fuerit satisfactus. Et preterea omnes heredes predictorum tenentium finem facient cum domino post mortem antecessorum suorum pro ingressu habendo in tenementis predictis ad voluntatem domini. Et herietabit etc.

A later entry shows that a considerable area of land was again let in the forty-second year of Edward III.

RUSTINGTON.

Notandum quod omnes virgate terre et dimidia virgate et fferthinglondes ab antiquo tenebantur in bondagio prout patet per custumas predictas, et postquam magna pestilencia fuit, viz in tempore Edwardi tercii, alique tenure inde uno tempore et alique alio, permisse fuere in manus domini, et postea dimisse per dominum pro certis redditibus prout patet per antiquam compositionem de anno Edwardi iij xx^o [sic]. Et sic alterata fuit tenura bondagii et custumaria operibus et serviciis. Et sic modo tenentur ad voluntatem domini.

Nomina nativorum domini de sanguine huic manerio suo pertinentium, viz. (but the names are not added).

4. STOCK AND LAND LEASE.

The following example, to which my attention was called by the Rev. W. Hunt, occurs in a Register of Bath Abbey (Brit. Mus. Harl. mss. 3970 f. 20). It illustrates the form of contract very clearly, though it is a case of letting a farm stocked not for tillage but for grazing.

THE INDENTURE OF WILLIAM POLE OF COMBE.

To alle trewe Christen to whom thys presente wrytting Indented shall come. William Holleweye by the sufferance of God Priour of the Monasterye and Cathederill Church of Saynct Sauyour and of the holie apostelles Peter and Paule of Lathe in the comite of Somerset and Conuente or chapter of

the same place senden greten in our lorde god euerlastinge. Knowe ye that we the foresayd priour and Conuent or chapter with one assente haue lett taken and by thys our present wrytting indented confyrmyd to William Pole of Combe in the Comite aforsayd husbondemane to Edythe hys wyfe and to Thomas their sonne alle that our ffarne barne and sheppon sett and beyng withyn our manour of Combe aforsayde with alle landes medowes leases pastures woodes and vnderwoodes with alle and sundrye their appourtenaunces to the foresaide ffarne of olde tyme by ryght perteynyng or belongyng. Except not withstanding and reseruyd allewayes to vs the said pryor and Conuent and to our successours the Rentes Relevys and alle other seruces of all other tenauntes their together with alle customarye werkes of the same tenauntes there to be done or elleswhere and also excepte likewyse and reseruid to vs and to our successours the mansione or place of our manour of Combe aforsaide with alle the courtes ande dovehouse garden and orcharde there and also the weye that goith frome the kechyn walle vntille the highe weye by the Shepen. And also excepted and reseruid to vs and our successours our lordesshypp or Royalte there withe weyffes and streis and alle ryghtes and profyites of our courtes there vsyde and accustomed And also excepte and reseruyd to our chauntre or chauntreys office for the tyme being the thytthes of the lande of our parke within our lordesshepe of lyncombe and Jussements of alle catelle and bestes there pasturyng aboute thys nombre folowyng that ys to saye of xij oxen or for them other xxij bestes vj leyen vj kalves oone bule a mayere and i colte. And also excepte and reseruyd to vs the sayd priour and Conuent and to our successours the pasture or fedying of cc female conyes their brede goyng restyng and fedying yerely duryng thys graunte at horsecombe within the sleite of Combe frely and in reste withoute any lette gaynesaye or Impedymente of sayd William Edithe or Thomas their sonne or their assynes. AND MOREOVER knowe ye that we the foresayde pryor and conuent by our lyke assente and consent have grauntede lett taken and by thys our present wrytting indented confyrmed to the sayd William Pole Edythe hys wyffe and Thomas their sons alle that our wether floke of Combe aforsayde contenyng in nombre cccx wethers with alle and alle manere Issues profyttes and renews yerly comyng and growyng of the sayed wether floke together with pastures sleytes closes medowes hylles or downes and alle other maner of landes or feldes belongyng or apperteynyng to the sustentacyon or fedying of the sayed wether floke of olde tyme within the lordesheppe of Combe aforsayde and elles where with the customarye werkes of our tenauntes there that ys to saye of waysshying and sheryng of the sayde wether floke at the seasons or tymes mete and accustomed To HAVE AND TO HOLDE alle the forsayed ffarne of our manour aforsayed with other the premisses excepte before excepted. And also the foresayd wether floke contenyng in

nombre cccx with the pastures of the same and customary werkes aforesayed to the foresayd Wylliam Pole Edithe his wyfe and Thomas their sonne frome the laste daye of Aprylle in the xxijth yere of the reigne of our soueraigne lorde kynge henrye theight for terme of their lyves and for euery of them longer lyver successively hoolye quyetye weile and in peace YELDYNG and payng therfore yerly duryng the terme aforesayed to vs the sayd pryour and Conuent and to our successours in maner and forme folowyng That ys to saye for the foresayde flar[m]e of our manour and other the premysses in grayne or corne as folowythe That ys to saye thei shalle paye or cause to be payed carye or cause to be caryd at their owen propre costes and expenses yerly duryng the terme aforesayed into the Garnere of the sayd pryour and Conuent and their successours within the sayd monasterye of pure and clene and of the beste whete and not of the orries of any whete weille and purelye thressyd and wynowed xvi quarters of good and lawfule and resonable mesure. To be payde and dylyveryd alleweys betwyne the feastes of Saynt Mychelle tharchaungell and Witsontyde wekely as shalbe demaunded and requiryde of them by the sayed pryour and hys successours or their seruauantes or officers. And in pure and of the beste barylly weill and purelye thressyd and wynowed xxii quarters of good lawfulle and resonable mesure. To be payede brought in and dilueryd as yt be foresayed yerly alleweyes bitwyne the feastes of alle sayntes and of saynt Davide the confessor the fyrst daye of Marche wekely lykewyse as shalbe demaunded and required of them by the sayed pryour and hys successours or theirs mynisters. And moreouer thei shall cutte downe clene and make before the monethe of Maye and carye or c[ar]rye to be caryd at their owen propre costes and expenses yerly duryng the terme aforesayed foure weyne lodes of woode or fuelle owte of our wood of Pryston or elles where as then shalbe assignede into the Bruerne Orte within our Monasterye or to our manoure of Combe yf thei be so commaunded and theire to pyle the same where thei shalbe assigned at their owne costes and charges and also they shalle ffeede and faten in stalle yerly duryng the sayed terme for vs and our successours with their beaste heye from the feaste of Saynt Martene the Bysshope in wynter vntille the Invencon of the hollye crosse one oxe. And moreouer thei shalle carye or cause to be caryd yerly duryng the terme aforesayed three lodes of heye of the draught of vi oxen owt of the brodecroste to Combe for the fedying of the sayed wetherflope at their owne propre costes and expenses and yeldyng and paying yerly duryng the sayed terme to vs the sayed pryour and Conuent and to our successours for the sayed wetherflope with their pastures and other their appertenances vi poundes of good and lawfulle monye of Englande. To be payed yerly in the feaste of the Natiuitye of saynt John the baptyste in the chapelle of alle sayntes within our monasterye aforesayed. And the foresayd Wylliam Edythe his wyfe and Thomas their soone

and every of them shall sue during the terme aforesayd to the halymote courte of the sayed pryour and Conuente and thaire successours twyse every yere at lyncombe and lykewyse at the lawe dayes hundre of the Barton twyse every yere as the manour ys summons hade before. And furthermore thei and every of them shall yerly during the sayd tyme gather paye and leuye alle the rentes of the sayed pryour and Conuente and hys successours of thaire tenautes there and bryng hyt home to thaire monasterye and thaire paye yt to the sayed pryour and hys successours or their deputes in their behalfe quarterlye and therof also at thaire audyte make a trewe compte without any fee therefore demandyng. AND FURTHERMORE yt ys couenauntyd the forsayd Wylliam Poale Edithe hys wyfe and Thomas thaire soone and every of them during the terme aforesayd shall from tyme to tyme weill and sufficientlye repayer susteine and maynteyne when and as often as ned shalbe at their own propre costes and expenses the foresayd ffarme in hedges yattes dyches and alle other manour of defenses and so weille and sufficientlye repayred susteyned & mayntenyd in thende of the sayd terme shall leve and gyve vppe. And yt shalbe not lawfule to the sayed Wylliam Edythe nor Thomas thaire soone to lette or assigne any porcyon or parte of the premisses to any other persone during the terme aforesayd withoute specyalle lycence of the sayed pryour and Conuent or thaire successours thereunto fyrst askyde had and obteynyd. And yf yt chaunce the sayed yerly rente of grayne that ys to saye of xvi quarters of whete and xxii quarters of Barley for the foresayd ffarme or the foresayd yerly rente of vi poundes for the forsayd wetherflokke. Or the flyyng downe cleuyng and caryng of the foresayde woode and heye at their tymes to be byhynde vnpayed by the space of one monethe after any terme of payment that it ought to be payed then it shalbe weille lawfulle to vs the sayed pryour and Conuent and to our successours into the forsayd ffarme and other the premisses with their appertenaunces or into any parcelle thereof to entere and dystreine and the destresse so there founde take bere and chase or dryve awaye and with vs styll for to kepe and reteigne vntill suche tyme as vnto vs fule satisfactyon of the sayed grayen and rente of the wetherflokke with tharrerages of the same if any be and our costes damages and charges in that behalve be duely made and payede. And yf the forsayd rent of grayne of whet and Barleye or the sayed rent of vi poundes for the sayed wetherflokke or the sayed cuttyng downe cleuyng makyng and caryng of the sayed woode and heye be byhynd vnpayede in parte or in hole by the space of a quartere of a yere after any terme of paymente that it ought to be payede and in the mene season sufficient destresse for the sayd rent so beyng behynd cannot be founde vppone the sayed ffarme in thappertenaunce. Or yf the foresayd ffarme in alle hedgyng dychyng gattes and other defenses be not frome tyme to tyme during the terme aforesayde weille and sufficientlye repayrd

susteynd and mayntaignd. Or yf there chaunce any wayste to be made there by the sayed Wylliam Edythe hys wyfe or Thomas their sonne then it shalbe weill lawfull to vs the sayed pryour and Conuent and to our successours or assignes into alle our foresayed ffarme and other the premysses with alle and sundrye their appertenaunces to reentere resease and haue agayne and in our handes after our fyrst or formere state to reteigne and peasiblye to possesse thys our present graunt in anythyng notwithstanding. AND FURTHERMORE to areste and saese in to our handes alle the goodes and catalles of the sayed Wylliam Edythe and Thomas tharrerages and duties for the sayd ffarme and floke yf any be byhynde and them so arestynd in to our handes kepe styll vntylle we be fully contente and paid with our costes and damages susteynyd in that behalve. AND FURTHERMORE by speccyalle couenaunt made the said William and Edythe hys wyfe and Thomas their sonne couenaunt and bynde theym and euery of them theyre heyres and executours by these presentes that they and euery of them streight immediately after the sealyng and deluyerye of these Indentures shalle stonde oblysshed and bounden by their wrytyng obligatory vnder the payne of one cli to vs the saide prioure and Conuente and to our successors that they or oone of theym whom it shalle chaunce to be laste or hys executors or assignes in that behalve in thende of the forsaide terme well and truly yelde and deluyer to vs the saide priour and Conuente or to ower successours or to our deputis in that behalve the forsaide wetherflocke conteynyng in nombre cecilx hooles sounde and stronge not rotten banyd nor otherwise diseased. Or at the leaste for euery pole or peace xvij^d to be estemyd valued or Judgyd by the hole homage there. So that allewayes notwithstanding it shalbe at the libertie and choise of vs the said priour and Conuent and ower successours whether we wylle then take the forsaide shepe or the price aforesayd and also that they and euery of them continually duryng the terme aforesaid shalle maynteyne and kepe vpp the nombre of the wetherflocke aforesaid withoute any notable dymnycion vpon the pasture aforesaid. And furthermore that they shalle stonde to performe and fullefyll eury oone off hys tyme alle other thynges before speccyfyed and expressyd. And we the foresayd Priour and Conuente and our successours alle the forsaide ffarme and other the premysses with their appertenaunces excepte before exceptyd to the forsayd William Edythe and Thomas for termes off their lyues and of euery of them longer lyuer in maner and forme aboue wryten shalle ageynste alle people waraunte acqyte and defende by theyse presentes. IN WITNES whereof to thone parte of thys wrytyng indented remainyng with the foresayd William Edythe and Thomas we the forsayd Priour and Conuente have putt oure comen or Conuente seale. And to thother parte off the same wrytyng Jndentyd remainyng with vs the said Priour and Conuente and our successours the foresaid William Edythe and Thomas haue putt

theyr seales. YEVEN in our chapter house with our hole assent consente and wylle the xith day of Nouembre in the xxth yere of the Reigne or our souerayne lorde Kynge Henry theight.

II. COMPOTUS ROLL.

This remarkably full statement of the accounts of a Hertfordshire Manor gives an admirable picture of the whole system of estate management. It shows that in this case a considerable number of services were still rendered in the old fashion and not commuted for money at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Anstie had temporarily escheated to the Crown, as its owner the Duke of York had died in the previous August and his son had not yet done homage for it. Clutterbuck, *Hertford*, III. 341. The Roll is at the Record Office among the Exchequer Records, and is numbered Q. R. Minister's Account, No. 547/31.

ANSTY HERTS. 2 & 3 Henry IV.

Anesty } Compotus Wilhelmi Wodeward prepositi ibidem
} a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Henrici
Quarti post Conquestum secundo usque in Crastinum ejusdem
festi tunc proximum sequentem anno Regni Regis predicti tercio
videlicet per unum annum integrum.

Arreragia } De arreragiis ultimi sui compoti precedentis nil
} hic quia solvuntur super compotum suum.
Summa nulla.

Redditus Assise¹ } Idem oneratur de lx s. iiij d. ob. de redditu
} assise ibidem termino Sancti Andree Apostoli.
Et de ij d. de redditu assise ibidem termino Natalis Domini.
Et de lvij s. xj d. de redditu assise ibidem termino Annuncia-
cionis Beate Marie. Et de xij s. iiij d. de redditu assise ibidem
termino Pasche. Et de vj d. ob. de auxilio vicecomitis ad eundem
terminum. Et de lix s. iiij d. de redditu assise ibidem termino
Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste. Et de xiiij s. ij d. ob. q.
de redditu assise ibidem termino Sancti Michaelis. Et de vj d. ob.
de auxilio vicecomitis ad eundem terminum. Et de ij d. de in-
cremento redditus v acrarum terre libere quas Johannes Whassh
nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de Henrico Pake per
annum ad eundem terminum. Et de ob. de incremento redditus
dimidie acre terre libere quam Thomas Ode nativus Domini
perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem
terminum. Et de ijs. de incremento redditus unius columbarii
edificati super tenementum Ricardi Reymound sic eidem Ricardo
concessi per licenciam Domini Tenendi eidem Ricardo et heredi-
bus suis de Domino per annum ad eundem terminum. [De
xij d. de novo redditu ejusdem columbarii nil hic nec decetero

¹ A fixed rent, which was paid by the free tenants.

quia predictus redditus condonatur predicto Ricardo et heredibus suis per Dominum ut patet per litteras Domini patentes auditori directas super hunc computum ostensas et penes eundem Ricardum remanentes Datas apud Hertfordiam iiii^{to} die Decembris anno regni Regis Henrici quarti secundo.] Et de v d. de novo redditu unius tofti et iij acrarum terre libere vocate Paskates quas Petrus Phippe natus Domini perquisivit per cartam de Johanne Paskat per annum ad eundem terminum.

Summa x li. xs. ob. q.

Firme² } Et de iij a. de Roberto Tryndeleygh pro firma
} tenementi quondam Alicie Milward sic eidem dimissi
per annum Solvendis terminis Andree Annunciacionis Beate
Marie et Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste equaliter et solebat
dimitti pro vij a. Et de x a. de eodem pro firma tenementi
Hacchislonde sic eidem dimissi per annum ad terminum ix^{to}
annorum hoc anno iij^{to} et solebat dimitti pro xij a. vij d. Et de
vj a. ix d. de firma vj acrarum iij rodarum terre dominice sic
dimissarum diversis hominibus per annum ad eosdem terminos.
Et de xij d. de Wilhelmo Joye pro firma unius acre terre vocate
Ethomisacre per annum ad eosdem terminos. Et de iij a. de
Mauricio Longe pro firma tenementi Andreux nuper in tenura
Johannis Mervyn sic eidem dimissi per annum ad terminum
xvij^{to} annorum hoc anno xj^{to} et solebat dimitti pro vj a. Et de
v a. de Mauricio Wodeward pro firma tenementi Verdons hoc
anno ad eosdem terminos et solebat dimitti pro vj a. Et de vj d.
de eodem pro firma unius acre terre dominice apud Milnemar in
Northayfeld juxta terram Bandons per annum ad eosdem terminos.
Et de v a. de Johanne Longe pro firma unius mesuagii et vij
acrarum terre native quondam Roberti le Cook sic dimissorum
eidem per annum ad eosdem terminos. Et de vj a. iij d. de
Johanne Perlebien et Wilhelmo Thomas pro firma unius tofti et
v acrarum terre native quondam Johannis Mervyn vocatorum
Ratelers sic eis dimissorum per annum ad eosdem terminos. Et
de vj a. de Johanne Ode pro firma unius tofti et v acrarum terre
native quondam Ricardi filii Alicie Gayller que Wilhelmus
Waldyng nuper tenuit sic ei dimissorum per annum ad terminum
xij^{to} annorum hoc anno vij^{to}. Et de x a. de Nicholao Godzer
pro firma tenementi quondam Johannis Breustere sic ei dimissi
per annum pro omnibus serviciis exceptis precariis³ in Autumpno
per annum ad eosdem terminos. Et de v a. de Petro Phippe pro
firma unius mesuagii et v acrarum terre native vocatorum
Ruddex que Wilhelmus Arnald nuper tenuit sic ei dimissorum
per annum ad eosdem terminos. Et de iij a. de Ricardo Andrew
pro firma tenementi quondam Wilhelmi Longe quod Wilhelmus
Vauwe nuper tenuit sic ei dimissi per annum ad terminum xj^{to}

¹ This passage is cancelled in the original.

² Rents at which the land was let from time to time; it appears that there had been a fall in rents.

³ Precarie, Boon days, or occasional days of work which were required in addition to the regular week work.

annorum hoc anno viij^o. Et de vj s. de Johanne Ballard pro firma tenementi et v acrarum terre native vocatorum Olde Andreux que Robertus Wysse nuper tenuit sic ei dimissorum per annum ad terminum xij^o annorum hoc anno iij^o. Et de v s. Mauricii Sothman pro firma unius tofti et v acrarum terre native vocatorum Clates que Wilhelmus Waldyng nuper tenuit sic eidem Mauricio dimissorum per annum ad terminum xxiiij^o annorum hoc anno iij^o. Et de vj d. de Johanne Ballard pro firma unius acre et dimidie terre jacentium in Weston quas Matilda Drivere nuper tenuit pro xij d. in manu Domini existentium per escaetam causa felonie quam Johannes Bekenor fecit sic dimissarum eidem Johanni per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de vj d. de eodem Johanne pro firma unius acre terre in Weston quondam Johannis le Rene parcelle dicte escaete sic eidem Johanni dimisse per annum ad terminum xviiij^o annorum hoc anno xj^o. Et de xvj d. de Ricardo Gerard pro firma uniuscrofti vocati Crowescroft cum j acre terre adjacentis sic eidem dimissi per annum ad terminum xviiij^o annorum hoc anno xj^o. Et de iij s. viij d. de Johanne Doraunt pro firma ij croftorum vocatorum Whelymers continentium v acras terre native parcellass de xv acris wareth¹ terre native quondam Johannis Reymound de Wodestrete per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de x d. de Johanne Helder pro firma j acre et iij rodarum terre native parcelle dicti tenementi in Berstallfeld que Wilhelmus Kent nuper tenuit sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xviiij^o annorum hoc anno xij^o (sic) ut patet per rotulum curie de anno regni regis iij^o. Et de xiiij d. de eodem Johanne pro firma ij acrarum terre native parcelle dicti tenementi sic dimissarum eidem per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de x d. de Henrico Colsweyn pro firma unius acre et dimidie terre native et unius rode prati parcelle dicti tenementi sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xxj^o annorum hoc anno x^o. Et de vij d. ob. de Ricardo Thurston pro firma unius acre et unius rode terre native parcelle dicti tenementi sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xviiij^o annorum hoc anno xvij^o. Et de viij d. de Nicholao Reymound pro firma unius acre et dimidie terre native parcelle dicti tenementi in Berstallefeld vocatarum le Thonge sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xviiij^o annorum hoc anno xvij^o. Et de iij d. de Roberto Tayllour pro firma iij rodarum terre native parcelle dicti tenementi sic dimissarum eidem Johanni per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de iij d. de Johanne Baroun pro firma dimidie acre terre native parcelle dicti tenementi sic dimisse eidem Johanni per annum ad terminum xxj^o annorum hoc anno xj^o. De firma ij acrarum et dimidie terre native parcelle dicti tenementi nil hoc anno pro defectu conductionis². Et de ij s. de Ricardo Reymound pro firma unius tenementi minoris tenure vocati Beckes quod Wilhelmus Kene prius tenuit per opera sic dimissi eidem Ricardo per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de iij s. de Thoma Vyne pro firma unius

¹ Fallow.² For default of a lessee.

tenementi et v acrarum terre native vocatorum Rauenes que Nicholaus Goodzeer prius tenuit per opera nuper in tenura Alicie Lavender ex concessione Domini tenenda eidem Alicie ad terminum vite sue modo sic dimissorum eidem Thome per annum ad terminum xvij^{dm} annorum hoc anno x^o et solebat dimitti pro v s. Et de iij s. de Wilhelmo Algood pro firma unius mesuagii et iij acrarum terre native vocatorum Coupers tenement que Johannes Milnere nuper tenuit per opera sic dimissorum eidem Wilhelmo et heredibus suis per annum ad eosdem terminos ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno regni regis iij^o. Et de vj s. viij d. de Thoma Martyn pro firma unius mesuagii et vij acrarum terre native cum pertinentiis quondam Henrici Joye que Wilhelmus Arnald nuper tenuit per opera modo sic dimissorum eidem Thome per annum ad terminum xxiiij annorum hoc anno xiiij^o. Et de xvij d. de Domino Johanne Caules rectore pro firma unius crofti continentis j acram terre native cum pertinentiis vocatum Hewlotes Croft quod Wilhelmus Joye nuper tenuit modo sic dimissi eidem Domino Johanni per annum ad terminum xij^{dm} annorum hoc anno et solebat dimitti pro ij s. Et de viij s. vj d. de Wilhelmo Ode pro firma unius tenementi majoris tenure cum pertinentiis quondam Ricardi Buntynge quod Thomas Saman nuper tenuit per opera sic dimissi eidem Wilhelmo per annum pro omnibus serviciis ad terminum xvij^{dm} annorum hoc anno xj^{mo}. Et de iij d. de Johanne Ode pro firma unius acre terre dominice jacentis apud Hungerhul nuper in tenura Johannis Thressher modo sic dimisse eidem Johanni ad terminum vij^{dm} annorum hoc anno x^{mo} (sic). Et de viij d. de eodem Johanne pro firma ij acrarum terre dominice cum pertinentiis parcella dicte pecie sic dimissarum eidem Johanni per annum ad terminum xxj^{dm} annorum hoc anno v^o. Et de iij d. de Johanne Baroun pro firma unius acre terre dominice cum pertinentiis parcella dicte pecie sic dimisse eidem Johanni per annum ad terminum xl^o annorum hoc anno x^o. Et de iij d. de Wilhelmo Togood pro firma unius acre terre dominice cum pertinentiis jacentis apud Smetheshul sic dimisse eidem Wilhelmo et heredibus suis per annum ad eosdem terminos ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno regni regis xix^o. Et de viij s. Nicholao Reymound pro firma unius tenementi majoris tenure cum pertinentiis quondam Nicholai Horsman quod idem Nicholao Reymound prius tenuit per opera sic dimissi eidem Nicholao per annum pro omnibus serviciis natiis ad terminum xij^{dm} annorum hoc anno v^o. Et de iij d. de Wilhelmo Crench pro firma unius acre et unius rode terre dominice jacentium apud Hungerhul sic dimissarum eidem Wilhelmo per annum ad terminum xx^{dm} annorum hoc anno ij^{do}. Et de viij s. de Ricardo Stokwell pro firma unius tenementi et x acrarum warecti de Molond existentium in manu Domini per escaetam causa abjuracionis¹ et felonie quas Wilhelmus Martyn fecit sic dimissorum

¹ A man or woman who had committed felony and taken sanctuary was permitted to make an oath that he or she would leave the realm as soon as possible. Cf. A. Réville in *Revue historique*, l. 1.

eidem Ricardo ultra antiquum redditum et servicia per annum ad terminum xij^{am} annorum hoc anno ij^o. Et de viij a. vj d. de Johanne Ode pro firma unius tenementi majoris tenure continentiis x acras warecti terre native cum pertinenciis que dictus Johannes nuper tenuit per opera sic dimissi eidem et heredibus suis pro omnibus serviciis nativis per annum ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno Regni Regis Henrici Quarti secundo. Et de v s. de Johanne Helder pro firma unius tenementi et v acrarum warecti terre native cum pertinenciis vocatorum Whelers que dictus Johannes nuper tenuit per opera sic dimissorum eidem Johanni per annum ad terminum ij^{am} annorum ut patet per Rotulum Curie hujus anni. Et de xij d. de Nicholao Rediswell pro firma ij acrarum terre dominice in Bandennfeld sic dimissarum eidem Nicholao per annum ad terminum xxiiij^{am} annorum ut patet per Rotulum Curie hujus anni. Et de iiij a. j d. de Ricardo Helder pro firma vij acrarum terre dominice et unius rods et dimidia pasture parcella dicte pecie terre vocate Baylyhul sic dimissarum eidem Ricardo per annum ad terminum xx^{am} annorum ut patet per Rotulum Curie hujus anni. Et de xvij d. de Johanne Frer pro firma ij acrarum iij rodarum terre dominice apud Hirschounshog sic dimissarum eidem Johanni per annum ad terminum vj annorum ut patet per Rotulum Curie hujus anni.

