THE GROWTH
OF
ENGLISH INDUSTRY
AND
COMMERCE
DURING THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

BY
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FIFTH EDITION
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.

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Trinity College, Cambridge,
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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

I. Past and Present.


2. Industrial contrasts. The comparison of Domesday with modern England brings out contrasts in the relative importance of different industries and different districts.

3. Contrasts in conditions of life. It also shows contrasts in the character of town and country life.

4. Contrasts in social structure. Domesday puts before us great differences in the social structure in regard to Capital, to Labour, and to Land. Additional difficulties in study are presented by the changes in the connotation of terms.

II. The Scope of Economic History.

5. The grouping of facts. The Body Economic, though its phenomena may be studied separately, is yet identical with the State in actual life. As the interconnection of economic and political events is so close, and the sphere of study so large, the careful grouping of facts is necessary. Economic History is the study of facts of every kind from a special point of view.

6. Political structure. Political History describes the framework of our industry and commerce at each period.

7. Current morality. The manner in which industry and trade are carried on is controlled by custom and public opinion.

8. Human resources. Skilful energy must be applied in work, and goods must be husbanded with forethought.

9. Physical conditions. Human resources are limited or directed by physical conditions.

10. Economic progress. Both in town and country, Industrial organisms of new types have superseded others, again and again. The effectiveness of the later forms must not blind us to the fact that each type was relatively satisfactory.

11. Nature of the change. There has been continuity of change and increasing complexity in Society, accompanied by increasing power in
comprehending the conditions of progress. It is necessary to take account of changes both in practice and in terminology. 

12. Events and ideas. The course of affairs becomes intelligible when we apprehend the underlying ideas.

III. METHOD AND DIVISIONS.

13. The methods of Economic History and of Political Economy. In Economic History the methods of study differ from those of Economic Science, since we can neither cross-examine the facts in trying to interpret particular phenomena, nor reconstruct a satisfactory picture of society as a whole. We must begin with the general influences and actual forces in each epoch, in order to avoid serious anachronism. The main chronological divisions of Economic History are marked out by political changes, but each period has its own dominant economic forces. Economic History is dependent, in its scope and divisions, while Political Economy is hypothetical and independent of political changes. The main problem in the Economic History of England is to trace the gradual introduction of money economy and competition in different departments of life, and so far as possible the changes in aims and ideas.

14. Relative importance of different kinds of evidence. We have literary evidence in the shape of (a) documents and (b) histories; additional information may be drawn from monuments and relics, and from survivals. 

15. Contemporary analogies. The argument from analogy may give us useful illustrations, though we cannot formulate accurate sociological laws.

16. Importance of English Economic History. English economic development may be usefully taken as typical, owing to the completeness of the records and to the comparative isolation of the country.

I. EARLY HISTORY.

I. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.

17. Extent of the political changes. Great changes in political structure took place between B.C. 55 and A.D. 1066.

18. Factors in moral progress. The customary habits of the primitive tribes were modified by Christian influence, and by the remains of Roman civilisation.

II. THE ENGLISH IN FRISIA.

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20. Extensive tillage. Nomadic tribes who have access to indefinite areas of soil can practise extensive culture habitually.

21. The evidence of Tacitus. The subterranean stores mentioned by Tacitus show that there were opportunities for accumulation; these are important economically, and have considerable bearing on further progress.

22. Modes of settlement. The Romans were impressed by the casual character of English settlements, and the primitive methods adopted for assigning land.

23. The rights of the cultivator. The 'higid' of the Germans consisted of a house and yard (land), a share in the 'extensive' tillage of the fields in the waste, rights to meadow, and rights to common pastureage on the waste, which in winter included the meadow and stubble. The arable fields were laid out each year, so that each holding consisted of many scattered strips, intermingled with the strips of other men.

24. Intensive tillage. No date can be assigned for the introduction of intensive culture, which led to the disease of annual resettlement, so that the definite rights of the cultivator to property became 'real' instead of 'ideal.'

25. Tribal and village organisation. The tribes were organised for economic, judicial, and military purposes, and were united by the common bond of blood, or by companionship in war. The tribesmen were also grouped in village communities. This is a widely diffused institution, and is chiefly concerned with the regulation of tillage.

26. Industrial arts. Relics, such as swords, testify to the skill of English craftsmen; they had a system of coinage, and were acquainted with the Runic characters. Warriors were accustomed to make the weapons they used.

27. The art of war. Warfare and agriculture were not incompatible, and piracy formed an employment for the surplus population. The English pirates ravaged Britain; they organised predatory bands, which carried on commerce, and formed temporary settlements. These raids cannot always be distinguished from regular migrations.

III. THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

28. Disintegration of Roman civilisation in Britain. The Romans, in planting Britain and other colonies, took account of the original population, as well as of settlers, in forming estates. They provided for the acclimatisation of animals and plants, and the development of natural resources. The disintegration of Roman society in Britain was hastened by the Picts and Scots; and on the desertion of Britain by the Romans, it was devastated by famine and faction.

29. The displacement of the Britons. Resistance to the English was unsuccessful; but the conquered would not submit, and the long-continued struggle resulted in the gradual withdrawal of the old population. The towns were ruined, or at least destroyed as centres of commerce and civilisation.

30. The English occupation. The advance of the English was gradual; and they had immediate recourse to tillage, pursuing the method of assigning land to groups of families; a holding of arable acres was dealt out to each.
Village organisation sprang up among the free cultivators, and thegn obtained temporary grants, which were specially valuable where local industries had survived.

III. PROGRESS.

31. Growth of royal power. Through the long period, between the English and the Danish conquests, there was a gradual coalescence of kingdoms, resulting in the growth of the power of the king and of his thegn.

32. Influence of the Church. The Roman mission had comparatively little direct economic influence, but it accelerated constitutional changes. Christian priests had a position analogous to that of thegn, and obtained grants of land in perpetuity; these were sometimes procured on false pretences, and tended to diminish the resources at the king's command.

33. Self-sufficing villages. To be self-sufficing was the aim in the estate management of Charles the Great, as well as in primitive village husbandry. This is illustrated by the practice of Columban Monasteries. Trade hardly existed, except for one or two requisites, such as salt.

34. Agriculture and Industry. The various methods of intensive tillage are known as the one-field, three-field, and two-field systems; and each had its respective advantages. The three-field system was probably used in the time of Charles the Great in Germany. In England the laws for partible land only prove the existence of open fields. Each landholder had stock on his holding and rights of pasturage. Industry in a self-sufficing village was remunerated in kind.

35. Beginnings of internal trade. Internal trade arose through the differences of local resources. It was carried on in markets, and the existence of opportunities for trade led to the storing of goods in warehouses, with a view to future dealings.

36. Foreign influences. Industrial skill hardly advanced, but some new arts, such as glass-making and plumbers' work, and artistic weaving were introduced. Seafanship had declined; and shipbuilding had to be revived to resist the Danes; their enterprise was great, and their methods of taking observations on long voyages were very rough.

37. Foreign trade. Voyages of discovery were made at this time by Othione and Wulfstan; English trade was carried on with southern lands, and we hear in particular of the slave trade.

V. DANES.

38. Danish enterprise. We can estimate what a vigorous impulse was introduced among the enfeebled English by the Danes when we consider the Norse trade with the East, as well as their explorations and settlements in the North and West, in Iceland, Greenland, and America.

Danish settlement in England. Danish influence was wide in extent and amalgamation was not difficult. Their settlements consisted of large villages of freemen.

IV. EARLY CHANGES IN ENGLAND.

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VI. ECONOMIC IDEAS AND STRUCTURE.

A. Property.

42. Origin of property. Economic phenomena must precede the habitual employment of definite economic terms. Property may have been first recognised in the use and appropriation of land; but proprietors did not necessarily enjoy economic freedom. Gradually tribal society became re-organised on a proprietary basis.

43. Obligations connected with property. Personal obligations were made more definite, by being brought into connection with the tenure of land. Commendation facilitated the growth of social organisation, in which the military service, and fiscal and judicial responsibilities of the members were defined.

44. Public burdens. The chief proprietary obligations were (a) the Trinete Necessitas, (b) payment of tithe, and (c) of Danegeld.

45. The unfree classes. The unfree population also had definite obligations; these are difficult to describe in modern terms, but they were susceptible of commutation for money. There were various classes of unfree tenants; but the Gebur appears to have been the typical cultivator.

46. Possibility of survival of Roman customs. There is a resemblance between Roman and feudal society, while the latter is very unlike the condition of the English in Fries. This has given rise to the question whether Roman civilisation may not have substantially survived in Britain? The reasons for answering in the negative are based on the histories of the destruction, or migration, of Roman Britons, together with the very slight traces of the survival of language or religion; the nature of Roman remains confirms this view.

47. Possibility of the reconstruction of a similar society. Similarity does not prove continuity, especially when we can account for the conscious re-introduction of Roman practice. It is not impossible that feudal society was a native growth. The change from a free proprietary of citizen soldiers to a system of large estates has a Roman analogy; these Manorial estates might have sprung from villages, either of servile cultivators or of free soldiers. For the depression of free cultivators, relatively to an official, there are Indian analogies; the precise course of the changes in any district is a matter of local history. Survivals also go to confirm the view that there was in many cases some loss of primitive status.
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II ROYAL REVENUES.

50. Norman revenue. In Norman times the chief source of revenue was the Royal Domain farmed by the sheriffs; but jurisdiction formed another, together with rights of Pre-emption and Prince. In addition there were feudal incidents and aids, as well as profits from the Jews. The Danegeld was the first form of direct taxation on land; and Henry II imposed taxes on moveables. There were continual changes in the basis of rating. 149

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11. Foreign ecclesiastics. Economic influences were exercised by the foreign ecclesiastics and lawyers who came over in Norman and Angerin times. There were appeals to Rome in cases which came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and Italian merchants engaged in money-lending, while collecting papal revenues. Many reformed Monasteries were founded and the Orders of Friars appeared. The new foreign connections gave rise to fiscal difficulties, but they exercised a stimulating influence on industry and commerce, particularly the wool trade. Ecclesiastical powers and wealth were the occasion of frequent disturbances in the towns. 206

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III. REPRESENTATION AND LEGISLATION.

I. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE EDWARDS.

83. Municipal economy. The thirteenth century was a period of planting new towns and extending urban areas. The aim of much municipal regulation was to promote commercial prosperity, and attempts were made to secure fair dealing. Documents which furnish schemes of assessment, and give evidence as to the competition of foreign merchants, are scarce. Attempts were made to secure reasonable rates for corn and wages.

84. Christian duty in matters of trade. There is a contrast between the objects of modern and mediaeval economic doctrine: S. Thomas Aquinas assumes a just price based on common estimation, and regulation was desirable to enforce this just price, while allowance was made for necessary variations. The legitimacy of certain forms of bargain, and motives of conduct were the chief matters of consideration.

85. Opinion on usury. The condemnation of usury gave rise to many evasions; S. Thomas Aquinas discusses the use and nature of money; but there was some relaxation of the strict doctrine on the subject. Still, public opinion supported the ecclesiastical rule, and this does not seem to have had a cramping effect on society.

II. CONSOLIDATION.

89. Royal authority. Representation did not detract from the royal authority, which Edward I. used to put down usurpations and rectify encroachments on royal rights.

90. Ecclesiastical immunities. The papal pretensions as to the Church and its revenue called for new measures. The most important of these was the Statute of Mortmain; the Edwards also dealt with military and other orders,—the Templars, Cluniacs, and Cistercians.

91. Royal prerogatives. The king enjoyed undefined rights of prise and purveyance. Definite tolls at the ports were customary, such as the 'distant custom' on wool and leather, the 'recta prisa' of wines and butlerage from aliens. Exactions in excess of these were thought oppressive. Parliament occasionally granted subsidies. Edward I. re-organised the collection of customs, improved the ports and created free towns.

92. The conditions of trade. Improved conditions for trade were secured by, (a) police ordinances, and regulations with regard to wreck; (b) measures for the recovery of debts and prohibition of unfair practices; and (c) measures to remedy the debasement of the currency, as well as the establishment of exchanges. The craft of the goldsmiths had parliamentary recognition. These measures were an improvement; as local regulation was superseded by general, and trade became more free.

93. The Jews. Consolidation brought into greater prominence the position of the Jews, whose expulsion was demanded and carried out, though there is some doubt as to how far it was complete.

94. Alien merchants and bankers. The Italian merchants were also attacked; and the ruin of the Barrii helped to cause their withdrawal. Flemings and Gascons were encouraged to trade by the Crown, but not to interfere in retail or internal trade. Police responsibility was organised through official hosts. The statutes which were passed in favour of aliens were not allowed to interfere with the privileges granted to the Londoners by charter.

95. Culmination of mediæval progress. The zenith of mediæval prosperity was at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Good government was general, and the arts and building flourished.

96. Sources and pressure of taxation. Pains were taken to guard against arbitrary assessment, when tenths and fifteenths were levied. The pressure of taxation was more fairly distributed, and an increasing revenue was raised from the Customs.

97. The standard of comfort. There were few of the comforts and conveniences of life; but it is impossible to form a comparison with the present day. In the fourteenth century mediæval progress was suddenly checked by the Black Death.

III. BEGINNINGS OF COMMERCIAL POLICY.

98. The means of material prosperity. Edward III. endeavored (a) to foster foreign commerce. He wished to ensure cheapness to the consumer and protection for merchants from the perils of the sea. Reprisals were customary, and attempts were made to put down the nuisance of piracy by claiming the sovereignty of the sea, and organizing fleets and safe conduct. (b) He attempted to plant new industries, and induced a Flemish immigration of weavers and dyers, who found various inducements to come, and enjoyed the king's protection. Clockmakers were also introduced.
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.

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.

100. The wine trade. The aims of the regulation in regard to imports were plenty and cheapness. Wine, though partly home-grown, was imports were plenty and cheapness. Wine, though partly home-grown, was cheapest imported, and attempts were made to regulate the price.

101. Fair dealing. Forestalling was prohibited, but the rules at Yarmouth, with regard to herring, show the difficulty of interfering with middlemen in the interests of the producer or consumer. The attempts to enforce a uniform assize of cloth were not successful, and the necessity for the authoritative weighing of goods gave rise to some of the privileges of the Grocers' Company. The inconvenience of changing regulations was very great; the interference of the Crown, and the taking of grants in kind, tended to disorganise commerce.

102. The Currency. The coins had been diminished in size, but efforts were made to keep up the standard. Exchange was a royal prerogative and wages were taken to ensure a supply of bullion for coinage.

103. The Black Death and regulation of wages. The assessment of wages generally was necessitated by the Black Death which caused a great scarcity of labour. Proclamations and statutes attempted to carry out the policy of regulating wages and prices, but this was a failure.

IV. CRAFT GILDS.

104. Formation of craft gilds. Craft gilds were probably of foreign origin, but conditions were favourable to them in England. The formation of the lorners’ gild took place in 1281, and the cordwainers had one. Wages were taken to keep them under the supervision of municipal authorities; when this was neglected, trouble arose between the burghs and the craft gilds.

105. Objects of the craft gilds. The gilds 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 gilds to the guild merchant. There is no sign of rivalry in England, as some of the guild merchant appear to have been specialised into gilds of particular crafts, and craftsmen were sometimes members of guilds 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.

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

IV. LANCASTER AND YORK.

I. DISSOLUTION 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 exporting wool.

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 municipal powers, communal authority, gilds, and ecclesiastical influence alike declined.
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.

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. Famine 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.

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.

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.

120. The effects of sheep farming. The difficulty of arable farming led to the increase of sheep farming. Rural disorganisation was followed by a 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.
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.

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.

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 fifteenth and sixteenth. The cause of this decay seem to have included incursions of the sea, war, and pestilence, as well as the pressure of taxation.

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. The 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.

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. 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.

133. 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.
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 organized 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. 508

146. Difficulties in the towns. The older towns suffered from the migration of industry and abuses in the craft gilds; their weakness was shown in inability to control the apprentices who broke into a riot known as Evil May Day. There were also rigorous regulations which tended to the oppression of journeymen. 508

147. Legislative action. Under the Tudors the gilds 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 Riding were important, and pains were taken to introduce suitable regulations into the Northall 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 gilds had not been nationalized, 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 tenant, who united holdings and farmed in severaly so as to save labour. 526

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 supressing of manorial economy. Farming for the market supplanted the old system of catering for household needs, and serfdom passed away; but many traces of collective husbandry survived. 535

153. Conditions of labour. 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 gilds had formerly acted as Friendly Societies, and had prevented men falling into poverty. Under Edward VI., loiterers were severely dealt with, and charity was organized in the parishes. 536

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 VIII. 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.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

I. PAST AND PRESENT.

1. Eight hundred years have now passed since William Domesday Book 1086.

   of Normandy carried out a great survey of the kingdom he had secured, and embodied the result of his enquiry as to its economic condition in Domesday Book. This work stands out as a great monument which plainly records the general character of English life in bygone days, though there is much difficulty in interpreting the details of the information it contains. A very little consideration of its plan and contents serves to bring to light extraordinary contrasts between the past and the present, and to show the nature of the difficulties which we must face when we attempt to trace and to describe, the course which English industrial progress has from that time pursued. One need hardly add that there are additional difficulties in regard to the still earlier ages from which but little accurate information survives.

2. There has been, to begin with the most obvious difference, an extraordinary change, since the time of the Conqueror, in the relative wealth and importance of different parts of the country. The most casual traveller through England to-day could hardly fail to remark that a very large part of the national industry is concentrated in the northern counties; Lancashire and Yorkshire are occupied by great masses of busy population. The wealth of our coal and iron beds, and the skill we have shown in using these materials, have been important factors in enabling us to secure our present industrial supremacy. These northern counties,
where waterpower, as well as coal and iron, is to be found, have attracted to themselves the textile industries, for which they afford both mechanism and power on the easiest terms. London is the great emporium of commerce, but the north of England is the workshop of the world. The records of Norman times portray a very different state of affairs. Neither coal nor iron formed an important item in English industry or trade, and the weaving trade was but little developed. Tin and lead were the chief mineral wealth, and raw wool and hides were the staple articles of trade for many succeeding generations; we had hardly any manufactures to send to foreign markets but we exported raw materials for others to work up.

The staple articles of trade in the Norman period were quite different from those in which we now excel, and the great centres of modern production had not succeeded as that time in attracting any considerable share of the national wealth. York had been an important city in Roman Britain, in some ways more important than London itself, and Northumbria had been for a time the dominant kingdom in the newly settled England; but the power of the North had begun to wane before the ravages of the Danes, and the rising power of Wessex. The Norman king himself, however, dealt the blow which destroyed it utterly; King William harried the North so thoroughly that page after page of the Survey describes how one manor or another, which had been fairly stocked with meat and men in the time of King Edward, was valueless and waste. The lands between the Ribble and the Mersey had not suffered similarly, but they were scarcely more populous, and long centuries elapsed before they began to take a leading part in the industrial life of England.

3. If we confine our attention to any one district and contrast its condition at that time and the present day, another series of differences is likely to attract our notice; the striking contrast which we now find between town and country life was then unknown. Our manufacturing towns,

with their masses of population, could hardly have been supplied with the necessaries of life in any age when there were few facilities for internal communication; but even the sleepiest country town, with shops containing goods from all parts of the world, suffices to illustrate the extraordinary change that has taken place. At the time of the great Survey there were hardly any towns, as we understand the term; even in a place like Cambridge, which had a fairly advanced municipal life, the burgesses were engaged in rural pursuits and were bound to supply teams to the Sheriff; and the men of Leicester were responsible for predial services and made payments in lieu of them at a much later date; the people of the towns were still engaged in agriculture. Again, there were in these towns few if any shops stored with quantities of wares ready for sale. We may specify two of the commonest classes; there were no grocers' shops, for commerce was too fitful to supply foreign wares by regular trade, and no butchers' shops, for these are of comparatively recent introduction even in towns like Aberdeen and Lanark; while the craftsmen would have a comparatively small stock of finished goods and would for the most part execute work to order. Markets there doubtless were in most of the towns, and a few annual fairs near others; but just because booths, erected on these occasions, sufficed for the greater part of the internal commerce of the country, there was no need for regular shops as we know them to-day.

The primitive character of the towns harmonised with a condition of rural life that differed much from that which we have in the present day; just because the villagers had not learned to depend on shops in the towns for the supply of many commodities, they made more effort to supply themselves. There seems to have been in each village a larger proportion of craftsmen than we should find among the rural population now; each household, or at any rate each little group, had the requisite skill for supplying the main articles

1 Cloth was obviously an imported article, see below p. 130, n. 4 on London trade; also on Irish merchants, p. 160, n. 2.
2 See below, p. 215.
3 Sampson, History of Advertising, p. 59.
4 Shops are frequently mentioned in the Hundred Rolls; it appears that the wooden front was made to fold down so as to form a sort of counter. Parker, Domestic Architecture, 154.
of clothing and domestic use, so that the villages were not so purely agricultural as they are to-day, while the townsmen had not entirely severed themselves from rural pursuits; differentiation between town and country was incomplete, indeed it would be more true to say that it had hardly begun.

4. The contrasts in regard to the structure of the various industrial groups and the relationships of the persons who composed them, are even more striking than those we have noticed in connection with the external aspects of society. In every kind of industrial group, urban or rural, we may now distinguish three classes,—the landlord who owns the soil where the work proceeds, the employers who supply the capital and the labourers who carry through the actual manual toil. Even in those cases where three classes cannot be distinguished, it is convenient, for the purpose of explaining the process of production and even for understanding the accounts and financial position of any undertaking, to analyse out the factors of Labour, Capital and Land. But though, when we have these distinctions clearly in mind, we may find them in eleventh century society in England, we find them under very different forms; and it is not an exaggeration to say that Capital, as we now use the term, had no place in the industry of that period. Capital means a store of wealth which can be employed in one direction or another as the prospects of remuneration are more or less favourable; it is part of its very nature that it is fluid; it is continually being expended in tools, materials or wages and replaced by sales, and thus it affords constant opportunities for increased or diminished investment. But though the craftsman of the eleventh century had the few simple tools that were necessary for doing his work, there must have been many cases where he had no stock of materials of his own, but relied on his customer to give the materials or supply money in advance for buying them. While industry was thus conducted, there was no fund which could be used for planting new industries, or calling labour into new directions; stock-in-trade there undoubtedly was, but no Capital as we now use the term.

There were also great differences between Labour, as we understand it now, and the workers of the time of the Survey. Just as we assume in our ordinary discussions the fluidity of Capital¹, so we are accustomed to take "the fluidity of Labour" for granted and to assume that a man who cannot get remunerative work in one place will go and seek it in another, so that high wages in one district attract labourers to that locality. But at the time of the Survey, labour was by no means fluid; partly because a very large proportion of the population were serfs who could not move to other estates or to towns, and partly because others had such rights in the land, or at a later date such status in particular towns, that they were unwilling to try their fortunes elsewhere. The labourer, as a man who depended on some employer for the opportunity and means of doing his work, seems to have been almost unknown in the eleventh century.

There were also great differences in regard to land and the income which was derived from it. The contrast, which Sir John Phear draws² between a Bengali and an English proprietor in the present time, holds good between the English proprietor of eight hundred years ago and his successor now. The rent of the proprietor now is directly connected with the physical character of his estate, its productiveness and its situation. The income of the lord of a Domesday Manor depended on the tolls he received, and the payments of his dependents; and thus was based on the way in which his estates were stocked with meat and men, rather than on the physical condition of the land. His income was a very different thing from modern rent.

We may thus see that English Society at the time of the Survey was so different from our own, that the language in which we habitually discuss the industrial condition of the present day is inapplicable, if we wish to analyse the circumstances of these earlier times. Labour, Capital, and Rent have all altered their connotation so much, that we run considerable risk of confusing ourselves if we are satisfied with adopting modern language to describe the period of the Domesday Survey. This is perhaps the

1 Bagehot, Economic Studies, 41.
2 The Aryan Village, 136.
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

SCOPE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY.

The greatest difficulty with which we have to contend; not only have the industry and commerce grown immensely, but the very terms in which we habitually describe them and express our ideas regarding them, have changed their signification as that growth has taken place.

II. THE SCOPE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY.

While the greatness of the changes which we are about to trace makes the task of examining them difficult, the wide extent of the field which we must survey renders it still harder. In analysing and tabulating the events of any brief period, statisticians can separate economic from other phenomena; but in tracing the growth of the different parts of English Society we cannot draw a hard and fast line of separation. The student of morbid anatomy may dissect out the various organs, or describe the alimentary system in itself and with little reference to the nerves, but in the living subject there is no such severance; the alimentary and nervous systems are interconnected, and the process of mastication and digestion would not long continue if the nerves were completely paralysed; if we are discussing the operations of healthy life, or the disorders which actually occur, we cannot neglect the interconnection of the two systems, or treat one fully without an implied recognition of the importance of the other. So too with the constitution and the industrial system of a State. We may separate them in thought or verbally, but they never are and never can be separated in actual life; for purposes of study it may often be convenient to look at them apart, but if we are to understand their working at any one time, still more if we are to understand the changes which have taken place in the course of centuries, we must bear in mind that economic and political circumstances constantly re-act on one another. The forces which are applied to the maintenance and enrichment of the inhabitants of England, have been controlled in very different ways and to very different degrees at various periods of our history; but at each epoch we have had to do, not with dead matter, but with a living organism; we cannot comprehend the growth of our industrial system, without an implied recognition of the constitutional changes that were taking place side by side.

Indeed a very few moments' consideration will show us that there is no fact in our nation's history but has some traceable bearing on the industry of the time, and none that we should be justified in ignoring as if it were wholly unconnected with our subject. Wars and Revolutions, Court Intrigues as well as Religious Movements, have all had an industrial side; they have dissipated wealth, or they have altered the conditions under which wealth was obtained, or the terms on which it was divided, or perhaps they have done all three. Numberless cases might be alleged where trifling incidents have been links in the chain of causes that have produced most marked industrial effects.

There is more need to insist on this interconnection between industrial and commercial history on the one hand, and the constitutional, dynastic, or any other side of our national story on the other, because the fact seems to be imperfectly recognised in some of our best historical works. The manner of treatment sometimes adopted conveys the impression that facts about industry and commerce can be easily distinguished from the rest, and dealt with in separate chapters; but this can never be a thorough way of working. We might indeed gather the facts of industry, but not the facts that have a bearing on industry and explain the changes in industry; and if we wish to understand the real progress we must pay some attention to both.

It might have seemed that by insisting that the sphere of our study is so extensive, we are making the task a hopeless one. If such a mass of facts is to be taken into account, how are we to use them, or to hope to obtain conclusions from them? We shall have to group them in some way, and if our conclusions are to be worth having, we must take great care to marshal the facts wisely. This we cannot do by making an arbitrary selection to start with, but only by carefully taking a special point of view, and noting what facts come into prominence when seen from this outlook.
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

We get very different views of London from the Monument and from St. Paul's; the same buildings lie around us in both cases, but they are differently placed, and what is prominent in one case is half hidden in the other. So we may look at the facts of a nation's history from a constitutional standpoint, and note the bearings of the various events on the growth of the political institutions; many reported occurrences will be of slight, a few will be of striking importance. If we took a dynastic standpoint, and viewed the course of the same history as bearing on dynastic fortunes, we should find that our attention was called to other facts as the most important; so too from our economic standpoint we still deal with the same recorded facts, but they have a different interest; much that seemed valueless before comes to have a vast importance for us now, while great political struggles may perhaps be disregarded without serious loss. Economic History is not so much the study of a special class of facts, as the study of all the facts of a nation's history from a special point of view. We wish to draw from the records of the past all that bears upon the maintaining and prolonging of human life in any form, whether corporate life in the family or town or nation, or individual existence as a private citizen.

6. Nor should we be justified in contending that the special point of view from which we look at these changes is the one which gives us the most important and adequate survey of the national story. Political, moral and industrial changes are closely interconnected and react on one another, but we shall understand the industrial changes most truly if we regard them as subordinate to the others. It is of course true that, if its industrial system is not adequate, a nation cannot continue to be a great moral power as a civilised state, or to hand down monuments of its literary and artistic vigour. Political greatness and high civilisation imply the existence of industrial prosperity, and of sound industrial conditions, if they are to be at all stable. But after all, the life is more than meat; each nation takes its place in the history of the world, not merely by its wealth, but by the use that it makes of it; industrial prosperity does not itself produce national greatness; political views not only control the application of national wealth, but affect its increase. Industrial progress has often been stimulated by new political aims and conditions. Changes in the constitution of society, and in the police and foreign relations of the country, have given an altered framework to which our industry and commerce have time after time been forced to adapt themselves. The marriage of Edward III. with Philippa, the severities of Alva, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had conspicuous results in England; the aims of the Angevins set our towns free to carry on a prosperous trade; the ambitions of later days led to the formation of our colonies and the successful struggle for mercantile supremacy. Economic affairs have indeed modified the course of political events; time after time industrial movements reacted on political life and contributed to great constitutional changes,—when the men of London joined in the demand for Magna Carta, when financial stress rendered Charles I. more dependent on parliament than his predecessors had been, or when the industrial revolution and factory system produced a state of affairs in which the First Reform Bill was inevitable. Economic conditions are a factor in such changes; they set before us the special causes of discontent with an existing régime, but they never directly determine the nature of the changes that are eventually carried through. Our national polity is not the direct outcome of our economic conditions; whereas time after time, our industrial life has been directly and permanently affected by political affairs, and politics are more important than economics in English History. Industrial changes have been necessarily correlated with changes in the social and political systems; and the framework of society at each period did much to determine the character of the industrial habits and institutions.

7. While the form of industrial institutions has thus been chiefly determined by political conditions, there have been other influences which have done much to control and modify their actual working. It may be that the traders' conscience has not been very sensitive in any age, and we
hear enough of commercial immorality in our own day, but at no time has it been possible for dealers or others publicly to defy common sense opinion as to right and wrong altogether. Current conviction has controlled with more or less success the manner in which industry and trade have been carried on; it has found very different organs of expression and been supported by various sanctions. In some cases it made itself felt in the customs of traders who believed that honesty was the best policy; in others it was enforced by ecclesiastical discipline or royal authority, or by public opinion expressed in an Act of Parliament; but from the time when usury was discredited to the days when the protection of Factory Acts was given to women and children, it has constantly modified industrial and trading habits. New industrial abuses may have called forth new moral indignation, and some industrial successes have done much to qualify moral judgments; but on the whole we may see that the current conviction in regard to the morality of certain transactions has greatly affected the conduct of industry and trade in each succeeding generation.

8. We shall have to bear in mind at each epoch then, that the economic changes which we trace are changes which occurred in a definite political society and which were influenced by the current views of right and wrong; these are presupposed in every civilisation; and they give the basis of all economic institutions and the atmosphere in which they worked. But this social structure and this civilised life must be sustained; there are physical needs which must be attended to if the population is to be maintained in health and strength and the government in vigour and power, and these aims can only be accomplished by the application of Energy and skilful energy and patient foresight. These are the resources with which individual human beings are able to procure the satisfaction of their wants; and on the larger scale, industry comes into being or grows, when men, feeling any need, strive to supply it by bringing these resources into play; these are the factors which are invariably present. The manner of their working, and the forms which they take, will vary very much in different times and places; the skill that is required in a nomadic family differs very much from that of a civil engineer; the forethought of a husband-man can scarcely be compared with that of a railway contractor; yet similar qualities, ability to use natural objects for a given end and willingness to wait for a distant and more or less certain return, are operative in these various cases. The history of industry and commerce is only the story of the various ways in which these human resources have been applied so as to satisfy constantly developing human wants. Every change that has taken place in the manual dexterity of labourers, every mechanical improvement or ingenious discovery by which toil is so saved that one boy can do what fifty men could not have managed before, has given each individual greater ability for the satisfaction of wants. This is a matter of course; but apart from the actual increase of individual powers, much has been accomplished, as civilisation advances, by the better husbanding of power: every change which gives a better status to the labourer, and indirectly a greater encouragement to engage or continue in labour, has had a similar effect. We can also trace the other factor, patient forethought—willingness to undergo present privation for the hope of future gain. Wealthy peoples and poor differ less in the strength of this feeling than in the opportunities for giving it free play. If the "effective desire of accumulation" produces small results in tropical climates and under tyrannous governments, this may be, not so much because the individual desires are weak, as because the obstacles to be overcome are great. With every increase of security in a country, it becomes more certain that a man will be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labours, and therefore he has more encouragement to work and wait for a future gain; by stable institutions patient forethought may be economised, and a little of it be made to go a long way. From the sixteenth century onwards, the greater transferability of this factor in production becomes noticeable; when it was once embodied in the form of Capital the national forethought could be directed into those channels where it was most remunerative. Still

more striking effects both in the husbanding and directing of this agent in production are due to the employment of Credit, though this requires a very stable social system as the first condition of its existence. In one way or another, in simpler or more complex forms, these forces have been constantly at work; and the facts which are specially prominent from our point of view are those which show the mode of their operation or the results of their action.

9. The success which attends any particular employment of these human resources must largely depend on physical circumstances; no amount of human foresight and energy will give a country beds of coal and iron or furnish them with a Gulf Stream. But it is important to observe that natural advantages do not make a people rich; they can at the best only make an industrious people richer. Natural plenty does not make men wealthy any more than want makes them industrious; in so far as natural plenty removes the stimulus of want it may almost be an obstacle to progress. The physical conditions of climate and soil determine the direction of industry which shall be most profitable to a given people at a given time; but curiously enough the economic value of the physical characteristics of a country varies greatly at different times. The introduction of ocean steamers has given great importance to certain points as coaling stations, and diminished the value of ports on sailing routes; and so too, many towns have been almost destroyed as centres of trade by the introduction of railways. Britain has been in turn a great corn-growing, wool-growing and coal-producing island; and the changes from one

employment to another have been due, not so much to climatic or physical changes, as to the relations of trade in which its inhabitants have stood to other peoples. Perhaps we may say that physical conditions at any given time impose a limit which prevents a nation's industry from developing on certain sides; but that this limit is to be thought of not as absolute, but as relative to the character and intelligence of the men of that time. Again and again the skill which devotes itself to agricultural improvement or the energy which carries on successful trade has enabled the inhabitants of a barren land to maintain a large population, and to pass the limits which nature had seemed to impose, and had imposed for a time, to their further increase. These physical limits must not be neglected, but their influence is not unfrequently overstated; for each step in industrial progress was after all a new illustration of the truth that it is only as he overcomes nature that man can be really said to advance in the arts of life.

10. To follow out the working in our country of these two great factors—energy and foresight,—in the different political and moral conditions of each age, and as limited by the physical obstacles which then opposed themselves,—is to trace the growth of English industry and commerce. But though there has been growth on the whole there have been long periods when there was but little industrial progress, and some epochs which were marked by disintegration and decay. During any period when there has been little change in the political framework or in the moral and physical conditions which affect the play of human skill and foresight, industrial or commercial practice comes, by the force of habit, or custom, or regulation, to assume a definite form. We can easily distinguish several types of industrial organisation which have dominated in turn, which seemed to meet the economic needs of different ages, but each of which has given place, with more or less of social disturbance, to a more vigorous successor. In early times little independent and self-sufficing groups were united in villages, or in large households, where the continued subsistence of the group was the aim of economic administration. Again we find a
different type in the more complicated life of the medieval towns with their organised industry and bitter commercial rivalries; the ambition of one of their citizens was not so much directed to the accumulation of much wealth or to rising out of his class, as to attaining an honoured place in his own guild and among men of his own status. Still later there followed a successful attempt to organise the whole industry and commerce of the country in the manner which would contribute most surely to the maintenance of national power, and the mercantile system dominated over private interests. Each of these different types of economic organisms flourished in England; and through changes in the political framework, or through new discoveries and the consequent removal of physical limits, or through changes of moral opinion, or through the combined action of all these causes, each in turn fell into decay and was displaced. The history of English industry is not a sketch of continuous change in any one direction—say of increasing individual freedom—but of the growth and subsequent decay of a series of different economic organisms, as they were in turn affected by political, moral or physical conditions. It will be our task to try and understand the growth and working of each in turn, and to seek for indications of the precise causes that brought about its decay.

The story then is not of improvement only, but of growth and decay; the question may be asked whether the later type of industrial organism is in all respects an improvement on those that went before? Probably in every change in the past there was an admixture of good and evil—as there is in every change now; but from an economic standpoint we cannot hesitate to say that the gain has enormously outweighed the loss. Each newer type of industrial organism superseded its predecessor because it was more vigorous and better adapted to the new conditions of national life; we have powers at our disposal now for providing the necessaries and comforts of life such as William the Conqueror never dreamed of when he determined to secure the wealthy realm of England for his own. The stability of our political life and our command over the forces of nature enable us to organise and utilise labour as bygone generations could never have done. There can be no doubt as to the effectiveness of the economic instruments now in our hands; hope for the future will urge us to seek to use these instruments better, so that the benefits they confer may be more widely shared, and not to attempt to revert to some less effective type of industrial organism.

At the same time it must be confessed that some writers are inclined to do scant justice to the economic systems of the past; they seem to think that because mediæval methods have been superseded, they were always bad, and that because they would be unsuited to our time, they were therefore unsuitable in the days they were actually in vogue. Against such unhistorical judgments, which overlook the relative value of bygone institutions—their value in relation to the circumstances of the time,—it is unnecessary to do more here than utter these few words of protest; the excuse for the modern contempt for things mediæval lies in the fact that in so far as the institutions of a past age survive as mere anachronisms they are likely to be either futile or baneful, and that practical men who see these defects are apt to extend their condemnation to the whole social conditions from which Manorial rights, and City Companies, and Usury Laws have remained. To the historical student on the other hand these very survivals may supply valuable evidence which will help him to solve the problem before him and to understand the working of various bygone institutions, when they were at their best.

11. Great as the changes have been as one economic organism was superseded by another, they have always been gradual; we shall have to do with growth and decay, not with sudden creations and wholesale destruction. Rural life is now very different from that of eight centuries ago; but year after year the seed has been sown and the harvest reaped, and the people have been fed; industrial processes and trading have been going on all the time, even though there have been constant modifications in their forms from age to age. But we may feel, as we look back on them, that these changes have on the whole worked in the same direction;
there has been a growing complexity in our arrangements and greater differentiation in the industrial organisms. The severance of employments is being carried farther and farther, and functions which were formerly combined in the persons of craftsmen, are now divided between the capitalists and labouring classes. The increase of the means of communication has enabled particular localities to specialise far more than they could formerly do, and this again has led to the organisation of particular industries on an enormous scale. In every direction there has been increasing differentiation and increasing complexity. This increasing differentiation in society has led to a better understanding of the nature of the factors which serve for the production and distribution of wealth; there has not only been progress in the effectiveness of industrial instruments but consequent progress in the clearness of economic ideas. While industrial factors were only working on a small scale, and so long as they were closely intercombined in each branch of trade, it was impossible to analyse them clearly; but with growing complexity of organisation it has become more possible to distinguish the several parts and to name them. The minute description of the different kinds of capital, which we find in modern text-books of Economic Science, is possible since capital is deliberately applied in many different directions, and with hopes of gain which are looked for in different forms. But till the fifteenth century, though there were many merchants with large capitals, industrial capital hardly existed either in town or country except as the stock in trade of working men. As a fund which could be transferred from one employment to another, or as an industrial factor which was composed of materials, tools and ready money for wages, it could not be recognised till an employing class arose which had the command of capital and used it in industrial pursuits. Similarly, while the tenant gave his labour and seed on the lord's domain in return for the use of a properly stocked holding, or even when he leased the stock along with the land from the owner, it was not possible to distinguish capital as a factor in agricultural success. Till the operation

16 INTRODUCTORY ESSAY. SCOPE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY.

of social changes had brought about the modern relation of the landowning and tenant classes in England it was not possible to form the definite conception of rent which has emerged in modern times. Hence it is that as the industry and commerce of the country have developed, reflection upon them has resulted in a clearer understanding of the ways in which they work; we have a more accurate terminology, and a better apprehension of the conditions which are necessary for prosperity and for progress. Increased accuracy in economic ideas has followed the development of industry and commerce; the current use of a new term and the disuse, or perhaps the misuse, of an old one, are most noteworthy tests which show some important development in actual life, or mark the process of decay. During the sixteenth century in particular the change in the use of certain terms was very remarkable; and if we attend to it, we are enabled to realise the extraordinary transformation which was then taking place. A social change may be said to have been completed when it found expression in a new term, or fixed a new connotation on an old one.

12. When we thus aspire to trace out the first beginnings of any economic change, or to get a clear conception of its final result, we must endeavour to treat economic history as something more than a chronicle of new enterprises and discoveries, or even than a summary of statistics of population and prices; it must include not only the events but the ideas of the time. Among the facts with which we are concerned none are of greater importance than those which show that certain ideas were prevalent during some period, or were beginning to spread at a particular date. It is only as we understand the way in which men viewed the dealing and enterprise of their own time, and can thus enter into their schemes of advancement or their aims at progress, that the whole story may come to possess a living interest for us. We may thus see in it all the play of active human powers, and not seem to be merely undertaking the dissection of disinterred remains or the collection and description of curious relics, as if these were ends in themselves. The political framework and the moral and social ideas have

1 Marshall's Economics of Industry, 19.
always been an environment which affected contemporary industrial growth, and the record of events in each age is only completed when we have come to understand how the changes in economic conditions reflected themselves in economic ideas and terminology.

III. METHOD AND DIVISIONS.

From what has been noted above it follows that we cannot, in tracing the growth of industry and commerce in their earlier stages, adopt the principles of division which we habitually use in the present day. Before the distinction between town and country emerges we cannot properly treat either of agriculture, industry or commerce apart from one another; still less can we distinguish between labour, capital and land till the structure of society has assumed a comparatively modern type. Both principles of division come to be useful in connection with the later stages of economic development, but they are not applicable throughout. The mere statement of these preliminary difficulties shows that the method that we pursue in studying the phenomena of the past must be very different from that which is employed by economic science in the present day. Economic science is primarily analytic, severing one class of facts from others, and investigating the different factors which have resulted in, say, a rise of plumbers' wages. But in the earlier condition of society we cannot group our facts thus, and we have far too little information to enable us to "cross-examine the facts" and see what were the important antecedent conditions from which a particular change came forth. It has been hard enough to tell whether the recent depression of prices has been mainly due to the increasing scarcity of gold, to the enormous facilities of production we possess, or to some dislocation, through the imposition of new tariffs, in the commerce of the world. And if it be hard to do this in the present day, it must be still harder to detect the precise influences which brought about the rise of prices in the time of Edward VI., or to say how far contemporaries were right in unanimously ascribing it to another factor—the power of dealers to combine and maintain a monopoly in their own interest against the public. While there is so much difficulty in analysing the cause of a well-marked phenomenon in the past, it is still harder to group particular occurrences right so as to reconstruct a picture of society. Quotations of the prices of each particular article in common use are not really instructive unless we can form some idea of the quality of the article supplied at that price; but even if this difficulty could be met, we cannot construct a satisfactory scheme of the income and expenditure of the fifteenth century labourer unless we know definitely whether he was constantly employed, or whether there were many weeks in the year when he had neither work nor wages. So long as there is much uncertainty about the interpretation of the particular phenomena, we cannot hope to gather from these particulars well-grounded views of the general condition of society. The combination and interaction of causes is the great difficulty with which any student of social phenomena has to contend; but the student of social phenomena in the past must also beware of the danger of accounting for recorded changes by ascribing them to factors which are powerful at the present time, but which have only recently come into operation at all. Economic students who attempt to investigate some remote epoch by the same analytic method which they habitually apply to the economic phenomena of the present may be led to assign an undue importance to one particular condition—which may have attracted their attention through the unsuspected influence of some prejudice or because it is markedly operative in modern times. Hence the same facts in economic history have been ascribed by different writers to the influence of opposite causes, and the study has been to some extent discredited from the apparent difficulty of reaching solid conclusions. We can only avoid these dangers by endeavouring to pursue an opposite method; we may begin with the political and social environment,
We must begin from the general influences and actual forces in each epoch, with the influences which are plainly observable in literature and public life; and working from a knowledge of the environment and of the forces actually in operation at any given time, we shall find how far the reported facts about buying and selling, meat and clothing, working and recreation become intelligible. On this method we may hope that, even if our explanation is not complete and needs to be corrected by being supplemented, it will be sound so far as it goes. We shall be better able to guard against the danger of generalising hastily from a few particulars. Most of the information on economic subjects, which has survived from early times, is purely local in character; it is not easy to see its true import, and we have no sufficient data for arguing from the particular cases to the state of the country generally.

But in so far as we can get side lights on economic topics from evidence about political conditions or admitted legal rights, we have a useful guide in interpreting the isolated scraps of information. We must seek in each age for the light by which to understand how material sources were then applied to maintain and prolong human life.

The chief problems which have to be faced are far less due to want of information than to the difficulty of interpreting the facts which lie to hand; there is a danger of reading modern doctrines into ancient records, and it is most important that we should endeavour to make sure that our explanations are congenial to the spirit of a bygone age; in so far as this can be secured we may at least escape absurd anachronism; while on the other hand, by noting cases where the facts are still unexplained, we may find a direction in which further investigation of minute detail and the accumulation of new evidence are likely to prove profitable.

On all these grounds it becomes clear that the main divisions must be historical into different periods of time; and since the growth of industry and commerce is so directly dependent on the framework of society at any one time, it may be most convenient to take periods which are marked out by economic changes. This will give the most convenient arrangement for setting the various events in a fresh light, and thus for obtaining so far as possible a true picture of the economic conditions of each period, and a clear understanding of the reasons for the changes that ensued. Anything that enables us to realise the actual working of institutions in the past and that helps us to have a vivid conception of them, will be of value; but our chief aim must be to exhibit the conditions under which new industrial or commercial developments were called forth, and which rendered each step in the progress inevitable. The broad political divisions in our history are sufficiently marked: the accessions of William I., Edward I., Richard II., Henry VII., Elizabeth, James I., William III., mark very distinct crises. In approaching each new period we shall find it desirable to note first of all the economic importance of the phase of political life on which the nation had entered, and then to put in the forefront the effective force which was guiding economic changes and to trace its influence. Thus royal power after the conquest, legislative action under the Edwards, citizen aims in the fifteenth century, seem to have been the motor forces that came most strikingly into play; it is by watching these powerful factors at work that we get the most convenient clue to the tangled web of the phenomena of early industrial life.

There may seem perhaps to be something derogatory to the claims of Political Economy as an independent science, in thus treating the history of economic phenomena in the past as wholly dependent on politics and political changes. But it would be more true to say that the point serves to bring out one of the differences between the historical study and the modern science. The science, as Mill expounded it, is hypothetical and claims to trace the action of economic forces in a well-defined sphere of life, and to show what always tends to happen in so far as they have free play; special political conditions might come in, according to his
but Economist History is dependent, to its scope, view, to modify the application of these principles, but not to affect the terms in which they are stated. But with Economic History it is different; the very sphere which we are about to study is conditioned by the political circumstances which have extended or diminished the area over which the English Government and the English race have held sway at different times. Economic forces in modern days may be treated abstractly and regarded as exhibiting the mechanical play of the self-interest of individuals; while the government seems to have no part, but to preserve such security and order that this may operate freely. But History must trace out the conscious efforts, which were made from time to time, to develop the resources and expand the commerce of the realm; such deliberate endeavours were made through political institutions for political objects, and affected our progress for good or for evil.

So too, even the broad distinctions drawn by economists do not serve to give us satisfactory divisions in historical study. We cannot draw a hard and fast line between natural and money economy, or between the age of custom and that of competition, for the practice of competition has gradually succeeded the customary regime here and there; as the use of money has come in, there has been a substitution of a cash nexus for all sorts of customary arrangements. Such foreign trade as existed from the earliest times was always conducted on a moneyed basis; but industry and agriculture have been occasionally affected, and then gradually permeated and transformed, by the use of coinage. We can see that, at one time, even the taxation of the country was chiefly paid in service and in kind; that rents were rendered in food; and that labour got a large portion of its reward in board and lodging and clothes. The valuing of such obligations in terms of money and discharging them in customary payments of coin were improvements which were slowly introduced, first in one department of life and then another. The determination to let such payments be readjusted by competition from time to time, and to give up trying to fix them at fair rates, has been another gradual movement. We cannot date the change itself; but we can choose certain important points in our history, and enquire what parts of our social fabric had been re-adapted at that particular time.

It is not easy to give definite dates to changes in our economic institutions, but it is harder still to apply a precise chronological treatment to the moral and intellectual side of economic life—as the modifications must have been gradual that we can scarcely hope to estimate their extent at any given date; it is in consequence very difficult to trace the connection between the introduction of new ideas and the course of events. All that can be attempted is to endeavour to set forth, before the beginning of each political period, the aims and ideas which were so generally diffused as to influence action during that period, and to sum up at the end the additional knowledge that had been gained from actual experience in the intervening time. The preambles of statutes and other documents, and the economic literature of each century, give us a series of "dated examples" however, and from them we can generally learn what men thought and what they wished, so that we can better apprehend the meaning of what they did.

In attempting to carry out this double purpose we must rely on evidence of different kinds; though the relation between different kinds of evidence must often be defective through the insufficiency of the information that has come to hand. This is especially true of the earlier periods; while the great difficulty in regard to later times is to make a judicious selection out of the mass of facts that are easily accessible. We must distinguish, however, between different kinds of evidence according as they are of greater or less weight, so as to be able to judge how far any opinion is well founded. Much of our information is drawn from literary evidence; but the documents, which originally had a practical purpose, have a different interest from chronicles that recount events.

1. Literary Evidence. a. Documents. There may be considerable difficulty in determining whether any document is what it purports to be, but when the critical question is set at rest the evidence it furnishes is indubitable. Statements which are directly borne out by the authority of charters, leases, accounts, &c., may be regarded as unimpeachable. The
chief difficulty in using such documents is due to the fact that their direct application is often very limited, and we may make grave mistakes in arguing from them. How far are the conditions of tenure in this lease typical? How far were the prices in this locality exceptional, or do they represent the general range of prices throughout the country? It is thus that descriptions and reasonings we frame may be quite untrustworthy even when they appear to rest on the firmest possible foundation.

**Histories.** These must differ immensely in value, either as sources for description or explanation, according as the author was more or less honest, and more or less well informed. Historians always have had to rely on the information furnished by others; and it is obvious that for many purposes contemporary chroniclers are less likely to be led into error than those who are writing about the distant past, but even the most careful contemporary may be misinformed as to events that occurred in other localities, or as to the reasons which induced a particular course of conduct. While contemporaries are in a far better position than later writers for describing occurrences, they have not such an immense advantage when they try to explain the circumstances which brought about a change, or to estimate its ultimate importance. A high value attaches to the historical statements in the preambles of the statutes or in royal proclamations; it would scarcely have been worth while to put them forward unless they at least seemed plausible to contemporaries; the authors of such public papers were likely to be well informed, and if they were consciously dishonest, the proof is probably easier in the case of private persons. Histories give us more or less probable information that covers a wide range in place and time, while documents often supply reliable details. We must take the two together, and while we try to verify history by appealing to documents, we shall often need to turn to history for guidance in interpreting them aright.

**Monuments and Relics.** Considerable knowledge of the state of the arts at any time may sometimes be derived from the monuments and relics that remain. Buildings may show how far the men of a particular age were acquainted with the use of particular materials—stone or wood—or particular principles—the use of the arch; frescoes, tapestries or illuminations may be of the greatest possible use; and coins, jewelry or other articles may help us to picture the manner of life of our forefathers at any particular period and their skill in the working of metals. Here also we must contend with the critical difficulties as to the character and date of monuments or relics, and we may mistake imported for native workmanship; but we have at all events an important source of subsidiary information which may help us to picture different periods of the past more clearly.

**Survivals.** The maintenance of a custom or institution which has come to be a sinecure or an anachronism may also be of great value as evidence; such things testify to the existence of a time when society was so constructed that they discharged some real function. There were many municipal officials in the unreformed burghs of the last century,—haywards, molecatchers, pinders and others,—whose existence as municipal officials would be hard to explain if it were not that the town had grown up from a little agricultural village; and that the functionaries who discharged important rural duties, or who were the organs by which the local magnate exercised his control, remain to bear witness of the place as it was in those forgotten times. Even if they discharge no other useful function they testify, by their very existence, to forgotten facts in regard to the origin of the town.

15. We are not, however, absolutely limited to information drawn from our own land for the history of institutions in England: we may be able to fill up a certain number of gaps by means of the comparative method. There are some parts of the world where institutions now exist which are very similar to those which were at work in England during the middle ages; or the early condition of England was similar to that of other parts of Europe, and light drawn from distant sources may help us to understand what was

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1 At the same time it must be borne in mind that some arrangements which seem to us very curious may be of comparatively recent origin. Compare Prof. Maitland in *The Survival of Archaic Communities*. *Law Quarterly*, xxvi, 261.
going on in our own land. But this method of reasoning must always be used with care; the gilds in Baroda in the present day are similar to the mediæval gilds in England, but they are not identical; we must in all cases prove that the similarity is so close as to justify us in arguing from one to the other, if we are not content to use the modern instance as a more or less apposite illustration rather than an explanation. The causes, which are bringing about the decay of common village life and regulated industry in India, may be similar to those which were at work in former days in England; but the mere presence of an active official body saturated with modern and western ideas is an accelerating, it may be an initiating, force which was wanting among ourselves. The debt which each country owes to other civilisations, its climate and position, and countless other circumstances which are special to it alone, so far affect industrial development and decay in each land that we can rarely get any statement which holds good of all peoples, or lay down with any exactness the "natural progress of opulence." But even if the comparative method fails to give us valuable generalisations or sociological laws, it may serve as a useful adjunct, by enabling us to realise the nature of a social structure, to the existence of which histories and survivals only testify by the merest hints. By contrasting institutions or customs, differing in time and place but with a strong superficial resemblance, we may learn to understand the true character of each; and I have not scrupled to refer, especially in footnotes, to information regarding other countries, which serves to throw light on the economic condition of our own land.

16. In this aspect we may see that the study of English economic history leads us to a standpoint from which we can examine the industrial development of any other country with greater facility and accuracy, since the progress of other lands may be traced most clearly when we have followed out the history of that people who have attained the greatest measure of success. England takes her place among contemporaries as the wealthiest of existing nations, and her contribution to human civilisation has not consisted so much in the development of Literature and Art, as was done by Greece, or in creating Law and administering it like Rome, but rather in the triumphs of her enterprise and the success of her industry. There are other reasons why the growth of English industry may be taken as typical; the comparative completeness of her records from the times when scattered tribes had not yet come to be a nation till the present day renders it less impossible to trace the course of English than of some other industrial developments. Again, the insular position of England has given a marked character to her civilisation, while the comparative immunity from foreign invasion has rendered it more possible to specify the effects of intercourse with other lands, and of the settlement of foreigners here, than might otherwise be the case. On all these grounds we may feel that the story of English industry may be regarded as typical, and as giving us a useful clue with which to follow out the history of economic progress in other lands and other times.

The study of progress in medieval times may also have a re-assuring effect in regard to controversies in the present day. In looking back we can see that an order has emerged from the chaos, and that large political aims, both for good government within and influence abroad, have gradually asserted themselves. But at each step, the broad issues were obscured by passing occurrences, and narrow and selfish interests. Powerful as these disintegrating factors have been, at every stage, they have not after all been the controlling force; they have only served as the instruments and occasions by which wisdom has asserted itself and the public good has been secured.

I. EARLY HISTORY.

17. The German tribes, from which the English nation afterwards sprang, are described by Caesar as only just emerging from a nomadic condition, since they had not secured settled homes. They were an agglomeration of little groups, each of which probably consisted of a joint-family with the closest ties of kindred among the members. The men who composed them were occasionally brought into connection with the members of other families for judicial purposes, and the whole body might be united in the presence of a common danger.

There was very little complexity in such a social condition. The patriarchal families carried on pasture or arable farming on very primitive lines. In addition to these peaceful avocations, the organising of predatory expeditions appears to have been a regular practice. Enterprising leaders attached to themselves a devoted personal following, who had a part in the riches and the spoils of any venture. But the ties of blood, and of personal loyalty, sufficed to hold society together, and to determine the obligations of each individual towards his neighbours and his claims upon them. If we contrast the position of their English descendants a thousand years later, as it is pictured for us in the Domesday Survey, we cannot but be struck by the extraordinary revolution which had taken place in the condition of the people. The English were no longer a mere congeries of septs, but a nation with complicated political institutions; they had been so long settled in the island they had conquered that they had become a clearly defined people, ruled from a single centre. As early as the seventh century the kings of Northumbria had established such influence over the other English kingdoms, that they could organise a national fiscal system, in which the obligations of each tribe were estimated according to the hundreds. As the kingly power was more successfully asserted, an official class, who were at once dependent on and representatives of royalty, came more and more to the front, and right could be enforced without regard to the claims of kindred.

18. While there was this striking change in the political structure, there may well have been great differences in the tone of social feeling; but of this we cannot easily judge, as we have no real means of estimating the nature of the customary morality of the primitive English tribes. The unqualified praise which Tacitus bestowed upon them has been echoed by later writers; and the careful investigation of the relics that remain, in their places of burial and elsewhere, goes to show that they were not mere savages, while in their primitive condition and still uninfluenced by Roman civilisation. On the other hand, some of those who have devoted themselves to the study of their laws are less favourably impressed. But whatever their virtues or vices may have been, the acknowledged right of each freeman to appeal to the judgment of the sword, and their habit of pursuing warfare as a regular business, prevented them from settling down at once into well-ordered society, and survived as disturbing elements for many generations.

These practices however fell more and more into disuse; but other influences came into operation soon after the English took up their abode in Britain, and became more 449 A.D.

B.C. 55
A.D. 1066

Great changes in political structure 55 B.C.

1066 A.D.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.

2 Compare Judicia Civitatis Londoniae, viii. and Seebohm, Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, 415.
3 Montesquieu, who was somewhat influenced by the "noble savage" theory which was current in his days, ascribed the excellence of the modern English constitution to their primitive wisdom, Esprit des Lois, ix. 6.
4 "He was in fact a thorough gentleman, and the proof of it lies in his perceiving that woman was to be revered as well as loved." Hodgetts, Older England, 104.
5 "They possessed no several estate, and were steeped in the squalor of unintelligent poverty." Coote, Romans of Britain, 447.
emerged from a nomadic state: apart from this direct evidence we might have inferred on general grounds that they must have pursued a pastoral life at some period. If the Teutonic peoples really migrated from the Asiatic steppes, their original economy must have been of this character; while the wandering of a tribe—not the incursion of a horde of conquerors—is scarcely intelligible unless we suppose them accompanied and supported by their flocks and herds. One most important occasion for the wandering of such tribes must have been a lack of fodder, and they would take the direction which presented the least obstacles to their continued livelihood from their herds. Level plains and river courses would offer favourite lines of progress; while the rapid multiplication, which seems to have continued in the regions from which they came, would always urge an onward movement. But at length they would find themselves opposed by obstacles which prevented any farther advance; there were no means of transport by which a nomadic people could convey their herds across the German Ocean, while the Roman armies prevented the farther progress of the barbarian tribes, as tribes. In some such way as this the English were forced to settle down on the strip of land in Frisia, where they were sooner or later compelled to eke out their subsistence from their herds by means of tillage. From thence they subsequently emerged to conquer Britain.

The descriptions which we read of nomadic peoples in the present day, enable us to form a fairly clear idea of the economy of similar tribes long ago. In the management of the herd, in successful breeding and training, there is opposed in pp. 490—501 an account of the tribes at the time of the invasion of Britain and subsequently; they are mentioned by name by Ptolemy as dwelling at the mouth of the Elbe, in close association with the Angli and Sueri, who were probably identical. Portions of the tribes continued in the old settlements, and as Old Saxons preserved their ancient customs (A.D. 738) till at least the time of Bede. (Brev. Eccl. v. 19.)

1. De Bello Gallico, v. 1, Neque multum frumento, sed maximum partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus.

2. L. Morgan (Ancient Society, p. 21) points out that tribes have sometimes been supported in long migrations by fishing in the rivers the course of which they followed.


Evidence of Caesar.

War and the chase.

Use and assignment of waste.

The agriculture of migratory peoples.

B.C. 55—A.D. 449.

portunity for the constant exercise of forethought and skill. The land over which the cattle range is not appropriated. Each family however possesses its own herd; and there may also be an understanding, for mutual convenience, between two septs or families, as to the runs which their cattle are to occupy respectively. When we bear in mind these facts as to the general character of such tribes, we shall be in a better position for interpreting the hints which Caesar gives us in regard to some matters of detail.

They were, as he tells us, mostly occupied with hunting and warfare, and they derived subsistence from their herds and the spoils of the chase; but they hardly devoted themselves to agriculture at all. Under these circumstances it is quite clear that the assignent of land which Caesar describes, must either have been forest for game or pasturage for cattle; in any case it was waste land they wished to use, as they could have little interest in securing possession of fields that were suitable for tillage. What they wished to have was the right to use a well-stocked waste, and the lands thus assigned were common to the members of a particular family or sept for the time being, and were not held in severalty.

We cannot be surprised at reading of a people in this imperfectly settled condition that they had no permanent houses; their dwellings were only roughly put together to serve as a temporary shelter. But it does not necessarily

The English in Frisia.

follow that they were so wholly ignorant of tillage that they did not practise it at all. Primitive agriculture is perfectly consistent with a very migratory life. Some migratory tribes in the present day diversify the monotony of their life by occasionally growing a crop, and since, according to Caesar, the German tribes settled in the same district it was at all events possible for them to practise agriculture in this primitive form, as an adjunct to their other supplies.

20. There are indeed positive advantages in the method of tillage which consists in clearing the land to take a single crop, and then letting it go wild again, while the same process is repeated elsewhere. By such extensive culture, full advantage is taken of the natural fertility of the soil; the system often maintains itself side by side with methods of culture that imply far more care and skill: it obtains in Russia now. Extensive tillage, in some form or other, evidence furnished by Caesar with considerable care, comes to the conclusion that they had a regular agricultural system, and that the various septs interchanged dwellings as well as lands at the time of the annual redistribution. But the statements already quoted as to their means of subsistence make against the opinion that they were so elaborately organised.

1 Maius is grown by North American tribes who are still mainly given to hunting and migrating. The Phenicians, when circumnavigating Africa, wintered over whilst they grew crops of wheat. Herodotus, iv. 42.

2 Some pastoral tribes in North Africa prefer to have their herds ranging near their homesteads and lay out arable fields at a distance of some miles.

33.

Wallace, Russia, ii. 301. In former days in Aberdeenshire the out-town land, which lay at a greater distance from the homestead, was managed on this system, while the in-town fields were manured and cropped regularly year after year. Northern Rural Life, 20. Similarly the two methods of cultivation are used for different parts of their land by some peasants in India. "The system of tillage is in many respects peculiar. Having first found his level space the husbandman proceeds to build thereon his hut of wicker and thatch. The next step is to clear the soil of stones and brushwood. From the ashes of the earthen grate at which his coarse meal is cooked, from the droppings of his own and his neighbour's cattle, is gathered together a small stock of manure; and this he spreads over the cleared space around this fragile homestead. On the oasis thus created in the midst of wilderness is sown year after year the unwatered spring crop. For the autumn harvest the grain or homestead lands are never tilled. To find a soil for his harvest, the peasant must go further afield or rather further afield. Sallying forth in March or April, he cuts down the scrubby undergrowth or saplings on some spot outside the goenir. These he arranges regularly over the land; and a month or two later, when summer has sufficiently dried their sap, he sets the whole alight. The alkali of the soil is washed away by the rain, and the grass begins to sprout. Being thus prepared, the peasant sows his crop of turnips, and makes the soil very fertile. Having sown his turnips in the midst of the ashes, he allows them to grow until it becomes necessary to make use of them. He then uses his plough to the utmost degree of the marl which can be brought up; and having thus prepared the ground he repeats the same process. "Belgium, i. 439."
appears to have been practised in all parts of the world, and it would be quite congruent with the social habits which Caesar describes. In so far as the English had agriculture, or when they began to engage in agriculture, it was probably on this method, as it would fit in most easily with their other modes of obtaining subsistence.