Summa vij li. xij s. ix d. ob.

Opera vendita } Et de iiij a. v d. de ovj operibus yemalibus
} venditis extra precium operis obolus. Et de
ij s. iiij d. de xl operibus autumnalibus venditis extra precium
operis j d. Summa vij s. ix d.

Exitus manerii } Et de vj s. de firma xij gallinarum hoc anno
} pro capite vj d. Et de j d. de xx ovib^{us} gallin-
arum de redditu venditis extra. Et de xvij a. de iiij acris ij rodia
subbosci venditis in ambobus boscis hoc anno pro acra iiij a. Et
de ij d. de spinis venditis in Busswode hoc anno. Et de x a. de
raccinis¹ et crottes querculorum in Busswode venditis hoc anno
in grosso. Et de vj a. de stramine albo vendito diversis hoc anno.
Et de ij s. de stramine pisorum vendito hoc anno. Et de x d. de
stramine vendito bercarie hoc anno. Et de iiij d. de corio unius
vituli de morina vendito extra. Et de l a. vj d. de feno vendito
diversis hoc anno. Et de ij a. iiij d. ob. de ij acris ij rodia warecti
venditis Johanni Frer hoc anno. Et de viij s. j d. de diversis
sepis venditis hoc anno. Et de xx d. de veteri meremio² cujusdam
pistrine³ tenementi Rauenes prostrati per ventam vendito hoc
anno. Et de xiiij d. de ij peciis veteris meremii venditis per
warentum. Et de ij a. de loppis et raccinis meremii prostrati pro
molendinis venditis Johanni Nhote hoc anno. Et de loppis fraxi-
norum⁴ in Rookwode venditis Simoni Warren ij a. Et de vj d.
de ij peciis veteris meremii venditis per warentum. ●

Summa cxij a. vj d. ob. ●

¹ This appears to be a latinised form of the French *racias*, from the low Latin *radicima*. The phrase stands for roots and branches.

² Timber.

³ Bakery.

⁴ Ash-trees.

Perquisita Curie } Et de xxiv s. v d. de j curia tenta ibidem
die Lune proximo ante festum Simonis et
Jude. Et de x s. viij d. de j curia tenta ibidem die Jovis proximo
post festum sancti Hilarii. Et de xxiv s. ix d. de j curia cum
visu tenta ibidem die Sabbati in Vigiliis Transfigurationis. Et
de iiij s. xj d. de j curia tenta ibidem die Lune in festo Sancti
Jacobi. Summa lxiiij s. ix d.

Venditio pasture } Et de ix d. de pastura circa sepes bercharis
vendita Johanni Baroun. Et de ix d. de
pastura circa Milleheg eidem vendita. Et de vj d. de pastura per
sepes circa gardinum eidem vendita. Et de iiij d. de pastura
in La Stonydane vendita. Et de iiij d. de pastura per sepes
exopposito tenemento Johannis Helder eidem vendita. Et de
xvj d. de pastura subtus tenementum Wilhelmi Togood vendita
Johanni Frer hoc anno. Et de xv d. de pastura de La Teenacres
vendita Wilhelmo Thomas hoc anno. Et de vj s. receptis de
pastura in terra frisca¹ tam pro iiij vitulis ablactatis quam pro
bestiis diversis ultra scitum² manerii ibidem pasturandis hoc anno.
De agistamento³ in campo post autumpnum nil hic quia amerciatur
in Rotulo Curie. De pastura apud La Lygh nil causa supradicta
et eiam quia depasta cum bidentibus Domini. De pastura subtus
boscum Prioris nil quia subter et dimittitur ad firmam supra
in titulo firmarum. Et de iij s. iiij d. de pastura apud La Hale
cum una parva pecia terre frisce subtus croftum Roberti Wyse
in eodem campo vendita Domino Johanni Caules rectori hoc anno.
Et de iiij s. de agistamento equorum diversorum in Estwode ven-
dito hoc anno. Summa xvij s. vij d.

Venditio bladi } Et de xlviij s. de ix quarteriis frumenti
venditis extra pro quarterio v s. iiij d. Et de
iiij li. xix s. de xvj quarteriis iiij bussellis frumenti venditis
hospicio Domini extra pro quarterio vj s. Et de xliij s. iij d. de
xij qr. vij bu. pisorum venditis ad diversas precia. Et de xxxj s.
viij d. de ix qr. iiij bu. drageti venditis qr. ad iij s. iiij d. Et de
viij li. vj s. x d. de xlv qr. iiij bu. orde venditis qr. ad iij s. viij d.
Et de iiij li. ij s. de xx qr. iiij bu. orde venditis extra qr. ad iij s.
Et de xxx s. viij d. de xj qr. iiij bu. avene venditis hospicio Domini
apud Waltham quarterium ad ij s. viij d. Et de iiij li. ix s. viij d.
de xxxiij qr. v bu. avene venditis extra quarterium ut supra. Et
de xvij s. de vj qr. avene venditis extra quarterium ad iij s.
Summa xxx l. ix s. j d.

Venditio Stauri } Et de xxxij s. de iiij bovettis venditis extra
mense Octobris pro capite viij s. Et de
xvj s. de ij stottis debilibus venditis extra mense Junij. Et de
iiij s. de xij aucis venditis extra pro capite iiij d. Et de viij s.
iiij d. de xxv caponibus venditis extra pro capite iiij d. Et de
xx d. de x gallinis de redditu venditis extra pro capite ij d.
Summa lxij s.

¹ Waste land.

² The curtilage of the manor-house.

³ The taking in of other people's cattle to graze.

Firma Vaccarum } Et de lxxv s. de firma xv vaccarum ad
 } plenam firmam existentium pro capite v s.
 Summa lxxv s.

Chevagium¹ } Et de xij d. de chevagio Wilhelmi Breustere de
 } Walkerum nativi Domini pro licencia morandi
 extra dominium per annum. Et de vj d. de chevagio Johannis
 Horsman de Mesden nativi Domini pro licencia morandi extra
 dominium per annum. Summa xvij d.

Redditus et recepta forinseci } Et de xl s. de firma de
 } Brunne pertinentes ad istud
 manerium per annum. Et de lx s. de prima escaeta causa felonie
 quam Radulphus Reymound fecit. Et de xxv s. vj d. de parte
 plime escaete causa felonie quam idem Radulphus fecit ut patet
 per Rotulum Curie hujus anni. Et non plus quia diversa staura
 et hospitalimenta² ejusdem escaete apreciata ad lxi s. reservantur
 ad opus Domini.

Summa vj li. v s. vj d.

Venditio super compotum } Et de ix s. j d. de diversis rebus
 } venditis super compotum extra.
 Summa ix s. j d.

Summa totalis receptorum lxxij li. viij s. vij d. ob. q.

Allocaciones et defectus redditus } Inde in defectu redditus
 } tenementi vocati Hacchis
 lond quia in manu Domini et ad firmam per annum terminis
 Andres Annunciationis Beate Marie et Nativitatis Sancti Jo-
 hannis Baptiste xvij d. In defectu redditus tenementi quondam
 Johannis Reymound de Wodestrete per annum ad eosdem ter-
 minos xiiij d. In defectu redditus tenementi quondam Ricardi
 Buntynge per annum ad eosdem terminos xij d. In allocacione
 redditus Johannis Nhote messoris³ pro officio suo per annum ad
 eosdem terminos v s. Summa viij s. viij d.

Custus carectarum } In ferro et ascere⁴ emptis pro ferramento
 } ij carectarumfabricatarum hoc anno viij s.
 vj d. In stipendio fabri pro fabricacione earundem ix s. iiij d. In
 iiij stradeloutis⁵ emptis pro pecia ij d. ob. x d. In iiij Rusteschon⁶
 emptis pro pecia ij d. ix d. In iiij ferris pedatibus emptis xv d.
 In iiij duodenis ferorum equinorum emptis tam pro equis carec-
 tarum quam pro stottis ferrandis hoc anno pro duodena ix d. iiij s.
 In [mille] clavorum equinorum emptorum tam pro dictis ferris
 quam pro veteribus firmandis pro centena iiij d. ij s. vj d. In

¹ A capitation payment, or poll tax.

² Stores and household goods.

³ The hayward, an official who looked after the seed paid by the villans and the sowing, and who had an allowance made in his rent in consequence of discharging these duties. Compare *Fleta*, n. 84.

⁴ Steel.

⁵ Mr Hall informs me that this means a plate of thin iron with which the upper part of the end of the axle was 'clouted' so as to prevent the wheel from wearing it.

⁶ *Rusteschon* is probably old horse-shoes.

stipendio fabri pro impositione et racione dictorum ferrorum ex consuetudine ultra frumentum extra ij s. In stipendio carpentarii tam pro factura novarum carectarum de meremio Domini hoc anno quam pro cooperata exacione carectarum¹ et herciarum² manerii ex consuetudine per annum iij s. vj d. In uno vomere de novo empto ij s. iiii d. Summa xxxiiij s.

Custus carrorum } In unctura empta pro carris iiii d. In
reparandis viij d. In ij reynes de cannabe emptis pro capistris. } dimidio corio dealbato empto pro harnesiis.
[j d.] Summa xij d.

Empcio bladī et stauri } In xxiiij pulcinis emptis pro capont-
bus faciendis pro capite jd. ijs. In }
iiii vitulis emptis de firmario vaccarum ex consuetudine firme sue }
iij s. Summa vj s.

Minuta } In oblatione iij famulorum caruciarum et unius }
carectarii pro die Natalis Domini cujuslibet in }
die ij d. x d. In oblatione eorundem pro die Pasche cujuslibet }
in die ob. ij d. ob. In pergamento empto tam pro Rotulo Curie }
et Extractis quam pro isto Compoto superscribendo xij d. In }
emendacione ij parium cathenarum et serurarum equinarum }
iij d. In stipendio Mauricii Longe facientis x ij clades³ pro falda }
de virgis Domini viij d. In stipendio Johannis Doraunt carpentarii }
de novo facientis unum alveum ligneum et unum presepe }
pro vitulis iij d. In una serura equina cum cathenis⁴ empta vjd. }
Summa iij s. x d. ob.

Custus Domus } In stipendio Mauricii Longe cooperientis }
super longum stabulum ac eciam super stabulum }
carectarum per ij dies [et] dimidium capientis per diem }
iij d. xiiij d. In stipendio Alicie Helder tractantis stramen }
eidem per idem tempus vij d. In stipendio Wilhelmi Joye carpentarii }
vergentis granarium infra per j diem iij d. In spykyngs }
et minutis clavis emptis ad idem vij d.

Summa ij s. vii d.

Custus Molendini et bidentum } In una petra molaris emptis }
pro molendino lx s. In stipendio molendinarii circulantis le trendel⁵ molendini iij d. Solutis }
molendinario cubanti dictam novam petram molarem ex consuetudine }
xij d. In stipendio Wilhelmi Joye carpentarii scalpantis }
meremium pro iij postibus novis una cum impositione unius }
whepe⁶ unius overway ac eciam bordantis latera ex utralibet }
parte molendini ex consuetudine in grosso xiiij s. iij d. In }
spykyngs et clavis emptis pro dictis bordationibus firmandis xiiij d. }
In expensis prepositi et unius molendinarii euntium usque Cantabrigiam }
pro dicta petra molare emenda vjd. In carcacione⁷ dicte

¹ Fitting the axle to the wheels and body of the wain.

² Harrows.

³ Hurdles.

⁴ Dits and reins.

⁵ The sail of a windmill.

⁶ Turning the treadle (Lye).

⁷ Carriage or freight.

petre molaris una cum expensis ipsius prepositi molendinarii famulorum et equorum manerii ac aliorum ad idem auxilium eundo et redeundo omnibus in denariis computans precium avene ut extra ij s. iij d. In j lagena resine empti pro bidentibus ungendis¹ vij d. In una lagena butiri empti ad miscendum cum eodem pro unctura inde habenda vij d.

Summa lxxix s. x d.

Trituratio et vannacio² } In vj qr. iij bu. frumenti triturationis
ad tascham pro qr. iij d. xix d. ob.
In vj qr. avene triturationis ad tascham pro qr. ij d. xij d. In lxx qr. diversorum bladorum tam de trituratione famulorum quam ad tascham vannatis ad tascham pro qr. ob. q^r. iij s. iij d. ob.

Sarculatio et falcatio³ } In bladis Domini sarculandis ultra
opera customariorum et molemen-
norum hoc anno v s. x d. In v acris [et] dimidia herbagii falcandis ad tascham hoc anno pro acra vij d. iij s. vij d. In dicto herbagio spargendo levando et in feno faciendo ut in servis data eisdem customariis et molemennis ultra auxilium famulorum hoc anno iij d. et non plures acra falcate ad tascham quia xxj acra falcate per opera customariorum et molemenorum et non plures pro tenementis que sunt in manu Domini hoc anno. In uno homine conducto ad falcandum cum eisdem customariis et molemennis loco tenentis Raenes quia in manu Domini et ad firmam supra vij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Henrici Joye causa predicta vij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Ricardi Buntynge causa predicta vij d. Et pro tenemento Whelers causa predicta iij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Nicholai Horsman causa predicta iij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Thome Ode causa predicta iij d. et non plures quia faciunt opera sua ut molemenni. Et pro tenemento messoris causa officii sui iij d. De ij d. pro uno tofto cum ij acris dimidia terre de molagio⁴ vocato Claeces existente in manu Domini per sursum reddicionem⁵ Hugonis Blunvyle et Agnetis uxoris sue usque ad plenam etatem heredis nulla allocatio hic quia Mauricius Wodeward facit predictum opus hoc anno. Et sciendum [est] quod Mauricius Wodeward facit predictum alternato anno. De iij d. pro tenemento quondam Wilhelmi Martyn existente in manu Domini causa supradicta nulla allocatio hic nec decetero quia tenementum predictum in manu Domini et ad firmam supra cum operibus suis. In caso empto pro eisdem customariis et molemennis falcantibus in pratis Domini ex consuetudine vij d. In feno predictarum xxj acrorum falcatarum per opera llevando et faciendo nil quia per opera customariorum et molemenorum de consuetudine.

Summa xlij s. ix d.

Custus Autumpni } In ij^o xxx allecium per minus centum
emptis tam pro expensis cij^{us} customario-

¹ For the scab.

² Weeding and mowing.

³ The surrender of a holding into the hands of the lord.

⁴ Threshing and winnowing.

⁵ Molmen's land.

rum et molemnorum venientium quasi per unum diem ad ij siccas precarias¹ in autumpno de consuetudine ut extra quam pro expensis unius messoris unius carectarii iij famulorum carucariorum et unius bercarii quorum oustumarii et molemenni quilibet habebat ij alleces precii quadrantis et predicti vij famuli quilibet similiter habebat ad utramque precariam ij alleces precii quadrantis ex consuetudine ij s. iij d. ob. q^a. In xxix acris dimidia frumenti metendis et ligandis ad tascham pro acra vj d. xiiij s. ix d. In xliij acris dimidia pisorum et avene metendis et ligandis ad tascham pro acra v d. xvij s. j d. ob. In xxj acris dimidia ordeii metendis et ligandis ad tascham pro acra viij d. xiiij s. ij d. In diversis bladis de messoris famulis ligandis ad tascham propter occupacionem carucarii xij d. In expensis famulorum manerii metentium ligantium et colligencium diversa blada ut extra cariantium furcantium ac meiancium blada in grangiam hoc anno prout allocatum est in compoto precedente iij s. iij d. In v paribus ciroticarum septis pro famulis manerii x d. In candelis emptis pro autumpno ij d. In expensis famulorum ad eorum Ripgoos² in fine autumpni xvij d. In stipendio unius Repreve nū hoc anno quia nullum habuerunt. Summa lvj s. iij d. q^a.

Stipendia } In stipendio prepositi per annum xiiij s. iij d.
 } prout allocatum est in compoto precedente. In stipendio firmarii qui est eciam loco unius daye³ per annum iij s. In stipendio clerici scribentis hunc compotum vj s. viij d. In stipendio iij famulorum carucariorum et unius carectarii quolibet capiente per annum xij s. lx s. In stipendio unius bercarii ex consuetudine per annum x s. Et predicti famuli percipient vesturam unius rode frumenti et unius rode pisorum vel avene ex consuetudine ut extra et vocantur cowrodea. Et messor similiter percipiet vesturam unius rode frumenti et unius rode pisorum vel avene. Summa iij li. xij s.

Vadia et annuetales } In vadiis Simonis atte Bowe de Buntynghord per tempus compoti ad ij d. per diem ex concessione Domini ad terminum vite sue pro custodia silvarum et warrannarum ut patet per litteras Domini patentes aliter super compotum ostensas et penes eundem Simonem remanentes Datas apud London x^o die Novembris anno Regni Regis Henrici Quarti ij^o lx s. x d. Et soluti Johanni Harwe de quadam annuetale xl s. per annum eidem Johanni concessa per Dominum Edmundum Ducem Eboracensem et Comitem Cantabrigie ad terminum vite sue percipienda annuatim de Dominio de Brunne pertinente ad istud manerium ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones ut patet per litteras Domini patentes penes eundem Johannem remanentes aliter super compotum ostensas et per litteram Domini de warento preposito directam aliter super com-

¹ Precarias when no beer was allowed. Apparently 'siccas precarias' might fall on dies operabiles and the tenant then was excused from rendering the less valuable service. See below under opera autumpnalis.

² Ripgoos. This may have been the Kern-supper when harvest was over.

³ Dairy woman.

potum ostensam et penes eundem prepositum remanentem Datas ij^o die Aprilis anno regni Regis Ricardi vij^o pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis hoc anno xl a. Et eidem Johanni de quadam annuetate xxxij s. iiij d. per annum eidem Johanni concessa per dictum Dominum ad terminum vite sue percipienda annuatim de hoc manerio ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones ut patet per litteras Domini de warento preposito directas aliter super compotum ostensas et penes eundem prepositum remanentes Datas xxvij die Aprilis anno regni Regis Ricardi xxij^o pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis hoc anno xxxij s. iiij d.

Summa vj li. vij s. vj d.

Expensa senescalli cum feodis } In expensis senescalli curie coronatoris clerici sui et aliorum ibidem existentium ad unam curiam ibidem tentam propter inquisitionem et appreciationem bonorum et catallorum Radulphi Reynound felonis ac etiam quo die dictus Radulphus abjuravit regnum Anglie omnibus computatis in denariis v s. Et soluti senescallo tenenti curiam Domini ibidem pro feodo suo per annum, ex precepto Domini et consilii sui xij s. iiij d.

Summa xvij s. iiij d.

Expensa forensica } In expensis prepositi equitantis apud Waltham ex precepto Petri Mavan senescalli hospicii Domini pro frumento et avena providendis pro dicto hospicio eundo et redeundo per ij vices hoc anno xij d. Et soluti Johanni Child coronatori et clerico suo pro feodis suis existentibus ibidem die quo Radulphus Reynound abjuravit regnum Anglie ut supra v s.

Summa vj s.

Liberatio Domini } Liberatio Henrico Bracy thesaurario hospicii Domini tam in denariis quam victus ultimo die Februarii ut patet per quandam indenturam sigillo ipsius signatam xij li. xij s. iiij d. Et eidem per eandem indenturam x^{mo} die Marcii xj li. vj s. viij d.

Summa xxiiij li. xix s.

Summa omnium expensarum et liberationum xlvij li. xvj s. x d. ob. q^o. Et debet xxiiij li. xj s. ix d. E quibus allocati eidem xj d. pro agistamento unius vituli Raco [?] ibidem. Et eidem xvj d. de rewardo facto servientibus ibidem ad potandum. Et eidem xx d. pro j vitulo anno predicto similiter dissolutos. Summa allocata iij s. xj d. Et sic debet xxiiij li. vij s. x d. quos solutos super compotum Thesaurarii. Et quietus est.

[Back of the Roll.]

Anesty } Exitus grangie ibidem de anno Regni Henrici Quarti primo.

Frumentum } Idem respondit de iiij^o ij qu. j bu. di. mensura rasa de toto exitu grangie ibidem hoc anno ultra vesturam ij rodarum ejusdem exitus liberatam famulis

manerii et messori ex consuetudine anno precedente. Unde triturationis et vannatis ad tascham viij bu. cumulosos vj qr. iiij bu. Et pro cumulo ad idem j bu. di. Et per famulos secundum xxj pro xx lxxv qr. v bu. di. Et pro avantagio ad idem iij qr. vj bu. Et de j bu. frumenti de mutuo novi grani respondit pro liberatione famulorum. Summa iiij^m vj qr. ij bu.

Inde in semine super lxxix acras terre per estimationem seminis in Hooftfeld hoc anno xxiiij qr. vj bu. sic super acram ij bu. di. plus in toto di. bu. per tallagium contra Johannem Nhoté messorum et seminatoreum et prepositum inde factum. In stipendio prepositi per annum capientis per annum j bu. frumenti prout aliter est in compoto precedente vj qr. iiij bu. Et liberati ad mixturam famulorum inferiorum xxv qr. v bu. di. In pane furnato pro expensis customariorum et molemnorum in pratis Domini de consuetudine hoc anno iiij bu. unde fiunt de bussello xj panes et non plures quia non plures customarii qui operantur. In pane furnato pro expensis ej customariorum et molemnorum ultra expensas messorie et famulorum ut infra quasi per unum diem vententium ad ij siccas precarias in Autumpno hoc anno quorum quilibet percipiet j panem unde fiunt de bussello x panes de consuetudine et xv customariorum et molemnorum quilibet percipiet similiter ad vespem j panem ad utramque precariam unde fiunt de bussello xv panes et vocantur Aveloves j qr. v bu. di. In venditione hospicio Domini infra xvj qr. iiij bu. Et pro cumulo ad idem iiij bu. Et venduntur in patriam ix qr. Et pro avantagio ad idem iij bu. di. Datus Februario ex consuetudine ferrure equorum carectarum et stottorum ultra denarios infra j bu. In stipendio unius garcionis spargentis sulcos¹ per ix septimanas ad seasonam frumenti et xl¹ capientis per septimanam di. bu. iiij bu. di. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Pisa } Et de xxiiij qr. vij bu. di. pisorum mensura rasa
respondit de toto exitu grangie ibidem hoc anno unde
triturationis et vannatis per opera mensura rasa xvij qr. ij bu.
Et pro famulis secundum xxj pro xx vij qr. v bu. di. Et pro
avantagio ad idem iij bu. Summa xxv qr. ij bu. di.