21. The well-known passage in the *Germania* of Tacitus describes a state of society which is at first sight not very dissimilar, though from the slight stress laid on other modes of livelihood we may perhaps infer that the tribes were mainly dependent on agriculture at the time when he wrote. "They change the ploughed fields annually, and there is land over." The sentence seems to imply the existence of an extensive system, as the phrase "et superest ager" is hardly intelligible unless we interpret it as an indication that the whole extent of the waste was so large that they were able to change the part which they cultivated every year. But there is one point to which Tacitus calls attention in regard to which Caesar is silent; the range of their wandering was so far restricted that they were in the habit of storing supplies of food. Their villages were curiously irregular to Roman eyes, and they may perhaps have occasionally moved full of rain the soil is ready for the sowing of the autumn crop. It is obvious of course that this process cannot be repeated yearly. To allow the soil to recover itself, and the brushwood to grow again, a cycle of fallow years is needed, and as a rule the kharff is reap ed but every third autumn." Conybeare, *Note on the Parseao Dushi of the Mirzapur District*, 14. Compare also Virgil, *Georgics*, t. 84. Illustrations may be found from the habits of different African tribes: the Kafirs remove their entire kraal when the soil is exhausted and break up new ground. *Compendium of Zulu Law*, p. 150.

Mr. Frazer has called my attention to other instances: "Migrations are frequent as the result of a discovery of good soil; sometimes a whole village will migrate to a new place." Felkin on the Madni Tribe, *Proceedings of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh* (1884), xx. 315. See also Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, 22. Hermann affords a close parallel to Caesar's description, as the Kafars change their fields annually; they move every two or three years and build new houses to be near their cultivation; "Each village has its own lands; and if they are large in comparison with the inhabitants, they are able to cultivate new fields for six or seven years; but if their lands are small, they are compelled to come back to their former cultivation in three or four years; but after so short a period the jungle on it is too small to produce any good amount of ashes, and the crops are poor." Mason in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1868), xxxvii. 125.

1 There is, as Mr. Frazer has pointed out to me, an interesting parallel in the habits of the Kafirs. Mr. Kay writes, "It is worthy of remark that although these subterranean storehouses are frequently exposed, and the kral in which they are made sometimes deserted for weeks and months together, an instance rarely or never occurs of one being broken open, or of its contents being unlawfully taken away. This would be accounted a very heinous offence." *Travels and Researches in Caraffia*, 145.

2 It is worth while to compare the obstacles to the progress of the lower races. Tribes which live by hunting depend for their existence on being within reach of game: they must follow the herds and have scarcely any means of storing supplies of meat: they have no foresight except for the next few days. As they make no effort to keep up the supply of game, any encroachment on their grounds is a serious danger, and their only hope of having enough lies in exterminating the intruders; hence the ruthlessness of North American Indian wars. They cannot spare the lives of enemies, as they have no means of procuring additional supplies of food. The position of pastoral peoples is very different: by skilful management of their flocks and herds they may have an increased supply of the means of life, and they are able to utilize the services of others in attending to them. Hence among pastoral peoples we find that there is room for the preservation of slaves: the struggle for existence begins to take the form of seeking to develop the resources of nature, instead of that of trying to maintain oneself by keeping down the number of possible competitors. Compare Roscher, *Nat. d. Ackerbauers*, p. 21.
definite increase; scarcity of fodder limits it, and the chances of disease and drought render this sort of wealth liable to total destruction from changes in the seasons; there are many natural barriers to the increase of pastoral riches. But the man with a settled store has entered on a mode of life in which there are infinite possibilities of progress; he may obtain and lay up, not one sort of wealth only, but wealth of different kinds, and thus possibilities of trade will arise. Then again his store of wealth enables him to look far ahead and engage in work which will ultimately prove most useful, even though it yields no immediate return; while he may set himself to acquire skill in various directions. The step from located stores to fixed houses is comparatively easy; and when once a tribe has settled in permanent habitations, the prospect of steady progress without assignable limits, in numbers, in national wealth and in culture, really lies open before them.

22. We have no precise evidence as to the time when the English entirely relinquished their migratory habits and built permanent houses; but whenever this occurred, the habitations provided were very different from those which the Romans would have reared in occupying a new territory; they would have begun by laying out a city from which, as the centre of the new district, the great roads led into the surrounding country. But the Germans founded no cities and settled in isolated groups as they were attracted by physical advantages, without adopting any regular method of grouping. A comparison of the modes of

1 Morgan, Ancient Society, pp. 26, 534.
2 See below, p. 79.

On the laying out of a Roman Colony compare Cato, Romans in Britain, 52.

"In proofs of cemeterisation England and Wales are richer than any other Roman country in Europe." ibid. 83.

Germania, c. 16: Nullas Germanorum popullas urbes habiari, saepe notum est: ne pati quidem inter se sequestras sedes. Colunt discretis et diversis, ut foem, ut campus, ut nemus placitum. Vicos locant, non in nostrarum metropoli, concedes et coherebitur sedes: simul quam cum domus aequalis, sive adversus causas ignis remedium, sive insectis admirandus.

Bethmann-Hollweg (Civil-Process, iv. p. 80) argues that the last two sentences describe two distinct forms of settled habitation, similar to those which are known as the "joint-undivided family," and exist side by side in Bengal. The joint undivided family consists of a group of perhaps three generations, who are united by partaking together in common meals, common

settlement adopted by different tribes shows that they were greatly determined in their choice by physical considerations. Little cases on heaths and moors, which could hardly support a village, might be the residence of a household; so might restricted habitable spots on mountains, or in forest glades. There seems to be reason to believe, however, that different races have definite preferences as to the manner of settlement which they adopt, when circumstances allow them to use this discretion. The Celts appear to have preferred isolated dwellings or mere hamlets, but the Germans established themselves in villages. This was the practice of the tribes which Tacitus describes, and they made arrangement, and who hold common property; while in the village community each head of a family has definite property, as distinguished from the property of other families in the community.

Mr. Sirebhoom (Village Community, p. 88) also holds that the two sentences refer to different kinds of social groups: the landowners living in scattered homes, with serfs occupying villages (ricos) on their estates.

It seems to be more natural however to regard the second sentence as merely explaining the character of the scattered groups which have been already contrasted with Roman towns. On the German distaste for urban life see Gfrerer, Fasti Gregoriana V. 7, 96.

1 Particular situations might be attractive for the greater security they afforded; we may compare the early settlements of Irish monks. Where no isolated retreat can be obtained, deliberate devastation may be resorted to in self-defense.

Public notice might perhaps be added, quam latine sese agitum the Rajah, that the traditional policy of the state was to maintain inaccessibility. Forests, difficult passes, vile roads, thick jungles, were the bulwarks not only of the capital, but of most of the towns and villages. Jacob, Western India, p. 120.

2 Meitzen, Siedlung und Agrarwesen, i. 174. Mathraud, Domesticky Bohem and Beyond, 16.

3 Meitzen, op. cit. i. 169.

4 Agri pro numero colonorum, ab universis in vicibus occupantur: quos max inter se secundum digestionem particulariter: facultatem particulam camporum sparsos præstant: arma per annos mutans, et superast auctor. Germ. 29.

This passage has given rise to an immense number of different explanations: the interpretation adopted is on the whole that of Waiz (Verfassungsgeschichte, i. p. 120) and Haenn (Arbus Hausdeh, p. 210), though they support it by the use of other readings, which scarcely seem admissible according to the manuscript authority.
EARLY HISTORY.

B.C. 55—A.D. 449.

The rights of each cultivator.

Extensive tillage of the fields in the waste.

The English in Frisia.

B.C. 55—A.D. 449.

The lands are held by authority for regular tillage. "The lands are held by all interchangeably, in proportion to the number of the cultivators; and these they afterwards divide among themselves according to their dignity; the extent of the territory renders the partition easy. They change the ploughed fields annually, and there is land over." From this we gather that an amount of unoccupied land was assigned to each group—not fields, but the waste from which fields could be formed and where all other necessities could be found. The quantity of unoccupied land thus assigned was, in each case, determined with reference to the number of cultivators, who were to live together on the land and share the advantages it offered for tillage, for fodder and for pasturage.

23. If we read the scanty evidence in the light of subsequent practice, it appears that the cultivators in such a patriarchal group enjoyed individual shares of the common resources. They seem to have had separate houses with yards attached (toft) and valuable privileges as well. Each one could probably claim some strips in the fields (arva) which were under cultivation, as well as a portion of the meadow land from which they cut their hay; and he would use the common land (ager) to pasture his cattle, and to cut his fuel. An individual share in these common resources constituted the higit of the Germans. 1

(a) There is no reason to suppose that the mode of tillage was different from that which was in use in the time of Cesar; Tacitus remarks that the tribes possessed little agricultural skill, and explicitly states that the cultivation was extensive. 2 Such a condition of course implies that there were no permanent fields, but that a new portion of the ager was each year broken up and ploughed by the collective industry of the village. When Tacitus says that they divided the lands among themselves, he can hardly mean that the whole area was broken up into separate holdings, but that each villager received some land to till as his share of the fields which were newly cleared for crops each year, and that he received it as his for a year only. 3 The man had a right to a portion of the ground which was annually prepared for tillage, but he did not retain any one piece of land except in so far as he always occupied the same house and yard from year to year.

(b) His share of the hay crop was secured to him in a right to meadow similar fashion; this, when they became thoroughly settled, was grown year after year on the same part of the village land, as the spot that was best watered or grew the best grass was selected to serve as permanent meadow; it was usually divided into strips, and each villager would have his strip assigned him only for a single season, and when it was ready to cut. This practice obtained in historical times in places where the annual re-assignment of portions of land for tillage did not occur, and it serves at all events to illustrate primitive practice. 4

1 At Sierra Leone extensive tillage is carried on collectively and "the produce is divided to every family according to its numbers." Winterbottom, Sierra Leone, 92. This would be the only certain method of securing equality in the shares: assignment by lot is a means of avoiding unfairness in assigning lands: in some villages in India where certain plots are more favourably situated than others as regards the water supply, the plots are annually re-assigned by lot, so that each may have his chance of getting one of the better bits. The Germans however did not attempt to partition equal shares, but made the division according to dignity. This principle of assignment is found in many English boroughs where the custom has obtained of allotting the arable or meadow lands according to the seniority of the burgesses. Nottingham, Berwick, and Laugherne are cases in point. Gomme in Archaeologia, xlv. 411. See below, p. 45, n. 2, for these two principles of assignment among Norsemen. On modes of division for revenue purposes, see E. Thomas, Revenue of Moghal Empire, 9.

2 On the management of meadow compare Yinograph, Villanage in England, 539. The stock illustration is given by Dr Giles in his History of Hampden, p. 79. The common meadow is laid out by boundary stones into 18 (2) large divisions, technically called layings out. These always remain the same, and each laying out in like manner is divided into four pieces called 'Stats,' First Set, Second, Third and Fourth Sets. Now, as the customs of Aston and Cost are based on the principles of justice and equity between all the commoners, and the Common Meadow is not equally fertile for grass in every part, it becomes desirable to adopt some mode of giving all an equal chance of obtaining the best cuts for their cattle. To effect this, recourse is had to the ballot; and the following mode is practised. From lines immemorial there have been sixteen marks established in the village, each of which corresponds with four yard lands, and the whole sixteen consequently represent the 64 yard lands into which the common is divided. A certain number of the tenants, consequently, have the same mark, which they always keep, so that every one of them knows his own. The use of these marks is to enable the tenants...
(c) In regard to the common rights on the waste little need be added here; it may be noted however that space had to be provided for each community "pro numero cultorum." This limitation may have reference to the necessity of securing sufficient pastureage for the teams of oxen which the cultivators possessed and without which they could not carry on their tillage; more probably, however, it means that they allotted the land, so that the cultivators could carry on extensive culture without being forced to recur to soil already tilled, before several years had elapsed and it had completely recovered. The meadow reverted to the common waste as soon as the hay was harvested, and the cattle could pasture there, or on the stubble from which the corn had been removed. Our experience of modern agriculture renders it hard for us to realise the great importance of the common waste in primitive economy. We are apt to think of a prosperous village as one that had good fields with sufficient pastureage attached, every year to draw lots for their portion of the Meadow. When the grass is fit to cut, which will be at different times in different years according to the season, the Grass Stewards and Sixteens summon the tenants to a general meeting, and the following ceremony takes place. Four of the tenants come forward each bearing his mark cut on a piece of wood, as, for example, the 'cryin' pan,' the 'burn's foot,' the 'bow,' the two strokes to the right and one at top, etc. These four marks are thrown into a hat, and a boy, having shaken up the hat, again draws forth the marks. The first drawn entitles its owner to have his portion of the Common Meadow in 'Set One,' the second drawn in 'Set Two,' and thus four of the tenants having obtained their allotments, four others come forwards, and the same process is repeated until all the tenants have received their allotments....The most singular feature of this very intricate system remains to be told. When the lots are all drawn, each man goes armed with his scythe, and cuts out his mark on the piece of ground which belongs to him, and which in many cases lies in so narrow a strip, that he has not width enough to take a full sweep with his scythe, but is obliged to hack down his grass in an inconvenient manner, as he is best able.

This may be a survival, or it may have arisen at a later date from endeavours to manage hard, which the burgesses had the right of occupying, in an equitable manner. Prof. Maitland on Survivals of Archæal Communities in Law Quarterly, ii. 219.

1 On the reservation of pasture as an adjunct of the holding see Vinogradoff, Villanages in England, 251.
2 "As the natives of the coast are ignorant of the advantages of manure, and probably are too idle to hoe the ground, they never raise tw: successive crops from the same plantation; a new one is made every year, and the old one remains uncultivated for four, five, or seven years according to the quantity of land conveniently situated for rice plantations which may be possessed by them." Winterbottom, Sierra Leone, 82. See on the Karens above, p. 84, note.
3 In Wales after the Aftermath was secured (Vendition Code, iii. xxv. 37), Ancient Laws, p. 160.
24. This is a convenient point at which to look a little farther ahead and describe the next step in social progress; one for which, so far as we can see, the tribes with their located stores were almost ready in the time of Tacitus, though they may not have actually made this advance till a much later date; but we have no direct evidence on the subject and must draw on the knowledge we obtain by comparing the condition of other countries in the present day. Mr Wallace has called attention to the important changes which follow in Russia upon the introduction of more careful tillage¹. Sooner or later men come by choice to continue cultivating the same land; this may be because a particular plot proves convenient for their fixed dwellings; or it may merely be a result of increasing skill, when they find that by expending labour in manuring the land a better crop can be obtained; and then a system of intensive farming will supersede the more slovenly extensive tillage. Instead of trying to keep up the supply by taking in a new area, men will employ more care and forethought on the lands already under plough; they will wish to plan their operations with regard to a longer period of time, and will be glad of such conditions of tenure as will enable them to carry out their purpose. The plot that is really well worked one year will retain a certain portion of the advantage for a second, a third or a fourth season; and the holder's claim to get the benefit of his unexhausted improvements will make him desire to retain the use of his land for a longer period than the single year, for which the plot was originally allotted to him. Where-intensive culture is well carried on this desire will be felt by most of the members of the community, and few, if any, will wish for a re-allotment of the lands; the custom of annual or even of frequent redistribution will only linger among backward communities; and gradually it falls into disuse altogether.

When this revolution occurs, the cultivator still retains the same rights over his house and yard, still has common rights on the common waste, but he has acquired a right to the use of a particular holding of arable land indefinitely, since with the introduction of intensive culture, his share becomes permanently individualised. Under this new order, (a) the arable fields are no longer shifted from year to year, but form a portion of the village land which is regularly used for tillage, just as the meadow is regularly used for growing hay; and (b) there are permanent allotments to individuals in the arable fields. The villager no longer merely possesses a definite right to share in all parts of the village land, but he is able to claim a particular piece of arable land as his own, together with the right to meadow land and the use of the waste for pasture. His property to use a common phrase is no longer 'ideal' but 'real'; since he has not only a right to share, but a right to particular plots as his share. Whether this change took place before or after the English invasion, whether intensive culture was known to our forefathers when they came here, or, as on the whole seems more probable, was not introduced in Teutonic Europe generally till after that time, it may be impossible to decide with certainty²; but it was a change of great importance and
fraught with far-reaching results. It was a step in the process by which a man's obligations came to be defined in terms of his territorial possessions.

It would be of great interest if we could tell exactly when and how this stage of agricultural practice was attained, for the system thus developed was maintained in England with little alteration all through the middle ages, and in many districts until the eighteenth century. The land was laid out in permanent open fields, each of which was divided up into numbers of acre or half-acre strips, and these were separated from one another by narrow grass paths known as balks. These do not run the whole length of the field, as at the end of a group of strips which lay lengthwise side by side a headland was left where the plough was turned; the continued ploughing along the side of a hill has sometimes resulted in a curious terrace formation known as lynches. Each holding, large or small, would consist of a number of such scattered strips, until at length the progress of 'enclosure' in Tudor times marked the beginning of a new method of laying out land.

The organisation of the tribes is a matter of constitutional rather than of economic interest, but we must not wholly neglect it; the village (vicus) was the unit of their economy, and the method of tillage and lot of each freeman were decided by the village customs; the gau or hundred (pagus) was a military and judicial division of the people (civitas) as a political whole, and in each of these there were the practice of redistributing arable land in "Hill Parts" at Lanark in Berwickshire (Maine's Village Communities, 95) seems to show that some of the settlers brought with them the practice not of intensive but of extensive agriculture, and that the old method has been maintained. The rearrangement of land so as to set apart tithe "as the plough traverses the tenth acre" (Eithelred, vm. 4, x. 7, Thorpe, Ancient Laws, 1. 338, 343), especially when read in the light of the Welsh laws about co-aration (see above, p. 41, n.), seems to imply a condition where land was not finally allotted, and to be at least congruent with extensive culture. On the whole subject of early ploughing and the relics of it, compare Seebohm's Village Community, ch. i. and iv. The evidence of Welsh survivals and Welsh laws is carefully examined by Mr A. N. Palmer in his Ancient Tenures of Land on the Marches of Wales.

1 A photograph of the open fields and balks at Clothall, Herts, was taken for me by Miss E. M. Leonard, and forms the frontispiece to this volume. I am also indebted to Mr Seebohm for permission to reproduce the excellent map of the open fields at Hitchin from his English Village Community.
assemblies for the conduct of affairs. In these assemblies the B.C. 55—
freemen and nobles took part and elected the principes, who
were their judges and captains; while the captives of war, or
those who had lost their freedom through crime, were the
mere slaves of the free, with no portions in the soil and no
right of defending themselves by arms. At the head of all
was the king, elected from among the direct descendants of
the gods; a princeps in his own hundred, he was seldom
called on to exercise any authority over the whole nation; yet
when a national council was held he would preside, or if a
national migration took place he was the natural leader.

The working of the village institutions and customs
deserves much closer attention here, as it is more especially
of economic significance; unfortunately it has been most
frequently discussed in a political aspect, and the subordi-
nate question of the rights and freedom of individuals per-
sonally has attracted undue attention. The typical village
community seems to have been an enlarged patriarchal
family, the members of which worked together on their
fields, shared the meadow land, and enjoyed the common use
of the waste. We can dimly trace a process by which the
shares became more and more individualised, and see that,
under changing conditions, there were opportunities for the
accretion of new social elements. Though the tie of common of blood,
bind

Possibly some groups in England were formed apart from the blood tie by men who were associated for military
purposes, and who, having fought side by side, settled down
together, under the leadership of a superior who was an
embryo manorial lord*. In other cases the cultivating

1 The formation and character of the Markgemeinschaft in different parts of
Germany has been fully discussed by C. T. v. Inama Sternegg, Deutsche Wirth-
schaftsgeschichte, 1, 92—93. See also Hansen, Agrar. Abhand. iv. 85. The
growth of “the joint family into a village community,” which seems to be of
constant occurrence in India, may be taken as illustrating the process. Thwait,
Aryan Village, 288. Compare also, however, Laveleye, Prins. Property, 181.
2 Earle, Land Charters, iv. 1xx. Such would be the apportionments of land
mentioned in the English Chronicle in 876 when “Halfdene apportioned the lands
group might consist of men who were reduced to subjection by the invading English. Agricultural practice, as well as internal relations between the members of such groups, might be very similar even when there were great differences of social status between the men who formed one group and those who formed another. Those who were the mere serfs of some neighbouring lord, and owed him a large share of their produce, might yet regulate their common affairs by the same sort of rules and by means of officials such as directed the work of free cultivators, who were only occasionally and nominally controlled by political or military superiors. If we make an allowance for these different degrees of freedom, we may say that the village community, as an agricultural unit, is a world-wide institution, and we may draw on the information furnished by other countries, in order to fill out the bald outlines indicated by survivals of these groups as they existed among the English tribes. The much debated question as to the measure of dependence or freedom which any of these village communities possessed at any time in our land may be reserved for such remark as seems necessary below. In order that the common tillage, and due management of the meadow land, as well as of the waste which supplied fuel, wood for building, and so forth to each village community, might be carried on, it was obviously necessary that there should be some administration. This has generally been committed by the assembled householders to one man, who undertakes the duties for a year. In

of Northumbria, and they thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling them," or in 880 when East Anglia was apportioned. We hear that in the apportionment of land in Iceland, which was taking place about the same time, regard was had to the position of "the ship's company in the mother country" (N. L. Beamish, Discovery of America, r.), though sometimes they cast lots instead of apportioning according to dignity. In the Saga of Thorgun Karlson, it is related that when the ship of Bjarni, the discoverer of America, was found to be sinking from derelict, and they were forced to take to a small boat which would not hold all the crew, the captain generously said, "It is my counsel that lots would be drawn, for it shall not be according to rank." The lot fell on Bjarni to go in the boat, but he gave up his place to an Icelandic man "who was desirous to live," and went back to the sinking ship. Beamish, Discovery of America, 104.

1 See §§ 46, 47.

2 Compare Altenstadt in 1485. "Das man alle jare nach Sant Wallburgendag so man erst mag ein merckermeister halten sol,/vnd alle ampt bestellen, nemlich so sal

Russia the office of headman is a burden which everybody B.C. 55— is anxious to escape; in other cases the administration A.D. 449. The head appears to have been hereditary in a leading family from the earliest formation of the community, for it certainly does not always seem possible to derive the individual from the communal rights. However this may be, we know that even at the first there was no equality, but a difference of status and therefore of wealth among the members of the community; and as time went on these differences sometimes became more decided so as eventually to break up the system altogether.
EARLY HISTORY.

26. From what we know of the habits of our forefathers we must feel that they had made considerable progress in the industrial arts. Their powers of locomotion, both by land and sea, show that they could construct wheeled vehicles, and handle their ships. But the most definite evidence in regard to their mechanical skill is drawn from the relics which have been preserved; ancient swords, shields, and other implements can be identified by their forms, or by the special type of ornament, as of purely English manufacture, and these speak decisively to the skill of the men who made them. In regard to such points it may be worth while to quote the opinions of specialists.

There seems to be good reason to believe that the English were acquainted with the use of money before they migrated of the institution, and its political importance is minimised. This distinction was not sufficiently recognised by von Maurer in his classical work on the subject of Markenfassung. The corresponding changes in England can be partly traced with the help of Kemble, Saxons in England (p. pp. 35—71), Stubbs, Constitutional History (p. pp. 38, 49), and Nasse, Land Community, also Scrutton, Common Fields, p. 8. Mr Kemble did great service at the time he wrote, but his conclusions on almost every point have been modified by later investigators. There is a temptation to adopt for England what has been worked out for Germany, instead of investigating the phenomena as they occurred here. By far the most thorough examination of the English evidence is to be found in Mr G. L. Gomme’s Village Community. He adduces good reasons against accepting the conclusion at which Mr Seebohm arrived that all the communities in England were originally servile, but the facts collected and arranged by Mr Seebohm in the English Village Community are of the greatest interest, even though there be a difference of opinion about the manner in which they are to be interpreted.

Mr Seebohm in his Ancient Tenures on the Marches of Wales calls attention (p. 115) to evidence of pre-manorial freedom and joint-proprietorship of lands by a family group. The historians of Ireland and Scotland have noted a state of society which was somewhat similar, though modified by a strong feeling of kinship and respect for the head of the sept, see Sullivan’s introduction to O’Curry’s Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, i. cxxi—cxcvi, and a history of early tenures in Mr Skeen’s Celtic Scotland, ii. pp. 139, 215.

It is interesting to find traces of the same institution among a Semitic people, and to examine the incidental allusions in the Bible to the land system of the Hebrews. For the first settlement see J. Fenton in the Theological Review, xiv. 489, and for an admirable account of the changes as well as the Church Quarterly Review, x. p. 404.


2 The ships of the Germans in the time of Tacitus had not sails; on their ships and those of the Vikings compare Montelius, Sweden, p. 115, and Scarry, Vikings, 22, 140.

to Britain. The whole system of Wergilde is very primitive, and appears to have been organised in a state of society when cattle were the ordinary form of wealth; but Mr Seebohm has shown that the parallelism between Anglo-Saxon and continental practice extends to the money payments which were enforced. If money was demanded in composition for crimes it was doubtless in circulation for purposes of trade.

The evidence of relics shows that they had other elements of culture. Dr Guest argues that the earlier entries in the English Chronicle may have been records inscribed on staves, and arranged like those of a ‘bardic frame.’ ‘As to the characters in which these events were recorded, what could they be but the “runes” which our ancestors brought with them into the island, and which, even after the Roman letters had been introduced by Christian missionaries, were regarded with so much favour that we often find them transcribed in our MSS, even as late as the thirteenth century with the title “Alphabetum Anglicum” written over them.”

Their skill in other arts may be seen from the equipment of the great warrior who is represented in Teutonic Legend as a craftsman, not despising the craftsman’s skill, but as well able to fashion the blade he wielded; he had a sword with a double-edged blade of steel and a shield with a rich boss. Specimens of these survive to bear witness about the state of the arts as practised among our forefathers in their pre-Christian days, 3

3 Seebohm, Tribal Customs in Anglo-Saxon Law, 488.

4 The evidence drawn from the Anglo-Saxon dooms does not appear to be confirmed, as was argued in other editions of this work, by the character of the Anglo-Saxon coins. ‘Amongst the almost innumerable various types which are found upon the Anglo-Saxon money, there are only two known which can with any possibility be derived from the Romans.’ (Buiding, Annals of the Coinage, i. 101.) More recent investigation seems to show that the Anglo-Saxon silver coinage was not primitive, but was derived from that of the Franks in Merovingian times. Mr Henry holds that the Roman coinage did influence the Anglo-Saxon types, but that the actual introduction of an English coinage was not due to the influence of the Roman currency but to ‘‘that of the Frankish currency upon the other side of the Channel.’’ (Catalogue, i. x.) Roman civilisation did not survive in Britain so as to be a dominating influence on English traded practice.


6 Numerous Illustrations of the relics found in graves are given by Du Chaillu, in The Viking Age. Hodgetts’s (Older England, 16) describes the warrior’s equip-
and these may be fairly taken as showing what their native genius apart from foreign influence was able to accomplish.

27. When we see how much of their skill was directed to the manufacture of arms and adornments for the warrior we may learn what a large part warfare played in their ordinary life; it could be carried on without disturbing the territorial system already described. We have an instance of a great defensive war in which the Suevi engaged, half of them being under arms, and half occupied in tillage every year; the village system rendered this arrangement possible and it was adopted by the English at a much later date as giving the best systematic defence against the Danes. Again we find members of these tribes employed by the Romans as mercenaries under their own leaders, not merely recruited from German settlements within the limits of the Empire, although such settlements existed. But much more important schooling in warfare was obtained by piracy; this was the recognised business of many of the people, and offered a constant opening for the employment of the surplus population. What may be the conditions which render a nation so specially prolific as English tribes appear to have been at that time are hardly known; but it is commonly said that peoples just emerging out of barbarism exhibit a sudden increased power of multiplication; partly perhaps because a more settled life is favourable to the nurture of the young. The social conditions which rendered the Germans more prolific than the Romans are

4. E. G. Geijer (Poor Laws, pp. 70, 103) has some interesting remarks on the effect of this continued prosecution of war as a trade on the internal development of Sweden: for its effects on an inland people, see W. W. Hunter, *Rural Bengal*, p. 219. Compare the enumeration of various employments given by Aristotle: *Po. Pol.*, 7, 8; *Econ.,* vi. 5.) *English Chronicle*, 394.
5. *Econom. and Social History*, i. 344.

This increase of population gave rise to a surplus which could not be maintained by means of primitive methods of subsistence; but the German's love of wandering is as strong as his love of home, and any leader who started on a life of adventure in foreign parts was likely to find a following. In inland districts these bands doubtless resembled the free-booters who infested the English and Scotch borders, and whose doings are familiar to the readers of the Monastery and others of the Waverley Novels; but the tribes that bordered on a sea coast sent out their surplus population to engage in regular piracy along neighbouring shores. The coasts of Normandy and of Britain had suffered for many years from these pirates, so that the officer whose duty it was to repel these attacks had the regular title of *Comes Litoris Saxonicir Britanniam*; indeed these ravages, at the hands of one or other of the northern peoples, continued for centuries—so long as warfare was prosecuted by the Norsemen as a regular business. A life of piratical adventure had many attractions and was eagerly adopted, while it

alluded to by Tacitus; and these, along with the simplicity of this young nation, make up the whole explanation that can be offered.

The curious revival of piracy in New England at the close of the eighteenth century, compare Weeden, *Econ. and Social History*, i. 344.
EARLY HISTORY.

was readily adapted to institutions which survived from times when war was necessary, not merely for the maintenance of some, but for the defence of all. This mode of life gave rise to a generally recognised social institution; the princeps gathered a comitatus, who were bound by the closest of all ties to fight in his behalf and act as a permanent force, or as a body of freebooters or pirates when the tribe became more settled. It is indeed a question, whether these pirate bands did not serve another purpose. We have seen in the preceding paragraph that there is at least a strong probability that the German tribes were accustomed to trading, and that they made use of materials which must have been imported from distant lands. It would seem most likely that this was accomplished by means of these expeditions, and that the shipmen did a little commerce when there was no satisfactory opportunity for plundering. There is abundant evidence to show that in the fourteenth, and even in the sixteenth, century, commercial and piratical transactions were not completely differentiated; and we may take these early expeditions as the beginning of our merchant shipping, as well as of our naval prowess and attempts at colonisation.

Temporary settlements

1 The life of Anskar (Migne, Cxxiv. 990) gives a good many interesting hints as to northern commerce in the ninth century. He built a church at Sleeswick, which was one of the great trading centres, with the special object of reaching the merchants (c. 41); and missionary work suffered more than once from the depredations of pirates (cc. 16, 22, 29). The merchants of Eyrewa, which is described as a very wealthy depot of trade, failed to organise resistance against a viking and his naval mercenaries (c. 96); fighting was so frequent that there was no security for property; and the bishopric of Hamburg was endowed with a cell in Flanders (c. 19), which was comparatively safe. There was very little improvement during the next two hundred years, for the close connection between trade and piracy comes out in many of the Sagas. In Harald Harefager’s Saga, c. 38, it is related that Biorn went but little on war expeditions, but devoted himself to commerce with success (Laiing, Chronicle of Kings of Norway, t. 305). In the Saga of King Olaf the Saint, c. 62, we read that the people “had much trading intercourse with England and Saxony and Flanders as I Denmark, and some had been on viking expeditions, and had had their winter abode in Christian lands” (Laiing, t. 65). The slave dealer would appear in each character alternately when on an expedition, or selling at a fair. See also Streatfield, Lincolnshire and the Domes, 101, 103. Eresby (Vikings, 183) mentions a pair of scales, found along with his war-gear in the tomb of a viking, as a “curious type of the double nature of his life as a soldier and a tradesman.”

The English in Frisia.

mitted by such bands from the migrations of a tribe that found their quarters uncomfortably contracted; for the pirates might settle for a time as the best means of securing the spoils, and the fort thus formed become a centre to which their countrymen migrated; nor was very much more preparation required for the one expedition than for the other. Their wives and children were stowed in the wagons their oxen drew, so that a portion of any tribe could swarm off by land transit to quarters that were unpeopled or weakly defended, and their ships would give similar or even greater facilities. But we hear of cases where migrations were due to special causes which drove a tribe from its home; such was the migration of the Usipetes from the neighbourhood of the victorious Suevi1, or of the Cimbri when driven from their homes on the Danish peninsula by the inundations of the sea2. The great incursions of the English into Britain were not improbably partly due to a similar destruction of their homes; the people would thus be forced to migrate as a body, instead of merely sending out bands of marauders or comparatively small bodies of settlers. The first raids would however be made by bands of warriors; and each new wave of invasion which came from across the sea, or which rose among the English settlers and drove the Welsh farther a.d. 755, and farther to the West, would be of the same type3. It was thus that the bold enriched themselves with spoil, or procured estates as the reward which the princeps bestowed on their valour.

There is great difficulty in piecing these various details together so as to get a real picture of the life of our ancestors in their German homes; for the different traits are so inconsistent, that it seems strange that they could have been combined at all. But the accounts of the migrations of the tribes forbid us to suppose that they had many slaves, and we are forced to believe that the warriors were not mere ruthless savages, but men who were capable of manual labour, and who were skilled in certain crafts. The hero

1 Caesar, B. G. iv. 1, 4.
3 English Chronicle, under 755.
was able to forge the blade with which he encountered his foe. It is strange perhaps to think of the warrior as ever betaking himself to the less stirring labours of husbandry, but Caesar’s language in regard to the Suevi is quite conclusive; nor are instances wanting in modern times of tribes that sustained themselves partly by the cultivation of their fields and partly by their plundering expeditions: for many years the people of Lower Bengal were subject to the ravages of hill tribes, who yet carried on agriculture of their own during the summer months. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had a love of adventure and were mainly engaged as warriors, but the very stories of their piratical expeditions themselves are inexplicable unless we recognise that the same men who fought so ruthlessly were skilful craftsmen, and were not wholly averse to tillage.

III. THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

28. The preceding paragraphs have described the condition of our forefathers while they were still living in Germany and before they undertook the conquest of Britain; it is worth while now to turn to examine the state of the land where they fixed their new homes and see what they found on their arrival. This is a preliminary enquiry, on which we must enter before we face the difficult question how far the material progress of the English people was directly and deeply affected by their contact with the remains of Imperial civilisation in Britain. With regard to this we may anticipate the conclusion reached below and state that the historical evidence seems on the whole to show that the subsequent English civilisation was almost entirely a native growth, though elements of Roman lore and skill were indirectly introduced among our countrymen at a later date, by Christian missionaries, and travelling merchants from the continent.

There can of course be no dispute as to the high civilisation which Britain had attained in the second and third centuries. It had been settled like other Roman colonies, and imperial officials had directed the development of its resources. The Roman citizens greatly coveted grants of the broad territories which were subdued by their legions, and there was never much difficulty in planting a new territorium with such settlers; the tenure on which they held their estates was technically known as possessio since the land was theoretically resumable by the State, though as a matter of fact it was hereditary, and licence could be obtained for its alienation. But the old inhabitants were retained as coloni, the actual cultivators of the soil to which they were attached, though they had in other respects a considerable amount of personal freedom. But the most important changes were those which were made on the actual land itself. All Roman territoria were laid out on one definite plan; roads were made both as great channels of communication, and for the purpose of tillage; these roads served as the limits of the different centuriae (of about 200 acres each) into which each civitas was divided, while boundaries were marked by mounds, stones or trees, which defined in a permanent manner the limits of the various estates; the rectangular portions thus laid out by the Roman agrimensores were designed to be permanent divisions of the soil.

The Romans were accustomed to introduce such animals, as well as plants and trees as they thought would flourish in any new colony; the cherry and the vine were brought to Britain by Hadrian’s Wall was portioned out, and the amount of corn produced must have been very great; the Roman settlers had

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1 Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, 219.
built numerous cities, and introduced into them the municipal and social institutions, to which they were accustomed in Italy. There is abundant evidence of the high civilisation and large population which existed in the island under Roman occupation. The colonies of Londinium and Verulamium possessed a population of which 70,000 were slaughtered in the days of Boadicea. A later panegyrist describes the rich natural productions, the minerals, flocks and herds, the commercial facilities, and the revenues derived from them, while we also learn that there were fifty-nine cities in Britain about the middle of the third century.

But before the English had made any settlements in Britain this civilisation had received many rude shocks. We read in the pages of Bede how terribly the country suffered after the Roman generals had withdrawn the legions. "From that time, the south part of Britain, destitute of armed soldiers, of martial stores, and of all its active youth, which had been led away by the rashness of the tyrants never to return, was wholly exposed to rapine, as being totally ignorant of the use of weapons." When the Picts and Scots fell upon them and they were unable to defend the rampart which stretched across from Frith to Frith, it seemed that total destruction was inevitable. "Messengers were again sent to Rome, imploring aid, lest their wretched country should be utterly ruined, and the name of a Roman province, so long renowned among them, overthrown by the cruelties of barbarous foreigners, might become utterly contemptible." But when the slight assistance sent in answer to this appeal was finally withdrawn, the ravages recommenced, till "at last the Britons, forsaking their cities and wall, took to flight and were dispersed. A.D. 400—

The enemy pursued and the slaughter was greater than on any former occasion, for the wretched natives were torn in pieces by their enemies, as lambs are torn by wild beasts. Thus being expelled their dwellings and possessions, they saved themselves from starvation by robbing and plundering one another, augmenting foreign calamities by their own domestic broils, till the whole country was left destitute of food, except such as could be procured by the chase." Even if we make considerable allowance for rhetoric, and limit the description to the old Northumbria, in which Bede wrote and which was most exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, the words show that a quarter of a century before the Jutes landed in Thanet Roman society in Britain was entirely disintegrated. Even during this brief period there was no opportunity for recovery, as the ravages of famine, and later of pestilence, were added to those of their enemies; and the temporary plenty that ensued for a time did not serve to resuscitate the decaying civilisation. There was besides another cause of weakness, for two distinct parties can be traced in the Roman Province itself; in the person of Ambrosius there was a leader sprung from the old Artarrian gens, and his patronymic has come to designate the ideal of Christian heroism; while Vortigern to judge from his Celtic name must have been of a very different stock. Wasted by famine and torn by faction, the Roman province of Britain seemed an easy prey to the heathen of the Northern Sea.

29. All evidence goes to show that the Roman civilisation was completely disintegrated at the time when our forefathers began their invasion; but the Romans and Welsh, though they could not organise an effective resistance and repel the attacks of the English tribes, were too proud to submit to them. As one wave of invasion succeeded another the struggle was carried on; the battle of Deorham may be A.D. 577.
A.D. 491.

The towns were not a.D. 491, however, safe places of refuge and could not even maintain a defence; for as soon as the invaders had secured the surrounding country they could ruin trade, even if they did not deliberately cut off supplies. One after another of the great cities which the Romans had built was deserted and decayed. The very sites of some were forgotten; Uriculum, one of the wealthiest of all, had wholly passed out of mind before it was discovered in 1857; and Silchester has been disinterred from beneath fields which have been ploughed time out of mind.

In other cases where the name and site have survived there is clear evidence that the place ceased to be a centre of commercial and civilised life. Had Verulam preserved a continuous existence there would have been no temptation for the population to migrate and build on the other side of the valley where S. Albans now stands. Even though the walls and streets of Chester remain, and though York, Lincoln, and Leicester embody many relics of their Roman times, it is improbable that any of these served as a city of refuge during the storms of the English invasion. Still less likely is it that the orderly habits of civilised Roman life, and the practice of Christian rites, were continuously maintained in these strongholds. There must always be danger in arguing from the mere silence of our authorities, but it seems possible that London had sunk into insignificance before it passed into English hands. The old civilisation had been so disintegrated that the attacks of the invaders could not be repelled, and it even failed to maintain itself in those centres.

aggression and retreat, that Roman civilisation was swept away from the greater part of Britain, almost as if it had never been. The centre of the Roman life had been in the towns, but the towns failed to maintain themselves against the invaders. The numbers and skill of the English were not so great that they habitually stormed the Roman defences and destroyed the wretched inhabitants, and the fate of Anderida was probably exceptional. The towns were not a.d. 491,

1 Wright, Uriculum.
2 Lefèvre, History of London, r. 54. The attempt to show, from archaeological evidence, that the desertion was so complete that the main thoroughfares had fallen into decay appears to rest on a misapprehension. Lechaby, London before the Conquest, 81, 150. Compare also Gomme, op. cit. 48.
A.D. 400—
A.D. 477.

where it had been most firmly established. There doubtless were many individuals who survived the battles, but failed to escape, whose lives were spared, and who then lived to serve the conquerors in house or field; but Roman society with its language, law, commerce, administration, and religion did not survive in any single locality. In the more northern parts of England there were districts which maintained their integrity, like the kingdom of Leeds; and there may have been in many other parts hamlets of cultivators who remained on their old lands; but little else weathered the storm. There is no inherent improbability which need compel us to discount the story of destruction and devastation recounted by Bede, Gildas, and Nennius. Despite the similarities between some English and some Roman institutions, there is no such identity as to compel us to believe that the English habits were derived from the Romans or that our civilisation is other than a native growth. We owe a debt to Christian missionaries, to Danish adventurers, to Flemish weavers, but there is little which we can ascribe to direct Roman influence surviving in Britain.

30. On the territory which was thus gradually vacated the successive tribes of English invaders settled themselves: they were forced to till the ground for supplies, while the war was still waging, and they were doubtless ready for a summons to take part in it if need were. The men of Kent had been A.D. 499—
established in their new homes for a century before the West Saxons succeeded in appropriating Bedfordshire. The north folk and the south folk had held East Anglia many years before the East Saxons pushed their way into Hertfordshire and sealed the fate of Verulam; the tide of conquest was still flowing forward long after the period of settlement had begun. It may of course have been true that the first English bands were not cultivators but mere plunderers who made raids on the Saxon shore, and that the mercenaries who took possession of Thanet persisted in drawing supplies from the fields of the Britons in Kent; but the very success of the English conquest rendered it impossible for the advancing tribes to obtain support unless they started tillage and immediate recourse to tillage

The gradual advance of the English,

1 There are a good many Celtic names preserved in Cambridgeshire; the laws of the Thesps Gild (Cooper, Anuad, t. 15) imply the continued existence of Welshmen round the town; for it does not seem in this case that 'wealth' merely means foreign to the gild. So too in Wessex itself it seems that some of the Britons were so far successful in resistance as to maintain a footing as landholders (Coote, Romans of Britain, 182). For there can be no doubt, that unless the slaughter proceeded from a mere ruthless love of destruction, the proportion of inhabitants who were preserved, in different districts, would vary. The traces of Welsh names are more numerous in Kent than in Sussex: and it seems not improbable that the conquest of the first kingdom was effected with comparative ease, and that there was in this case rather a usurpation than a conquest. In Northumbria the number of inhabitants preserved seems to have been considerable; while the new settlements in the northern part of that kingdom were few and far between. In Cumbria and Strathclyde the chief power remained in Celtic hands, though some of the invaders found homes for themselves in that district; such names as Cunningham in Ayrshire, Penninghams in Wigton, Workington and Harrington in Cumberland, are evidence of these scattered settlements in a Celtic kingdom. The names of their villages are the chief indications of the title of English conquest.

2 See below, p. 107.

400—
A.D. 571.

Conquest of Britain. 61

1 See above, p. 41.

2 Ibid. 109 n.

3 Compare the accounts of the Danes ravaging the country and then settling in it. English Chronicle, 876 and 886.

3 Stubbs, Constitutional History, x. 61.

4 Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 390. Compare also Seebohm, Tribal Customs, p. 418.

5 See above, p. 41.
EARLY HISTORY.

A.D. 400—
A.D. 877.

attracted by wood or water, to enjoy their hard-earned holdings. The evidence of nomenclature seems to show that several men of the same sept took up land together and formed a village (tún); other groups may have been composed of those who had fought side by side before, and who were ready to go out and serve together again. The amount of land assigned to each such group would naturally depend on the number of the cultivators; and it would then be possible for them to proceed to begin the labour of tillage and assign a holding to each separate family. Whether the arable holdings were apportioned once for all, or whether under a system of extensive culture they were reassigned every year, the method adopted would be similar. The allotment of acres was apparently determined by a desire to give a fair share to each cultivator; as the land was broken up it would be possible to deal out any convenient number of arable acres, which would of course be intermingled to the various members of the group. The members were already organised for military discipline, and police responsibility; and the person who held a leading position for these purposes would have land assigned him “according to his dignity,” but most of the members would personally engage in the labour of tillage. Each would have a house and yard (toft) and such a share of land, extensively or intensively cultivated, as a team could plough; he would also have a claim to meadow grass for hay, and a right to pasture his oxen on the waste; but unless the whole account of the English Conquest of Britain has been greatly exaggerated we cannot suppose that so many of the old inhabitants were retained that the conquerors were able to rely wholly and solely on cultivation by dependents; it is much more likely that when not required for warfare, they like the Suevi of former days undertook the actual labour of agriculture themselves. In any case some organisation was needed for directing the common work of the village, and the institutions of the village community as already described would serve the purpose; though in any group, where there was a leader who called them to arms, and who was responsible for good order, he may probably have exercised some authority in the administration of rural affairs from the first. The balance of historical evidence seems to be in favour of the opinion that the warriors as they settled formed villages; and that the freemen, who were ready to follow the king in arms, and to assist him by their judgment in the folkmoot, were associated together under their military leaders in villages for the purpose of carrying on the agriculture by which they lived.

Some question has been raised as to the existence of groups of cultivators in any other form than as hamlets of servile dependents; but men who were free to dispose of their common property could not have been dependent, and a.D. 1066 there are other indications that thirteenth century villains had sunk from an original pendant. We are forced by the received accounts of the English Conquest to suppose that the free warriors betook themselves to tillage, for there must have been a general displacement of population to allow of the introduction of a new speech, and the destruction of the Christian religion in the south and east of Britain. The continued existence of a numerous and generally diffused servile population of rural labourers would be incompatible with such sweeping changes.

When the lands they had conquered were apportioned among the warriors in townships, a considerable area re-
mained, much of which was covered with forest; but some of it would be inhabited, as in the case of any surviving Welsh hamlets. Over such land the king had very large claims, and some of it seems to have remained unalienated as the ancient domain of the Crown; but he had also valuable, if somewhat indefinite, rights over the persons and property of the free warriors in their villages, as they could be summoned to fight, or might be heavily fined for various offences, or demands might be made for support. The power to exercise these rights was a valuable possession, and it formed the chief fund for national purposes. The king maintained the public servants and military officers by the temporary grant of land, or rather by the assignment of his rights—whatever they were, or a portion of his rights—within some particular area to one of his thegns. The English thegn received his arms from the king, to whom they were returned at his death as a heriot; and he was supported by a grant of land, or rather of royal rights over some piece of land. The judicial rights over a few prosperous townships might be very valuable, while a grant of all the royal claims over a larger area of unoccupied forest would yield but a poor income; perhaps the best

2 Pearson, Historical Maps, 49.
3 In thus devoting a portion of royal rights in land to public uses the English were perpetuating a custom which prevails in nomadic and half-settled communities. The power of a Kafir chief depends chiefly on the quantity of cattle he possesses, and with which he rewards his followers: and the young men of the tribe frequent his court and do business as the somites attached to a leader. Compare a Compendium of Kafir Law and Customs printed for the Government of British Kaffraria, 1858. The reports which were sent by Government officials describe many institutions which are curiously similar to Teutonic and Celtic ones. The judicial system, see pp. 29, 74, the royal revenue, p. 29, the wergild, pp. 81, the position of married women, p. 64, are all of interest in this respect.

4 King Alfred writes as if the owner of a temporary grant supported himself from the products of the waste. The illustration from the difference between lands and woodland is well worthy to stand in a profane even to such a book as Sir Austin’s Delineators; and to us it is very instructive. “It is no wonder though men ‘swink’ in timber working, in the outloading and in the building; but every man wishes, after he has built a cottage on his lord’s lease, by his help, that he may sometimes rest therein, and hunt and fowl and fish, and use it in every way to the lease both on sea and on land, until the time that he earn bockland and everlasting heritage through his lord’s mercy. So do the wealthy Giver, who widows both these temporary cottages and the everlasting homes, may He who shapes both and widens both, grant me that I be mete

CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

IV. Early Changes in England.

31. The three centuries that elapsed between the battle A.D. 577—of Deorham and the reign of Alfred contain little that attracts the interest of the ordinary Alfred. It requires an effort to realise that the lapse of time, in a period which is dismissed in a few pages, was really as long as that from the Spanish Armada to the present day. These centuries were marked of course by the planting of the Church in England, and by the consequent changes in thought and life introduced; they are noticeable too for the beginning of Danish invasion, and the

return could be obtained where Welsh rural hamlets continued to exist through the storm of invasion and were allowed to go on tilling their lands but on more onerous terms. Such hamlets would be specially important to the invaders when they were found in districts where minerals could be procured, and when the inhabitants were skilled in mining and the working of ore. The smelting in the Forest of Dean is said to have been carried on continuously since Roman times; and this is quite probable also in regard to the tin mines of Cornwall and the lead mines at the Peak. But the continued existence of these industries in special districts in the hands of men who had special rights, does not at all diminish the force of the evidence, which goes to show that there was a sweeping change throughout the country generally.

So far then as we can peer through the darkness and come to any conclusion as to the nature of the English settlements, it appears that though portions of the land were cultivated by dependents, free warriors connected by ties of kinship obtained their holdings as convenience dictated, and were associated together in the common work of agriculture.

On the survival of silver mining see below, Vol. i. p. 8. The special organisation of the miners and their position on royal forests all tend to confirm the view that they may be survivors of Welsh hamlets.
EARLY HISTORY.

A.D. 977—

new forms of energy that were called forth in imitation of their enterprise. But throughout the chaos of local and apparently fruitless struggles, one change was steadily proceeding; the lesser states were being absorbed into the larger kingdoms, and the temporary superiority, which the Bretwalda exercised over neighbouring kings, was preparing the way for the recognition of the claim of Egbert to be king of all the English. This coalescence of the smaller kingdoms was the chief political event.

This process need not necessarily have made any great change in the methods of cultivation, or in the status of the inhabitants. When two peoples were joined, more land would be available to the victorious king for the support of an enlarged comitatus; and the cultivators on such land would be reinstated, but under conditions that ensured their loyalty. In one respect however such fusion was of great importance. The power of the kingly office increased with the enlargement of his responsibilities; and with the increase of his power, his ability to make valuable grants, and the status of his personal attendants, rose as well; the earl, or even churl, in a village was not so very far removed from a king whose realm consisted of only a few hundreds; but when the king ruled over several shires the case was different; and the thegns, who were military and judicial officers of these more powerful kings, came to have a much higher social status than they had at first; the churl or earl kept his old position, while that of the others had greatly improved. Thus we have the foundation of a new nobility, not of blood but of service and wealth.

A.D. 597—

and of his thegns.

The Roman mission.

32. The internecine warfare of the little kingdoms of the heptarchy was a fatal obstacle to advance in civilisation; and nothing contributed so strongly to the cessation of these struggles and the formation of a united English nation, as the influence of the monks who came from Rome under the leadership of S. Augustine. The consolidation of the separate tribes and the first beginnings of really national councils are closely connected with the ecclesiastical usages which the missionaries introduced, so that their work was indirectly of great economic importance; but it is also true that comparatively little economic advance can be ascribed to their direct and immediate influence. In Gaul, the Roman civilisation had so utterly decayed that the soil had to be reclaimed again, by clearing the forest and jungle; in that province the greatest material benefits directly accrued from the establishment of religious houses and the unremitting labours of the monks. In more distant regions, where the Roman empire had never extended, the monks began engineering works, such as those which marked the countries which had formerly been subject to Imperial rule. But the special needs of the English, at the time of their conversion, and the circumstances of their land were not the same as those of the Franks, or of the Picts and Scots. They had settled down to till their lands, and though they still sent out bands against the Welsh or engaged in struggles with one another, they had entirely relinquished the old roving life on the sea. So soon as commerce developed, the old Roman routes of communication were ready prepared for the use of the chapmen who began to traverse them, and Roman bricks lay ready to hand for the repair of Roman bridges and the construction of new towns where the Roman cities had stood. The trees which they had planted would also remain and yield their fruit to the English settlers; altogether there are few material changes which need be directly traced to monastic enterprise and diligence, though particular places, like the fens round Crowland, owe much to their zeal. Still it is true that in England the chief economic influence they exercised was due to the constitutional changes they accelerated, and especially to the way in which they promoted the power of the king, and of his personal dependents; while the communication with Rome,

1 Montesquieu, The Monks of the West, ii. 314.
2 The civilising influence of the Columban Church among the northern tribes can hardly be exaggerated; each monastery which was planted became a living witness, to a wild age, of the excellence of a godly life of industry rather than of one of contemplative pietny, artistic work and education. Many roads in Scotland were due directly or indirectly to the existence of monasteries. Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii. 351. Innes, Scotland in Middle Ages, p. 146.
3 See above, p. 56.
which was probably opened up for religious purposes, was used for commercial intercourse as well.

The fact that St. Augustine and the other leaders of the Roman mission came especially to the kings, and that Christianity was from the first a court religion, gave these teachers the position of royal dependents, closely analogous to that of the thegns1. As the one did service by fighting for the king, so did the others intercede for him by their prayers, but while the military service could only profit the king during this life, the prayers of God's servants might avail him in the place of death.2 It thus became desirable to secure the perpetual rendering of such service; and kings began to make provision for communities of monks, by granting them a piece of land, or rather rights and superiorities over land already occupied, so that they might 'serve God for ever'.

This land was secured to them by means of a charter (boc), and thus royal rights which had hitherto been only temporarily assigned were granted away to the owner of bocland.

These grants in the ninth and tenth centuries generally purported to be made by consent of the Witan, and this may have done something to prevent the national resources from passing into private hands. It probably was not a serious obstacle, however, and as the kingdoms increased in size there was less possibility of a grand assembly of freemen at the witenagemot; these were sometimes, in consequence, little more than a gathering of a few royal thegns, who did not put a very effective check on the disposition of the king.

The character of the numerous monasteries thus founded, which were each independent and not responsible to the head of an order, depended very much on the character of the ruling abbot; in some cases no real discipline was enforced, and the pious purpose was only put forward as an excuse for securing land in perpetuity. These pretended monasteries were a source of grave scandal; but the advantages of a perpetual, as opposed to a merely temporary, possession were so great, that men were strongly tempted to endeavour to secure estates on these terms. Others succeeded in obtaining grants on the strength of an intention, which was never carried out, to found a monastery; and large portions of territory were disposed of, in what were little better than packed assemblies.

This process had already gone on to a great extent in the Northumbrian kingdom in the time of Bede, whose letters to archbishop Egbert3 give us very important information on A.D. 784.

1 Lingard, Anglo-Saxon Church, t. 171.
2 Montalembert, The Monks of the West, t. 46.
3 The letters are worth quoting at some length. Bede advocates the establishment of additional sees, and continues, 'Ac si opus esse videris sui, ut, tali monasterio, causa Episcopatus suscipiendi, amplius aliquid locorum ac possessionum angari debeas, sunt loca innumeris, ut novissim ommes, in monasterium ascripta, in libro ac societate, sed aliquo presso monasticae conversationis habitantia. Et quia ipse monasteria maxima et plurima sunt loca, quse, ut volo dicam, nonqne Deo nune hominibus utilia sunt, quia videlicet neque regulare neque illud vita servatur, nec illa militiae sive comites secularium potestatum qui gentem nostram a barbaris defendat possidet; si quia in eadem ipse locis pro necessitate temporis sedem Episcopatus suscipiendi, amplius aliquid locorum ac possessionum invenire, sed opus virtutis magis agere probabile.... Ne nostris temporibus vel religione cessante, annum timorem interius descurat inspectoriae, vel rareoccet copia militiae secularis, abint qui fines nostras a barbaribus incursione tentauerint. Quod enim turpe est dicere, tot sub nomine monasteriorum loca hi, qui monachos vitae pressos et pressos in suas ditionem accepserunt, siue ipse Deo neque hominibus utilia sunt, ut omnibus desit locus, ubi libellus antiquorum et antiquorum potestatum in possessionem acceperet possint: idqueque vacantes ac sine coniugio, exato tempore punctihabit, nullo continente potestus perdurare, atque hanc ob rem vel parentem sanum pro qua militares debeat trans mare abestus remanere; et maiori aciem et impudicitia, qui propositum ostentatiis non habet, luxuriae ac fornicationem deserviant. 
.... At illi graviore aulto flagitio, quam sint ipse laeti et nullius vitae regularis vel usum exercendo, vel amore praediti, data rebus peccata, emanti sibi sub pretexu monasteriorum occupanturorum territoria in quibus sue libertas vacant libidinis, et hac inesper in jus sibi hereditarium dictio regalis factum acquiri, ipsa quoque literas privilegiorum acquirit, quasi veraciis Deo dignae, postudicem.
The most definite information, however, may be found in
the regulations made by Charles the Great for the manage-
ment of his estates. They serve to show what was the ideal
which a prudent man kept before him—an ideal which
would serve, with some slight variations, for Englishmen as
well as for Franks. The actual inventory of the buildings
and stock of seed on several estates is of great interest;
and Charles was careful to provide that there should also
be skilled artisans on the premises, and that each establish-
ment should be well stocked with all that was necessary for
successful culture.

If we turn to our own country, we find that the legends
of English and Scottish saints contain many touches which
help us to picture the condition of the uncleared land in
which many monks reared their homes. The work which the
conquering settlers had to do must have been similar, and
their daily tasks must have closely resembled those of
which we read in stories of life in the Scottish and British
monasteries, which were the model villages of the time.

In the island settlements, where they were partly protected
from the ravages of their neighbours, these monks set themselves
to lead a life of godly industry, and to commend their religion
as much by the life they led as by the preachers they sent
forth. We read in Bede's History how the monks of Bangor
all lived by the labour of their hands, and of disputes that
arose about the sharing in labour. The legends of many
saints throw instructive light on these matters, but it is in
the Life of S. Columba by his successor Adamnan that we
get the completest picture of such a monastery, and of the
various arrangements it contained,—its granaries and mill,
early History.

A.D. 577—901.

Trade hardly existed except for one or two requisites such as salt.

In early days there was in all probability so little regular trade that no village could rely on procuring necessary stores except from its own resources; the fact that they tried to do so serves to distinguish them from the most backward hamlet in the present day; the food came from their fields, and their herds; the flocks supplied the necessary clothing; from the waste land they got fuel, and there the swine lived on the acorns and mast; honey held the place of sugar as a luxury. Salt was however a requisite which could not be produced in many of the inland villages by the efforts of the inhabitants themselves, and in those places where it was possible to obtain it the manufacture was a very profitable industry. This was one article the desire of which would tend to bring about the existence of trade from the very first. Even the Arab, who with his flocks and date palms is largely provided for, still depends on the caravans for salt; and many of the English

1 H. E. v. c. xiv.
2 H. E. iv. c. xxv.
3 This is more true of the Columban and Cistercian houses than of others. As Professor Middleton has pointed out to me, there is an interesting difference between the results of founding at any special place a Benedictine or a Cistercian Abbey. Benedictine monks were not as a rule handicraftsmen, and so even if a Benedictine monastery were set in the country, a town grew up round it with craftsmen to supply its wants. With the Cistercians this was not so, their monasteries were completely self-sufficient; every possible craft that could be was carried on by the monks or by the conversi, and so the Cistercian houses often remained in the solitude in which they were founded.
4 The plentiful supplies which a waste might furnish can be gathered from the passage in Ely at the time of Hereward's defence, Liber Eliensis, ii. c. iv.
5 Herzfeld, Handlungsansichten der Juden, 18.

EARLY CHANGES IN ENGLAND.

villages must have traded for it too. Till root crops were introduced, it was difficult, from lack of fodder, to keep a large herd of cattle all through the winter; and accordingly the meat for winter use was ordinarily prepared and salted down in the autumn. Unless the first English settlers were stricter vegetarians than is commonly supposed, or else were well acquainted with the management of meadow land, they must have practised this system of salting down meat in autumn, and salt must have been a specially necessary article for their use.

There was not, in all probability, any remarkable change in tillage or industry during this long period. As has been said above extensive culture prevailed among some of the settlers in England, for otherwise it would be hard to account for the modified survival at Lauder; but it doubtless gradually yielded to the more convenient methods of intensive culture. For this purpose special fields, consisting of intermingled strips, were set apart; these were kept under crop with regular falling and they were marked off by large balks as permanent arable fields. There was besides a definite area of meadow land; but during winter all demarcations were removed so that the cattle might wander freely over the stubble and on the strips from which the hay had been cleared, as well as over other portions of the waste. It was an open field system of which traces still survive in many parts of England.

But though the fields were thus permanently set apart one field, for arable purposes, it was not easy to go on taking crops from the same land year after year (the one field system)
A.D. 577—

A.D. 901.

without seriously exhausting the soil; and recourse was had to regular fallowing; according to the two field system, one of two arable fields was cropped each year, and one lay fallow; according to the three field system, two out of three arable fields were under crop each year and one lay fallow.

This three field system was eventually more common than the other, as it gave better returns for the same work. Early in the autumn of each year the husbandmen would plough the field which had been lying fallow during the summer and sow it with wheat, rye or other winter-corn; in the spring, they would plough up the stubble of the field on which their last wheat crop had been grown, and sow barley or oats instead; the third field would still have the stubble of the previous barley crop till early in June, when it was ploughed over and left fallow till the time of autumn sowing.

### Table: 3 Field System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Field I</th>
<th>Field II</th>
<th>Field III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>Plough and sow wheat</td>
<td>Plough and sow barley</td>
<td>Plough twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Reap</td>
<td>Reap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Reap</td>
<td>Stubble of barley</td>
<td>Fallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Stubble of wheat</td>
<td>Stubble of barley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following year, field I. would be treated as field II. in the diagram, field II. as III., and field III. as I., so that a rotation would be kept up.

The two field system was similar and is illustrated by the diagram, if it be supposed that field II. is omitted and that there was a regular alternation of I. and III. The fields

might have been alternately sown with wheat and fallowed; though it appears that it was not unusual in Germany to alternate the crops also, and have wheat, fallow, barley, fallow in succession in each field. If half the field under cultivation were used for wheat and half for barley, as was sometimes done, the necessary work of ploughing would be more conveniently distributed throughout the year than would otherwise be possible on the two field plan. A thirteenth century writer has compared the relative advantages of the two systems in detail, and shows that although a much larger area was under crop each year when the three field system was used, the expense of ploughing was really the same. In this way it seems that the three field system was an improvement on a two field husbandry, but the two systems have been carried on side by side in some districts, and the three field system never altogether superseded the other. Throughout England generally—in some districts during the sixteenth and seventeenth and in others during the eighteenth century—both systems gave way to modern methods of convertible husbandry in which periods of grass growing alternate with arable culture; and when this change took place the two field system—as the less elaborate—lent itself more readily to the alteration, especially to the introduction of four-course husbandry.

Though there is no positive evidence as to the precise mode of cultivation which was in vogue in early times, there is every probability that the three field system was not unknown. Hanssen quotes one instance of it in Germany in 771, and considers that it was the normal practice in the

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2. Walter of Henley, 8 n. and Intro. xxviii. If the land was laid out in two fields of 80 acres each, there would be 40 acres to plough before the wheat was sown, 40 more before the barley was sown, and 40 to be ploughed twice over in June, when the stubble of the second field was broken up and it was left fallow, i.e., 40 + 40 + (80 x 2) = 240. If the three field system were used, there would be 60 acres to plough before the wheat sowing, 60 acres to plough before the barley sowing, and 60 acres to plough twice over when the stubble was broken up in June, i.e., 60 + 60 + (80 x 2) = 200. There is reason to believe that Walter of Henley's estimate of what the plough could do in the year was exaggerated. (Mainland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 298. Page, End of Villasim in England, 221.
4. See below, p. 528.
time and on the estates of Charles the Great; this is confirmed by an ingenious argument of Professor Jenks, who shows that changes in the form of legal proceedings against debtors imply that some sort of intensive culture had come into vogue generally. That it quickly spread to England is probable enough; but we have very little definite evidence. The laws of Ine in regard to the amount of land to be kept under cultivation are not obviously relevant and are certainly not conclusive, though there is one of them which renders it clear that some sort of open field cultivation was in vogue. If agriculture is carried on in such open fields there must be difficulty in maintaining the temporary fencing which is needed to keep the cattle off the growing corn or growing hay. King Ine's law provides as follows,—"If churls have a common meadow or other partible land to fence, and some have fenced their part, some have not, and (cattle stray in and) eat up their common corn or grass; let those go who own the gap and compensate to the others who have fenced their part, the damage which there may be done, and let them demand such justice on the cattle as it may be right. But if there be a beast which breaks hedges and goes in everywhere, and he who owns it will not or cannot restrain it; let him who finds it in his field take it and slay it, and let the owner take its skin and flesh, and forfeit, the rest." This law gives us a very vivid picture of the early tillage,—the fields undivided except by temporary fences, and each churl's land lying intermingled with the rest. A holding of thirty acres would consist of sixty separate strips, of which, under the three field system, forty would be in cultivation each year. The strips were all intermingled in

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1 Agrarhist. Abhand. t. 159, 154.
2 "It seems then abundantly clear that several ownership, and therewith intensive culture, were familiar to Teutonic Europe before the close of the eighth century. It would have been idle to provide execution-process against the immovables of a debtor, unless the ownership of immovables had been generally recognised." Eng. Hist. Rev. viii. 422.
3 cc. 64, 65, 66 in Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutions, t. 144. The Gebur (Rust. Sess. Para.) was to have seven acres of his 'yard' sown when he entered on possession, but was this a half or a third or a quarter of the whole? Thorpe, t. 435.
4 Obviously strips in the common arable fields.
5 Laws of Ine, 42. Thorpe, t. 120.

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Each landholder also possessed the necessary stock for stock on the land—a pair of oxen went with the ordinary villain's holding in the time of the Confessor. In all probability the tenants combined their stock and formed a strong team, like the manorial teams of eight or twelve, though we find mention of plough teams of very various degrees of strength and we cannot suppose of some of them that they did very effective work.

The possession of draught oxen would have been useless pasturage unless the churl had the means of feeding them; for hay, he had an allotment of meadow, and for pasturage he had facilities for feeding on the common waste including the fallow field, and on the other fields between harvest and seed time. There can be little doubt as to the manner in which agricultural processes were carried on, and the general type was probably almost the same whether the cultivators were servile or free.

Each separate group was thus in a position to raise its own food supply; but it could also, in all probability, furnish its own industrial requirements from its own resources to a far greater extent than any agricultural village would do in the present day; each was almost entirely self-sufficient. It was in these early times an economic unit, with no buying and selling between its members,—like a household where each member gets a living and has to do what work there is, instead of undertaking so much definite work for so much pay. A lady's maid is engaged to do the dress-making for certain persons, and may have much or little to do; but she gets her living and a quarterly salary, and is not paid by the piece. When the village community is really a self-sufficient whole, the thatcher or smith is a member of the body, and each of the great fields and only marked off from one another by narrow grass edging.
pursues his craft without payment either by the hour or piece, because his livelihood is secured to him in the form of so many bushels from each householder, by the custom of the village; he does what work is required in return for his keep. There are of course many advantages in the modern system by which a man is paid for what he does; on the other hand the poorer rayats in India might be able to contribute to the support of a village artisan, while they could not save so as to pay for work at the precise time they wanted it; there may be cases in which the balance of advantage still lies in the primitive method.

In English villages in the eleventh century the swineherd was commonly supported in this way; each gebur was bound to contribute six loaves towards his maintenance. The bee-keeper superintended what was an important industry in the period before the Conquest, and there was careful supervision of pasture rights. All these regulations serve to illustrate the habits of life in any village which was a single economic unit, since buying and selling did not go on between the members, but each stood in a known customary relation to the rest. They had little if any external trade, and were practically self-sufficient and able to provide for all their ordinary wants from their own resources.

35. There is no evidence that the early English villages valued their condition of self-sufficiency so highly as to try to check the development of trade, as has been done by German and Indian communities. On the contrary we get the impression that pains were taken to foster intercommunication; the laws of Ine lay down that chapmen were to traffic before witnesses, so that they might be able to prove their innocence when accused of theft. One of Alfred’s laws insists that chapmen were to present the men they intended to take with them before the king at the folk-moot, to explain how many there were, and to declare it when they had need of more.

In another case we read of the dealer who came across the march from another estate, and of the responsibility of those who gave him temporary shelter. On the whole, protection was needed, for the presumption was against the honesty of the stranger. "If a far coming man or a stranger journey through a wood out of the highway, and neither shout nor blow his horn, he is to be held for a thief and either slain or redeemed." Besides attending to the personal security of chapmen the kings always insisted on the duty of maintaining the roads and bridges without which they would have been unable to exercise any authority throughout their dominions; the four great roads soon received English names, and tracks connected them with many of the villages. The monasteries were centres from which there was frequent communication, either to cells on outlying estates or to other churches in England and abroad, and the village life would become more comfortable as it ceased to be so entirely isolated.

Reference has been made already to primitive trade in salt, but apart from this there were other ways in which the natural differences between localities must have made themselves felt; metals could not be everywhere obtained—point of the wooden ploughshare, and for arms if for nothing else; so that, or for the want of arms; some wastes must have been more favourable for sheep and others for swine; some land for corn and some for meadow; all such natural differences would render internal trade immensely advantageous. These physical circumstances...
A.D. 577—would make trade profitable, as soon as the social conditions which render trade possible became general. In any land where each village is hostile to every other—defended from the predatory incursions of neighbours, not by any respect for the property of others, but by the wide extent of its own waste—regular trade would seem to be impossible; but even under such circumstances, the advantages of trade may be so clearly felt that the boundary place between two or more townships comes to be recognised as a neutral territory where men may occasionally meet for their mutual benefit, if not on friendly terms, at least without hostility. Some writers regard the boundary stone as the predecessor of the market-cross, and the neutral area round it as an original market-place; but there is more probability in the theory which treats the English town cross as the permanent emblem of royal authority. But however this may be, regular trade may go on, even in a country which is disturbed by constant feuds, and where every hamlet is liable to be plundered by the men from other villages. There is no reason for refusing to believe that there was a certain amount of internal trade from the earliest days of the English settlement. We may perhaps add that the market and its customs may have been instituted among the tribes before their immigration, and imported rather than developed here.

On the whole it seems that from very early times there must have been regular trade; not indeed carried on from day to day, but in regular places at particular times; not merely like the occasional visit of a ship to a savage island, but occurring at more or less frequent intervals which could be anticipated, and for which preparation might be made. And this introduces a most important step in advance; when for the sake of profit: έ μεν οὖν τωμή μεταβλητική οὔτε παρεώ φύσιν οὔτε χαρακτητική ἐστὶν τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτάλλην γάρ τις κατά φύσιν αὐτοκρατορίαν ἡ τοίν ποτε έστιν χρυσικάτω τόνης τιμή τε καὶ ἄνθρωπου της μορφῆς τῆς καθορισμένης τοιαύτης. From Političa, t. c. 9, § 6.

1 Maine, Village Comm., 192. Compare also Sir John Lubbock's Origin of Civilisation, p. 209, on the various functions which boundary stones have served. 2 Compare K. Schroeder, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, 500, and references there; also Solmi, Entstehung des Stadtsinnes, 15. The cross is frequently associated with the sword and the glove, which are recognised symbols of royal authority; and the name by which they are often known in Germany, Rolandsäulen, seems to connect them by tradition with Roland the sword-bearer of Charles the Great.

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men engage in labour, not for the sake of satisfying their own wants by the things they produce, but with a view to exchange, their labour results not only in chattels for their own use, but in wares for the market as well. There is a farther change to be noted; while there is no opportunity for exchange, there is little inducement for anyone to preserve a surplus; a very abundant harvest is more likely to be prodigally used within the year, and so with all other supplies; but the existence of opportunities for trade makes it well worth while to gather a store that far exceeds any prospective requirements, and to stow in warehouses for sale all that need not be used by the producers to satisfy their immediate wants; the conditions are present which still further favour the accumulation of wealth.

36. The disorders of the three centuries which succeeded the battle of Deorham seem to have tended to the demoralisation of the victors; there is little evidence that the Christian English of the ninth century had advanced on their heathen forefathers in any of the arts of life, except in so far as they were subject to foreign influences. Some new forms of skill had been introduced by Christian missionaries; writing and illuminating on parchment with the brilliant colours which attracted Alfred as a child were arts that occupied the monks in the scriptorium, and some found employment in lock-making and other forms of working in metals. Glass beads had probably been used for ornament long before, but the use of window glass seems to have been due to Benedict Biscop in the seventh century. Men A.D. 675 the work was drawing to completion, he sent messengers to Gaul to bring over glass makers—a kind of workman hitherto unknown in Britain—to glaze the windows of the church and its aisles and chancels. And so it happened that when they came they not only accomplished that particular work which was required of them, but from this time they caused the English nation to understand and learn this kind of handicraft, which was of no insconsiderable utility for the enclosing of the lamps of the church, or
EARLY HISTORY.

Water supply.

A.D. 577—
A.D. 901.

Earliest domestic comfort which had been used in Roman Britain were reintroduced or revived at a later date but under similar ecclesiastical influence. The Abbey of Christchurch at Canterbury had an admirable water supply, which was thoroughly Roman in all its arrangements and fittings, but it was not constructed till after the Norman Conquest.

The importation of vestments from abroad would give a considerable impulse to the feminine arts, as they then were, of weaving and embroidery. Aldhelm describes most gorgeously woven brocades, though he does not speak of them as of native manufacture: but the art of embroidery soon took root, and the English rapidly attained a high degree of skill which was maintained all through the middle ages.

This increased skill in ecclesiastical art is quite compatible with a decline in some of the arts of war in which they had formerly excelled. As an agricultural people, whose expeditions were chiefly directed against their neighbours and the Welsh, they had little occasion for a seafaring life; and they probably lost much of their skill in seamanship. It seems not impossible that Christian influence discouraged the pursuit of war as a trade, and that the effective force of the people declined in this respect. At any rate they were compelled to cultivate arts they had apparently forgotten, when they were forced to resist the Danes; and to resist them by learning from them and trying to outstrip them. It was in this way that King Alfred set himself to revive the art of shipbuilding. He commanded long ships to be built to oppose the esks; they were full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier and also higher than the others. A.D. 877—

They were shapen neither like the Frisian, nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him they would be most efficient. How far Alfred's new design was really an improvement or not it may be hard to say, as the first engagement near the Isle of Wight seemed to show that the West Saxons were not fit to manage them.

The Danes could doubtless have given him much instruction in the arts of navigation; the Sagas show that they made voyages at this time and during the succeeding centuries, which would hardly have been undertaken by any of the ancients, and were not repeated till the sixteenth century. Some, like the polar exploration of Halldor, would be regarded as remarkable expeditions even now. On these voyages they had neither compass, nor any of the appliances of modern navigation, but they had ingenious, though rather rough and ready, methods of making observations. Distance and observation they calculated by a day's sail, which was estimated at about twenty-seven to thirty geographical miles; they guessed at the direction of the nearest land by letting birds escape and watching the direction of their flight. They observed on one voyage that the sun was above the horizon both night and day; on St. James's Day it was not higher when at the meridian "than that when a man lay across a six oared boat which was nearest the sun, fell on his face, but at midnight it was certainly anxious to learn from his foes; the Northmen in his time had undertaken distant explorations and opened up important trading routes. It appears that in the ninth century they had regular trade from the Baltic to Arabia.

1 Glass had been manufactured in Britain in Roman times, but the art had died out; as it apparently did again, after being reintroduced in the seventh century. T. H. Turner, Domestic Architecture, i. 76.
3 De Lundius Virginitatis. Migne, lxxxviii, 115.
4 Liber Ethnica, tr. c. ibid.
5 It is certainly curious to notice how soon the power of the Norsemen declined after their conversion was effected.

EARLY CHANGES IN ENGLAND.

1 English Chronicles, 897 (Bohn's Edition).
2 Beamish, Discovery of America, 156.
3 Macpherson, Annales, i. 291.
5 Ibid. p. 58.
6 Beamish, 127.
and the East by means of the rivers which run into the Caspian and Black Sea; while they had also settlements in Iceland from which they afterwards made their way to Greenland and even explored some part of North America. Alfred put on record the accounts he received of the voyage of Oth there, a whaler and owner of many reindeer, who dwelt in Helgeland in Norway and who had sailed, partly in hopes of procuring walrus tusks and partly as an explorer, till he rounded the North Cape and penetrated to the White Sea. He also voyaged along the coast of Norway and through the Sound, whilst Wulfstan, a Dane, recounted how he had sailed up the Baltic to an East Prussian port: but the interest which Alfred took in these more southerly voyages shows how little Englishmen then knew of the seas which were perfectly familiar to the merchants of the Northern lands, from which according to Alfred a portion of their forefathers had emigrated.

In so far as the English had carried on foreign trade at all it was with southern lands. An English merchant was sojourning at Marseilles early in the eighth century; they also frequently attended the fairs of Rouen, St. Denys, and Troyes or elsewhere in the dominions of Charles the Great; the letter to Offa of Mercia in which he assures them of justice and protection is our earliest commercial treaty. The trading and proprietary rights which were conferred

1 Warcsan, Dauas and Norcegians, 108.

2 See below, p. 30.

3 Alfred, Operaus (Bosworth), § 13, p. 59.

4 Alfred, Operaus (Bosworth), § 19, p. 47.

5 Alfred, Operaus, § 50, p. 50.

6 Lappenberg, England under Saxon Kings, ii. 364.

7 De peregrinis vero, quid pro amore Dei, et salute animarum suarum, beatorum limina Apostolorum adire desiderant, ait omni periculo, eventus, quos pace sine omní perturbatione vadant, ut tibi certo seminum necessariae portantur. Sed probavimus quodam fraudulenté negatiunculam causas se inventisse; horae, sectantes non religiosam servitutem. Si tales inter eos inventuam loci opportuman statuta salvant telenam; cetera absque vadant in pace. Do negotiatorum quique scripsit nobis, quos vias ex mandato nostro ut protectionem et patronizacion habent in regno nostro legibus, juxta quosque consensus eorum nepotum. Et si in aliquo loco injusta agitabantur opprobria, recipieant se ad nos, vel nos fideis, et plenam jubebimus justitiam fieri.

The particular trade of which we hear most during these centuries is traffic in slaves—not necessarily because it was the most important, but because it was obnoxious to Christian sentiment. We may well remember that it was the sight of English slaves in the market at Rome which first touched the heart of Gregory as a deacon and made him desire to send the gospel message to our distant isle. But we feel that the trade must have been generally prevalent in districts where ancilli and servi were used as money, and pay-

1 These included a grant of salt-works at Pevensey, and of the port of Landorpin. De Preville, Rouen, i. 56. Doubled, S. Denys, 187, 720. The Church of S. Mary of Rouen had a valuable estate in Devonshire in the time of the Confessor. Domesday Book, t. 104.

2 By Alfretie, daughter of Alfred. Varenbergh, Relations diplomatiques, 40.

3 By S. Bertin, when making a journey to Rome, in the end of the seventh century, travelled with a company of Saxons from S. Omer to Verdun, when they parted, as the Saxons were going to Spain. Monacit. S. Bertin in Acta Sanctorum.

4 Sept. p. 397.

5 English Chronicle, 889.

6 Asser's Life of Alfred (Church Historians), ii. 445.

7 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, i. 80. Some doubt has been cast on the truth of this story by the fact that it is not mentioned in the Life of Alfred by Asser, who does not speak of direct communication with any more distant places than the patriarch of Jerusalem. See his Annals in Church Histories of England, ii. p. 472. But Paulus points out that the journey was not more improbable than that of Charles the Great's emissaries to Bagdad, and that the report of that exploit might have stimulated him to this undertaking. Life of Alfred, 146.

7 There is some reason to believe that this inquisition traffic with Italy was carried on in Christian times. Hidden and Stubbs, Councils, ii. 381.
ments were reckoned in terms of slaves\textsuperscript{1}. From very early times penalties were imposed on those who sold their countrymen, bond or free, over the sea, "though he be guilty\textsuperscript{2}"; and it was reiterated that Christians\textsuperscript{3} should not, at any rate, be sold into a heathen land\textsuperscript{4}, but despite the frequent fulminations by ecclesiastical and civil authority the trade appears to have continued. It existed in all its horror at Bristol\textsuperscript{5} at the time of the Conquest\textsuperscript{6}; and if we may trust Giraldus Cambrensis it had not been stamped out in the twelfth century\textsuperscript{7}. The Irish bishops incited their flocks to boycott the English slave dealer in 1172. From the accounts of the early fairs in Germany it
EARLY HISTORY.

A.D. 787—

A.D. 1066.

heroism of Alfred the Great and his enthusiasm for the promotion of skill and enterprise, but we forget that the English people were even then so enfeebled that half their country had been wrested from them; and though his immediate successors obtained a widely extended supremacy, the kingdom fell at length into the hands of a better man. When the line of Wessex re-appeared in the person of the Confessor, he could not trust to native administrators; Danes still filled important posts and Norman habits began to supersede the older usages. Despite the success of Egbert and the genius of Alfred, the English had not been fused into a united, well-ordered polity; and the state of the Church in S. Dunstan’s time gives an unfavourable impression of the whole tone of Society. The English had settled down, they had adopted Christianity, but they had not preserved the spirit of enterprise and the eager activity which still characterised their kin beyond the sea.

In order to form any fair estimate of the importance of the element which was thus grafted into the English stock we must turn our attention to the condition of the Danes and Norsemen, and the proofs of their extraordinary vigour and enterprise, at the very time when so many of the race were settling in England. They had opened up a vast commerce with the East, by the Russian rivers and the Caspian or the Black Sea1; furs and amber were probably the chief articles of export and the precious metals were brought in return. Large numbers of Arabian coins have been dug up; “in Sweden, and particularly in the island of Gothland, such an immense quantity of these has been found at various times, that in Stockholm alone above twenty thousand pieces have been preserved, presenting more than a thousand different dies, and coined in about seventy towns in the eastern and northern districts of the dominions of the Caliphs . . . . It was the trade with the East that originally gave considerable importance to the city of Visby in Gothland; and it was subsequently the Russian trade that made Visby, in conjunction with Novgorod, important members of the German Hanseatic League. As long as the Arabian trade

1 Montelius, Sweden, 190.

flourished Gothland was the centre of a very animated traffic. Even now an almost incredible number of German, Hungarian and particularly Anglo-Saxon coins, of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is dug up in the island. The collection of coins in Stockholm comprises an assortment of Anglo-Saxon coins, mostly the product of these discoveries, which for extent and completeness surpasses the greatest collections of the sort, even in London and England1. ” Political disturbances in the eleventh century gave a considerable shock to this trade however; the Italian depôts obtained a large share of the traffic after the Crusades, and the reopening of a route somewhat similar to the old one, by the Russian Company, was one of the principal commercial events in the sixteenth century.

In the north and west their achievements were still more remarkable and bear witness to the boldness of their seamen-ship2. In 874 the colonisation of Iceland began and proceeded with great rapidity, so that Harold Haarflager feared that Norway would be depopulated. They found parts of the island already occupied by some men such as those who in frail coracles, made of two hides and a half, and with only a few days’ provisions, left their home in Ireland whence “they had stolen away because they desired for the love of God to be in a state of pilgrimage they recked not where.” The Irish monks, like their Welsh brethren, deserted the island when it was invaded by heathens3, and the Danes had soon occupied the whole of it with their settlements.

1 Worssam, Danes and Norwegians, 103. This is no longer the case; the collection in the British Museum is second to none.
2 This is brought out by Mr J. Toulmin Smith (Discovery of America, p. 322) in the course of an excellent discussion of the comparative merits of Columbus and the Northmen.
3 English Chronicle, 891 (Bohn).
4 Mr Keary (Vikings, 186) dates this Irish settlement in the year 796, “At that time was Iceland covered with woods between the mountains and the shore. Then were here Christian people whom the Northmen called Papas, but they went afterwards away because they would not be here among heathens, and left after them Irish books and bells and croziers from which could be seen that they were Irishmen. But then began people to travel much here out from Norway until King Harold forbade it because it appeared to him that the land had begun to be thinned of inhabitants.” Schola of Art Frode. Scandin., Discovery of America, 176.
From Iceland they pushed still farther away; storm-driven mariners had brought back reports of a land in the west. Eric the Red, who had been banished from Norway for one murder and from some parts of Iceland for another crime, was forced to set out on a voyage of exploration; after two years he returned with the intention of getting companions to form a settlement. He called the land which he had found "Greenland 'because' quoth he 'people will be attracted thither if the land has a good name.'" The fleet of colonists suffered much from a storm, but enough escaped to found two settlements in 985.1

In the following year Bjarni, the son of one of the colonists, set sail with the view of joining his father in Greenland. After three days' sail he got into a fog, and was driven for many days by the north wind; at last they sighted land, but they did not go ashore as from its appearance they were sure it was not Greenland; they worked their way northwards in the open sea, but returning at times to the coast, and thus saw lands which have been identified as Connecticut, Long Island, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia (Markland), and Newfoundland (Helluland). When at last Bjarni reached Greenland his lack of curiosity in not having gone ashore became a matter of reproach to him. Leif the son of Eric the Red was determined to carry out such explorations as these.


A.D. 994. Mr Beamish suggests that it may have been in the fourth century that the Irish made such vigorous attacks on Roman Britain, p. 918. Mr J. Jocelyn Smith holds that they visited the country but never settled there. Discovery, p. 233.

1 Saga of Eric the Red. Beamish, p. 49.
2 Beamish, p. 63.
3 Mr Beamish suggests that it may have been in the fourth century when the Irish made such vigorous attacks on Roman Britain, p. 918. Mr J. Jocelyn Smith holds that they visited the country but never settled there. Discovery, p. 233.

but a country somewhat south of Vynland was commonly referred to as Great Ireland, and there are a curious number of survivals which confirm the evidence of Sagas on this point. The Danish expeditions across the Atlantic seem to be well-established. We may certainly feel that it was a most important thing for the future of England, that a large area of our land was peopled with men who could plan and carry out such explorations as these.

39. Of the Danes as mere plunderers it is unnecessary to say more; the changes which were made by the Danes as conquerors are of constitutional rather than economic interest, but the influence which was exercised by the Danes as settlers demands attention. It is certainly noticeable that the Danelagh, as defined in the time of Alfred, including as it did East Anglia and Lincolnshire, has contributed so much to English industrial success; while a closer study would show that the ports on other coasts, where commerce has been ardently pursued, have had a large infusion of Danish or Northern blood.2 The numbers who came to this country were so great that they really formed an important element in the population. Rollo and the Northmen who took possession of Neustria were plunderers transformed into conquerors, who lorded it over the existing inhabitants; but in England, part of Lincolnshire became completely Danish, and the north-eastern side of Watling Street was so largely populated by Danes that their customs superseded those of the English. There were not of course the same difficulties in the way of amalgamation between the Danes and the conquered peoples.

1 The allegation that runic inscriptions and Norse remains were found on the New England coast appears to have been mistaken, but the existence of a settlement in Greenland is fairly confirmed. The later history of these settlements is somewhat obscure: in 1121 Bishop Eric of Greenland visited Vynland (Beamish, 149); in 1347 a ship is mentioned as coming from Ireland (Nova Scotia). We read of intercourse as late as the end of the fourteenth century in the work of a Venetian named Zeno; the genuineness of this has been much disputed, but it seems to have been established by Major, Voyages of the Zeni (Hakluyt Society). The Greenland colony received little assistance from Europe in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and seems to have been almost destroyed by the Esquimaux about 1418. Major, Zeni, p. lxxvi.

2 See above, p. 51.

3 Compare the map in Dr Taylor's Words and Places.

Angles, as had been felt when the English overcame the Romanised Welsh, since both came of the same stock; but there may have been some displacement of population, especially in Lincolnshire. In the Danish raids many English lives must have been sacrificed, and such of the younger generation as were spared and were deemed superfluous would find their way to slave marts across the sea; but after all, England was probably not so thickly populated that the Danish settlers need have had much difficulty in finding room for themselves.

Their rural settlements were probably very similar to those which the English had made; many of them are easily distinguished by the forms of the name, and especially by the familiar termination in -by. There seems to be a considerable proportion of villages which take their names from persons, rather than from septs, and perhaps this might throw some light on the character of the invading bands in the English and Danish conquests respectively. The villages in the Danish parts of England are comparatively large; as was the case in Denmark also, where there were few isolated homes, or small hamlets. One other characteristic feature is observable in the great Survey; in the Danish counties, such as Lincolnshire, and in East Anglia, a very large proportion of freemen still survived. In the English counties they were no longer found in any considerable numbers; but we are not therefore forced to conclude that they had never existed, especially when we remember that they had been exposed to centuries of warfare with one another and with pirates, while the Danish settlers had not suffered in the same way.

The Danes and the beginning of towns.

40. More important, however, than the planting of new villages is the fact that it is from the time of the Danes that we may trace the beginnings of our towns. The towns were indeed little better than more thickly populated villages, and most of the people lived by agriculture; but still the more populous places may be regarded as towns, since they were centres of regular trade. The Danes and Northmen were the leading merchants, and hence it was under Danish and Norse influences that villages were planted at centres suitable for commerce, or that well-placed villages received a new development.

In some cases the proof of this is easy; the evidence is partly constitutional. The Danish boroughs of Lincoln and Stamford, with the Lawmen of whom we read in Domesday Book, seem to have had the most completely organised municipal government which is mentioned in that record. The Danes have left their mark in other towns as well, notably in London itself, where the 'husting' shows the part they took in its government; there were 'lawmen' in Cambridge too. There is also some ecclesiastical evidence; for the dedications to S. Olaf and S. Magnus in York or Exeter or Southwark point to a Danish origin just as clearly as the name 'S. Clement Danes' suggests that this church was originally built for a Danish community. There seems also to be a sign of Danish influence in the improved legal status which was ascribed to merchants in the tenth century; among the Danes trading was a profession worthy of a prince, and the merchant and his crews were honourably welcomed. There is a reflection of this feeling in the doom which declares 'that if a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice as well as the thanes, he might have himself a thane-right worthy.'

Hitherto English foreign trade had been chiefly with southern lands, and the Danes were instrumental in enabling them to open up commerce with the trading settlements of the Northmen; Chester and Bristol came into communication with Dublin and with Iceland; and this intercourse

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1. Compare the maps in Mr Sebohm's Village Communities, p. 86.

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1. Domesday, 1, 236, v. 396 b.
2. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 211.
3. S. Clement, with his anchor, was obviously a suitable patron for seafaring men.
6. The influence of the Northmen in Ireland gives an instructive parallel to their doings in England; despite the communication with the continent, of which we have evidence (Montalembert, Monks of the West, ii. 291), there can have been little trade in Ireland during the halcyon days of Scottish civilisation there. Despite the power and enthusiasm of Scottish Christianity, it never succeeded in introducing suitable conditions for the development of secular industry and commerce; it even gave new excuses for tribal warfare, as when in 592 A.D. half Ireland engaged in battle about the possession of a psalter (Ibid. ii. 195).
must have been considerable as in that northern island a law was passed with regard to the property of English traders who died there. 41. During the period between the death of Alfred and the Norman Conquest there were conditions under which internal trade would develop; there was more of a union in name at least between the different districts than had hitherto been the case, while foreign trade had received a considerable stimulus from the settlement of the Danes and intercourse with their connections. We may distinguish different nuclei round which trade tended to centre, and thus see the conditions which brought about the origin of towns. What has been maintained in regard to other Teutonic lands probably holds good of England also; any village which was recognised as a place of constant trade may be spoken of as a town.

From very early times men have gathered to celebrate the memory of some hero by funeral games, and this has given the occasion for meeting and for trading, so that fairs were held annually at places of burial; to these the men of surrounding districts flocked, to take advantage of the best opportunities for making a satisfactory exchange. When even the monks were sometimes drawn from their arduous manual and internal trade.

Even the monks were sometimes drawn from their arduous manual

From very early times men have gathered to celebrate the memory of some hero by funeral games, and this has given the occasion for meeting and for trading, so that fairs were held annually at places of burial; to these the men of surrounding districts flocked, to take advantage of the best opportunities for making a satisfactory exchange. When even the monks were sometimes drawn from their arduous manual and literary labours to take part in warfare in 516.

The Danes. 95

Christianity was introduced, and monasteries sprang up at A.D. 787—the grave of each early martyr, the commemoration of the saint became the occasion of a similar assemblage and thus religious gatherings served as great opportunities for trade. Shrines, which attained a great celebrity, and were constantly frequented, were spots where trade could be carried on all the year round. Thus the origin of Glasgow may be traced from the burial-place of St. Ninian. It is to be noted A.D. 570, too, that a stream of pilgrims, even if they journeyed with no other than religious aims, opened up a route that could be used for other purposes; the regular establishment in the twelfth century of a ferry across the Forth was due to Queen Margaret's desire to provide for the transit of the pilgrims who flocked to S. Andrews. Such places as these would be suitable sites for annual fairs and would give opportunities for trade with more distant parts.

For regular internal trade other centres would prove more suitable. In some places a single village has grown into a town, and such names as Birmingham indicate this origin; something of the old administration survived in many towns till the era of municipal reform in the last century, and there are doubtless instances where elements still remain, though they are not so obvious as in Scottish towns. Some great cities like Athens and Rome have arisen through the coalescence of several villages, so that this has come to be considered as a typical mode of development. It is possible that some English towns grew up in this fashion; the arrangement of the town-fields suggests 1 Village feasts not infrequently fall on the day of the dedication of the church, and show the universality of the tendency here noted.

On this point, and indeed on the whole subject of the history of fairs in Europe, see Bourquelot's Minories in the Acad. des Inscriptions, 1er Série, v. i. 14.

5 Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii. 134.

6 Skene, op. cit. i. 351. For the connection between pilgrimages and village trade in Russia see Systems of Land Tenure, 370.

7 The provost or primipus represents the headman, or officer elected by the villagers.

8 Such an origin naturally suggests itself in the case of any city where several parishes met together. The negative influence may certainly be drawn that towns like Leeds, Bradford, or Liverpool, which lie wholly within one parish, have not originated thus. The parish is the nearest modern representative of the primitive community. At the same time the parochial organisation—the vestry, churchwardens, &c.—appears to be of ecclesiastical origin, though it probably was
A.D. 787—A.D. 1066.

Roman city; these were distinct influences, but they might be so combined as to render one point an important centre of trade, and thus cause the growth of the town planted there to be very rapid.

But when we have thus enumerated the different spots which commerce favoured, there is still much that must remain unexplained. The growth of a town on any of these spots was undoubtedly due to natural advantages of site and position; but it cannot be too often repeated that natural advantages are relative to the condition of human beings; what served as a good natural harbour two hundred years ago, would often be useless now: and so with all other means of communication. It is hard enough for us to try and realise the condition of any English town in, say the ninth century, and quite impossible to gauge the natural advantages of one spot over another for the conduct of a commerce which we understand so dimly. One thing indeed is clear; while roads were few and defective it was most important to make use of river communication as much as possible; and tidal streams which enabled the small sea-going vessels of the day to penetrate far inland led the way to the sites of the chief towns. Chester, York and Ipswich are cases in point; while the excellent natural canals on which Norwich, Doncaster and Cambridge were situated, served almost as well. The precise physical conditions which have brought about the origin and development of different towns deserve careful attention from local historians.

VI. Economic Ideas and Structure.

A. Property.

42. At first sight it might seem hopeless for us to try and reach any real understanding of the nature of the economic ideas of our forefathers in primitive times, or at any rate impossible to specify the changes which took place during these long centuries. The written evidence is so

1 A.D. 1066—B.C. 55—

grafted, as in the case of other ecclesiastical institutions, on to existing civil divisions of territory. Bishop Hobhouse, Preface to Church Wardens' Accounts (Somerset Record Society), p. xi.

2 Maitland, 'Township and Burgh,' 52.

3 On similar forts erected in France, compare Richy, Vikings, p. 358.

4 Maitland, ‘Township and Burgh,’ 52.


6 Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 187.

7 On the growth of continental towns see Cunningham, Essay on Western Civilization, 87 f.
sight, and so much of one kind, that we can only get meagre fragments of direct information; but there are other data to which attention may be turned. The various entries in Domesday Book contain definite terms and imply clear and precise ideas on economic matters, such as could not possibly have been present to the minds of a semi-nomadic people. Men cannot think about phenomena, or describe them accurately, until they are brought within the range of their experience; economic ideas could not be precise and definite till the industrial and commercial life of the day had rendered the importance of accurate distinctions apparent. The more highly developed life of the eleventh century involved the habitual use of definite ideas of ownership and status, such as men, in the condition Caesar describes, could not have grasped. Dealings at markets and fairs, as well as the assignment of definite portions of land, necessitate the employment of measures for which the primitive Germans could have had little use. How far the change was a native development, or how far it was due to the influence of Rome, whether exercised directly through imperial officers, or indirectly through ecclesiastics, is a question which demands much skilled investigation by specialists 1, but the greatness of the change cannot be doubted. The gist of the whole may be brought out by fixing our attention on the idea of property.

It is tolerably apparent that no one can wish to have permanent possession of a thing which he cannot use either for profit or pleasure; and that a knowledge of the arts of life and some power of applying natural materials and forces to human service must precede the attempt to appropriate them.

Property.

In the preceding pages attention has been directed to evidence which shows that the English were gradually learning to make better use of that which nature affords. Nomads whose flocks crop the pasture do not appropriate the soil over which they wander; but when men have learned the arts of tillage, especially of intensive tillage, they wish to set up a claim to the exclusive use of particular portions of land; or a claim to property in land.

When this claim is respected, and the right to use it is secured, there is property; common property is that which a man has a right to use along with others, private property is that which he has an exclusive right to use. At the time of the English Conquest our forefathers had so far emerged from the nomadic condition that the warriors acquired holdings either ideal or real, of their own, and claimed them by folk right. Other rights over land were at later times assigned to corporations or individuals, and their exclusive use was secured by a boc. The terms of the grant show what a man had a right to in any given case; for distinct rights over the same area might be vested in different persons, as one man may have the right to till certain fields, and another the right to shoot over them. When Domesday Survey was compiled every yard of English soil was as really, if not as definitely, subject to rights as it is now; and these are treated in the Survey as individual rights, involving personal responsibility. The existence of property implies the existence of proprietors; and by the time of the Confessor the ties of blood and personal duty had been translated into other terms, and the social fabric was a system of contracts between proprietors.

English Society as constituted in the eleventh century, 1

1 The analysis of the modern conception of property gives us a metaphysical justification of private ownership rather than a real account of the genesis of the thing. In early times the conceptions of dominium and proprietas appear to have been blended (Maitland, Township and Burgh, 28-31), and the historical problem is as to the process by which each became distinct, as, with changing circumstances, it was expedient for manorial lords to make claims to the undeveloped wastes of a village, or to abandon claims to previal service. It may be sound to regard labour as the sole title to property as Locke did (Civil Government, c. v. § 27), or to treat it more generally as an embodiment of rational purpose with Hegel (Phil. des Rechts, pp. 76, 81) and J. H. Stirling (Philosophy of Law, p. 36); but these are attempts to defend the institution, not an account of its origin.

2 See the Oath, Thorpe, l. 155. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, i. 28.
the population into these two broad divisions. There were B.C. 65–
many subdivisions within each of the great classes, but for
economic purposes at all events they are not obviously im-
portant; the main division lay between those who were
free under known conditions to possess and to part with
land, and those who with their progeny were attached to
another man's estate. Leaving out of account for a time
all questions connected with the unfree, we may see how all
the organisation of society, for military, judicial or fiscal
purposes, was interpreted in terms of property, even if it
was not as a matter of fact grounded upon this basis.

43. The great importance of this change lay in the fact
that it was possible to state the duties and responsibilities of
each individual in definite terms. Personal obligations are
difficult and indefinite; it may be a duty to follow a leader
in the fight, but the questions as to how often he is to be
followed, and how far, and for how long a time, could be at
even events most easily defined in connection with the tenure
of property; this also served as some security for the fulfil-
ment of obligations. The process of commendation may
have been convenient to the humble freeman as a means of
obtaining protection for person or property, or both; it was
also convenient to the military earl, as a means of securing
more effective organisation. There are signs of military
organisation in several of the entries of the Chronicle which

ECONOMIC IDEAS AND STRUCTURE. 101

2 Seebohm holds that there was less opportunity for rising in social status in
the ninth century. Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, 207. The Saga of
King Olaf the Saint, cc. 21, 22, describes a viking who was a beneficent master.
"Erling had also a ship of thirty-two benches of rowers, which was besides very
large for that size, and which he used in viking cruises, or on an expedition; and
in it there were 200 men at the very least. Erling had always at home on his
farm thirty slaves, besides other serving people. He gave his slaves a certain
day's work; but after it he gave them leisure, and leave that each should work
in the twilight and at night for himself, and as he pleased. He gave them arable
land to sow corn in, and let them apply their crops to their own use. He laid
upon each a certain quantity of labour to work themselves free by doing it; and
there were many who bought their freedom in this way in one year, or in the
second year, and all who had any luck could make themselves free within three
years. With this money he bought other slaves; and to some of his freed people
he showed how to work on the herring fishery; to others he showed some useful
handicraft; and some cleared their outfields and set up houses. He helped all to
prosperity." Laing, Chronicles, ir. 19.
3 Stubbs, Constitutional History, i. 78. When William devastated North-
umbria, and a terrible famine prevailed, some persons were forced to sell them-
selves into perpetual slavery. Roger of Hoveden, p. 119.
4 Professor Maitland points out that the important legal distinction, as shown
in the early laws, is between the man for whom a serfship should be paid and
whose relatives had some sort of right of feud, and the man who was a mere
chattel, like an ox or other beast of the field. The villan of Domesday were free
according to this older distinction. In the thirteenth century the obligation to
pay wergild on the marriage of a daughter was the chief distinguishing condition
which proved whether a man were free or not; and according to this, classes
which were formerly free were counted as servile.

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EARLY HISTORY.

B.C. 55—
A.D. 1066.

Economic
freedom.

Presents a striking contrast with English Society as we know
it now, as well as with the life of the primitive tribes. Now
every Englishman is a possible proprietor; he may be very
poor and have few actual possessions, but he is secured in
the enjoyment of them; and his own force and energy may
enable him to amass great wealth and obtain large estates.
But in the eleventh century this was not the case; and
there was a line of demarcation between those who were
free to part with property by gift or sale, and those
who were themselves with their progeny the property of
others. Apparently this was not a hard and fast line, dividing
the nation into castes like those in India, for men
might rise out of the unfree condition or might lose their
freedom, but it was none the less a definite line, however
it was drawn at any one time. Domesday Book, as well as
the Hundred Rolls of the time of Edward the First, seems to
take this scheme of demarcation for granted and classifies

4 It seems to be analogous to the distinction between geizholt and coerline
in Ine's Laws (Seebohm, 447). Another line of division in Anglo-Saxon times was
drawn between the value of a man's life and of his testimony as an oath-helper,
and Englishmen were ranked as terti-fyndan and terti-fyndan. Seebohm, op. cit. 406.
5 Commendation was the choice of a lord by a landless man or free proprietor
who required surety and protection. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 158.
6 Mr Scranton has called attention to some interesting instances of commen-
dation in Norfolk: 'At Dersingham we read 'In eadem villa tenant stat liberi
homines 2 carucatas terras et 25 acres, 5 bordarii, 3 carucates, 7 acres pradi-
habet sumus antecessor' (the predecessor of the then lord of the manor) commen-
dationem tantum, et horum 18, si velit recipere, daret quibusdum solidos;
Stiguand de omnibus noomin.' Here we may conjecture that the village community
of the 21 liberti homines had put itself under the protection of a more powerful
man, at first retaining the ownership of its lands, which it afterwards lost. At
Horsley in the same county the stage of commendation is a little later in date." Commons Fields, 14. Some Cambridge cases which point to a similar process
occur in Domesday, Escelforde, i. 198 a, 2, 211 a, 2. Herlestone, i. 203 a, 2.
Hanochetone, j. 198 a, 1.
deal with the Danes; as for example in 874, when Ceolwulf held Mercia on their behalf, and gave hostages that he would be ready to help them in his own person and with all that should follow him. In 917 the Lady of Mercia got possession of Derby and all that owed obedience thereto, and in the next year, Leicester, "and the greater part of the army that owed obedience thereto became subject to her; and the people of York had also covenanted with her, some having given a pledge and some having bound themselves by an oath that they would be at her command."

In the same year as the result of Edward's successes, "Thur-kytel the earl sought to him to be his lord, and all the captains, and almost all the chief men who owed obedience to Bedford, and many of those who owed obedience to Northampton." Commendations and oaths and military tenure seem here to be taking the place of the loyalty and discipline which had been previously secured by pledges and hostages.

The personal devotion of the comes to the princeps may have been more effective when it was flavoured with the expectation of a share in the spoils, and not by gratitude for a grant in the past. There must have been difficulty in enforcing the claim to personal service when it was not fully rendered; and this may be one reason why the English defence collapsed at the time of the Danish invasion. At any rate, when the monarchy was reconstituted and reorganised under Cnut and the Confessor, the claim for service no longer rested on a mere personal tie, but was made on each man as the holder of so much property; the obligation was not imposed on him so much as on his possessions. There is a significant hint of this change in the law which determined that a churl should rank as a thegn as soon as he had land enough to fulfil the duties of his position. Thus military obligations which had originally been personal came by commendation to be defined in terms of property; and when, through the failure to maintain an effective defence, tributary Danegeld was levied, the relations of the poorer and richer proprietors might well undergo a change. Those who were able to discharge this heavy fiscal responsibility would confer a real benefit on their neighbours by accepting a regular rent in return.

In a somewhat similar fashion the judicial status of each individual—the immunities he claimed and the jurisdiction he exercised—was defined in connection with the property he possessed. It was an enormous advantage for the man who was sued for any offence to be able to rely on the help of a powerful friend; the great lord who answered for his man and was willing to maintain his cause in the king's court, was an antagonist that no suitor would willingly face, and from whom it was difficult to obtain the desired redress. The wish to secure such assistance in connection with criminal charges or other litigation must have been a great incentive to commendation, but the lord could hardly be expected to make himself responsible for a man over whom he possessed no control. Hence the freeman was bound to attend at the manorial court; the lord had toll and team, the rights of sac and soc whatever these difficult terms implied—and he was to this extent free from the jurisdiction of others. It is needless to speculate here how such jurisdiction arose—how far from royal grant, and how far as a survival of the primitive police of little communities; but it did not rest on personal qualifications or powers, and it was exercised in connection with the possession of so much land, and marked the status of different classes of proprietors. "As soon as a man found himself obliged to suit and service in the court of a stronger neighbour, it needed but a single step to turn the practice into theory and to regard him as holding his land in consideration of that suit and service."

2 Matring, Select Pleas, Memorials (Selden Society), 1. xxiii. Domesday, Hussey, 1. 199 b, 2; Wadon, 194 b, 1; Ormrundo, 1. 196 b, 2; 193 b, 1.
3 Stubbs, Constitutional History, 1. 199.
By the time of the Confessor then, the social organism had embodied itself in a 'territorial shell,' and various duties incumbent on free Englishmen were commonly stated as incident to the positions of proprietors of so much land and of such land. These obligations correspond to what we should call taxation; though they often consisted of actual service, and not merely of money payments.

(a) Actual service was rendered in the defence of the country, actual work on roads and bridges, and on fortifications; this was the *trinoda necessitas* from which even favoured personages were apparently never exempted. Neglect to attend the *fyrd* entailed very serious punishment; but there were other personal services from which many of the holders of bocland were exempted by the terms of their charter. The most common of these perhaps was the employment of their teams in public service at the requirement of the sheriff.

For the taxpayer it was most important that these exactions should not be unlimited but should be defined; and the precise obligations at the time of the Domesday Survey appear to have been well known and easily put on record. The land, originally apportioned or granted by boc, was subject to many burdens; the tenants of the king's lands were under special if not better conditions, since they paid rent to the king (*gafol* or *gabulum*) as being the landlord of their estates, as well as services to him in his capacity as king. In later days it appears that the tenants on royal domain were on the whole more favourably dealt with than others, and bore less of the public burdens.

(b) There was also a certain amount of ecclesiastical taxation. The Christian duty of giving a tenth of one's substance to God had been enforced from the time of a legatine council in 787, and thus the payment of tithe was established. A considerable sum was also levied by a tax of a penny on every hearth and transmitted to Rome; the first payment is associated with the name of Offa, but it had become a regular tax in the tenth century.

(c) Up to the time of the Conquest the ordinary public *Dane-geld* duties were chiefly defrayed by actual service, or the service of deputies; but there were also extraordinary burdens which were necessarily paid in money, such as the *geld* or *Dane-geld*, which was originally a tributary payment exacted as a means of buying off the Danes, but was subsequently levied as stipendiary, so as to maintain the mercenary defensive force. This was paid off in 1050; but the precedent thus set enabled Edward the Confessor, and the Norman kings to levy similar exactions when emergencies arose. The due assessment of the geld was the primary purpose which the Conqueror had in view in taking the Domesday Survey. The information it contains as to the changes among the owners of land, or the character of their tenure, is all incidental; the main object was to provide a satisfactory basis for the assessment of this revenue.

If we turn to consider the position of the unfree man, we find that this too is susceptible of definition in connection with what he held. If he was not a free proprietor, neither was he a mere chattel; he was able to hold land and use it, even though he did not own it, and could not sell it. He was restricted to one estate, and he and his progeny were unable to hold land and use it, even though he did not own it, and could not sell it. He was restricted to one estate, and he and his progeny were

An interesting illustration of tributary *Dane-geld*, from the point of view of those who were engaged in collecting it, occurs in a Saga. Sigurd imposed a tribute on the inhabitants of Man, and when they had made peace the last left men behind him to collect the tribute: it was mostly paid in smoked silver. Subsequently the collectors were wrecked on the Irish coast, and relieved by an Icelander who traded with Dublin, and who sold them a boat, and "took therefore a great part of the tribute." Beamish, p. 187.
under the control of the lord, but he had recognised privileges too. The estates were worked by tenants who contributed services in return for the holdings assigned them, and who each stood in an economic relation to the proprietor; they did the work on his domain farm, and they also held land which they cultivated for themselves and with stock provided by the lord. The most important thing for the lord was that he should be able to attach a large body of dependents to his estate; the most important for the tenant that the kind of service and amount of service due from him should be definitely settled. Though there may have been many estates where arbitrary exactions were still in vogue, the obligations of the tenants of different sorts were in many cases clearly defined in the time of the Confessor. The economic relation thus indicated can hardly be satisfactorily described in modern terms, as the connotations of the words used have changed, and many distinctions which only emerged at a later date. We might say that the landlord received a labour-rent for the tenant's services, or the tenant received a holding in return for providing his services, as typical, but we are reminded that the different customs of different estates may have varied very greatly; still it is evident that the obligations on each particular estate were defined with considerable precision in recognized quantities of service or money, or money's worth.

46. A feudal society which was thus interpenetrated by ideas of property, and the obligations incident to the tenure of property, offers many close analogies with that which was in vogue under the Roman empire; on the other hand it presents strong contrasts with the amorphous and flexible condition of the German tribes at the time of Caesar or Tacitus, or even at the time of the English Conquest. On the grounds of this double probability it has been argued with great force and learning by Mr Coote and later by Mr Seebohm that the destruction wrought by the English invasion has been exaggerated, and that Roman civilisation survived the shock and reappeared at the time of the Confessor with but little change from the form in which it had existed in the days of Constantine, save that Christian teaching had affected it, and ameliorated the lot of the serf.

Their case is very strong from some points of view; it seems unlikely that a great civilisation should disappear, and that another civilisation so closely resembling it should arise.

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1 On the customary method of settling tenants on the land see Laws of Ine, 67, and Seebohm, Tribal Custom, 422.
2 Pollock, Land Laws, p. 49.
a few centuries later on exactly the same lands. It is incumbent on those who believe that the balance of probability after all favours this view to show the grounds on which they rely for proof of the destruction of the imperial civilisation, and to make it clear that the reconstruction of such a similar society was possible within the available time.

The proof of destruction has been already given; the histories are agreed as to the disintegration of society and the conquest of the Roman province of Britain; but it is possible that the statements of Bede and Nennius, who are inclined to moralise on the events, are somewhat exaggerated or only refer to special localities. The histories are however confirmed by monuments, which tell of the utter and rapid ruin of flourishing houses and cities. They are also confirmed by the facts that the old language did not survive and that the Christian religion was not preserved where the English settled. Had the English Conquest been a mere raid which swept over but did not overthrow the Roman civilisation, the country would have been Christian, as Wales or Gaul was Christian, before the time of S. Augustine or S. Cuthbert, and our language would have been a Roman or Gaelic dialect like French, or Welsh. In other countries like France or Italy, the ecclesiastical divisions served to perpetuate the memory of the old civil divisions of the Roman provinces; but the English dioceses have no apparent relation to the territorial divisions of Britain under the Roman Empire; they seem to have been completely effaced at the time when Gregory determined to plant the Church in England. There is no reason to believe that the fiscal system or the military system could survive, when the language and religion were swept away and left so few traces behind. The burden of proof seems to rest with those who maintain that despite these sweeping changes, the organisation of rural industry was practically untouched, and that the Roman villa remained untouched in all its main features.

On the other hand, the things which speak to us most plainly of the Romans, such as the roads, the camps, the trees, the stones of centurialisation, would be little affected by a great social upheaval, and would remain unless they were deliberately destroyed. A very small surviving element of population would serve to keep the old local names, and to preserve a few terms as well.

The argument as to the possibility of the growth of a similar society must necessarily be more or less hypothetical; for we have no such sufficient records of the first settlement and subsequent changes as to enable us to specify all the steps.

(i) It may be pointed out however that an argument drawn from the great similarity between the two societies in favour of a real continuity of the same social type, is by no means conclusive. There is a danger of neglecting purely natural resemblances. In all societies where agriculture is carried on in the same sort of way there must be many analogies in detail; a similar team will be required, and the mode of laying out the land which is convenient for the day's work will also be similar. As noted below there are many natural units of measurement which will come to be used so soon as a people wish to have accurate knowledge of height or area or value. It can be shown that the English need not have derived their knowledge of ploughing with oxen from the Romans, since this is a practice common to the Aryan race, and it naturally follows that there must have been many similarities of detail which were necessarily involved in this practice and need not have been derived from any outside source. If our acre were precisely identical with the Roman acre there would be either a very strange coincidence or a proof of dependence; but a mere similarity can be accounted for without supposing actual derivation.

(ii) Nor need we suppose that there was continuity even when there is precise identity of usage, if we can account for the late introduction of the Roman habit from another source.

2 See p. 30 above.
3 Freeman, Historical Geography, t. 166.
4 For indications of survival of both compare Coote, Romans of Britain, pp. 416, 458.
5 Compare Prof. Ashley, Introduction to Mrs Ashley's translation of Fustel de Coulanges, Origin of Property in Land, p. xxxii.
The influence of Roman missionaries must have been enormous; and the Roman Calendar, and much Roman terminology, legal and other, would easily come from this source. This must be borne in mind in estimating the bearing of documentary evidence on the point in dispute; the ecclesiastics who drafted the early charters would be likely to use Roman terminology to designate existing institutions, whether they were survivals from the imperial times, or a native English development. Further, the desire of English kinglets to imitate the doings of Charles the Great, makes it clear that in so far as his Capitularies became known they would modify the customs current in England. When we have discounted these elements of similarity, the force of the argument for continuity is greatly weakened.

(iii) It remains to be seen whether the dissimilarity between the life of the English invaders and the social system at the time of the Confessor, is so great that we cannot suppose the one was a development of the other. Here again the argument must be merely hypothetical; it is only thus we can see whether two sets of well-established facts can be reconciled or not; but even if we cannot altogether account for the growth of the new civilisation, the evidence adduced for the destruction of the old, and the consequent breach of continuity, remains unshaken.

(a) The English occupation was the settlement of an army, and preserved certain features of military organisation; military responsibilities are implied in the proprietary system under the Confessor; but the chief difference is that the class of free soldiers working shares of communal property seems to have disappeared, and a class of lords relying on the labour of dependents had taken its place. But we may remember that this is parallel to a change which occurred in Italy itself; the old type of Roman citizen who cultivated his own land and also fought in the armies of the republic, disappeared under the pressure of many wars; some were killed off, and many more were utterly impoverished; so that the old system of proprietary cultivation was superseded by the latifundia, cultivated by dependents. The

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1 Ashley, Origin of Property in Land, xv.

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wars against the Danes would be likely to necessitate more elaborate organisation, in which whole villages were forced in self-defence to accept a position of dependence on a neighbour.

(b) It is said, however, that the composition of each estate, and the dependents who worked it, could never have grown out of free associations of cultivating soldiers. It is of course unlikely that all had the same history, and it is probable enough that many were originally servile, even if others were originally free. Professor Maitland has shown that there were villages at the Domesday period which were free from seigniorial domination, and these may have been the surviving representatives of a state of affairs which had once been very general. After all, a village community is a social unit employed in the prosecution of agriculture; its members will manage their affairs in much the same way whether they are in other respects free or servile. The Welshmen in their scattered hamlets would probably feel the yoke of the conqueror, and so would the men in the English villages that succumbed in the subsequent conflicts for supremacy; but they would still be independent in managing their internal affairs, and they would continue to elect their own praepositus though their status was lowered.

On the other hand, the free soldiers were probably associated together for the cultivation of the lands originally assigned them, and arranged their common affairs by electing their own administrators from time to time. As the process of individualising the shares went on, there was increasing room for the growth of inequalities within each group. The success of some men would enable them to secure the help of dependents, while others, in the stress of their poverty, might bargain themselves into a servile condition. The necessity for doing so might arise from any one of a large number of different contingencies. Whenever an individual or a village became liable to a heavy fine on

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1 Andraws, Old English Manor, 76.
2 The evidence from Wales, Palmer, Ancient Tenures, p. 116, points to a time of premonarchical freedom in some Welsh manors. Compare also the history of the Russian mir, Kovalevsky, Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia, 81.
3 Seobold, Tribal Custom, 399.
4 See below, p. 296.
account of some crime committed\(^1\), they might have to throw themselves on the mercy of the lord and compound by accepting more onerous obligations for themselves and their children for all time. The pressure of royal demands for geld, or of tithe\(^2\) might be severe, and little grace was given to the man who failed to pay on the right day and was likely to fall into arrear. Whenever a man incurred a liability which he could not discharge, his more fortunate neighbour might come to his aid, and help him in the pressing emergency, but on terms that made a permanent change in their relative positions for the future. The mere pressure of a bad season apart from anything else might force men down to a lower social grade on which their children would continue to live\(^3\). Even in a land like India where custom is much more stereotyped than here, the village communities are breaking up, sometimes by partition into separate estates, and sometimes by a wealthy man absorbing the property of all; a manorial farm, or a group of small manorial farms will then take the place of the community. The process in India appears to be closely connected with the pressure of the land tax; the *patol*, or any officer who is responsible for the collection of the village assessment, may be able to rise to a position of superiority over the other villagers, especially if they fall behind hand with their payments and he advances the money. The imposition of the Danegeld and efforts to collect it may well have had similar effects in England. If it is true that the *manorium*\(^4\) was the economic unit\(^5\) from which the payments were in the first instance collected, the lord of each *manorium* was put in a position of considerable responsibility for his neighbours, and consequent power of controlling them. In any case the Indian analogies seem to show that it was not impossible for manorial farms to grow out of and supersede communities of freemen in the course of four or five centuries, even though we cannot follow the actual course of the change. To do so we should have to speak not of England in general, but of particular districts; Danish England differed greatly from the southern portion, and in particular contained a far larger proportion of freemen; but even within the Danelagh there were great varieties, for neither the Welsh nor the English were wholly swept away. The actual history would need to be a local history, which tried to examine what the original settlement in one parish after another had been, and to what causes the changes in each place were due. That such history cannot be completely recovered is obvious; but in default of it we must be content with seeing that the supposed change was possible. Evidence of the loss of freedom in historic times, or of *survivals*, its survival till a comparatively late period, must also be taken into account, before it can be admitted that all members of the original English village communities were servile. Even if the village community was not broken up, the members might lose their status by the necessity of commutation\(^6\); and indications of primitive freedom are found as late as the fifteenth century\(^7\). There was a tendency to gravitate to a lower status; and though there is ample evidence in the period after the Conquest of the rearrangement of economic relations, and acceptance of money payments in lieu of service\(^8\), it is difficult to see under what circumstances a lord would plant a body of freemen on his estate unless he found it necessary to provide for comrades in war, as was done both by Danes and Normans. It seems most reasonable to treat the isolated instances of lordless villages as survivals of a state

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\(^2\) *Ethelred*, ix. 7—12. Thorpe, 1. 943.
\(^3\) *Nethervis* v. 1—5. The change which occurs in Ireland when a tenant is hopelessly in arrears and after eviction is reinstated as a care-taker may serve as a modern illustration.
\(^4\) See below, p. 127.
\(^5\) The *Rectitudines* appear to state the economic relations of each member of a typical manor *but do not mention* the fiscal connection with other proprietors.
\(^6\) Mr Scrutton refers to interesting analogies, Village Community, p. 807.
\(^7\) *Scrutiny*, Common Fields, 14. The judicial evidence as to the original constitution of manorial courts also seems to point to the existence of a considerable class of freemen. Maitland, *Select Pleas, Manorial* (Selden Society), i. 14v.
\(^8\) These commutations cannot be taken as evidence of increasing freedom on the part of the villagers. It appears that the services exacted on the Ramsey Manors became more onerous during the thirteenth century. Neilson, *Economic Condition of the Manors of Ramsey Abbey*, 50.
of affairs which had once been general among the original English settlers.

B. Exchange.

48. The commerce of the primitive tribes must have been of a very elementary character; whereas in England at the time of the Conquest the trade was large and definitely regulated. There must then have been a steady improvement in the facilities for exchange, and in the other conditions which are necessary in order that it may be carried on. The primitive tribes had possessed coins, and payment in kind still survived after the Norman Conquest; but the one mode of conducting exchanges was gradually superseding the other and it is worth while to consider what is involved in the change from barter to the use of money, and the immense advantages for the conduct of trade which follow. Exchange in its earliest forms can only be barter, the exchange of one object of use for another object of use, but even in this simplest type there are distinctions which are worth noting. The man who is most anxious to conclude a bargain will always gain less advantage from it than the other; the savage, who covets a sailor's jack-knife, and feels that anything he has would be worth sacrificing for the sake of possessing it, will be willing to give a task of ivory or anything else the sailor fancies; the savage gratifies his pressing need, but the sailor has got an article which would usually give him much more trouble to procure than another knife would. The man who is least anxious about the matter drives the best bargain; we may call him even in a case of barter, the seller, and the man who has set his heart on a particular article, the buyer.

Again we may see the limits within which the exchange of a possible exchange.

Facilities for exchange.

Barter.

See above, p. 63, n. 1

Caravan trade.

Bartcr.

The commerce between the Danes and the Esquimaux offers an instructive illustration. When they came together they began to barter, and these people would rather have red cloth than anything else; for this they had to offer skins and real furs...For an entire fur skin the Skraelings took a piece of red cloth, a span long, and bound it round their heads. Thus went on their traffic for Beamish, nothing and advantage from it than the other

The trader has a supply of knives or other articles which the savages are anxious to use, and he gets from them articles which he does not himself want to use, but only to exchange again; his own anxiety is at a minimum and thus he can, in the absence of competition, drive up the price to almost the point of value-in-use to the buyer. He may be able to drive a similarly good bargain with others who mean to use them, in disposing of the commodities he has himself received in exchange. This is the secret of the enormous profits made by the merchants in eastern caravans, amounting to 200 or 300 per cent.; they do business on a system of tedious bartering in which they reap a benefit through the difference between the importance of an article to one who wants to use it, and its importance to one who regards it as a mere article of commerce.

The intervention of money—or a medium of exchange—Money as a medium of exchange.

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want to exchange for bread; you have bread which you want to exchange for boots; unless a third party comes on the scene it may be impossible for us to arrange any terms at all. There may be a similar difficulty in effecting an exchange when the right articles are present, but in quantities that cannot be fairly equalised. All these disadvantages in barter are obvious, but it is worth while to try and notice how far they may be overcome, even before the general introduction of pieces of money.

To discuss this we must consider the various functions which are performed by coins. It is in terms of coins that we reckon the value of different articles, one is worth five, another six shillings; a current coin serves as a unit for the comparison of wares. Again, coins are universally desired; people are always ready to accept coins, because it is a form of wealth for which they can always find a use; coins are therefore a medium of exchange, and as they are very divisible and equable they form a singularly good medium. Again, when payments have to be made at any time in the future—or over a period of years—it is coinage that gives a standard for deferred payments; while lastly, the compact form in which a great value is contained makes coins a suitable commodity for hoarding.

In early stages of society cattle are universally desired, as also are slaves, and these articles can therefore be used as media of exchange; but it is obvious that as a living animal cannot be divided, slaves or cattle only serve this purpose for large payments. Though they probably had no better media in some pre-historic periods, the English were acquainted with the use of coinage for some payments at the time of the

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Footnote 1: Mr. Frazer has pointed out to me a curious case from real life which is given by Mr. Broole:

"A Dyak has no conception of the use of a circulating medium. He may be seen wandering in the Bazaar with a ball of beeswax in his hand for days together, because he cannot find anybody willing to take it for the exact article he requires. This article may not be more than a tenth of the value of the beeswax, but he would not sell it for money, and then buy what he wants. From the first, he had the particular article in his mind's eye, and worked for the identical ball of beeswax with which and nothing else he could purchase it." Ten Years in Sarawak, vol. i. p. 156.


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occupation of Britain. We are accustomed to a well marked B.C. 55–A.D. 1066 unit, represented by a definite piece of metal, in terms of which the value of articles can be measured; and we can scarcely see what meaning prices would have if no such tangible unit existed. But primitive circulating media were in all probability little used, and it was possible to manage fairly well with an ideal unit for money of account; one could compare a book worth five shillings with a stool worth six, even if no shillings were ever coined; and the manus appears to have been a unit of comparison, but a merely ideal unit to which no coin corresponded. The difficulty of finding an unvarying standard never in all probability occurred to our forefathers; but as a matter of practical convenience they hit on a system which is now recommended by scientific authorities as fair; for deferred payments it was customary to agree to give provender rents. Uncoined precious metals served as well for hoarding as coins do, and each of the kings would doubtless aim at the possession of such a treasure. As trade flourished it would become more possible to procure the precious metals; if Thorpe's collection of documents is really representative, it would seem that during the ninth century these metals became much more abundant. Occasional donations of them are mentioned after 811, and regular money payments from tenants appear to date back as far as 900. It would however be an error to suppose that estimates of obligations in terms of money always imply that the debt was actually discharged in coin and not in kind.

We may thus see that all the various functions of money could be performed, if not so well, at least to such an extent as coins.
as to render the circulation of wares\(^1\) possible, before the introduction of coins. That step was an expensive one; it is not every man who is well supplied with ready money, and it is not every community that is so rich as to be able to afford the amount of precious metals which must be provided before there can be a general circulation of coins. When the advantages of coining were realised, and when the kings saw that taxes could be more easily collected, or that by promoting trade they could increase their own dues, they would doubtless make great efforts to provide a metallic currency. We shall not perhaps be far wrong if we argue that the imposition of the Danegeld implies that there was a very general diffusion of the precious metals through the country in the eleventh century.

49. The Domesday Survey is retrospective, and embodies a great deal of information about the time of the Confessor; indirect evidence of the advanced condition of society before the Norman Conquest is to be found in the precision with which measurements of all sorts could be taken. This Survey, as well as the Laws which have been so often quoted, shows that Englishmen had accurate terms by which payments of all sorts, whether in money or in kind or in service, could be defined; indeed there were several distinct metric systems, which were apparently prevalent in Welsh, English and Danish districts respectively. The whole subject is beset with many difficulties, partly because the same term may mean one thing when it is used in a Danish and something else in an English district, but chiefly because the connotation of the words themselves must have changed, and sometimes came to be defined more precisely. Progress in this as in other matters is from the vague to the definite, and while primitive tribes may estimate land very roughly by units\(^2\) which have no precise areal value, agriculturists in a highly civilised society desire to have an accurate metric system.

This was however a very difficult problem; it is hard enough to define the measures in common use so that if they

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\(^1\) Compare Achenbach, *Hausbergs Genossenschaften des Siegelzontes*, pp 8–9. If the *hide* meant originally land for a family, it had probably reference to possible produce rather than to actual area.

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\(^2\) Jeune, *Principles of Science*, 1, 357.

\(^3\) Which rule is not at all erroneous. For the length of a barley corn of some tillage is longer, and of some tillage is shorter.” R. de Beness, *Boke of Measurynge Land* (1567).

were all destroyed it would be possible to reproduce them\(^1\), and it must have been still harder to find convenient units which it was natural to adopt, and to settle on the method of multiplying and dividing which gave a suitable system. If we could ascribe its original purpose to each kind of measurement, we should see what units it is natural to adopt, and understand how similar units are found in many different and unconnected regions; on the other hand the mode of commutation, by threes or tens or twelves, sometimes seems to discriminate from one another some of the distinct tribes or races which inhabited various parts of England at different times.

Short units of length. A whole series of units which have proved convenient for measuring cloth and other fabrics are derived from the hand and arm; the nail, the finger, the hand, the ell, and the yard can all be got in this way; the fathom is the distance given from tip to tip when the arms are fully stretched out. That the human frame varies and that these units were still in want of precise definition, both in themselves and in relation to one another, is of course clear enough; but the fact remains that the original units of measurement were given by the division of this limb.