Inde in semine super xxix acras terre per estimationem seminis in Northayfeld ix qr. per tallagium contra eundem sic super acram ij bu. di. minus in toto di. bu. Et liberati ad mixturam famulorum inferiorum ij qr. vj bu. di. In venditione infra xij qr. vij bu. Et pro avantagio ad idem v bu.

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Ordeum } Et de lxxvij qr. ordei mensura rasa respondit de
toto exitu grangie ibidem hoc anno. Unde tritu-
rationis et vannatis per opera mensura rasa xx qr. iiij bu. Et per
famulos secundum mensuram supradictam lvij qr. iiij bu. Et
pro avantagio ad idem ij qr. vij bu.

Summa iiij^m qr. vij bu.

¹ Furrows.

Inde in semine super xxij acras dimidiam terre per estimationem seminis in Hoomfeld hoc anno xj qr. vj bu. per tallagium contra eundem sic capiens acra iiij bu. In vendicione infra lxvj qr. Et pro avantagio et cumulo dato ad idem iij qr. j bu.

Dragetum } Et de ix qr. iiij bu. drageti mensura rasa res-
spondit de toto exitu grangie ibidem hoc anno
trituratatis per famulos. Et pro avantagio ad idem iij bu. di.
Summa ix qr. vij bu. di.

Inde in vendicione infra ix qr. iiij bu. Et pro avantagio dato ad idem iij bu. di. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Avent } Et de iiij^{xx} viij qr. ij bu. avens mensura rasa
respondit de toto exitu grangie ibidem hoc anno
ultra vesturam ij rodarum ejusdem exitus liberatam famulis manerij et messori ex consuetudine anno precedenti. Unde trituratatis et vannatis per opera mensura rasa xxxvj qr. v bu. per famulos eadem mensura xl [iiij] qr. v bu. Et pro avantagio secundum ix bu. pro quarterio v qr. iiij bu. Et ad tascham eadem mensura vj qr. Et pro avantagio ad idem vj bu. Et de vj bu. ejusdem exitus per estimationem in lx garbis liberatis pro sustentatione iiij vitulorum ad staurum Domini reservatorum. Et de xv qr. iiij bu. de toto residuo ejusdem exitus per estimationem in mⁱ ij^o xl garbis liberatis equis carectariis et stottis manerij loco sue prebende ut patet per dietam inferius hoc anno. Et de j bu. avens de mutuo novi grani. Summa c^{xx} qr. vij bu.

Inde in semine super iiij^{xx} viij acras dimidiam terre per estimationem seminis in Northayfeld hoc anno xxxij qr. j bu. per tallagium contra eundem sic super acram iij bu. minus in toto di. bu. In farina facta pro potagio famulorum hoc anno j qr. iiij bu. In prebenda ij equorum carectarum a festo Michaelis usque Gulam Augusti per vices prout laborabant per estimationem in cl garbis hoc anno j qr. vij bu. In prebenda xij stottorum ad seasoniam frumenti prout laborabant per estimationem in cc garbis hoc anno ij qr. iiij bu. In prebenda eorundem a xx^o die Januarii usque x^{ma} diem

Maii videlicet per cx noctes per estimationem in viij^o iiij x [i.e. iiij^{xx}] garbis hoc anno xj qr. j bu. capientium qualibet nocte inter se viij garbas plus in toto ij garbas. In sustentatione iiij vitulorum ad staurum Domini reservatorum hoc anno per estimationem in lx garbis eisdem liberatis supra vj bu. In vendicione hospicio Domini infra xj qr. iiij bu. Et pro avantagio ad idem j qr. iiij bu. di. In vendicione in patriam xxxix qr. v bu. Et pro avantagio ad idem secundum ix bu. pro quarterio et xxj qr. pro xx vij qr. di. bu. Liberdi Simoni Waren pro perdicibus ex precepto Thesaurarii Hospicii Domini ij bu. In prebenda stottorum cariantium unam petram molarem pro molendino de Cantabrigia usque Anesty j bu. novi grani. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Multura molendini } Et de vj qr. iiij bu. multure molendini
sic dimissi Ricardo molendinario hoc
anno et non plus propter defectum petre molaris.

Summa vj qr. iiij bu.

Inde liberati ad mixturam famulorum inferius vj qr. ij bu. Et allocati eidem Ricardo molendinario pro tempore quo molendinum quassatum fuit per magnum ventum ac etiam stetit ociosum tempore reparacionis ij bu. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Et de xxv qr. v bu. di. frumenti ij qr. vj bu. di. pisorum vj qr. ij bu. mixture molendini respondit supra pro liberatione famulorum.

Summa xxxiiij qr. vj bu.

Mixtura famulorum } Inde in liberationibus unius carectarii
} iiiij famulorum carucariorum et unius
bercarii per annum quolibet eorum capite per mensem iij bu. unde ij partes frumenti et iiij^o pars mixture molendini, et quum blada molendini desunt j bu. frumenti et ij bu. pisorum mixti loco ejusdem xxix qr. ij bu. In liberatione unius messoris tempore seminis et xl^o et per viij^o septimanas in Autumpno hoc anno capiente ad quamlibet seasoniam vj bu. et in Autumpno vj bu. ex consuetudine ij qr. ij bu. unde ij partes...supra. In liberatione unius firmarii vaccarum qui est etiam in loco unius daye per annum iij qr. ij bu. frumenti capiente j qr. frumenti ad xv septimanas. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Seminantur ibidem cum diversis generibus bladorum hoc anno supra cccx acre. Summa cccx acre.

Acre seminate } Inde in liberationibus famulorum manerii ex
} consuetudine pro firma unius vacce pro eis
conducte pro lacte inde habenda vestura j rode frumenti et j rode avene hoc anno et vocantur cowroda. Et liberata messori pro sotulis¹ suis in autumpno ex consuetudine vestura unius rode frumenti et j rode avene hoc [anno] et vocantur Veewrod. Et metebantur per opera Autumpnalia inferius xxxij acre per precarias siccas lxxvij acre pro denariis infra iiiij^o x... acre di. Et per famulos xxiiij acre di. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Equi car- } Et de ij equis carectarum de remanentibus. Summa
eclarum } ij. Et remanent ij equi carectarum.

Stotti } Et de xij stottis de remanentibus. Et de iiiij prove-
} nientibus per escacetam causa felonie quam Radulphus
Reymound fecit ut patet per Rotulum Curie. Summa xvj.

Inde in vendicione infra mensem Junii. Et liberati Johanni Ode ex precepto Auditoris.

Summa ij. Et remanent xij stotti.

Taurus } Et de j tauro de remanente. Summa j. Et remanet
} j taurus.

Vacce } Et de xv vaccis de remanentibus. Summa xv. Et
} remanent xv vacce.

Bovettis et juvence } Et de iiiij bovetis de remanentibus.
} Et de ij juvenis de adjuccione
juvencularum inferius. Summa vij.

¹ A plainly written but unintelligible word; sotulis is a tempting emendation.

Inde in vendicione infra mensem Octobris iiij bovetti.
Summa iiij. Et remanent iij juvence.

Boviculi et juvencule } Et de iij juvenculis de remanentibus.
} Et de j boviculo et iij juvenculis de ad-
junctione vitulorum annalium inferius. Summa vj.

Inde in adjunctione cum juvencis supra iij juvencule. Summa
iij. Et remanent j boviculus et iij juvencule.

Vituli de exitu } Et de iiij vitulis de remanentibus. Et de
} iiij vitulis de exitu emptis de firmario vac-
carum ex consuetudine firme sue. Summa viij.

Inde in adjunctione cum boviculis et juvenculis supra j
vitulus mas et iij femine. In morina¹ mense Octobris ut patet
per Rotulum Curie j vitulus mas.

Summa iiij. Et remanent iiij vituli quorum ij mas (sic) et iij
femine.

Coria cruda } Et de corio unius vituli de morina supra.
} Summa j. Et venditur iufra. Et nil remanet.

Auce } Et de jauce (sic) et iij aucis maribus de remanentibus.
} De iiij aucis de redditu ad Gulam Augusti nil hic
quia tenebantur in manu Domini et ad firmam ut patet in titulo
firmarum infra. Et de xv auculis de exitu dictarum iij auucarum
marium per annum ex certa consuetudine facta per Dominum
Rogerum de Wylesham cum firmario vaccarum.

Summa xix.

Inde in decimis data j. In expensis famulorum ad eorum
Ripgoos in fine Autumpni ij. In vendicione infra xij.

Summa xv. Et remanent jauce et iijauce mares.

Capones } Et de xxiiij caponibus de remanentibus. Et de
} xxiiij caponibus de factura pulcinorum interius
emptorum hoc anno. Et de ij caponibus de redditu ad terminum
Pasche. Summa l.

Inde in defectu redditus tenementi quondam Nicholai Horsa-
man quia in manu Domini et ad firmam j capo. In vendicione
infra xxv. Summa xxvj. Et remanent xxiiij capones.

Galli et galline } Et de j gallo et xij gallinis de remanentibus.
} Et de j gallo et xvj gallinis de redditu
customariorum ad Natale Domini. Summa xxx.

Inde in defectu tenementi redditus quondam Johannis Rey-
mound de Wodestrete tenementi Hacchisound tenementi quondam
Johannis Breustre et tenementi quondam Wilhelmi Longe quod
Wilhelmus Dauwe nuper tenuit et reliquit quia ad firmam iiij
galline. In defectu tenementi vocati Claces tenementi vocati
Buntynggs et tenementi quondam Nicholai Horman iij galline.
In vendicione x. Summa xvij. Et remanent j gallus et xij
galline.

¹ Murrain.

Ova } De exitu gallinarum nil hic quia galline ad firmam.
 } Sed de iiiij^{ss} xv ovis de reddito customariorum ad
 festum Pasche. Summa iiiij^{ss} xv ova.

Inde in defectu redditus tenementi vocati Hacchislond xv ova
 tenementi quondam Johannis Reymound de Wodestrete tenementi
 quondam Johannis Breustere tenementi vocati Buntynggs tene-
 menti quondam Nicholai Horsman et tenementi quondam Thome
 Ode causa supradicta l ova pro quolibet tenemento x ova. Et
 pro tenemento quondam Wilhelmi Longe et tenemento vocato
 Claces x ova pro utroque tenemento v ova. In vendicione infra
 xx ova. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Pulcini } De pulcinis de exitu gallinarum nil hic quia galline
 } ad firmam infra. Sed de xxiiij pulcinis de emptis
 infra.

Summa xxiiij. Et fiunt in capones. Et nil remanet.

Cyncibrum } Et de j uncia cyncibri de reddito ad terminum
 } Sancti Michaelis.

• Summa j uncia. Et liberata auditori super compotum. Et
 nil remanet.

Fenum } Et de feno xj prati de remanente. Et de feno
 } xxvij acararum di. prati de exitu pratorum ad opus
 Domini falcate hoc anno unde in Selkemeed vij acre di. et in
 Hoommed xxj acre. Summa feni xxxix acre di.

Inde in decimis datum fenum ij acararum iij rodarum prati.
 In expensis equorum carucarum [et] stottorum manerii equorum
 charectarum equorum senescalli equorum auditoris et aliorum
 de consilio Domini ibidem superveniencium hoc anno x acararum.
 In vendicione infra fenum xvj acararum di. In vendicione super
 compotum fenum iij acararum prati pro [ix s. j d. in margin].

Summa feni xxxij acararum j rode. Et remanet fenum vij
 acararum j rode prati.

Et de ij^{ss} iiiij^o lxxiiij operibus yemalibus provenientibus de
 xxvij customariis inter festum Michaelis et Gulam Augusti
 videlicet per xliij septimanas et iij dies quorum vj customarii
 quilibet faciens per septimanam iij opera per dies Lune Mercurii
 et Veneris xvij customarii quilibet faciens per septimanam ij
 opera scilicet per dies Lune et Veneris et v customarii quilibet
 faciens per septimanam j opus videlicet per diem Lune.

Summa ij^{ss} iiiij^o lxxiiij opera.

Opera yemalia precium operis ob. } Inde in delectu operum
 } vj majorum customa-
 riorum videlicet tenementi vocati Hacchislond tenementi quondam
 Johannis Reymound de Wodestrete tenementi quondam Johannis
 Breustere tenementi vocati Buntynggs tenementi quondam Nicholai
 Horsman et tenementi quondam Thome Ode quia in manu
 Domini et ad firmam quorum quilibet facit per septimanam
 iij opera Dec iiiij^{ss} opera pro quolibet tenemento per tempus

predictum cxxx opera. In defectu operum xij tenentium ij^o tenure *videlicet* tenementi quondam Alicie Milward modo dimissi Roberto Tryndeleygh tenementi Andreux modo [dimissi] Mauricio Longe tenementi Verdons modo dimissi Mauricio Wodeward tenementi Roberti le Reue modo dimissi Johanni Longe tenementi Ratelers [modo] dimissi Johanni Parlebien et Wilhelmo Thomas tenementi quondam Ricardi filii Alicie Gayler modo dimissi Johanni Ode tenementi Ruddexs modo dimissi Petro Phippe tenementi Longes modo dimissi Ricardo Andrew tenementi Oldeandreux modo dimissi Johanni Ballard tenementi Claces modo dimissi Mauricio Sothman tenementi quondam Henrici Joye modo dimissi Thome Martyn et tenementi vocati Whelers modo dimissi Johanni Helder [quia] in manu Domini et ad firmam infra m^l xliiij opera pro quolibet tenemento per tempus predictum iiij^{ta} vij opera. In defectu operum unius tofti [mi]noris tenure quondam Nicholai Crowe quia in manu Domini et ad firmam xliij^o opera per septimanam j opus. In defectu operum unius acre terre vocate Ethonsacre causa predicta xliij opera per septimanam j opus. In defectu operum unius tenementi ejusdem tenure vocati Becbes quod Wilhelmus Kene nuper tenuit per opus modo dimissi Ricardo Reymound et ad firmam xliij opera per septimanam j opus. In defectu operum alterius tenementi ejusdem tenure vocati Coupers tenement quod Johannes Milners nuper tenuit per opera modo dimissi per senescallum Wilhelmo Algood pro iij s. per annum pro omnibus serviciis ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno Regis Ricardi iij^o xliij opera per septimanam j opus. In defectu operum unius acre terre ejusdem tenure vocate Howliscroft quod Thomas Ode nuper tenuit per opera modo dimisse per senescallum Domino Johanni Caules rectori pro xvij d. per annum pro omnibus serviciis ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno Regis Henrici Quarti primo xliij opera per septimanam j opus. In defectu operum unius tenementi ij^o tenure vocati Rauenes quondam Alicie Lavender modo dimissi per senescallum Thome Vyne per iij s. per annum [pro] omnibus serviciis ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno Regis Ricardi xv^o iiij^{ta} vij opera per septimanam ij opera. In allocatione medietatis operum unius tenementi...tenure quondam Mauricii Howe quod Thomas Parker tenet per opus ex consuetudine stipendii sui hoc anno xxxv opera per septimanam ij opera. In allocatione operum iij minorum customariorum reinanentium ad operandum per iij septimanas festivas *videlicet* Natalis Pasche et Pentecostes in quibus non operantur xxiiij opera pro quolibet customario per septimanam ij opera. In allocatione operum dictorum iij customariorum pro ix diebus festiuis accidentibus super dies suos...*videlicet* Lucae.

Luca
Luca
Veneris
Veneris
Luca

Omnium Sanctorum Nicholai Annunciationis Parasceues Marii ;
Veneris
Veneris
Luca

Baptiste Magdalene Jacobi xxxvj opera cujlibet customarii pro...die festivo j opus. In allocatione operum dictorum iij customariorum falcanitium in pratis Domini preter consuetudinem

molemennorum iiij opera cujlibet eorum j opus. In allocatione operum pro eorum averagio nil hoc anno quia nulla fecerunt. In xvij qr. ij bu. pisorum xx qr. iiij bu. ordeï trituras et vannatis per opera costumariorum ut supra c opera pro singulis ij bu. j opus. In xxxvij qr. v bu. avene trituras et vannatis per opera ut supra xliij opera pro singulis vij bu. j opus. In venditione infra cvj opera. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Arrure precium operis iiij d. } Et de xvj operibus arrure
 } provenientibus de custumariis et molemennis cum viij carucis suis junctis hoc anno ad seasonis frumenti et xl. Et de vij operibus arrure provenientibus de eisdem custumariis et molemennis cum vij carucis suis junctis ad seisoniam warectationis. Et sciendum quod quilibet habens carucam per se vel junctam arabit di. acram ad quantilibet, seisoniam pro operibus suis precium operis iiij d.

Summa xxij opera. Et expenduntur in terra Domini arranda et warectanda. Et nil remanet.

Opera sarculationis } Et de xxvij operibus sarculationis pro-
 } venientibus per dimidium diem de liij custumariis et molemennis quorum quilibet de xxxvij custumariis et molemennis predictis quilibet facit ij opera j molemennis facit ij opera et quilibet de xv custumariis et molemennis predictis facit j opus. Summa cxxvij opera.

Inde in allocatione operum messoris pro officio suo iiij opera. In allocatione operum xix tenementorum costumariorum in manu Domini et ad fir[mam] titulo operum yemalium lvij opera pro quolibet tenemento iiij opera. In defectu operum v tenementorum minoris tenure videlicet tenementi Beckes [quod Ricardus] Reymoufid tenet tenementi vocati Coupers tenementi quod Wilhelmus Algood tenet unius acre terre vocate Ethonsacre unius tofti cum j acra terre adjacente quondam Nicholai Crowe unius crofti continentis j acram terre vocati Howlotes Croft causa predicta v opera pro quolibet tenemento j opus. De ij operibus pro uno tofto cum ij acris di. terre de Malagio vocato Claces existente in manu Domini per sursum reddicionem Hugonis Blunvyle et Agnetis uxoris sue usque ad plenam etatem heredis nil allocatur hoc anno quia Mauricius Wodeward facit predicta opera. Et sciendum quod Mauricius Wodeward facit predicta opera alternato anno. De ij operibus pro uno tenemento de Malagio existente in manu Domini per escaetam causa felonis quam Wilhelmus Martyn fecit nil hic nec decetero quia tenementum predictum in manu Domini et ad firmam cum operibus et custumis suis. In bladis Domini sarculandis hoc anno lxij opera.

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Et de viij^o iiij^o vj operibus autumpnalibus provenientibus de xxvij custumariis inter Gulam Augusti accidentem die Lune hoc anno et festum Michaelis accidentem die Jovis hoc anno scilicet per viij^o septimanas et ij dies quorum vj de predictis custumariis

quilibet faciens per septimanam v opera scilicet per dies Lune Martis Mercurii Jovis et Veneris xvij de customariis predictis quilibet faciens per septimanam iij opera videlicet per dies Lune Martis Mercurii et Veneris ij de customariis predictis quilibet faciens per septimanam ij opera videlicet per dies Lune et Veneris et iij de customariis predictis quilibet faciens per septimanam j opus videlicet per diem Lune.

Summa viij^o iij^{xx} vj opera.

Opera autumpnalis precium operis j d. } Inde in defectu
 } operum vj majo-
 rum customariorum videlicet tenementi Hacchislonde tenementi
 Johannis Reymound de Wodestrete tenementi quondam Johannis
 Breustere tenementi Buntynngs tenementi quondam Nicholai
 Horsman et tenementi quondam Thome Ode quia in manu Domini
 et ad firmam] infra pro quolibet tenemento per septimanam v
 opera ij^o lij opera. In defectu operum xij tenementorum ij^o
 tenure videlicet tenementi quondam Milward tenementi Andreux
 tenementi Verdons tenementi Roberti le Reue tenementi Ratelers
 tenementi quondam Ricardi filii Alicie Gayller tenementi Ruddoxs
 tenementi Longes tenementi Oldandreux tenementi Claces tene-
 menti quondam Henrici Joye tenementi Ravenes et tenementi
 Whelers quia in manu domini et ad firmam pro quolibet tene-
 mento per septimanam iij opera iij^o xlij opera. In defectu
 operum ij tenementorum minoris tenure videlicet tenementi vocati
 Coupers Tenement et tenementi vocati Beckes causa predicta pro
 quolibet tenemento per septimanam ij opera xxxij opera. In
 defectu operum unius acre terre vocata Ethonsacre causa predicta
 vij opera per septimanam j opus. Et pro uno tofto cum j acra
 terre adjacente quondam Nicholai Crowe vij opera per septima-
 nam j opus. Et pro uno crofto continente j acrum terre vocato
 Howlotes Croft causa predicta vij opera per septimanam j opus.
 In allocatione operum [quatuor customariorum] adhuc operan-
 cium pro vj diebus festiuis accidentibus super dies suos operabiles
 hoc anno videlicet ^{Mercurii} Laurentii ^{Jovis} Assumpcionis ^{Mercurii} Bartholomei Exal-
 tacionis et Matthei xxiiij opera cujuslibet pro quolibet die festivo j
 opus. In allocatione operum dictorum iij customariorum pro ij
 siccis precariis accidentibus super dies suos operabiles hoc anno
 vij opera cujuslibet pro qualibet precaria j opus. In xxxij acris
 diversorum bladorum metendis colligendis adjuvandis et ligandis
 pro opera hoc anno lxiiij opera sic capiendae acram per extantam ij
 opera. In vendicione infra xl opera.

Summa que supra. Et equa.

Et de C iij^{xx} j precariis siccis provenientibus de lvij custo-
 mariis et molemennis ad ij siccas precarias in Autumno quorum
 xxxij customarii et molemenni quilibet faciens iij precarias xvj
 customarii et molemenni quilibet faciens ij precarias et v custo-
 marii et molemenni quilibet faciens j precariam.

Summa C iij^{xx} j precarie.

Inde in allocatione operum messoris pro officio suo iiii precariis. In allocatione operum xix tenementorum tam majorum quam minorum in manu Domini existencium et ad firmam infra lxxj opera pro quolibet tenemento iiii precarie et non plures quia tenens Breusters facit precarias suas tenens Horsinans et tenementi quondam Thome Ode et tenens Whelers ut molemenni. In defectu operum unius tenementi minoris tenens vocati Beckes quod [Ricardus] Reymound tenet causa predicta ij precarie. Et pro uno tenemento vocato Coupers Tenement quod Wilhelmus Algood tenet causa predicta [ii precarie]. Et pro una acra terre vocata Ethonissacre causa predicta ij precarie. Et pro uno tofto continente j acram terre adjacentem quondam Nicholai Crowe causa predicta ij precarie. Et pro uno crofto continente j acram terre vocato Howlotes Croft causa predicta ij precarie. De j precaria pro uno tofto cum ij acris di. terre de molagio vocato Claces existente in manu Domini per sursum reddicionem Hugonis Blunvyle et Agnetis uxoris sue ut supra nil allocatur hoc anno quia Mauricius Wodeward facit predictam precariam. Et sciendum quod Mauricius Wodeward facit predictam precariam alternato anno. De iiii precariis pro uno tenemento de Molagio existente in manu Domini per escaetum causa felonis quam Wilhelmus Martyn fecit nil allocatur hic nec decetero quia tenementum predictum in manu Domini et ad firmam cum operibus et custumis suis. In lxxvij acris diversorum bladorum supra metendis colligendis adjuvandis et ligandis per precarias siccas hoc anno cj precarie pro singulis ij acris metendis et ligandis iij precarie plus in toto j precaria. Summa que supra. Et eque.

III. COURT ROLLS.

The following entries are taken from the records of the court at Winslow in Buckinghamshire; it was a manor belonging to the Abbey at S. Albans, and the records are preserved for a portion of the reigns of Edward III. and Henry VI. in a handsome volume in the Cambridge University Library, Dd. vii. 22.

The longer portions selected are the entries for the hamlet of Granborough in three distinct courts; one in the year before the Black Death, another in the year of the Black Death, and another in the time of Henry VI. The spring court in 1349 dealt with an enormous number of holdings vacated by deaths in that year, though Granborough seems to have suffered much less than the other hamlets in the manor; an extract from the record of the autumn court suffices for purposes of illustration.

The last entry is a memorandum appended to a letting of the lands for rents in 1347. It is instructive as showing an attempt to maintain the collective responsibility of the villagers, so that no individual need be allowed to get into arrears.

1. *HALIMOTUM DE WYNSELOWE DIE LUNE PROXIMA ANTE FESTUM SANCTI LUCE EVANGELISTE ANNO XXIJ^o. J. BYNHEAM¹.*

Greneburg¹.