On the other hand the primitive definition of these measures was given in terms of a natural object—three barleycorns, one inch\(^2\).

Another series, which are perhaps more used in outdoor or building operations, are given by the lower limbs, such as the foot, and the pace.

Units of area. The measurement of areas of land naturally bore a close relation to tillage, and the unit is the acre. This was, roughly speaking, the amount of land which could be ploughed in a day; and would of course vary with the character of the soil and the strength of the team—not to mention the length of the day; but somewhat similar areas came to be precisely defined for each locality by the manner in which the ploughman set out his work. He ploughed an
oblong space, ten times as long as it was broad; the most common acre was 22 yards across, and the furrow was 220 yards long; the breadth was laid out by taking four falls of a rood which measured $\frac{5}{2}$ yards; and thus the acre was divided into roods.

But though this acre was the commonest, there were (and are) an immense number of local acres, defined by the length of the rod with which they were laid out. In a thirteenth century treatise on estate management, rods of 16, 18, 20, 22 and 24 feet are mentioned, and the acres approximately corresponding to some of these still survive in Cheshire, Ireland and Jersey. The acre in one place is not the same as the acre in another; but the acre of each estate was a perfectly definite area of soil to be ploughed. The normal acre of 220 yards long by 22 wide was divided into four quarters or roods, each of which was 220 yards long and a rood (5½ yards) wide.

**Units of distance derived from measures of area.** The whole acre was sixty-six feet wide, and could be ploughed into 72 furrows; so that the day's work of the men in ploughing an acre involved traversing a distance of 72 furlongs, or nine miles. Hence from this statute acre we can derive several units of distance; the breadth of the acre, 22 yards, gives us Gunter's Chain, and the term acre, as a linear measure, was sometimes employed in this sense; the length of the acre gives us the furrow long or furlong of 220 yards. The term most commonly used for long distances in *Domesday* is the league; it consisted of twelve furlongs (one mile and a half) and the

**Units of capacity** are probably derived from some convenient natural object, such as an egg, a gourd, or a shell; but the multiples of these units ordinarily correspond with measures of area; as it was desirable to make exact allowance for the quantity of corn which was given out of the granary for seed. The relation between the two is so close that in some districts an acre of land is expressed in terms of the quantity of seed required to sow it; thus we have the *furlot-sowing* of four, which make up the *boll* of land, a Scotch nomenclature which corresponds to the quart and gallon. On the other hand these measures of capacity are correlated with measures of weight; the tun is an example of a term which applies to weight, as well as to capacity (in the case of wine), and it apparently refers to the same quantity viewed in the distinct aspects of weight and capacity. Curiously enough the same term is still used in Denmark to denote a "tun sowing" of land, and thus to estimate area.

50. It has been pointed out above that the English were acquainted with the use of coinage when they landed in Britain, but it was also clear that payments in kind and barter were in vogue after the Conquest. We have evidence therefore of various *units of value* during this long period, and they were derived from the most convenient media of exchange.

In order that an article may serve as a medium of exchange, there is one quality it must possess—it must be an object of ordinary desire which is generally taken as payment; any commodity which is thus acceptable, either in the fashion we may note that a strip of land one furlong wide by a league long, gives us 120 acres or a *Domesday hide*. The square league would be an allotment of 12 hides.

**Units of Value generally.**

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2. *The pecularities of the Cheshire acre are discussed very fully by Mr. A. N. Palmer in his History of Ancient Tenures in the Marches of Wales*, p. 16 and 19. It appears to be derived from an entirely different system of working the land and to be based on a square rood.
5. 0. C. Bell in *Domesday Studies*, i. 371. Even if it was not laid out in this

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3. *Compare the Assize of Measures* (1696), 12 ounces, one pound; 8 pounds, one gallon of wine; 8 gallons of wine, one London bushel, and 8 bushels one quarter.
4. *Harlow, Phil. Trans., xxxi. 467.*
from its nature, or as in the case of inconvertible paper currency by convention, may be used to supply a unit of value. For purposes of convenience from their portability, divisibility, uniformity of quality and from the facility for testing them, coins made of the precious metals have generally superseded other objects of value as media of exchange; but they appear to have been weighed out in quantities which served to represent one of the more primitive units of value—which were apparently cattle and slaves. Among the English as elsewhere cattle and slaves would always be taken as payment, and we consequently have estimates of worth commonly made in terms of cattle, and occasionally in slaves. There was, however, much inconvenience in such currency; it might suffice for large payments but it was not divisible, and it would not be acceptable to the merchant who travelled long distances over land or sea. The differences in the quality of different oxen rendered them an uncertain mode of payment, and there were great advantages in substituting a definite amount of silver as the representative of the normal ox. As in ancient Greece and the other Mediterranean lands, the price of an ox appears from evidence drawn from a large area to be the unit of value, and the solidus of twelve pence was regarded as the equivalent of an ox by Charles, in his dealings with the Saxons.

The ox also corresponded with the evidence drawn from a large area to be the unit of value, though there is no reason to believe that coins of this denomination were ever issued. The silver mancus was worth thirty pence, and the shilling in

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**EARLY HISTORY.**

B.C. 55—
A.D. 1066.

but the precious metals are most convenient.

quantities of silver which represented the value of cattle

or slaves.

The ox.

solidus
A.D. 786.

mancus.

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**ECONOMIC IDEAS AND STRUCTURE.**

123

this system contained five pence. Again in the *Breton* B.C. 55—
A.D. 1066.

laws the cow appears as corresponding to the *ounce;* so that we have three distinct systems in which the unit appears to be based on the value of cattle.

Similarly the pound may possibly have been selected as a unit because it was the silver equivalent of the worth of a man; though such a phrase as ‘half a pound of pence’ would seem to show that it was not a natural unit of value, but a measure of weight applied to making large payments of money. In any case, and as a warning against possible confusion, it is necessary to note that several distinct modes of computation for money appear to have been in vogue before the Conquest. Thus we have the pound divided into (a) twelve ounces of twenty-pence each, (b) twenty shillings of twelve-pence each, (c) forty-eight shillings of fivepence each, (d) sixteen ounces of sixpence containing 30 wheat corns.

Hence it appears that the smaller measures of weight* small weights.

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1 *Sechas Mulr. i. 246. Though the basis is similar in each of these cases, it does not seem to me possible to explain the relation of each system to the others by taking this as a common term. The solidus of Charlemagne was 12 pennyweights of 32 wheat corns each or 384 wheat corns; the mancus was equivalent to 30 similar pennyweights or 960 wheat corns; the Breton ounce to 576 corns. (Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 214). How similar animals should come to have different equivalents in silver is a problem we may leave on one side, though at that early time England and Ireland may well have been quite isolated so far as cattle breeding is concerned, but the evidence is very strong that the head of cattle gave the unit in each of these systems.

2 *Duasan, Th. i. 357. See also *Ancient Laws of Wales*, 794, 820. According to the *Leges Waliae*, ii. xivii. 30, 31 and ii. xxii. 13, the price of a slave was one pound, but of one brought across the sea, a pound and a half. The slave who was brought from a distance was much less likely to escape, or even to attempt it, and was therefore a more valuable property; this principle still holds good among slave-owners. Slaves must have varied in quality, and the quotations of the prices actually paid were sometimes much lower, Turner. *Anglo-Saxon*, ii. 39 (540). On the other hand the toll on a man at *Llawn* (Domesday, i. 30 a. 1) was eight times as heavy as that on an ox. Navelle, *Cochinisca Franca*, p. 66.


4 This is Welsh. *Scothum, Village Community*, 204, 229.

5 This mode applied to *Tower Pound* and *Troy Pound*, but the amounts different, the *Tower Pound* p. 23 grains, the Troy 33.

6 Alfred and Guthrum, Th. i. 831. 300 shillings of five pence make four pounds and forty pence.

7 *Poll in Domesday Studies*, 249, refers to *Inquisitio Eclesiastica*, p. 36, Pamphillad.

8 Large measures of weight would be connected with the amount which could
could be conveniently derived from weighing out small quantities of the precious metals for payment, and that units of weight are obtainable from units of value expressed in terms of gold or silver. The habit of paying by weight appears to have been in common use at the time of the Conquest, though payment was sometimes taken by tale, even then.

51. Many of the irregularities in our metric system are due to the fact that it contains natural units of different orders, and that it consists to some extent of definitions of one unit in terms of another. The clearest instance of this is in the Calendar, where we have three distinct units of time, the rotation of the earth, the moon’s circuit and the earth’s circuit; these cannot be adjusted their relations can only be expressed in fractions. But something similar occurs in our system of measures where the relations of the rod, or plough unit, and the foot can only be expressed in fractions. A good illustration of a table of “moneys” which contain different natural units of value is found in the Brehon Laws.

In other cases where the larger measures consist of multiples and the smaller ones of divisions of a natural unit it is difficult to account for the practice of one people in counting by twelves and another by tens; some by fours and others by threes. Similar modes of counting were applied to quantities of different sorts.

In weight the ton with its twentieth part divided into quarters is a similar mode of computing to the same fashion of money.

The agreement between the two different tables was commonly used as a means of calculating the size in acres and roods of any piece of land, measured in perches. R. de Benese, Boke of Measurynge of Landes, mark = acre.

royal (10s.) = 3 roods.
noble (5s.) = ½ acre.
5s. = 1 rood and v day works. 1 p. = 1 perch.

1 See for example the case of Soham in Cambridgeshire quoted on p. 471 below, also Escelforde, Domesday, 1. 190 n. 1.

2 See page 89, note.

3 Bound in Domesday Studies, i. 79.

4 Ambreslege. Hec antiquitus pro illi hidas fuit liberata, sicut dicitur cartes de ecclesia (Rovesham). Sed tempora regis Edwarchi fuit numerata pro xv hidas inter silvas et plumas, et tres hidas ex eis sunt liberas. Domesday, i. 175 b, 2.

5 Eyton, Key to Domesday, Dorset, 10.
at all; but when applied to arable land, it seems to have had reference to an area of 120 acres. Professor Maitland has made it clear from an examination of entries in Cambridge-shire, where the total estimate of a village is given, and the fractional parts are stated as well as terms of virgates and acres, that the equation 1 hide = 4 virgates = 120 acres holds good. This term, which is used as a unit of rateable value, points us back to a time when shares of lands were allotted to tribesmen according to the number of the cultivators. The term which is used, both under the Confessor and the Conqueror in the Danish parts of England, for the unit of assessment is *cuerucate*, with its eighth the *bovate*, and this is obviously derived from the stock which was needed to work the land. For the purposes of rating it apparently signified the same thing as the hide; but these fiscal terms do not give us direct light on the actual agricultural conditions of the villages to which they are applied.

Other places, and especially the towns, appeared to be measured by a different unit, the *hundred*, or half-hundred; it has been suggested with much ingenuity by Mr Round that these are really multiples of another unit which was

3 Mr Round (*Ancient Charters, 68*) points out that land at Tillingham, which is entered in one charter as a hide and a half and ten acres, is also described as ‘three holdings of 60 acres plus one of 10 acres.’

4 Domesday Book and Beyond, p. 476.

5 The usual team was eight oxen. Compare the numbers of the teams on the Peterborough estates, where eight is most common, though six is also frequent. *Liber Niger* (1125-6) in *Chronicon Petroburgesium* (*Camden Society*), App. See also p. 163, n. 3, below. A *bovate* was the land suitable for the man contributing so much responsibility with reference to levies of geld. The term hundred is used here not to denote an area, but as a mere unit of assessment for military service and fiscal payments; though there can be no doubt that the organisation of the hundred as a territorial and judicial division was much used in connection with the revenue, and the information in regard to the rating of each manor was taken according to the oaths of the men of the hundred.

There is another term in *Domesday* which might at first sight appear to be a unit of assessment; for we read that land was held *pro ii maneria*; this however, as Professor Maitland suggests, more probably describes the channel of payment, and has no direct bearing on the amount of payment. Manors were of most various sizes, and of very different values; but the owner of each manor, big or small, might well be responsible for the payment of the Danegeld for that estate. This too would explain part of the relation

1 *Round in Domesday Studies*, 1. 120.


4 *Very severe measures were taken with anyone who was not punctual in paying at the terms. Under Cnut persons four days in arrears with their taxes were liable to forfeit their lands, and *wita* appears to have been a payment in lieu of forfeiture.* *Round, Domesday Studies*, 1. 89.

5 *Elmshorne. Ulmar et Ulccestre tenuerunt pro ii Maneria et potenter ire quo volerant.* *Domesday*, 1. 176 a. 2.

6 *Select Places, Manorial* (*Cambridge Society*), 1. 11. *There is a curious entry regarding Newton between the Ribble and the Mersey. Huius Maneri aliam terram xv homines quos drence vocabant pro xv maneria tenebant, sed huius maneri earum tierent, et inter omnes xx solidos reedcebant.* *Domesday*, 1. 209 b. 3.
between the free tenants and the lord of the manor; if he was responsible in the first instance for their fiscal payments they would form part of the manor as a ‘unit of geldability’, even if the lord had no other claims upon them, and they owed him no military service. We may thus think of the hide (or carucate) as the unit of assessment, and of the manor as the local organ, through which payments were made.

Facilities for foreign trade.

53. The fact that the English had come to require and make use of definite measures of all sorts is one of the most obvious proofs of the progress of society; they were in possession of the skill and terminology by which men are able to drive a bargain with precision. This would be of use for all the purposes of daily life, and for the internal trade at little markets, but there is other evidence which shows that there were increased facilities for foreign trade as well.

a. The improvement in this respect is partly parallel to the changes which have been noticed above, where personal duties gave place to specified obligations which were incident to the possession of property; in a somewhat similar fashion the position of the foreign trader was rendered definite and his obligations were limited and became precise as customs.

The kings at first exercised a personal protection over the few chapmen who wandered about the country, a protection which Charles the Great assured to English merchants; but they could hardly hope to obtain this favour if they came empty handed. It is thus that English traders in the present day have to secure their footing in half barbarous countries by presents and bribes; it is an immense advantage to them, as it was to early merchants here, when regular and fixed rates of tolls are substituted for these gifts. This improved practice had been partially introduced in the eleventh century, as we know the tolls which were charged at Billingsgate in the time of Æthelred.

1 Dooms of London (Laws of Æthelred, rv. § 2), Thorpe, t. 300. Tolls were demanded at inland towns as well as at seaports. "Wainshilling" and "load penny" at Worcester (898) are described as dues that always go to the king and cannot therefore be remitted or assigned by an alienor (Thorpe, Dep. Ang., 138). But these were sometimes granted by the king, as e.g. Edgar granted (978) the market dues at Taunton to the See of Winchester (Thorpe, Dep. Ang., 283); or as Cnut did to Canterbury (1012): "And I give to the same monastery

ECONOMIC IDEAS AND STRUCTURE.

b. Besides providing for the protection of the trader the Anglo-Saxon dooms also contain much legislation in regard to criminal. Business had to be conducted publicly in order to be conducted privately. There was no means of giving a regular receipt, and it might often have been difficult for a man to prove that he had not stolen a purchased article unless his statement was supported by testimony; hence the obligation of trading "in port." But there was danger of dishonesty in such occupations also; horses or cattle might be stolen and hence it was necessary for men who wished to live at peace to form associations for mutual aid in the pursuit of nefarious persons. The regulations for the City of London are very interesting, and those of the Cambridge gild are worth noting also. These were less concerned with the recovery of property than with enforcing due money penalties for manslaughter and personal injuries. It is most unfortunate that the ordinances of the eighteenth gild, which existed in London in the time of Henry I, and of the similar gilds in Canterbury and Winchester, have not been preserved.

for the subsistence of the same monks, the haven of Sandwich, and all the landings and dues of both sides of the stream, let own the land whoever owns it, from Peppeness to Marfleet; so that when it is full flood, and the ship is afloat, as far as a taper axe can be cast from the ship upon the land, let the ministers of Christchurch receive the dues...And theirs shall be the ship, and the ferry over the haven, and the toll of all ships...and all which is found on this side of the middle of the sea, and brought to Sandwich, be it a garment, be it a net, or a weapon, or iron, gold or silver, the half part shall be for the monks and the other part shall be for him who finds it" (Thorpe, Dip. Ang. 317). On tolls at later periods, see pp. 217, 277.

1 Laws of Edward, 1. Thorpe, t. 159. Laws of Æthelstan, 10, 12. Thorpe, t. 205. Laws of Edgar, Supplement, 8. Thorpe, t. 278. Special care was taken in regard to certain classes of goods, such as cattle and old clothes, where the presumption of theft was particularly strong. Laws of Edward the Confessor, 50. Thorpe, t. 461.

2 Æthelstan's Laws, v. Thorpe, t. 229. It is at least doubtful whether these judicia are properly described as gild ordinances. Dr Gross (Gilds Mercatoria, 11) treats them as police regulations imposed from above, not framed by the members of an association; or gild for themselves. In later times it was not uncommon for the rules of a craft guild made by the members to be enforced by the weight of municipal authority.

3 Cooper's Annals, 11. The ordinances of the gilds which existed early in the eleventh century at Exeter, Woodbury and Abbotsbury show that they were primarily religious organisations for providing masses for the souls of deceased brethren.

4 Rymer, Faderna, 1. 11. Compare Uwins, Gilds of London, 32.

5 Kemble, Codex Dipl. ii. 83.

6 Liber Wigorniae, i (Domesday Book, iii. 531). See below, p. 219.
There is some incidental and circumstantial evidence\(^1\) which goes to show that they were really gilds of merchants\(^2\), and they may have been the germ of the gilds merchant, which were established in so many towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

There are also some slight indications of a trade policy: so far as exports were concerned, the chief desire was that we should not part with them too easily. It seemed a pity that valuable goods should go to foreigners except on terms that were really remunerative. The weigh\(^3\) of wool was to be sold for 120 pence; and if any was sold at a cheaper rate, both the buyer and seller were to forfeit 46 shillings to the king\(^4\).

In all probability wool was even then a principal article of the valuable products of England\(^5\); and the fact that the fleece was worth \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the sheep\(^6\), seems to show that wool-growing was very profitable. We shall come across many instances of similar laws protecting native products in after times\(^7\).

The one surviving set of regulations for the transactions of foreign merchants is also of great interest, as it indicates a scheme of policy that was enforced for many centuries. The foreigner was only to sell wholesale\(^8\), and he was not to interfere with the employments of native Englishmen by engaging in any work which the citizens were wont to do, or by taking up retail trade\(^9\). This interesting set of B.C. 55—A.D. 1066, dooms is chiefly concerned with defining the liberties of the townsman and protecting them against the abuses of royal power; but we also learn that the position of the foreign merchant was not wholly uncertain and merely dependent on the personal favour of the monarch and the protection it afforded. The Rouen merchants who brought wine had secured definite conditions for the exercise of their calling, and the Men of the Emperor had obtained a factory in London with special commercial immunities. In this case, as well as when rights over fairs and markets were granted to special proprietors, the royal control of trade came to be exercised under the form of proprietary grants, and the royal demands were rendered precise when they were expressed as specific obligations.

54. The practice of exchange had gone so far, at the time of the Confessor, that it had greatly affected the structure of society. Regular intercourse would soon undermine the self-sufficiency of the separate communities; the mere fact that coinage was coming more and more into circulation shows that trade was becoming more general. The increase of trade, too, gave opportunity for more specialisation and greater division of employments. An early example of reflections on the combination of employments and its advantages is to be found in Archbishop Ælfric's Colloquium\(^10\), which was written for the purpose of instructing English boys in the Latin tongue. It is a dialogue between the teacher and a number of men who were engaged in work of different kinds. It gives us a vivid picture of the day's work of the ploughman and his boy, with all he had to do, as well as the duties of the ox herd, who tended the cattle at night in the pasture. We read also of the king's hunter, who took game with nets and also hunted with dogs; he was provided with food and clothing and a horse by his royal master. There was a fisherman, too, who fished in the rivers and found a good market in the towns, but who rarely went on the sea and was too timorous to try to catch a whale. There was a hawkner, as well as a merchant,
who boasted that he was of service to the king, and the alderman, and the wealthy, and all the people, for he went in his ship, with his goods, and bought precious things which were not native to England, and brought them across, despite the perils of the deep and the risks of shipwreck. And when he brought them he tried to sell them for more here than he paid there, so that he might have some gain and support his wife and son. The salt maker, the baker, and the cook follow; a group of artisans is next introduced, and the question is pronounced, Which is the best of crafts? The reply is tillage, since the ploughman feeds us all. But the smith objects that he is more necessary, since he supplies the ploughshare, and the coulter, and goad, and indeed the implements for every craft. The wright puts in his claims to preeminence, and the discussion is closed by the wise man, who repeats his view, as to the primary importance of tillage, while he exhorts them all to be diligent in their respective callings. In this interesting picture of eleventh century society we see that there were such facilities for exchange that the division of employments could be carried out to some extent, while at the same time the inter-connection of these employments and the necessity of their harmonious working for the common good are clearly recognised.

We have also an interesting statement, from pre-Norman times of the end which all these various callings seemed to subserve. King Alfred has left on record his views of national prosperity and of the means by which the king should strive to attain it. The passage is introduced in his translation of Boethius. "When Wisdom had sung this lay, he was silent, and the mind then answered and thus said; O Reason, indeed thou knowest that covetousness, and the greatness of this earthly power, never well pleased me, nor did I very much yearn after this earthly authority. But nevertheless, I was desirous of materials for the work which I was commanded to perform; that was, that I might honourably and fitly guide and exercise the power which

was committed to me. Moreover, thou knowest that no man can shew any skill, or exercise or control any power, without tools, and materials. That is of every craft the materials, without which man cannot exercise the craft. This then, is a king's material and his tools to reign with; that he have his land well peopled; he must have head-men, and soldiers, and workmen. Thou knowest that without these tools no king can shew his craft. This is also his materials which he must have beside the tools; provision for the three classes. This is, then, their provision; land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, and whatsoever is necessary for the three classes. He cannot without these preserve the tools, nor without the tools accomplish any of those things which he is commanded to perform. Therefore I was desirous of materials wherewith to exercise the power, that my talents and fame should not be forgotten, and concealed. For every craft and every power soon becomes old, and is passed over in silence, if it be without wisdom; for no man can accomplish any craft, without wisdom. Because whatsoever is done through folly, no one can ever reckon for craft. This is especially to be said; that I wished to live honourably whilst I lived, and after my life to leave to the men who were after me, my memory in good works."

Of King Alfred it may certainly be said that he attained the object of his noble ambition; but his whole view of state-craft, and of the duty of a king to interest himself actively in all the different sides of national life, is in itself instructive, and may help us to understand the immense influence for good and for evil, which was exercised by the crown in subsequent reigns.

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1 He imported purple, silk, gems, gold, dyed stuffs, dyes, wine, oil, ivory, latten, brass, tin, sulphur and glass.
2 Boethius, I. c. 17 in King Alfred's Works, ii. 452 (Jubilee ed.).
II. FEUDALISM.

I. THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND ITS EFFECTS.

A.D. 1066-1072. The elements of feudalism.

In a preceding paragraph an attempt has been made to trace the gradual change by which, both in the kingdom and the manor, personal ties developed into proprietary obligations. The whole social fabric was kept together by a number of contracts between different holders of land; the land which was commended to a powerful neighbour was secured from other aggressors by a contract; the office which was granted to a judge or a sheriff was held under terms of a contract; the gebur's tenure of land was a contract between the manorial lord and his serf, in terms of land and service. Such is the form under which these various social relationships can be described; but opportunities of revising the terms of any of these bargains rarely occurred; men were generally forced to accept a position which had been defined long before they were born and which they could do little or nothing to improve. The main desire of the trader or agriculturist was that of having a clearly defined position, as this afforded a security against the arbitrary exercise of irresponsible power. Each individual among the people had a definite status, determined by his relations to other individuals; and hence they composed, not a community, nor a tribe, still less a nation, but a feudal system in which each man took his place, not through ties of blood or loyalty, still less through citizenship, but in accordance with inherited and forced, rather than free, contracts.

The mere attempt to portray the characteristics of a feudal system brings into light its grave defects—which soon called forth antagonistic influences. Indeed the reaction was at work from such an early time that it is probably more correct to say that there was an active feudalising tendency, of which the effects still survive, than to speak of feudalism as a system—for the system was breaking up before it was completely formed. In the times when the tendency first showed itself, there was no sufficient public protection; men had to seek security by agreement with their neighbours; there was no sufficient machinery for guarding the realm or administering justice; for national enthusiasm or public spirit, there was no place in a feudal system. Such a system was necessarily only a passing stage of social progress; had the national life been permanently confined by its narrow restrictions, no great material achievements could ever have been accomplished. For growth and development imply change; the feudal contracts would have so fettered individuals as to check all energy and enterprise.

There can be little doubt that feudalism gave far greater security for person and property than there had been before it arose; but it is to be noticed that, when it had once become an organised social system, the whole of its working depended to an extraordinary extent on the personal character of its head.

Up till the time of Cnut there had been a gradual extension of the royal power; in the Norman reigns we see it reaching its greatest vigour; the first William checked the tendency for the great feudatories to become independent of the king, and made the relationship of each subject to the crown to be clearly felt; the Domesday Book with its constantly repeated "quando recepit" marks the beginning of E

1 G. W. F. Hegel, Philosophy of History, 385.
2 The deleterious effects of many traditional covenants in farm leases—as to the course to be adopted, &c.—are becoming generally recognised, and are an instance, on a small scale, of the evil noted in the text.
this definite assertion of royal authority over all conditions of men in the land, and of royal interest in the details of their circumstances. The king is the centre of the whole, and it is by their relationship to him that the various tenants in chief are connected together; with each the king has a definite compact—such possessions held in return for such services. Looking back on this feudal system we find that it worked so differently in different reigns that it is impossible to appraise it as good or as bad; when we see what society became at the times, such as Stephen's reign, when the authority of the king was set at nought and the whole fabric fell to pieces in consequence, we are inclined to pass a judgment on the tyranny of William different from that which we should pronounce if we contrasted his rule with government by a modern constitutional monarch.

Of all the cant which is current in the present day about history, none is more pernicious than that which professes to be concerned, not with kings and battles, but with the life of the people, and so discards the story of real personages and real events in order to busy itself about an abstraction. It is true indeed that in modern times the life of the people can be treated apart from the consideration of the personal character of George IV. or William IV. But in the Norman reigns this was not the case; security for person and property, intercourse with other nations and commercial advance were directly connected with the personal character of the king; the life of the people was most deeply affected in every way by the strength or weakness of his disposition. It would be interesting to try to explain the reasons of this

1. "When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and a soft and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. . . . Every rich man built his castles and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as they were." English Chronicle, 1138 (Bohn's Series).

2. "He was a good man and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill treat another in his time; he made peace for men and deer." English Chronicle, 1138.

We may fully believe that feudalism was the best social system possible in England in the eleventh century; but the very fact that it was so, marks the extraordinary difference between that age and this. Nowadays the free play of individual self-interest is assumed in commercial arrangements, and this force has given the greatest possible incentive to the development of industry by inventions, and of commerce by enterprise; the main principle of much commercial legislation in this country has been that of giving free scope to this individual activity. But for this the social system gave no scope whatever during the Norman reigns; there could be but little desire of accumulation when the ever-recurring tallages, aids and fines, were sure to empty the hoards that had been filled during several preceding years. There could be no enterprise in seeking out a new line of life, for each villain was bound to the land, and no lord would willingly part with his services; there could be no high farming while the custom of the manor and the collective ownership of the teams forced all to adopt the same system. Even in trade, there was little opportunity of raising oneself, for the prices of articles of native production for which there would be much competition were regulated by authority; and merchants too were subject to special fines for protection, as well as to heavy trading dues. If the royal authority was a key-stone for the whole social fabric, it is not less true that the condition of industry and commerce was directly affected by the royal decisions; the initiative in progress, where progress was made, lay far less with individual traders than with the king himself.

The story of the reigns of William's two sons brings into clear light the extraordinary influence which the personal change, and to show why the personality of the king which A.D. 1066 was so all important long ago is of comparatively little moment now; but it is merely idle to ignore the fact, or to try to understand the history of the Norman reigns without taking it into account.
character of the king exercised on the whole condition of society and on every relation of life. The Red King, with some chivalrous benevolence, yet fearing neither God nor man, made the most of every occasion for extortion which the ingenuity of Ranulf Flambard was able to devise, so as to support a body of mercenaries and to defray the cost of building great castles and defences at Chepstow, Carlisle, and elsewhere. The military obligations, to which the tenants had become liable under the Conqueror, were more stringently demanded; what was implied in the whole Domesday Survey, but never stated there, was now logically expanded and ruthlessly enforced. The feudal system of taxation was that of giving aid as occasion demanded, and the art of the crown advisers consisted in making occasions. So too each great office, supported as it was by revenues of some kind or another, was looked upon as a possession granted by the king, and for the bestowal of which he might fairly demand a relief; the public responsibilities of officers of state were unthought of, and the sacred calling of priests and bishops was ignored. The worst abuses of the reign of the Red King are recorded in the charter, in which Henry I. specifies the evils he will seek to remedy.

In the reign of a wise administrator like Henry I. we find that all this is completely changed; it was in him to develop a well-organised and firm government, so that the people might be at peace while the king profited by their immunity from violence. The exactions of Henry were perhaps more oppressive, in a sense, than even those of Rufus, since they were more frequent; for the large occasional aids of these times were not supposed to fall upon income, but to be drawn from the accumulated hoards of several seasons.

1 On the death of a bishop the revenues were treated as escheating to the king, of whom he held his office.
2 "Scolias me Dei misericordia et communis consilio baronum totius regni Angliae ejusdem regii regem coronatum esse; et quia regnum oppressum est injustae exactionibus, ego, Dei respectu et amoris quem egra vos habebo, suae Dei ecclesiae imprimis liberam facio, ut quod nec vendam, nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo archiepiscopo sive episcopo sive abbatu aliquid acqulam de dominico ecclesie vel de hominibus ejus donum successor in eam ingrediatur. Et omnem malea consuetudines quibus regnum Angliae injusta oppressitabatur inde anfero; quas malea consuetudines ex parte his ponam." En. Stubbs, Select Charters, p. 100.

Yet even in spite of all this the Lion of Justice did so far maintain security for life and property as to give more favourable conditions for industry than had been known for many preceding years. It was thus that the needed initiative was taken by the king, and that trade began to thrive. If the king profited, it was because of the comparative prosperity of the people under his rule; and when the terrible anarchy of the so-called reign of Stephen was over, the same course was pursued by Henry II.

It is in the reigns of the second Henry and his sons that we see the crown attaining to its highest pitch of irresponsible power; his governing is no longer the reckless self- assertion of a tyrant like Rufus, but an unfettered sway by the head of a great social system, of which all the parts were completely subordinated to himself. This result was partly attained by the commutation of the personal knightly service, which had been expected in the preceding reigns from those who held land by military tenure, for the payment of scutage, with which the king could maintain a more regular army. A somewhat similar change had taken place with regard to other contributions for military purposes; it had begun when Æthelred levied geld, to hire mercenaries, instead of calling out the national host. Each demand for Danegeld was practically based on the duty of assisting to repel an invader; and though the excuse for the levy of scutage was that the king could maintain a more regular army. A somewhat similar change had taken place with regard to other contributions for military purposes; it had begun when Æthelred levied geld, to hire mercenaries, instead of calling out the national host. Each demand for Danegeld was practically based on the duty of assisting to repel an invader; and though the excuse for the levy of scutage was that the king could maintain a more regular army.

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contracts between the king as centre of the whole, and each
of his tenants; but there was no public opinion to determine
the contracts, and no public authority to see that they were
truly carried out on both sides; nor did any of his successors
show the same conscientiousness in trying to be fair, as is
evidenced for us in the pages of William's Survey. When
the tenants were able to elude the performance of their
obligations, society fell into a state of anarchy; when the
king was strong enough to hold his own, he was strong
enough to defy resistance and to strain the obligations of the
barons in his own favour—he was practically irresponsible.
Thus the period of feudalism was not so stagnant as the
nature of the system might have led us to expect; there was
a constant change from anarchy to irresponsible monarchy,
and from irresponsible monarchy to anarchy. Through the
whole of this political ferment new ideas began to spread,
till new social forces made themselves felt, and new institu-
tions arose.

56. The modifications, which were introduced during
the Norman reigns, into the administrative system, were
undoubtedly due in many cases to the influence of Norman
advisers or to the experience which had been gathered in the
government of that duchy. This is most clearly seen in the
constitution of the Exchequer, and the limitations which
were put on the power of the great feudatories; but there
has sometimes been a tendency to exaggerate these changes
and to speak as if William the Conqueror introduced the
feudal system into England. A social system cannot be
introduced like a new fashion from France, and it had been
growing for generations in England before his time. Most
important steps had been taken under Cnut. Till his reign
we may trace the absorption of authority into the kingly
office; from his time onward we may rather notice the
leasing out of royal rights to particular individuals, and
for particular districts. It was he who reorganised the
national system of defence on a basis of contract, while his
forest laws anticipated much of the regulation that is popu-
larly ascribed to the Conqueror.

1 Malos, Exchequer, iv. §§ 4, 5.

The changes made by William of Normandy were not
forced upon the country generally, but were introduced
whenever the death of the tenant or his participation in any
of the rebellions, including resistance to the original invasion,
gave occasion for the redistribution of the soil. Such lands
were then granted on the condition of military service, while
the Danegeld was exacted again, and more frequently than
before; the military resources of the country were thus
immensely increased; but it is rather true to say that a
military direction was given to the existing feudalism than
that the Normans introduced the feudal system. A glance at
a page of Domesday Book will certainly show that a very large
number of landholders had been dispossessed on one pretext
or other; all, except ecclesiastical corporations, who con-
tinued to hold their lands, did so because they were reinstated
in them by the king; but the terms on which land was
held were never arbitrarily altered. We thus get important
evidence to show how far the process of feudalisation had
gone before the death of the Confessor. By far the larger
number of sochemanni in Cambridgeshire had been bound to
render avera and inward, or to pay a composition; and the
relation of Earl Harold to Edward is very parallel to that of
Earl Alan to William.

The Conqueror modified the character of English feudal-
ism by taking steps to secure the effective control of the
crown over the military resources of the land. He would have
no great feudatories like the house of Godwin under Edward,
or Edwin and Morcar under Harold; a strict limit was placed
on the powers assigned to the most trusted favourite, and a
direct relationship established between each of the numerous
smaller tenants and the king himself. He did not commit
more than one county to the hands of any single earl, and he
gave real authority to the sheriffs in each shire. The success
of this policy can be best seen by comparing the histories of
the kings of England and of Scotland or France. The Scottish
crown never kept the great families in real subjection; but it
was only by unusually persistent combinations, or at times

1 Freeman, Norman Conquest, v. 396.
of special weakness, that the barons were able to resist or control an English king.

That the feudal system was not brought from abroad and imposed from above becomes still clearer when we fix our eyes more closely on the evidence of the felt necessity for committing one's life and property to the protection of another; the extension of the king's 'peace' and of the jurisdiction of his officers have been noted above, along with other signs of this tendency; while in later days people were only too glad to buy a measure of exemption and to treat for the right to manage their own affairs. Not only was regal protection sought after; freemen commended themselves to a lord of the manor while preserving a measure of their freedom; or laymen made over their property to a monastery in order to have the advantage of the exemptions which Church lands enjoyed; this tendency was at work and gave occasion for special legislation in the reign of Edward I. A system which was the natural outcome of such deeply rooted and widely operative tendencies was certainly no foreign importation.

On the other hand it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the new factors that were brought into play by the close connection which nowsubsisted between England and the Continent. From the time when the Romans left Britain, till the days of Alfred, England had been almost entirely isolated from the rest of the civilised world; the occasional visits of merchants and the journeys of ecclesiastics were, after all, few and far between. The energies of Alfred and the reforms of Dunstan had done something to check the decay, and to enliven the stagnant energies; but England was not really recalled from its isolation till it was absorbed in the great Danish empire, and made to partake in the commerce and adventure of the Northmen. Though this life was fresh and vigorous, it was in some ways ruder than our own; and the Norman Conquest is more important than the Danish, not so much because it introduced a new and fresher element, as because it brought us in closer contact with all that was best in Christendom at the time.

Of all races in Europe the Normans were most fitted to introduce many usages of their own, but they admired and appropriated the culture of the people over whom they had gone to rule. The original stock differed little from that of the Danes; the Normans, too, had been pirates and adventurers; they had, however, ceased to be mere pirates when they obtained the power in England. Still, the spirit of adventure was not dead among them; they found their way to Sicily and the Mediterranean, and they were foremost among the Crusaders. It was chiefly because England had become the possession of the Normans, that she was drawn out of her isolation to take a place among the nations and have a part in the life of Christendom.

Even in this matter also we may notice the importance of the personal characters of the kings and of their dynastic relationships. William the Conqueror had married Matilda of Flanders, and the first great immigration of foreign artisans was partly determined by the fact that the Flemish weavers hoped to find a protectress in the queen; Richard's ambition as a crusader, John's failure in his continental schemes and, more than all, his homage to the Pope, had no little effect in determining the course of English progress; while the spasmodic piety of the third Henry had much to do with attracting the colonies of religious men who set themselves to repair the destruction which William had made when he devastated Yorkshire. In each reign we have new foreign connections, and new foreign elements introduced. Some remained alien, like the favourites of Henry, and were at length expelled from English soil; but others were assimilated so as to become part and parcel of the English people, and to be important elements in the development of English industry and commerce.

It may not be fanciful to compare the economic changes which took place at the Norman Conquest through the advent of foreign rulers to England, with those that have occurred in India under the British government. We have created an effective rule over all parts of that Empire; and the establishment of one centre of supreme administration, as a power

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1 See above, §§ 43, 47.
A.D. 1066—1072.

which makes itself felt in every part of the land, bears some analogy to that which worked in English as compared with Continental feudalism. India has been suddenly brought in contact with Western civilisation. English arts and inventions are being introduced on every side and are transforming the character of the native workmanship and economic institutions. While the probable social and moral effects of this sudden revolution are most difficult to forecast, there can be no doubt of the extraordinary way in which the country has been opened up and its resources have been developed. English fashions and furniture are preferred by enlightened rulers; and buildings for the English officials and their native imitators are rising in every station and in many cities. All this has some analogy with the time when the Normans flocked here and the great period of church building began; there has been so much rebuilding at different times, so much destruction at others, that it is difficult for us to form any conception of the actual amount of masons' work that was accomplished under the Normans and early Plantagenets; the abbeys and cathedrals which were erected then may be counted by tens, and the parish churches by thousands. Anyone who will take a single county and look for evidences of Norman, Transitional and Early-English work may easily convince himself with his own eyes that this is no exaggeration. And as we instinctively feel that activity in the erection of new buildings is a sure sign of the prosperity of a town or village now, we may infer that an age when so many admirable stone buildings were completed, for civil and military as well as for ecclesiastical purposes, in so many different places, was on the whole a time of general prosperity.

The era of church building.

57. The foreign influence was also effective in forming new moral sentiments; the field was well prepared for their growth, for human nature could not be strictly tied down within the limits prescribed by the feudal system; and when the obligations of vassals were wrongfully strained by Rufus or later kings, who took full advantage of their irresponsibility, all that was best in human nature was set in antagonism to the social system. The force of reaction gave scope for the religious and the adventurous spirits of the time; but both had grown to be considerable powers in continental countries, and especially in France. In that land the royal power had not hitherto made itself effectively felt; anarchy like that of Stephen's reign was the normal condition of affairs, since private war between the barons never ceased. The king's peace was not respected, and there were no royal tribunals to punish breaches of it; whatever security was gained for the husbandman and the plough, for the weak and unprotected, was gained by the struggle of the Church to maintain the peace of God. In so far as the warfare of the barons was kept within limits, it was through the establishment of the truce of God on several days in each week, and many weeks in each year. In France these ecclesiastical customs declined, when, with the growth of the regal power, and other means for attaining the same ends, the need of them was no longer felt; for precisely similar reasons they had never been required in England. The religious spirit was not called on to create means for controlling the barons in our land; but it did find scope in taking a stand against the conduct of the kings. This gives an abiding interest to the career of S. Anselm; he made a protest against the practice of treating all offices as possessions held of the king on the king's terms; he felt that he had a greater responsibility than that of satisfying the king; and his struggle about the symbol of investiture was a declaration that such duties as his must be discharged with reference to right, not in mere accordance with his contract with a king.

Yet after all, this earnest feeling had not sufficient force to bring about any marked step in social advance; the severance of the ecclesiastical and civil courts, as well as the attempt to enforce the rules of Christian jurisprudence by clerical judges and ecclesiastical sanctions, was on the whole a failure; the effectiveness of the courts was destroyed by the intrusion of archdeacons, and the expense of appeals to Rome. There was no important social change in England itself which can be directly ascribed to the new spiritual earnestness in the English Church; for our purpose

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1 Somdevon, La paix et la trêve de Dieu, t. 36.
it may be regarded as a mere sentiment which scarcely led to any positive result, unless when, combined with other factors, it served as an additional incentive. It was also weakened by the English jealousy of foreign interference, and by the corruptions of the rulers who had most power in the matter; for the papacy, instead of rising to its opportunities, was being dragged down to the level of the secular policy of the day. Realms were treated as fields which the pope granted to kings on definite terms; there was no fundamental difference between the grant of Ireland to Henry II. on condition of paying Peter's pence, and any similar grant from a king to a lay-baron, though the precise terms of these contracts were dissimilar. But it was by the course of papal policy during the reign of king John that the distrust of the Roman court as a fountain of justice came to be most strongly felt in England. People had hoped to find that the papal policy would be based on a high standard of right, while it seemed to be shaped merely by the desire of aggrandising the Roman see and of enriching foreign ecclesiastics. Though the direct and immediate influence of the reinvigorated Church life in England was thus small, we need not forget that its indirect results were enormous; the freedom from royal caprice, which was secured to the Church and her possessions, was extended to one district after another; while the lay public opinion, which was formed partly under its guidance and partly by practical experience, was permeated throughout by Christian feeling and expressed itself in local customs and guild laws.

It has been already noted that in the ordinary routine of life in feudal times there was little scope for individual enterprise of any kind; and hence, from the very force of reaction, there was a ready welcome for projects which offered it an outlet. On the Continent schemes were found which gave this sentiment shape. The lofty ideal of S. Bernard, and the enthusiasm for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels which his eloquence aroused, fully met the longing of the barons and knights for some sphere of independent action.

Whatever the horrors and the follies of the Crusades may have been, they afforded a nobler outlet for human energy than had been found in the constant private warfare, which was being slowly extinguished by the Church, through the truce of God, and with the growth of royal power. The spirit of adventure and daring found a new outlet; and terrible as were the cruelties perpetrated in the name of Christianity, manly bravery was ennobled and consecrated by being devoted to a less selfish end. This was obviously the case even in Europe itself; the sense of the devotion of bodily powers to a holy purpose raised the whole tone of military life, and took a place in society in the chivalrous orders.

The same spirit of adventure, which moved the nobles, showed itself as strongly in the sadder story of the multitudes of peasants1 who set forth on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. A.D. 1095. With no conception of the length or difficulties of the journey, with vague ideas of Old Testament plenty and New Testament glories at Jerusalem, they started by thousands,—each family in its bullock cart,—leaving all the means of industry behind; it was like the rush to the gold fields in modern times, but undertaken with far denser ignorance and under a more blinding glamour.

If the Crusades had had no other results than these, Effects on Commerce, there would have been little need to lay stress upon them in connection with the Economic History of England. But they were of a paramount importance for the commercial development of Europe; they enabled the enterprising spirits of Western Europe to come into contact with the remains of Roman civilisation which were preserved at Byzantium, and to obtain a footing in the lucrative trade with Asiatic races. The Genoese and the Venetians assisted in the Crusades as a simple method of pushing their business connections; these cities of Italy succeeded in founding colonies in the Levant and in obtaining factories at suitable points for trade with the East. Such were the most lasting results of the Crusades; and the new commercial activity, for which they gave scope, gradually affected even the most distant parts of Christendom.2 The fruitless adventures of the

1 Michaud, Crusades, i. 59.
2 Mr. W. A. Shaw has traced the course of this commercial expansion in connection with the diffusion of gold coinage. History of Currency, 5.

A.D. 1095

Effects of the Norman Conquest.
A.D. 1066

Crusaders are chiefly interesting to us because of the way in which they prepared new channels for commerce, and re-acted indirectly on social life at home.

II. ROYAL REVENUES.

Norman Revenue.

58. The potent royal influence, to which attention has been directed above, was habitually brought to bear on industrial and commercial life in connection with the collection of revenue. The great surveys, which give us the fullest information about the condition of society, were due to a desire to estimate the yield which might be expected from the chief sources of taxation; and many of the steps, which opened up the way for future progress, were taken with the view of simplifying the collection of dues or of drawing on new sources for obtaining a revenue.

Domain

i. The royal domain was the chief source of regular royal revenue; in these reigns it was partly in forest, but a very large amount was used for agriculture and yielded large rents (gafol or gabbium), so that the king was able to 'live of his own,' and defray all the ordinary expenses of state out of the crown estates. The revenue was drawn from the whole of England, and a portion of it was paid in kind till the time of Henry I1. Indeed at a later date the constant journeys of Henry II1, whatever may have been their object, would at all events be facilitated by the store of provisions which the king could count on at his various estates; he was not indeed, as we shall see below, forced to rely on this expedient, but it may have been a help. The collection of this revenue was in the hands of the shire-reeve; William the Conqueror sold out his lands as dear as dearest he might, and then some other man came and bid more than the first, and the king granted them to him who offered the larger sum; then came a third and bid yet more, and the king made over the lands to him who offered most of all; and he cared not how iniquitously his sheriffs extorted money from the miserable people, nor how many unlawful things they did.'

ii. The profits which arose in connection with the exercise of royal jurisdiction were another source of regular income. Murders and other infractions of the king's peace rendered the district liable to a heavy payment; and the following up of accusations, without too strict regard to the weight of the charge, was a method which William appears to have employed for obtaining funds for his campaign in 1066.

iii. The third source of regular income lay in the king's rights over his subjects and their property,—such as are acknowledged in the primitive gifts offered to a chief. The king's claims were paramount and therefore he had the prerogative of pre-emption when the goods of the subject were needed for his use. On their frequent journeys the kings employed purveyors, who provided the necessary supplies. This right of forced purchase of the goods of subjects, who had no sufficient means of recovering payment from the royal purveyors, must have given rise to great oppression. We cannot wonder at the frequent complaints of their exorbitant demands, and should not underrate the importance of the heavy burdens of hospitium and vexa and inwards which fell on all land not specially exempted. The same right of pre-emption when exercised on wares intended for sale, or right of prise, seems to have been the foundation of all the tolls which were charged at ports or fairs or markets on imported or exported goods; these were originally levied in kind, and this practice survived in the prisage of wine and in special cases connected with wool; but it was gradually commuted for payments in money,

1 English Chronicle, 1087 (Bohn).
2 Stubbs, Constitutional History, t. 280.
3 The precise meaning of ferum unus notis, which is constantly mentioned as the amount due for hospitium, is not clear. Archbishop Hall calculates that as a matter of fact the court consumed 1501. in Oxfordshire in three nights. Domesday of S. Paul, p. 31. On the payment of food rents to the crown and great abbeys compare Vinogradoff, Villasage in England, 366.02.
4 Warrage and attendance on the sheriff.
5 Hall, Customs, p. 16.
6 Right to one or more cases in each vessel.
A.D. 1066

Feudal incidents. The Conquest the feudal relation was not perhaps more real, but certainly was more explicit than before, and it could therefore be taken advantage of for purposes of taxation with greater ease. For each five hides of the large quantity of land held by what had come to be military tenure, the demand might be made of a knight’s service for forty days in the year; and this was required, not only for defensive purposes, but for foreign wars as well. Occasional aids (auxilia) were also asked for the knighting of the king’s eldest son, the marrying of his eldest daughter, or the ransoming of his person.

vi. There was one source of income which must not be overlooked, more especially as it is not heard of before the Conquest. The Jews appear to have been introduced into England in the eleventh century, and they lived as mere chattels enjoying the king’s protection, but subject to constant exactions from him; they had no status of their own, but continued to exist as a part of the king’s possessions themselves, and all that they had was not their own but his. In this lay their security from popular violence, but it was a security for which they had to pay dearly. Their transactions were all registered in the Exchequer; debts due to them were really due to the king; and they might not accept compositions for payment, or grant a secret release. As a matter of fact therefore, the king had, indirectly, a monopoly of the money-lending in the country; so that the expulsion of the Jews by Edward I. was a permanent loss of revenue to the crown. The Jews gained usurious interest; the king by general fines, by fines for law proceedings, or by punishments for crimes,—even without proceeding to the grosser extortions which were practised by John,—replenished his own treasury out of the gains of men whose lives and property were in his absolute control, and whom he could mortgage, like other possessions, if it suited his purpose.

vi. From these sources of revenue payments were made to the king as a great landowner, or by men who stood in definite personal relations to him; the contributions for public purposes were of a different character. The one William found partially organised when he came to the throne was the Danegeld. First imposed in Æthelred’s time, Edward had continued to collect it, but some land was entirely exempt, and other estates were very favourably rated. William took it at a treble rate in 1084 (6s. instead of 2s. per hide); and though in the time of the first Norman king these were occasional not annual payments, they were regularly exacted by Stephen; subsequently, the name fell into disuse, but the crown continued to receive payments as arrears and as the form of the towns.

1 Compare Madox’s chapter on Judaisms. Exchequer, c. vii. Also the admirable work of Mr. J. Jacobs, Jews of Anglo-Saxon England.

2 On the social position of the Jews see below, p. 200.

3 The ordinary issues of towns gave them a monopoly out of the gains of the towns. But sometimes, the money-lending in the country; so that the expulsion of the Jews by Edward I. was a permanent loss of revenue to the crown. The Jews gained usurious interest; the king by general fines, by fines for law proceedings, or by punishments for crimes,—even without proceeding to the grosser extortions which were practised by John,—replenished his own treasury out of the gains of men whose lives and property were in his absolute control, and whom he could mortgage, like other possessions, if it suited his purpose.

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Another tax of a somewhat similar character was levied upon the towns which grew up on royal domains. This consisted of the tallages which were taken from the tenants on ancient domain when the king was in special need; they appear to have originated in contributions from places which were not liable to the payment of Danegeld, but they were afterwards used as a means of supplementing the scutage which was paid by the knights, and of levying something from the “freeholders and towns.”

vii. With the exception of the rights of purveyance and of taking customs, these taxes all fell upon the owners of real property. Henry II. took the important step of taxing moveables. An inquest had been held in connection with the Assize of Arms, in order to find out how far each citizen was able to provide himself with the armour necessary for serving in the fyrd. The contributions made in the parish churches towards the expenses of the First Crusade had been semi-ecclesiastical character and for an expedition which had papal sanction; but it laid the foundations for a regular system which continued during the reigns of Richard, John, and Henry III. There are frequent demands for fractional parts of the possessions of subjects, sometimes a thirteenth, sometimes a fiftieth, sometimes a thirtieth, sometimes a fortieth, once a fourth. These demands, however, were subject to exemptions of various kinds; arms and other possessions required for public service, and the necessary articles of attire for different classes, are excluded in some cases, while in others the poor are exempt; though Edward I. in his first Parliament obtained a fifteenth when the people were assessed “inaudito more ad uguem.” It is perhaps necessary to add that these taxes were rarely levied on the whole realm simultaneously. One year a carucage would be taken from the country generally; another a scutage would be levied on the knights, and tallages on other tenants; another there would be a grant of a fraction of moveables; but even this would not be a general tax, it would fall on some class; perhaps on the clergy, or on the religious orders, or on the laity; at all events we may see that the system of taxation consisted in making occasional demands from particular classes in turn, and not in levying equivalent shares from all simultaneously. We can easily understand that under the circumstances it was of the first importance for men to have a voice in the assessments that were made; and that it was most necessary to prove clearly who were tenants of ancient domain and liable to contributions from which others were exempt, or liable to contributions at a different rate.

The whole taxation, with the exception of the customs, was direct, but there were continual changes in the basis of rating; first we have hidage; then we have carucage on cultivated land, scutage on the knight’s fee, and tallages from tenants on domain; but for these the more convenient, and also more onerous, estimates of moveables were eventually substituted. Still taxation of moveables continued for some time to be occasional and sectional; the king still lived of his own, and taxes were levied for particular emergencies and from a particular class of the community on each occasion.

The coming of the currency, The royal revenue could not be properly collected unless there were coins in circulation in which it might be paid; and the business of the moneyers and organisation of the mint required frequent royal attention. The coming of the coinage, The coming of the currency.

1 Dowell, History of Taxation, i. 41. 2 Stubbs, Constitutional History, i. 185. 3 Dowell, History of Taxation, i. 50.
4 Byrner, Feudal, i. 177. Exceptis tarnen ab hae quinta decima quantum ad archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbatibus, prœores et cæteros viros religious, comites, baronibus, militibus et liberales hominum qui non sunt mercatores, omnibus his suis; et omnibus ecclesiasticum capellis; et eis ad equitandum; et eis carceribus et summaribus, et eis omnibus juxta, vulgari, utinamlibus, lardariis, collariis et fanis; et exceptis libellis ad warbudarium castrorum emps.

Exceptis etiam ab hae quinta decima quantum ad mercatores, qui de omnibus mercandis et utinamlibus suis quinta decima daban, armis ad quæ jurati sunt, et eis suis ad equitandum, et utinamlibis domorum suorum, collariis et lardariis ad victum suum. Exceptis etiam quantum ad villanos armis ad quæ jurati sunt, et utinamlibus...
Normans did not make any radical change in the coinage of the country, except perhaps by the general introduction of a shilling worth twelve-pence. The weight of the penny was still thirty-two good wheat grains, and the standard of fineness was kept up for centuries, viz. eleven ounces two pennyweights of silver fine, and eighteen pennyweights of alloy. The means of coining were very rude, and there is consequently considerable variation in the size and weight of coins as they are now found, even in the best preservation; one die was wedged into a wooden block, the other held in the hand as a puncheon, and the metal stamped by repeated hammering.

The constitution of the mint became more definite after the reign of Stephen, when the royal prerogative in this matter was more strictly maintained; there was perhaps less need for minting coins at distant places, as they would circulate more easily as trade increased. From the time of Henry II. minting was confined almost entirely to London. In pre-Norman and Roman times coinage was at least occasionally conducted at a large number of towns; some of them were places which have never been of much importance. The business was carried on by moneyers, whose names generally appear on each coin, along with the name of the place where it was minted; but this was by no means a sufficient protection against fraud, as the frequent laws on the subject and the vigorous measures of Henry I. sufficiently show. Early English laws insisted that the coining should take place in frequented places—a precaution which perhaps survived in the public trial of the pyx. The fact seems to be that while there was so little intercommunication between different parts of the country, there was no facility for the general introduction of coinage, unless it was minted in all sorts of places. When the court travelled through the land, any expedient which saved the cost of carrying money would be advantageous, and it was convenient for the kings to have moneyers in different localities. Others too tried to claim a similar privilege; in the case of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of some others it appears to have been admitted; but it was one of the royal prerogatives which the barons had grasped in Stephen’s time, and which were wrested from them by Henry II.

The royal rights over coinage took another development also. The increase of foreign trade must have necessitated the presence, at every great mart, of men who were skilled in the business of exchanging the coins of one country for those of another; the great variety in circulation, even in one country, where many people claimed the right of coining, must have been considerable; and when foreign merchants arrived to make purchases, it was necessary to effect an exchange of their foreign coins for the coinage of the country. This was done by the moneyers; and was, naturally enough, part of the business of the mint, as the foreign silver was recoined for use in England. But as soon as the work of the mint was concentrated in London, there came to be a class who made it their business to change coins current in one land for coins of other denominations, or perhaps of the same denomination but of other values.
current in the land where the alien merchants lived; this was a craft involving much skill, and the earnings made by exercise of it were called *canubum minutum*. It is obvious, however, that this occupation gave very great opportunities for fraud, and there was good reason that it should be in the hands of public officials.

60. The machinery for the collection of the revenue was carefully organised; and it is particularly interesting to note how closely the arrangements for managing the English finances approximated to the system in vogue in Normandy. Richard, bishop of London, in his *Dialogus de Scaccario*, gives a full account of the business of the Exchequer as it was organised in the time of Henry II., when it was a department of the king's court with an elaborate staff of officers.

Easter and Michaelmas were the two terms at which moneys were received; at Easter the sheriff made a payment on account of half the sum due in the course of the year; this was credited to him, and he received a tally as voucher. At Michaelmas he had to render his accounts in due form; the business was carried on at an oblong table, which was divided into parallel columns running across it; each one of which was used for a different sum,—£1000, £100, £20, £1, shillings, or pence. At one side sat the treasurer, and his clerks with their rolls; at the other the marshal, calculator and sergeants, who received what was paid in by the sheriff. At one end was the chancellor and other high officials, at the other end the sheriff and his suite. On the treasurer's side of the table counters representing the amount due from the sheriff were laid in the columns, and on the other side the calculator ranged the results of vouchers or moneys which the sheriff actually put in to discharge the debt. After any arrears had been gone into, the first item taken was the sum which had been paid into the Exchequer at the previous Easter, and for this a tally was produced. Then followed the statement of the various sums for which the payment by the sheriff was allowed; these were fixed allowances, in alms, tithes, payments, or lands, or special

1 The figure represents an Exchequer Tally delivered to G. R. Minshull, Esq., on payment of £1133 14s. 4d. into the Exchequer for Land Tax collected in Buckinghamshire in 1819, and is reproduced from the *Illustrated London News*, 1888. A modern example is curious as showing the survival of this method of giving a receipt; but modern tallies are more clumsy than those of Plantagenet times, which were nine inches long. The tally was a slip of hasel or other hard wood, on the edges of which notches were cut, which by their size and position indicated definite sums. The tally was then split in two lengthwise, and each of the two halves showed the same notches on its edges; one half was given to the sheriff as a receipt, while the other was retained to check his statement of account at Michaelmas. It will be seen that the notches differ greatly in breadth, and that each of the six sizes of notches corresponds to one of the columns on the table where the reckoning took place.

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*Feudalism. Royal Revenues.*

A.D. 1066—1272.

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*Feudalism.*

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*Royal Revenues.*

A.D. 1066—1272.
allowances empowered by royal writ or other definite authority. The sheriff would then be debited with the balance, or he was credited with the surplus; in the instance given below it will be seen that he started the year with a debt of £48. 10s. 7d., and ended with a surplus of £10.

The Great Roll of the Pipe, from which an extract is subjoined, puts on record the state in which each of the sheriffs, who were responsible for the form of the shire and other recurring sources of revenue, stood towards the Crown. The royal officers had not only to be careful about the accounts rendered but also to examine the money which was tendered in payment. Owing to the confusion as to coinage, it was necessary either to test the coins (per combustionem) that were paid by tale (numero), or to exact an additional sum of one-twentieth—as den-athing or blanching money—to cover all risks from this source (blank); and there were also two different systems of reckoning the weight, according as 6d. per pound was accepted to turn the scale (ad scalum), or according as the coins were actually weighed (ad pensem). It would however be a mistake to suppose that such distinctions, in regard to modes of payment, were introduced by the Normans, as we find several of them are noted in passages of Domesday Book where the customs under the Confessor are described.

HUNTENDONSE


ROYAL REVENUES.


Willo Cade. x. lii. 7. x. 8.

TELARII de Huntend reddit Comp. de XL. 8. p Gilda sua. In th libuat. Et Quiet. st.

Nova Placita John Conventiones.


³ Pipe Roll of 4th year of Henry II. 1063 (Record Commission). When extended it runs as follows.

HUNTENDONESCIRA.


A.D. 1066—1272.

Encaus,

1 There was besides a series of Receipt Rolls, of which an example survives for 1165. It appears to contain a statement of all the sums received; and to be practically a list of tallies issued. Most of the receipts are entered in the corresponding Pipe Roll, but payments made once only and for all seem to have been entered only in the Receipt Roll. Hall, Receipt Roll of the Exchequer, 1185, p. 17.

2 See below, p. 172.
A.D. 1066 -1272.

Pagan the Sheriff renders account of £48. 10s. 7d. of the ferm of Huntingdon for last year.

Paid in the Treasury (blanched) 48 10 7

And in payments to Ralf Waspail (blanched) 30 14 2

The Sheriff himself renders account of the ferm of the county of Surrey under King Edward, showing payments to various persons.

Paid in the Treasury (blanched) 17 16 5

The extract brings out the responsibilities of the Sheriff in regard to the form of the shire, and indicates the additional complications in rendering account, which were due to the state of the currency. It also serves to illustrate the manner in which other matters were passed through the accounts, such as the value due from usurpations, and escheats to the Crown, the tallage from Royal Domain, including all lands of ancient domain, as well as fines for murder or other breaches of the king’s peace.

The weavers of Huntingdon render account of 40s. for their own geld.

Paid in the Treasury 2 0 0

The Sheriff himself renders account of 10 marks of silver for Chancellor’s Pleas and for murder.

Paid in the Treasury 2 0 0

Remitted by Royal Writ to the Bishop of Lincoln, 22s. 6d. And to the same, 15s. 10d. And to the Abbot of Thorney, 1 mark of silver. And to Lady Clemence, 12s. 6d. And to Walter of Lindsey, 10s. And to Hubert son of Ernald, 5s. And to William the king’s brother, 11s. 4d. And to Earl Warenne, 10s. Total £5. 0s. 6d.

The amount due as per the roll is £153. 1s. 6d. The payment was £93. 16s. 1d. He was allowed to transfer the surplus of £10. 10s. 6d., which he had on his Surrey account (this is stated under Surrey, p. 94, but is not alluded to in the Huntingdonshire accounts); this with the debt of £18. 10s. 7d. (blanched) still owing, makes up the form of £153. 3s. 2d.

In the fourth year, as given above, there is a discrepancy of £10 for which I am unable to account; it does not appear to have been transferred to either of the other counties, for the revenue of which Pagan was responsible. It certainly seems as if the Sheriff ought to have been credited with a surplus of £20. That there has been some confusion in the matter is probable from the appearance of the roll; the parchment shows that there have been erasures where the £153 paid by the Sheriff into the treasury is entered, and also where the superplus of £10 is entered. These corrections are clearly written with the same ink as was used for the corrections.
III. ROYAL INQUISICTIONS.

A.D. 1066—1072.

Estimate of resources.

61. When William of Normandy had succeeded in Possessing himself of the English crown, and in settling his followers on the lands of those who had resisted him, or who had perished in the struggle, it became a matter of importance that he should be accurately informed about the resources on which he could count in this new dominion. He wished to know the condition of the royal estates which yielded him an annual revenue (gafol, census), as well as the wealth of the whole land from which he could levy the Danegeld. With this object he sent commissioners through the length and breadth of the kingdom with instructions to take the sworn testimony of the sheriff, barons and freemen in each hundred (as well as of the priest, reeve, and six villains of each village) in regard to the various points of enquiry. Of the actual returns which were thus collected, one specimen has survived in its original form. The Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis gives us the names of the jurors in each hundred and it contains the lands arranged slightly different fashion, and that the compiling clerks were not always equally strict; for a vast mass of interesting information and grouped constructions to take the sworn testimony of the sheriff, barons and freemen in each hundred (as well as of the priest, reeve, and six villains of each village) in regard to the various points of enquiry. Of the actual returns which were thus collected, one specimen has survived in its original form. The Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis gives us the names of the jurors in each hundred and it contains the lands arranged territorially, as they were visited. The scribes at Winchester, when they compiled the actual Domesday Book, rearranged the information and grouped the lands according to the proprietors, who were ranged by their status from the king downwards. It appears that the commissioners reported on some details which were not regarded as sufficiently important to be embodied in the completed work. On the other hand it also appears that the sets of commissioners did their work in slightly different fashion, and that the compiling clerks were not always equally strict; for a vast mass of interesting detail has been preserved to us in the parts of Domesday A.D. 1066 which deal with Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. These Eastern Counties were assessed on an intricate system, which was quite different from that prevailing in the rest of England; its difficulties have been successfully unravelled by Mr Corbett's careful investigation. An enumeration of horses, pigs, sheep and goats is also retained for a great part of the West of England in the document known as the Exon Domesday, though many of these details were omitted when the Exchequer copy was compiled. Accurate statements, which are invaluable, have been preserved in regard to the size of holdings in Middlesex, and in Middlesex only. Despite these minor variations, the entries are on the whole of a similar type, and the ordinary characters of an English estate are revealed to us in the articles of enquiry; when these have been examined and we have taken one typical example of the information returned, we may go on to see what additional light can be obtained from the more detailed entries, which occur here and there.