Johannes le Longe reddidit sursum in manus domini dimidiam acram terre cum pertinentibus iuxta terram Walteri Taillour¹ apud le Redebede. Et dominus concessit predictam terram cum pertinentibus Waltero Gefes tenendam sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per seruicia inde debita et consueta. Et dat de fine ij s. Et fecit fidelitatem, &c.

Johannes de Longe reddidit sursum in manus domini dimidiam acram terre cum pertinentibus iacentem super le Mellehulle iuxta terram dominicam. Et dominus concessit predictam terram cum pertinentibus Isabelle Elyot tenendam sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per seruicia inde debita et consueta. Et dat de fine ij s. Et fecit fidelitatem, &c.

Walterus Perkynes reddidit sursum in manus domini dimidiam acram terre cum pertinentibus iacentem in Blakewelleforlong quam Rosia Adam tenet ad terminum vite. Et dominus concessit predictam terram Johanni Hore tenendam sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per seruicia inde debita et consueta. Et dat de fine ij s. Et fecit fidelitatem. Et est forma talis videlicet quod dictus Johannes Hore habebit vnam dimidiam acram super hidehulle ad terminum vite supradicte Rosie et post decessum dicte Rosie ad supradictum Walterum reuertatur &c.

Radulphus Henries habet licenciam ponendi Galfridum filium suum ad scolas clericales. Et dat de fine xii d.

Walterus Taillour¹ reddidit sursum in manus domini dimidiam acram terre cum pertinentibus iacentem super Astonehulle quam prius cepit de terris dominicis iuxta terram dicti Walteri. Et dominus concessit predictam terram cum pertinentibus Petro filio Eue Rolfes tenendam sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per seruicia inde debita et consueta. Et dat de fine vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem &c.

Johannes Hughprest et alicia vxor eius examinata reddiderunt sursum in manus domini vnum cotagium cum curtilagio adiacente iuxta tenementum Johannis le warde et tres dimidias acras terre vnde vna dimidia iacet in le Clayforlong iuxta terram Johannis Peres et alia dimidia acra iacet super le Langelond iuxta terram Johannis Horewode et alia dimidia acra iacet super Eldelays iuxta terram Willelmi Ponteys. Et dominus concessit dictum cotagium cum curtilagio et terra Johanni Hughprest et Alicie vxori eius ad terminum vite eorum. Et post decessum predictorum Johannis et Alicie predicta cotagia cum curtilagio et terra cum suis pertinentibus remaneant Elene filie predictorum Johannis et Alicie ad terminum vite sue. Et post decessum dicte Eleue

¹ f. 48 b.

predicta tenementa remaneant heredibus predictorum Johannis et Alicie tenenda de domino in villenagio et ad voluntatem per virgam¹ per seruicia et consuetudines debita et consueta. Et dat de fine v s. Et fecit fidelitatem &c.

Elena atte halle per licentiam domini dimisit Johanni Martyn duas acras terre ad terminum xl. annorum proxime sequentium post datum istius Curie, sicut iacent super Costouwe iuxta terram Johannis Pieres. Et dat domino pro termino habendo² iij s. iiij d.

2. HALIMOTUM DE WYNSELOWE DIE LUNE PROXIMA POST FESTUM SANCTI DIONISII ANNO XXIIJ^o. AD WITTENHAM.

Greneburgh³.

Willelmus Houprest mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum Mesuagium et dimidiam virgate terre cuius herietum vnus bos precii ijs. Et Johannes filius eius est proximus heres etatis iij annorum. Et ratione minoris etatis commissa est custodia terre et heredis Johanni attewelle tenenda usque ad legitimam etatem heredis per virgam faciendo seruicia et consuetudinea. finis condonatur propter paupertatem. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Johannes Clerk mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum Mesuagium et vnam virgatam terre cuius herietum vnus bos precii iij s. iiij d. Et super hoc venit Anabilia que fuit vxor dicti Johannis et clamat habere coniunctum statum in dicto Mesuagio et terra. Et super hoc vocat recordum Rotulorum. Et habet diem usque ad proximum.

Johannes Longe mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum Mesuagium et v acras terre cuius herietum j Iuencus precii viij d. Et Willelmus filius eius est proximus heres qui venit et gersumauit⁴ dictum Mesuagium et terram tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio per virgam ad voluntatem domini per seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine xij d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Willelmus Horewod mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnam acram et dimidiam terre cuius herietum vna ouis precii iij d. Et remanent in manus domini pro defectu heredis.

Emma Clerkes mortua est que tenuit de domino vnam acram terre cuius herietum vnus bouiculus precii xvij d. Et remanent in manus domini.

Willelmus Carpenter mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum cotagium et duas acras terre cuius herietum vna ouis precii iij d. Et remanent in manus domini.

Willelmus Wengraue mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum cotagium et duas acras terre cuius herietum vna ouis precii iij d. Et Ricardus filius Ricardi Wengraue est proximus heres.

¹ The formal entry on a villain's holding.

² For having a lease for a term of years.

³ f. 53 b.

⁴ Gersuma, a fine paid on completing an agreement. See above, p. 530 n. 4.

Johannes Hobbes mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum cotagium et iij^{ac} acras terre cuius herietum vna ouis precii iij d. Et dominus concessit dictum cotagium et terram Isabelle Hobbes tenenda ad terminum vite faciendo seruicia et consuetudines sine vasto salvo iure cuiuslibet. Et dat de fine xii d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Matilda Hobbes mortua est que tenuit de domino vnum cotagium et tres rodas terre cuius herietum vna ouis precii ij d. Et Johannes filius Johannis Hobbes est proximus heres etatis vij annorum. Et ratione minoris etatis dominus concessit custodiam cotagii terre et heredis Isabelle Hobbes tenendam usque ad legitimam etatem heredis in villenagio faciendo seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat pro custodia habenda vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Alicia Hobbes mortua est que tenuit de domino dimidiam acram terre cuius herietum vna ouis precii ij d. Et Johannes filius Jphannis Hobbes etatis vij annorum est proximus heres. Et ratione minoris etatis dominus concessit custodiam terre et heredis Isabelle Hobbes tenendam usque ad legitimam etatem heredis faciendo seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat pro custodia habenda vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Johannes Hore mortuus est qui tenuit de domino dimidiam acram terre cuius herietum vnus vitulus precii liij d. Et Johanna soror dicti Johannis est proximus heres. que venit et gersummauit dictam terram tenendam sibi et suis in villenagio ad voluntatem per seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Radulfus Gefes reddidit sursum in manus domini vnum cotagium et dominus concessit dictum cotagium Johanni Reynald clerico de Greneburgh tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per virgam faciendo seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine xii d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Radulfus filius Walteri Norton reddidit sursum in manus domini vnum cotagium continentem in longitudine xvj pedes et in latitudine xij pedes cum curtilagio adiacente. Et dominus concessit dictum cotagium cum curtilagio Willemo Wyth tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio faciendo seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine xii d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Johannes filius Radulphi Rolfes mortuus est qui tenuit de domino vnum Mesuagium et vnam virgatam terre cuius herietum vnus bos precii iij s. Et Juliana Rolfes amita dicti Johannis est proximus heres que venit et gersummauit dictum Mesuagium et terram tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio ad voluntatem domini per seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine x s.

Juliana Rolfes reddidit sursum in manus domini vnum Mesuagium et vnam virgatam terre cuius herietum vna cista precii ij d. Et dominus concessit Radulpho Gefes dictum Mesuagium tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per

virgam per seruicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine xx s. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Tastatores ceruisie presentant quod braciatrices fregerunt assisam, ideo in misericordia vij d.

Radulphus de Norton dat domino vj d ad inquirendum de iure suo de vna acra terre.

Johannes Reynald dat domino vj d ut inquiretur de iure suo de vno cotagio et dimidia acra terre.

Radulphus filius Rosie Adam dat domino pro licencia se maritandi xij d.

Willelmus Scot debet sectam et facit defaultam, ideoq in misericordia iij d.

3. HALIMOTUM TENTUM IBIDEM DIE LUNE PROXIMA POST FESTUM ASSENCIONIS DOMINI ANNO REGNI REGIS HENRICI SEXTI QUINTO.

Greneburgh¹.

Jurati presentant quod Johannes Ostage debet sectam et facit defaultam, ideo ipse in misericordia.

Item dicunt quod Ricardus Harry et Walterus Harry apud Swanburn Thomas Deye et Willelmus filius suus ibidem sunt natiui et fugitui ideo &c.

Preceptum est Roberto Jaun firmario manerii de Byggyng quod dstringat Galfridum Kyng filium Radulfi Kyng per omnia bona et catalla sua vbicunque infra domum fuerint inuenta ad soluendum et satisfaciendum alie' wyght de Greneburgh quendam annuum redditum eidem alicie debitum, videlicet iij s per annum pro quadam clausura vocata Colettisclose. quociens et quando dictus galfridus in solucione dicti redditus defecerit, quod preceptum est, dictus Robertus dictum Galfridum dstringat de die in diem et districta capta retinere quousque dictus redditus cum arreragijs, sique fuerunt, eidem et alicie plenam fuerit satisfactionem &c.

Dominus concessit Radulpho eyre sex dimidias acras terre cum j laye, iacent super Swynehulle extendentes vsque molendinum de Greneburgh. Tenenda sibi et suis a dato istius Curie vsque ad finem lx annorum proxime sequentium completorum in villenagio ad voluntatem domini per Reddendo inde annuatim vj pro omnibus seruicijs et sectis Curie. Et dat de fine j caponem.

Walterus Herry sursum reddidit in manus domini vnum mesuagium et quinque acras et dimidiam terre quondam Johannis Elyot et Alicie vxoris eius vnde dictum cotagium situm est inter tenementum Radulphi wengraue et suoweslane, vna acra et dimidia iacet inter culturam vocatam Millehulle in duabus parcellis. J acra iacet super longcroft et dimidia acra iacet super Middulfurlong et altera dimidia acra est quadam forera² iacens super

¹ f. 10 h.

² Forera; a headland or transverse portion at the end of a field; see Seebolum, Village Community, 4.

Wydepoleshulle. vna acra iacet apud Blakewelle hegge in ij parcellis et dimidia acra iacet apud almondesmede et alia dimidia acra subtus molendinum domini cuius herietum in pecunia iij s. iij d: et dominus concessit dictum cotagium et terram cum pertinentibus Roberto Cawode Tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio ad voluntatem domini per seruicia &c. Et dat domino de fine vj s. viij d &c.

Testamentum Johannis wattes probatum est coram fratre Roberto Onnesby Cellario et commissario in hac parte, cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba. In dei nomine Amen. Ego Johanna [sic] wattes compos mentis anno domini millesimo ccccxxvij^o condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cimiterio sancti Johannis Baptiste de Greneburgh. Item monachis sancti albani xij d. Item vicario de Greneburgh xij d. Item Clerico eiusdem ecclesie iij d. Item iij luminibus eiusdem ecclesie dimidium quarterium brassi. Item ecclesie de wynges xij d. Item agn' lary vnam ollam eneam, potellum et cistam et j coopertorium et j, parcellem linthee. Item Margerie lary j ollam eneam, potellum et cistam. Item fratribus de Aylesbury xij d. Item Willelmo Childe filio meo spiritali j bussellum brassi. Et de residuo honorum meorum non legato constituo Johannem Gefes meum executorem vt ipse disponat bona mea cum adiutorio Johannis Boueton meliore modo quo sciverint deo placere pro anima mea et inde prestet sacramentum in forma iuris.

C. MUNICIPAL LIFE.

I HAVE here grouped several documents which illustrate the rights of burgesses, the trade policy they pursued, and the privileges they desired to possess.

I. CHARTER OF COVENTRY. This Charter was granted by the Earl of Chester to Coventry, and the privileges were subsequently confirmed by Henry II. It has been printed from a transcript in Trinity College Library, *Oo*, 2, 20, which I have corrected, with the kind assistance of the Town Clerk of Coventry, from the original; this is in the possession of the corporation of Coventry and is in beautiful preservation.

It is chiefly instructive because it shows us a city with a good deal of self-government, while there is no mention of a gild, or grant of the right to have a gild; we hear of this right in 1268, as a matter which was then in dispute (Gross, *Gild Merchant*, II. 48). There was a portmanmote, and foreign merchants might be introduced as comburgenses, but these things might exist without any gild merchant. The Coventry Gild Merchant obtained a charter in 1340 and came to be a very important body in the later history of the city, but it does not appear to have been an important element in its earliest municipal life.

¶ *Ranulphus Comes Cestrie omnibus Baronibus, et Constabulariis, et Ballivis, et ministris, et hominibus et amicis suis francis et anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem.*

Sciatis me Burgensibus meis de Covintrie concessisse et dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse omnia que in presenti carta scripta sunt, videlicet ut bene et honorifice et quiete et in libero burgagio teneant predicti burgenses et heredes sui de me et de heredibus meis, sicut unquam in tempore patris mei vel aliorum antecessorum meorum melius et firmiter et liberius tenuerunt. Omnes autem liberas et bonas leges illis concedo quas burgenses Lincolnie meliores et liberiores habent. Prohibeo et defendo constabulariis meis ne eos aliqua causa in castellum ad placitum ducant sed portnotum suum libere habeant. In quo omnia placita ad me et ad illos pertinentia iuste tractentur. Quemlibet autem ex semet-ipsis pro me eligant qui sub me super eos iusticia sit, qui leges et consuetudines sciat, et eos meo consilio in omnibus rationabiliter omni causa remota custodiat et mihi jura mea fideliter faciat. Si forte aliquis in misericordiam meam inciderit merciatius sit rationabiliter per ballivum meum et fideles burgenses curie. Quoscumque autem mercatores secum ad ville emendationem adduxerint, precipio ut pacem habeant, et nullus eis injuriam faciat vel injuste eos in curiam mittat. Si vero aliquis extraneus mercator aliquid inconveniens in villa fecerit in portmoto coram iusticia supra dicta sine causa illud dirigat. His testibus, &c.

II. CUSTOMS OF LONDON. These are taken from the same vol. (Add. 14,252) as the Assize of Bread printed in Appendix A. They date from the twelfth century and may of course be earlier, so far as a great part of their contents is concerned. The first extract refers to the position of foreign merchants; and the next to a levy of a fifth on moveables. As the London customs were given to Oxford and many other affiliated towns, they are of greater interest and importance than those of later date or of smaller places.

QUEDAM CIVITATIS CONSUETUDINES SIVE LIBERTATES.

6. Si quis forensis hominem civitatis implicaverit non poterit comprobare eum per forenses nisi alter de civitate sit. Et si homo civitatis forenses implicaverit qui [de] civitate non sit, necque in ea terram habeat, cum testibus eum probare non poterit nisi alter sit de comitatu in quo manet.

11. Mercator foraneus ubi voluerit in civitate hospitetur, sed ad decisionem mercem suas non vendat. Si fusco tinctum¹ attulerit, vel cordewan non minus quam duodenam simul vendat. Pannos de serico vel lana vel lino integros vendat. De cera non minus quam unum quarterium. Foraneus mercator nequit pannum macidum emere vel tincturam facere in urbe, vel opera aliqua quod ad cives pertineat facere, nec a socio suo vel alio in

¹ Dyed cloth.

urbe emere quod ibi iterum revendat. nec plusquam xl dies in adventu suo morari nisi eum impediatur morbus aut debitum quod civis ei debeat, unde monstrare et probare possit quod vicecomes et iusticia ei de recto tenendo defecerunt.

12. Mercatores qui londonis redeunt et afferunt pannos de lino et de lano non debent vendere nisi tantum iij diebus in ebdomada, scilicet lune, martis, mercurii, et tunc debent religare trussellos usque in aliam ebdomadam, et facere similiter, si aliquid restat ad vendendum nichilque vendant ad detail.

13. Hospes domus non potest accipere aliquid de cordagio nec de pellibus agninis, nec de aliquibus aliis. Sed si ad mercatum fuerit, vel aliquis pro eo, bene percipiat in marcato ut alius.

14. Mercator foranus nequit transgredi spatium trium milliarum extra civitatem eundi ad feriam vel ad mercatum extra urbem, nec iusticie necque vicecomes eis potest dare licenciam. Et si vicecomes eum ceperit extra civitatem ultra metas illas cum pecunia illa, reducat illos, et cives cum vicecomitis pecuniam inter se dividant si vero cives eum ceperint civium sit omnis illa pecunia.

15. Foranus non faciat forchep¹ civi necque cum eo emat vel vendat in civitate nisi civis voluerit.

QUEDAM ASSISA FACTA AD HABENDAM PECUNIAM DOMINI REGIS QUANDO DABANTUR EI M. M. MARCIS [sic] PRO VICECOMITATU.

Constitutum est quod unusquisque aldermannus et omnes homines de Wardis suis debent iurare quod de singulis xx^{li} sol. reddituum quos habent ipsi in civitate etc.

Quod in feudo sit, de singulis libris dabunt iiii sol., et de x sol. ij sol., et de v sol. xii d., et de xxx d. vj d., et de xij d. quantum ad hoc pertinebat. Et de redditu hospitum, arundine vel iunco, vel alio quod ubi sit in feudo dabunt de singulis libris ii sol. et sic usque ad xii d. quantum continget. Preterea de suis omnibus catallis et aliis que in manum habent sic in domo iacentibus vel alio mobili catallo ubicunque sit, vel citra mare vel ultra et ubicunque sit, dabunt de libra ij sol., et ita usque ad xii d. quantum pertinebit. Et debent iurare quod pro hac assisa nullum cattallum necque in domo neque in aliquibus aliis removerunt, nec remobunt [sic] donec ad hanc assisam plenarie prebuerint quantum eis pertinebit. Et de omnibus debitis suis que intelligunt habenda, de quanto intelligunt habere, dabunt quantum de aliis suis catallis, et de redditibus foranis quos tenentur [sic] in civitatem et in porcocom qui sint in feudo dabunt iij sol. de li. sicut prescriptum est, et de aliis qui non sint in feudo secundum quod dictum est superius. Et illud debet computari forensibus in receptione sua, et iurent quod nullum celabunt qui de civitate sit vel per civitatem se aduocet qui hoc sacramentum et adiutorium non faciant, sicut constitutum et provisum est, quin hoc dicant aldermannis et custo-

¹ Forestalling.

dibus ciste; feneratorum et feneratorum non iurabunt hoc sacramentum. Omnes sint inbreviati qui veniunt ad cistam et qui non veniunt; et si quis volunt iurare quod non habent xii d. nec in redditu vel catallo demonstratur hoc maiori et civibus: et ipsi hoc emendabunt. Unusquisque iuret pro se et pro uxore et pueris suis et det pro illis quantum illis pertinet; vel si mavult veniant illi coram maiore et civibus et iurent pro se ipsis et solvant. Et bene defendant omnes aldermannii omnibus de Wardis suis, quod nullus exeat a civitate necque viam domini nec alibi donec se et suos de hac assisa aquietet. Si quis autem horum faciat aliud, faciat eum inbreviari, et tradat maiori et ceteris qui omnia sua terras et catalia capiat ad opus civitatis. Et omnis femina que mercandisam faciat, similiter quod per se sit, et manifeste hoc agat.

III. RECOVERY OF ARREARS OF RENT. When any tenant fell into arrears of rent the burgh authorities would sanction setting a stake up in front of his house (Lyon, *Dover*, II. 275), and after a certain lapse of time, the owner might recover the tenement. The extract from the proceedings of the Reading portmote in 1290 occurs by itself in a volume (Camb. Univ. Library, Dd. ix. 38) which formerly belonged to the Abbey there, and which contains several of the documents about the conflict between the towns and monks, which are printed by Coates and by Gross (*Gild Merchant*, II. 202—207).

DE STACHIA.

Consideratum est per totam communitatem Burgi Radyng' quod omnia tenementa que recuperantur per stachiam pro arrearibus reddituum ad minus quatuor annorum quod ea recuperantur sub hac forma semper hucusque visitata videlicet quod quisquam dominus fuerit qui aliquem redditum in quocumque tenemento habuerit illum redditum calumpniabit quando per considerationem curie stachia debeat figi et nisi fecerit clamium suum tam de reddita quam de tenemento, amittat in perpetuum. Sic patet in recordo de portesmoto tento in vigilio apostolorum Symonis et iude anno regni regis Edwardi primi post conquestum xvij^o.

The rule here laid down was apparently intended to aid the lessors in recovering their property; it may be compared with the provisions that were made for enforcing payments from tenants in arrear by the *Statute of Gloucester*, c. 4 (1278) and 13 Ed. I. c. 21 (1285).

IV. INSTRUCTIONS FOR ITALIAN MERCHANTS TRADING IN LONDON. These instructions are taken from *La Pratica della Mercatura* of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti of the Company of the Bardi in Florence. This is a merchant's guide to commercial practice in all the principal depots of Europe and the Mediterranean. This book was written about 1315 (Peruzzi, *Storia del Commercio e dei banchieri* 71). It was printed by Pagnini in the third volume of his *Della Decima e delle altre Grazie* in

Firenze. The original is much contracted and somewhat archaic in form. I have thought it more convenient to reprint Pagnini's transcript, rather than to attempt to reproduce the peculiarities of spelling, &c. in the ms.

Londra d' Inghilterra per se medesimo.

In Londra d' Inghilterra si ha di più maniere pesi, e misure, ai quali, e alle quali si vendono, e comperano le mercatanzie, come dirà qui appresso, e innanzi ordinatamente.

Lana si vende in Londra, e per tutta l' Isola d' Inghilterra a sacco, di chiovi 52. pesi per uno sacco, e ogni chiovo pesa libb. 7. d' Inghilterra.

Pepe, e gengiovo, e zucchero, e cannella, e incenso, e lacca, e tutte spezierie si vendono in Londra a centinajo di libb. e pesasi in grosso, e dassi libbre 104. per uno centinajo.

Mandorle, e riso, e cera, e stagno, e allume, e ferro, e tutte cose grosse si vendono in Londra a centinajo, di libbre 112. per uno centinajo, e pesasi con bilance, che sono più dure, che quelle, ove si pesa la spezieria, da 2. per 100. ma tutto dee essere una bilancia.

Seta cruda si vende in Londra a libbre d' once 18. per una libbra.

Seta tinta vi si vende a libbre d' once 15. e mezzo per una libbra.

Canovacci vi si vendono a cento d' alle 120. per 1. cento, e di 5. quartieri l' alla.

Zendadi vi si vendono a pezza di braccia, di braccia 30. di Lucca la pezza.

Piombo vi si vende a ciarrea, e ogni ciarrea si è di peso la montanza del peso in somma di 6. sacca peso di lana, di chiovi 52. per 1. sacco, e di libbre 7. per 1. chiovo.

In Londra si ha 2. maniere di pesare argento, cioè il marco della Zecca della Torre di Londra, che è appunto col marco di Colonia della Magna, e l' altro si è il marco degli Orfevori, cioè degli Orafi di Londra, che è più forte, e più grande marco, che quello della torre sterlini 5. e un terzo di sterlini 20. per 1. oncia, e d' once 8 per 1. marco.

Al marco della Torre di Londra si vende, e compera tutte maniere d' argenti in piatte, o in verghe, o in monete, o in buglione per disfare, e nullo uomo, nè cittadino, nè forestiere non osa tenere cambio per cambiare in Londra altri che l' maestro della Zecca della Torre di Londra.

A marco degli Orfevori si vende, e compera tutte vasella, e cose d' argento, che l' uomo avesse a trafficare con gli Orfevori.

Spesedi in Inghilterra una moneta d' argento, che si chiamano sterlini, che sono di lega d' once 11. d' ariento fine per libbra, e battene la Zecca d' Inghilterra di 3. maniere, che l' una maniera si chiamano denari sterlini, che ne vanno in una libbra peso, come escono della Zecca soldi 20. a conto, o soldi 13. denari 4.

a conto per 1. marco; e l'altra moneta si si chiamano medaglie sterline, che le 2. vagliono, e si spendono per 1. denaro sterlino, ed entrane in una libbra, come escono della Zecca soldi 40. a conto, e soldi 26. denari 8. in uno marco, e l'altra moneta si si chiamano sterlini, che gli 4. de' detti sterlini si mettono per 1. denaro sterlino, ed entrane in una libbra, come escono della Zecca soldi . . . denari . . . a conto in uno marco: e tutte a tre maniere sono d' una lega d' argento, e nulla altra moneta nè d' oro, nè d' ariente, nè piccioli non si spendono, nè hanno corso in Inghilterra.