62. The articles of enquiry are given in the transcript Articles of enquiry, which deal with the lands of the Ely monks preserved of those parts of the Cambridgeshire Inquisition which described their own lands. The commissioners were to note first the name of the manor, who held it in the time of King Edward (T. R. E.), and who held it at the time of the enquiry (modo). Next they were to report the rateable value of the estate (quot hidce), and how it was stocked with teams (caruca) which were dis-
on specially favourable terms (beneficial hidation). On the A.D. 1066
whole the number of hides at which an estate was rated
and stock correspond closely with the greatest number of pounds which
the estate was worth annually.

The enumeration of the teams which were required to cultivate
work the land was a simple method of indicating the amount
of cultivation that was carried on in any one place; and the
division into domain teams and villan teams may have been
stock. A rough indication of the mode in which the work was
organised, and of the proportion of land which the lord had
in his own hands. In some cases the estate was insufficiently
stocked with oxen, as would be not unnaturally the case
during the struggles consequent on the Norman invasion.
This occurred not infrequently in Cambridgeshire, and a
great part of Yorkshire had been so effectually harried that
there was no stock remaining at all.

Very much greater difficulty attaches to the entries in
regard to the men on the estates; and the remarks which
follow can only be regarded as a tentative explanation. From
all we know of English Society there appears to have been a
number of social grades, which were not however separated
from each other by any impassable barrier. There were
certainly many differences between the customs of one locality
(Burton Chartulary, p. 30). The earlier meaning of island was simply domain
land. Thorpe, t. 263, 435. This variation in the connotation of the word is a
useful warning against making use too readily of earlier or later documents to
determine the precise sense of Domesday terms, e.g. Villanas, Liber Hecno, etc.

This order is not carefully preserved; in Worcestershire the priest and the
rural appear to be enumerated first among the human beings on the estate, though
they did not render predial services; and the former tenant and the terms
of his tenure come at the beginning of the entry. In dominio sunt li carucce et
preaephty of propositus et omne radchenistre et xii villain and vili serf.
Inter comes habitant xi villani. Inter servos et ancillas sunt vii. Domesday, t. 174 a. 2.
On the artificial character of the assessment and difficulty of readjusting its,compares Stukeley, Villanoy in England, 264.

Radford. Here terra sono geldabat nec perigit ad hundredam, Domesday Book,
t. 375 a. 1. Buxa. He dixi terra nee geldabat nec alius servitum reddidit regi, t. 160 b. 1. Cauna. Nuncincans geldabat, ideo noicitur quot hide sunt ibi, t. 64 b. 2, also (next entry) tandem hirda defeito. Frome. Nemo scitur quot hide sunt ibi, t. 86 b. 1. Exoni in Domesday Studies, 109, points out that the carucata
of land, in counties where the hide is the unit of assessment, were not taxed, also
that the lands designated 'inland' were free from Geld; compare Appleby

ROYAL INQUISITIONS. 165

A.D. 1066

164 FEUDALISM. ROYAL INQUISITIONS, 165

Tinghished into the lord's teams (quot in domino) and those
of the villains (quot hominibus), also how it was stocked with
men, whether villani, cotarii, or servi. They were next to
note the freemen attached to the manor, whether senem or
liberi homines; and then to make mention of the resources of the
waste, and the meadow; what wood there was and
what fisheries, as well as the mills. The value of the whole
estate, with any depreciation or improvement, was to be
given, as well as that of the holdings of the free men; and
this was to be stated for the time before the Conquest, the
time when the land was granted (quando Rex Williamus
dedit, quando recepit), and the time of the enquiry. They
were also to see whether it could be estimated at a higher
rate than had been the case before. We may look a little
more closely at each point in turn.

Assessment.

Attention has been already directed to the meaning of
the term hida in the Survey; it no longer gives a rough
mode of estimating land, but a unit for expressing the rate-
able value at which the land was assessed for the Danegelds
(se defendebat hoc tempore). In Domesday the nomenclature is less confusing. Terra se
defendit pro omnibus carucce. In hac terra sunt xvi hominum, ex his sita in domino et suis ad
summum navratum fortesciam (p. 23).

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Inter comes habitant xi villani. Inter servos et ancillas sunt vii. Domesday, t. 174 a. 2.
3 Hadford. Here terra non geldabat nec perigit ad hundredam, Domesday Book,
t. 375 a. 1. Buxa. He dixi terra nee geldabat nec alius servitum reddidit regi, t. 160 b. 1. Cauna. Nuncincans geldabat, ideo noicitur quot hide sunt ibi, t. 64 b. 2, also (next entry) tandem hirda defeito. Frome. Nemo scitur quot hide sunt ibi, t. 86 b. 1. Exoni in Domesday Studies, 109, points out that the carucata
of land, in counties where the hide is the unit of assessment, were not taxed, also
that the lands designated 'inland' were free from Geld; compare Appleby
and those of another. In *Domesday Book* we have a rough system of classification which was meant to apply to the whole country; it is obvious that the special peculiarities of status which were due to the history of one county, or the differences of obligation which were perpetuated in the customs of separate manors, could not be fully recognised in this brief summary. We cannot expect to find precise statements as to the status or obligations of different tenants, but only a rough classification which should serve the fiscal purposes for which the enquiry was undertaken.

Whatever the legal constitution of the manor may have been, it appears to have served the purpose of a fiscal unit. The sheriff looked to the lord of the manor for the geld of his tenants, but only a rough classification which should be interpreted with the strictness that was subsequently given to it. The manor is drawn in its full extent in the *Domesday* survey, but only a rough classification which should be interpreted with the strictness that was subsequently given to it.

The fullest freedom is defined in the *Worcester* customs about the man who was not astricted to the land he lived under. *Regis* Edwardi 174

De *Domesday* the services noted are often incidental. In Bristelmestune x villani et x bordarii cum vi carucis et arant et seminant vi acras de proprio semine. So too in Deporeford; and in Aichintune coliberti qui libent urbi et arant et seminat vi acras de proprio semine. De terra hujus manerii tenebant x liberi homines (Domesday, pp. 119, 209, 215). The services noted are often those of men who were considered free. Derbei. Omnes isti tani habitaverunt consuetudinem reddere ii omeros decernatarum de quibusque cur antiqua terre et facientem per consuetudinem domus regis et que ibi pertinacem sic ut villani, et piscatori et in silva hacta et stabiliteras, et qui ad hoc non ibat quando deboet ii solidos essebant et posuerit ad opus veniebat et operabatur donec perfectum est. Unamque eorum unam die in Augusto mittendo missores suis securi sequent regis, t. 269 b. 2. The men of Newton in Lancashire had the same liberties as those of Derby Hundred, et plus illis ille diebus in Augusto metebat in cultura regis, t. 269 b. 2. Agno a *Domesday* in Gloucestershire. De terra hujus maneri tenebant radix et rademant sibi et habeans ad opus dominum abant et hercubant, falcebant et metebant. *Domesday*, t. 166 a 2.

Mr Seebohm has shown that there was a much larger proportion of servants in the Danish counties than in other parts of England.

Of the other tenants by far the most numerous and widely spread class were the *villani*; from the *Middlesex* entries it appears that their holdings differed in size, and there are only a few incidental notices of services rendered by the men; at the same time, it seems not unreasonable to identify this class with the men who are described under the same name in the *extenta* of later manors; these usually held a virgate of land, which was stocked for them, and were bound to do week work, boon work and to make some occasional payments to the lord. Some *Domesday* villani had already attained the position of *gablatorae*, who paid rent either in kind or coin; though the commutation of feudal services for money payments does not appear to have taken place very rapidly till the fourteenth century, when money was becoming more generally available.

1 An attempt was made after the Peasants' Revolt to use *Domesday Book* in this fashion, see below, p. 399, note 2.
2 Mailand, *Selten Society, Select Pleas, Memorial*, t. xi.
3 Though the free tenants were not astricted to the land they lived under different conditions, even in the same place (MCred, *Domesday*, p. 202 a, 1), in regard to the terms on which they could sell; not potuit recedere sine ejus licentia, Soham, t. 195 b, 2; non potuit recedere sine licentia ejus, Hastinghale, t. 194 b, 1; potuit donec vel vendecer, satis vero domino remanserit, *Selden*, t. 197 a, 1. The fullest freedom is defined in the *Worcester* customs about the man who neglected the summons to service in the field. Si sit liber homus ut habeat secem unam et sacam et cum terra sua possit ire quo voluerit, t. 172 a, 1. The exercise of proprietory rights more or less freely, appears to give the line which is drawn in *Domesday* between the free and the unfree. For legal purposes it was marked by the right to plead in certain courts, and by the subjection of the progeny to the lord, which was symbolised by the obligation to pay *merchet*. The Worcestershire entries show clearly that the free tenants might be responsible for feudal service. De hac terra (Longeum) tempore Regis Edwardi tenebant x liberi homines xvii siuidi et secabant uno die in pratis domini sui et facientem servitium sic ut eis precieplibatur (t. 174 b, 1). So at Pulwo of the vill radmon habentes inter se x carucas et plures boracidas et servus cum vili carucis. Quod tenebant valde et solidos. Ipsa radmmon secabant uno die in pratis domini et omne servitium quod eis jubebatur faciebant (t. 174 b, 2). At Chemesege Alricus eas tenebat etiam tempore Regis Willhelmi, et reddibat inde omnes consuetudines sibi sicut reddebat antecessores sui excepto rusticis opere sicut decessari potest a proprio, t. 172 b, 2. So the libri homines of Leland between the Biddle and the Mersey like those of Salford non operabant per consuetudinem ad aulam domino neque metebant in Augusto. Tantummodo usum halieam in silva faciebant (t. 270 a, 1).
might be discharged by more than one human being, as it is A.D. 1066 difficult to account for the phrase ‘half a villain’ unless by some such supposition.

There is a great variety in the method of describing the waste, and in the uses to which it was put; it was important to note that there was pasture enough for the teams, and wood for repairing the houses and for making the temporary fences which kept the cattle from straying into the growing corn. In some cases, as in Yorkshire, the length and breadth of the waste is given; in Cambridgeshire it is rather estimated by the pannage for swine; hawking or hunting facilities are occasionally mentioned; and great stress is laid on opportunities for fishing. We also find careful note of the other resources, in particular of the mills; it is not always clear what was the power which worked them, as in the case of the mill which endangered the ships in the harbour at Dover “per magnam turbationem maris.” One very important industry was the manufacture of salt; the salt pots at Droitwich were much worked, and a large number of neighbouring proprietors had an interest in them; curious details are also given in some of the Cheshire entries. There is evidence that iron ore was worked at Iron Rhuddlan in Flintshire as well as in the neighbourhood of Gloucester. Another set of profitable rights were those connected with markets, which are mentioned not infrequently. On the other hand fairs are rarely specified.

1 Domesday Book, Burwell, p. 192, 2; and Grantchester, p. 196, 2. xiiii villani et duxii ilii dominium dividunt illi villani et dividunt ii villani de la hidæ et la villa quosque de dimensione virga et xxvi bordarii de quatuor leugis et i villanar de la virga et iii bordarii de xl acris et x bordari de x acris, et v cotarii quosque de iiii acris et v bordarii de i virga et iii cotarii de ixx acris et xii servi et xxv burgesses qui recludunt per annum xl solidos. Domesday, r. 128 b, 2.

2 Andrews, Old English Manor, 137.

3 An account of the servants at Glastonbury and their perquisites will be found in the liber Hecrici de Selocco, pp. 10—17.

ROYAL INQUISITIONS.
The last point noted in each entry is a statement of the sum of all these separate items; this is given by simply noting the annual value of the whole estate in terms of money for three distinct periods. We can thus see fairly well which estates had suffered most during the troubles connected with the Conquest; wherever the numbers of the tenantry had decreased, whether they paid in money or by their work, the annual value would decline. On the whole it appears that the lowest point was reached, generally speaking, at the time when the lands were recovered since that date, and some were in better condition than they had been in the time of the Conqueror. The comparison of these annual values with the rating (quot hides) gives us the means of detecting the cases where the taxation was levied at favourable rates.

63. Leaving the articles of enquiry we may now look at one or two particular entries; they give us illustrations of the points already discussed, but we can also glean from them a great deal of interesting information as to the way in which estates had changed hands at the Conquest.


In Middeltone Radulf holds twelve hides of Picot; there is land for seven teams. On the domain there are two teams, and there could be two more. Ten villains with twelve bordars and nine cottars have three teams there. Five serfs are there. There is a meadow for four teams and pasture for the cattle. From the marsh 650 eels and twelve pence. A.D. 1066.

The whole is worth seven pounds: when he received it eight pounds; in the time of King Edward twelve pounds. The entry closes with an account of the previous tenants: one had been purveyor of the royal household; he had held six hides and three virgates of the Abbey of Ely, and he was not free to sell them nor to separate them from the church; through his death the land returned to the church of S. Etheldreda of Ely; four other socmen held four hides and half a virgate under the Abbey of Ely, but they were able to sell their land. There is little here that calls for special remark; the domain at Milton was part of the Ely land, which the Abbey had got in exchange for another estate, but the long resistance of Hereward from his ‘Camp of Refuge’ had given ample excuse for confiscation, and it now belonged to Picot the Sheriff; the four socmen, who each held a hide, had also suffered in the struggle, and if they survived, they were no longer in possession; it is not probable that they had exercised their powers of selling their land.

In the entries of some of the manors we get very definite statements, not only as to the value of the obligations to be discharged but as to the form of payment. In connection with the royal manor of Soham we read of seven fishermen who were bound to give fish three times a year, and the terms for settling pecuniary debts are clearly defined.

1 From the Liber Eliensis we gather that the price of land was about £5 a hide in the tenth and eleventh centuries: in all probability this included the stock on the land: the team of eight oxen would be worth £1. The live-stock on the waste at Milton is given in the Inquisitiones, and from various incidental quotations of the prices of stock (Thorp, Ancient Laws, p. 139, 255, 357, 563; Hale, S. Paul’s, p. xliii) we get the value of the stock as follows: 2 oxen unemployed . . . . . . . . 5 0 630 sheep at 10d. . . . . . . . . 4 1 1 8 34 pigs at 6d. . . . . . . . . 10 0 6 horses at 10s. . . . . . . . . 3 0 0 £5 12 8 640 acres in exchange for 227 at Fordham. Lib. Eliensis, n. 31.

2 Two acres of wood were given, Ely. Lib. Eliensis, n. 31.

324 acres of woodland were given, Ely. Lib. Eliensis, n. 31.

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Twenty-five pounds were to be tested and weighed; thirteen pounds and eight shillings were to be paid by tale, with an allowance of de-albatting money for the defects of the coin; this payment was apparently a new composition for the petty customs on corn, malt, and honey. This last article was very greatly prized, as men had to rely almost entirely on honey and the honeycomb, both for sweetening and for lighting.

Among the most interesting entries in the Survey are those which put on record some information as to the various towns. There seems to have been in each shire a burgh or civitas, which was not part of the royal estate; each of these towns was a curiously complex group, and quite a number of different proprietors appear to have had houses and rights in them. It is difficult to see amid all the possessor. In totis valentissi redit per annum xx libras areas et pensatas et xiii libras et vii solidos et iv denarios ad numerum de allis denarios pro frumento, brasilo, melle et aliis minutiis consuetudinis. Tempore Regis Edwardi reddebat xxv libras ad numerum, et per iii dies firmam de frumento, melle et brasilo et de omnibus aliis. Hic manerium habitavit rex Edwardus semper in domino. Domesday, i. 189 a, 2.

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The city of York contained 1600 houses—even Norwich and Lincoln were smaller—and Chester was the centre of burghesæ de Warwine pro omnibus alius tertiam. Qui montius non ibat e solidos regi emendabat. Si vero per mare contra hostes suos ibat rex, nel lili batalvein, nel xii libras desacronum et mittabant. Domesday, i. 238 a, 1.

Diversity of separate claims wherein the unity of the group A.D. 1066 consisted; but there were at least common obligations to the Crown, definite rights in the common fields, some tradition of common custom, and the germ of burghal administration. The towns seem to have suffered more seriously than the merely rural districts during the struggle for the English Throne. It is said that the Danish elements in the population prolonged resistance more than others, and this may have accounted for some of the opposition, which developed in the north and called down such terrible vengeance; it may account too for the partial destruction of Exeter and Chester, of Lincoln and York. But the chief complaint was due to the clearances which William effected in order to obtain sites for the castles with which he finally quelled resistance. More than half the houses had been destroyed in Barnstaple, Warham, and Dorchester; and in Cambridge, besides the smaller destruction which had taken place in other wards, 28 houses had been pulled down in one ward to build a castle. The city of Shrewsbury was in a pitiable plight; not only was much of it destroyed, but the French burgesses were exempted from the payment of burgh assessments, so that the sum which was formerly defrayed by the contributions of 252 householders was now levied on a miserable remnant of 59 i.

It is also striking to notice the distribution of the more important towns; the southern coasts were evidently of chief importance. Though London is not included in the Survey we can draw on other sources for some information regarding the chief city of the kingdom; it was assessed at 1200 hides, and its customs have been recorded in some detail. The city of York contained 1600 houses—even Norwich and Lincoln were smaller—and Chester was the centre of burghesæ de Warwine pro omnibus alius tertiam. Qui montius non ibat e solidos regi emendabat. Si vero per mare contra hostes suos ibat rex, nel lili batalvein, nel xii libras desacronum et mittabant. Domesday, i. 238 a, 1.

1 On the francigena of Domesday compare Appendix E. 2 Domesday, i. 232 a, 1. 3 Hideage comitatibus totius Middelsex. The Abbey of Westminster was rated at 116 hides; the county of Middlesex at 825½ hides, and paid $265. In 64. for Danegold, while London paid $100. British Museum, Add. MS. 14, 525, t. 127.
There was both a landed and a moneyed interest in the towns, and the townsmen, in so far as they were engaged in tillage, probably found themselves subjected to heavier burdens in the period after the Conquest. The Cambridge burgesses had to lend their teams nine times a year to the sheriff—formerly three times only. The best description of the rights and duties which were enforced in a trading centre is to be found in the account of Chester. The regulations for local police serve all events to show the nature of the crimes which were most common; but there is curiously little mention of difficulties in the actual conduct of transactions, or of the security of foreign merchants.

Besides the Domesday Survey there were other royal inquisitions which throw light upon this period. Not only are there interesting inventories, which were got together for assessing taxes on moveables, and local enquiries like the Liber Winton of Henry I., but by a most fortunate coincidence there was a second general enquiry, from the results of which we have a detailed record of the condition of many parts of England at the close of this period. We are thus able to get some data for estimating the growth which took place during the two centuries which elapsed between the compilation of Domesday Book and of the Hundred Rolls; while the records of ecclesiastical houses furnish us with many particulars for special places in the intervening years. The Inquisition Eliensis and Exon Domesday were apparently transcribed for the sake of preserving a statement of the condition of the monastic and ecclesiastical property at the time of the Conquest. The

The precise object which the first Edward had in view when the Hundred Rolls was compiled in 1274, was somewhat different from that of the first William in 1086, as he wished to discover the real nature and extent of the traditional rights of the crown, and to detect the malversations of royal officers. When Edward I. returned to England and assumed the reins of government, he found that the royal rights had suffered most serious encroachments and that royal lands had been appropriated, to the very severe loss of the crown. He therefore appointed commissioners who were charged to enquire into the royal lands and royal rights in each shire; this survey was conducted in very much the same way as that of the Conqueror. Extracts from the inquiry then made, which have special reference to the usurpation of jurisdiction and other royal rights and possessions, exist for all the counties of England. The Hundred Rolls in their full shape only survive for seven counties, but they contain a most extraordinary mass of

1 Maitland, Township and Borough, 46. The prioral services at Leicester, which were a matter of complaint in 1086, may not have been older than the time of Henry I., when Robert of Needham established his power over the whole town with the exception of the Bishop's fee: Bate son, Records of the Borough of Leicester, ii. xv. xx. On later controversies in regard to the Lannas lands at Coventry see M. D. Harris, Life in an Old English Town, 256. The customs relating to foreign merchants are interesting, and they show three separate jurisdictions in one city, the king, earl, and bishop. Domesday, t. 892 b, 1 and 262 a, 1. Rut. Parl. 1, 228 a. D. R. iv, 591. D. R. iv, 495. Also edited by N. E. S. Hamilton. D. R. iv, 1.

51 D. R. iv, 542.
52 D. R. iv, 565. Also edited by Greenwell for the Surtees Society.
53 This inquiry is mentioned by Jocelin in his Chronicles, p. 21. The portion of the survey which has been preserved gave a clue to Mr Corbett as to the levying of the Danegeld in East Anglia.
55 Liber Niger (1135—9), in Chronicon Petroburgense (Camden Society).
56 Liber Heirici de Solitaco, edited by J. E. Jackson and published as Inquisition of Manors of Glastonbury Abbey (1189), (Roxburghe Club).
57 Domesday Endalshiff de Invento (1185), Registrum visitationum manoriorum (1222), edited by Hale for the Camden Society.
58 Registrum Prioratus Bento Maria Wygrovenia (1440), edited by Hale for the Camden Society. There is also an interesting rental of Coblingham in Berwickshire (1298), Correspondence de de Coblingham (Soc. Sc.) 1, 227.
FEUDALISM.

A.D. 1066 —1272.

Information, very much more detailed than that which is given in Domesday Book; they afford us a most curious insight into the life of the time, and supply information bearing on the progress of the country since the earlier record had been compiled.

The articles of enquiry are elaborate; they first demand information as to what manors the king had at the time or used to have in his own hands; there is then an enquiry as to the royal tenants in chief and as to losses by subinfeudation; then as to the free socmen on royal domain; then as to the form and other rents of each hundred or burghe, and of alienations; there next is an article about those who claimed to hold courts of wreakage, to have other royal rights or the assize of bread and ale; also about those who by the privileges granted to them interfered with the course of justice, and assumed or enlarged chases and warrens. Enquiries are made too as to the misdeeds of the king and the Countess; and as to losses by warrens. Enquiries are made too as to the misdeeds of the royal officers, either in taking bribes and compounding crimes, or in fiscal exactions; also in connection with the repairs of royal castles and manors, escheats to the crown and such other matters.

The articles, as given at the commencement of the printed volume, are not quite complete; there were four or five other points on which enquiries were made and one of these yielded information that is of special economic interest. It had reference to the export of wool to Flanders at the time when owing to the hostile relations between the king and the Countess that trade had been prohibited or only carried on by special licence. In regard to each of the

Export of wool.

alleged infractions of royal right, there is the reiterated A.D. 1066 question as to the warrant by which the man presumed to usurp crown property or regal privileges.

The commissioners appear to have executed the task most exhaustively, and to have carried back their enquiries as to proof of title for several generations. They also put on record in many cases very detailed statements of the precise position and obligations of the tenants on different estates. The purpose of the Domesday Survey had been to make such a financial estimate as to enable the king to reckon on the revenue he might expect as gafol, or the sums he might levy as geld; but in the Hundred Rolls the immediate object was to investigate the legal rights of the king, and of the tenantry. The mode of procedure was similar to that which the Conqueror had adopted; it can be followed step by step in the case of Lincolnshire. First in 1274 the commissioners were empowered to make their enquiries of sworn jurors, and they appear to have completed their task within the year. From the rolls thus furnished, extracts were compiled of those matters which demanded farther information, and quo warranto proceedings based upon them were instituted before the Justices in Eyre. In the Lincolnshire and in the Gloucestershire Rolls, a brief note is appended of the results which were finally reached. Thus it was found that Norman Percy held a carucate of land at Fulletby in Lincolnshire which was part of the honor of Horncastle, and which had been alienated as long ago as the time of Henry I. It was worth five marks annually. It was finally decided by a jury of twelve men that it was geldable.

Digon, Morechim, le Wothonagere, Lucas de Lakes et tota sua societas, Alderbrandus de Luca et tota sua societas, Rostikley et tota sua societas, Denteiuit et tota sua societas, Hugo Pace et tota sua societas, Jacomus de Legge et tota sua societas, Willielmus Lame de Rochonage et multa aliis de regno Angliee quam de aliis regnis quorum nomina et personas penitus ignorant contra inhibitionem dominii Regis fecerunt cariare lana ultra mare set quod successit et quos portus omnino ignorant et quo warranto similiter ignorant. Rot. Hund. 1. 405. From other entries it appears that the wool was mostly shipped either to Oslas or S. Omer (p. 405). Wool grown in Northamptonshire was shipped to Rouen by Southampton (ii. 4). In some cases it was smuggled out, made up like parcels of cloth (p. 411), and in others it was packed in casks of wine (l. p. 413).

1 Statute of Gloucester (1275), preamble.
The question how far these data enable us to estimate the progress that occurred during the two centuries after the Norman Conquest, is not easy to answer. If we hope to make accurate comparisons we shall for the most part be disappointed, since we are so often baffled by the silence of Domesday. It cannot be doubted, however, that there was a very great growth of rural population, and a consequent increase of manorial resources. The total services due increased and holdings were often subdivided, while there was a great addition to the number of free tenants in some estates.

At Milton there were twenty-three free tenants, twenty-nine villains, and fifteen cottars, besides the rector and his half dozen dependents. The change is still more striking in the towns, for it is evident that they had not only increased in number but had also altered in character. Many had become centres of dealing and industry; they were filled with shops, and were not only agricultural, but industrial and commercial groups.

What is most curious about some of the towns is the complicated system of government which obtained in them. In occasional difficulties at Cambridge as to the respective rights of University and town, we still see something of the confusion which was caused by conflicting rights and privileges, but the case of Edinburgh affords a more curious instance of the survival of separate local jurisdictions. The burghs of Canongate and Portsburgh and the bailiary of Colton maintained their independence of the city of Edinburgh till they were merged in it in 1856. The tradition of the severance between the French and English towns still lingers at Nottingham, where it was perpetuated by the
feudalism.

A.D. 1066-1272. Wards.

Differences in the customs of the two towns. In London each single ward had its own government; and the separate reports, which the commissioners collected from each of them, show how little administrative unity there was throughout the different parts of the city. It was still a congeries of distinct wards each belonging to a distinct "baron"; and there were conflicting privileges and competing jurisdictions in many localities.

After all, a great deal of the trade of the country was carried on at occasional marts rather than at permanent centres, and we find a good deal of information in the Hundred Rolls about various fairs. This is a matter on which Domesday is almost entirely silent, and there can be but little doubt that many fairs had been founded since that time. In Cambridge there were four annual fairs, one belonging to the Prior of Barnwell, held for four days from the Vigil of S. John the Baptist, and now surviving in Midsummer fair, for this he paid a mark of silver; another, which existed in the present century as Garlic fair, belonged to the Prioresses and nuns of S. Rhadegund, and lasted for two days from the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin; a third, belonging to the Master of the Lepers' Hospital, was held on Holy Cross Vigil and Day, and survives in Stourbridge fair; the fourth belonged to the burgesses and was held on

\[\text{A.D. 1110.}\]

\[\text{A.D. 1111.}\]

\[\text{A.D. 1211.}\]

\[\text{A.D. 1272.}\]

The mention of Irish merchants visiting Cambridge with cloth (Liber Elmete, ii. 32) is at least suggestive of a fair there before the Conquest. On the other hand it is sometimes possible to trace the history of the origin of a fair; there can be no doubt that the fair at S. Treas did not originate before the discovery of the alleged relics in 1009, and the earliest grant is 1110. Maitland, Selten Society, Select Pleas, Memorial, p. 181. There were fairs at Chester (Dugdale, Mon. Ang. ii. 386) in the time of William II., and at Exeter in the twelfth century (Pipe Roll, 6 H. II. p. 61). By grant from King John, Rot. Hund. ii. 358.

By grant from King Stephen, Hundred Rolls, ii. 359.

By grant from King John, Hundred Rolls, ii. 900.

By grant from King John, Rot. Hund. ii. 359.

In the eighteenth century Stourbridge continued to be a most important mart for all sorts of manufactured goods, as well as for horses, wool and hops. Compare Daniel de Foe's most interesting account, Tour (1724), p. 91.

1. Hundred Rolls, ii. 301.
2. Thurlow Rogers, Sta. Cent. i. 146.
3. From the point of view of the Londoners in 1189, Boston and Winchester fairs appear to have been more important; the Husting Court was not held, as otherwise it would have conflicted with the business engagements of the citizens at these fairs. Turner, Domestic Architecture, i. 275. On Boston fair see Thompson, Ang. Arch. Soc. lii. 370.
4. Nottingham Roll, i. 61.
and generally according to Law Merchant. The right to have such a fair and to receive tolls from those who carried on the merchandise was very lucrative; the owner of the fair was tempted however to hold it for a longer period than that which his grant assigned, and for this reason the fairs were carefully investigated by Edward's commissioners.

Taking these matters together we may say that an examination of the Hundred Rolls leaves on the mind an impression of most rapid growth during this period. The population both in rural districts and in towns had increased greatly, and there is ample evidence of a large foreign trade, and of great facilities for internal trade. At the same time, despite the mass of information which each record has preserved, we have not got the precise data which would be necessary in order to enable us to give an accurate statement about the actual growth in any single direction.

IV. FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.

66. By far the most important results of the Norman Conquest, so far as English History and Commerce were concerned, lay in the new communications which were opened up with other parts of the Continent—communications which have been frequently interrupted, but never completely suspended. This was partly due to the double position of the reigning monarch, as Duke of Normandy as well as King of England, for a close connection was established between our country and the great northern duchy of France; in the early Plantagenet reigns by far the larger portion of the territories of the King of England were on the Continent. The constant intercommunication, which these political relations rendered necessary, must have given much more frequent opportunities for trade; while the fact, that the lands on each side of the Channel belonged to the same ruler, made trading far more secure, and therefore more profitable.

A similar impetus had been given by the connections with Denmark and Scandinavia which were consolidated under Cnut, but they were of far less importance, for the Norsemen with all their skill and enterprise failed to establish a permanent and stable civilisation. Few things are more remarkable than the complete collapse of a power which had shown so much enterprise in planting industrial and commercial settlements; but there was a want of cohesion among the several parts, and the alternation of tyranny and anarchy seems to have been fatal to the commerce of the northern lands. The decline of northern seafaring and power synchronises in a remarkable manner with the conversion of the Swedes and Norsemen. But there was ample compensation in the rapid development of industrial and commercial life in Flanders, in Lorraine and the north of Germany, and among the French communes; signs of progress were beginning to show themselves in the growth of new cities within the provinces of the old empire, and even beyond its limits at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, the nucleus of the Hanse League, which suppressed piracy and organised trade. Strassburg, Cologne and other German towns had risen into importance under the wise rule of Otho II. and the fostering care of Archbishops and Bishops; in the twelfth century they were beginning to secure independence from the control of the ecclesiastical potentates. S. Omer, a.d. 1157. Bruges and other Flemish towns had already attained considerable status and importance. The northern towns exercised a great influence on this island, not only by commercial intercourse, but through the settlers who immigrated here. Tradition reports that many of them found homes in

1 Cunningham, Western Civilisation, u. 112.
4 Giry, Histoire de la Ville de S. Omer, p. 47. 5 See Appendix E.
Great as was the influence exercised by these northern towns, far more important results were due to the fact that western Europe now began to come in contact with the heritage of Roman civilisation, as it had been preserved at Constantinople. The debt which Christendom owes to this great city is rarely acknowledged: she was the bulwark which broke the force of one wave of invasion after another; the Goths in the fourth century, the Huns in the fifth, the Slavonic tribes in the sixth, the Persians and Saracens in the seventh and eighth, and the Magyars and Bulgars in the ninth, were all checked by the strength she commanded in her impregnable position. It was no slight service she rendered by merely affording time for the slow growth of western civilisation; but we owe her far more than this, for the final achievements of the ancient world were preserved for us, not in the old Rome, but in the new. It was in Byzantium that the great code of Civil Law was compiled; it was in Byzantium that the best results of Greek science and letters were retained; above all it was at Byzantium that the trading habits and connections of the Empire were preserved. We in England gradually appropriated the heritage of ancient Rome, but it reached us through strange and tortuous channels: little came to us directly from the province of Britain; a larger share was introduced by missionaries and ecclesiastics; but still more came through the Italian cities, which had derived their commercial vigour from their intercourse with Constantinople.

The people of Amalfi had the first Italian factory at Constantinople; they had trading connections with Antioch in Syria; and as they entered into friendly relations with the Mahomedans in Sicily and North Africa, they did not a little to re-establish the commercial intercourse which the Arab invasions had severed. The Venetians, who had always held aloof from the Lombardic kingdom, soon followed the example set them; they obtained a footing in Constantinople, and engaged in friendly trade with the Saracens; while their position enabled them to open up commercial intercourse with Germany as well. The town life of Italy, and the Eastern and African trade of Italy, had begun to revive before the time of the Norman settlements in Sicily or of the Crusades. These were in many ways disturbing elements, but they at least served to raise up new competitors in Italy, and to introduce the French and English to Mediterranean waters.

The existence of all these towns in such widely separated regions is a sign of reviving commercial activity throughout Europe at this time; they supplied the necessary conditions without which regular trade could hardly be carried on at all. Unless in a town, or in a fair, the foreign merchant had not any sort of status and could not recover his debts; he was liable to be mulcted, not according to the Law Merchant which he understood, but by local customs which were unfamiliar. This was equally true whether his business took him to another country or only to another county. The Norwich merchant who visited London was as much of a foreigner there as the man from Bruges or Rouen. In the Calendar of fourteenth century letters despatched officially from the city of London we find the same sort of communications sent to the Bailiff and Good Folk of Gloucester, as went to the Burgomasters and Echevins of Sluys. Commerce almost necessarily concentrated itself where such legal facilities existed.

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The commerce of the twelfth century then was municipal rather than national; internal trade was inter-municipal and so too was distant trade. It grew rapidly because the king's peace and the peace of God, and the personal protection vouchsafed by foreign princes, gave some security for friendly intercourse. But the chief occasions for intercommunication throughout Europe arose in connection with the Crusades, and their direct and indirect influence is observable in England as elsewhere. Still, apart from this fresh impulse, the kingdom gained not a little, by the mere fact that it had been drawn out of its isolation into closer connection with continental lands.

Immigration of artisans. Weavers.

There was, for one thing, a large immigration of artisans which began soon after the Conquest. A number of Flemings had been driven from their own land by an inundation, and they not unnaturally sought new homes in an island where a noble Flemish lady had gone to reign as queen. She took them under her own personal protection, and they were scattered all through the kingdom, where however they did not succeed in getting on peaceably with the other subjects. King Henry I contemplated expelling them from the realm, but finally assigned them a special district in Wales. There are still marked differences which distinguish the men of Tenby and Gower from their Celtic neighbours. Giraldus describes them as "gens Cambrensis minicissima"; but adds "gens (inquam) lanificis, gens mer- cimonis usitatissima". The position which these weavers and dealers had originally secured cannot have been satisfactory; Camden remarks that they were not enriched with lands, but taken under personal protection by the queen. So long as they were specially privileged they could not amalgamate readily with their neighbours; it was impossible to perpetuate the distinction for all time, and therefore it was necessary that they should either settle down as ordinary burgesses, or occupy a separate district by themselves.

We have specific information in regard to these Flemings, Merchants, but theirs was not the only, nor perhaps the most important migration. A chronicler tells us that merchants followed in the wake of the Conqueror from Rouen; they preferred to dwell in London "inasmuch as it was fitter for their trading and better stored with the merchandise in which they were wont to traffic."

Many monuments remain and give unimpeachable evidence of a large incursion of builders at all events. The few stone buildings which date from the time before the Conquest are different both in style and workmanship from those which were erected in the twelfth century, but the twelfth century was a time of extraordinary activity in masons' work of every kind. There are numberless abbey

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1 Roll of S. Ives fair printed by Prof. Maillard, Select Fleet, Monument. 1. 138. A most interesting correspondence is printed by Delpit (Collection, Nos. LXXIX. and LXXXI). It arose out of a dispute between some horse-dealers at the fairs of Champagne and Brive in 1292. A Florentine resident in London was said to be in debt for horses bought but not paid for, and the custodes of the fair wrote in 1300 to the mayor and citizens of London. The Florentine produced a quittance duly signed, sealed and attested, but the custodes of the fair declared themselves dissatisfied and demanded that the goods of the Florentine should be distrained, and he himself arrested. This the mayor refused to do without a mandate from the king, who was away in Scotland, as the Florentine and his friends were "de libertate civilitatis Londoniensi." Apparently intermunicipal justice was slow, and not always sure.

2 For additional proofs of the views expressed in this section see Appendix E.
A.D. 1066 -1272.

Churches.

The position of alien artisans in towns.

The position of alien artisans in towns. Churches and cathedrals which still bear witness to the skill of the Norman builders; but they give but a small idea of the amount of work which was going on at that time. However it may have been altered since, the fabric of very many of the parish churches of England still supplies evidence that the present buildings were first erected in the twelfth century; possibly the churches before this date had been usually constructed of wood; and the parishes throughout the length and breadth of England seem to have vied with each other in substituting new churches of stone. But besides these ecclesiastical edifices, many castles were reared. From Rochester to Carlisle, from Hedingham to Ludlow the land was studded with huge fortresses. Both in design and in detail the masonry of the time bears witness that it comes from the hands of the men who practised the arts as they were followed at Caen. When we consider the number of these buildings which are still standing, though with more or less of subsequent alteration, and the tedious labour that was required to erect them, we cannot but feel that a very large number of masons and builders must have come in with the Conqueror.

Domesday Book gives us ample evidence as to the existence of artisans of French or foreign birth. The case of Shrewsbury has been noted above. Norwich had been much wasted, partly by the exactions of Earl Roger, partly by fires and partly by the pressure of the Danegeld, and much wasted, partly by the exactions of Earl Roger, partly by fires and partly by the pressure of the Danegeld, and the tedious labour that was required to erect them, we cannot but feel that a very large number of masons and builders must have come in with the Conqueror. This brings clearly before us the fact that the immigration of foreigners had begun before the Conquest itself, 'with the exception of such as had hitherto their charter securing this privilege.'

Foreign intercourse.

important body that one of the so-called Laws of William A.D. 1066 defines their position; the Frenchmen who had been settled in England in the time of the Conquest were to be at scot and lot with the other inhabitants according to the law of England.

From this we may perhaps infer that the artisans who settled in this country after the Conquest, were not at scot and lot with the other inhabitants, but had an exceptional position such as was accorded to the Flemings by Queen Matilda. This may have been a specially favourable condition at first, but as the burgesses gradually secured an increased number of charted privileges for themselves, the men of foreign extraction who were in the community, but not of it, would be placed at a disadvantage. This is reflected in the early laws regarding weavers in Winchester, Marlborough, Oxford and Beverley, which are preserved in the Liber Castrorum; the greatest precautions were taken to prevent a weaver obtaining the franchise of the town and he had no standing in the courts as against a freeman. The disabilities under which weavers laboured cannot be accounted for by supposing that the richer burgesses oppressed the artisan, for at Winchester at all events circa A.D. 1550.

1 Laws of William, iii. 4, in Thorpe, Ancient Laws.
2 Compare the statement as to the position of the English and French burgesses in Hereford. Domesday, l. 179 a. 1.
3 See below, p. 191, n. 4.
4 Rolls Series. Munimenta Gildhalli, ii. 130, 131.
5 The analogy of Aberdeen is instructive. There it appears from a charter granted by Alexander II. in 1222, that the weavers and dyers (vaulds) were already privileged, and were therefore excluded when the burgesses were allowed to have theirthane. But the members of the gild merchant were not called on to adjure such crafts, in fact none might exercise them but the members of the gild who were at scot and lot with the other burgesses "with the exception of such as had hitherto their charter securing this privilege." Bain, History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades, 36.
6 Prof. Ashley maintains (Economic History, 82) that the disabilities of the weavers were instances of oppression which artisans suffered at the hands of the rich. It is difficult to suppose that trade had so developed in all these towns as to allow of the formation of a class of wealthy merchants. It appears that in Newcastle (Stubbs, Select Charters, 112) the freemen did not disdain to be engaged in cloth manufacture. In Scotland there are more signs of exclusiveness on the part of the gilds merchant, as both butchers and dyers, as well as some others, were excluded from the gild merchant if they laboured themselves at the business (Burgh Laws of Scotland, c. xcv. p. 46). This is parallel to the Belgian prohibition against admitting those 'with dirty hands' or 'blue nails' (Brentano, Gilds
there were burellars who were freemen. But the whole
becomes intelligible if we may assume that weaving, as
a regular craft, was introduced into England by foreign settlers
about the time of the Conquest, and that the weavers in
the various towns were foreigners who were not at scot and lot
with the other inhabitants: their independent position gave
rise to jealousies and riots in the time of Henry I., and would
continue to do so in the case of those who had not availed
themselves of the opportunity, if it offered, of removing,
as other wool workers did, into the south-west of Wales.

If this supposition be correct, it will go some way towards
explaining the first beginning of craft gilds in England.
Frith gilds were a native institution, and merchant gilds
may have been so, in germ at any rate, though we do
not find them in their fully organised form till Norman
times; but strangers who lived by the same trade and
had common interests, while they suffered under similar

disabilities, would be glad to associate themselves together; A.D. 1066
and no form of association was better adapted to their needs
than that of which examples in all probability already existed
at Paris and Rouen. Some of these obtained royal sanction,
and paid annually for their privileges; while others, which had
been informally established, would have been fined by Henry
II. in 1180, when he amerced various gilds which were
certainly composed of native Englishmen, like that of the
burgesses of Totnes. At the same time it is important to
notice that the permission to form such craft gilds, while
it might give immunity to the foreign weavers, would not ally
the irritation of the burgesses who were at scot and lot,
against those who had no real status in the towns where they
lived, but had direct relations with the crown. In the time of
Henry II. there were weavers' gilds under royal protection
in Nottingham, York, Oxford, Huntingdon and Winchester, A.D. 1160.
The most frequently mentioned of all these gilds were the
weavers of London, and they had charters from Henry I,
Henry II. and Henry III. John promised the citizens that he
would suppress this gild, on their paying a larger annual sum
than the weavers had been wont to pay; but apparently he
only took money from both parties and allowed matters to run
in the old course. They may possibly, during their earlier
struggles, have inhabited a soke of their own, exempt from
civic jurisdiction; but though they still had a weekly court
of their own for regulating their internal affairs in the time
of Edward I., the city had succeeded in asserting authority
over them, as they were under the jurisdiction of the Mayor in

E. E. T. S.民). But on whatever ground the prohibition of one or two particular
crafts was based, it must not be too readily strained into an objection to artisans
in such. It is curious to observe that one of these very trades is specially
reserved to burgesses in a charter granted to Chesterfield in the time of Edward
II. No one was to be a dyer or tailor unless he was a burgess or had made
satisfaction to the lord. Records of the Borough of Chesterfield, pp. 56, 60.
2 The reasons for this are the facts that wool was exported and cloth imported
before the Conquest, and that weavers are not mentioned before that time so far as
I have noticed. There might of course be a great deal of domestic weaving by
women in households; this was the way in which the art was practised in the
time of Charles [Frére, Gregorius VII., vii. 180]; and there might be plenty
of very artistic work, even though it was not a regular occupation by which men
earned a living for themselves and their families.
3 David, a dyer of Carlisle, fined in the sixth year of King John to have his
house made a burgage and to have the same liberties as the other burgesses of
Carlisle. Madox, Exchequer, p. 278.
4 The king's peace was on the whole so effective in England that the frith gilds
played a less important rôl than the corresponding institution in France, where a
great deal was accomplished by the common action of similar associations in the
way of securing the inhabitants of each commune against the depredations of
barons engaged in private wars, and, generally speaking, of maintaining the peace
Levasseur, L'histoire des Classes ouvrières en France, p. 180. There was no need
for them to undertake this function in historic times in England, as the king's
peace was enforced during the parts of the year which the peace of God had been
intended to protect, and also professed at all times to give security on the main
roads and navigable rivers of the realm. Roger of Hoveden, ii. 219, 233.
5 Gross, Gild Merchant, i. 3, 4.
6 Madox, Exchequer, p. 286.
7 Madox, Gild Merchant, c. x. § 5, p. 232.
8 Madox, Exchequer, i. § 2, p. 302, note m.
9 Eley, Liber Cust. t. lvii.
matters, as there was a deliberate desire to damage Flemish trade. The thirteenth century ordinances show the continued regulation of the trade at Winchester, while the appointment of an alnager by Edward I. and Edward II.'s prohibition of the export of teasels, gave expression to the care which successive monarchs bestowed on the trade; disputes about the regulation of the worsted trade in Norfolk, in 1315, show how far one branch of the clothing industry had developed. There is also indirect evidence that these various attempts at fostering and protecting this trade were successful. English cloth was to some extent an article of export, and was in demand in Aragon; while the quantity of dye which was imported gives a slight indication of the progress of weaving, though the art of dyeing lagged behind the manufacture, and English cloth was sometimes worn of the natural colour of the wool.

These various pieces of evidence, which have been for the most part accumulated by Professor Ashley, seem to show that the foundations of English cloth manufacture were firmly laid before Edward III. invited John Kemp and others in 1337; but though it was not introduced from abroad at that date, there is no reason to suppose it was of purely native origin.

At the same time it is disappointing that we know so little of the places at which the trade thus rapidly developed was carried on in the thirteenth century; the facilities for general regulation took away the chief economic excuse for forming new local gilds of weavers. The men of Essbourne who stretched their cloth unduly, were surely weavers rather than merchants; and the occasional mention of dyers, fullers or shearers may be taken as indicative of a weaving neighbourhood. The art is easily learned, and would soon spread in any town where a skilled weaver settled, while

1 The enquiries in the Hundred Rolls elicited some curious information about exchanges.
2 Archæological Journal, ix. 70.
3 For this point I am indebted to Mr Hubert Hall, who has called my attention to this interesting proclamation. Close Rolls, 19 Ed. III. M. 6 d. See Appendix D. 4 F. D. Swift, James I. of Aragon, p. 229.
the conditions of life in Flanders and England respectively
would favour such immigration, though we do not hear of it
as we do in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

68. The artisan settlers were gradually absorbed in the
ordinary English life of the places where they were established,
but there were other foreigners who simply came to trade
and not to settle. They were always anxious to live according
to their own rules and decide their own disputes, and also to
secure a place of residence where they could be housed and
store their goods, without being at the mercy of English
hosts. The privileges which they obtained time after time
were purchased from the kings; and the struggle between
conflicting authorities, which we have seen in connection
with the immigrant artisans, repeated itself in regard to the
rights of aliens who lived and did business under special
privileges in London or other cities.

The men of the Emperor had been established in a
permanent position in London in the time of King Ethelred
and their privileges are carefully noted in his laws. William
of Malmesbury mentions the importance of their trade at
London. Very extensive privileges were granted to the mer-
chants of Cologne by Henry II. They were to be protected
as his own men both in their merchandise, possessions and
house in London, and no one was to make new exactions from
them; later, they had a concession in regard to selling their
wine on the same terms as French wines. King Richard on
his return from captivity passed through Cologne and was
still more lavish in his grants to the traders there; they were
to pay two shillings yearly for their gildhall in London, and
to be free of all tolls and customs in the land, and also to be
free to buy and sell at fairs throughout the land, in London
and elsewhere. This charter was subsequently confirmed by
John and by Henry III. The chief obligation under which
they lay was that of repairing the gate called Bishopsgate;

1 Heyd (Leventhandel, t. 98) holds that these probably came from the fair at
Frankfort and from Mainz, which was then the staple for Eastern produce, and
was frequented by the burgesses of many towns. Lappenberg, Stahlhof, t. 5.
2 De Inst. civ. Londom. 2. Thorpe, t. 300.
3 Lib. de Gest. Pont. ii. prol.
4 Lappenberg, Stahlhof, t. 4.
5 Ibid. t. 6. 6.
6 Ibid. t. 12.

but during the reign of Henry III. they had allowed it to A.D. 1066
fall into disrepair and an effort was made early in the time
of Edward I. to drain them; under this pressure they A.D. 1292.
made a payment towards the necessary repairs of 240 marks
sterling, and promised to keep it in repair for the future.
On this the city authorities confirmed the privileges they
exercised with regard to dealing in corn and electing their
own aldermen. There were to be many feuds in after times
between the men of the Hanse and the London citizens, but
this incident closed by a formal agreement that the Hansards
should elect their own alderman, but that the superiority of
the city should be recognised.

At this time the Steelyard, or house of the German
merchants, was a considerable place; it had been enlarged in
1260 by the purchase of an adjoining house and garden. The
precise relations between the merchants from the different
towns which subsequently formed the League do not concern
us here, but it appears that the men of Lubeck and Hamburg
had separate privileges; and the Flemish merchants also
had a hanse of their own in London.

The trade between London and Germany was very
important, but it was not confined to London. There were
many merchants from Lubeck and other German towns in
Boston and Lynn; hansehouses were eventually built at
both places; but as early as 1271 the Germans had some
sort of local organisation of their own, and Symon, a citizen
of Lynn, was their Alderman there; on one occasion he gave
a pledge on behalf of some Lubeck merchants to the amount
of £200. On the whole we find a marked progress in the
privileges of the German merchants; at first they had a vague

1 Rot. H带d. t. 416, 426 b. 481.
2 Lappenberg, Stahlhof, t. 14.
3 Concessiunt etiam eisdem quod habeaut aldermannus eum prout rei acti
temporibus haeirebat; ipsa tamen quod aldermannus ille sit de libertate civitatis
predictis, et quioscum per predictos mercatores electa fuerit, maiori et aldermannus
civitatis praeceptoru et corum eis saccarnatum faciendi et justiciam in curis
quisquasque facienda, et se habendi in officio suo, prout solvo jure et con-
secutus civitatis se habere debebit et consuevit. Lappenberg, Stahlhof, t. 15.
4 Mattand, Survey of London, t. 29.
5 Lappenberg, Stahlhof, t. 13.
7 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pont. § 73.
8 Lappenberg, Stahlhof, t. 163, 166. Lubecker Urkundenbuch, t. No. 329.
See also on Lynn in Bartorius, Deutsche Hsae, t. 226, No. 119.
A.D. 1066—1272. The northern trading connections remained unbroken, and we may note signs of a vast development in the importation of wine. The merchants of Rouen, who enjoyed unexampled prosperity during the latter part of the twelfth century, did a large trade in wine transported, as it had been before the Conquest, from central France; but we hear of other vintages too, as a great Lorraine fleet arrived annually; repeated privileges were given to the men of Cologne; and Rochelle shipped wine to Dublin. There were Gascon merchants in London in 1275, and they received a charter of liberties from Edward I. The city complained that the terms of this charter were an infraction of their privileges; apparently the difficulty was about the right of the merchants to live together and have their own table. The citizens did not contest their right to have cellars and warehouses; the Londoners were more successful than they had proved in their complaints against the men of the Emperor, and kept the control of this trade in their hands. This would require shipping, as communication with Gascony must of course have been carried on by sea, but it does not appear that English sailors voyaged further till the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, when we have the first undoubted instance of English ships penetrating to the Mediterranean.

There was of course abundant intercourse with Rome on ecclesiastical and diplomatic affairs, but this was doubtless carried on by the Seine, the Rhone and Marseilles; Rouen was the main port of communication, though Bruges was also used, as well as Calais. The detailed itinerary from this point, but for a later period, by Paris, Lyons and Turin is given in Arnold’s Chronicle. Along some such route as this the wool of England was conveyed to be worked up in Italian looms. Lucca had been a centre of this trade in the ninth century, did a large trade in wine transported, as it had been before the Conquest, from central France; but we hear of other vintages too, as a great Lorraine fleet arrived annually; repeated privileges were given to the men of Cologne; and Rochelle shipped wine to Dublin. There were Gascon merchants in London in 1275, and they received a charter of liberties from Edward I. The city complained that the terms of this charter were an infraction of their privileges; apparently the difficulty was about the right of the merchants to live together and have their own table. The citizens did not contest their right to have cellars and warehouses; the Londoners were more successful than they had proved in their complaints against the men of the Emperor, and kept the control of this trade in their hands. This would require shipping, as communication with Gascony must of course have been carried on by sea, but it does not appear that English sailors voyaged further till the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, when we have the first undoubted instance of English ships penetrating to the Mediterranean.

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1. E. de Fréville, Commerce maritime de Rouen, t. 108.
2. Wino of Axuyaza, Madoz, Echequer, xii. 3.
3. L. d. C. t. 61.
4. L. d. C. t. 66.
5. L. d. O. t. 104.
7. De Stock, Calendar (Venetian) i. 6.
8. De Stock, Calendar, vi.
century, the Florentines took it up somewhat later; but the
Hundred Rolls show us that many merchants from both
cities were engaged in buying wool for transport from
England. They seem to have formed large merchant houses
with several partners; Aldebrando of Lucca and all his com-
pany, Luca of Lucca and all his company had been dealing
in London. There were several companies of Florentine
merchants who bought wool at Stamford and shipped it at
Export of
wool.

Venetian
and
Genoese
factories.

A.D. 1066
-1272.
A.D. 1275.

There were several companies of Florentine
merchants who bought wool at Stamford and shipped it at
Boston or Lynn, as well as a Piacenza company; and there
were more Florence merchants in Northampton. Indeed it
appears that in 1284 many monasteries in Great Britain
had agreed to sell their wool to the Florentines. It has been
frequently stated that the Lombards and other Italians first
settled in the north as agents for the collection and trans-
mission of papal taxation, but it is at least clear that they
carried on a large mercantile business at the same time or
developed it after they arrived. The proof of the export of
wool to Italy shows that it was perfectly possible to remit
the value of the payments to Rome without denuding the
country of the precious metals.

This great trade with Italy gave improved opportunities
for communication with the East; allusion has already been
made to the new developments of commercial activity at
Amalfi and Venice. The Norman invaders destroyed the
commerce of the southern town, and the first Crusades had
little immediate result for the Venetians. But since Genoa
and Pisa had ousted the Saracens from Corsica and Sar-
dinia, they were free to take part in more distant enter-
prise; they undertook much of the transport service for the
Crusaders, and established factories in Syria, which gave
them access to the caravan routes towards the East; whilst

Genoa secured a factory in Constantinople in 1242; and
A.D. 1066
-1272.
A.D. 1299.

the crusades met with so little success in Egypt of
that hardly any attempt was made to establish Frankish
colonies, like those in Syria; but several of the maritime
cities had mercantile factories there, and trade by the
Red Sea and the Nile routes was little interrupted; while the increasing power of Aragon, and her conquest of
the Balearic Isles, rendered the Western Mediterranean more
secure; the immediate results were seen in the revived
prosperity of Barcelona and Montpellier. The twelfth and
thirteenth centuries were marked by an extraordinary in-
crease of commerce in every part of the Mediterranean; and
improvements in navigation and in mercantile practice went
hand in hand with this development. Englishmen had little
direct part in all this maritime activity; their time was not
come; but the Italian merchants who bought English
wool or visited English fairs brought them within range of
the rapid progress that was taking place in Southern Europe.

70. At the end of the thirteenth century it would

The

Feudalism.

1 Rot. Hund. 1, 406.
2 The returns of the customs seem to show that the wool trade of Boston
greatly exceeded that of any other port at this time. P. Thomson, Assoc. Arch.
Soc. 11. 509.
4 Ibid. 11. 4, 15.
5 Peranz, Storia del commercio e dei banchieri di Firenze, p. 70.
6 Schanz, Koptische Handelspolitik, p. 111.
7 A very curious story showing that foreign merchants travelled to England
with ready money and collected wool for export as early as 1114, is quoted by Prof.
Ashley (English Woolen Industry, p. 35) from Herrmann, De miraculis S. Marin
Laudanensis, ii. cc. 4, 5 (Migne, cc. vii. 975).
appear that the English municipalities had so far advanced that they were able to absorb the foreign artisans and to come to terms with bodies of foreign merchants. But there was another large body of opulent men with whom the merchant who was born in a French municipality would soon be able to adapt himself to the ways of English neighbours. But it was not so with the Jews: they were intruders, with no status of their own, but such as was afforded them by the king who owned them as his chattels. As against the king they had no rights at all, and they could not grant a discharge to their debtors without the consent of royal officers; in so far as they held land, it was simply a pledge which they possessed, not an estate to which they had a full title. They were indirectly the instruments of countless exactions by the kings from their subjects, and shared in the unpopularity of their royal masters. But they were also personally unpopular because they maintained themselves in their isolation, just as the Chinese now do in San Francisco; they were determined not to adopt the industrial and commercial usages of a Christian community. How far this was their misfortune, and how far their fault it is not easy to say. Mr Jacobs contends that the formal acknowledgment of Christianity, in the taking of oaths, was required in the acceptance of any public office, or the entering on an estate, and that the conscientious Jew was excluded from all ordinary business. It is difficult to believe that the formality was invariably enforced, and that it affected all methods of acquiring land to till; but it is probable that the social and religious feeling against them had become so strong that Edward I's attempt to force them to take to ordinary pursuits was impracticable. So long as the Jews were regarded with such antipathy that they were liable to attacks from their neighbours, it was hardly possible for them to take to ordinary merchandise, or work, as they could not secure bulky goods from destruction, although they could secrete jewels or papers. The ancient house at Lincoln seems to suggest by its plan and arrangement that the inhabitants were prepared to stand a siege, and men who lived under such conditions could hardly venture to pursue ordinary avocations.

The very isolation of the Jews during this period renders their history specially interesting. The excellent collection of documentary evidence, which we owe to the industry of Mr Joseph Jacobs and the publication of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition papers, has shed a flood of fresh light upon the whole subject, and it is more easy to note the manner in which this one social group was affected by the various conditions of the time, and thus to obtain a clearer understanding of the nature of these conditions themselves. The political structure of the realm, and the comparative strength of the English crown, gave them on the whole a more favourable position than they enjoyed in other lands; in the latter part of the twelfth century a special court, the Exchequer of the Jews, was erected for the purpose of regulating their affairs both fiscally and judicially; and the Jews were practically forced to gather together into those towns where public chests were maintained for the registration and preservation of their bonds. The king was able, on an estimate of these debts, to tallage the Jews from time to time and, if they did not meet his demands, to appropriate the properties pledged to them. The Jews thus served the purpose of a sponge which sucked up the resources of the subjects, and from which their wealth could be easily squeezed into the royal coffers.

The feeling against them also serves to illustrate the current tone of morality in various matters. The unscrupulous manner in which miserably insufficient evidence against them was accepted, and the violent cruelty with which they were treated by their persecutors, are striking instances of...
the credulity and ruthlessness of the times; but these things
lie on the surface and need not be insisted on here. For our
purpose it is more important to note that the feeling against
them was partly due to the trade they carried on, and that
the attitude which was taken towards them illustrates the
nature of the current business morality to which they failed
to conform. The precise nature of the Christian objection to
usury will be stated below;* it may suffice to point out here
that the Jewish capital can have been of but little use for
trading purposes as the merchant would apparently have had
to borrow at something like forty per cent.† If he could
trade to advantage with capital obtained on such terms the
ordinary rate of business profit must have been remarkably
high, despite the terrible risks run by medieval merchants.
The real objection was that the Jew obtained forty per cent.
by lending money to extravagant or heavily taxed land-
owners*, and bargained himself out of risks of every kind,
while the merchant who undertook the dangers and diffi-
culties of trading could not obtain a similar rate of return.
The Jew got his large return, not because he was more
clever in the way in which he did legitimate business, but
because he made a living by base and dishonourable callings.
Contemporary writers did not make the excuses for the Jews
which have been indicated above, and blamed them bitterly;
and however much they may have exaggerated, we cannot
but feel that an opinion which has asserted itself in so
many lands and so many ages, deserves at all events to be
examined, before it is contemptuously dismissed as an idle
prejudice; and a little reflection on the conduct of the Jew
in the East‡, or in pagan Rome, will serve to dispel the
calamity that the faults of the Jewish race originated wholly A.D. 1066
in the maltreatment they received at the hands of Christians.
Every legislative effort was made in the thirteenth century
to induce them to conform to ordinary ways and take to other
callings so that they might be assimilated into the life of the
places where they lived.

Their devotion to their own faith, even if it was not the
sole reason for their isolation, was at any rate a very serious
obstacle to their being absorbed into ordinary English
society. Many efforts were made to convert them, and an
hospital was founded in 1233 for the support of those who
relinquished Judaism and were baptised. The converts
ceased as Christians to be the chatters of the king, but as
devoted to the elaboration of a code of dealing by which they might continue to
spoil the people among whom they sojourned. If we consider the sort of
reputation which the Jew enjoyed in pagan Rome, we find that he was no better
and no worse than the Jew of the medieval chroniclers. The darker side of the
Jewish character has not been entirely produced by the treatment the race has
received from Christians. It may not be possible to distinguish entirely the
respective influence of circumstances and of disposition, but it is noticeable that
the Jews in many ages and lands raise the suspicions of those among
whom they sojourn and alarm them into self-defence. It is worth while to
compare the feeling in Russia at the present time, which, it be observed, does
not extend to those who have rejected the teaching of the Talmud.

The demands of the people of Peregralv are as follows:—1. That Jews,
members of Town Councils and Provincial Assemblies, Vice-Directors of different
town banks, should voluntarily give up their present posts, casting off the cloak
of pride and braggadocio; as persons not possessing civic virtue, they are unfit to
hold public places. 2. That the Jews should impress on their wives and daughters
not to deck themselves out in silk, velvet, gold, etc., as such
attire is forbidden. 3. That the Jews dismiss from their service all Russian female servants who, having served in
Jewish houses, assuredly become prostitutes, forget their religion, and are intention-
ally deprived of the Jews. 4. To banish without delay all Jews belonging to
other places who do not possess any real property in the town. 5. To close all
drinking-shops. 6. To forbid Jews to abuse the Christian burgesses, and in
general to scoff at them. 7. To prohibit Jews from buying up in the markets the
necessaries of life with the intention of reselling them to the Russians. 8. To
impair the standing of all Jews belonging to
places where they do not possess any real property in the town. 9. To close all
drinking-shops. 10. To prohibit Jews from buying wheat for trading purposes within
thirty versts of the town of Peregralv, and therefore to remove all existing grain
stores. 11. To prohibit Jews from buying up uncut wheat, also to lease
land from private individuals. 12. The Town Council is begged not to let, and the
Jews not to hire, the grounds at fairs and markets, with the object of farming
them out. Consular Reports, Russia, No. 2, 1892, p. 9.

* See p. 256.
† Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 227.
‡ For an excellent example compare the deed of William of Tottenham
acknowledging a debt of 100 marks and mortgaging his land. Round, Ancient
Charters, 82.
§ For centuries they continued to live habitually by sordid callings. In the
days of their great king foreign labourers had been required to build their
temples, and their prophets in their highest moments of inspiration (Is. lxi. 4)
rejoiced in the thought that the Gentiles were to do all the work while the Jews
mightily enjoy the fruit. The contemptuous estimate of honest labour as
compared with cultured leisure in Ecclesiastes (xxxviii. 35) brings this side of
the national character into fuller relief, while the ingenuity of the Talmudists was

1 Statutes of Jewry.
they were unable to claim their goods from him, they had to begin life as mere paupers. The Domus Conversorum, as reorganised by Edward I., became an industrial training home. It maintained 97 persons in 1280, but some of the conversions were more apparent than real, if we may judge from the letter which Archbishop Peckham addressed to Edward I. He held that though they could not be compelled to profess the Christian faith, they ought to be forced to maintain a profession once made and sealed by Baptism.

But when they remained steadfast in the faith of their fathers it was necessary, if they were to be absorbed into ordinary English life, that they should give up the special modes of obtaining a livelihood which they practised, but which were forbidden to Christians. From the time of Richard I. their usury had been regulated rather than prohibited, but Edward I. forbade them to live by such loans, and insisted that they should seek their living and sustain themselves by other legitimate work and merchandise. They had however continued to carry on usurious dealings under the colour of honest trade; and Edward was forced to revert to the plan of limiting the rate to 42 per cent., and decreeing that the Jew should not be able to recover more than three years' interest, along with the principal.

The bitter feeling against the Jews was obviously intensified at the time of the Crusades; barons and knights who stayed in England were not unwilling to show their zeal by slaying their unbelieving neighbours, especially when by so A.D. 1066 doing they were able to wipe out intolerable arrears of debt.

The Crusades had besides opened up opportunities for doing business which Jews were glad to seize. Though the landed proprietor did not require money for purposes of trade, he was seriously at a loss for the means of equipping himself for an expedition to the Holy Land. The same circumstances which enabled many of the towns to buy their freedom, enabled the Jews to lend large sums on the security either of lands, or of an annual return in produce from the land. There was in consequence an enormous increase in the amount of wealth which passed through Jewish hands at the very time when religious passions were most deeply stirred.