*Diritto, e spese di panni, che si paga a chi^s
gl'i mette in Londra.*

Per carriage, cioè al molo, ove si discarica di nave in terra alla riva di Tamigia denari 1. sterlino per balla.

E per lo Visconte della villa di Londra denaro 1. sterlino per panno.

E per gli misuratori della villa di Londra denaro 1. sterlino per panno.

E per muraggio del molo di panni di colore, o mellati denari 2. sterl. per panno.

*Diritto, e spesa, che ha lana a trarnela del Porto di
Londra per portarla fuori d' Inghilterra.*

Primieramente per costuma allo Re soldi . . . sterl. per sacco a peso di costuma, cioè quello, che co' costumieri del Re trovano, che pesa allo loro peso, quando lo pesano per prendere la costuma, cioè il diritto del Re, e comunalmente fanno largo peso da . . . chiavi per sacco al profitto del mercatante.

E per cortesia a' cherici della detta costuma, cioè agli scrivani per lo cocchetto, cioè per la lettera suggellata del suggelo della costuma, per la tratta in somma a tutta la quantità d' uno mercatante da 3. in 4. sterlini.

E per diritto de' Visconti di Londra den. 5. per sacco, e più in tutto den. 1. sterlino, e per vino a' cherici, cioè agli scrivani del Visconte a tutta la somma den. 2. in 3. sterlini.

E per pesaggio al pesatore della costuma un mezzo sterlino per scarpigliera.

E per gli baramanni, che traggono le sacca della lana dell' ostello, e mettolle sul carro un mezzo den. sterlino per iscarpi-gliera.

E puotesi ragionare, che comunalmente tutte le sopradette spese sieno a tutti gli altri porti d' Inghilterra, onde si tragga lana dell' Isola d' Inghilterra.

E per gli baramanni, cioè per gli bastagi del peso, che la pongono, e levano del peso, quando si pesano per gli costumieri del Re, a tutta la quantitate in somma denari 2. in 3. sterlini.

Seta, zafferano pagano d' entrata a metterle in Londra un mezzo den. sterlino per libbra.

Come il peso, e la misura d' Inghilterra torna in più terre del Mondo, e quelle con Londra, e primieramente, con Anguersa di Brabante.

Libbre 100. di Londra fanno in Anguersa libb. 100. di spezieria.

Libbre 78. di seta al peso di Londra fa in Anguersa libb. 100.

Con Parigi.

Libbre 100. di Londra fanno in Parigi libb. 96. in 97.

Libbre 4. di seta al peso di Parigi fanno in Londra libb. 3. di seta.

Carica una di spezierie di Parigi fa in Londra libb. 364.

Londra in Inghilterra con Camo in Normandia.

Alle 100. di canovaccio alla misura di Camo, fanno in Londra alle 95. e mezzo a misura di canovaccio, che è 5. quartiere l' alla, come debbe essere a tuttuna misura, ma diviene, perchè a Londra in Inghilterra fanno più larga misura, che a Camo.

Con Aguamor'a di Provenza.

Per ispeze di lana a condurle da Londra d' Inghilterra ad Aguamorta in Provenza a uno sacco di lana, che se ne fanno due balie, che sono una carica, cioè una soma di mulo, che dee essere 4. cantara di Provenza, che sono da libbre 500. di Firenze.

Primieramente per nolo di Londra fanno a Liborno in Guascogna den. 12. sterlini per balla monta la soma soldi 2. sterlini.

Per ludimannaggio un mezzo den. sterlino per balla, monta alla soma den. 1. sterlini.

E per guindaggio a' marinieri della nave, quando si carica a Liborno della nave un mezzo sterlino per balla, monta alla soma den. 7. sterlino.

E per salario della guama, che vi viene suso di Londra a Limborno den. 1. sterlino per balla monta, alla soma den. 2. sterlin.

E per la costuma di roani sopra Gironda den. 1. sterlin. per balla monta alla soma den. 2 sterlini.

Somma le dette 5. partite sol. 2. den. 6. sterlini alla soma di sol. 3. sterl. 1. fior. d' oro.

Anche per ispeze di condocere Lana dallondra adaguamorta.

E per la costuma di borgo in Guascogna sol. 1. den. 8. per balla monta alla soma sol. 3. den. 4.

E per la costuma di Vara den. 3. bordellesi per carica.

E per la costuma di Fronzacco appresso di Limborno denari 3. bordellesi per carica.

E per la costuma di Limborno den. 2. bordellesi per carica.

E per discaricarla della nave a Limborno, e per portarla all' ostello, e pesarla, e a pilalla nell' ostello in somma den. 8. tornesi piccioli per carica.

E per due fune per legare le due balle ciascuna per se a Limborno in somma den. 8. tornesi.

E per ostellaggio, e travaglio dell' oste in Limborno, che le riceve, e manda da Limborno, e Montpellier sol. 1. per balla, monta alla soma sol. 2. tornesi.

E per vettura, e per pedaggio da Limborno a Monpolieri in somma alla carica da sol. 50. in 60. di tornesi, puotesi ragionare a comun'al pregio lir. 2. sol. 15. di tornesi la carica.

E per ostellaggio dell' oste di Monpolieri, che le riceve, e manda a tutte sue spese di Monpolieri, ed Aguamorta sol. 2. denari 1. per balla, monta soldi 4. denari 2. tornesi alla carica.

E per lo diritto della chiavevia d' Aguamorta sol. 5. tornesi per carica.

E per la tratta del Re di Francia sol. 30. per carica di lana, e sol. 50. per carica d' agnellina, toccane alla lana soldi 30. tornesi.

E per ostellaggio dell' oste d' Aguamorta, che la riceve in casa sua in Aguamorta, e poi la conduce, e carica a tutte sue spese di bastagi, e di coppani infino messe in galea nel porto d' Aguamorta sol. 1. den. 4. per balla, monta sol. 2. den. 8. per soma.

Somma per tutte le spese scritte da qui in suso, e d' allato lir. 5. sol. 3. den. 6. di tornesi piccioli 1. fiorino d' oro, den. 8. bordellesi di sol. 16. uno fiorino d' oro.

Somma per tutte le spese d' Inghilterra ad Aguamorta da qui in suso, e adietro.

Lire - sol. 2. den. 6. sterlini d' argento di sol. 3. uno fior. d'oro.

Lire - sol. - den. 8. bordellesi di sol. 16. uno fior. d' oro.

Lire 5. sol. 3. den. 6. tornesi piccioli di sol. - uno fior. d'oro.

Che in somma si può ragionare che sieno da fior. 9. d'oro alla soma.

V. PRIVILEGES DESIRED IN OTHER TOWNS. The following extract from the Staple Rolls (27—50 E. III. m. 11) among the Tower Records in the Record Office is of interest in many ways; it is dated 1359, and shows that English merchants continued to frequent foreign marts despite the disadvantage to which they were put by the removal of the staple to England. It also shows us a group of merchants of the staple who were not organised for fiscal purposes, but for mutual protection and the regulation of trade. The

extract thus gives a warning against assuming that the fiscal arrangements were so rigid, or the laws so strictly enforced as we might have supposed. It is followed by a license addressed *Universis et singulis mercatoribus regni nostri Anglie*, granting leave to elect a governor (*custos libertatum mercatorum in partibus Flandriæ*)—a privilege for which they had urgently petitioned. On the whole this group of merchants dealing in a staple commodity in Flanders, occupied a position closely resembling that of the Merchant Adventurers fifty years later. The charter of privileges granted by Louis le Mâle (26 Feb. 1359) and referred to in the body of this document has been printed by Varenbergh (*Hist. des Relations*, 447).

Le roi a touz ceux as queux cestes lettres vendront saluz. Coment qe entre autres choses en les ordinaances de noz estaples establiz nadgaires en notre roialme Dengleterre soit contenuz qe nul des marchaantz de notre dit roialme sur forfaiture ne passast par de la oue leines quirs ou peaux lanutz. Nientmeins, puis oue bone deliberation oue grantz et autres de notre conseil pur commun profit de nous et de notre dit roialme si grantames et donasmes congie a noz suantditz marchantz quils puissent passer par de la oue leur dites leines quirs et peaux pur un temps, paiant a nous les custumes et subsides ent dues. Et par cause qe la moinois es portees de Flandres feust grandement empire et les pris des leines molt amenusee par tant qe noz ditz marchaantz nauoient mies leur franchises illoeges tiels come ils ont en denant ces heures, si envoiames nadgaires noz messages oue noz lettres especiales a les trois bones villes de Flandres, en requerant eux quils vousissent soeffrir noz ditz marchantz auoir leur franchises auantdites, sur quoi le comte de Flaundes par commun assent de sa terre et especialment a la requeste de ses bones gentz de la ville de Brugges ad graunte a noz ditz marchantz quils puissent auoir et user souz la gouernance dun gouernour toutes les franchises et libertees quils soleient auoir asoun temps passe, nient contre esteant qe les estaples sont tout outrement departiz hors de le dit pais de Flaundes, et mis en notre dit Roialme Dengleterre, come en une chartre ensealle du seal du dit Comte et du seal de la dite ville de Brugges a nous envoie par noz ditz messages plus pleinement est contenu, et sur ceo eons done congie et poer a noz ditz marchantz par noz lettres patentes a durer a notre volunte delire entre eux vn gouernour conuenable a toutz les foitz qe leur pierra et mester soit pur tenir entre eux en la ville de Brugges leur congregations et assembles a fin quils peussent auoir et enioier leur franchises et priuileges, issint a eux de nouel grauntees par le Comte de Flandres, si qe parmi leur assembles et congregations ne par autre cause noz ditz estaples establiz en notre dit roialme Dengleterre ne soient emblemez, empirez nendammages par nulle voie. Et qe nulle ordinaance ne comune soit faite par les suantditz gouernour et compagnie en la dite ville de Brugges ne ailours pur destourber noz marchantz ne leur

vallettes ou servantz, qils ne peussent franchement et peisiblement vendre et acheter leur marchandises a queles hours qe leur pierra et a qeunqes persons ou ils verront meutz leur profit sanz destorbances ou enplechement de nulle. Nous a fin qe nous soions le meutz serui de noz custumes des leynes quirs et peaux lanuz, qe serront amenez hors de notre dit roialme, volons qe des leines quirs et peaux lanutz quant ils serront charges et les custumes ent dues paieez, soient les lettres de coket endentez prentre les custumers et mestres des ditz niefs, et qe lune partie soit seale de notre seal de coket, et lautre partie du seal des mestres des niefs, issint qe les dites custumers la partie de l'ententure seale du seal des ditz mestres demurante devers eux eient a notre Eschequer sur leur acompt et les ditz mestres des niefs lautre partie de la dite ententure seale de notre seal de coket demurante devers eux quant ils vendront as dites parties des Flandres, liuerent et baillent au dit gouvernour pur faire le serche illoeqes, a fin qe si nulles leynes quirs ou peaux lanutz soient trouez nient cokettez ou nient custumez, soient forfait a nous ensemblement oue les niefs en quelles ils serront trouez, le quele gouvernour enuoiera les parties de les dites ententures quelles ils auera issint receu des ditz mestres, ensemblement oue les nouns de ceux qe aueront passe les leines quirs et peaux a leschequer Dengleterre a fin del an des queux forfaitures des leines quirs et peaux volons qe lune moite demuerge devers nous et qe le dit gouvernour eit lautre moite pur son serche et traueille la forfaitures des niefs entierment a nous sauuez. Du tesmoignance de quele chose nous auons fait faire cestes noz lettres ouertes. Donn souz notre grand seal a Westminster le premier iour de Juyl lan de notre regne Dengleterre trentieme tierz et des Frauce vintisme. Per ipsum Regem et consilium.

VI. LONDON COMPANIES IN THE TIME OF HENRY VIII. Mr I. S. Leadam has called my attention to the following account of a dispute between the London Weavers and a Grocer; it led to proceedings in the Star Chamber in the Hilary Term in the 21st year of Henry VIII. It has been preserved in the Record Office (*Star Chamber*, Bundle 19, No. 266) and serves to illustrate several interesting points: (1) The claim of a grocer to change his trade and set up as a weaver,—a claim which was allowed by the City Authorities; (2) the position of the Weavers' Company which was still fiscally independent of the rest of the city and paid their own ferm to the King; the point in dispute was not as to the qualifications of the Grocer, but as to his contribution to the Weavers' ferm. It thus appears that the Weavers were not quite on the footing of the other municipal gilds, but were distinct for fiscal purposes. The special provision for the widows of weavers and their houses noted on p. 352 above, may have had reference to these special fiscal arrangements; (3) the Mayor was evidently anxious to establish his complete authority over this gild, so that the memory of their independence survived as a

practical thing. It is also noticeable (4) that Richard Lee was a capitalist employer, and that the Weavers' Company took no exception to the manner in which he was organising his business.

In most humble wyse compleyneth & sheweth vnto your highnes your true and faithfull Subgettes and liegemen Robert Hill and Thomas Darger Baillifes of the Gyld of the Weuers of london..... the body of the flysshipe of the same Gyld. That whereas the same Baillifes and felisshipes and their predecessours haue helde & holdene the seid Gyld from the tyme wherof no mynde is the contrarie of the graunte of your noble progenitours kynges of [England].....haue & hold the same of your highnes in fee ferme And by alle the same tyme haue paid & vsed to pay to your highnes & your seid progenitours for their seid fee ferme yerely xxiiij* in your Eschequer for that no weener but if he was of the seid Gyld shuld intromytte in the seid craft within the citee of London nor in the burgh of Suthwerk. And to haue the sarclie & cofreccion of all differs & myssbehauyng in the same craft and the occupacion & exercise thereof And that no weuer that were not of the seid craft & Gyld shuld resseyue eny threde within the seid citee of eny dwellers of the same for the tyme beyng to be caried to ether places out of the seid Citee there to be wrought or weued as in the same Charter more plainly apperith. Whiche Gylde & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue pecyibly hadde & vsed for the seid fee ferme out of tyme of mynde. And by all the same tyme haue truly content & paid to your highnes & your seid progenitours the seid fee ferme of xxiiij* yerely as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Neuertheles gracious soveraigne lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the Tenour of the seid Charter & contrarie to the vse & priuilege aforseid beyng noone of the seid Gylde ne contributorie to the seid fee ferme hath lately of his wilfull mynde set vp the craft of weevyng & vseth the same in his owne house within the seid citee without any licence assent or aggrement with the seid Baillifes & felisshipe contrarie to all ryght and consciens. So that therby & by suche oder mysdoers if they shuld be so suffred the seid Gyld and your seid fee ferme shuld vtterly be decayed & lost flfor the whiche your seid Oratours compleyne theim ayaisst the seid Ric. Lee before the barons of your Eschequer And therupone the seid Ric. caused the seid baillifes to be send for to appere before the maire and aldermene of the seid citee. And there wuld haue compelled them to haue bene bounden by reconsaunce to abide the award and direccione of the saue maire and Aldermene. And forasmuche as it was then & there openly shewed by the seid maire & aldermen and spoken by the mouth of the Recorder & the Towne Clerk of the seid citee that euery freman of the same citee shulde set vp & vse the seid craft at his pleser without the will assent or aggrement of the seid Baillifes or felisshipe. Whiche if it shuld be so suffred shuld cause the seid Gyld and fee ferme to be vtterly decayed & lost as well to the losse of your

highnes as of the vtter vndoing of your seid Besechers and therefore the seid Baillifes denyed so to be bounden. And because they wuld not ne durst so be bounden the seid maire coumytted the seid Robert Hill to ward & there kept hym without bayle or maynprise and in lykewyse wuld haue done to the seid Thomas but that he was so impotent feble & syke that it shuld haue bene to the great ieopardie of his life. And after vppone compleynt therof made to your highnes and your most honorable Counsell It pleased your highnes by the aduyse of your seid counsell to directe your letter to the seid maire for the deliuerance of the seid Robert. Whiche the seid maire wold in no wyse obey, but send vp the Towne Clerk of the seid citee vnto your highnes and your seid counsell to abandon to coloure & excuse the said mater surmysyng that the said Robert was in for oder causes wherof the contrarie was true. And therupone it pleased your highnes to directe another letter to the seid maire for to deliuer the seid Robert incontynent vppone the sight of the same. And theruppone the seid maire deliuered the seid Robert at large vppone suertie founden to come ayenat to hym within the space of iij oures and to brynge with hym dyuers of his company to here what direccion the seid maire would take vppone the seid letter. And so the seid Robert did and brought with hym dyuers of the most sadde & discrete of the seid company. And on their comyng the seid maire at the senyster labour of the seid Lee shewed vnto the seid Robert and his seid company that the same Robert with oder of his company shuld be bounded by reconysaunce to abide the direccion of the seid maire and not to sue ne compleyne in eny oder place or els the seid Robert with oder of his company shuld be committed to ward. And because the same Robert and his company durst not so doe the same maire committed the seid Robert and iij of his seid company to ward and there kept them & yet doth without bayle or maynprise and wuld suffre no man to speke with them but onely their keepers and by the meanes of the seid imprisonment and of the trouble cost & charges that your seid besechers haue bene put to and the losse of their occupation they be lyke to be vtterly vndoyned but if your speciall grace be shewed to them in this behalfe And also the seid Gyld vtterly destroyed and our seid fee ferme of 24^s by yere vtterly lost. Please it your highnes the premisses graciously considered to commaunde the seid maire by your gracious letters to deliuer the seid Robert & his seid company your oratours out of prisone without delay and to cause the seid maire to appere before your moost honourable Counsaill & your highnes to take such further direccion for the examinacion & determinacion of the premisses as shall accorde with right & good consciens and to send for the seid Richard Lee to appere before your highnes & your most honourable Counsell and there to fynde suertie to recompens and satisfie your seid oratours for the seid injuries & wronges done vnto them by his senyster labour and to haue suche further punysshement as shall accorde with justice & equite and thus at the reverence of

God & in the wey of charite and your seid Oratours shall continually pray to God for the preseruacion of your most Roiall astate long prosperously to endure.

Termino hillyarye A. R. xxi.

Endorsed: Thomas Hyll and Thomas Barger ceptores london cont maiore london & Ricardus Lee de eadem grocerum.

The Answer of Richard Lee to the Bill of compleint of Robert Hill & other Wevers of London.

The said Richard saith that the mater of the said bill is fayned and of no treuth. And the said Richard seith that he set many an^d diuers folkes in werke with spynnyng of wollene yerne and sette on werk the wevers of the Cite of London to weue his clothe—till of late tyme the wevers of the said citee perceyving that the said Richard had grete plente of wollene yerne to weve wolde not weve any wollene yerne of the saide Richard except he wolde pay for enery brode cloth v^s where they were afore that tyme vsed to take oonly iiij^s & not about. And the said Richard seith that in the Cite of London amonge diuers other custumes it hath ben vsed oute of time of mynde that every fireman enfraunchesed in any crafte or felishipe of the said citee may & hath vsed to occupie the craft of the ocupacion of wevers aswell as all other so that they will be contributory to such fee ferme as the felishipe of wevers bere, and pay yerly to the kinge after the rate of his ocupacion of wevyng as by diuers maters of record and otherwise shalbe sufficiently proved. Which custume amonge other hath bene by diuers actes of parliament & otherwise sufficiently auctorised ratified and confermed. And the said Richard saith that he is and of longtyme hath bene enfraunchised and a freman of the craft or felysshipe of Grocers within the said Citee. And he so being bought ij brodes lomes for weving of cloth and afore he occupied the same he came to the Baillives of the said Wevers and offred and desired them to be contributory to their fee ferme after the rate of his ocupacion. And the said Baillives entending to encrease the price of weving of cloth for their owne covetise, and to the comen herte of the kinges subjectes wolde not agre therunto withoute that, that the said Richard hath doone or committed any thinge to the contrarie of the effect of the said Charter or to the losse or deokay of the said felishipe or fee ferme, and withoute that the said Richard is giltly of any vnlauffull demenyng sute or vexacione as in the said bill of complaynt is submytted.

Endorsed:—Ricardus Legh deponit in vim iuramenti sui in hac parte prestiti presentem suum responsam fore verum negat cetera singula in billa quam eum dederint.

D. THE WOOL TRADE IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE subjoined list of monasteries, with the prices of wool at each, is a document which Francesco Balducci Pegolotti incorporated in his book¹; it is obviously derived from a Flemish source, and may perhaps be regarded as a monument of some effort to divert a larger share of English grown wool to Italy. It may be taken as part of the movement which found expression in the organisation of direct sea-trade between England and Italy, and this probably goes back to near the time when the Umliaiti introduced the art of weaving as practised in Flanders, into the immediate neighbourhood of Florence (1250)². The letter of Simone Gherardi to Ugo Spini in London in Jan. 1280³, shows that there was great business activity among Italian wool buyers at that time. The list may be usefully compared with the Flemish documents which have been printed by Varenbergh and Höhlbaum. These are apparently abstracts, while this more elaborate list gives greater detail.

Pegolotti's book was transcribed by Agnolo del Lotto dall'Antella, and a copy of this transcript, which was made, according to the colophon, by Filippo the son of Niccolao Frescobaldi in 1461, is now in the Riccardian Library at Florence (No. 2441). It is, under the circumstances, not improbable that a certain number of clerical errors have been introduced; the original spelling seems to have been phonetic, e.g. Chondisgualo for Cotswold. The document has been printed by Pagnini⁴, but the present text is not a mere reproduction of that edition as it has been carefully collated with the ms. by Dr E. Rostagno. Peruzzi⁵ has given a list of houses—with attempted identifications—but his transcript was much less careful than Pagnini's. A comparison of the identifications of the places in the Flemish lists given by Varenbergh⁶, and more recently by Dr Liebermann in the Index to Höhlbaum⁷, has been of great assistance to me in trying to interpret this interesting document more accurately. The text is, however, so untrustworthy that there is still a considerable element of mere guess-work; the few cases, where I have ventured on an emendation,

¹ *La pratica della Mercatura*. I am indebted to Mr B. J. Whitwell (*Athenaeum*, 23 Aug. 1902) for calling my attention to the source of the materials which I had had before me in a very incomplete form when the second edition of this work was published.

² E. Dixon, *Florentine Wool Trades in Royal Hist. Soc. Transactions*, N.S. III. 162.

³ Pagnini, *Della Decima e delle altre Gravasse*, II. 32A.

⁴ *Ib.* III. 263.

⁵ *Storia del commercio e dei bacchieri di Firenze*, p. 71.

⁶ *Histoire des relations diplomatiques entre le comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre au moyen âge*, p. 214.

⁷ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, III. 408.

are italicized. The letters *C. Cistercian*, *B. Benedictine*, *A. C. Augustinian Canons*, *G. Gilbertine*, *P. Premonstratensian*, *Cl. Cluniac &c.*, indicate the order to which each house belonged. The list appears to be drawn up with a careful regard to this system of classification, and also with considerable attention to local position. In some doubtful cases of identification I have preferred a house that is distinctly specified in the Flemish list; those mentioned in both lists are distinguished by an asterisk. It must suffice to give Pegolotti's own statement (Cod. 2441, ff. 11^r—12^r; Pagnini, *op. cit.* HL p. xx) in regard to the different qualities of wool.

Chome viene della falda, vuol dire interra, come viene la lana tondata di berbioce, cioè della peccora tutto il toxone intero, che non è levato niente.

Briçciata, vuol dire scielta, e fflatone più ragione del toxone della lana.

Buona lana si è la migliore, quando si briscia.

Mojano lana si è la mezana ragione della lana, quando si briscia.

Locchi si è la terza ragione della lana, quando si briscia.

Stecchata vuol dire, levato dal toxone della lana pura le zacchere della lordura della berbioce appicchata alla lana.

Torce vuol dire lo toxone della lana ripiegato, & arrotolato.

Fungnea (*sic*) vuol dire lo toxone della lana, poi che è briscia, e apparecchiato si è 'l ruotolo, e fflatone ad modo d' una palla grossa.

§ INGHILTERRA f. 171.

INGHILTERRA PER LANE DI MAGIONE, E PER LANE CHOGLIETTE, E QUANTE LANE CIASCUNA MAGIONE SOGLIONO AVERE PER ANNO, E QUELLO CHE FFURONO VENDUTE IN FIANDRA L' ANNO DEL E QUELLE MAGIONI, CHE LLE BRISCIANO, SI NE FANNO 3. RAGIONI, CIOÈ LA MIGLIORE, CHE SSI DICE BUONA, E MEZZANA, CHE SSI DICE AMONNANA (*sic*), E LLA MENO BUONA, CHE SSI DICE LOCCHI.