The persecution began at the time of the coronation of Richard I.; the Jews wished to propitiate this king and attended in numbers; but the mob maltreated the Jews who mingled in the crowd at the palace, and the scuffle was continued by an attack on the houses of the London Jews; many of these were burned and the inhabitants perished miserably. This evil example was followed at Lynn, Bury, and Norwich; some young crusaders attacked and slew many of the Jews who had gathered at the Stamford fair. But the most terrible scenes were enacted at York, on the return of Joeses from Richard's coronation; he had been forcibly baptised and, since he renounced this compulsory conversion, he became specially obnoxious as an apostate. He succeeded in taking refuge with all his treasures in the castle, and the Jews endeavoured to defend themselves there; but as they were so mistaken as to defy the castellan and refuse him admission to his own castle, he took the lead of the mob which was still more incited by the preaching of a Premonstratensian Canon. Many of the Jews, acting on the spirited advice of a Rabbi, killed themselves; the remainder, who offered to treat, were massacred by the mob at the instigation of a certain Richard de Malabesia, who was deeply indebted to their estates to the advantage of the magnates of the realm. Abrahamus, op. cit. 358. Simhah, Select Charters, 353. Rye, Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 141.

1 Gross, Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 173.
2 In 1259 the lower baronage complained that they were being ousted from their estates to the advantage of the magnates of the realm. Abrahamus, op. cit. 358. Simhah, Select Charters, 353.
3 Drake, Elzevirum, 84.
4 Rye, op. cit. 146.
to the Jews. By slaughtering their victims the crowd only accomplished half their purpose; they then proceeded to the Cathedral and burned the bonds which were enrolled there, so as to destroy the evidence of the royal claims upon them.

This bitter hatred of the Jews made itself felt, not only in these savage outbreaks, but in the disabilities which were imposed by regular authorities. They were not able to secure the possession of their houses, and were gradually driven from their quarters in the Old Jewry in London. The townsfolk who were trying to free themselves from the meddling of the sheriff were specially concerned to be rid of the presence of royal chattels, and the Jews were expelled from one town after another. Simon de Montfort turned them out of Leicester and promised the burgesses they should never return. In 1275 they were expelled from Cambridge by the influence of the king’s mother; but, as we have already seen, such action was not always disinterested on the part of noble personages. Robert Grosseteste, in writing to the Countess of Winchester, is particular to point out that Christian rulers should not reap advantage from the results of Jewish extortion. Though we hear less of mob outrage in the thirteenth than in the twelfth century, no substantial success attended the attempts to assimilate them, and absorb them into the ordinary life of the towns in which they lived.

71. The difficulties between the towns and the Jews were primarily due to the fact that the latter claimed whatever status they possessed from the king himself, and had no immediate relation with inferior authorities. But there were other immigrants who asserted rights to entire independence; they owed obedience to authorities beyond the realm, and claimed immunity, not only from the local regulations of burghs, but from the royal power itself. Such were the ecclesiastics, who flocked into England after the Norman Conquest. It has been pointed out above that the mission

of S. Augustine and the Roman monks to England was not of much direct importance, so far as economic matters are concerned, but that the indirect results were very far-reaching, especially in the legal changes which were introduced or accelerated, such as the granting of land in perpetuity by boc. On the other hand the great ecclesiastical invasion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is of interest, not only in legal, but in economic and fiscal affairs as well.

a. William’s expedition had been somewhat of the Ecclesias-
tical nature of a crusade; and the ecclesiastical reforms which were carried out by Lanfranc and Anselm all tended to strengthen the papal influence in England. The separation of the civil and ecclesiastical courts opened the way for frequent appeals to Rome, and gave a new importance to the revived study of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The Arch-
deacons, who had been educated in Italy even if they were English by birth, were not always a credit to their order; and the payments which arose through papal claims on English benefices, and in connection with fees at the Roman court, were enormous. The whole machinery for obtaining decisions in ecclesiastical causes was permeated by Italian influence, and the great papal revenue was collected by papal merchants; apparently the tithes which the Pope claimed were gathered in kind and sold in the town markets; so that those who were opposed to the taxation were able in 1231 to obtain payment of tithes on the Pope's behalf by means of forged letters, and then to sell the goods for the public benefit. The price obtained by the Pope's merchants at these sales was transmitted to Italy by bills of exchange, against which, as it appears, wool was exported. It is not likely that much was actually transmitted in specie; the frequent complaints of the scarcity of coin in consequence of the papal taxation would be quite as much justified if the coin was hoarded by merchants as if

1 The proof of his debt and therefore of his motive came out in a document exhibited at the Exhibition in 1885. Rye, Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 149.
2 Compare Mr. Jacob's scholarly paper and map in Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 50.
3 B. L. Abrahams, op. cit. 18.
4 Thompson, History of Leicester, 72.
5 Rye in Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 105.
6 Epistolae (Rolls), 36.
7 Stubbs, Lectures on Medieval History, 302.
8 Otho proposed to assign a Proctor at the court of Rome to each diocese, but it was not clear that the payment of one man would make it less necessary to fee several. Pearson, History, n. 145.
9 Pearson, n. 150. Byrner, t. 303.
10 On the whole subject of papal taxation, see Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica und Die papistischen Kreuzzugsteuer.
it was actually exported; this last would only be done when it was absolutely necessary.

If the Pope’s merchants were thus able to amass large hoards of silver, they were naturally tempted to use them as the Jews did, by lending money on good security; they were forced to have recourse to ingenious devices in order to obtain profit on money lent, without being technically chargeable with usury. Matthew Paris gives a most interesting document from which we discover one such method of evasion. A sum of 104 marks was borrowed of certain merchants, called Caurisnes, on April 24, to be repaid in full without interest on August 1st. If however the money was not forthcoming at that date, interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, besides other charges, was to begin. This interest was nominally payment for expense incurred in sending for the money again and again; and through this excuse, the various canons and enactments against taking interest were evaded. The remarks of the monk may be quoted as clearly expressing the state of feeling on the subject; the Caurisnes “circumvented the needy in their necessities, cloaking their usury under the show of trade, and pretending not to know that whatsoever is added to the principal is usury, under whatever name it is called. For it is manifest that their loans lie not in the path of charity, inasmuch as they do not hold out a helping hand to the poor to relieve them, but to deceive them.” Hence it came about that the popular indignation, which had been raised against the Jews, was diverted to expend itself on the wealthy Florentines.

b. The Norman and Angevin reigns were marked by the foundation of a very large number of monasteries; this was the available means of devoting wealth, not only to the glory of God, but to the maintenance of culture and learning. The A.D. 1066 existing houses in England were mostly Benedictine; each abbey was a separate centre under the control of its own abbot, and monks had replaced the secular canons in several foundations. Under Norman influence there were many attempts to revive discipline; but the plan, which was A.D. 1066, adopted in the charter of Battle Abbey, of exempting the monks from episcopal control had baneful results. Twenty-six Benedictine Houses were planted under the two Williams; and some of the new orders were also established; the Augustinian Canons, who were favourably distinguished from some other bodies, appeared in the time of the Conqueror; the Cluniac (black), Cistercian (white monks), and Carthusian (white habit but black cloak) Orders all arose as attempts to reform the Benedictine (black monks) Rule, and were introduced into England under the Conqueror, Rufus, and Henry II. respectively. The white canons of Premontre were introduced in the time of Stephen; the Dominicans (Black Friars) and Carmelite Friars, as well as the Franciscans (Grey Friars), appeared in the reign of Henry III. There were besides the great military Orders; the Hospitallers (black with a white cross), and the Templars (white with a red cross) so that a very large amount of the wealth of the country was in the hands of ecclesiastical corporations.

Fiscally the results were serious, as ecclesiastical land did not contribute so largely as the land held by military tenure for purposes of war; the military Orders owed their first duty to the defence of Christendom and not to other knights to the realm. And there was a difficulty about the collection of any revenue, as the houses of the Cluniac and Carthusian orders were only priories, and the ultimate control of their property rested with the Abbot at the mother house; the Cistercians too owed allegiance to the mother house, from which each English abbey traced its descent, but this plea did not enable them to evade royal taxation in the time of Edward III.

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1 Compare the interesting case (1278) of the Abbot of Bordesley who obtained a loan in money which he tried to discharge by paying wool. Rot. Parl. t. 1.
3 Caurisnes, probably derived their name from Caorsa, a town in the valley of the Po, near Piacenza. Dante, Inferno, xi. 49—61.
4 Matthew Paris (Bohn) t. 2.
5 See below, p. 258.
6 See below, p. 275. On Edward I’s action in 1300 compare Greatest of Plantagenets, 228.
Industrially and commercially on the other hand, there was not much cause for complaint; considerable pains were taken in the management of their estates, and though they failed to adapt themselves to the changed conditions of life in the fifteenth century, and were greatly impoverished, they were perhaps less unpopular at the last than at the time when they were frequently engaged in disputes with villain tenants. There is ample evidence too that the monks devoted themselves to cultivating our staple export by pasture farming; the Cistercians who had settled in the deserted districts of the north had special opportunities for this business, but we have records which show that the Florentine wool merchants obtained supplies from all parts of the country and from houses belonging to different orders.

The connection between the monasteries and the towns was close and not always friendly; to the Abbey the town often owed its origin; but as they increased in wealth, the townsmen wished to be freed from the control which the abbot exercised; men were everywhere inclined to resent the claims of manorial lords, and the monasteries exercised these rights in some prosperous places where the grievance was most deeply felt. Again, the friars occupied large sites in prominent positions in the towns, and there were frequent and angry collisions between them and the burgesses. The struggle between the monks at Norwich and the townsmen led to open warfare, and terrible destruction of life and property. Similar stories are told of outrages and riots at Bury, Reading, and elsewhere. Owing to the position of the monks, and the protection they could count upon from Rome, while the burgesses were always on the alert to secure such additional powers of self-government for themselves as were exemplified in the privileges of more favoured towns.

While this is true if we speak of town life as a whole, we may yet find it possible to distinguish various elements in these rising communities. Buying and selling were frequent and habitual; we soon hear of the organisation of gilds merchant, while the success of enterprising men gave opportunity for the coalescence of holdings, and for the growth of manorial claims and institutions on the town fields. We can also see dim traces of an ancient burgh-moot which enforced burgh custom and of burgh officials who had charge of a common purse; while the burgesses were always on the alert to secure such additional powers of self-government for themselves as were exemplified in the privileges of more favoured towns.

The actual course of the changes by which any towns- men succeeded in getting the management of fiscal, economic and judicial affairs into their own hands is written in the charters of each town. The process was gradual, going on step by step, faster here, and more slowly there.

72. Attention has already been called to the fact that there was an immense increase in the prosperity of the towns during this period. This was a noticeable feature in Europe generally, and there is abundant evidence of municipal progress in England in particular. At the same time it is exceedingly difficult to frame any satisfactory account of this most important phase of commercial and industrial development. There are analogies between the story of one town and that of another, but it is hardly possible to fix on a typical example of town life; and still more impracticable to lay down any ordinary and regular stages of municipal growth. We have ample material for describing the typical manorial estate, and for tracing the principal changes which occurred from time to time in the management of land; but each English town seems to have an individual character and biography of its own. Each town had its own physical position, with special advantages for agriculture or for trade; each had its own responsibilities to the Crown, and its own connections with ecclesiastical authorities or lay lords.

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1 See Appendix D.
2 On changes in London compare Gomme, Village Community, 112.
3 M. Bateson, Leicester Town Records, i. xlvii.
The history of constitutional progress in any town is therefore the history of the particular steps by which the inhabitants secured immunity from various disabilities; opportunities, which occurred in one case, were not available in another, or the townsfolk were not wealthy enough or wise enough to seize them; hence the history of each town differs from the history of every other. But not only was there a difference in the time at which these privileges were secured, but in the persons who were concerned in granting them. In some places the king was in such direct relations with the town that his charters availed to remove all the various disabilities; the inhabitants secured immunity from various disabilities; the royal claims had to be met for others; and there were other cases where a manorial lord, or an abbot, who had to be satisfied for some matters, while the townsmen were not wealthy enough or wise enough to seize them; hence the history of each town differs from the history of every other. But not only was there a difference in the time at which these privileges were secured, but in the persons who were concerned in granting them. In some places the king was in such direct relations with the town that his charters availed to remove all the various disabilities; but in other cases there was a manorial lord, or an abbot, who had to be informed for some matters, while the royal claims had to be met for others; and there were other towns, like London itself, in which there were several 'barons' each exercising a separate jurisdiction within his own ward. Until these separate jurisdictions were suppressed, it was almost impossible to have a consolidated municipal government in which all matters of trade, and police and taxation should be treated by a single recognised authority. Even in the time of Edward I. these separate jurisdictions presented such serious difficulty, that he devoted much energy to laying out and building towns in new situations where the burgesses might be free from the interference of any authority.

1 A lord might grant to a town immunities from royal rights if the king had authorised him, cf. Thurstan's charter to Beverley (Stubbs, Select Charters, 109). But it is not clear what right the manorial lord had, or could acquire by prescription, and for what he required distinct warrant. Maitland, Select Pleas, Manorial, 119. In the case of Manchester 'the ancient royal grants to its lords included a fair, in 1222 and 1227, and free warren in 1249; but as to any grant of a Court Leet or View of Frank-pledge the public records of these early times are silent; leaving us only to conjecture that, like the weekly market and other ancient franchises of Manchester, this court was held by prescription.' Harland, Manchester Court Leet Records (Cheetham Soc.), p. 10.

2 On the constitution of these courts see Mr Hudson's Introduction to the Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, p. xxvii.

3 The Records of the Court Leet have been published by the Cheetham Society, and more recently and completely by the Corporation.
with and punished in other courts—such were treasons and felonies. Other matters of police fell within the jurisdiction of the Court Leet; affrays and bloodshed could be dealt with, as well as failure to follow the hue and cry against robbers, nuisance arising from the blocking of highways, the stopping of water courses, or the breaking of bridges. Besides this, the court had jurisdiction in all matters of trade; forestallers, regrators and engrossers, butchers who sold diseased meat, shoemakers, tanners and gloves who sold bad goods or dear, bakers and brewers who broke the assize, as well as those who used false weights and measures were all liable to have their cases taken and investigated in this court and might be punished by fine, or the stocks, or pillory. Since the lord had rights both in the markets and the fairs, all matters connected with the wholesale and retail trade of Manchester came under his cognisance, and he received the profits of this jurisdiction. We cannot but suppose that in the case of such towns as Manchester and Sheffield, which grew into affluence under this system, the government must have been good on the whole, but the townsmen had no such security against rapacious and ignorant officers as they could hope for when the right to adjudicate on such affairs lay in their own hands.

Another point was of even greater importance; if they had the right of jurisdiction they could judge according to the customs they themselves approved. We gather that in Leicester the law, which had been in use under the old lawmen, was modified in Norman times, and the townsmen were forced to settle their disputes by wager of battle. This would seem to have been a tedious proceeding, since a judicial combat which began at 6 a.m. only ended at 3 p.m., when one of the parties engaged had the misfortune to fall into a pit. The whole incident and the conduct of the disputants so impressed the townsmen, that they endeavoured to prevent the recurrence of a similar scandal, and agreed to pay the earl three pence for each house in the high street, on condition that the “twenty-four jurors who were in Leicester from ancient times from that time forward discuss and decide all pleas they might have among themselves.”

The history of Leicester also brings out other manorial disabilities from which the towns had suffered. Many of the burgesses owed predial services to the lord; so long as the towns were really agricultural communities this obligation was probably enforced by actual service. In Leicester it had been commuted for definite money payments, and in 1190 the burgesses were freed from these obligations by Earl Robert. “I have demised and in every way quitclaimed from me and my heirs for ever those pennies which were accustomed to be taken yearly from my burgesses of Leicester on account of reaping my corn at Leicester” and other servile obligations. The history of S. Albans and other towns shows that these manorial claims were bitterly resented two centuries later; and we can understand how anxious the inhabitants of twelfth century towns would be to secure not only personal freedom from servitude, but the right of self-government in regard to matters of police and of trade. It was with a great price that many of them acquired this freedom, paid in an immediate fine and an annual rent; and the older towns were certainly at a disadvantage when compared with the towns which king Edward planted and which were free-born.

74. The townsmen, like other subjects, were bound to contribute to the defence of the realm, and they had to discharge other fiscal obligations. They could not of course be freed from these responsibilities, but to men engaged in trade there were many matters of practical importance which could be adjusted by royal favour, both in regard to the rate at which their liabilities were discharged and the persons through whom they were paid.

The regular revenue from the town and the occasional Sheriff.

1 Kitchin, Jurisdictions, p. 16.
2 Kitchin writing in 1598 says, “In some courts baron I have seen such subverting of justice by stewards, some by ignorance and wilfulness and some stewards to please their lords or for fear of losing their fee***that justice many times had no place there, to the perils example and overthrow of estate.” Jurisdictions, p. 9.
3 Thompson, Leicester, 26.
4 Ibid. 46.
of upland men or foreigners (whether native or alien) who A.D. 1066 tried to take advantage of the town privileges in their trade, while they did not as householders contribute a fair share to meet the town payments. This feeling found expression in countless regulations to prohibit foreigners from carrying on their business in such a way as to compete with the inhabitants of that place. The statutes of the Southampton Gild Merchant, which date from about 1300, are very detailed and serve as an admirable illustration of the policy which was generally pursued.

The question of the rate at which the townsmen should be taxed depended on two distinct considerations; it was partly resolvable into the farther question as to the terms on which their land was held, and therefore as to the occasions on which they should pay. On the whole the tenants of ancient domain came off most easily; and hence the townsmen, like other landowners, were inclined to claim this position. As far back as the time of the Confessor certain towns had been favoured, as the geld was demanded less frequently, and so long as occasional taxation lasted it was desirable to be placed in the status of those from whom demands were least frequently made.

There was also room for a great deal of adjustment in the levy of taxes. The townsmen undertook to give a rent annually, and claimed to be free from the duty of paying the royal tolls; they would be able to levy
A.D. 1066
-1272.

octroi duties for the use of the town and defray their payments to the crown by the house rate. They would gain greatly as their trade increased; but they might also have considerable privileges in regard to paying tolls in other parts of the kingdom. In the time of Henry I, the men of Beverley and of York were free from tolls throughout Yorkshire: the men of London and all their goods were free throughout England and the ports of the sea, of toll and passage and lastage and all other customs. The history of the Cinque Ports affords an instance of the assertion of this right in the time of Henry VIII. They had been free to buy and sell from the time of Edward I, that is to say, not only free from the obligation of paying dues at their own homes, but free from the obligation of paying them anywhere in the kingdom. A merchant who exercised this privilege with regard to some wool in Blackwell Hall was forced to defend his rights in the matter, and the Cinque Ports established their position as free towns. As in other cases, this freedom meant that they had got rid of restrictions on their business, by undertaking some definite payment or obligation. In the case of the Cinque Ports they were specially bound to supply shipping for the defence of the realm.

We need not wonder that the towns were jealous of any infraction of these dearly-bought privileges, whether by unworthy burgesses, royal charters or unwarranted encroachments. The burgess of a town which had obtained this full freedom both from royal and manorial control would have to make considerable payments towards the sum which was annually due to the crown, or the occasional taxes which were taken; but he would be assessed by his neighbours, and in this right he would find some protection from the sheriff who extorted money in the king's name and then applied it to his own uses. The new mode of levying the payments was less expensive because it was more direct; the burgess was at scot and lot and paid on his tenement; it was through his residence and the payments it involved that he earned the privileges he enjoyed. The whole policy of the towns, as we read it in their records, shows us how jealous they were of upland men and unfree men who tried to enjoy the privileges of a burgess while they did not pay for them; and the strong measures which they took against those who connived at the cheat thus practised on their neighbours. The subsequent history of the towns and of the struggles against alien workmen in the fifteenth century, as well as against the new centres of industry which began to rival them in the sixteenth, only become intelligible when we keep the nature of municipal privileges and the cost of securing them carefully in view.

75. When attention has thus been given to the different matters in regard to which the townsmen desired to be free from outside interference, it remains for us to notice the steps which they took in organizing self-government for themselves.

In the charters of Henry I leave is given to many towns gilds to form a hanse or gild merchant; in some cases this may have been the mere revival of the eignen gilds, such as had existed in pre-Norman times in Winchester, Canterbury and London; thus in the charter to Dunwich we read that the towns were to have their gild merchant with all the liberties and customs of York, and all other customs.

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The questions
as to the origin and character of these gilds are closely connected with the constitutional history of our towns; it is obvious that gilds merchant were bodies of great economic importance, but it is difficult to make out what precise part they played, and the exact nature of the practical influence they exerted. We are, however, on fairly firm ground in saying that the gilds merchant were not capitalist, were not identical with the town, and did not exercise civil jurisdiction.

**The object of these associations appears to have been the regulation of trade.** Free tenants of all sorts had indeed the right to buy and sell victuals in all English towns without paying toll, but the members of the gild obtained a similar freedom in regard to goods of every kind; and as they paid for the privilege they were careful to secure it for themselves exclusively. This exclusive right of dealing is what strikes one most forcibly in all the documents connected with gilds; none but members were to buy and sell, or at any rate the gild had such supervision over all buying and selling, that those who infringed their privileges were liable to be fined by the gild. The right at Chester included freedom to elect their own reeve; members of the gild might buy merchandise coming to the town either by land or sea, but non-members could only do so by permission; those who obtained the necessary licence were known as _ceneors_ or _teneurs_; and there were unfree traders of various grades. But while the privileges of the townsman and their gild were thus exclusive, they were also inclusive; the members of the gild had a right to claim to have a part with another.

1. The charter of Edward I. to the Cinque Ports refers to charters of several kings from Edward the Confessor onwards granting liberty for their _mercatorum_, though if the barons failed to do justice there was an appeal to the warden. _Jeake, Charters of Cinque Ports_, 33. This may imply that they had a continuous self-government for commercial affairs from before the time of the Conquest. The mention in _Someday_ of a Guildhall at Dover is interesting, though of course not in any way conclusive, as the Guildhalls may have belonged to a social and religious gild which had no mercantile functions. Gross, _Gilda Mercatoria_, 73.


5. _Mannescastra_ (Cheetham Society).


7. _Statuta Gildae_, c. 14, op. cit. p. 70.

8. _Sandwich, cf. Sandwich, c. 1. 140._

9. _Statuta Gildae_, c. 15, op. cit. p. 70.

10. The membership of gilds merchant was at any rate large; compare _Tomes_ in 1590, _Hist. MSS_. Com. iii. 342; artisans as well as merchants were included in these gilds. Thompson, _Leicester_, 64. See also the early gild rolls of Shrewsbury, printed by the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater in the _Sage Archdall_. _Trans_. ii. 29 (1890), and _Royal Hist. Soc. Trans_. (1893).


13. _Statuta Gildae_, c. 15, op. cit. p. 70.

14. No one was to have lot or scot with the burgesses in merchandise bought by themselves or by others, in the town of Chesterfield, but the burgesses; but the burgesses themselves and their servants should have scot and lot with all the rest, according to the ancient custom. _Records of Chesterfield_, p. 36. This right of _pay_ is frequently mentioned in the customs of the Scotch municipalities, which present interesting analogies. _Statuta Gildae_, co. 51, 48. _Burgh Laws of Scotland_, 76, 82, 85. See also Worcester, _English Gilds_, 210. Sandwich, ed. Lyon, _Dover_, t. 299. _Romney_, op. cit. t. 333. _Rye_, op. cit. t. 366. _Southampton_, _Gross, Gild Merchant_, 11. 219.

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the terms of payment, and the recovery of debts could usually be settled. When the gild increased in power and overshadowed the burgh authorities, it is not always possible to distinguish the precise capacity in which action was taken, and the later statutes of the Southampton Gild require that the Alderman should inquire into the ability of the members to meet their debts or serve as surety. So long however as the gild merchant can be distinguished as merely an element in the municipal life, the main legal business appears to have been done by the ordinary courts, and the town itself (community) was the organ by which payments to or from the merchant of another place might be adjusted; it was by suing the community that the creditor could reach a defaulting debtor at a distance. Though membership of the gild was not necessary to enable the burgess to recover a debt, so that he was a person of credit; his promise to pay, or his warrant for goods was worth more than that of the merchant who stood alone on his personal reputation for honesty, and whether he visited a distant town or a fair he could claim to be regarded as a person of status, who could give a sufficient reference in connection with all transactions in which he was concerned.

When these two privileges, freedom from toll and the possession of commercial status, are taken together, we see what a valuable right the townsmen obtained when they A.D. 1066 were allowed to have a hane, but there were direct advantages which accrued from belonging to such a trading association; they were by combination able to secure better terms, each member was able to share in the fortunate transactions of others or of the whole body, and they could count on getting assistance in case of misfortune. There can be no wonder that the gild merchant was a widely diffused institution. Dr Gross gives a list of more than 150 towns in England and Wales, and most of them appear to have acquired the privilege in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

76. He has also worked out some very interesting facts, as to the filial relation between various towns, from which we can gather the importance men attached to the privilege of living under good customs, as well as to that of freedom from tolls. The latter lay of course in the king's power, but the transmission of bodies of customs depended on the will of those who already enjoyed them, and the men of Hereford were not inclined to grant them gratuitously to townsmen who were only of servile condition. The bond which bound the new

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1 Dr Gross explains that this term is used in three senses in England, (1) a gild, (2) the entrance fee, (3) a mercantile exaction. Giry describes two distinct institutions at S. Omer; the gild, which comprised both merchants and artisans (Histoire de la Ville de S. Omer, 261), and the hane, which was exclusively commercial and enjoyed a monopoly of commerce between the town and England. (Ibid. 292, 413.)


5 On the Affiliation of Medieval Boroughs in The Antiquary for 1885.

6 The men of Derby offered King John sixty marks for a charter like that of Nottingham, and the men of Gloucester not less than two hundred marks for the customs, laws and liberties of Winchester (Antiquary, 1885, p. 14). See also the case of John Gray, Bishop of Norwich. Quia dominus Rex nobis per cartas suas concesit ut eilegenus Burgus in Anglia quern occupatum vellemus, ut eadem Libertates quas Burgus illi habet, habet et villa nostra de Tam et eius volitione Comenfordeam. Mackrell, King's Lyam, 248.

7 "The kings citizens of Hereford who have the custody of his city (in regard that it is the principal city of all the market townes from the sea even unto the bounds of the Severne) ought of ancient usage to deliver their laws and customs to such townes when need requireth, yet in this case they are in nose wise bound to do it, because they say they are not of the same condition; for there are some townes which houlid of our Lord the Kings of England and his heirs without
town to the parent from which its privileges were derived was so far recognised that advice was sought at the fountain head in disputes about any of the customs. Some towns on the Continent appear to have had coercive jurisdiction over those which were derived from them, but in England the appeal seems to have been merely consultative. The Oxford men were to judge on recondite points at Bedford, while they themselves obtained information from London as to the mode of holding pleas of land in the Hustings. It thus came about that while the history of each English town is distinct from that of others, the commercial law and practice of English towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may be divided into two or three distinct types. The custom of London obtained over a very large area, and was still more widely transmitted through Bristol and Oxford; but its largest expansion took place from Winchester, as the custom of this city was not only current in the South West, but through transmission to Newcastle, in Northumberland and Scotland. Smaller groups were attached to the custom of York, and of the Cinque Ports, while the influence of Breton law on the whole nation is specially noticeable on the borders of Wales. The Royal Charters, which granted a gild merchant, not only gave valuable privileges to particular towns, but aided effectually in diffusing a similar body of commercial law. The history of each town is distinct and the steps by which it obtained its freedom were somewhat different in each case, but the privileges they obtained were very similar; and each town, which secured a gild merchant, obtained a place in the circle of inter-municipal commerce.

77. It is by no means easy however to state in general terms the bearing of the establishment of a gild merchant on the growth of other constitutional privileges. It is of course clear that when a body of men were recognised as competent to regulate all matters of trade, they might more easily be trusted with the ordinary police of the town; the members of the gild merchant too would include the wealthy townsmen and those who were best able to undertake fiscal responsibility. Indirectly therefore the gild merchant may well have been an important factor in securing self-government in regard to petty offences, and self-assessment for the royal revenue; but the precise relations of any one gild merchant to the burgh authority in the same town cannot be so easily stated, though it appears that in most English towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the gild merchant had come to be almost entirely merged in the municipality and the Gild Hall was used as the Town Hall.

The coalescence of these distinct authorities was probably due to some change in economic conditions, but the memory of the distinction was preserved even after the bodies had been practically merged into one. At Reading, and at Carlisle the name ‘gild merchant’ was long used to designate the whole body of craft gilds and companies; and thus the evidence of its latest survivals, as well as in regard to its origin, seems to preclude the common opinion that the English Gild merchant was an association of merchants in the modern sense of the term, or was either indifferent or hostile to the interests of artisans. In other cases the existence of a class of non-burgesses, who were free to trade,
kept the idea\(^1\) of a gild merchant alive. At Shrewsbury there was a considerable class of censers, who were not free of the town, but who paid an annual rent (\textit{census}) for the privilege of being allowed to trade\(^2\); and a similar class is mentioned in Worcester, Chester, Canterbury and many other towns. There were also inhabitants in thirteenth-century towns, like the Jews and the Flemish weavers, who held directly from the Crown and were outside municipal and gild privileges. Town liberties and gild privileges were distinct and were not always acquired simultaneously\(^3\); in Leicester, where the gild merchant was in existence long before the townsmen obtained the Firma Burgi or were free from predial service, the records enable us to see the differences between the gild and the burgh organisation, as well as their gradual coalescence, with remarkable clearness\(^4\). The case of London is most curious of all; that there had once been a gild merchant is possible and gilds merchant were found in towns that derived their customs from London; but there is little clear trace of a gild merchant in the great centre of English commerce\(^5\).

**Yarmouth.** In other places the town grew up under the mercantile protection; this was specially the case at Yarmouth, where the Cinque Ports had managed the herring fair, and a town had gradually gathered beside the site where this great annual fair was held\(^6\). Even when this town had obtained complete municipal privileges—on the model of those of Oxford—the bailiffs of the Cinque Ports still took their part along with the men of Yarmouth in managing the fair.

The precise relation in which the gild merchant stood towards the municipal constitution is a problem to be investi-

gated separately in each single case; it was generally an important factor, but not always equally important. There are many distinct elements which are combined in each of the complex groups which we call a town. London was not improbably a combination of hundreds, and Norwich of Leets; while others were more like an aggregation of separate manors. The mere analysis of the surviving officers\(^7\) shows how complex each separate structure was; in some the agricultural element is strong; in some the old royal officer, the portreeve, maintained his position as head, through many changes;\(^8\) in some a mayoral officer, the bailiff, continued to hold sway; in others we find a constitution of a Norman type, or at least with Norman nomenclature, in which the mayor, who was an elected official\(^9\), held the reins of government. The example of London tended in favour of the diffusion of this magisterial system; and there were great advantages in securing one governing body for the whole of a town, though in the case of Norwich the new constitution appears to have been more oligarchical than the separate Leet Jurisdictions which were superseded in the fourteenth century\(^10\). None of these official designations suggest the gild merchant as a prime element, the officials of which took over the administration of the town; but there are cases where an Alderman was at the head of affairs and he may be a representative of the important contribution made by gilds merchant to the progress of the towns, though this is at least uncertain\(^11\); but whether they left any permanent mark on official nomenclature or not, they certainly contributed in no small degree to

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\(^1\) Hibbert, Gilda, 18.
\(^2\) Mr Hibbert has investigated the position of those tradesmen, op. cit. 145.
\(^3\) Mr Hibbert has investigated the position of those tradesmen, op. cit. 145.
\(^4\) When Ipswich received a royal charter one of the first steps taken was that of forming a gild merchant. Wearweir and Stephenh, \\textit{Racocks}, i. 589.
\(^5\) Compare Miss Bateson's introduction to the \\textit{Leicester Town Records}.
\(^6\) A solitary mention has been found by Mr C. G. Grum in a charter of 1293 (\textit{Eng. Hist. Review}, 1903, xviii. 315), but it cannot be regarded as conclusive. See also Unwin, Gilda of London, 60. Compare p. 219 above.
\(^7\) As in the case of S. Ives. Maitland, \\textit{Select Pleas, Manorial}, i. 131.
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\(^10\) As in the case of S. Ives. Maitland, \\textit{Select Pleas, Manorial}, i. 131.
\(^11\) Compare Miss Bateson's introduction to the \\textit{Leicester Town Records}.
\(^12\) In the free town of Hull, the King's Warden was chief officer (\textit{Ticke's Hall}, p. 11).
\(^13\) The case of Norwich is most curious of all; that there had once been a gild merchant is possible and gilds merchant were found in towns that derived their customs from London; but there is little clear trace of a gild merchant in the great centre of English commerce.

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the development of municipal constitutions. It may be worth while to add a couple of instances which serve to illustrate the manner in which the towns exercised their new powers of self-government.

There was an adequate reason for the vast amount of building which took place in the twelfth century, as wooden structures were so easily destroyed by fire; and it was specially desirable to substitute stone for timber houses in towns where the closely compacted dwellings rendered it easy for a fire to spread rapidly. At the same time the work of building could hardly have proceeded so rapidly as it did both in town and country if England had not been prospering economically. London had suffered greatly from a fire in the reign of Stephen which destroyed the Cathedral Church and spread from the Bridge as far as the Fleet; some persons then began to build in stone, and it was found that their houses not only served to protect themselves, but to stay the progress of any conflagration. In 1181 the citizens met and agreed on an Assize which should both give facilities to those who wished to build, and might also appease the contentions which sometimes arise among neighbours about boundaries made or to be made between their lands, so that such disputes might be settled according to that which was then provided and ordained. All sorts of points about boundary walls, with gutters for drainage and cesspools were decided, as well as matters that might give rise to dispute where one man owned a wall and his neighbour's buildings rested on corbels in that wall. The work did not proceed with such rapidity however as to prevent the outbreak of another fire on the 2nd of July 1212, by which London Bridge and very many of the houses of the nobles, as well as a large number of men and women, were destroyed. The citizens met shortly afterwards and passed several ordinances for allaying disputes and purifying the city, as well as for protecting it against fire, ‘with the help of God.’ Besides containing other points of interest this document gives us an early instance of fixing a maximum for the wage of builders; and it is instructive to compare the arrangements with the statute which passed after the great fire in the time of Charles II.1

The other duty of self-assessment was carried out by the burgesses of Colchester when they were called upon to pay their quota towards the seventh which was granted in 1295 to King Edward, as an aid for his war lately commenced against his enemies and the rebellious in France. With this object, sworn assessment was made by twelve burgesses of Colchester of the goods and chattels of every one who lived within the precincts. The inventory which was then made shows that Colchester had not yet emerged from the agricultural condition; there are comparatively few artisans or merchants, and their stock in trade was very small. A coal merchant had goods worth £6. 3s. 4d.; two tanners were reckoned at £7. 8s. 10d. and £8. 1s. 4d., a pepperer at 14s. 4d., a glove-maker at 30s. The tanning trade seems to have been the most common of all industries, but it is evident that a very large number of the inhabitants were engaged in tillage.2

Some light is thrown on the manner in which the taxes were levied from the citizens, by the Winchester customs3 which have been so much quoted, as well as by an early London4 agreement. Three thousand marks is taken as the usual quota for the county of Middlesex, and the proportion to be paid by different men, according to their wealth, is worked out, with a considerable desire to be fair, but not without difficulty in regard to the arithmetic5 of vulgar fractions.

VI. ROYAL, MUNICIPAL AND MANORIAL ECONOMY.

78. In the preceding sections it has been necessary to insist over and over again on the differences which marked out each town and each estate from every other. The manor

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1 Liber de Antiquis Legibus (Camden Soc.). Turnor, Domestica Architecture, pp. 17, 574.
2 Turner, Domestica Architecture, 281.
3 Medieval calculating was done with the help of an abacus. Ball, Mathematics in Cambridge, p. 2.
was an economic unit, organised by itself; so too was each town. There was doubtless a common type, such as is given by the Rectitudines, or in the often quoted manor of East Greenwich, and other manors resembled this type more or less closely; from the legal decisions of the thirteenth century judges it is possible to draw a doctrine as to the rights and disabilities of villains generally. There was a body of customs in London, which many other towns adopted, but each was an independent, separately organised, and separately administered body. The threads which bound them all together were their common relations to the Crown, relations which were most clearly defined by proceedings in the Exchequer. The granting of charters with increased privileges is marked by fines, and annual payments to the Exchequer; the stock on the manors and the moveables of the people were scheduled so that the owners might pay their taxes; the rights of the various tenants were questioned that the occasions and terms of payment might be properly known; and thus the whole details of the position and transactions of the various subjects are reflected in the records of the Exchequer. This is the way in which they become known to us, and it is from rolls originally drawn up with reference to fiscal obligations that by far the largest body of evidence in regard to manorial industry and municipal commerce has come down to us.

The influence of the Exchequer was all pervading; and we have full information as to the manner in which it was organised. A long series of royal accounts has been preserved, and we also possess an explanatory treatise on the subject. The Dialogus de Scaccario is not only an interesting description of the method by which business was done, but it is a valuable account of the 'political economy' of the time.

The dialogue is usually, and with much probability, ascribed to Richard Bishop of London, who, as treasurer, was intimately acquainted with the working of the Exchequer; and it is pervaded by a fine sense of the responsibility of the duties in which he and his colleagues were engaged in administering the royal revenue. The royal riches, as a.D. 1272, he asserts, served to support the royal dignity, and the power of princes was raised by abundance and suffered by the want of it. This was specially the case in warfare, but attention to revenue was equally necessary for the maintenance of government in time of peace, the building of churches and the relief of the poor. Work of such importance as this, and which bore so directly on the maintenance of the civil power ordained by God, was, as the author maintains, an unfitting occupation for ecclesiastics. The personal responsibility of kings to God for the manner in which they exercised their office was generally recognised in mediæval writings on political subjects, but the author passes on to insist on the necessity of care and trustworthiness on the part of the royal subordinates also; skill and probity were needed in every department of the work.

Here as in other matters we may feel a striking contrast between the ideal depicted and the actual practice of the royal officers of whose extortion we so often read; but after all, it is well worth while to cherish a high ideal, and those who fail to do so will never attain to an exalted standard of actual conduct. At all events it is characteristic of the time that finance should be treated as an important department of work to be honestly done out of a sense of duty, and not merely regarded from the point of view of expediency as to the convenience of raising and collecting the revenue in one way or in another.

As a matter of practice, a movement was steadily taking place in favour of having all obligations discharged in terms of money, and of rendering the money payments as definite as might be. The commutation of predial service for money on the royal estates, and of actual service for scutage, rendered public burdens less inconvenient and less 'expensive' to the subjects and more profitable to the Crown; by the substitution of fixed fines and regular customs for arbitrary dues and prises, they were made less 'uncertain.'

1 It was fully recognised by James I. (Tree Law, Works, p. 209) that the king was responsible to God for the good of the people committed to him; in arguing that he was not responsible to the people, he makes no claim to arbitrary authority. For the change in opinion on this point see Lilly, Custom, ch. 2.
Practical changes were being made in accordance with Adam Smith's maxims, but the principles were not as yet thought out and formulated. The chief matter of importance, in the mind of the writer of the *Dialogus*, was to explain a system by which payments legally due to the Crown might be collected with as little malversation as possible. He propounds no scheme for developing the resources of the realm, or increasing its power, or the well-being of the subjects; such ultimate objects lie beyond the scope of his work, because they lay beyond the purview of the men of his time; not till Edward had consolidated the realm was it possible to frame an economic policy. The *Dialogus* is simply concerned with the work of administration, and only alludes to the underlying political objects with the view of showing how necessary it was that the administration should be upright and skilful.

At the same time it is evident that the work which was thus described and discussed was worth doing well; it was a great thing to devise a good system of accounts for the finances of the realm. No one in the present day is likely to underrate the importance of keeping accurate accounts in business of every kind, if for nothing else, as the chief means of removing temptations to dishonesty on the part of subordinates. Agriculture was much the most important industry in England, but so far as we know landowners did not attempt to keep accurate accounts in the eleventh century, and it was not till the thirteenth century that the practice became general. The organisation of the Exchequer was not only a reform in the management of royal finance, for it also gave an example of a mode of keeping accounts which was gradually copied by corporations and individuals for their own private affairs.

79. From records that have been preserved it would appear that in the ordinary manorial estate there were documents of three different kinds which were regularly kept. In so far as these have survived in regard to any manor, we are able to reconstruct for that estate a curiously complete picture, which is clear in its main outlines and accurate in the principal details; and we may be able to follow the changes that took place among the tenantry with perfect certainty.

The *Extenta* or Survey of the Manor was the recorded result of a verdict given by a body of jurors chosen from among the tenants. This contained an account of the whole condition of the estate, the buildings belonging to it, the fields and stock on the domain, the pasturage, the amount of wood and the profits of the waste, the mills, fisheries and so forth. It also enumerated the free tenants and stated the terms of their tenure; the villains and cottagers, and their services; as well as the patronage and other incidental rights belonging to the manor. Great portions of the *Hundred Rolls* practically consist of collections of such surveys; and the *Domesday Book* is a collection of abstracts of the sort of information in regard to each estate, which was subsequently embodied in the Extenta. It served as a great inventory of the manor and all that belonged to it or was attached to it, so that it enabled the landowner to see at once what his revenue in each year ought to be, or what item had fallen short. The *Hundred Rolls* show us that at the end of this period, the process of substituting money payments for actual service had begun, though it was not common.

From the printed Extents in these Rolls it appears that at the end of the thirteenth century there were three different classes of tenants; those who had commuted all their services for a definite money rent; those who paid either actual service or gave the value of the service in money according as the lord preferred; and those who still performed their 1 It is to be inquired also of customary tenants that is to wit how many there be, and how much land every of them holdeth, what works and customs he doth, and what the works and customs of every tenant be worth yearly, and how much they do pay by the will of the lord and which not.

2 It is to be inquired of cottagers that is to say what cottages and curtalages which was gradually copied by corporations and individuals for their own private affairs.

3 It is to be inquired of cottagers that is to say what cottages and curtalages they hold, and by what service, and how much they do pay by the year for all their cottages and curtalages. Extenta Manerii in the Statutes of the Realm, usually assigned to 4 Ed. I. It is practically embodied in Rot. Hl. 79, in connection with the duties of the Seneschal. It forms the basis of Fitzherbert’s *Surveying* which was published in 1528 and takes the form of a commentary on the separate classes of this statute.


5 Reddendo pro omnibus operationibus et servituis qua antecessores sui facere solabant. *Rot. Hl. 11. 636.*

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obligations, either in whole or in part, in the form of actual services. The intermediate class, whose services were valued in money, would undoubtedly be often called to pay in money; for when an accurate method of keeping accounts was once devised, it was far easier to collect the manorial dues once and for all in coin than to ensure that the various services, of week work and boon work, and the various payments of seed, fowls or eggs, were properly discharged.

However the obligations were discharged, it was desirable that the lord should know what his estate with its stock was worth; and this information, recorded in writing, is given in the Extent. The Domesday entries, which may be taken as early and previously unwritten Extents, embrace details about the goods and stock, which would in the thirteenth century have been found, not in the Extent, but in the Inventory; this enumerates the pigs and the poultry, as well as the kitchen and dairy utensils, and the furniture of the Hall. In the Cambridge University Library there is a tract giving instructions as to the taking of such an inventory, and containing a sort of schedule of the things which would have

1 In some cases where the services are specified they are also estimated in terms of money. Et dicta precarie de, appriciante ad xvd. Rot. Hund. u. 494. Some light is thrown on these entries by information which Prof. Mainland has derived from the rolls of Cambridgeshire manors. The Wilburton Series is very complete, and shows that in the time of Edward I. it was the practice to sell a considerable number of the ‘opera’ in each year to persons who were bound to do them, but the number of ‘opera vendita’ varies from year to year and rarely if ever exceeds half of the total number of ‘opera’ that are due; the reserve and bailiff had to account for the ‘opera’ not ‘vendita,’ and show they were actually done. On the other hand there are instances of villains paying fines in order to live at regular money rents; the following entry from 16 Ed. I. is typical of many others. Johannes Albin de Littleport fecit finem cum domino pro canibus operibus suis et arruris prevententibus de ] plena terra (Le 12 ares) et de duxius dimitis terris que tenet de banagio domini its tamen quod ipsa redidit ommem reditum assiinum et non dabit gallinam, nec erit in servissi domini et pro ista arrentacione dat domino per annum xxx solidos.

2 It is obvious however that the main elements in the Extent would be matter of common knowledge, which might be perpetuated by tradition for generations without being reduced to writing. This occurred in some parts of the Decan where the collectors of the Land Revenue held hereditary posts and collected the Nizam’s income by hereditary knowledge of the quota due from different persons. Sir Salar Jung, suspecting some of these men of dishonesty, replaced them by strangers, to the serious loss of the revenue as the new men had no knowledge, and could not obtain any of the obligations in the way of land revenue under which the different parties were living: this is a present-day instance of an unwritten Extent.

3 Andrews, Old English Manor, 266.

4 Ib., 112.

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to be entered, in a typical manor; it is in a fourteenth century hand-writing, and does not give us an impression of a very sumptuous household, even though the Hall contained various tresses for putting up tables and “unum scaccarium cum familia.” We may say that the later Extents and Inventories, taken together, are the fully developed forms of the brief summaries of the value of estates which we find in Domesday Book. They are not mere estimates, but record the actual condition of the whole live and dead stock on the estate, together with all the pecuniary rights which the lord enjoyed, so as to give the component parts of what we should in modern times call the lord’s capital.

The annual income which accrued from the estate may be seen by examining the accounts (comptus). The practice of balancing the accounts annually was probably of immemorial antiquity on the continent, and can be traced in England in the twelfth century. An immense amount of information as to the method of audit adopted by a great proprietor, who had many separate estates, may be obtained by an examination of the enrolments of the ministers’ accounts which were prepared for the Bishops of Winchester. The proximity of the officials of the royal exchequer would be likely to modify and improve the practice of the episcopal clerks in compiling these accounts; but other clerks would be glad of guidance in the matter, and it is interesting to see what pains were taken to diffuse skill in this particular branch of estate management. In the Cambridge University Library there are two interesting forms for bailiffs’ accounts, with brief remarks on the way in which they should be kept; so far as the substance goes they are practically identical, but they are distinct. One, which dates from the time of Edward I., has special reference to the audit; it is intended to help the lord to understand the accounts presented, and tells him to insist on seeing all the tallies and letters of quittance produced. The other is meant to assist the bailiff in writing the accounts, and tells him in what order

1 Hall, Red Book of the Exchequer, ii. p. cclxxvii.

2 Hall, The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, p. x.

3 Ec. l. 1.

4 Id. vii. 6.
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the various items should be entered; it gives him a choice of two alternative modes of entering the horses; and the copyist confesses that by a stupid blunder he has entered the heifers in the wrong place. It also points out that certain headings should be inscribed in the margin; and of course concludes with the form of quittance by which the accounts were passed.

Services.

There must have been many matters which were not necessarily passed through the accounts at all; where villains rendered actual service this did not always appear. The bailiff had to get the men to do the work; if they failed to do it, the prepositus, their own official, had to see to the matter, as they were collectively responsible to the lord for work and for rents; but opera would not necessarily pass through the accounts of money, though the actual services are often accounted for on the back of the roll. At the same time there are in many compotus rolls incidental allusions which indicate that, when they were compiled, actual services were being exacted. The entries of opera vendita show us the sums received for commutation in that year, but this form of entry seems to imply that it was only a temporary arrangement and not a regular rent. In some cases the bailiff accounts in the last entry on the back of the roll for the services which were not vendita that year, and shows that the full balance had been rendered. In other instances the accounts of the corn used prove that the customary tenants did their work and received their rations, even when there is no other hint of actual service; and in others there are incidental memoranda which allude to the matter.

The third important series of documents consists of the Court Rolls, which give us the records of the proceedings in the manorial courts, and enable us to follow the history of the tenantry; we can trace changes in the persons who occupied the different holdings, and changes in the terms at A.D. 1066 which they lived. The Court Leet generally had the view of Frank-pledge and was called upon to inquire into many matters of crime and police; the chief interest for economic matters, however, lies in the fact that these courts enforced fair dealing, as in regard to the assize of bread, and weights and measures. The records of manorial courts also note that new tenants were admitted, and the desertion of villains was recorded. These rolls furnish evidence of a very valuable character in regard to the population of each village and are of special importance in trying to estimate the effect of the Black Death.

80. From the consideration of the nature of the books Manorial on the estate, we may pass to the question of the officials who administered it. The business of a manor was very elaborate and a great deal of supervision was necessary in order to ensure good management; but if an estate consisted of several manors, on which different customs were in vogue, as to measures, weights and so forth, the whole affair became far more complicated. The various officers on a large estate consisting of many manors are described in a tract entitled Senescales. This inculcates a high ideal of duty from the lord seneschal and each of his subordinates, and it is not perhaps fanciful to urge that in the plan the author has adopted, of describing the working of a manorial estate by enumerating the duties of the various officers, there is a sort of reminiscence of the Dialogus de Scaccario. The Seneschal, Bailiff and Prepositus are treated at considerable length; the Seneschal was to visit the manors in turn and see that the bailiff of each estate did his duty; he had therefore to know the 'extent' and the customs of each estate, so as to be able to overhaul the management. He acted on behalf of the lord, but he had to show the special warrant of the lord in removing a bailiff or exercising his authority. The bailiff as the lord's officer, and the prepositus as that of the villains, had the chief responsibility in the actual cultivation of the soil; the hay-

1 View of Frank-pledge in Statutes of Realm assigned to 17 Ed. II. See also Ritchin, Jurisdictions.
2 Printed in Miss Lamond's edition of Walter of Henley, p. 63.
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wards was a subordinate officer, who was always present to superintend whatever work was going on; and the respective duties of the carters, ploughman, swineherd, shepherd, cowherd and dairymaid need not detain us.

Treatises on estate-management.

81. The working of this complicated mechanism is admirably exemplified in the records which survive in regard to the management of the manor of Forncett in Norfolk. Further light is thrown on the matter by three treatises which deal with English estate-management; one of these is associated with the name of Sir Walter of Henley, another with that of Robert Grossteste, but the author of the third is unknown.

Walter of Henley.

Of Sir Walter of Henley nothing is known beyond the statement in a Cambridge MS. that he was originally a ‘chevalier’ and afterwards became a Dominican Friar; there can be little doubt that he wrote in the thirteenth century. Internal evidence goes to show that he was a very shrewd individual, and the quaint English and French proverbs which he was fond of quoting give point to his remarks. His book takes the form of advice, given by an old man to his grandson, as to prudence in the management of affairs; it is by little and little that people become rich, and by little and little they fall into poverty, and hence it was important for the lord to know all about his estate himself. His treatise is entitled Husbandry, or as the Merton MS. adds Economy, husbanding his resources; but as tillage was the main means of income, it is also a treatise on farming both arable and pasture. Written in French it seems to have been an extraordinarily popular work and deservedly so; a number of MSS. still survive; the work was translated both into English and Latin in the latter part of the fourteenth century. It appears to have held its ground as the best book on the subject till Fitzherbert published the results of his forty years experience as a practical farmer in 1523. It was obviously intended to convey such information on rural affairs that the lord should be able to exercise a more effective supervision over his servants, and see that they did not cheat him. In some points it is hardly so full as an anonymous treatise on Husbandry which was probably written about the same time or somewhat earlier, and which must have been specially useful to landowners who were beginning to have accounts presented in writing. It lays down the method to be pursued in drawing up the account; this was to be done by a clerk; at the beginning comes a statement of the bailiff’s arrears from past years; then the receipts are to be entered, rents of assize and other things which yield money, and the total is to be given; next comes the outlay on materials and all necessaries not found on the estate, and the payment of all work which could be neither begged nor commanded. The treatise then proceeds to lay down rules by which the outlay on the estate for materials and labour may be as small as possible; none are to be paid for unless it is necessary, but estimates are given to form a guide in cases where the resources of the estate and the labour of the tenants did not suffice, so that money had to be paid; there are also other estimates of the probable returns from land and stock.

The third of these treatises has an interest of its own, as it is the work of a well-known author, and it contains information as to the circumstances under which it was compiled. It is less detailed than the work of Walter of Henley but it embraces many topics on which he did not touch. The treatise entitled the Reules Seynt Robert was written by Grossteste for a particular person, the countess of Lincoln, and consists of 25 practical maxims to guide her in the management not only of her estate but also of her house-
important, relatively to town life, than it is in the present day; the great households were very notable social institutions and schools of manners if not of learning; the resources and labour of large stretches of the country were consciously organised and controlled with reference to their needs. As has been pointed out to me by Miss L. Toulmin Smith, these Rules lay down principles which are illustrated in many particulars by the specimens of contemporary household accounts which have come down to us.

The most striking contrast with our own time arises from the fact that the great households were continually on tour. After Michaelmas, when the accounts and estimates of the produce on each estate had come in, the programme of the next year’s residence would be arranged. We can thus see that economic conditions compelled the kings and great men to be constantly travelling through the country with their establishments. It was easier to move the household than to convey the produce to any one estate; and this practice must be borne in mind when we notice the extreme discomfort of thirteenth-century residences. A noble did not require any permanent home, but was forced to be content with providing travellers’ shelters for his household at different points, where he could take up temporary residence for a longer or shorter period. At intermediate stages he might be able to quarter himself and his retinue in one of the religious houses: they were much aggrieved that they were so liable to have one or another of the great lords, who were so constantly on tour, as unwelcome guests. These great monastic establishments were permanent residences and would have need to draw

1 “Every year at Michaelmas, when you know the measure of all your corn, arrange your sojourn for the whole of that year, and for how many weeks you shall remain in each place, according to the seasons of the year, and the advantages of the country in flesh and in fish; and do not in any wise burden by debt or long residence the places where you sojourn, but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may remain on the manor, whereby the manor can raise money from increase of stock, and especially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines, robes, wax and all your wardrobe; and that will be a short time if you hold and act after this treatise, as you can see plainly in this way. The wool of a thousand sheep in good pasture ought to yield fifty marks a year, &c.” Rules of S. Robert, xxvi, in Walter of Henley, p. 145.

See below, p. 276, n. 3.
supplies to a common centre, but their officials had occasionally to go on visits to the outlying estates.

This habit of keeping the household in frequent motion is abundantly illustrated by the accounts of Bishop Swinfield; the editor has given a brief calendar of the principal halts for the greater part of a year, by noting the places and the payments which were made for the episcopal washing. This cannot be regarded as a heavy item of expense, but the local distribution is instructive; and the same point is exemplified in the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I. for 1297, and in the journeys of Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, during the disturbed year 1265. The gradual changes, which took place in subsequent centuries, enabled the lords to let their land for money, instead of farming their estates for the sake of the subsistence of their households. And when a money system was introduced and the lords purchased the provisions they required, there was no longer need for such frequent changes. The beautiful mansions of the Tudor times mark the commencement of a new era, when it was possible for a great landlord to live in a settled life in one particular home. The Earl of Northumberland's Household Book (1512) gives us an insight into the period of transition; on the one hand it describes in detail the great house which had been erected at Leconfield, while on the other it details all the arrangements for the removal of the household,—with the hangings, beds, and other furniture—in seventeen carriages 'beside the chariot.' The duties of superintending these removals, and of defraying the daily expenses at each residence, were subsequently divided, but A.D. 1066—1272.

at first they all lay, in the case of the Royal household, with the Treasurer of the Wardrobe; and the details, to which he had to attend in the thirteenth century, are carefully enumerated by the compiler of Fleta.

The special objects towards which the economy of each household was directed were in accordance with the migratory habits of the households; it was necessary at Michaelmas to make a careful estimate of the supplies available on each estate. "Command your seneschal that every year at Michaelmas he cause all the stacks of each kind of corn, within the grange and without, to be valued by faithful, prudent and capable men, how many quarters there may be, and then how many quarters will be taken for seed and servants on the land, and then of the whole amount and of what remains over and above the land and the servants, set the sum in writing, and according to that assign the expenses of your household in bread and in ale; also see how many quarters of corn you will spend in a week in dispensable bread, how much in alms." The food that was over and above at meals was distributed in alms, and a more liberal supply on the table went to increase the daily alms. In addition to what was given as alms, broken meat, the royal munificence to the poor was very great, but not apparently very discriminating; hundreds of paupers appear to have been maintained or relieved by

1 Compare the ordinances for the Duke of Clarence with the list of officers of the riding household and standing household respectively. Collection of Ordinances and Regulations (Society of Antiquaries, 1789), pp. 99, 100. For this and many other references I am indebted to Miss L. T. Smith, and her excellent Introduction to The Earl of Derby's Expeditions, Camden Soc. 1841.

2 Fleta, edited by Selden, ii. c. 14. The Liber Quotidianus of Edward I. should be compared with this chapter.

3 Walter of Henley, p. 197.

4 Baskets and buckets were provided for this purpose. Thus in the Derby Expeditions (Camden Soc.) 183, "Item Johanne Peck pro ij boket emptis apud Dunsok pro elemosinis domini, v. s. pr." Miss L. Toulmin Smith refers me to a similar entry in the Fischale Accounts (Surtees Society), p. cxviii, "Item iij skipe pro elemosynas," and also to the ordinance for the Almoner in Clarence's Ordinances (Collection of Ordinances, p. 89), "And that the said Almoner at every dinner and supper, wait upon the said Duke's table, and there take up every dish when the said Duke hath set it from him, and thereof make sufficiently the alms dish, to be given to the most needy man or woman by his discretion."
Edward I. in accordance with ancient custom, while there were also large donations of private alms. On the whole, however, the household of the thirteenth century was organised on the basis of natural economy; the requirements of the establishment were reckoned and the generosity of the proprietor found expression, not in money, but in food.

**Purchases.**

Even in the thirteenth century, however, some necessities had to be purchased, and money was also needed to procure any luxuries that had come into use. Wine and rich clothing were the chief of these luxuries. Robert Grossteste recommended that the necessary purchases should be made at two seasons, "that is to say, your wines, and your wax and your wardrobe, at the fair of S. Botolph, what you shall spend in Lindsey, and in Norfolk, and in the Vale of Belvoir, and in the country of Caversham, and in that at Southampton for Winchester, and Somerset at Bristol: your robes purchase at S. Ives." Bristol was the centre from which Swinfield procured a large supply of wine; though he also had vineyards of his own, and made frequent small purchases as well. Besides silks and finer articles of dress, cloth was bought in considerable quantities for the livery of the household. Hence a certain amount of money was needed in order to keep the establishment going; and the produce of the pastures was, even at this early period, the source to which the landowner could look for an article to sell so as to provide himself with money. Grossteste gives a rough estimate of the income to be derived from a flock of sheep; but the profit from dairy and cattle farming could not be so precisely estimated, though 'much money' could be had for cheese.

**Payments.**

Money also seems to have been needed for the payment of artisans of every kind; there appears to have been comparatively little industrial life in the household itself. There A.D. 1306 was a tailor as part of the royal establishment, and he received board wages, when he was living in London, away from court and at his own expense. Of all kinds of skilled labour, tailoring is the most likely to maintain its character as a household occupation; and the migratory character of the households would militate against the organisation in England of large workshops, like the ergastula of Roman times. Swinfield seems to have had his own farrier, and Robert Grossteste recognises resident craftsmen as part of an establishment. But there is frequent mention in the accounts of payments for artisan work of different kinds; they do not convey the impression that the organisation of the household, for industrial purposes, was very complete.

88. It is perhaps a sign of the times that, while there is so much remark on estate management and household arrangements, there are, so far as I have seen, no special treatises on the right management of municipal affairs, such as those which were compiled for the use of thirteenth century landowners and their bailiffs; medieval ideas of political right and political duty are excellently reflected in the Dialogus, and in a fourteenth century treatise on money by Nicholas Oresme. The *Opusculum de regimen principum*, attributed to S. Thomas Aquinas, contains a few remarks on the choice of a situation for a city and the respective advantages of agriculture and commerce as sources of supply; he refers to the *Politis*, but disparages mercantile life in a way that recalls Plato rather than Aristotle. In any case the remarks of Aquinas are somewhat doctrinaire.
an attempt at adapting ancient authors, rather than a
genuine expression of the spirit of the age in which he
lived, when so many towns were springing up as centres
of commerce. The thirteenth century was a period when
large areas were being laid out with new streets, which
formed additions to old towns, while in other places new
towns were being deliberately planted. The single street, and
the confined market-place of a town that had grown up in
the period before the Conquest, offer a striking contrast to
the large market-places which were opened up in Bury,
Peterborough, Cambridge and Boston; and the arrangement
of the building lots and streets in these new quarters,
shows that the areas were carefully and exactly laid out.
Not a few towns were founded during this century and the
plans were carefully designed by royal and ecclesiastical
authorities. Edward I. laid out many free towns; Salisbury
was transferred bodily to a new site, where a more ample
water supply was available, and St Andrews was planned by
the bishop, who induced immigrants from Berwick to come
and organise the activities of the new town. The very
plans of these cities afford evidence of the deliberate care
which was taken to supervise and foster the expansion of
towns, while the remains of Guildhalls and of Town-houses
are interesting testimony to the development of trading
activity and municipal authority.

From the masses of records which survive in different
towns it is possible to form some idea of the relations between
the various elements in municipal life; and we can also
gather information as to the policy which the townsfolk
pursued, and the nature of the business which had to be done. After all, the affairs which demanded attention were
similar in a town like Leicester, where the Guild Merchant
seems to have been abnormally developed, and in one like
Manchester, where a manorial Court Leet regulated the
everyday doings of the townsmen. In so far as we have
insight to interpret the records aright, and to understand
the occasion and objects of the orders they issued, we may
get a singularly accurate knowledge of much of the daily life
in particular cities.

There is in one respect a very marked contrast between
the thirteenth century and modern times, as the concep-
tion of national aims was so little developed. So far as
the burgh authorities had an economic policy, they desired
to promote communal prosperity; national prosperity was
beyond their purview, individual prosperity was only of
interest to them, in their official capacity, as it subserved
the prosperity of the town. Their economic regulation was
chiefly intended to develop the trade of the burgesses so that
they might be able to pay their dues; in this respect their
schemes of policy were narrower than those of the mercan-
tlists, who aimed at the development of national resources,
and less personal than those of modern writers, who urge
that it is practically wise to allow each individual the
greatest possible scope for accumulating wealth. But be-
cause the communal interest comes to the front, we need
not idealise the characters of the merchants of the day,
and suppose that they were entirely guided in all their
transactions by impersonal sentiments.

So far as the affairs of individual workers or dealers came
before municipal courts, the authorities tried to do what was
fair between man and man; and in burgh customs we find the
record of their practical wisdom and experience. They had
not necessarily a very high ideal of Christian duty, and the
guilds merchant do not appear to have developed much reli-
gious or philanthropic activity; but they felt that ‘honour-

1 Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, 1 x.
2 There were some exceptions, however, see p. 408 below. On the extent and
caller of the provision for lepers see R. M. Clay, Medieval Hospitals, 39–39.
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Assessment.

A thing was convenable' for the men of the town, and they tried to enforce what was fair as to a day's work and a day's pay, and to secure that transactions should be conducted on reasonable terms—that the buyer should pay a reasonable sum for an article on which the seller made a reasonable profit. But we must again remember that, though the courts and their customs embodied this view, it was not necessarily the line taken by each individual tradesman. The medieval craftsman would scamp his work, and the medieval merchant try to pass off inferior articles at high prices; but we only hear of him when he was found out. The ordinances of gilds and regulations of towns set a standard to which the honest citizen would wish to conform, so that he might hold an honourable place in the town; the rules would thus affect personal morality favourably. But if all men had lived up to a high ideal, and done their work in the best way from mere love of it, there would have been no need of either craft gilds or ordinances to keep them up to the mark.

There are several distinct types of document which amply illustrate the current practice of the municipal courts.

i. With reference to the discharge of communal obligations to the Crown, we have a scheme for the assessment of the citizens in London, when the king took three thousand marks from the county of Middlesex, and various inventories of goods which were made in connection with a levy of a fifteenth or tenth on moveables. But we have also records of the struggle to prevent foreigners (whether aliens or not) from competing injuriously with the burgesses. Reference has already been made on this point to London customs which purport to date from the reign of Edward the Confessor; and the same policy continued through the middle ages till the Tudor time, when this exclusive right was absorbed in the wider economy of the nation. Foreigners who persisted in entering the town was to have his clothes burnt, and to be "thrust forth naked." Statuta Gildae, c. 15. Burgh Laws of Scotland, p. 72.

In several towns careful arrangements were made for the protection of orphans and their property: London (Sharpe, Wills, xii. vii.), Dover (Lyon, Dover, ii. 376), Sandwich (Ibid. iii. 303).

ii. In the attempt to do the fair thing between man and man, many regulations were framed on matters which we now allow to take their own course. At the same time there were not to sell by retail, and they were not to sell goods to one another, because such business could be done by burgesses; and those who paid rates believed they were fairly entitled to be protected from injurious competition in their regular callings. Still more strongly did they reprehend the conduct of the burgess who was disloyal to his own town, and entered into arrangements with foreigners, which made for his private profit and that of an unfree partner, but were opposed, in spirit at all events, to the policy pursued by the town authorities in the interest of the community under their charge.

At the same time the townsmen were fully aware that they would prosper better if their burgh was frequented by foreign merchants, who used it as a centre for wholesale import trade and purchased products for export. With this object they provided the stranger with facilities for recovering his debts; and the letters which passed between different towns gave rise to a very elaborate system of inter-municipal communication in regard to debts. We are also able to learn something of the means by which these debts were discharged; letters of credit were in common use, and bills of exchange passed between the Italian bankers and their correspondents, in the thirteenth century. Just as we have found that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were marked by improvements in the keeping of accounts, and that the practice was introduced on many estates, so we may say that the same period gives us early examples of the use of instruments of credit. The debts due to Gascon merchants by Londoners were registered; and on one occasion the city was used by Edward I. to conduct a great fiscal operation and to pay to knights in Gascony the sum of £1049. 13s. 11d., for which the citizens were reimbursed by the sheriff out of the forms of the city and the county of Middlesex.

3 Sharpe, Calendar of Letters from Mayor of London, No. 1, 4, 7 sqq.
2 For specimens see E. A. Bond in Archæologia, xxxvii. 297—300. Endemann, Studien, i 92.
3 Delph, Collection, No. xvii.
4 Ibid. No. lxvi.
is an obvious advantage in thinking out the fair price and settling it, where this can be done. There is a distinct advantage in having an authoritative tariff as to the reasonable cab fare, and the maintenance of regulations in regard to those vehicles does not in all probability interfere with the prosperity of the trade; so long as the regulations are wise, they subserve the comfort of the public and the good of the trade. In the circumstances of medieval commerce, when there were comparatively slight fluctuations in the conditions for the supply of manufactured goods, and labour was such a very important element in the cost of production, it was almost as easy to frame similar regulations for reasonable transaction in trades of all sorts, as it is to fix rates for cab-hire in the present day.

There were of course varieties of season, and the food-supply was naturally drawn from a comparatively limited area, so that a local scarcity would affect prices more than it does in the present day. From the time of the Black Death onwards frequent efforts were made to regulate the prices of produce, but, even when these were determined by competition, pains were taken to ensure that this competition should be public, and that there should be no attempts to make a profit by speculative transactions or by creating an artificial scarcity. Common folk had a strong suspicion that the man who was able to secure a monopoly by engrossing or by buying up the available supply of any article, would retail on terms that were to his own profit but not to the advantage of the community. But when the price of corn had adjusted itself by the haggling of the market, a sliding scale could be used to adjust the price of bread, so that the baker might recoup his expenses and get a fair profit, while the public would be supplied at rates which were not excessive. This sliding scale was known as the Assize of Bread; it was certainly framed in the time of Henry II., but this need not have been the first attempt at formulating it.

When the price of food was thus known it was possible and 'reasonable' to assign rates of wages; in the time of Henry II. wages were apparently intended to vary along with the price of bread, from the time of Edward III. till

84. The municipal courts enforced what was fair as a matter of policy; but there was another authority which dealt with what was right and wrong as a matter of Christian duty. The discipline of penance, and the canons which were enforced in the ecclesiastical courts were framed, not with reference to burghal prosperity, but in the hope of detecting and suppressing the greed of gain. In earlier times there had been very sweeping condemnations which would have included almost every kind of trading; but it was obviously impossible to enforce such prohibitions. Even though it might be admitted that the merchant's life was one of many temptations, since there were so many opportunities of fraud, it by no means followed that he always yielded to them. The difficulty became more pressing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when trade was generally extending; and if the evils were really to be met, it could only be done by finding the inner grounds3 of the prohibition, and applying it equitably according to the different circumstances of different cases. The question of buying and selling was one of the greatest practical importance, and deserves consideration first of all: and we find that in the thirteenth century

1 Parliamentary History, xxxiv. 1428.
2 Quicunque tempus messis vel vinicium non necessitate, sed propter cupiditatem comparut anuum vel vinum, verbi gratia de duobus denariis comparat modium unum, et servat, usque dum venditur denaria quattuor, aut sex, aut amplius, hoc terque mercum dicimus. Codex Juris Canonici, c. 9, C. 14, q. 4. See also c. 1, C. 14, q. 3, and c. 3, C. 14, q. 3.
3 Neumann, Geschichte des Wuchers, p. 15.
Reflection had gone so far on this matter that it had been possible to formulate a doctrine of price.

Modern theory assumes that in buying and selling each man will do what is most to his own private advantage, and thus explains how the prices of different classes of goods tend to be determined on this assumption: it merely attempts to give an explanation of actual practice. The mediæval doctrine of price was not a theory intended to explain the phenomena of society, but it was laid down as the basis of rules which should control the conduct of society and of individuals. At the same time current opinion seems to have been so fully formed in accordance with it that a brief examination of the doctrine of a just price will serve to set the practice of the day in clearer light.

In regard to other matters it is difficult to determine how far public opinion was swayed by practical experience, and how far it was really moulded by Christian teaching:—this is the case in regard to usury. But there can be little doubt about the doctrine of price; the whole conception of a just price appears to be purely Christian; according to Professor Ashley, who has written an admirable exposition of the whole subject, it is unknown to the Civil Law, and had as little place in Jewish habits as it has in modern society; but it really underlies a great deal of commercial and guild regulation and it is constantly implied in the early legislation on mercantile affairs.

S. Thomas Aquinas, whose treatment of the subject is classical, assumed that everything has a just price,—that there is some amount of money for which it is right that the owner of the ware should exchange it. He does not discuss the conditions on which this depends; as it is of more practical importance that we should understand how the just price of anything is to be known. The just price is not an arbitrary demand; as an extortionate dealer may obtain an absurd price when he sees that he can drive a hard bargain; or a man in need may be willing to part with some heirloom for a mere trifle: for in the one case there is unfair gain, in the other a real sacrifice. The just price is known by the common estimation of what the thing is worth; it is known by public opinion as to what it is right to give for that article, under ordinary circumstances.

So far we have a parallel with modern doctrine; the mediæval 'just price' was an abstract conception of what is right under ordinary circumstances,—it was admittedly vague, but it was interpreted by common estimation. Modern doctrine starts with a 'normal' value which is 'natural' in a regime of free competition; this too is a purely abstract conception, and in order to apply it we must look at common estimation as it is shown in the prices actually paid over a period when there was no disturbing cause.

Common estimation is thus the exponent of the natural or normal or just price according to either the mediæval or the modern view; but whereas we rely on the 'higging of the market' as the means of bringing out what is the common estimate of any object, mediæval economists believed that it was possible to bring common estimation into operation beforehand, and by the consultation of experts to calculate out what was the right price. If 'common estimation' was thus organised, either by the town authorities or gilds or parliament, it was possible to determine beforehand what the price should be and to lay down a rule to this effect; in modern times we can only look back on the competition prices and say by reflection what the common estimation has been.

It was of course felt that this mode of detecting the just price was not very precise, and indeed that it was not possible to determine the just price of any article absolutely. The obvious fact that the seasons varied made it clear that the price of food could not be fixed once for all; still, men thought that it was desirable to settle prices as much as possible, so as to leave less room for arbitrary demands and unreasonable rates. The real question is not whether prices can be definitely fixed, but how far they can be fixed at any given time. Even in the present day certain economists contend that it is possible to settle authoritatively the relation of exchange.
between gold and silver; for barristers' and doctors' fees, as well as for railway and cab fares, there is a fixed and definite tariff; and if it is possible to carry out the scheme of determinate prices so far in the twentieth century, we may be sure that there was very little difficulty about including a large range of articles in the thirteenth. At the same time S. Thomas Aquinas would have admitted that the just price could not be so definitely settled that it was a positive duty to take that and no other; all that could be done was to point out things that must be avoided and that were unjust. The conception of a just price was used not as a positive guide, but as a negative test which might assist men to avoid what was wrong.

Prices assigned by common estimation would sometimes be high and sometimes low according as an article was plentiful or not; the just price varied from time to time for such commodities. Nor was it unjust for a man to sell an article for more than he had paid for it as its just price, if there had been a change of circumstances,—such a change of time or place that he deserved remuneration for some trouble in connection with transport or for other service rendered. But it was unjust to try to get an arbitrary price; that is, to try to form a ring, or to speculate on the possibilities of the future in such a way as to be able to demand an extortionate price. If we allowed ourselves to be guilty of the anachronism of trying to summarise medieval doctrine in modern terms, we should say that they thought it unjust to sell without conscious reference to what is now called the cost of production. It was impossible for them to give a positive justification for the profit of the man who bought to sell again; all that moralists could say was that under certain circumstances it was not wrong to do so, and practical men kept a suspicious eye on the dealings of middlemen.

The practical men who held that certain forms of transactions were wrong were able to draw a pretty definite line, and to enforce it strictly. The moralist who had to consider the motives in the heart was in a more difficult position; in all mercantile transactions there was a real danger of greed of gain; but mercantile dealings were for the common good of mankind and must be carried on, despite the possible danger. Commerce might be carried on for the public good and rewarded by gain, and it was only sinful if it was conducted simply and solely for the sake of gain. The ecclesiastic who regarded the merchant as exposed to temptations in all his dealings, would not condemn him as sinful unless it were clear that a transaction was entered on solely from greed, and hence it was the tendency for moralists to draw additional distinctions, and refuse to pronounce against business practices where common-sense did not give the benefit of the doubt.

Remuneration for undertaking risk was at first prohibited; but the later canonists refused to condemn it. The parliament of Edward III, however adhered to the older view and took the stricter line in legislating for trade with Gascony.

85. The condemnation of usury in all its forms was decided: but in this matter too we see how, through an unwillingness to pronounce that current transactions were necessarily sinful, distinctions were drawn and excuses recognised, which gradually diminished the force of the ecclesiastical prohibition, and which gave rise to all sorts of ingenious evasions. One of these has been mentioned above, as practised by the Caursines; another is explained by Mr Round as effected by an agreement to lease lands at a nominal rent to the lender; the nominal rent was to be paid for the reduction of the principal by yearly instalments, while the creditor gained by the difference between the nominal rent and real value of the land. Lay opinion

1 c. 19, Decret. Greg. IX. v. 19. Naviganti vel emitt ad mundias certam munus pecuniae quantitatem, pro eo, quod suscipit in se pecuniam, repercutus aliquid ultra sortem usurarii est censendus. This has been sometimes interpreted as a clerical error for non est censendus. For authorities who take it thus see Neumann, Geschichte des Wucherers, 17 n. For those who take it as prohibitive see Giuseppe da Diecimo, La Guastizia de' Contratti, 94 n. The MS. authority together with the remarks of the pseudo-Thomas in the Opusculum de usuris appear to me conclusive in favour of taking the sentence as it stands.

2 27 Ed. III. c. 6. See below, p. 319.

3 Ancient Charters, 94. The kind of collusive bargain here described was apparently condemned in 1163 by a decretal addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. c. 2, Decret. Greg. IX. v. 19.
and municipal courts appear to have been less lenient than the ecclesiastics.  

Aquinas.

S. Thomas Aquinas’ reasoning on usury for money loans only becomes intelligible in connection with the distinctions drawn in Roman Law. If you give a loan of money (mutuum) you part with property in the article, and if you subsequently acquire property in a similar article you ought to be satisfied.

You do not have the use of the money you lent, but neither do you have the risks which always attach to property. But if you demand payment for the use of your property, and insist on its being replaced as well, you charge for something that has no existence, for money can only be used by spending. When you handed over the property in the money to your neighbour you knew he was going to spend it; for that is the only use he can put it to; since he has bargained for a reimbursement of your property it is unfair to make him pay for the use of that which has become his own property and is held at his own risk. Of course if he does not apply for the money in order to spend it, but for purposes of display, the judicial practice out of the prohibition; and thus the arguments, which had their first bearing on the status of classes in a heathen city, lose their conclusiveness when applied to the rectitude of motive and conduct in a Christian man.

But still further modifications became necessary. It was obvious that a man might fairly desire to be paid when he incurred the possibility of losing all he had lent, or when he was put to inconvenience by the failure of the borrower to return the goods at the right time. In such cases as these justices seemed to require that the lender should be compensated, and hence we have the permission of receiving payment on the ground of pecuniaria sortis. This was the ground of the permission which fames nauticum enjoyed, and the various maritime customs show how wide this practice was.

Again if we consider the nature of money we see that it has been devised to serve as a medium of exchange, and it does greatly facilitate the natural type of exchange where mutual needs are satisfied by bartering the product of each other’s work. But to treat it as a source of gain is to divert it from its proper function and thus to make gain where no gain naturally accrues. This argument might have some force if we took the attitude of classical writers and stigmatised all trading for gain as base; but when we allow that certain transactions are permissible when undertaken in the

1 See below, p. 161. The following paragraphs are extracted from my Christian Opinion on Usury, pp. 30-33.
2 Summa, 2a, 2a, q. 78 a, 1.
A further reason for payment of more than the sum borrowed was found in the \textit{paxa conventionalis} which seems to have been most generally recognised; a delay in repayment might obviously inflict serious damage on the lender, and this gave occasion for additional payments by the debtor; this obligation takes a very prominent place in the contracts between borrowers and lenders in the Middle Ages, and the case of Antonio and Shylock has made it familiar to us all.

Partly then from the doctrine of S. Thomas Aquinas, and partly from the practice of a Christian country like England, we find that many exceptions to the strict letter of the prohibition of usury were tolerated. It is clear that on one or other of these reasons almost every loan might claim a certain amount of interest, and the whole doctrine might have become a dead letter. But with certain well-known exceptions, there was little inclination on the part of the authorities to connive at such evasions, and the common-sense of the public agreed in this matter with the ecclesiastical decisions. The law of the realm was in practical accord with the canons discussed by S. Thomas Aquinas; other guardians of morality, in the pulpits and elsewhere, exerted their influence in the same direction. We need not be surprised that under these circumstances a strong public opinion was formed on the subject,—a public opinion which supported the ecclesiastical and other powers in inflicting penalties on the usurer. The public opinion thus created is a most noteworthy feature in English history; the strong feeling against usury was more vehement and stringent than the laws by which it had been formed; and it failed to recognise the fairness of the distinctions which subtle intellects drew, and of which the moneyed men made use as excusing their extortions.

It is commonly supposed that narrow-minded ecclesiastics laid down an arbitrary and unjustifiable rule against taking interest, and that they thus hampered the growth of trade. The rule was not arbitrary, but commended itself to ordinary common-sense and it did not hamper trade. The limits which were laid down in regard to money loans were not so narrow as modern writers appear to suppose and every encouragement was given to men who could afford it, to A.D. 1066-1272 make gratuitous loans for definite periods, as a form of Christian charity; and it may be confidently affirmed that no real hindrance was put in the way of material progress in the then existing state of society by these restrictions. Tillage was so generally carried on by communities, or at any rate was so far cooperative, that the cultivator would rarely be reduced to borrowing money, as the Eastern peasantry do. Poverty probably meant a greater personal dependence on a manorial lord; not a constant dread of the exactions of usurers. Nor was it necessary for the artisan to borrow, as in all probability his guilds would supply the means of carrying on his trade if unexpected losses or sickness crippled his resources; while, generally speaking, the stock-in-trade required was very small, as he often worked on materials supplied by customers. If he was engaged on a long job where money was needed, he could borrow for the purpose, on terms which remunerated the lender with a share in the profits, without being guilty of usury, as understood by S. Thomas Aquinas. The merchants too were not restrained from using the capital of other men in their ventures or from remunerating them for the risk involved. The cases in which men were generally reduced to borrow without being able to offer the lenders a profitable partnership, were those where kings and barons were suddenly called on to meet the expenses of a military expedition, or where land-holders and ecclesiastics had to borrow to meet the calls of royal or papal taxation; borrowing for the sake of building magnificent works or for other purposes of display.
260  FEUDALISM.

A.D. 1066—1199. we need not consider. Mediæval usury was quite unlike that of pagan and Eastern countries, for it was prevented from attacking and preying on the industrial resources of the country; the comfortable classes and ecclesiastics were those who suffered most by being occasionally forced to apply to bankers or Jews when they really needed coins.

III. REPRESENTATION AND LEGISLATION.

I. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE EDWARDS.

86. The preceding sections have shown us the development of complex and well-organised chartered towns which made regulations for their internal and for foreign trade, arranged for the superintendence of manufactures, and enforced a code of commercial law. But though much progress had been made in London, at Ipswich and elsewhere, it was in all cases a local growth. The time of Edward I. marks the most important turning-point in our history, since he set on foot a machinery for framing general regulations for the whole country, and thus took the first steps in organising a national economic life that was to outlive and outgrow and absorb the most flourishing gild of the thirteenth century. Hence we now have the first beginnings of a political economy, so far as England is concerned. Hitherto we have had to deal with village or manorial economy; or to trace how special municipal and market privileges were conferred upon the inhabitants of particular towns and used by them, and how special trading privileges were granted to groups of foreigners; but we are now to see the industry and commerce of the realm dealt with as a whole.

There are two main sides to the work of Edward I.; he instituted the representation of the people and he re-organised the fiscal system of the realm. Of these the former
was an improvement in the constitution on which it is unnecessary to dwell in detail here, and the direct economic effects of his changes in taxation may have been but slight at first. None the less was his work of the greatest significance so far as industry and commerce are concerned; it is not what he did that is remarkable, but what he rendered possible; he provided the machinery by which the whole subsequent development of English industry and commerce has been directed and controlled. Indeed it is not too much to say that the whole structure of society was altered by his wisdom. Formerly there had been a vast number of separate local jurisdictions, each united by a similar tie to the king as head, but without any real connection with one another; now the towns in different parts of the country were enabled to realise the interests they had in common, to get over some of the old local exclusiveness, and to join in demanding measures for the common good of their class in all parts of the realm. Hitherto particular bodies had bought particular privileges for themselves, now they made terms as to the contributions which were to be taken from the whole land, and framed regulations which should be enforced throughout its length and breadth. This was the work which the estates of the realm were called on to undertake when they were summoned to consult with the king about what concerned all.

It was a new departure; but still it was only another step in the work which the first William had begun. He had done much to weld the several parts of England into a united whole, for he had forced each of the local powers into attachment to the common head of the whole realm; Edward proceeded to organise them all as parts of one body, not only connected by allegiance to the head, but bound by common interests and obligations to one another. The time for merely granting special privileges by charter and for relying on occasional contributions from particular groups of tenants was over, and the day had come when the strangely various elements of English population were at last organised into a body politic, and could thus simultaneously share in the advantages and in the burdens of government.

There had of course been general regulations for the whole realm on certain economic matters before this time: a uniformity of weights and measures had been decreed, as well as Assizes of Bread, Ale and Cloth, and an effort had been made to ensure fair dealing in regard to the commonest articles of consumption. But it may be noticed that these were points in which the King and the Court were directly interested, since it was of the first importance that the supplies he required in progresses through the country should be obtained in definite and known quantities, and at reasonable rates when they were purchased; the trading classes required definite weights and measures in each district, but a general uniformity of weights and measures was important to the king, and he was specially interested that there should be no sudden raising of the price of food when a visit of the court created a sudden demand. The Edwardian legislation may certainly be regarded as a new departure, since it was very different in form, and it primarily aimed at regulating trade in the interests of the subjects. Indeed it corresponds, not so much with the charters which kings had issued, but with the customs which had been formulated in different municipalities. The subjects, by adopting common usages in so many towns, had organised a body of customs on commercial and trading matters, and Edward only carried out what they had begun when parliament gave to similar customs the force of law in all parts of the realm.

From this time onwards we may notice the gradual development of this national industrial regulation, and how in regard to commerce, to manufactures and to agriculture alike, the local authorities were gradually taken over by

Local institutions were gradually superseded.
and superseded by the increasing activity of parliament, till in the time of Elizabeth the work was practically finished, and a complex but well-articulated system of national economy was completed.

The general character of the local powers has been already indicated; it would be a mistake to suppose that serious efforts were made to suppress them wholly. Indeed it may be said that under Edward I. the towns made rapid advances; the free towns which he founded attained the highest point of constitutional importance, for they were free from manorial restrictions of every kind, and they were not yet overshadowed by the growing power of parliament. In succeeding reigns, even when the towns continued to grow in wealth and power, the special privileges for which they had paid so dearly came to be of comparatively little importance, not so much on account of actual attacks directed against them, but because statute law extended the blessings of good government throughout the country generally. Special municipal privileges were not withdrawn, but they were superseded as other localities came to enjoy similar advantages through the vigorous action and wise regulations of the central authority.

The progress of this centralising tendency brought about one remarkable result; as it increased, the range of freedom for the individual citizen became wider and wider. The restrictions which seemed so galling were not imposed for the first time by statute; for the most part parliament transferred the enforcement of certain regulations from a local to a central authority, and by so doing gave an immense increase to personal freedom. That there should be similar laws, similar customs, similar taxes, similar conditions of business throughout the length and breadth of the land was a very great gain for purposes of internal trade; as all Englishmen came to be subject to one law and shared in the same privileges, they were freed from the fetters that local immunities had imposed on their intercourse. In some other countries the special and local restrictions and privileges were swept away, not without blood, and the continuity with the past was rudely broken by the sudden introduction of modern improvements; in our land affairs ran another course; local regulations were superseded by general legislation, and then general legislation ceased to play such an important part, as world-wide commerce outgrew the control of national ordinances. Hence one may say that there has been continuous progress in this matter; local regulations were better than none, and towns regulated by their own gilds had a start in the race; but general regulations are better still, and when the country had so far advanced that general regulation was possible, the maintenance of merely local regulations would have been restriction. It is not regulation that is an evil, but unsuitable regulation; unregulated trade is not necessarily in a sound condition, and regulated trade is not restricted trade unless it is ill-regulated trade. If we do not bear this in mind we shall hardly realise the extent of the progress which is marked by the close of the charter period and the beginning of legislation; while we shall certainly fall into grave errors if we forget that the Plantagenets and their parliaments were making regulations for their own times and not for ours.

87. Edward I. laid the foundations of a system of national regulation of industry and commerce, and this gradually outgrew the municipal institutions; he rendered it possible for his successors to survey the commercial condition of the country as a whole, and to form a definite policy for the development of national resources and for establishing satisfactory relations with foreign places. Before his time the rulers could only aim at securing good administration, and collecting the revenue satisfactorily; but after his reign it had become possible to devise a national policy and increase prosperity, so that the sources from which revenue was obtained might yield more freely. It is in the reign of Edward III. that we can see the beginnings of a commercial policy of an international and not merely of an intermunicipal character.

1 Though these also occurred in the legislation on behalf of alien merchants which, as the cities complained, was inconsistent with their chartered privileges. See below, p. 599.

2 This and several subsequent paragraphs were read as a paper before the Royal Historical Society and have been published in their Transactions (N.S. v. 197).
There is a striking contrast between the reign of Edward I. and that of Edward III.; one was a legislator whose chief triumphs were constitutional, while the life of the other was passed in pressing claims to continental dominion. But in his wars, Edward III. aimed at objects which were approved by the Commons assembled in parliament, even while they groaned under the pressure of the expenses entailed; the assertion of his claim to the kingdom of France was a card he was forced to play in the hope of winning the game. It is not probable that he was merely actuated by dynastic ambition,—still less that he was endeavouring to secure possessions abroad which would render him independent of his subjects at home. His policy appears to have been largely based on economic considerations; he seems to have aimed at the development of national wealth, and he may possibly have recognised the cohesive power of commercial intercourse. His plans were not farseeing, and they broke down because he failed to bring conflicting interests into harmony. The privileges he conferred on Flemish merchants roused the jealousy of his English subjects; while the arrangements, which were favourable to sheep farmers and to consumers in this country, proved to be injurious to English shipping.

Curiously enough too, Edward III. was the instrument of thwarting Philip in his endeavours to carry on a work of consolidation in France, similar to that which Edward I. had accomplished in England. The great fiefs,— Guienne, Britanny, Flanders,—were the main obstacles which delayed the union of France under one strong rule, and each of these in turn had the support of Edward III. in maintaining its opposition to the feudal superior. He was the hereditary ruler of Guienne, though other provinces to which he had an equal title had been fitched away from him, and he was closely related to Flanders by his marriage, while he attempted to form similar connections with Brabant as well. These personal relationships made it incumbent upon him to try to hold his own, and refuse to submit to yield to the arrogant claims and underhand schemes by which Philip was endeavouring to oust him. But these personal ties do not account

1 Chronicle, c. 42.
2 On the whole subject of the Bastides or Villages francs founded by Edward I. in Guienne and Aquitaine see A. Curie Seinsbres, Essai sur villes, pp. 43, 61. Some interesting details are also given by J. H. Parker in his continuation of Turner's Domestic Architecture, i. 154. In plan they were rectangular and fortified, divided by streets 24 or 30 feet wide into blocks, which were again separated into separate plots by passages six feet wide. This isolation of each plot served to prevent disputes about party walls; gave security against fire and was convenient for drainage. These were matters which had received attention in London from the time of Henry II., and Edward not unnaturally sent to his own capital for skilled men to lay out some of his new towns in Aquitaine in 1298 (op. cit. t. 167 n.). The neighbouring lords, whether ecclesiastical or lay, strongly objected to these new and free towns; when the Ville franche de Rouergue was laid out the neighbouring bishop excommunicated any one who should go and build in it, as he feared that it would ruin his own town of Rodez (op. cit. t. 159). "No less than fifty towns were founded by the English in France within the same number of years, and the best
him counsel in parliament, and his grandson summoned merchants—as he at other times summoned other classes—to colloquies on matters affecting their interests. They might well wish to be under such a king, while the requirements of their manufactures rendered it essential that they should get a constant supply of English wool.

Had Edward III. maintained his claim to the throne of France he would have of course secured a position as suzerain of Flanders; it might possibly be argued that he went some way to assert this right when he issued the noble, intending it to circulate both in England and Flanders; this certainly looked very like the assertion of a princely right in regard to these countries, while the claim to the Sovereignty of the Sea would be more easily enforced and the king's peace maintained on the waters by a monarch who possessed the land on either shore.

Be this as it may, we see that in his first campaigns, Flanders was the base of operations; that in the great campaign, after landing in the Cotentin, he again turned away both from Guienne and from Paris to establish his forces in the Low Countries; while his protracted negotiations with the people, as well as the princes, of Flanders and Brabant, seem to show how much his proceedings towards Philip were affected by the way in which he kept the interests of the wool trade in view.

The other great branch of continental trade, the wine trade with Gascony, was more than partially Anglicised, since it had been concentrated in Libourne and other English towns, where the burgesses would welcome the policy pursued by Edward III. His hereditary right to the Duchy made this really a trade between two different parts of his own possessions; and to have established a firm hold upon Gascony, Flanders and England, would have been to create a remarkably powerful commercial federation. It is probable that the misgovernment of the Black Prince, by alienating the proof of the success of the plan is in the strong hold which the English people held in the affections of the people of this part of France, and in the fact that most of these towns are still existing, and in a flourishing state.” Op. cit. p 170 n. Also, Brunaud, *Les Anglais en Guienne*, 114, 197, 151.

4 On the export of wool to Flanders see *Appendix D*. 2 See title page.

southern peoples rendered it impossible to realise this scheme, for the Flemish connection was the less important project. Especially when the manufacture of cloth was being so successfully prosecuted in England; but it was a highly ingenious plan and would justify the reputation Edward III. enjoyed as the Father of English Commerce. It would be curious, as it is idle, to speculate how very differently European politics must have shaped themselves if this dream had been realised; if France had been wedged in between two tracts of territory, united both by loyalty and commercial interest to England; and if over-sea trade had at that early period received the extraordinary impetus which these political connections must have given.

88. Though the constitutional change which took place under Edward I. is one of the turning-points of industrial history, and the political schemes of Edward III. seem to mark a new era in the progress of the nation, there were other sides of life which exercised no little influence on economic affairs, and in regard to which no change was apparent; current morality was not substantially altered, commercial morality, and the practical measures which embodied it are similar to those which were already in vogue.

In a preceding section an attempt has been made to sketch the methods of trading which approved themselves to the gilds merchant in thirteenth century towns: a similar feeling found expression on a larger scale in parliament, both as regards the methods of regulation adopted and the exclusiveness as against outsiders. Had civil lawyers been more large represented in parliament it is quite conceivable that our commercial legislation might have been copied almost entirely from the code of Justinian; on the other hand, the attempts to limit the rapidly increasing wealth of the Church would hardly have emanated from an assembly where ecclesiastical feeling was dominant; in either case there might have been some expression of jealousy at the prosperity of the burgesses and the traders. But the earliest economic legis-
Repre-sentation and Legislation.

A.D. 1272—1277.
Empirical legislation.

lation is very similar to the burghal customs; it is purely empirical; and it reflects the opinions and prejudices of practical men, especially of merchants—the class who were dominant in the regulation of town affairs. Early legislation is concerned with providing facilities for trading, for more frequent intercourse, for better markets and better prices—in the hope of securing a supply of wares in plenty to the consumer. It also aimed at enforcing what was fair, as between man and man in every-day transactions; but it rests on practical experience, not on scholastic teaching, and it is difficult to use the mediaeval doctrine of a fair price, as it is found for example in S. Thomas Aquinas, so as to explain the actual regulations and restrictions. The more the enactments are examined the more does it become clear that they are based, not on the Aristotelian doctrine of moralists, but on practical experience of bargaining about different kinds of commodities in the market or the fair. There was much in the acts of these parliaments that was mistaken, but the legislators erred as practical men may err; there was nothing doctrinaire in the remedies they tried or the regulations they proposed; they were often short-sighted, but they were not led away by time of legislation and regulation by rule of thumb; and unless an effort is made to understand the social conditions which moulded our industry and commerce during that period the legislation itself may be entirely misunderstood.

II. Consolidation.

89. While Edward I. was ready like De Montfort to associate the estates of the realm with himself in the work of government, he was by no means willing to forego any of the just claims of his position as king; it was not because he was weak and careless and desired to be rid of responsibilities that he summoned his parliaments, but because he believed that his government would be stronger if his plans were supported by the suffrages of his subjects. His father had A.D. 1272 endeavoured to exercise a personal sway, and he had been forced to give up the kingly powers to a committee of his barons. Edward by endeavouring to act in conjunction with the estates of his realm, did not indeed always get his own way, but he succeeded in establishing a government that was really effective against the discontented and disorderly. And hence, while in the time of Henry there had been the most serious encroachments upon royal wealth and jurisdiction, Edward was able to recover and maintain much that had slipped from his father's grasp. Here one may notice that it was because he was successful in asserting his rights as king against individual barons, or the Pope, that their constitutional powers were defined in the form they actually took, and that they were prevented from usurping a power which would have been dangerous to the nation itself. When staunchly maintaining the rights of the Crown, Edward was taking the most effective means for securing the ultimate redress of the wrongs of the poor. This comes out very clearly in the story of the disafforestation controversy. By an adjustment of boundaries considerable portions of the Crown forests were given over to certain barons, who gained personally; but the position of the tenants was so much altered for the worse that their case obtained special attention in the Ordinance of A.D. 1295, the Forest, by which their rights of pasture and common were secured.

If this was the most formidable, it was not by any means Encroachments and Tisht on royal rights. the only encroachment about which he had cause to bestir himself. As has been described above, one of his first acts on coming to the throne had been to institute an inquiry into the full extent of the losses which the Crown property had sustained. He sent out commissioners and took account of A.D. 1274. the losses of the Crown from usurpations by the subject, and of the misdeeds of royal officers. The results of the inquiries are embodied in the Hundred Rolls and the records of the proceedings which ensued; they contain much evidence to

1 Hence the Edwardian legislation resembles that of the nineteenth century more closely than that of any of the intervening periods; see p. 310 below.

1 For a picture of these about this time see the 'Husbandman's Song,' in Wright's Political Songs (Camden Society), 149.

8 See above, p. 175.
show that where the king was badly served, the people suffered too. Many things required amendment in the realm at the time of his accession, "for the prelates and religious persons of the land were grieved many ways, and the people otherwise entreated than they ought to be, and the peace less kept, and the laws less used, and the offenders less punished than they ought to be". The enforcement of laws, and the enactment of more widely effective laws were absolutely necessary for the good of the country.

90. There was one particular direction of change however which called for special intervention; corporations never die, and the munificence of successive generations had tended to bring a large area of the lands of the country into the hands of the clergy. The excessive endowment of religion was a political evil, as such a large proportion of the revenues went directly or indirectly to the enrichment of the see of Rome; these ecclesiastical claims had existed for a long time past and were increasing. Peter's pence had been paid with more or less regularity since the ninth century; and while preparing for the second crusade, the Pope taxed the clergy throughout Christendom as a means of supporting the undertaking. The connection with the Roman See, which William of Normandy had introduced and S. Anselm favoured, was soon made an excuse for constant appeals; and immense sums were paid as mere bribes to the papal servants at Rome. The position of feudal suzerain of England, which the Pope had acquired during the reign of John, and the fact that by the will of that monarch he was guardian to the young Henry, strengthened the hold which the papal power had upon the wealth of England, and the revenues of the English Church. In particular the various pretexts under which Rufus had appropriated Church revenues were soon used on behalf of the papacy; while a large number of the richest benefices in England were in the hands of aliens and foreigners. This was a crying evil in the thirteenth century, and despite many efforts to check it, there is little sign that it really abated. In the reign of Edward III. the Commons com-

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The struggle to assert the rights of the Crown was prolonged in the case of the various ecclesiastical Orders. The Templars were among the first to feel the weight of royal displeasure; they were already unpopular with the clergy because they had been removed from ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and several bulls were issued in their favour; and when the loss of Acre sealed the failure of the Order to recover the Holy Land from the Infidel, it was possible for Edward I. to argue that they should no longer be protected in the enjoyment of wealth which had been granted in the hope of accomplishing this object. Their accumulations were large, as the religious character of their establishments gave some immunity from pillage, and they were rendered specially secure by the strength of their construction and the training of their defenders. The Temples at London and Paris were favourite places for depositing jewels and other treasures; the hoards of wealth amassed in them were very great, and the Templars not only negotiated the ransoms of prisoners, but engaged in such financial business as making payments in distant places, and advancing money to the crown. Since they were thus concerned in lucrative financial business, they were not entirely free from the suspicion which attached to all those who were engaged in monetary transactions, and they were occasionally the victims of royal necessity or caprice. Edward I. appropriated the revenues which they were about to transmit to Cyprus, though he restored them on the earnest appeal of the Pope. Edward II. on his accession seized no less than fifty thousand pounds in silver, besides A.D. 1292 gold and jewels which had been deposited in their treasury. When through a shameful intrigue the papal protection was at last withdrawn, the Order was left utterly defenceless; but it is to the credit of Edward II. that he showed considerable reluctance to believe the accusations against the Order, or A.D. 1307, to lend himself as an agent for their suppression.

The foreign monastic Orders escaped at this time, but like Cluniacs, the alien beneficiaries they were very severely treated by A.D. 1246. Edward III. The Cluniacs had, like the Templars, been supplying money for the uses of the chapter in foreign parts; while the Cistercians had endeavoured to evade the duty of contributing to the royal revenue, on the ground that their houses in England had no complete control over their possessions. But these evasions were of no avail, and by rejecting them firmly, Edward followed his grandfather's example, and took another step in the consolidation of the realm as a whole.

91. So far we have had to do with the enforcement by undeﬁned constitutional means of the prerogatives of the king as supreme landowner; we must now turn to examine the prerogatives which he exercised as supreme in disposing of the products of the soil, and as controlling the use and exchange of them. This side of the royal power has been less commonly understood and admitted than Crown rights on the land, for it was never so explicitly asserted as when William I. put forward the claims of the feudal king at Salisbury, and it was only exercised within limitations. Nevertheless it is only on the supposition of such a prerogative that the various forms of royal execution and royal control, over the internal and external trade of the country, become in

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1 Rymer, Foedera (Record), i. 1. 594, 535.
3 Rymer, Foedera, i. pp. 495, 497. Henry III. obtained advances from merchants on Crown Jewels deposited at Paris in 1264.
6 King John (1206, 1212), Patent Rolls, pp. 95, 108.
7 King John, Patent Rolls, pp. 136, 182.
8 Rymer, Foedera, i. ii. 628.

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...
telligible. The king—the head of the nation—might require goods for his own use and that of his household, and for the commissariat in warfare, and he might control the disposal of them in the interest of the subjects or of the national resources. His requirements might be satisfied (a) by taking the articles he required, (b) by purchasing them on more or less favourable terms, or (c) by accepting money in lieu of the exercise of these rights.

The indefinite rights, which the kings had exercised by immemorial usage, were now to be systematised and defined; the Domesday Survey is full of hints of obligations connected with purveyance, and the earlier statutes contain frequent references to the subject. The requirements of the court had to be met when the king travelled through the country, and this was done either by compulsory purchase (emption) or the simpler method of caption. A similar right, when exercised in regard to articles of export or import, was known as prise; and the liability to demands of this sort—for which the merchant could only hope to be remunerated in part and after a long delay, if at all—rendered these forms of indirect taxation exceedingly inconvenient, if we judge of them by modern canons, as well as very expensive, from the malversations of which officers were occasionally guilty. The practice must have become specially noxious in connection with the continental wars of English kings. So long as personal service in the field was maintained and the knights had to ‘find themselves,’ it would not be so bad, as the barons were not in all probability able to imitate the royal practice very closely. But when the payment of scutage relieved the knights from this obligation it became the duty of the king

1 On the whole subject compare Mr Hubert Hall’s Customs Revenue, l. 55–72.
2 Hall, Customs, t. 61.
3 Rot. Parl. ii. 62 a. Forced enjoyment of the hospitality of religious houses was an approach to the exercise of rights of purveyance. It was checked by the First Statute of Westminster, c. 1. “Because that Abbeys and Houses of Religion have been overcharged and sore grieved, by the resort of great men and others, so that their goods have not been sufficient for themselves whereby they have been greatly hindered and impoverished, that they cannot maintain themselves nor such charity as they were wont to do. It is Provided that none shall come to eat or lodge in any House of Religion of any other foundation than his own at the costs of the House, and that none at his own costs shall enter in and come to lie there against the will of them that be of the House.”

1 Hall, Customs, t. 60.
2 Ibid. n. 96.
3 Ibid. II. 102.
4 Lab. Cust. ii. 309. It was temporarily abolished by Ed. II. (1309) in the Statute of Stamford as a fiscal experiment (Rot. Parl. ii. 444 a.), but subsequently reimposed. See below, p. 292.
5 Rot. Parl. ii. 108 No. 4, 107 No. 7, 112 No. 5, 121 No. 42.

to organise a commissariat; and the exports and imports of A.D. 1272 the realm lay ready to hand for this purpose. They might either serve as supplies, as in the case of wine, or might be carried abroad, so that the sale might furnish the king with the means of purchasing the necessaries of life. The purveyance of commodities for the king’s use within the realm is consequently of far less economic importance than the action of the Crown in regard to merchandise. The fiscal history of the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III. turns very much on their efforts to exercise these privileges with, and sometimes without, parliamentary sanction.

Under ordinary circumstances the king preferred to take definite his share of the value of the exports in the form of a toll, and custom had apparently come to recognise a definite payment A.D. 1275, which was a fair toll to take; this was the so-called ‘ancient custom’ on wool, woollfells and leather of half a mark on every sack of wool, and one mark on every last of hides. Similarly, there was a recta prisa of wine, the chief article Recta of import, which consisted of one tun taken before and one prisa abated the mast. It does not appear that the rates with regard to other articles of export and import were similarly defined. Aliens, however, stood in a somewhat different position; they paid all their dues in money; for freedom from the king’s arbitrary prise of wines they rendered butlerage Butlerage of 2s. a tun. Similarly, they paid an additional duty on wool, and 3d. per pound avoidance on all other commodities, to be free from the king’s prises on their commerce; this was the nova or parva custuma to which denizens were not liable.

Exactions in excess of these rates were regarded as Mala tola oppressive (mala tolla), and provoked a considerable outcry in 1297. The parliament was, however, willing to make additional grants in great emergencies; and owing to a scarcity of money, grants of wool were made to Edward III. and afforded A.D. 1341. excellent opportunities for the operations of contractors. Sub-
were responsible for superintending the trade at a neigh-
bouring harbour as well; thus Chepstow and Bridgewater
were grouped with Bristol.

In thus organising the collection of customs, Edward I.
and his parliament asserted a right of regulating the places
of trade, and of determining the conditions under which
trade should be carried on. But besides improving the
Ports
conditions at the centres of commerce, he appears to have
done his best to develop new places of trade. Kings-town-upon-
Hull entered on a new career at this epoch; and other
towns were laid out and rebuilt. Winchelsea, which still
preserves the ground-plan of an Edwardian town, had suffered
from an inundation and was reconstructed in this reign. Great
Yarmouth appears to have been laid out at the same time,
and the king endeavoured to place the relations of the
burgesses to the men of the Cinque Ports on a friendly
footing. There was already a trade in coal from Newcastle
to London, and shipments were made beyond the seas.
At present it may suffice to notice that the king was successful
in asserting a right of controlling trade, and to indicate the
nature of the machinery which was organised in connection
with this claim; a great part of the commercial history of
England consists in tracing the different ways in which the
right thus asserted has been exercised from time to time.

92. Since the Crown had such rights in regard to trade,
it had also duties towards those who conducted the traffic.
While Edward I. organised a system for collecting a definite
revenue, he set himself to improve the conditions of trading
as well. He took up the regulations in regard to police and
to the recovery of debts, which were already in vogue in
certain towns, and rendered them general, while he initiated
some important improvements in regard to the currency.

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1 Hall, Customs, ii. 184.
2 Ibid. ii. 146.
3 Ibid. ii. 5.
4 This appeared to be an infraction of chartered privileges and was apparently
resented as such at Bristol. Rot. Parl. ii. 390.
5 Hall, Customs, ii. 49.
6 See the inquiry in the Hundred Rolls, above, p. 170.
7 In 1253. Ordinance of the Staplers, § 1.
8 Parker, Domestic Architecture, ii. 154.
9 Mining rights are mentioned in 1245, and the town had greatly increased in
1299. Brand, Newcastle, ii. 263.
12 The story of the founding of Hull given by Tickell and Parker and men-
tioned in the second edition of this work (p. 258) appears to be quite unworth-
worthy. Lambert, Two Thousand Years of Gold Life, 7.
13 Ibid. II. 405.
14 Tickell and Parker and men-
15 Homek.}

"Consolidation."
A.D. 1272

Police ordinances. Of these the most important are the Statuta Civitatis Londonie, with the regulations for securing good order in the town, especially after dark. It was necessary that a known citizen should be responsible for the good behaviour of every resident in the town, so that everyone might live under the eye of a respectable man who was answerable for his behaviour. On this account it was ordained that no one but a freeman of the city might keep a hostelry or inn. Similar legislation was made for other towns in the Statute of Winchester, which also gave greater security to the merchant when travelling by land. And for more certainty of the country the King hath commanded, that in great towns, being walled, the gates shall be closed from the sunset until the sunrise; and that no man do lodge in suburbs nor in any place out of the town, from nine of the clock until day, without his host will answer for him.

Wrecks.

In the First Statute of Westminster Edward had already shown his care for the protection of traders. Legal effect was given to the old custom that when a ship was stranded it should not be accounted a wreck if a man, cat, or dog, escaped alive from it. The cargo was to be kept by the royal bailiff, and those to whom it belonged might have the

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\text{a. Police ordinances. Of these the most important are the Statuta Civitatis Londonie, with the regulations for securing good order in the town, especially after dark. It was necessary that a known citizen should be responsible for the good behaviour of every resident in the town, so that everyone might live under the eye of a respectable man who was answerable for his behaviour. On this account it was ordained that no one but a freeman of the city might keep a hostelry or inn. Similar legislation was made for other towns in the Statute of Winchester, which also gave greater security to the merchant when travelling by land. And for more certainty of the country the King hath commanded, that in great towns, being walled, the gates shall be closed from the sunset until the sunrise; and that no man do lodge in suburbs nor in any place out of the town, from nine of the clock until day, without his host will answer for him.}
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\text{b. Recovery of debts. The policy in regard to debts owing to foreign merchants, which had commenced itself to the men of Ipswich as \textquoteleft convenable for the town\textquoteright, was rendered more general. \textquoteright Forasmuch as merchants which heretofore have lent their goods to diverse persons be greatly impoverished because there is no speedy law provided for them to have recovery of their debts at the day of payment assigned, and by reason hereof many merchants have withdrawn to come into this realm with their merchandises, to the damage, as well of the merchants, as of the whole realm, the King by himself and by his Council\textquoteright ordained and established, that when the debt was acknowledged before royal officers in specified towns, they should be impoverished under the King\textquotesingle s seal to distrain for debt in default of payment. At Acton Burnel this scheme was tried, as in London, York and Bristol; but complaints became current that the sheriffs misinterpreted the statute, so that it was re-enacted in 1285 as a Statutum Mercatorum; this was much more explicit, and gave the same sort of facilities in any town which the king might appoint, as well as at fairs. These advantages were abused, possibly by creditors who foreclosed and took possession, under this system, of lands which had been pledged, and the operation of the statute was limited to merchants, their goods and tenements; and in 1311 twelve towns were specified where recognisances for debt might be taken before \textquoteleft the most safe and the most rich men\textquoteright, chosen by the commonalty for the purpose.}
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The statute of Acton Burnel had done something to remove the necessity for municipal interference for the recovery of debts, and Edward passed a measure to prohibit unfair distraint for debts; as has been shown above

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\text{1 See above, p. 229, n. 3. The Book of Admiralty, n. 115.}
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\text{2 De Mercatoribus, 11 Ed. I.}
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\text{3 Acton Burnel, 13 Ed. I. st. 1. ec. 4, 6.}
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\text{4 Newcastle, York and Nottingham for counties beyond the Trent; Exeter, Bristol and Southampton for the South and West; Lincoln and Northampton; London and Canterbury; Shrewsbury and Norwich. 6 Ed. II. § 88.}
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it had been usual to hold a man coming from another town, whether English or continental, responsible for the debts incurred by any of his fellow-townsman. Edward endeavoured to stop the practice so far as it affected the burgesses of any town within the realm. The very terms of the statute show how little homogeneity there was between different parts of the country. "It is provided also that in no city, borough, town, market or fair, there be no foreign person, which is of this realm, distrained for any debt whereof he is not debtor or pledger." It was at least as important that there should be no hindrance to internal trade as that foreign merchants should be led to frequent the realm. Under the same head one may note the protection against the oppressive exaction of tolls in market towns, and of payments directly due to the Crown—amercements made on account of offences against the king's peace were to be reasonable, the freeman was to have his freehold exempted, the merchant his merchandise and the villan his wainage; while the rights of prise and purveyance were to be fairly exercised. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of attempting to give greater security in these respects, though of course we cannot judge how far the statutes were at all effective; but it was at least something to have this desire put on record.

**c. The currency.** Edward took active measures to remedy the debasement of the currency of the realm; the Mint was reorganised in his reign, and coinage of an excellent standard was issued. He also endeavoured to prevent the mischief from recurring; it had been chiefly due to the introduction of money from abroad in payment for English wool. He passed a measure de falsa moneta which was sternly repressive, and declared all pollards and crocords forfeit unless they were at once brought to the king's exchange; but he also endeavoured to provide against the continuance of the evil by establishing exchange tables at Dover, where foreign merchants or pilgrims going abroad might take their money and have it exchanged for the current coin. The statute takes the form of a writ which was addressed to all the sheriffs throughout England, to the wardens of Berwick, the Cinque Ports and the Channel Islands, the justices of Chester, Ireland, North Wales and Cornwall, and the barons of the Exchequer. Special writs were also addressed to the sheriffs of London and the collectors of customs there, as it was believed that the bad coinage was brought in to pay for wool and the staple commodities of the realm. Exchanges must have been carried on previously, probably by the king's moneymen or some of the officers of the Mint, but the differentiation of this department of business from the coining of money is worthy of attention, as it was symptomatic of the development of English trade; the new arrangement may have been partly due to a desire to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the currency difficulties. It is not perhaps a matter of surprise that the merchants from the Welsh marches had to submit to this grievance, a century later, in the English town of Calais. "A tres noble Conseil notre Seigneur le Roi monseignent les Comtes de Wyrcrest, Slop, Stafford, Hereford, Bristol, et Glost, que come plusieurs Marchaunts et autres Gentz des ditz Comtes travail- lent a Caleys ove leur Marchandies, en profit des ditz Comtes et de tout le Roialme; Queux Marchantz et autres gentz plussours fois sont arestuz, aucun foith pur trepasas, aucun foith pur dottes des autres hommes des ditz Comtes: Desque apres et dottes les ditz Marchantz et autres gentz n'oust rien a faire, et plussours fois n'oust connaissance de ceux quoy ils souent arestuz." Rot. Part. ii. 359.

1 First Statute of Westminster, c. 23. It is not perhaps a matter of surprise that the merchants from the Welsh marches had to submit to this grievance, a century later, in the English town of Calais. "A tres noble Conseil notre Seigneur le Roi monseignent les Comtes de Wyrcrest, Slop, Stafford, Hereford, Bristol, et Glost, que come plusieurs Marchaunts et autres Gentz des ditz Comtes travail- lent a Caleys ove leur Marchandies, en profit des ditz Comtes et de tout le Roialme; Queux Marchantz et autres gentz plussours fois sont arestuz, aucun foith pur trepasas, aucun foith pur dottes des autres hommes des ditz Comtes: Desque apres et dottes les ditz Marchantz et autres gentz n'oust rien a faire, et plussours fois n'oust connaissance de ceux quoy ils souent arestuz." Rot. Part. ii. 359.

2 First Statute of Westminster, c. 31. It is not perhaps a matter of surprise that the merchants from the Welsh marches had to submit to this grievance, a century later, in the English town of Calais. "A tres noble Conseil notre Seigneur le Roi monseignent les Comtes de Wyrcrest, Slop, Stafford, Hereford, Bristol, et Glost, que come plusieurs Marchaunts et autres Gentz des ditz Comtes travail- lent a Caleys ove leur Marchandies, en profit des ditz Comtes et de tout le Roialme; Queux Marchantz et autres gentz plussours fois sont arestuz, aucun foith pur trepasas, aucun foith pur dottes des autres hommes des ditz Comtes: Desque apres et dottes les ditz Marchantz et autres gentz n'oust rien a faire, et plussours fois n'oust connaissance de ceux quoy ils souent arestuz." Rot. Part. ii. 359.

3 Ibid. c. 6. 4 Ibid. c. 7. "Of such as take vinctal or other things to the King's use upon credence, or to the gendry of a castle or otherwise, and when they have received their payment in the Exchequer or in the Wardrobe, or otherwere, they withold it from the creditor, to their great damage and slander of the King, it is provided for such as have land or tenements, that incontinent it shall be leived of their lands or of their goods, and paid unto the creditor, with the damages they have sustained, and shall make fine for the trepassas, and if they have no lands or goods they shall be imprisoned at the king's will.

And of such as take part of the King's debts or other rewards of the King's creditors for to make payment of the same debt, it is provided that they shall pay the double thereof and be grievously punished at the King's pleasure.

And of such as take horse or carts for the King's carriage more than need and take reward to let such horse or carts go, it is provided that if any of the court so do he shall be grievously punished by the Marshalls." On the misdeeds of purveyors two centuries later compare 36 H. VI. c. 2.
away all excuse for the exercise of this craft for gain by Jews or private persons.

The business of exchange and assay is so closely connected with the work of goldsmiths that it is worth while to call attention here to the statute which regulated their craft; no vessels or ornaments were to be made of worse gold than "of the touch of Paris"; and similarly the touch for silver was to be settled, and no vessels were to be made of worse metal, though they might be made of better. The main interest of the enactment lies in the machinery which was organised to carry out these objects. It was provided that all "the good towns of England, where any goldsmiths be dwelling, shall be ordered as they of London be, and that one shall come from every good town, for all the residue that be dwelling in the same, unto London for to be ascertainment of their touch."

Thus the London custom was to be communicated to the other towns and to hold good there. The whole work of giving effect to the statute was left in the charge of the wardens of the craft in each town; they were to "go from shop to shop among the goldsmiths" and assay the gold with which they were working; silver was to be marked with the leopard's head, and no articles were to be sold until they had passed the scrutiny of the wardens. This is, so far as I know, the earliest instance when the wardens of a craft gild were recognised by public authority as the agents through whom a parliamentary enactment should be carried out.

To criticise such legislation on the ground that it interfered with the freedom of trade is to misapprehend the whole state of the times,—when there was so little security for person and property, and so many temptations to chicanery and deceit, unregulated trade was not to be thought of. To substitute for the special customs and privileges of each locality general regulations for the kingdom was a great advance; though charters had done much for the places which obtained them, they were of little use for the general progress of the realm; for local immunities created local jealousies, and in later history we may see how each town and locality was tempted to demand protection and support against neighbouring rivals.

Edward did force merchants to use particular ports, and otherwise limited their freedom to trade as they pleased, while his tariff favoured denizens as compared with aliens; but even if modern enlightenment is justified in condemning these regulations, and this is more than doubtful, we need not forget that our country once suffered from a still greater evil, in the protection of one locality or one market against others in the same shire; by substituting general regulations for the bye-laws of each locality, Edward was really freeing trade. The statutes of Edward I. mark the first attempt to deal with industry and trade as a public matter which concerned the whole state, not as the particular affair of the leading men in each separate locality. We have already noted the high development of Scotch burghs at the commencement of Edward's reign; they never however profited by the example of the southern kingdom, for their trade was managed—so long as management was in vogue—not so much as an affair of state but rather as the business of traders, who met in their own convention and strove to maintain their local privileges and immunities against all rivals. Till the present century, trade in Germany was not freed from disadvantages of the same sort as those which the first Edward did much to remove in our own land, by consolidating the trading interests of the various localities and organising a single body economic for the whole realm, instead of merely perpetuating the intermunicipal commerce which had formerly existed.

93. The very success of these measures of consolidation, however, brought into clearer relief a difficulty which had been becoming more and more noticeable for several generations. The peculiar position which the Jews occupied in England has been already described; but as time went on,
it was impossible that that position should be maintained. They had no place in the social system, but were the personal chattels of the king; and as society was reorganised, and personal connection with the monarch ceased to be the sole bond which held the different parts together, it became necessary that the Jews should no longer occupy an exceptional position, but should take their place as ordinary citizens, submitting to the same laws and adopting the same usages as their neighbours. There were two well-marked characteristics which rendered it impossible for them to be combined with Englishmen on the same footing; they had a different ethical code—Talmudic, and not Christian—in regard to lawful trading, and they had at all events no readiness to betake themselves to actual labour. The frequency of the outrageous charges brought against them shows how easily popular excitement was inflamed. It is by no means probable, however, that the attitude of the Jews was conciliatory; they were said to be more outspoken in their contempt of Christianity as they grew in wealth; and the story of their attacking a religious procession at Oxford serves at all events to illustrate the fact that embittered feeling rendered it impossible for the Jews to live under the protection of the ordinary law of the land.

When there was so much incompatibility of temperament we may surmise that but little was needed to determine Edward to decree their banishment; it is at least interesting to remember that he was following the example of the great barons from whom he had learned the elements of the military art as well as the importance of representative government. Parliament had urged this expulsion nine years before it actually took place; the state of the currency, which engaged Edward's attention at a later time, may have served as an excuse, and it is possible that some pressure was exercised by ecclesiastics. The Lateran Council had taken

A.D. 1515.

action in the matter; and a synod at Exeter in 1287 A.D. 1279 had followed suit with ordinances as to dress and behaviour which tied them down more strictly than before. But whatever the precise occasion may have been, there was a political necessity that persons, who either could not or would not conform to the usages of their neighbours and make a living by ordinary callings, should remove from the society which King Edward was reconstituting.

It is notorious that King Edward did everything in his power to alleviate the misery which their banishment must cause them. The strongest inducement was put on Englishmen to pay their debts to the Jews before they departed, as those who did not pay a moiety to the Jews remained in debt to the Crown for the full amount due, till it was remitted by Edward III. The prior of Bridlington had not repaid any portion of the £300 borrowed by him from Bonamy, a Jew of York, at the time of the expulsion; the Archbishop of York had connived with the prior at concealing the fact that this money was owing to the king, and was, as a consequence, impeached and condemned to pay a heavy penalty for his share in the transaction. At the time of the actual banishment special injunctions were given to the warden of the Cinque Ports as to the treatment of the Jews, and condign punishment was inflicted on the malefactors who chose to disregard the royal wishes in this matter. The total numbers expelled are variously stated at fifteen or sixteen thousand; but there is some evidence to show that a considerable section remained behind, and Jewish tradition speaks of 1358 as a year of final expulsion. From a petition in the Good Parliament it appears that even after that date some of them continued to carry on business in the character of Lombard merchants. Some few may have been allowed to return; a Jewish physician named Elias Sabot came from Bologna and was allowed to settle and practise in A.D. 1410.

1 Tovey, Angl. Jud. 208.
2 Ibid. 168.
3 Simon de Montfort expelled the Jews from Leicester, and gave a charter promising that they should never return. James Thompson, History of Leicester, p. 72. Compare also Newcastle, Brand, II. 140.
4 See above, p. 288. The reiterated accusation against the Jews for clipping the coarse had led to a terrible massacre of them in 1579.
5 Tovey, Angl. Jud. 209.
6 Statutes of Jewry.
7 See above, p. 286.
8 Statutes of Jewry. (Record Edition, 1. p. 221.)
9 Tovey, op. cit. 70.
10 Rot. Parl. ii. 198 (102), 199 a.
11 Tovey, op. cit. 341.
12 L. Wolf in Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, p. 57.
13 Rot. Parl. ii. 352 (59).
any part of the realm. The continued maintenance of a
Domus Conversorum till the seventeenth century suggests
that there were at any rate persons of Jewish descent in the
country, from whom a supply of residents was maintained.
There is more reason to believe that the number of Jews
living in England was considerably increased by migration
from Spain at the time when Ferdinand and Isabella expelled
them thence; it is certain that they did not scruple to endeavour
to recover their debts in English courts of law, and they
are said to have built a synagogue for themselves in London.

When the Jews were thus expelled the feeling
against other aliens asserted itself more vigorously than before.
Englishmen were coming to be able to undertake some of the
business that had been carried on by the Jewish financiers;
and very large amounts of silver were coined at the
Mint; the resources of the Templars. Those who were enriched by these violent
changes had good openings for using their money remu-
eratively. They could undertake all sorts of business
for the king, such as farming the revenue, or the customs;
this was one source of the vast wealth of William de la Pole.
They might also obtain subsidiary offices in connection with the customs, such as that of weighing the
1 Bymer, Federa (orig.), viii. 667. On the complaints against Gaunse in the
2 Wolf in Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, 54. The baptism of a Jew named
William Fiers in 1301 is mentioned by Stow, Annales, 492.
3 Stow, op. cit. 60. Calendar of State Papers (Spanish), r. No. 89.
4 It is not easy to distinguish the Lombard alien from the Lombard citizen.
Bokerel, Mayor in 1259, whose name survives in Bucklersbury, is said to have been
one of a Pisan family of Boccherelli by Kingdom, Arch. xi. Stow notes
that the Vintners' Company included "as well Englishmen as strangers born
5 Compare the paper by Miss A. Law on The novarese riches of the XIV
century in Royal Historical Society's Transactions, 1895.
6 Moses Crump and Hughes, op. cit. p. 55.
7 He farmed the tax on wool in 1359 (Rot. Parl. i. 114 No. 92, 28) and com-
plaint was made of his extortionate conduct in this affair.

A.D. 1272

A.D. 1302

Consolidation.

wool, or weighing goods by avoir-du-poids; they might collect A.D. 1272
and sell the wool which was voted for the royal necessities; or
they might make direct advances to the crown. English-
men who had amassed capital were beginning to compete
with the Lombards in all these branches of financial busi-
ness, and parliament sided strongly with the natives and
complained bitterly of the misdeeds of the great Italian
banking companies. John Van and his Lombard partners, A.D. 1309.
who farmed the business of Exchange, enjoyed ample privi-
elges; it was said that they neglected their duties and
rendered no accounts. Edward III. had frequent recourse
to Italians, but he was also under considerable obligations to
native merchants; in 1339 he appears to have driven a very
hard bargain with the Bardi in connection with a contract
for wool, while he also postponed the repayment of money
he had received. This 'stop of the exchequer' must have
acted almost as effectively as the formal expulsion, which had
been long before proposed, in driving away the Italians from
England. By the pressure put on them the resources of the
Bardi were exhausted, and their ruin in 1345 served to shake
the prosperity of Florence to its very foundations; from that
time onwards, the public financial business, which the Lomb-
ards had inherited from the Jews, passed almost entirely

1 The importance of this office is illustrated by a complaint at Southampton.
Rot. Parl. ii. 38, No. 38, 40. See also Hall, Customs, ii. 51.
2 On the privileges of the Pepperers as the King's Weighers compare Kingdom,
Grafton's Archives, p. xiii. See below, p. 923.
3 Rot. Parl. ii. 168, No. 11, 120, No. 19 &c.
4 The papal bulls appear to have remained in the hands of Italian merchants
as depositaries (Gottlob, Aus der Camera, 120), but English Eclesiasticis were
sometimes nominated as collectors (Bymer, Federa, ii. 705, 2 Feb. 1599) also
in 1777. Rot. Parl. ii. 378-379. See also below.
5 Bymer, Federa, ii. 68. John Van and his companions are here described
as citizens, in the Rolls of Parliament they seem to be spoken of as Lombards.
6 Rot. Parl. ii. 293, No. 23. See also in Arch. xxvii. p. 396.
7 Rot. Parl. ii. 121, No. 29. See also 143, No. 58.
8 In 1399. The Bardi and Peruzzi were excepted. Bymer, Federa, ii. 1060.
9 By Bishop Roger of London in 1236. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora,
iii. 381.
10 Foro, Storia dei banconomi, 459, 469. Compare also the interesting appeal
in 1358, made by the authorities of Florence for royal bounty to save the children
of King Edward's ruined creditors from utter destitution. Ellis, Original Letters,
A.D. 1372-1377. into English hands. The ruin and partial withdrawal of the Italians was not wholly a matter of congratulation, for they left many debtors behind—probably depositors whose money had been swept away in the crash; their place was partly taken for a time by a group of Flemish bankers, who were before long the victims of Wat Tyler’s rebellion; but on the whole it may be said that during the reigns of the Edwards this large department of profitable business passed out of the hands of Jews or Lombards into those of native Englishmen.

It is much less easy to describe the precise attitude which was taken, either by the Crown or by the townsman, towards the merchants of Gascony and Flanders. Edward was inclined to favour the latter as his allies; the former were his subjects, and their country afforded the principal basis for his operations in France. The advantage which accrued from the visits of these foreign merchants, who imported wine like the Gascons, or exported wool, had been generally recognised. The clauses of Magna Carta had granted freedom to foreign merchants; and the towns, in their municipal regulations as well as by their representatives at Acton Burnel, had shown themselves anxious to encourage foreigners to come here with their wares. As a matter of fact unless aliens brought them, there was little chance of the country being supplied with articles of foreign produce at all; the presence of merchants from abroad also facilitated the sale of English wool in some ways, and parliament was sometimes inclined to rely exclusively on aliens for the transaction of this necessary business. They were indeed forced to pay customs at a higher rate than denizens; but this does not appear to have told seriously in regard to the exportation of any article but

Flemings and Gascons encouraged to trade by the Crown

2 Rubke, ii. 392. Vareconberch, Relations, 433. The Commons in 1381 beheld as Flemings all those whose pronunciation of bread and cheese indicated that they were of foreign extraction. (Statut. Am zelf, 458.) Some of the Flemings were offensive, as pursuing disreputable callings (Th. 452).
3 §§ 41, 42.
5 § 43 Ed. III. c. 1. See below, p. 310.