Niobottoli (*Newbottle, Edinburgh, C.*) la buona, marchi 14½, e la mojana mar. 9. e locchi mar. 7½ il sacco, e ànnone da 30. sacchi per anno.

*Mirosoeso (*Melrose, Roxburgh, C.*) la buona marchi 16. e la mojana mar. 10. e locchi mar. 8½ il sacco, e ànnone da 50. sacchi per anno.

Barmicciacche (*Balmerino [Balmerinack], C.*) la buona mar. 10. e la mojana mar. 7. e locchi mar. 4. il sacco, e ànnone per anno in somma da 14. saccha.

°Chupero (*Cupar Angus, Perth, C.*) la buona mar. 18½, e la mojana mar. 10½, e locchi mar. 9 il sacco, e ànnone da 30. saccha per anno.

*Chilosola (*Kinloss, Elgin, C.*) la buona marchi 15. e la mojana marchi 11. e locchi mar. 7½ il sacco, e ànnone da 15. saccha l' anno.

Donfermellino (*Dunfermline, Fife, B.*) la buona marchi 13. e la mojana 8½, e locchi mar. 6. il sacco, e annone da 15. saccha l' anno.

*Dondarnane (*Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright, C.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana marchi 10½, e locchi mar. 8. il sacco, e annone da 15. saccha l' anno.

*Grenellusso (*Glenluce, Wigtonshire, C.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana mar. 11. e locchi mar. 5 il sacco, e annone da 15. saccha per anno.

Balle diruccho ¹ (<i>Koxburgh</i>)	} (Chome vengnono della falda, e cchogliette furono vendute in Fiandra al sopradetto anno, cioè ... da mar. 9 insino in marc. 10½ sacco, sicchome Simolia ² e befiebe (<i>sic</i>) ricevute dalle dette magione.
Ghuldinghamo (<i>Coldingham, Berwick, B.</i>)	
Ghelzo (<i>Kelso, B.</i>)	
Norbonucche (<i>North Berwick, B.N.</i>)	
Sansasano ³	
Grideghorda ³ (<i>Geddenworth, Jedworth, A.C.</i>)	
Il tempo di Bratendoccha (<i>Balantrodoch</i>) ⁴	

Cogliette.

Di Luizenstrj (*Leicester*) la buona marchi 12. sacco.

Di Ledesia (*Leeds*) mar. 12½ sacco.

Del Pecche (*The Peak*) mar. 10½ sacco.

D' Elmetta (*Elmet*) mar. 11. il sacco.

Di Trésche (*Thirsk*)⁵ mar. 10½ il sacco.

Di Chondisqualdo (*Cotswold*) mar. 11. sacco.

Cogliette.

Di Granno (*Grantham*) mar. 13. il sacco.

Di Montingamo (*Nottingham*) mar. 11. sacco.

Di Rottolando (*Rutland*) mar. 12. sacco.

Dinponte⁷ mar. 10. e mezzo il sacco.

Di Vervicche (*York*) mar. 10½ sacco.

Magioni dell' ordine di Cestello.

*Olchoitramo (*Holm Cultram, Cumberland, C.*) la buona marchi 18. e la mojana marchi ... e i locchi mar. 9½ il sacco, e annone da 40. saccha l' anno.

*Nio Mostriere In orte bellanda (*New Minster, Northumb., C.*) la buona marchi 17½, e la mojana mar. 11. e locchi mar. 9½, e annone da 35. saccha l' anno.

*Fornace In norto bellanda (*Furness, Lancs., C.*) la buona marchi

¹ Mr J. Edwards suggests Roxburgh bales, and calls attention to the form of the name used by the moneyer, Hugo on Roch. (Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, I. 466.)

² Mr J. Edwards suggests the Cistercian Abbey of S. Servan's or Culrose. Skene *Celtic Scotland*, II. 257.

³ I am indebted to Mr Edwards for this identification. Compare Innes *op. cit.* I. 366.

⁴ Chalmer's *Caledonia*, II. 76, 812. The list is presumably earlier than 1812 when this house was transferred to the order of S. John.

⁵ This is apparently the port of shipment.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr Whitwell for this suggestion.

⁷ There are no sufficient data for identification.

- 18½, e lla mojana mar. . . . e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, e ànnone da 30. per anno.
- *Chalderes In choppolanda (*Calder, Cumberland, C.*) torcierj mar. 12. il saccho, e ànne 4. per anno.
 - *Salleo in Chravenna (*Sallay, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona marchi 15. e lla mojana mar. 10. e llocchi marchi 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 16. saccha per anno.
 - *Gierualese (*Jervaulx, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar. 17. e lla mojana mar. 10½, e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 50. saccha per anno.
 - *Fontana (*Fountains, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar. 21. e lla mojana mar. 12. e locchi mar. 9. saccho, e ànnone da 76. saccha per anno.
 - *Biolanda (*Byland, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar. 17½, e lla mojana mar. 17½, e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 35. saccha d' anno.
 - *Rivalse (*Rievaulx, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar. 17½ e lla mojana mar. 10½, e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 60. saccha l' anno.
 - *Miesa In oldaraese (*Meaux in Holderness, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar 15. e lla mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 7½ il saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
 - *Chirichistallo In ardona (*Kirkstall, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar. 20. e lla mojana mar. 10½, e llocchi mar. 9½ il saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha l' anno.
 - *Laroccia (*Roche, Yorkshire, C.*) la buona mar. 17. e lla mojana mar. 11. e locchi mar. 7½ saccho, ed ànnone da 20. saccha l' anno.
 - *Il parco di Liuia (*Louth Park, Lincs., C.*) la buona mar. 19. e lla mojana mar. 11½ i° saccho, ed ànnone da 30. saccha l' anno.
 - *Chiricchistede (*Kirkstede, Lincs., C.*) la buona mar. 24. e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 9½ il saccho, e ànnone per anno da 40. saccha.
 - *Revesbi (*Revesby, Lincs., C.*) la buona mar. 20. e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 9½ il saccho, e ànnone da 40. saccha l' anno.
 - *Svinsivede (*Swineshead, Lincs., C.*) la buona mar. 16. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8. il saccho, e ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
 - *Lavalidio (*Vaudey, Lincs., C.*) la buona mar. 19½, e lla mojana marchi 11½, e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, e ànnone 24. saccha l' anno.
 - *Ruffotte in Estiereuda (*Rufford in Sherwood, Notts., C.*) la buona mar. 16½, e lla mojana mar. 10½, e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, e ànnone da 15. saccha l' anno.
 - *Gierondona (*Garendon, Leicester, C.*) la buona mar. 18. e lla mojana mar. 10½, e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 20. saccha per anno¹.

¹ The head-line to f. 172, seems to have been mistaken by Fagnini for the title of a new division at this point.

- *Chonbrumera (*Cumbermere, Cheshire, C.*) la buona mar. 21. e lla mojana mar. 13. e i locchi mar. $10\frac{1}{2}$ il saccho, ed ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- *Crocchestrende (*Croxden, Staff., C.*) la buona mar. 21. e lla mojana mar. 12. e i locchi mar. 11. il saccho, e ànnone da 30. saccha per anno.
- *Lagraziadio (*Grace Dieu, Mon., C.*) la buona mar. 16. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. $7\frac{1}{2}$ il saccho, ed ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- *Diolacchrescha (*Dieulacres, Staff., C.*) la buona mar. 16. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. $8\frac{1}{2}$ il saccho, ed ànnone da 20. saccha l' anno.
- *Biliguassi (*Buildwas, Shrop., C.*) la buona mar. 20. e lla mojana mar. 12. e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, e ànnone da 20. saccha l' anno.
- *Stalleo in Zestri (*Stanlaw, Cheshire, C.*) la buona mar. 18. e lla mojana, e buoni locchi mar $10\frac{1}{2}$, e i grossi locchi mar. 7. saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha l' anno.
- *Morghana (*Margam, Glamor., C.*) la buona marchi 17. e lla mojana viene, però che non fanno nè mojana, nè llocchi, ma briscialla, 6. pietre per saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
- *Nietta (*Neath, Glamor., C.*) quasi vale altrettanto, e parecchiasi alla medesima maniera, e ànnone da x saccha l' anno.
- *Lantarname (*Llantarnam, Mon., C.*) lo saccho di due pesi mar. il saccho, ed è grossa chosa, ed ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- *Tanterna (*Tintern, Mon., C.*) la buona mar 28. e lla mojana mar. 15. e i locchi mar. 12. il saccho, e ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- *Dora (*Dore, Hereford, C.*) la buona mar. 28. e lla mojana mar. 15. e i locchi mar. 14. il saccho, e ànnone da 16. saccha per anno.
- *Istanforte (*Ystrat Marchel, Montgom., C.*) marchi 10. i due pesi, e ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- *Biancilanda (*Alba Landa, Caermarthen, C.*) mar. $10\frac{1}{2}$ saccho di due pesi, e ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- *Chinchesulda (*Kingswood, Wilts., C.*) la buona mar. 26. e lla mojana 15. il saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
- *Istallea In Gildisire¹ (*Stanlegh, Wilts., C.*) la buona marc. 19. e lla moiana marc. 12. il saccho ed ànnone da 40. saccha per anno.
- Ilchona² (*Hilton, Staffs., C.*) la buona marchi 14. il saccho, ed ànnone da 8. saccha l' anno.
- *Bellaugholera (*Beaulieu, Hants., C.*) la buona mar. 24. e i locchi mar. 15. saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha l' anno.
- *Binendona (*Bindon, Dorset, C.*) la buona mar. 15. e lla mojana mar. 10. il saccho, e ànnone da 30. saccha per anno.
- Letteleccia (*Netley [Letley], Hants., C.*) la buona mar. 12. e lla mojana mar. $7\frac{1}{2}$ il saccho, e i locchi mar. 5. ed ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- *La quarriera dell' Ixola di Ghuccho (*Quarrer, Isle of Wight, C.*)

¹ Omitted by Pagnini and supplied from the ms.

² Not Ileona as Peruzzi printed it.

- la buona mar. 20. e lla mojana marchi 11. e i locchi marchi 9. e ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- *Guarverlea (*Waverley, Sussex, C.*) la buona mar. 25. e lla mojana mar. 16. e i locchi mar. 14. il saccho, ed ànnone da 14. saccha per anno.
- *Forde (*Ford, Devon, C.*) la buona mar. 15. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Bufeltro in Chornovaglia (*Buckfastleigh, Devon, C.*) la buona mar. 12½, e lla mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 7. il saccho, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- *Labriuciera di Ghontisgualdo (*Bruerne, Oxon., C.*) la buona mar. 25. e lla mojana mar. 16. il saccho, e i locchi mar. 13. ed ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- Muinamo (*Newenham, Devon, C.*) la buona mar. 16. e lla mojana mar. 9½ il saccho, et ànnone da due saccha l' anno.
- *Pippuelle (*Pipewell, Northants., C.*) la buona mar. 22. e lla mojana mar. 12. il saccho, e ànnone da 14. saccha per anno.
- *Tamo (*Thame, Oxon., C.*) la buona mar. 27. e lla mojana mar. 17. sterlini il saccho, ed ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- *Guardona (*Wardon, Beds., C.*) la buona mar. 16. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8. il saccho, ed ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
- *Bettesdellana (*Bittlesden, Bucks., C.*) la buona mar. 21. e lla mojana mar. 12. e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, ed ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- *Chonbo (*Combe, Warwick, C.*) la buona mar. 19. e lla mojana mar. 12. e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, ed ànnone da 18. saccha per anno.
- *Miravalle (*Merevale, Warwick, C.*) la buona mar. 17. e lla mojana mar. 10. il saccho, e non fanno locchi, ed ànnone da 30. saccha per anno.
- *Basinguecche (*Basingwerk, Flint, C.*) la buona mar. 17. e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Fraschelea (*Flezley, Glouces., C.*) la buona mar. 15. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8½ il saccho, ed ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- *Brondislea (*Bordesley, Worc., C.*) la buona mar. 19. e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 11. il saccho, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- *Stalleo in Guarviche (*Stonely, Warwick, C.*) la buona mar. 18 e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi marchi 10. il saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- *Uborad (*Woburn, Beds., C.*) la buona mar. 18. e lla mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Bufeltro¹ in Chornovaglia (*Buckfastleigh, Devon, C.*) la buona mar. 12½, e lla mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 7. il saccho ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.

¹ A duplicate entry presumably made in error.

- Chinna (*Kinner, Merioneth, C.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 8. il saccho, ed ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- *Salterrea (*Saltrey, Hunts., C.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 6½ il saccho, ed ànnone da 7. saccha per anno.
- *Bocchesella In Chenti (*Bozley, Kent, C.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 7. il saccho, e ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- *Chonchisala (*Coggeshall, Essex, C.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 9½ il saccho, ed ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- *Tilitea (*Tilley, Essex, C.*) la buona mar. 17½ e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8. il saccho, ed ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- *Stanforte (*Stratford, Essex, C.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 7. il saccho, ed ànnone da 13. saccha per anno.
- *Iscippitona (*Sibton, Suffolk, C.*) la buona mar. 14. e la mojana mar. 8. e i locchi mar. 6. il saccho, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Ponte ruberto (*Roberts Bridge, Sussex, C.*) no la brisciano, ma la stracchano, mar. 9. il saccho e ànnone da 3. saccha per anno.
- Eilei in Chondisgualdo (*Hailes, Glos., C.*) la buona mar. 19. e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 7. il saccho, ed ànnone da 20. saccha per anno, ed è poi peggiorata.
- *Vareale In gualesi (*Vale Royal [Dernhall], Cheshire, C.*) ànnone da 6. saccha, non è di nome.
- Barcha noe¹ ingualesi ànnone da 20. saccha, non è di nome.
- Conte² Ingualesi ànnone da 6. saccha per anno mar. 9. il saccho.
- La magione reale non à lana.

Magioni dell' ordini di Promustieri in Inghilterra.

- Alnuicche In nortobellanda (*Alnwick, Northumb., P.*), non brisciano, mar. 10. il saccho, ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.
- *Santa Aghata (*Easby, Yorkshire, P.*) apparecchiata al modo della magione toroccea, mar. 13. il saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Choverramo (*Corham, Yorkshire, P.*) torcea mar. 13. il saccho, ed ànnone da 8. per anno.
- *Toppolino (*Tupholm, Linca., P.*) la buona mar. 20. e la mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, ed ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- *Berlinghe (*Barlings, Linca., P.*) la buona mar. 24. e la mojana mar. 14. e i locchi mar. 12. il saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.

¹ Mr Whitwell suggests Aberconway.

² There are several Welsh Cistercian houses which are not included and this may possibly be a name for one of them, e.g. Strata Florida and De valle Crucis.

- Niuxumi (*Neusham, Lincs., P.*) la buona mar. 21. e la mojana mar. 12. e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, ed ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.
- *Crocestona (*Croxtan, Leices., P.*) la buona mar. 22. e la mojana mar. 12. il saccho, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
- *Ottubo (*Newboth, Lincs., P.*) torce mar. 16. il saccho, ed ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- *Lavualderia (*Welbeck, Notts., P.*) torcia mar. 11. il saccho, ed ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- Agrestano (*Egleston, Yorks., P.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana mar. 10. il saccho, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Sallebi (*Sulleby, Northants., P.*) torcia marchi 16. il saccho, ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- Tiociefelro (*Tychfield, Hants., P.*) schracchata mar. 9. saccho, ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- Laballa¹ (*Le Dale, Derby, P.*) in torcea mar. 14. il saccho, ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- Ciappi in vestrellanda (*Shapp, Westmoreland, P.*), chome viene della falda mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Dereforte icosta a Pportama (*Dureford, Sussex, P.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 9. il saccho, ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Becchamo In chosta a Pponte Ruberto⁴ (*Beigham, Sussex, P.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 8. il saccho, ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Santa Indigonda² (*Bradsale, Kent, P.*) mar. 7. il saccho, ed è grossa cosa, ànnone da 5. saccha l' anno.
- Mieldona³ mar. 7. il saccho, ed è grossa chosa, ànnone da 5. saccha l' anno.
- Bialceffo presso alla Roccea (*Beauchief, Derby, P.*) torcia mar. 14. il saccho, ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Baleo In Esesechisi (*Bileigh, Essex, P.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 7. il saccho, e ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- La Ghalea In Sifolco (*Langley, Norfolk, P.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 7. il saccho, ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- Avenebi Ilendisia (*Hagneby, Linc., P.*) torcia mar. 13. il saccho, ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Samperinghamo (*Semperingham, Linc., G.*) la buona mar. 20. e la mojana mar. 10½, e i locchi mar. 9., ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.

¹ This is identified by Peruzzi with the Premonstratensian Abbey of Torr in Devonshire.

² The dedication of Bradsale was to S. Badagund.

³ I have no suggestion to offer. There was a Premonstratensian House at Bileigh near Maldon in Essex, and a Gilbertine House at Melton in Yorkshire, but these are both mentioned below in this list. If the preceding and succeeding identifications are correct there is no help to be derived from geographical propinquity as to which of the numerous Premonstratensian houses may be intended.

- *Santa Chaterina di Nicchola (*Lincoln, G.*) la buona mar. 22½ e la mojana tratti mar. 12½ il saccho, ànnone da 35. saccha per anno.
- Averolino (*Haverholme, Lincs., G.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8½ il saccho, ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- *Chatelles (*Catteley, Lincs., G.*) la buona mar. 19. e la mojana mar. 11½, e i locchi mar. 8½ il saccho, ànnone da 7. saccha per anno.
- *Bollintona (*Bullington, Lincs., G.*) la buona mar. 22. e la mojana mar. 13. e i locchi mar. 9½ il saccho, ànnone da 18. saccha per anno.
- *Sicchisille (*Sizhill, Lincs., G.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana 10½, e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, ed ànnone da 18. saccha per anno.
- *Orinesbi (*Ormesby, Lincs., G.*) la buona mar. 19. e la mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, ànnone da 18. saccha per anno.
- Marisea (*Mattersey, Notts., G.*) la buona mar. 19. e la mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 10. il saccho, e ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- *Ghuantona (*Wallon, Yorks., G.*) la buona mar. 16½, e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8½ il saccho, e ànnone da 40. saccha l' anno.
- *Maltona (*Malton, Yorks., G.*) la buona mar. 17. e la mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 6. il saccho, e ànnone da 45. saccha per anno.
- Elertana (*Ellerton, Yorks., G.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana mar. 9½ il saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Santo Andrea di Verrriche (*S. Andrews, York, G.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana, mar. 9½ il saccho, ed ànnone da 3. saccha per anno.
- *Sisante (*Chicksand, Beds., G.*) la buona mar. 16. e la mojana mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- Soldamo (*Shouldham, Norf., G.*) la buona mar. 12½, e non fanno nè mojana, nè locchi, ma brisciano 3. pietre per saccho, e ànnone da 16. saccha per anno.
- Clarerchoni (*Clattercote, Oxon., G.*) la buona mar. 17. e la mojana mar. 11. il saccho, e ànnone da 3. saccha per anno.
- *Alvinghamo (*Alvingham, Lincs., G.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 9. il saccho, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Novelluogho (*Newstead, Lincs., G.*) mar. 15. il saccho, non fanno mojana, ma brisciane fuori pure i locchi, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Al Ponte (*Holland Bridge, Lincs., G.*) non ha lana quazi niente.
- Miramaudo (*Mirnaud, Cambs., G.*) non ha lana.

¹ A new division occurs in the ms. with the title *Dell' ordine di Promozione*, which is probably due to the incorporation of a head-line by a transcriber.

Fordamo Insulfolcho (*Fordham, Cambs., G.*) ha da uno sacco di lana intera, e grossissima.

Nonnarie di Danie, che àno lane di rinome in Inghilterra.

- *Istanfeltro (*Stanfield, Lincs., B. N.*) la buona mar. 28. e la mojana mar. 16. e i locchi mar. 7. il sacco, ed ànnone da 12. saccha per anno, ed è molto migliorata, e vendesi in Fiandra mar. 30. il sacco della buona.
- *Isticchi Sigualdo (*Stykeswold, Lincs., C. N.*) la buona mar. 20. e la mojana mar. 12. e i locchi mar. 9. il sacco, e ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- *Nouochotono (*Nun Coton, Lincs., C. N.*) la buona mar. 18. e la mojana mar. 10. e i locchi mar. 8. il sacco, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- *Ampola (*Hampole, Yorks., C. N.*) torcea mar. 14. il sacco, e ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- Grimbesbi (*Grimby, Lincs., C. N.*) chome viene della falda mar. 17. il sacco, e ànnone da 2. saccha per anno.
- Eninghe (*Heynings, Lincs., C. N.*) chome viene della falda mar. 13. il sacco, e ànnone da 2. saccha per anno.
- Choccuella (*Gokwelle, Lincs., C. N.*) chome viene della falda mar. 13. il sacco, et ànnone da 4. saccha per anno.
- Langhalea presso a nontighamo (*Langley, Leices., B. N.*) come viene della falda, mar. 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Ardena (*Arden, Yorks., B. N.*) torcia mar. 13. il sacco, ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Childomo (*Kildon, Yorks., C. N.*) chome viene della falda mar. 12. sacco, e ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- Rosedalla (*Rosedale, Yorks., B. N.*) chome viene della falda mar. 10½ sacco, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Sanchimento (*Clementsthorp, Yorks., B. N.*) strachata mar. 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 3. saccha per anno.
- Suino Inoldarnesa (*Swinley, Yorks., C. N.*) la buona mar. 14. e la mojana mar. 9. e i locchi mar. 7. il sacco, e ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- Marioche In chosta ricciamonte (*Maryke, Yorks., B. N.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 11. il sacco, ed ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- *Vichamo In chosta rivalse (*Wyckham, Yorks., C. N.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 11. il sacco, ed ànnone da 4. saccha per anno.
- Anchorдона (*Ankerwyke, Bucks., B. N.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 11½ il sacco, e ànnone da 4. saccha per anno.
- Tine chotte appresso di Verruciche a 5. miglia (*Thicket, Yorks., B. N.*), come viene della falda, mar. 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 4. saccha per anno.
- Monacherone presso di Veruciche (*Monketon, Yorks., B. N.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 11. il sacco, e ànnone da . . . saccha per anno.

Endichamo presso di Maltona (*Little Maries, Yedingham, Yorks., B. N.*) mar. 11. il sacco torcea.

Leccheborno In chosta alluja (*Lekeborn, Louth, C. N.*) come viene della falda mar. 12½ il sacco, ed ànnone da 3. saccha per anno.

Tutte magioni d' ordine nero, che ànno lane in Inghilterra.

*Chisiborno (*Guiseborough, Yorks., A. C.*) ischracchata mar. 12½ il sacco, e ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.

Niuborgho (*Newburgh, Yorks., A. C.*) in torcea mar. 13. il sacco, e ànnone da 13. saccha l' anno.

*Brindellintona (*Brillington, Yorks., A. C.*) torcea mar. 13½ sacco, ànnone da 50. saccha per anno.

*Chircamo (*Kirkham, Yorks., A. C.*) in torcea mar. 14 sacco, ànnone da 30. saccha l' anno.

Guitebi ostrattono (*Whitby, Yorks., B.*) i locchi grossi mar. 9½ sacco, ànnone da 30. l' anno.

Sellebi (*Selby, Yorks., B.*) in torcea mar. 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 15. saccha l' anno.

Nostra Dama di Veruciche (*S. Mary's, York, B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 11. il sacco, e ànnone da 30. saccha per anno.

Guatterra (*Warre, Yorks., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 10½ sacco, ed ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.

Dradicchisi (*Drax, Yorks., A. C.*) chome viene della falda mar. 12. il sacco e ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.

Santo Usgualdo (*S. Oswald's, Nostell, Yorks., A. C.*), chome viene della falda mar. 12½ sacco, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.

Boltrona in Chravenna (*Bolton, Yorks., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 12. sacco.

Bria (*Blyth, Notts., B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 12. il sacco, ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.

Giuisropo presso abliada (*Worksop, Blyth, A. C.*), come viene della falda, mar. 12. sacco, ed ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.

Grimesbi Inlendisia (*Wellow near Grimsby, Lincs., A. C.*), come viene della falda, mar. 14. sacco, ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.

Tornolino (*Thornholm, Lincs., A. C.*) la buona mar. 16½ e la mojana mar. 10½ il sacco, e ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.

*Bardinaja (*Bardney, Lincs., B.*) la buona mar. 18, e la mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 9. e ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.

Marchebi Inlendisie (*Markeby, Lincs., A. C.*) mar. 13½ sacco, e ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.

Olessimo Inlendisie (*Aylesham, Lincs., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. sacco, ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.

- Onbrestano In Lendisie (*Humbreston, Lincs., B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. sacco, e ànnone 5. saccha per anno.
- *Nocchona parcho (*Nocton, Lincs., A. C.*) la buona marchi 20. e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 9., e ànnone da 4. saccha per anno.
- Rovincestri In chosta alpecche (*Roucester, Staffs., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, marchi 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Derlea (*Darley, Derby, A. C.*) in torcea mar. 12½ sacco, e ànnone da 16. saccha per anno.
- Drecheno (*Trentham, Staffs., A. C.*) In torcea mar. 14. sacco, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Childirforte (*Shelford, Notts., A. C.*) In torcea mar. 14. sacco, e ànnone da 12. saccha per anno.
- Chuntorberj (*Canterbury, B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 12. sacco, e ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- *Borçona sortretta (*Burton-on-Trent, B.*) In torcea mar. 14. sacco, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
- Rependona (*Repton, Derby, A. C.*) in torcea mar. 15. il sacco, ed ànnone 25. saccha per anno.
- Lentona In chosta a Nontinghamo (*Lenton, Notts., CL*) mar. 13½ sacco, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Nostra Dama di Luizestrij (*S. Mary's, Leicester, A. C.*) In torcea mar. 13½ sacco, ed ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.
- Chirbebi (*Kirkby, Leicester, A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. il sacco, e ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Gitterono (*Wytteting, Northants., B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. il sacco, et ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Lalanda (*Launde, Leicestershire, A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 14. il sacco, e ànnone da 6. saccha per anno.
- *Novelluogho Scirenda (*Newstead, Notts., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 12½ il sacco, e ànnone da 4. saccha per anno.
- Belluere (*Belvoir, Lincs., B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. il sacco, e ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Fine veto a 5. miglia presso a Stanforte (*Fineshed, Northants., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 9. il sacco, ed ànnone da 5. saccha per anno, ed è grossa chosa.
- Ispaldinghe (*Spalding, Lincs., B.*) In torcea mar. 13. il sacco, e hannone da 40. saccha per anno.
- Tornai presso aspaldinghe (*Thorney, Cambs., B.*) istracchata mar. 10. il sacco, e hannone da 6. saccha per anno.

Anche magioni dell' ordine nero che danno lana.

- Diepinghe presso a Stanforte (*Deeping, Lincs., B.*) stracchata maf. 10. il sacco, ed ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- Brono (*Bourn, Lincs., A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 10. il sacco, ànnone da 5. per anno.

¹ This place name, without any mention of the dedication, and introduced with such disregard of geographical position, is a little surprising. I cannot find that either Christ Church or S. Augustine's had estates in this district.

- Croianda (*Crowland, Lincs., B.*) Torcea mar. 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 30. saccha per anno.
- Borgo Sanpiero (*Peterborough, Northants., B.*), essendo tutta insieme stracchata, mar. 12. il sacco, ed ànnone da 40. saccha per anno.
- Ramixea (*Ramsay, Hunts., B.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 9. il sacco, ed ànnone da 29. saccha per anno.
- Donninstabile (*Dunstable, Beds., A. C.*) la grancia loro di Brandinborno (*Bradburn*) nel Pecche torcica mar. 12. il sacco, e ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- Guicichonbo (*Winchcombe, Glouce., B.*) stracchata mar. 13. sacco, e ànnone da 40. saccha per anno.
- Euesamo in Chondisgualdo (*Evesham, Worc., B.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 12. il sacco, ed ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Persore (*Pershore, Worc., B.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 12. sacco, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Chausberi (*Tewkesbury, Glouce., B.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 12. il sacco, ed ànne 8. per anno.
- Lofusfeltro in ghondisgualdo (*Lusfield, Northants., B.*) come viene della falda mar. 13. il sacco, ed ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- E Bindona (*Abingdon, Berks., B.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 9. il sacco, e ànnone da 10. saccha per anno.
- Santo Andrea di Norettona (*S. Andrews, Northampton, A. C.*), chome viene della falda, mar. 10. il sacco, e ànnone da 3. saccha per anno.
- Onea in Chondisgualdo (*Oney, Oxon., A. C.*) torcea, e brisciata 4. pietre per sacco mar. 13. il sacco, e ànnone da 25. saccha per anno.
- Nottolea presso a Ttamo a 2. miglia (*Nutley, Bucks., A. C.*) stracchata mar. 12. sacco, e ànnone da 8. saccha per anno.
- Martona in chosta a Llondra (*Merton, Surrey, A. C.*) chome viene della falda, mar. 7. il sacco, e ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.
- Borecestri presso a Bracchelea a 4. miglia (*Bicester, Oxon., A. C.*) mar. 12. sacco, e ànnone da 5. saccha per anno.
- La Trinitade di Londra (*Holy Trinity, London, A. C.*) in terra mar. 8. il sacco, ànnone 5. saccha per anno.
- *Ghualtamo (*Waltham, Essex, A. C.*) torcea mar. 11. il sacco, e ànnone da 20. saccha per anno.
- *Santo negli borgo Sestri (*Colchester, A. C.*) la buona mar. 15. e la mojana marchi 10. et i locchi mar. 9. il sacco di sol. 13. den. 4. sterlini d' argento per j^o. mar., et ànnone da 15. saccha per anno.
- Lane chogliette delle chontrade del Norto d' Inghilterra, chonperate nel Norto medeximo per via di chogliette, torneranno in Fiandra il sacco, sacco j^o. e ochiovi 12. in Fiandra.

¹ This seems more probable than any other house of Black Monks or Canons, with the same termination.

² This seems more probable from its geographical position than either Chester or Cirencester. The Colchester abbey was dedicated to S. Botolph and S. Julian.

Gli pregi chontenuti alle lane scritte di sopra, e adrieto sono quello che furono vendute in Fiandra; sicchè a chonperalle in Inghilterra si vogliono avere a ttanto minore pregio, che a portalle poi d' Inghilterra in Fiandra, o in altra parte se ne faccia buon utile.

E. THE IMMIGRATION OF ALIEN CRAFTSMEN INTO ENGLAND IN NORMAN AND ANGEVIN TIMES¹.

Professor Ashley, in the course of a kindly review² of the second edition of this book, took exception to the opinion I had expressed that "there was a large immigration of artisans which began soon after the Conquest," and to the suggestion I made, which as I now find had been previously put forward by Dr Ochenkowski³, as to the probable character of the early gilds of weavers in English towns (p. 189). He seems to think that there was no such movement before what he calls the "first great immigration" in the time of Edward III.⁴ "If we look," he says, "at the various pieces of evidence which Mr Cunningham adduces, it will be plain, I think, that he has put his theory into them instead of getting it out of them"; and in regard to the definite phrase about the Flemish settlers in Pembroke which I quoted from Giraldus Cambrensis—*gens lanificiis usitatissima*—he urges that "the whole passage is rhetorical" and that "no very great stress can be laid on any one word in it." Such an expression of opinion by Professor Ashley made me feel that it was necessary to examine the available evidence with some care before issuing a new edition of the volume which contains the statement criticised. I have had the good fortune to be able to draw largely on some notes which the late Miss Lamond had made for me on a topic in which her occasional residence at Pembroke had given her a special interest. The history of alien immigrations into England is of more than local importance, however; and could only be adequately treated in a book devoted exclusively to the subject. The sketch of one period, which I now offer, serves to raise several interesting problems which are closely connected with the main point at issue between Professor Ashley and myself; his criticism involves a view of the nature of a Gild Merchant which I cannot accept,

¹ A translation of the following pages has already appeared in the *Z. f. Social-u. Wirtschafts-geschichte* III.

² *Political Science Quarterly*, VI. 155.

³ *Englands wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, p. 60 n.

⁴ *Economic History*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 133.

while the whole question of the origin and character of the early craft guilds will be set at rest, if the hypothesis which I put forward, and still maintain as tenable, shall be eventually confirmed. I shall therefore examine in turn :

1. The *Francigenae* of *Domesday*, their position and distribution.

2. The openings for industrial enterprise in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the facilities which aliens had for engaging in them.

3. The evidence of, and reasons for, a continued immigration of Flemings during the twelfth century.

4. The development of building and of trading in the twelfth century, with some remarks on Gilds Merchant.

5. The development of weaving and the organisation of weavers in the twelfth century.

1. There seems to be an impression in many quarters that the Norman Conquest merely changed the surface of English society. That it did affect the surface is clear enough ; in every shire large estates passed out of the hands of Englishmen and were granted to adventurers who had followed William of Normandy ; the language which Professor Freeman used to accentuate the legal claims put forward by William and the precise legal character of the changes he made, tends to obscure the fact that these changes were very deep, and affected the whole fabric of society. But the army which William led was composed of persons of all ranks and classes ; peasants, artisans and merchants seem all to have had a place in the invading host¹. This opinion is confirmed by a careful consideration of the picture of society in Norman England which is given us in *Domesday Book*. There were immigrants in the lower as well as in the upper strata of society ; even though the old conditions of land tenure and other obligations were preserved, the aliens did to some extent lead a separate life under institutions of their own.

The precise meaning of the terms *franci*² and *francigenae*³ need not detain us ; but few of William's followers, whether Normans or Flemings, were French in a strict sense⁴, and it is plain that the terms were applied indifferently to all those who followed William from abroad as well as to men of similar

¹ A. D. de la Fontenelle, "Coopération de Poitevins" in *Revue Normande* (Caen), I. p. 534.

² In several cases the word *francus* does not mean an alien of any kind, but is used instead of *liber* and in opposition to *villanus*; e.g. *inter francos et villanos*, *Domesday Book* (Middlesex, I. 127, a. 1; 127, b. 1; 129, b. 2; 130, a. 1). So too the arrangements for the pleas (I. 175, a. 2) and for the payment of Kirksoo at Pershore (175, b. 1) were probably intended for freemen (*franci*) though there were several *francigenae* on these estates.

³ Ex Normannia et Flandrensis ac Franci et Britonibus. Gulielmus Gemeticensis, in Duchesne, *Norm.* p. 286, l. vii. c. 34. The part played by the Flemings in the Conquest has been discussed with admirable care by M. Gantrel in the *Nouvelles Archives* (Ghent), II. pp. 323-409. I have been greatly indebted to this excellent monograph.

⁴ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. III. p. 314.

extraction who were already settled in England. It was merely the term in ordinary use, which served to distinguish those aliens from the natives of the country (*angli* or *anglici*). The continued existence of this class of inhabitants is evidenced by the so-called *Laws of William the Conqueror*¹. The relations between subjects of the different races were dealt with in some detail; the pre-Norman immigrants were to be regarded as merged in the English inhabitants, and the right of more recent comers to separate treatment was fully recognised. It may perhaps be said that the king was anxious to see the two races combined into one, but that in some cases, especially of recent arrivals, this was not possible.

Among the tenants in chief in *Domesday Book* many aliens are specified by name; but those who are described as *francigenae* were often below the rank of tenants in chief²; some had very small holdings³, and others are enumerated along with the villans and borderers as *servientes*⁴ or described as *colarii*⁵. They are occasionally mentioned in the returns from almost all parts of the country; the patient compiler of the Index gave up the enumeration of instances in despair with the words *alibi passim*; but the distribution appears to have differed a good deal. There were considerable numbers of them in several towns, such as Norwich⁶, Shrewsbury⁷, Southampton⁸, and Hereford⁹; we find several entries respecting them in the neighbourhood of Pershore¹⁰, and in Cheshire¹¹. In this last case the *francigenae* seem to be on the lands of the Earl, and in other instances we find them concentrated on the estates of some particular lord¹². But though these entries throw interesting light on the position of the humbler *francigenae* they cannot be regarded as exhaustive; there is other phraseology which is apparently applied to the men who followed the leaders in William's army. Such a phrase as *homines Gisleberti*, who demanded unwonted tolls at Barton on Humber¹³, may be fairly regarded as applying to immigrants, and it is of constant recurrence; on one of Robert de Vesci's Lincolnshire manors the distinction is pointed explicitly. *De supradicta terra et soca habent III homines Roberti XII carucatas.....Unus quoque anglicus habet unam carucatam*¹⁴. Those who are specified as the *homines* of Norman leaders may be fairly regarded as swelling the numbers of the *francigenae* of inferior rank.

¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws* (Rec. Com.), i. p. 211.

² A comparison of the Contents, *D. B.* i. p. 76, a. 1 of the Dorsetshire *Domesday* with i. p. 88 serves to show that a number of *francigenae* held comparatively small estates in that county direct from the king.

³ Croc and Gerberie, *D. B.* i. 232, b. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 79, a. 2; 174, b. 2; 252, b. 2 (Wimundewalle). On the status of *Servientes* compare Follock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 262.

⁵ See the curious entry at Gistleswurd, *ibid.* i. 180, a. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 118, a. ⁷ *Ibid.* i. 252, a. 1. ⁸ *Ibid.* i. 52, a. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 179, a. 1. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 174, b; 175, a and b.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i. 264, a and b; 265, a and b; 266, a and b.

¹² Such as Hugh of Grantmeuil, both in Warwickshire (*ibid.* i. 242, a. 1) and Leicestershire (*ibid.* i. 232, a and b).

¹³ *Ibid.* i. 354, b. 1; 376, b. 2. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* i. 368, a. 2.

There is another side from which this opinion as to the large number of such immigrants may be confirmed; the names of the jurors who gave evidence in Cambridgeshire have been preserved, and it is plain that there was a considerable number of *francigenae* among them¹, even if the recurring *omnes alii franci et angli in hoc hundredo*² be treated as a mere formula. There does not seem to have been any specially large number of *francigenae* in Cambridgeshire, so far as can be gathered from *Domesday Book*; I have noticed eight³. Yet the lists of the jurors in the *Inquisitio* prove that they were really largely represented among the smaller tenants⁴. We cannot pursue the same inquiry as to the *personnel* of the juries in other counties, as the names of the jurors have only been occasionally preserved⁵; but there is every reason to believe that their composition was similar in the rest of the country; at all events they were mixed bodies of *francigenae* and English. This comes out in some instances where differences of opinion are recorded. Thus the opinion of the English jurors who estimated an estate at £60 is recorded as well as that of the French *praepositus* who put it at £90⁶. In Southwark the jurors, both French and English, gave evidence about a suit commenced but relinquished by the Bishop of Bayeux⁷. In Berkshire the English jurors decided against the claim of an Englishman as unfair⁸. In Essex one case is noted where the French and English jurors agree⁹, and one where they differ¹⁰. In Wiltshire the English protested that an estate valued at £70 *ad penum* was only worth £60 by tale¹¹, and that another valued at £18 was only worth £12¹², while the English jurors proved that William of Pinchengi held a hide and a virgate which rightfully belonged to Edward of Salisbury and the manor of Stocche¹³. The special record of English opinion in these cases exemplifies the mixed character of the jury, and goes to show that the *francigenae* were dispersed through districts in which none are specified.

The tenants mentioned in *Domesday Book* are, generally speaking, regarded as subjects of the King, and the commissioners were not called upon to specify their origin. Now and then a tenant is simply described as an Englishman, owing to some accidental circumstance¹⁴, and it is probable that there were far

¹ This seems clear from the names themselves, but such evidence is not conclusive, as we find a *Robertus* who is described as *anglicus*. *Inquisitio Cantabrigiensi*, p. 97.

² *Ibid.* p. 98.

³ *D. B.* i. 189, a. 1; 197, b. 2; 200, a. 1; 201, a. 2.

⁴ Two or three of the jurors in each hundred were men holding several hides; the rest were small tenants whose precise position cannot be identified. Alcrans francigena (p. 12), who is not mentioned elsewhere, and Gerardus Lotaringus, who had half a virgate (p. 39) are the two jurors whose foreign extraction is specified in the *Inquisitio*.

⁵ Some Hertfordshire instances occur. Hamilton, *Inquisitio Cantabrigiensi*, p. 100.

⁶ *D. B.* i. 2, b. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 32, a. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 62, a. 2. (Ardintone).

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 33, b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 15, a.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i. 65, a. 1.

¹² *Ibid.* i. 70, a. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.* i. 69, b. 1.

¹⁴ Possibly because the jurors did not know his name, as in cases of a man who had held the land in the time of King Edward (*D. B.* i. 58, b. 2, and 243, a. 2) or when the land was held by four sons, and it was simpler to describe them as the sons of an Englishman than to give all their names.

more *francigenae* in each county than are directly, or by implication, described as such¹. It was not the business of the commissioners to record the fact that certain tenants were immigrants, unless for some special reason. In some few cases it is possible to make at least a guess at the reason. Thus, in some cases, the *francigenae*, and the value of their tenancies, are reckoned separately², and the detail helps to explain the cause of the rise in the value of an estate. In Hereford³ the fiscal obligations of the *francigenae* were quite different from those of the other inhabitants, and in towns like Shrewsbury⁴ and Southampton⁵ the number of the *francigenae* is mentioned in the course of a complaint on the part of the burgesses about the pressure of the old taxation under new circumstances. The facts about the *francigenae* are recorded in these and other cases, but we are justified in regarding them, not as exceptional, but as typical of a larger or smaller number of similar but unspecified instances.

The evidence of *Domesday* thus serves to confirm the view that not only the great leaders but the fighting men obtained a footing in the new country. It must be remembered, too, that provision had to be made not only for the soldiers, but also for those who had supplied the means of transport. William had been compelled to procure a fleet⁶ as well as to conquer the country. Part of it was obtained from Flanders, and William was forced to incur a very special obligation in return⁷. But in one case at least he paid for a ship with a carucate of land⁸; and it is possible that this transaction was a type of the bargains he made with the shipowners of Rouen and Caen. Knyghton⁹ gives us to understand that a crowd of adventurers flocked to England and settled on the land. *Iste duxit secum in Angliam tantam copiam et multitudinem variarum gentium, scilicet Normannorum, Picardorum, Britonum, Burgillorum, de quibus magna pars remansit in Anglia ubilibet dispersa. Quidam possessiones habentes de dicto Willielmo, seu ab aliis dominis sibi datas, quidam vero exemptiones habentes, sive in officiis sub spe habendi remanserunt.* It was on the whole the policy of the government to ignore the

¹ I have only noticed three *francigenae* in Wiltshire, one on the estates of Alured of Marlborough, the other on the estate of Edward of Salisbury (*D. B.* i. 69, a. 2). But the specific appeals to English opinion and specified instances of English tenants, almost seem to show that the *francigenae* were the main element in the population.

² Ecesatingetone (*D. B.* i. 69, a. 2). Toritone (*ibid.* i. 116, b. 1). It is difficult to account for the rise in value of so many estates, between the time of the Confessor and of *Domesday*, unless the number of tenants of different classes was not only kept up but increased. Even if the struggle and change of masters left the native population on the land as large as before, and this seems most unlikely, the Norman leaders must have been able to add to the numbers of the men on the land; the disbanded army is at least an obvious source from which such additional tenants might be drawn.

³ *D. B.* i. 179, a. 1. *Francigenae vero burgenses habent quietas pro xii denariis omnibus forisfacturas suas praeter tres supradictas.*

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 252, a. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 62, a. 1.

⁶ Guillelmus Gemmeticensis, in *Duchene Norm.* p. 286, estimates it at 8009 ships, l. vii. c. 84.

⁷ Varenbergh, *Relations*, pp. 58-59, Rymer, *Foedera* i. pref. Ad Lectorem.

⁸ *D. B.* i. 896, a. 2. ⁹ Henricus de Knyghton in Twysden, p. 234B.

differences between the races, at least for fiscal purposes; and Orderic asserts that amalgamation went on rapidly and was promoted by intermarriage¹. Still, it is clear from the laws of William I. that some of the immigrants had a separate status, and were not taxed in the same fashion as their neighbours, and there were many causes of disagreement²; these led to open disturbances in several parts of the country, especially in outlying districts. Gherbord the Fleming had had the earldom of Chester assigned him, but he did not enjoy it long, and magna ibi et difficilia tam ab Anglis quam ab Gallis adversantibus pertulerat³. Walcher of Lorraine, the Bishop and Earl of Durham, was a man of excellent character, but the excesses of his subordinates, especially of his archdeacons, gave rise to a disturbance in which he lost his life⁴, as well as a hundred men, French and Flemings⁵. The two races may have begun to draw together before the close of the Conqueror's reign, but they were still very distinct⁶, and some of the immigrants were separately organised.

2. Though the great mass of William's followers seem to have settled on the land, it is well to remember that there were other openings for any artisans or merchants who had come in the army, and who preferred, when the war was over, to betake themselves to their old avocations, as builders, as merchants, or in connection with the cloth trade.

(a) Apart altogether from the explicit statement of Ordericus Vitalis⁷, we might have gathered that there was a great demand for building in the century succeeding the Conquest. Many castles and numberless churches remain to show how effectually this demand was supplied; huge structures were erected both for civil and ecclesiastical purposes. The White Tower dates from the time of the Conqueror, and building operations were going on at the Abbey of Evesham⁸ during his reign. There was evidently a great demand for masons.

(b) It is obvious too that there were great openings for merchants. England, from the character of its coast line and of its rivers, offers admirable facilities to traders, and little use seems to have been made of them before the Conquest. The regulations for trading in William's Laws seem to take little account of fairs, and only one is mentioned in *Domesday Book*. There were, of course, plenty of markets, and doubtless there were travelling chapmen. But a market was, as it is, primarily the place for offering weekly supplies for the use of the inhabitants of a town; it is different in character from gatherings like horse-fairs. These are and were generally held outside the town, and when first instituted were frequented by foreign merchants

¹ Ordericus Vitalis l. rv. c. 11 (Migne). ² Knyghton in Twysden 2343.

³ Ordericus Vitalis rv. c. 12 (Migne). ⁴ Symeon Dunelm. R. S. l. 113 seq.

⁵ *English Chronicle* (Rolls Series), anno 1080, Vol. I. p. 351, and II. p. 184.

⁶ Ord. Vit. rv. c. 11 (Migne).

⁷ *D. B. l. 175, b. 2*; Ibi sunt boves ad unam carucam sed petram trahunt ad ecclesiam.

with imported goods. The passage already quoted from Ordericus¹ shows how prominent a feature of English life the fairs became soon after the Conquest. The English taste for imported cloth of fine make was developed², while the merchants who visited this country were glad to purchase English embroidery³. Encouragement was given them, for William the Conqueror took care to provide for the security of traders, even in the excitement of his first entry into London⁴.

(c) There were also great opportunities for the manufacture of cloth. England was well adapted for the growing of wool, and eventually became the chief source of European supply. Weavers, at the time of the Conquest, could not only get a supply of materials, but the change in English taste and the demand for dress of Norman fashion⁵ would also give them a ready sale. It is of course impossible to prove a negative, but there seems reason to believe that this art was not practised as a trade in England before the Norman Conquest; there is no mention of weavers in *Domesday*, and the homespun cloth was probably the result of women's work as a household occupation. There were thus plenty of openings for enterprising men, quite apart from opportunities of settling on the land and living by agriculture.

From what we know of the Normans and their companions, they were able and ready to take advantage of these openings. So far as building is concerned it may be said that they created the demand in England. Their passion for Church building has left its traces in their Sicilian as well as in their English conquests; while the masons of Caen were well able to execute work in our country. Again, the river Seine had been the resort of merchants from time immemorial, and Rouen was the point at which the trade of North-western Europe was then concentrated; such merchants would be ready to open up new markets. In regard to weaving it may be said that one section of the *francigenae* who followed William already practised this trade on a considerable scale. Weaving and fulling had been introduced into Ghent by⁶ Baldwin the Young, a century before the Norman Conquest. The art of weaving was well established among the Flemings⁷, and they were capable of taking advantage of the openings for carrying on the cloth trade which the conquest of England afforded. It is at least worth notice that Gilbert of Ghent used a small piece of land in Lincolnshire, which had hitherto been under plough, for his flock of sheep⁸. This reads like an anticipation of the enclosing which caused so much indignation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it is at

¹ *Ord.* Vii. iv. c. 11.

² *Ibid.* iv. c. 11 (Migne).

³ Guilielmus Pictavensis in Duchesno, *Normannorum*, p. 211.

⁴ *Ibid.* 208.

⁵ *Ord.* Vii. iv. c. 11.

⁶ Oudgherst, *Annales*, by Leibroussart, c. 23, p. 171, note 2.

⁷ *Peritz, Monumenta Germ. Hist.* Vol. II. (Hanover, 1829), *Mon. Sangall. Gesta Karoli*, lib. I. c. 34, p. 747.

⁸ *D. B.*, I. 334, b. 1 (Sudtone).

least possible that he had an eye to the development of the weaving industry.

3. There is ample evidence that during the eleventh century there was a continual stream of Flemish immigration into this country; there are two main classes who may be distinguished—those who came as mercenary soldiers, and those who were driven by stress of circumstances from their own land and attracted to settle here.

It is not easy to say to which of these classes we should assign the Flemings of whom we read at the beginning of the reign of Henry I. They had been attracted to England by the hope of his mother's protection, but they came in such numbers¹ as to be a burden to the realm. They were disturbing elements in the population, and Henry I. determined to deport the whole of them into Wales; hence he sent them to Ross, where they might help to keep the Celts in order².

When Henry was dead, however, and the disturbed times of Stephen began, there was a large incursion of Flemish mercenaries. Stephen is said to have spent the whole of Henry's treasure in procuring soldiers from Flanders and Brittany³; they proved unruly, and were guilty of repeated outrages, for they even looted the churches and the burial-grounds; Stephen's dependence on William of Ypres—the leader of these mercenaries—was one of the reasons which alienated many of the Norman nobility from his cause⁴. But others followed the royal example, as we may see from the story of the Battle of the Standard, in which, by the way, a son of Gilbert of Ghent took a leading part⁵.

Some years later, during the rebellion of Hugh Bigod against Henry II., there was a new incursion of these military adventurers; their ravages in the eastern counties were startling, and Norwich was taken in 1174⁶. In the preceding year there had been a pitched battle at Bury, when 3,000 mercenaries marching towards Leicester were slain or captured⁷. Gervaise of Canterbury expresses great satisfaction over this massacre. *Nam Flandrenses lupi, Anglicanae copiae ab olim invidentes, naturali negotio textoria scilicet arte dimissa, Angliam se jam cepisse jactitabant*⁸. It may seem that this passage is merely "rhetorical," and that it is unlikely that these military adventurers had any skill in textile arts. But the phrase of another chronicler is worth noting. Ralph de Diceto certainly writes as if some of the individuals who had come as mercenaries in Stephen's reign were sent back to work at Flemish looms when Henry II. expelled them. *A castris ad aratra, a tentoriis ad ergasteria Flandrensium plurimi revoca-*

¹ *Gulielmus Malmesburiensis, Gesta Regum, R. S. Vol. II. l. v. p. 477.*

² *Ibid. Hist. Nov. R. S. Vol. II. lib. i. p. 540.*

³ *Ord. Vit. (in Migne) l. 13, c. XIII. anno 1157.*

⁴ *Dogdale, Baronage, l. 400.*

⁵ *Matthew Paris, R. S. Vol. II. p. 292. Cf. Radulph de Diceto, Vol. I. p. 381 (Rolls Series).*

⁶ *Ibid. II. p. 290.*

⁷ *Gervaise Cant. (R. S.) l. p. 246.*

buntur'. It is at least possible that some of the soldiers who came from Flanders at the Conquest subsequently were, when forced to settle, able and willing to take up the trade of weavers.

But besides these military adventurers there were other Flemish immigrants who are sometimes distinguishable from them. Though Henry I. found it advisable to deport so many Flemings to Wales, he was yet willing to grant an asylum to other men of the same country in England itself, though on its farthest border. Early in his reign he allowed a Flemish colony, who were driven from their homes by an inroad from the sea, to settle at the mouth of the Tweed; subsequently in the eleventh year of his reign he transferred them to Ross, where their compatriots were already settled, and to Haverfordwest¹. William of Malmesbury contrasts their orderly life under the protection of Henry I.² with that of the mercenaries who descended on the land in the time of Stephen. One of the first acts of the second Henry was to expel these mercenaries from England altogether; so effectively was his decree carried out that they passed away like a dream³. Still there is no reason to suppose that this edict extended to all Flemings, but only to the military adventurers who would not betake themselves to honest labour. Enough has been said to show that there was a constant stream of immigration which began at the Conquest, and continued during the twelfth century; and that these immigrants gave rise to frequent difficulties. In the beginning of the reign of Henry I. a number were deported to special settlements of their own in Wales, and the military adventurers were expelled from the kingdom by Henry II.

4. So far we have seen that there were openings for merchants and artisans to engage in certain kinds of enterprise in England after the Conquest, and that there was continual immigration to England from parts of the Continent where callings little known in England were successfully practised. It is not unnatural to put these facts together and to connect the rapid development of certain sides of industrial life in England in the twelfth century with the immigrants who came from the Continent and settled here; and some incidental pieces of evidence can be adduced which tend to confirm this view.

(a) That there was a great development of building shortly after the Conquest is obvious from the remains which survive. The stone churches, indeed the stone buildings of any kind, erected before the Conquest were probably very few in number, as wood was a favourite building material; the masonry which remains from pre-Norman times has some peculiarities of structure, while the workmanship is coarse though effective. The

¹ Radulphus de Diceto, *Hist.* i. 297 (Rolls Series).

² Johannis de Bromton in Twysden, 1008.

³ Gulielmus Malmesburiensis, *Hist. Nov.* R. S. Vol. ii. p. 561.

⁴ Gulielmus Neubrigensis (Rolls Series), lib. ii. c. 1.

beautiful masonry of the Norman castles and churches could scarcely have been executed by the less skilled English craftsmen, while it has its exact parallel in contemporary buildings in Caen. When we remember, too, the extraordinary number of stone buildings erected in this country in the twelfth century, it is difficult to see where all the masons could have come from; fragments of stone work in one church after another go to show that churches which have been subsequently restored in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, were originally built in Norman times; masons were at work in every part of the country, building, after a foreign fashion, and with foreign skill, within a century after the Conquest. Stone was frequently imported from Caen¹; and that there was frequent intercourse² between the workmen on both sides of the Channel appears from the simultaneous improvement in the art which took place in both countries in the twelfth century. In other cases, where Flemish fonts³ are found in the churches, it seems possible that the fabric was partly due to Flemish hands. The men of the Low Countries had a high reputation as builders in the succeeding century, and some were brought to do work even then; though by that time the art had had every chance of taking deep root in English soil. Bishop Poor of Salisbury employed Flemings in the building of his magnificent church, and there are traces of their presence at the erection of Llandaff Cathedral, of Caerphilly Castle, and in Leicester⁴, in the thirteenth century. The continued reliance on foreign skill raises a presumption that the best work of the preceding age had been done by imported craftsmen; indeed skill in any manual art can only be transferred from one land to another by transferring the men who practise that art.

(b) The rapid development of fairs after the Conquest is a proof of the growth of trade, and especially of trade at centres which alien merchants were free to visit. The fairs in the Low Countries date from the tenth century, and that of S. Denys is older still: in the thirteenth century they were frequent enough in England; Orderic's reference to them is graphic; as they came to be organised here or there⁵ in the Norman and early Plantagenet times, the foreign merchants would have their best opportunities of trading. They could also obtain a footing as *com-burgenses* in towns where they did not reside, and some of them even found it worth while to transfer their business altogether to London, because it was more suitable for traffic than either Rouen or Caen⁶.

I cannot suppose, however, that the development of commerce was so rapid as to bring about the formation of a class of wealthy

¹ T. Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture*, p. xxv.

² Rickman, *Gothic Architecture*, pp. 78--79, 7th ed. 1881.

³ Parker, *Introduction*, p. 63, note.

⁴ Harris in *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 12 (1773).

⁵ Chester (*Dugdale, Mon. Angl.*) II. 386.

⁶ *Vita S. Thomas auctore anonymo II.* in *Materials for History of Thomas Becket*, B. S. Vol. IV. p. 81.

traders in a number of provincial towns. The growth of fairs, as centres of occasional trade, was still going on in this country, and that is a less advanced phase of commercial history than the development of permanent marts where mercantile business is constantly carried on. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there are signs both in England and France of the growth of these permanent centres of trade and consequent decay of the fairs, and of the development of a wealthy class of trading burghers. But it is an anachronism to assume the existence of such a class in the petty towns of the twelfth and thirteenth century. We must not be so much the slaves of language as to assume that what we understand by a merchant class existed in the thirteenth century, because there were so many *Gildae Mercatoriae*; artisans who wished to buy materials or sell their goods¹ were dealers, and in this capacity formed a Gild Merchant. This view of the membership of a Gild Merchant is confirmed by an inspection of a most interesting document which is imperfectly summarised in Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*², and which has been recently re-discovered in the arrangement and cataloguing of the archives of Shrewsbury. Of the nine members who belonged to the gild in its earliest phase two were fishermen, and one was a butcher; the callings of the other six are unspecified. Several of the lists of members of the Gild Merchant of Shrewsbury have been preserved from the thirteenth century³, and men who were described as craftsmen of one kind or another were frequently admitted; while the number of members is so large in proportion to the probable population of the town, that it is impossible to regard the Shrewsbury Gild Merchant as an exclusive aristocracy which oppressed the poor craftsmen. The evidence of this early English document and the analogy of contemporary Gilds Merchant on the Continent⁴ confirm Dr Gross's opinion that the alleged conflict between merchants and artisans in twelfth century English towns is a mere myth.

There were not, in the twelfth century, sufficient merchants to form an exclusive class with distinctive organisations; but there was every reason why neighbours should combine for trading purposes. I have ventured to suggest elsewhere⁵ that *combined purchasing* was the economic object in the formation of Gilds Merchant; the right of *cavil*, or of sharing in the purchases made from a stranger in the town, would be of great importance when there were but few opportunities of purchasing at all. As these opportunities became more frequent, or as other expedients for combined purchasing were developed, the main economic

¹ In a charter of Ranulphus filius Ranulphi confirming the privileges of St. Werburgh's fair, Merchants, Brokers, Parmenters, and Cordwainers are specified as persons attending. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii. 388.

² Vol. i. p. 102, *seq.* It existed in some form in the time of Henry II.

³ *Transactions of Royal Hist. Society*, ix. Specimens are printed by Mr Drinkwater in the *Shrewsbury Archaeological Transactions*, Second series, Vol. ii. p. 86 *seq.*

⁴ Giry, *S. Omer*, 275, 281.

⁵ *Economic Review*, I. 227.

object of the Gild Merchant would be gone. Some such explanation is necessary in order to account for the rapid decline in economic importance of an institution which had been so highly prized and so widely extended as the English Gild Merchant. But whether this suggestion as to their function and the cause of decline be well founded or not, one thing is clear: the Gild Merchant in the twelfth century was not an exclusive body of capitalist traders who held aloof from and oppressed unhappy weavers. We may now turn to the history of this trade and of the organisations among weavers.

(c) There is ample evidence that the trade had attained considerable proportions in certain English centres before the end of the reign of Henry I., for there were guilds of weavers in Winchester and other towns in the thirty-first year of his reign. But we can do little to trace the growth of the industry even in a city about which our information is so comparatively full. 'The inquisition made by Henry himself' is as silent as Domesday about weavers among the burgesses, and that of 1148¹ only enumerates one weaver, Aldelmus, and three dyers, Ailwardus, Drogo and Rogerus. These are the only entries in these returns from which we can infer the existence of a cloth trade at all; but there must have been many more workmen engaged in it, as both the fullers and the weavers of Winchester were organised in guilds as early as 1131, and each paid the sum of £6 annually as the equivalent of a mark of gold²; as there are numerous entries in which no calling is specified there is no conflict in our evidence.

Weavers' Guilds existed in other centres at this date. The guild in London was perhaps the largest, as it was rated most heavily: the members had to make an annual contribution of £12, and apparently this was beyond their power³. There were also guilds of weavers at Oxford⁴ and at Lincoln⁵ each paying £6, while at Huntingdon there was a weavers' guild which paid 40/- . Subsequently a weavers' guild is heard of at Nottingham⁶, and another at York which paid no less than £10⁷. They seem to have been recognised institutions which were increasing in

¹ Liber Winton, D. B. iv. 531 seq.

² Ibid. 542 seq.

³ Pipe Roll (Record Com.) 81 H. I. p. 37.

⁴ Ibid. 2 H. II. p. 4. In 31 H. I. they paid £16. We find an accumulating debt till 6 H. II. (Pipe Roll Soc.) p. 18, when they owed £38; after this they disappear till 10 H. II. p. 21, when they pay at the old rate for three-quarters of a year. They fell £4 in arrears in 14 H. II. p. 2, but wiped off the debt as well as the payment for the current year by giving £16 in 15 H. II., Pipe Roll Soc. p. 170.

⁵ 31 H. I. Rec. Com. p. 2. The *corvesarii* of Oxford were re-constituted in this year, as they were fined five ounces of gold *de gersoma pro gilda rebotenda*. Ibid. p. 5. Their annual rate was one ounce of gold or 15/- (11 H. II. p. 69. Pipe Roll Soc.). It is curious that so many of these guild payments are in gold. The ratio of gold to silver is not quite clear; in the case of the Winchester Jews thirteen marks of silver were carried over as a debt of 1 mark of gold (11 H. II. 42, 12 H. II. 104); but this was probably a partial remission, as the debt was eventually discharged (13 H. II. 178) by the payment of 26 in silver. This was the recognised rate for computing gold payments (15/- for the ounce and 26 for the mark) and it gives a ratio of 9 to 1.

⁶ 31 H. I. Rec. Com. p. 109.

⁷ 31 H. I. p. 48.

⁸ 2 H. II. (Record Com.) p. 39, paying 40/-.

⁹ 10 H. II. (Pipe Roll Soc.) p. 12, 11 H. II. p. 46.

number, but the regularity¹ of the entries regarding them precludes the idea that similar organisations existed in other towns without being mentioned. The character of the *Pipe Rolls* is so different from that of *Domesday* that we are justified in regarding these entries as specifying certain exceptional organisations.

If the conditions of the times have been correctly described above, and weaving was being introduced into the country, not as a household occupation but as a trade for the market, we can see that there was considerable economic excuse for the formation of guilds with special powers. The men who were working for purposes of trade would wish to have their cloth recognised as possessing a character of its own, to which the product of household looms had no claim. They would desire to superintend the industry, and to give a reputation to the cloth manufactured by their members; and the gild system, whatever were the special privileges they procured², generally offered the means of attaining such objects. Guilds, as the organisations of a particular craft, do not appear to have been known in England before this time; but the tradition at least of such organisations had survived in some of the continental cities, and the thing itself was probably familiar to the *francigenae* of the twelfth century. The cordwainers of Rouen had a gild granted them by Henry I.³ and the tanners by Henry II.⁴; while at Cologne there was a gild in a special department of the weaving trade as early as 1149⁵. Another craft unconnected with the cloth trade which had a gild at this time, were the bakers of London⁶. Like the London weavers they seem to have been too heavily rated⁷. It seems probable that the baking trade in a populous centre was in the same phase of transition as weaving, and that there was an economic reason for the formation of these guilds when a useful art which had been a domestic occupation came to be practised as a trade for the market.

But whatever the economic reasons for the formation of these weavers' guilds may have been, it is clear that when once formed they had not only an economic but a political character. They were the organs through which a certain amount of taxation was regularly paid. The annual contributions of the members were not made as part of the ferm of the town, but were answered separately by the gild, or by the sheriff on its behalf. The pay-

¹ There are however some apparent omissions: there is no entry for Huntingdon in 6 H. II. and the payment in 7 H. II. p. 43, is made at the old rate with no mention of arrears. So the Oxford payment is not mentioned either in 5 or 6 H. II.

² The Charters of Henry II. and of John to the men of Nottingham, and the exclusive privilege for cloth within ten leagues may be noted in this connection.

³ Ducange, *sub voce* *Corvesarius*. This was as we have seen a craft which had an organisation at Oxford.

⁴ Chetrel, *Rouen pendant l'Époque Communale*, Vol. I. p. 84.

⁵ Wauter's *Libertes Communales*, II. 591. ⁶ 2 H. II., p. 4 (Rec. Com.).

⁷ In 4 H. II. Rec. Com. they were £4. 10s. in debt, p. 114; in 6 H. II. *Pipe Roll* Soc. p. 2, £10. 10s.; in 6 H. II. p. 13, £16. 10s. (ib.). We then hear no more of them till 10 H. II. (ib.) p. 21, when they pay for three-quarters of the year at the old rate (£8 per an.).

ments were not special fines¹, but regular contributions. Occasional payments there were, as when the cordwainers of Oxford had their gild reconstituted; but some of these had a political character, for the Lincoln weavers² paid 40/- for two *fugatores*, that they might have their own customs, according to the King's Brief. When the weavers of Winchester were reconstituted in 1165, they paid a fine of one mark of gold "pro consuetudinibus et libertatibus suis habendis et pro eligendo Aldermanno suo"; while they also agreed to pay two marks of gold annually for the future³. The regular payments also had a political character which comes out in the first entry respecting the fullers of Winchester, who contributed a mark of gold "ne disfaciant Utlagos" in 1131⁴. Similarly it was a charge in regard to which the payment of Danegeld by the Huntingdon weavers was taken into account⁵. This fiscal⁶ and political character is interesting, for the English Guilds had their parallel in this point with institutions in Normandy; according to an inquisition of 1199 the Rouen fullers and dyers were responsible for the repairs of the walls⁷, so that the organisation of trades for fiscal purposes was in use in Normandy at the close of the twelfth century.

The employment of trade organisations for fiscal purposes is of course natural enough, and we find analogies in many places. But it is interesting to find this fiscal system existing side by side in certain towns, with the more usual English method of local taxation and assessment of a house rate. It seems as if the members of the weavers and other craft guilds were taxed by one method and the other inhabitants by another, and there is some evidence that this arrangement survived in London till Tudor times. I have already suggested that there is a possible explanation of this political anomaly on the supposition that the members of these guilds were alien settlers for whom a special system was provided, just as in the *Domesday* period the *francigenae* of Shrewsbury lived under special conditions or were assessed on special terms. Just as the Steelyard in London, or the Jewry⁸ in any town, was a special community with special privileges and special obligations, so may the guilds of weavers have been—a fiscal group of men who were not of, though residing in, the borough where they lived. The men belonged to trades, which were at all events simultaneously, if not previously, organised in the same fashion on the Continent; and the chief of these trades

¹ Such as a town paid to have a gild, Marlborough 9 H. II. p. 46, Pipe Roll Soc.

² 31 H. I. (Rec. Com.) p. 114.

³ 12 H. II. p. 104, Pipe Roll Soc.

⁴ 31 Hen. I. p. 37, Rec. Com.

⁵ 8 H. II. p. 49. Et in suo superplus de Danegeldo, Pipe Roll Soc. xvi. a.

⁶ Compare the obligations of the bakers in Nottingham in 1378, *Notte Records*, i. 137.

⁷ Freville de Lorme, *Recher.* p. 122.

⁸ In the time of Henry II. however the Jews seem to have made occasional fines, not regular annual payments like the weavers. Compare Winchester, 11 Henry II. p. 42 and 12 H. II. p. 104.

flourished in Flanders long before it was practised here as a trade. It is at least a plausible hypothesis that the weavers' guilds were the political organisation of aliens¹, who were neither deported from England by Henry I. nor expelled by Henry II., though they were not at once absorbed in the life of the towns where they lived.

If we assume for the moment that this hypothesis is correct, it serves to give an adequate explanation of another group of facts—the evident unpopularity of the weavers as a class in certain towns in the thirteenth century. The exceptional position of these aliens, even though it was an onerous one, would give a focus to the jealousy of *francigenae* which was felt in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In those towns where they were specially organised for fiscal purposes, and therefore exempt from contributions to the ordinary burdens, their mere existence—like that of the *francigenae* residents in Shrewsbury,—as non-contributing householders, would be a grievance. Taxation was felt to be oppressive and was sometimes defrayed with difficulty. The officers of the Norman Exchequer may have been more lenient than the modern Income-tax Commissioners, but they doubtless did not make remissions to a town on account of its poverty, without due cause². That the men of Winchester, Oxford, Beverley and Marlborough should do their best to exclude prosperous weavers, who did not contribute to the rates, from the privileges of citizenship, was only natural enough.

Such is the suggested explanation which Professor Ashley says I have read into the facts, instead of deriving it from them. I am not sure that I understand the distinction he intends to draw. The elements of mental activity and imagination have a part to play in the progress of all science; I put forward my explanation tentatively as an hypothesis, I have examined a great deal of evidence which was unknown to me when I wrote, and I find unexpected confirmations of the hypothesis on every side, while I have found nothing to conflict with it. The whole argument rests so much on isolated pieces of evidence and on a tissue of probabilities that it does not amount to a proof, but I think there is an increased presumption in favour of the explanation adopted in this book four years ago. At least I trust I have cleared the ground by giving additional force to Dr Gross's contention that the alternative explanation of the weavers' disabilities,—owing to supposed oppression by Merchants—rests on a misconception as to the composition of the Gilda Mercatoria; considerable ingenuity will be required to reconcile the evidence now available with that opinion.

¹ The names of the weaver and the dyers in the Liber Winton are at all events favourable to this opinion.

² Colchester, 8 E. II. Pipe Roll Soc. pp. 11 also 62; to Canterbury (Ib. p. 65) on account of a fire; to Beverley (1 E. I. Rec. Com. p. 9) for a similar reason.

F. PROTECTION OF NATIVE INDUSTRY.

Mr Hubert Hall has called my attention to an interesting proclamation in the Close Rolls, 19 Ed. II. M. 5^d, and has kindly transcribed it for me.

De proclamando ne quis cardones terram Warenciam &c. extra regnum deferre vel transmittersse præsumat.

Rez vicecomiti Norhumbrelæ, salutem. Cum pro comuni commodo et asiamento populi regni nostri ac terrarum nostrarum Hiberniæ et Walliæ per nos et consilium nostrum ordinatum sit quod stapula lanarum coriorum et pellium anutarum in certis locis infra eadem regnum et terras et non alibi teneatur; quodque nullus dictorum regni et terrarum, quibusdam personis dumtaxat exceptis, utatur post festum Natalis Domini proximo futurum panno de propria emptione sua post idem festum extra prædicta regnum et terras facto; jamque a nonnullis intelleximus] quod quam plures de partibus Flandriæ Brabancie et aliarum terrarum exterarum facturam hujusmodi pannorum in regno et terris pro viribus impedire satagentes omnes cardones qui Tasles vulgariter nuncupantur quos in eisdem regno et terris invenire poterant et sine quibus hujusmodi panni fieri nequiunt; nec non terram arti fullonum aptam, Warenciam, waydam butirum et alia facturæ pannorum necessaria post ordinationem illam emerunt, et ad partes externas duxerunt et transmiserunt et adhuc indies ducere et transmittersse non desistunt, et quod nequius est, herbam et radices cardonum emerunt et radicitus evelli fecerunt ad eas ad partes externas transmittendas, in ipsius populi nostri dispendium non modicum et jacturam ac ordinationis prædictæ illusionem manifestam. Nos volentes hujusmodi maliciis obviare in hac parte tibi præcipimus firmiter injungentes quod in singulis locis in balliva tua tam infra libertates quam extra ubi expedire videris, publice proclamari et ex parte nostra firmiter inhiberi facias nequis mercator alienigena sive indigena sive alius quicumque hujusmodi cardones terram Warenciam waydam butirum aut alia hujus facturæ necessaria extra eadem regnum et terras sub gravi forifacura nostra deferre vel transmittersse nec hujusmodi herbam seu radices emere vel evellere præsumat vel deferri aut transmittersse, emi vel evelli ad eas ad partes externas transmittendas faciat quovis modo. Et si eos post hujusmodi proclamationem et inhibitionem inveneris contra facientes, tunc eos cum cardonibus terra Warencia wayda butiro herba et radicibus illis sine dilatione arestari et sub aresto salvo custodiri facias quousque aliud a nobis habueris in mandatis, et nos de nominibus hominum ac valore bonorum sic arestandorum reddas sub sigillo tuo de tempore in tempus distincte et aperte sine dilatione certiores. Teste Rege apud Saltwode primo die Junii.

Eodem modo mandatum est singulis vicecomitibus per Angliam.

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