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A.D. 1369.

raw wool; and so far as the importation of wine was concerned A.D. 1292 they were hardly at any disadvantage at all. During the reign of Edward II, the expedient was temporarily tried of removing the chief burdens which they bore in addition to those charged to denizens; this step seems really to have been due to a city intrigue; and when this failed the new A.D. 1310 customs were reimposed. On the whole it appears that, in the early part of the fourteenth century, the rising class of English merchants were engaged in shipping to a considerable extent; we read complaints of the difficulties to which their trade was exposed in Norway, in France, in Holland and indeed ‘in all realms’. But, though it is very difficult to follow the course of events, the English shipowners appear to have been at a disadvantage during a great part of the reign of Edward III., and they were almost driven from the field. It was not till the reign of Richard II. that they established their footing in foreign trade; his Navigation Act struck a blow at the Gascon merchants, and the export trade of the country was coming to be organised in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers as well as the Staplers.

In the reign of Edward III. then it seems that English merchants were practically excluded from foreign trade, and the struggle against aliens was chiefly waged about the internal trade of the country. There was a deep-seated feeling of jealousy against such aliens as settled here and interfered with Englishmen who were dealing among each other; they were not wanted for retail trade, and were prevented from following it. The London citizens had formulated their own customs for alien merchants, but they were not able to enforce them, and they complained to Edward I. that the citizens, who bore the common burdens of the town, were impoverished by the competition of foreigners, whose stay was unlimited and who

1 The duties had been imposed by charter in 1303, and the Londoners argued that when the extra customs were abolished the privileges were also at an end. Delph, "Collection," p. 43 ed. Schanz, Handelspol. i. 248. See above, p. 277, n. 4.
2 Rot. ii. 288, 403.
3 Rot. ii. 130, 248.
4 Ibid. n. 30.
6 A tradition as to the insufficiency of English shipping, even in the fifteenth century, remained in the Low Countries. De Witt, "Interest of Holland," 218.
A.D. 1272-1377.

The townspeople wished to keep the retail trade in their own hands, as well as the business of catering for the alien merchants; they disliked any interference with callings that were already established, and they had grave suspicions against the aliens of forming rings and enhancing prices if they sold to one another. But perhaps the chief antagonism of the native to the alien merchant arose from the police system of the City, which had come in the fourteenth century to be closely connected with the guild organization; no one could obtain the freedom of the City unless men of the same mystery were ready to undertake for him. The alien who continued residing in London was neither under authoritative control nor was he liable for his fair share of taxation. Hence in his first charter Edward III. straitly commanded “all merchant strangers coming to England to sell their wares and merchandises within forty days after their coming thither, and to continue and board with the free hosts of the City (and other cities and towns in England) without any households or societies by them to be kept." The host was responsible for the behaviour of his guests, and for seeing that they did not carry English coin out of the realm or evade commercial regulations: on the other hand there is occasional evidence that the free hosts abused their monopoly, and charged exorbitantly for poor accommodation.

In the ninth year of this reign, however, parliament passed a statute conferring very large privileges on aliens: it enacted that “all merchant strangers and English-born and every of them, of what estate or condition soever ... might without interruption freely sell the same victuals or wares to whom they would, as well to foreigners as English-born," and this in spite of any local charters to the contrary. The citizens of London, however, claimed the privileges conferred on them in the recently confirmed Great Charter; and Edward, by a charter in the eleventh year of his reign, ordained that nothing should be done by pretext of the late statute which infringed the ancient privileges of the City. The privileges conferred on aliens were somewhat enlarged by another statute, which asserts the right of foreigners to sell to foreigners, all over the kingdom, and sets aside all charters that would hinder them. Possibly as a result of this legislation, however, we find renewed complaints of encroachments towards the end of Edward's reign, and notably in the Good Parliament. The answer which was given to the petition was embodied with more precision in a final charter granted by Edward III. to the City of London; it ordains that no stranger “shall from henceforth sell any wares in the same city or the suburbs thereof by retail, nor be any broker in the said city or suburbs thereof, any statute or ordinance made to the contrary notwithstanding,” with the exception that the privileges of the merchants of the Hanse League were carefully preserved.

The struggle between denizens and aliens has many aspects; not only did it involve the question of shipping, and give rise to mutual recrimination about extortionate prices, but it was to some extent a rivalry between old and new centres of trade. Up till the time of Edward III. the greater part of the wholesale trade of the country had been done at fairs which aliens were free to frequent. The policy of the fourteenth century was to draw the trade into staple towns and not to be satisfied with the occasional opportunities of trade which the fairs afforded.

95. The end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century may be taken as the culminating point of a long period of steady and solid progress. The towns,
which were the centres of commercial life, were prospering greatly, and many of them had secured full powers of self-government; their vigorous young life was free to shape itself in the forms and institutions that seemed most favourable under the circumstances of the time. So much attention had been given to the good government of the country generally, that intercommunication was more easy and commerce more secure; while it had not yet advanced so far as to render the gilds merchant and kindred organisations in each town needless, and therefore restrictive, institutions. Municipal regulations were not sensibly weakened, because they were reinforced and their scope extended by parliamentary authority. So far both these power were working harmoniously on the whole, and there were admirable social facilities for commercial and industrial progress.

We have ample evidence that this progress was real, and was generally diffused throughout the country. All sorts of arts were cultivated with extraordinary success in the time of Edward I. The monuments of the twelfth century seem to be more substantial, though their apparent massiveness has sometimes concealed grave structural defects, but there is a grace and refinement about the choir of Lincoln and the nave of York to which the earlier buildings can make no claim. Nor was architecture the only art these men cultivated with success; the west front of Wells shows us their sculpture; the seven sisters at York are specimens of their glass painting; their metal work was excellent and their bell foundries unrivalled, and their embroidery was celebrated all over Europe.

Building. There is hardly any token of general prosperity on which we may rely with more confidence than the fact that many people are able and willing to expend money in building; and the buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were not merely ecclesiastical. The great fortresses which Edward I. erected in Wales are interesting illustrations of the military engineering of the day, and show what pains the king took to render the principality secure and orderly. The improved system of estate management and account, which had come into vogue under Henry III., appears in D. 1272 -1377. to have borne fruit in many rural districts, for manorial halls were erected on the domains, and massive stone barns began to supersede the wooden erections, of which a few examples still survive. The reconstruction of London in masonry was going on, and free towns were being laid out on the most approved principles. In town and country alike building was proceeding apace, and better provision was being made for all sorts of different purposes—ecclesiastical or military, rural or urban. Especially we find that attention was directed to the improvement of communications between different parts of the country, and bridges were repaired or constructed in many places; this is in itself an indication of commercial activity.

96. The great change, which was completed during this period, in the mode of raising revenue is another proof of the steady increase of wealth. The experiment of levying taxes on moveables as well as on real property had been first made by Henry II., and this had come to be one of the main sources of revenue, when the tenth and the fifteenth were definitely fixed in 1334. There were, however, difficulties about the mode of assessment, which was sometimes arbitrary and extortionate; special complaints had been made as to the manner in which the tax was levied in 1332. When a similar grant was made in 1334, it was provided that the royal commissioners were to treat with men of the townships and tenants of ancient domain, as well as with the towns and burghs, and to agree on a composition which should fairly represent the proportion which that town or village should bear. The reconstruction of London in masonry was going on, and free towns were being laid out on the most approved principles. In town and country alike building was proceeding apace, and better provision was being made for all sorts of different purposes—ecclesiastical or military, rural or urban. Especially we find that attention was directed to the improvement of communications between different parts of the country, and bridges were repaired or constructed in many places; this is in itself an indication of commercial activity.

1 The twelfth century manor house consisted of a large hall in which the lord and his retainers dined, and lived and slept; the chapel, kitchen and other rooms were separate buildings within the court yard (coria) connected with the hall by covered passages (alcoves) of wood (Turner, Domestic Architecture, i. 59). Towards the end of the century it became common to attach a building to the hall, the chamber on the first floor of which (solar) was entered by a staircase from the hall; the space underneath was used as a cellar. There are also several examples of houses which seem to have had no hall but consisted of a lofty cellar on the level of the ground, and a solar above it (Turner, i. 5, 6).
2 There are good examples at Bredon in Worcestershire and Bradford in Wilts.
3 As at Wigmore Abbey in Herefordshire.
4 Jennerand, English Wayfaring Life, 45.
5 Rot. Parl. ii. 485, No. 105.
be called upon to pay. The payment, which was agreed upon by the representatives of the king and of each locality respectively, was henceforth regarded as the sum which ought to be contributed by that place when parliament granted a fifteenth and a tenth, and no subsequent valuations and reassessments were required. The total sum obtained at this time was nearly £30,000, and from that time onwards a fifteenth and a tenth became a mere 'fiscal expression' for a grant of about £30,000. Englishmen were always endeavouring to render their liabilities definite and import an element of 'certainty' into the taxation they had to pay; the Tudor subsidies and parliamentary assessments, as well as the land tax, were all converted from flexible into fixed methods of raising revenue. From an economic standpoint the change was most advantageous; the taxes levied on real property from time to time were as objectionable as taxes on capital would be in the present day: they swept away hoards which might have been expended on improved buildings, or roads or bridges, or which at any rate would enable the farmer to live through a famine year; they drew directly on possible sources of future wealth. But in levying taxes on moveables it was possible to make exemptions in regard to the requirements of public service, the necessaries of life and the prime essentials of future production, though these exemptions were dictated by equitable rather than by economic considerations. The stock of the farm was taxed, but the food and provender in the possession of the villain was exempted in 1225. In some of the later assessments there was a definite limit, and those whose total wealth fell short of ten shillings were exempted altogether, as people with incomes of less than £160 are excused from the payment of income-tax in the present day. Once again we may see that the principles which were implied in early practice, though not perhaps explicitly put forward, have been stated and defended by modern writers and financiers as economically sound.

The practice of raising a large revenue from exported wool was also apparently very defensible. When the foreign demand for English wool was large and growing, the expense of the payment would fall on the foreign consumer; but even if the duty in any way reduced the price which foreigners were willing to pay for wool and the imports were not so large as when trade was free, the pressure which fell on the English consumer of foreign produce would be comparatively unimportant, for England provided herself with all the main requisites of production; and a slightly increased price of wine, fine cloth and silk would not be a serious injury to the industry of the realm.

97. At the same time the inventories taken for purposes of assessment show clearly that, if there had been an increased accumulation of wealth, the ordinary householder had but a small command over the comforts and conveniences of life. A dwelling with an earthen floor, with no carpet, and in which there was hardly any furniture, where meat was served on spits for want of earthenware plates and there was no glass for drinking out of, would seem to imply the lowest depths of squalid poverty; but royal palaces were little better provided till after the time of John, and well-to-do burgesses lived in some such fashion at the end of the thirteenth century. As a matter of fact, life in the middle ages was far more social than it is now; the churches and halls were the places they frequented; occasional pageants provided them with instruction and amusement; there was little privacy, and hardly any attention was given to private comfort. This is one of the chief difficulties which confront us if we try to compare the condition of the people in different ages; if we merely consider what he could get to eat, the medieval labourer was often better off than the unskilled labourer of the present day; but he seems to have been worse housed and worse clad. After all, in regard to all such comparisons we must remember that the life is more than meat; it is probable that a medieval workman who awoke in the present generation would greatly miss the social gatherings in which he had taken part, and that if a modern artisan could be transplanted into the thirteenth
A.D. 1272–1377.

Medieval progress, how checked.

For our purpose it is more important to notice that the steady progress of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was suddenly checked in the fourteenth; the strain of the hundred years' war would have been exhausting in any case, but the nation had to bear it at a time when the Black Death had swept off half the population and the whole social structure was disorganised. We need not wonder that the long reign of Edward III. closed amid signs of general discontent and misery, and that the fifteenth century was, with some important exceptions, a time of decay and ruin both in rural and urban districts. A period of recovery came at last, but not till the old social conditions had greatly changed, and the revived industrial life was organised in institutions differing in many respects from those which were working so successfully in the time of Edward I.

III. BEGINNINGS OF COMMERCIAL POLICY.

98. We have already seen reasons for believing that Edward III.'s foreign policy was affected, if not dictated, by commercial considerations; and it is necessary that we should now enquire into the nature of the objects which he had in view. The *Dialogus* assumes that prosperity is a good thing, but Edward III.'s legislation implies definite schemes as to the best way of obtaining wealth. There was one distinct practical object which was pursued throughout his reign, and there were others which were less prominently brought forward. He endeavoured (a) to foster foreign commerce, (b) to foster industries, and (c) to check extravagance by sumptuary legislation.

(a) There were two reasons why Edward III. might be glad to see the development of foreign commerce. It brought him in a revenue by means of the customs he charged, as has been obvious in previous reigns, when so much attention was given to the collection of revenue and A.D. 1272 the organisation of a customs department. The export trade in wool had so much increased, that the customs from this one article afforded a very large revenue; this was one of the main supports on which Edward relied for the maintenance of his armies in the field. But while there was every reason to attend to this department of finance, he and his subjects also valued foreign commerce on the grounds which led Ælfric's merchant to magnify his office; it afforded the means of supplying all sorts of goods, which were not produced in England, plentifully, and therefore at a cheap rate. To make imports cheap to the English consumer, and to obtain a good sale for English exports, were the implied principles of Edwardian statesmanship; and they come out most clearly in the regulations made for the wine and wool trades respectively.

The attempt to give effect to this policy would earn the approval of all traders who were connected with the export of wool, but it involved a conflict with certain vested interests and especially with the Fishmongers, who were powerful representatives of the victualling trades. The nature of the grievances alleged against them comes out most clearly in the preamble of the statute which confers full freedom of traffic on foreign merchants, and other things to be sold shall be brought or carried, by reason whereof such stuff aforesaid is sold to the King and his people, in the hands of the said citizens,
b Burgess and other people, denizens, more dear than they should be, if such merchant strangers which bring such things into the realm might freely sell them to whom they would. Aliens appear to have taken great advantage of the freedom thus accorded, for in the seventeenth year of Edward III. it was found necessary to subject them to direct taxation, according to the length of their sojourn, when it exceeded forty days. English merchants retorted by bringing the same accusation against their rivals, for we read how the burgesses complained at a later date that the combinations of merchant strangers were to blame for greatly enhancing the price of all sorts of foreign merchandise. The desirability of providing the consumer with foreign goods on moderate terms, is generally assumed as a primary end to be kept in mind.

Protection for merchants.

A.D. 1370.

A century who let out horses to hire, and sometimes had them stolen. The dangers from perils of the deep, the whole Channel was infested with pirates. The Rhine, Calais; it was fixed at sixpence for a man on foot and two shillings for a man with a horse. An attempt was also made not only to protect their pockets, but their persons on the journey. Edward I. had endeavoured to provide safe travelling for those within the realm, but Edward III. made a beginning of affording protection on the sea. The dangers of travelling by sea in those days were enormous; apart altogether from the dangers from perils of the deep, the whole Channel was infested with pirates. The mouth of the Rhine, Calais and

Perils of the sea.

A.D. 1372–1377.

protection for wayfarers and pilgrims was a recognised form of medieval beneficence. Clay, op. cit. 1–14.

S. Malo are mentioned at different times as being their chief haunts, and a very powerful association of pirates was allowed to ravage the North Sea and the Baltic. The Hanse League had availed themselves of the dangerous aid of these freebooters during their struggle with the king of Denmark which was closed by the treaty of Stralsund; but they were not immediately able to put down the evil they had allowed to spread, though the great organisation of pirates known as the ‘Victual Brothers’ was broken up after the great naval defeat off Heligoland in 1402. They had burnt Bergen in 1392, and under their leaders, Stortebecker and Michelsen, had specially devoted themselves to preying on merchants who frequented English ports. Yet Englishmen were quite as unscrupulous in regard to depredations, for the ordinary shipmen were hardly above having recourse to amateur piracy when occasion served. The portrait which Chaucer drew, gives us the best picture of the conditions under which trading was then carried on.

1 Zimmer, Hansa Chron., 196.
2 A pitiful complaint in 1383, from the men of Scarborough, shows us the nature of the peril to which they were exposed; as their town lying open to the sea was day after day assailed by Scots, Frenchmen and Flemings in their ships, and though they had provided a barge and bolder for their own protection, they were unable to provide an effective defence without aid in manning these ships. Rot. Parl. ii. 162 (46).
3 Compare the complaint as to the conduct of the men of the Cinque Ports in 1394, Ambl. Mon. iv. 157.
4 Canterbury Tales, Prologue. The Shipman.
5 The Records of the Scotch Burgh Convention are full of interesting illustrations of these points, two centuries later.

In regard to Piracy, these burghs provided at their own expense:

Inlykemaner, that it be propoan to my Lord Regent Grace and Loirdis fadairaid, in exis the Queen Majestie of Ingland will grant and consent that sum of her schipis sall remane upur her sea coistis and watetris for purging of the saynis of pyratis, and vtheris wicked personis, That inlykwyis it may be grantit be his Grace and Loirdis fadairaid to the merchantis of this realm, upon their common charges to set forth one schip with ane bakt for purging of our Souenaris watetris of the saidis pyratis and wicked personis, and for conveying the schipis of this realm langis the coate of Ingland, and vtheris pairtis needfull, from the danger of innemesi, during sic tyme as we sail fyne gude; and incais the samyn be grantit, the commissaries of the burrowis fadairais gaves their commissioan and full powar to the provestis, baillis, and commissiunis of Edinburgh, Dondyal, Abirdene and Stralun, for the said schip and bakt to provyce men, mait, nutrition and all vther furnisings necessarie therito, during quhat tyme they sail think gude. (1574) 1. 37.

At one time the Isle of Wight was practically in the possession of a certain...
Intermunicipal arrangements may have sufficed in order to recover debts, and to prosecute civil suits, but the towns were not able to protect burgesses from violence in distant places, or to obtain redress from sailors who belonged to no recognised centre of trade. Under these circumstances, appeal was made to the king; as when some Lynn sailors were imprisoned by Haco, king of Norway. The simplest means of giving some sort of redress was to allow the aggrieved party to seize the goods, in England or on the seas, were imprisoned by Haco, king of Norway. The simplest means of giving some sort of redress was to allow the aggrieved party to seize the goods, in England or on the seas, of men who hailed from the same region, in the hope that the penalty would fall on the right shoulders at last. Thus when Bordeaux merchants had their wines taken from them by Flemish pirates they procured letters of reprisal against Flemish merchants in England. The injurious effect on the account of a debt incurred by the king to some fellow-subject must have been small, and but it must have been even more hopeless for a trader to have his goods taken on account of a debt incurred by the king to some foreigner:

John of Newport, who added piracy to his other crimes: "for he and his hath do so many gret offens in the See about the Hont, in murthering the kings people and hus fredinis, castynge them oute of bar veselli into the See as thay have commynge to the port of Hampton, bi the which the kingges Costumes of his port of Southamptun hath he lost, bi his riot kept upon the See, of v or M. maris in a viere." Rot. Parl. v. 304 (2).

1 The royal power was also called into requisition to enforce demands for redress where the municipal authorities failed. "Testatum est per Cancellarium et clericos Cancellarii quod quando communitas alienus ville testator per commune sigillum eorum quod ipse per bonam pravationem et testinumu ad dignosum intellens et quod illi cum Rex scripsit nobis eum parere mandato suo, quod extem Rex faciat arestatra infra regnum summa bona hominum pacium balarum ad valenciam et. Ideo quaero (Henry Gare, merchant and citizen of Norwich) habeat breve de Cancellario ad arehandum et salvo custodiam etc., hoc tamen adictum, quod nihil de bonis aequalis amovatur ab eum Consilio Dominii Regis." Rot. Parl. i. 1340 (60).

2 Rymer, Federa (Record), i. 206, 207. See also for Grimby merchants, xi. 110, 183. The Lincolnshire and Norfolk coast may have been specially exposed to attack, but there is frequent mention of mishaps attending Lynn vessels. A ship with men and goods bound for Perth was attacked by Stralsund pirates, who slew some of the crew and carried off the cargo to Aberdeen, where they sold it. The Stralsund authorities treated it sorely; all letters demanding redress, and Edward II. had to interfere (1318). Deinit. Collection, No. 419. The arguments about a robbery at Boston Fair by some Zealanders (1315), the responsibility of the community, and the mode of procedure, are given by Holdmedel, Norlif., xi. 344.

3 Rot. Parl. i. 379 (74).

yet this was the fate of an unhappy merchant of York, who A.D. 1272 lost £109 worth of wool, which was taken by a Flemish noble A.D. 1376, on account of a debt due from Edward III. That the fear of reprisal acted as a deterrent to keep men from trading need scarcely be pointed out. The merchants of the Abbot A.D. 1327. of Fécamp were threatened with being held liable for some losses incurred at the hands of their masters, and not unnaturally absented themselves from England.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a sort of licensed private warfare was threatened or carried on between English merchants and people of Norway, Prussia, Flanders, Scotland, Spain and Genoa. Even if it was the only way of putting pressure on foreigners to look after the piratical tendencies of some of their subjects, it must have been ruinously costly.

The assertion of the sovereignty of the sea was a states. The sovereignty of the sea.

1 Rot. Parl. ii. 383 (178).

2 To the petition of John de Barton, and his fellows English Merchants, shewing, That whereas they were within the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Fécamp with a certain ship, laden with diverse merchandize, the said Abbot and his men entered into the said ship, and the goods and chattels &c. to the loss of £15 or £20. The argument of the said Exchequer to be made against the said ship, and the goods and chattels, lands and tenements, which he hath in England. It is answered, Let the Petition be delivered in Chancery, and let the petitioners come thither, and swear they are in no way interested in the voyage, and that the ship is not their own. And if the Abbot be found a trespasser or maintainer of the goods come to his profit, then let execution be done. Rot. Parl. ii. 439.

3 The title Dominus Maria Anglicaer circumspescit had been explicitly claimed by Edward III. early in his reign, and when by the taking of Calais he had established English power on both sides of the Channel, he coined a golden noble, an engraving of which may be seen on the title-page, and which had on the reverse, a ship and a sword, to serve as emblems of sovereignty at sea. The earliest document which asserts this right is a memorandum of 12 Edward III. The claim to the sea is a natural one, and as such must have been recognised by all nations, and claimed by them all. It was made in the name of the king, and the right of jurisdiction for crimes committed at sea. C. Armstrong, Sermons and declarationes against Popery (1559), stands almost alone in protesting against the assertion of this sovereignty; as he held that the increased trade, for which it gave facilities, was not really beneficial like that in old days; then alien ships brought bullion to buy within the country instead of importing artificial wares to exchange, and so competing with our craftsmen; but his objection shows that this stroke...
A.D. 1372-1377. manlike endeavour to put down this public nuisance and establish the king's peace; and the granting of letters of safe conduct, for which special payments were made, was the first form in which the Crown gave protection to its subjects when travelling by sea, or at any rate attempted to give it. They also endeavoured to organise a fleet which might sail together under convoy. Thus in 1353 Edward III. proclaimed that the vessels sailing for Gascony should all assemble at Chalceford on the day of the nativity of the Virgin and sail thence together under the charge of royal officials. But these measures were not very effective. In fact the losses by sea were so frequent on the part of men who had arranged for safe conduct across the narrow seas that commissioners were appointed to enquire into this grievance in 1347. They served to indicate good intentions, and at length it came to be recognised that those who paid customs should have such protection as a matter of right, and not as a luxury to be specially paid for.

b. The efforts of Edward III. to improve existing and plant new industries in the country were made at a singularly fortunate moment. His connection by marriage with Hainault may probably have rendered the weavers of the Low Countries of policy benefited English merchants. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the claim had important practical bearings in regard to the duty of repressing piracy. Twiss, Black Book (Rolls Series), i. 187.

In the seventeenth century, when the success of the Dutch in prosecuting fishing off our coasts was exciting great jealousy, and when their commerce was rapidly developing, the nature of English rights became the subject of very vehement discussion; Grotius attacked the claim as absurd (De mar. libere), and Selden replied with much learning (Mare Clausum). The historical justification, such as it was, of the claim, is stated by Sir John Borroughs, Sovereignty of British Seas (1603).

1 In a somewhat similar fashion the attacks of the Saracens had led the Pisans to exercise "rights of commercial and naval supremacy" on the W. coast of Italy; while Genoa had a similar authority in the Gulf of Lyons (1158). Mas Latrie, Commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale, p. 69.

2 On the Constitutional aspect of these extra payments see Hall, Customs, i. 187 n.

3 Roth. Parl. ii. 160 (11) give a curious case of failure to afford the promised protection.

4 This was probably Calshot Castle outside Southampton Water, a point which was known as Calshot (II. VII. c. 6). The Gascony trade had flourished there in the time of Edward I. Roth. Parl. i. 193 (10).

5 Delph, Collection, clxxx.


Planting new industries. more willing to settle in England, and there is thus a close parallel between this new immigration and the earlier invasion of artisans from the Low Countries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ample evidence has been already adduced to show that the weavers' trade was carried on in many towns in the twelfth century, for we find notices of their guilds. During the thirteenth century the trade seems to have been fostered with some success; attempts were made to give the English weavers the monopoly of the home market, and they were also beginning to export cloth to Venice and Santiago. It seems that in this as in other matters Edward I. followed the example of Simon de Montfort; at any rate he is reported to have laid the foundations of the West of England clothing trade by introducing weavers from the continent. The occasional interruptions of the shipment of wool caused serious inconvenience in Flanders, and Edward II.'s prohibition of the export of teasles must also have been injurious to foreign rivals as well as beneficial to the producers in England. But though there had been a regular and steady development since the Conquest there was still room for further progress. The statute of 1526 in regard to the adulterer shows that cloth was imported from abroad, while the organisation of the staple proves that there was a large export of the raw material of the manufacture.

One of the inducements which Edward III. offered when weavers he tried to persuade the Flemish weavers to come and settle in England was the promise to give them "franchises as many and such as may suffice them"; and in this appears to have been included a certain liberty in the matter of the length of the cloths they made. The first letter of protection was given in 1331 to a Fleming named John Kemp.

1 See Appendix E.

2 Brown, State Papers, Venetian, 1265, No. 5; also Plac. Ab. iii. iv. p. 181. See above, p. 192.

3 Dallaway, Antiquities of Bristol, p. 79, but no authority is given.

4 Giry, S. Omer, 316, 323.

5 Riley, Monum. 149, 150. See Appendix D.

6 The course of progress is sometimes to be traced by incidental evidence, as in the Norfolk complaints of the adulterer. Roth. Parl. ii. 29 (50). This manufacture had apparently been planted within recent memory (I. 440, No. 170), but certainly existed at Worstead before 1316. Roth. Parl. i. 292 (18).

7 2 Ed. III. c. 11.

8 Rymer, Foederum (Record), ii. 293.
who had come with servants and apprentices, both weavers, fullers and dyers. He and his were to enjoy the king's protection, and were encouraged to exercise their craft and instruct those who wished to learn. Similar letters were issued in 1336 on behalf of two men of Brabant who had settled in York; a general measure was also passed, and in the next year special protection was accorded to a number of immigrants from Zeeland.

This promised protection would not of course have induced the Flemings to migrate unless they had been anxious to come, but there were various circumstances that made their position in the Low Countries unattractive; they suffered from grievances which were partly political and partly economic. The privileges accorded by the English kings to the towns in their dominions must have been well known, and Flemings could not but contrast the treatment they had themselves received, for they had suffered severely at the hands of Philip of France. In 1328 he compelled five hundred weavers and five hundred fullers to leave Ypres, and settle as hostages in France for three years. There is also evidence not only of royal but of municipal oppression, for towns like Ypres, Ghent and Bruges had tried to maintain their privileges in the trade and to suppress weaving in the suburbs and neighbouring villages; the struggles were similar to those which occurred in England in the sixteenth century. Even within the Flemish towns the lot of the weavers was not altogether satisfactory; and there had been

1 Rymer, *Fossae* (Record), ii. 554 2 Ibid. 969.
3 Longman, i. 28. Edward's own statement is startling. "Cum nonnulli homines diversarum misteriarum de Flandria, pro adhesionie contra nostras, a dictis paribus hominibus, et aliis partibus eorum quae ad nos halent ad dictam civitatem (London) et alia loca regni nostri Anglo pro misteriis suas exercendis et victo suo per LABORES quaerendo accesserint." Delphi, CLXI.
4 Diegerick, *Inventaire*, ii. 61, No. 430, 432, 448.
5 A charter was granted in 1322 forbidding weaving within three leagues of Ypres. Ibid. r. p. 501, No. 363, and ii. No. 315, 316, 317.
6 Ibid. r. p. 945, No. 318.
7 Ibid. r. p. 500, No. 360. *Rot. Part.* ii. 166 (10). For further details see Diegerick, *Inventaire*, ii. 125; the quarrel at Ypres was as to the kind of cloth woven. Ibid. r. p. 154, 156, 157, 154.
8 All local matters, except one for each parish, were put down outside free towns in 1342. Ibid. r. p. 155, No. 516, 518.
9 See below, p. 318.
stint their stomachs... Happy the yeoman's house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within doors soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them; yes, these yeomen in whose houses they laboured soon proceeded gentlemen, gaining great worship to themselves, arms and worship to their estates."

The king, moreover, conferred substantial privileges on this industry by re-enforcing the protective measures which had been tried in the thirteenth century; he prohibited the export of English wool, so that the clothworkers might have the material cheap; he insisted that all Englishmen should wear native cloth, and limited the class who might wear fur, while he forbade the importation of foreign cloth; and the workers in England had thus a complete monopoly of the home market. At the same time the fullest security was promised to weavers who chose to come from any country whatever and settle under the king's protection in England, Wales or Ireland. Whether all this protection was necessary to secure a footing for the new manufacture or not, the interests of the consumer were not entirely forgotten, for the aulnager and his officers were supposed to exercise a sufficient supervision as to the character of the cloth exposed for sale.

It is, of course, possible that Edward might have accomplished his object more speedily if he had made his effort in some other form; but the fact remains that he did introduce or improve the manufacture of the 'old drapery' so successfully, that the export of raw wool began to decline and the home manufacture came to flourish more and more. It is

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1 Church History, Bk. iii. § 9. 3 See above, p. 193.
2 11 Ed. III. c. 3, 4.
4 This protective system was not completely enforced for any long time. Compare 27 Ed. III. st. c. 4, where attention is given to the complaint that foreign merchants have withdrawn themselves, and the grievances of foreigners importing cloth are redressed.
5 Statutes, 11 Ed. III. c. 1–5. The London weavers were by no means disposed to welcome the immigrants. See below, p. 341. But there is far less evidence of local jealousy of alien artisans than we find in the time of Edward IV. and the Tudors.
6 Mill, Political Economy, Bk. v. 10, § 1.
7 Hall, Customs, ii. 139. See below, p. 434.

Interesting to observe, too, how closely many subsequent A.D. 1807 efforts to plant new industries followed on the lines which Edward III. laid down; they secured a monopoly to the craftsmen, while they at the same time tried to insist on a high standard of excellence in the wares produced.

This does not appear, however, to have been the only attempt of the kind that was made during the reign of Edward III. In 1366 three clockmakers from Delft were encouraged to settle and ply their trade in London; and the craft of linenweavers was also introduced before the end of the century.

c. The measure which has been already noticed in regard to the wearing of furs was at any rate partially protective; there were, however, other sumptuary laws which had no similar excuse, but were merely intended to check idle extravagance and to promote thrift. The chroniclers are agreed that the success of the English arms on the Continent, and the loot which was brought from France, tended to demoralise the nation in this respect; but even before this time there was a great increase of extravagance. We can see it in the accounts which survive of tournaments; the subjects might certainly plead that if they did indulge in costly display they were only following the example the king had set them, especially on his visit to the emperor, when apparently he was forced to pawn his crown in order to get money for himself and his retinue. In the earlier part of his reign he had legislated against luxurious living: "No man shall cause A.D. 1336 himself to be served in his house or elsewhere at dinner, meal, or supper, or at any other time with more than two courses, and each mess of two sorts of victuals at the utmost, be it of flesh or fish, with the common sorts of pottage, without sauce or any other sort of victuals: and if any man chose to have sauce for his mess he well may, provided it be not made at great cost: and if flesh or fish are to be mixed therein, it shall be of two sorts only at the utmost, either fish or flesh, and shall stand instead of a mess*. A later
statute regulates the apparel of every class of the community. It appoints the diet and apparel of servants, of handicraftsmen and yeomen, as well as their wives and children; it explains what apparel gentlemen under the estate of knights may wear, what knights with lands of 200 marks may wear, and what those with 400 marks may have; and includes details for the guidance of merchants, citizens, burgesses, and handicraftsmen, the several sorts of clerks and ploogmen and men of mean estate. At the same time it insists that clothiers shall make sufficient cloth at the various prices permitted to different classes, so that there may be no excuse for inquiring the law. We might suppose at first sight that the artisans of this period—just after the Black Death—must have been in most prosperous circumstances if they could attempt to wear the fabrics that are forbidden to them by this and subsequent sumptuary laws; but we must remember that expensive clothes might be procured for occasional use at civic and ecclesiastical functions, by those who were habitually clad in very coarse fabrics. The change of social habits and of the purpose for which clothes were bought may mislead us, if we merely compare prices, and assume that the clothes were meant to be frequently worn, and worn out by the original purchaser as they usually are now. We should think it odd in the present day if a lady left her clothes in her will to be made into vestments for a church, but this was formerly a usual bequest.

If we for a moment ignore the means by which these ends were pursued, and look only to the objects aimed at, we find that the commercial policy of Edward III. is in close accord with the principles which were generally accepted in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century. He desired to increase the volume of trade, and he legislated in the interest of the consumer, and in disregard of the claims of particular producers of wool and fish. He also endeavoured to develop a manufacture for which the country was specially suited, and showed himself somewhat cosmopolitan in inviting artisans from the Continent. He could find recent parallels to these proceedings in our colonies, if not in the mother country. He set himself to encourage thrift among the labouring population—more, it is true, by precept than example—and modern economists, especially the school of Ricardo, have followed on the same line. The necessity of procuring large supplies forced him at times to make severe demands upon the commercial classes, and his policy was prejudicially affected by considerations of immediate pecuniary gain; but it was also defective, from the manner in which attention was concentrated on commercial intercourse and the fostering of national activities was neglected.

While Edward III. thus made some new departures in his commercial policy, he also maintained the approved modes of organisation and regulation. Edward I. had named the staple certain ports and forced the wool trade into particular channels so that the collection of the customs might be facilitated; Edward III. carried this still further by the ordinances he made for the staple. The earlier history of this institution is involved in much obscurity; the merchants claimed to date, as a separate body, from the time of Henry III.; that there was some sort of recognised association of English merchants trading to Flanders is certain from the mention of their mayor in 1313, organised, when he was sent to settle some disputes that had arisen. It is not clear, however, that the 'Staplers' of later days can be traced back to this early organisation, or that there was one definite mart which these merchants frequented at first to the exclusion of others; and indeed the evidence of the a.d. 1278. Hundred Rolls renders this more than doubtful. A patent was issued, however, also in the same year—the 6th year of a.d. 1313. Edward II.—"pro certa stapula pro mercatoribus Angliae in partibus transmarinis ordinanda ac libertate pro majore
A.D. 1307

...corum... It is likely that Englishmen had before this time frequented divers marts in Brabant, Flanders, Antwerp; but this patent² insists on the evils that had arisen from allowing merchants, whether native or alien, to ship wool to any port they chose, and enjoins the “mayor and communalie of merchants of the realm” to fix on one certain staple in the Low Countries to which all wool should be taken; the mayor and council of the said merchants were empowered to enforce this regulation; subsequently the customers at the various ports were informed of the arrangements. This plan failed to give

A.D. 1338.

...satisfaction, and at the beginning of his reign Edward III. enacted that “all staples beyond the sea and on this side, ordained by kings in time past should cease,” but he did not maintain this perfect freedom of trade, for we find that a staple was regularly established in Flanders in 1343.

It is indeed possible that merchants preferred to have one assigned mart, where English produce might be regularly supplied, so that those who wished to purchase it might frequent that recognised place of sale. It has been argued that in early times, when the stream of commerce was too feebly to permeate constantly to all parts of the country, the concentration of trade at certain staple towns, or at fairs, was advantageous for industry and commerce. To this it may be added that a number of English merchants, who frequented one mart, might have political and judicial privileges granted to them such as they could not have hoped for, unless they gave a quid pro quo by pledging themselves to frequent that town. At the same time there certainly were merchants

2 Delpit, Collection, 102. (Canterbury, May 29, 1313). Delpit dates it 1315, but the reign began on July 7.
3 Hakluyt, Voyages, 1. 142. This is not given in Rymer; it embodies the patent quoted above, and was given from Dover on June 18, 1290; there was thus a further attempt to carry out the policy adopted in 1313.
4 2 Ed. III. c. 9, Statute of Northampton.
5 W. Reauch, Englishische Volkswirtschaftslehre, 133.
6 The Scotch merchants appear to have found it best to fix a staple, and not to have open trade. It is interesting to notice the privileges for which they bargained, in fixing their staple at Campfer in 1586, when they made the following demands: 1. The confering of old privileges. 2. Providing a better passage for the entry of ships. 3. To have a berth on the docks where their ships could have a quid pro quo by pledging themselves to frequent that town. At the same time there certainly were merchants

who preferred to go to other ports, as we find that they were A.D. 1307 willing to pay for royal licences to make shipments of wool to other places than Calais, when the staple was fixed there.

These economic reasons give some justification for the policy of fixing on certain staple towns; there was at all events a widespread belief in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that this was a wise step in the interests of commerce, and the English kings were only acting in accordance with the current opinion of their day. But in England the chief of the staple commodities of the realm was wool; and the organisation of the institution by the Crown and by Parliament was determined by the necessity for regulating transactions in this particular article. In connection with the livery of duties on export it was necessary to have (i) a set of collectors of customs in all the ports; there was also need for (ii) officials who were charged with the weighing of wool; while (iii) attempts were made from time to time to fix the price at which it should be sold. Authoritative weighing of wool² was not only important for the fair transaction of business between traders, but also as a fiscal measure, when subsidies were voted at such much per sack of wool; the men charged with this duty apparently found their office a remunerative one; and they, like the farmers of the customs, would have excellent opportunities, as royal factors, for taking up the large quantities of wool which the Commons granted to Edward III.² It seems probable that we must look for the origin of the great organisation which was known as the Merchants of the Staple³, to these classes of officials, according to an authoritative list. 6. Security against double exaction of the customs. 7. Freedom from convoy gift. 8. Reasonable charges by artisans and warehousemen. 9. To have premises assigned for their merchants to live in. 11. That their conservator should not have soldiers billeted on him. 12. That in all quarrels between Scotchmen and townsmen the conservator should be heard by the Court before judgment was given. 13. That in criminal suits among Scotchmen the trial should be conducted by the conservator. 14. That he should have a place assigned him for the use as a prison. 15. That they should have a chapel for their own form of preaching and prayers. Records of Convention, p. 97.

1 Rot. Parl. ii. 323 (17), y. 149.
2 See above, p. 229, n. 4.
3 Ordinance of Staple, 27 Ed. III. st. 11. c. i and c. x. Hall, Customs, 47. 4 See above, p. 277.

The new organisation of the Staple appears to have interfered with the chartered rights of weighers of wool. Rot. Parl. iii. 38, No. 39, 40.

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6 The Scotch merchants appear to have found it best to fix a staple, and not to have open trade. It is interesting to notice the privileges for which they bargained, in fixing their staple at Campfer in 1586, when they made the following demands: 1. The confering of old privileges. 2. Providing a better passage for the entry of ships. 3. To have a berth on the docks where their ships could have a quid pro quo by pledging themselves to frequent that town. At the same time there certainly were merchants

who preferred to go to other ports, as we find that they were A.D. 1307 willing to pay for royal licences to make shipments of wool to other places than Calais, when the staple was fixed there.

These economic reasons give some justification for the policy of fixing on certain staple towns; there was at all events a widespread belief in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that this was a wise step in the interests of commerce, and the English kings were only acting in accordance with the current opinion of their day. But in England the chief of the staple commodities of the realm was wool; and the organisation of the institution by the Crown and by Parliament was determined by the necessity for regulating transactions in this particular article. In connection with the livery of duties on export it was necessary to have (i) a set of collectors of customs in all the ports; there was also need for (ii) officials who were charged with the weighing of wool; while (iii) attempts were made from time to time to fix the price at which it should be sold. Authoritative weighing of wool² was not only important for the fair transaction of business between traders, but also as a fiscal measure, when subsidies were voted at such much per sack of wool; the men charged with this duty apparently found their office a remunerative one; and they, like the farmers of the customs, would have excellent opportunities, as royal factors, for taking up the large quantities of wool which the Commons granted to Edward III.² It seems probable that we must look for the origin of the great organisation which was known as the Merchants of the Staple³, to these classes of officials, according to an authoritative list. 6. Security against double exaction of the customs. 7. Freedom from convoy gift. 8. Reasonable charges by artisans and warehousemen. 9. To have premises assigned for their merchants to live in. 11. That their conservator should not have soldiers billeted on him. 12. That in all quarrels between Scotchmen and townsmen the conservator should be heard by the Court before judgment was given. 13. That in criminal suits among Scotchmen the trial should be conducted by the conservator. 14. That he should have a place assigned him for the use as a prison. 15. That they should have a chapel for their own form of preaching and prayers. Records of Convention, p. 97.

1 Rot. Parl. ii. 323 (17), y. 149.
2 See above, p. 229, n. 4.
3 Ordinance of Staple, 27 Ed. III. st. 11. c. i and c. x. Hall, Customs, 47. 4 See above, p. 277.

The new organisation of the Staple appears to have interfered with the chartered rights of weighers of wool. Rot. Parl. iii. 38, No. 39, 40.
with opportunities for private trade, rather than to the ship-
ners who frequented Flemish marts in the time of Edward I.
and Edward II. The Merchants of the Staple appear to have
attained to power and prominence at the very period when the
restrictions on Englishmen shipping wool were most severely
felt.

The policy of fixing a price for wool also seemed necessary
at a time when there was so much royal trading; it gave
an authoritative means of calculating the worth of the wool
supplied from each county for the royal needs, and the price
of Nottingham\(^1\) appears to have been fixed with reference
to these demands. But there was also a wider reason.

All through the legislation about the wool trade, we see an
anxiety to keep up the price and make continental towns
pay heavily for our product. There were few competitors in
growing wool on a large scale at that time, as the great
arrangements for pasture farming in Spain\(^2\) date from the
middle of the fourteenth century—the time of the Black
Death. Under these circumstances there was no need to
force a market by supplying wool at a cheap rate; there
was little danger that the fleeces would be left on the hands
of the growers, and their chief anxiety was to get as good a
price as possible. The high price of wool would be felt more
severely in proportion by the native weavers, who produced
coarse cloth, than by the foreigners; but it was doubtless
thought that they could recoup themselves by charging more
for their cloth, though this did not give satisfaction when
they tried it in London in 1321\(^4\). On the whole the

\(^{1}\) The price of Nottingham was assessed in 1337, and was taken as the basis of
Edward's transactions in 1340 (Rot. Parl. ii. 119, No. 10). In 1243 the merchants
complained that it was impossible to keep to this price (Hold. 149), and a new rate
was set (Smyer, Pardons, ii. 1292, and Appendix D) which was to be a minimum
for export. But the practical difficulties caused by any assize were so great that
it was determined in the following year to allow the price to be settled freely (Rot.
Parl. i. 149 a., and 156, No. 49).

\(^{2}\) Thorold Rogers, Economic Interpretation, 9.

\(^{3}\) On the organising of the mesta see Bunwick, Romance of the Wool Trade, 40.
There must however have been some importation long before that time, as we
read of the manufacture of Spanish wool in England in 1303 at Andover, Great
Gild Merchant, ii. 4, also Mason, Firma Burgi, 199. On the quality of Spanish
wool see Armstrong's Treatise, p. 28; see below, p. 458, n. 3.

\(^{4}\) Liber Custum. (Rolls), 416-425.

\(^{5}\) Appendix D Pardons, i. 1295. 30 May, 1343.


\(^{7}\) Rot. Parl. i. 149 (5). 306 (18).

\(^{8}\) Rot. Parl. ii. 166 (10).

\(^{9}\) Rot. Parl. i. 149 (8).

\(^{10}\) 27 Ed. III.

\(^{11}\) It is of course possible that the English merchants suffered from Flemish
pirates, and that Parliament believed they would not attack Flemish merchants
in the same way. On these piracies in 1271, see Varenbergh, Relationen, 407.
At any rate they deliberately transferred the export trade to aliens by prohibiting Englishmen from engaging in it at all, and as the customs which aliens had to pay were much higher than those of denizens (10s. instead of 3s. 4d. per sack) this would put another hindrance in the way of trade and a very decided obstacle to any rise in the price of wool. Their last point, that the holding of the staple in England would give a better opportunity for preventing the introduction of inferior money of foreign coinage, was probably sound, and there was also an advantage in having the merchants within reach, if there was occasion to detain any of them for debt.

The Ordinance of the Staple, which carried out this policy, named Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter and Bristol, as staple towns for England; and for each of those which was situated inland a special port was appointed; as Hull for York, Yarmouth for Norwich, and Sandwich for Canterbury. Careful arrangements were made between the mayors and the customers to secure the due payment of the king's taxes. Every facility was given to foreign merchants to frequent these marts, and they, like the king's subjects, were to be free from the exactions of purveyors on their journeys thither. All the transactions at these staples were to be taken out of the jurisdiction of the justices and the common law, and settled by the Mayor of the Staple according to the Ordinance of the Staple.

The uncertainty of the place at which the staple should be held is alleged as one of the reasons why it was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately preceding the Reformation. He argues that the removal of the staple was beneficial to the merchant class but injurious to the public, immediately pre
A. D. 1307 -1377. A. D. 1329.

Wine. A. D. 1330.

Home-grown and articles should be obtainable on easy terms by consumers.

A great deal of care was devoted from the time of King John to the management of the chief branch of import trades—that in wine, in the hope of rendering it plentiful and cheap. On the whole the Edwards were inclined to favour their Gascony subjects, and native English shipper felt themselves at a serious disadvantage during the greater part of the fourteenth century.

Edward I. gave the Gascony merchant privileges which roused antagonism in the City of London; and Edward II. continued this protection and had recourse to severe threats against the authorities of the City; the men of Cologne had similar privileges. The reason of his anxiety that these apparent in the regulations he issued for the sale of wines, merchants should be encouraged to visit London, becomes at which the different qualities were to be sold are defined the king and nobles were to arrange the callings of the ‘grossour’ and the taverner respectively, and precautions are taken about the assay of wine. The charge of this was to be in the hands of the mayor and twelve jurors to test the quality of the wine; and no taverner might sell it by retail till it had passed this scrutiny.

These regulations for the price of wine were not confined to London but extended to the provinces as well. There had been many vineyards in England in Roman and Norman times, and the manufacture was not wholly extinct. The

King held an assize of wine, fixing the price at which the wines of Poitou and Anjou were to be retailed, and also the wholesale prices. He left no little margin of profit, however, that the merchants could not continue the trade, and the retailing price was raised from 4d. to 6d. and 8d. the gallon, “et sic repleta est terra potu et potatorium.” Roger of Hoveden, iv. 99.

Delph, Collection, xxxvii.

Barnaby Googe writing in 1577 says, “We might have a reasonable good wine growing in many places of this Realme: as doubtless we had immediately after the Conquest, tylle partly by slothfulness, not liking anything long that is painfull, partly by Civil discord long continuing, it was left, and so with time lost, as appeareth by a number of places in this Realme, that keepes still the names of Vineyards: and upon many Cliffs and Hills are yet to be seen the ruins and old

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remuneration for risk was obviously regarded as a mere excuse for arbitrary demands on the part of the merchant, and these were not to be permitted at all. The operations of the English merchant were confined to two special ports, but the Gascony traders might ship to any port they pleased: under these circumstances it need not be a matter of surprise if English shipping declined for a time.

It thus appears that the Englishman was forbidden to export wool, so that it might be sold dear, and that he was prevented from importing wine, in order that it might be bought cheap; in both trades he was placed at a disadvantage as compared with the foreign allies or subjects of the Crown. The only part of this curious statute which would commend itself to modern ideas, as likely to do much for the encouragement of trade, is the last clause, which provides that the tuns and pipes should be authoritatively gauged so that the purchaser might make sure of obtaining the full quantity for which he paid; ten years later it was found necessary to have the wine gauged at Bordeaux as well as in England.

101. Other regulations to promote fair dealing in internal trade are simply copied from the ordinances that were in force in many towns. Besides the regulations mentioned above against Englishmen forestalling or engrossing important goods, we have one general prohibition of engrossing the wares that were brought to the staple towns; but there is one special case that brings out very clearly the grounds of the objection which was commonly felt against middlemen of every kind; it occurs in a couple of local Acts, which may possibly have been necessary from the double jurisdiction exercised in Great Yarmouth by the local burgesses on the one hand and the Wardens of the Cinque Ports on the other. It is an interesting illustration of the manner in which they tried to ensure fair competition in those cases where it was impossible to calculate out and settle what a reasonable price would be—as well as of the practical difficulties which rendered their well-meant efforts futile. The poor fisherman was the victim of the greed of the Yarmouth hostelers, the local consumer was outbid by the engrosser who wished to transport the fish to other markets; of course if they had been allowed to do this freely, there would have been less difficulty about the low price for fish given to the fishermen. But the attempt to remedy these two very dissimilar grievances at the same time resulted in meddlesome regulations which introduced new and unlooked for mischiefs.

In 1357 a statute was passed against the hostelers of Yarmouth and others, who made special bargains with the fishermen and forestalled their goods before they were landed or exposed in open market; a price was fixed of 40s. the last, above which no one should buy for the purpose of curing fish; the rate of profit on reselling, and the tolls that might be taken, were carefully defined, and the market was to be held in broad daylight. All these regulations were meant to let the ordinary consumer have a fair chance, and to prevent the middlemen and speculators from having special opportunities of purchase, and so setting an unreasonable price for their own profit. But before four years had elapsed it was found that the results were very prejudicial; whatever ill effects accrued from their speculations, the middlemen undoubtedly had been discharging a needed function. A new ordinance was made, which recites in a most interesting manner:

1 The feeling that lay at the bottom of this complaint was something of this sort: the resident on the spot felt that he had a first claim to the products of the place, and that only the surplus should be sent to other localities, English or foreign. The same idea underlay a great deal of protective legislation at a later time: we should find a vent for our surplus, but should not export useful commodities unless there was a surplus; see on village protection above, p. 78.

2 Ed. III. infra. The preamble recites the precise grievances; it runs as follows: Que pour cause que les gens de Grand Jersemanche enlourent les pechours, menant harang a la dite ville en temps de feyre, et achetant et forestaient le harang, avant qu'il regisse a la ville: et auxin les hostilliers de meesse la ville et herbergent les pechours venus en illoques ove leur harang, ne veulent souffrir les dits pechours venes pour leur harang, ne medier de la vente dices, sient le vendent a leur volonte demense, si cler comme il veuent et donez au pechours ce qu'il plait; pour quoi les pechours se retrevent de vente illoques et ne veulent le harang mis a plus grand chiere que angues ne lust.
manner the arguments for the statute as well as the evils to which it had given rise: the fishermen had great difficulties in personally attending the public market at the times it was open while also prosecuting their trade; the collecting of the purchase-money from all the retail buyers took up time which they should have spent in fishing, and the fishermen were thus prevented from bringing their fish to that port at all. Besides this, while the statute had thus inconvenienced the fishermen, it had done little good to the ordinary consumer; for the middlemen and merchants, or others, no longer allowed to forestall, were now ready to outbid the retail purchaser, and buy up the fish for curing, and for transport to distant, or export to foreign, markets. All that could be done to redress the Yarmouth grievance, was to give the right of selling freely to the fishermen whenever they came to port, while at the same time a prohibition was put on anyone interfering with another buyer while he was bargaining—a piece of trade etiquette which is still very generally observed. The supplying of a town with fish was a trade in which the intervention of middlemen was almost inevitable; the Fishmongers in London had regulated the terms of supply from time immemorial in their Hallmoot, and they succeeded in obtaining a status which enabled them to exercise extraordinary influence in London affairs and national politics.

There was also a good deal of discussion about the Assize of Cloth, and the action of the aulnager. The manufacturers of worsted cloths had been accustomed to make them of various lengths from 24 to 50 ells; but the aulnager insisted on all the cloth being made in pieces of 24 ells only, which did not suit all the buyers so well. They subsequently complained that the diversity of wool with which they had to work made it impossible to keep any specific standard, and attempts were made to abolish the office of aulnager altogether; this was not done, but his duties were differently defined, and restated so as to suit the views of merchants who imported cloth from abroad. According to the new scheme, he was to give an authoritative statement as to the length of the cloths exposed for sale, but was not to insist that goods, which were not up to the old English standard measure, should be forfeited. In accordance with the liberty thus granted to foreigners a customary assize seems to have grown up in different districts, as the later statutes on the cloth manufacture insist on definite measures for all cloths, but on different measures for cloths of different make.

Under the new system there must have been less temptation to stretch short cloths so as to bring them up to the required standard.

Though there was little fresh legislation on the subject, there was much organisation connected with the authoritative weighing of goods. Just as the Libripendes attained to considerable importance in the times of the Roman Empire, so one, if not more, of the great livery companies seems to have come into being in connection with duties of this kind. The pepperers had a leading share in nominating the officials who were admitted to the office of weighing aver-du-pois, and in 1316, they made ordinances for weighing. Some of the leading men among them appear to have been of Italian origin, and they certainly dealt in spices and other goods.

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1. See below, pp. 378, 383.
2. See below, p. 430.
6. The origin of the name seems to be indicated in an ordinance of the time of Henry III., Quod nullus mercator extraneus vel alias vendat vel emat aliquod avarum quod ponderari deboat vel ternaci niali per statarem vel ternam nostram (Lib. Alb., p. 188). An early dispute on the subject (Rot. Part. 1, pp. 47, 992), seems to show that it was used by Spanish merchants at Southampton (1300 and 1314). The origin of this metrical system, with 16 oz. to the lb. is somewhat obscure, a closely analogous system has survived in Madrid, Lisbon and Marseilles (Martini, Manuale di Metrologia), and there was also an analogous system in the Low Countries (Lib. Brugis, Cologne). The pound of 16 English ounces of 460 grains, mentioned in Flore (c. 11), or of 25 shillings as it is defined in the Metrum de ponderibus (6750 grains), is possibly a rough approximation to the present aver-du-pois pound of 7000 grains.
7. See above, p. 349, n. 4.
8. The wares weighed by aver-du-pois are enumerated in the Liber Albis.
which reached England from the south of Europe; in 1345, they united with the spicerers in forming the Grocers' Company—a body which exercised a predominating influence on London affairs in the latter part of the fifteenth century. They may have derived their name from the popular complaint against them as engrossers, but it seems possible that they assumed it from their wholesale transactions, en gros, or even from their dignified office of weighing by the peso-grosso; they came to have charge both of the king's and the wool beam—the statera or the trone. Their rivals, the Mercers, were originally peddlers and retailers of goods in small quantities; their earliest ordinances date from 1347, and they seem to have had official cognisance in the City of the standards used in retail trade. It has been suggested above that the official weighing of wool was one element of the organisation of the Staplers; the Grocers had the p. 330, and are distinguished from "sotile choses." A distinction between "peso grosso" and "sotile" survived till 1483 at Genoa; the former system—which differed from the English aver-du-pois—being used for merchandise in general, the latter for retail transactions and fine goods: mercers, jewellers, druggists and confectioners used the latter. Martini, Manuale di Metrologia, p. 214; see also for Frankfurt, 3. p. 313.

3 Compare the use of the word for a wholesale wine-merchant, p. 318.
4 See above, p. 323, n. 9. "Mercer in ancient times was the name for a dealer in small wares * * * Mercersies then comprehended all things sold retail by the little balance or small scales, in contradistinction to all things sold by the beam or in grosses, and included, not only toys, together with haberdashery, and various other articles connected with dress, but also spices and drugs; in short what at present constitutes the stock of a country shopkeeper. The Mercers in these periods of simplicity, chiefly kept the fairs and market places; for we learn that in 1290, mercers who attended the French fairs for trading, in some instances not only kept their wares and only paid a half-penny toll, whilst others who elevated their goods on stalls paid a penny." Herbert, Livery Companies, p. 320.

3 J. G. Nicholas in Middlesex Arch. Soc. Trans., v. 119.
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In the time of Edward III. "the Company also appointed a common meter of linen cloth and silk, a common weigher of raw silk and tackle porters to do their work at the waterside." Report of London Livery Companies, xxxvii. ii. 2. For the fifteenth century see Middlesex Arch. Soc., v. 140.

* See below, p. 362.

1 37 Ed. III. c. 5. Rot. Parl. ii. 277 (23), 280 b. See also, p. 362.

2 Longman, Edward III. i. 117.
need not be surprised that the better coins continued to be exported and light and debased coins, known as pollard, crocads, scaldings, brabants, eagles, rosaries and others, were brought by foreign merchants into England. Three different expedients were tried in order to remedy these evils.

a. It was proposed that every merchant should give security to bring 40s. in plate into the realm for every sack of wool he exported. This was decreed in the following year, though in a modified form, requiring only that 16s. 4d. should be thus secured; and it was hoped that plenty of bullion would thus be supplied to the mint.

b. It was proposed that certain foreign coins, Florins de Ecu, should have free circulation in this country for sums over the value of 40s.; this was not done; but after consultation with the goldsmiths as to the fineness which should current coin (Archaeological Review, iii. 20); and that prices remained fairly stable because the value of silver was slowly rising, so that the practical effect of diminishing the size of the coins was to prevent the fall in nominal prices which must otherwise have occurred, so far as we know the conditions of the time. Professor Thorold Rogers on the other hand assumes (Economic Interpretation, p. 194) not only that payments were made by weight, but that they continued to be made by the old weights till the time of the Tudors. In support of this view the payments for certain pieces of plate are quoted, but Mr Seebohm's careful calculations have shown that these prices would be excessive if reckoned according to the old and heavy weights, and that Professor Rogers has greatly underrated the value of silver in the fifteenth century. His assumption lands us in several other difficulties in regard to the value of silver before the discovery of America. It also seems to imply that all payments must have been made in the weight, i.e. by weight, since the rates by weight and by tale would differ so much.

On Mr Seebohm's view there would be no difficulty in having some payments by weight and others by tale as was actually the case at the time of the Domesday Survey. See below, p. 545. In so far as payment of money by weight was practised in London in the thirteenth century it seems to have been a cumbersome business. De antiquis legisbus libri, 25.

Gold was commonly paid by weight till much later times, as at fairs in Ireland in the eighteenth century. When Henry V. insisted that all gold should pass by weight (9 H. V. st. ii. c. 11; st. iii. c. 9) he made no similar provision for silver; gold was accepted in 1421 by greatly diminished weights, as 5s. 8d. was to count for 6s. 8d. in payment of the fifteenth and tenth. Rot. Parl. iv. 151 (10).

1 Ruding, i. 204, gives little explanation of these terms; the coins appear to have been made of a white metal which resembled silver. A pound weight of 'Lushbournes' (Luxembourg coins) was only worth eight shillings. Rot. Parl. ii. 160 (16), and some of the Flemish money appears to have been so debased that a pound of it was only worth forty pence. See Appendix D.

2 Rot. Parl. ii. 205 (14).

3 Roding, Annals of Coinage, 2o1.

4 Roding, Annals, 2o1.

5 Roding, Annals of Coinage, 201.

6 According to the calculations of Messrs Crump and Hughes the complaints of the badness of foreign coins were much exaggerated. Economic Journal, v. 62.

7 Roding, Annals, 201.

8 Rot. Parl. i. 444.

9 Ed. III. c. 11.

10 Ed. III. c. 21, and 14 Ed. III. c. 11, cf. also Rot. Parl. ii. 136 (16).

11 Rot. Parl. ii. 205 (14).
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A.D. 1307—1377.
A.D. 1346.

be adopted, and in conjunction with the people of Flanders, a gold coin was struck for currency both in England and Flanders, and some attempt was made to come to an agreement as to a common silver coinage as well. This gold money was not required for internal trade, and as it was at first somewhat overrated, people were unwilling to receive it for silver. In order to retain a supply of good silver coin in the country, a proclamation was issued forbidding anyone to carry any money, except the newly minted gold, out of the kingdom; while to meet the convenience of merchants in the north it was coined in York as well as in London. This bimetallic circulation did not answer its purpose, and it gave rise to a good deal of internal complaint; bad foreign money, especially of the coinage of Luxemburg, continued to find its way into England. The Commons complained most bitterly of the wrongful gains of those who introduced such money.

In 1351 the king appears to have been wearied out with the struggle to maintain the old standard of coinage; and an entirely new coinage, both of gold and silver, was issued, of the same fineness but of considerably less weight; the standard of the money issued was thus reduced towards the standard of the money in circulation. This was by far the most sudden change in the value of the current coins that had yet taken place, and it caused no little dissatisfaction.

Two things are noticeable as to the actual manner of carrying on this business of coining; it was let out from time to time to different persons. Similarly the business of exchange, which furnished the channel by which the Mint might be supplied with bullion, was maintained as a royal prerogative and farmed out to different merchants from time to time; others might exchange for mutual convenience, but not for the sake of profit. Both of these are repetitions, though on a larger scale, of the methods adopted by Edward I., while the regulation of the goldsmiths' craft, and reliance on their advice, also recall his statute on the subject.

A.D. 1351.

Similar monetary difficulties were felt in other lands; the Flemings made a strict law against the exportation of bullion, and this rendered it impracticable to carry out the payments required on each sack of wool imported from England. The Scotch coinage was suddenly debased, and as it had circulated freely in England, the change caused much inconvenience. But there is one point that is well worth attention in this English legislation on the import and export of bullion; it seems to have reference to coinage and coinage alone. There is a desire to 'increase the money of the country, and therefore to get more bullion which should go straight to the mint and be coined, but no hint of trying to amass treasure; the plate which was to be brought in for each sack would do little more than serve to pay the customs, it would not pay for the wool. The effort to prevent the influx of inferior money is as constant and persistent as the effort to prevent the export of the good coins. On the other hand there was no objection to the good gold money, which hardly circulated internally, being exported, and merchants were allowed to re-export money which they had not spent in goods. When, A.D. 1353 later in the reign, the export of gold and silver was prohibited an exemption was still made in the case of those who imported fish, who might apparently carry money away with them if they liked. Edward III. dealt with the question as a mere matter of the circulating medium; he lived before the times of bullionists or mercantilists, and his experiments and regulations are unaffected by the prejudices which arose later, and which we have outgrown.

103. The reign of Edward III. also furnishes us with the first of an important series of statutes defining the hours and wages of the labouring man. These had not of course been unregulated up to this time; the custom of each manor, and the ordinances of the gilds in each town had hitherto sufficed; but in the presence of the terrible plague which swept over England in 1349, the frame of society and

1 Rot. Parl. ii. 127 (14). 2 17 Ed. III. 3 Piers Plowman, b 82. 4 Hasting, Annals, 1. 236. 5 25 Ed. III. c. 12. 6 27 Ed. III. c. 6. 7 19 Ed. III. c. 6. 8 Ibid. 9 160 (15). 9 Rot. Parl. 10 452.
the ordinary instruments of social authority were entirely shattered and it was necessary for the central government to interfere. This is the principal case, during the reign of Edward III, in which Parliament took over a department of regulation that had been hitherto left to local bodies; they were thus carrying out the policy of Edward I. in another direction, as well as continuing to work on lines he had already laid down.

Of the ultimate effects of the Black Death in its successive visitations and the impulse it gave to far-reaching social changes it will be necessary to speak below, but a few words may be said as to the extent of its ravages at first. The terror which it caused is noticeable in the extraordinary change which was brought about in the artistic representations of death about this time: the horrors of the actual visitation can certainly not be described, nor, for that matter, easily imagined. It has been argued that about half the population of England was swept away by this visitation; and though we are tempted to treat the estimates of contemporaries as exaggerated because of the horror which the new and sudden death caused, they appear less impossible when the records of the time are examined. The chief of these, for larger areas, are the records of the institutions of Creighton (Epidemics, r. 149). He appears to be mistaken in supposing that De Mussis was actually on board the vessel which brought the infection to Genoa. (Gasquet, Great Pestilences, 4 n.)

1 Compare the regulations for Builders in London, Appendix A; also in the time of Edward I., Liber Ouat. ii. 541.

2 A good account of the causes, nature, and character of this disease as well as of its moral effects is to be found in Hecner's Epidemics of the Middle Ages, pp. 1-66. Part of the horror it caused was due to the sudden and unexpected outbreaks.

3 Creighton, Epidemics, r. 202 f. In an Indexmaxima by Edward IV. of letters patent of Henry VI. the impoverishment of Winchester is ascribed to the repeated plagues;—"now through frequent plagues and withdrawals of citizens and merchants so ruined by the destruction of eleven streets seventeen churches and 997 houses within the last fifty years that it is quite unable to pay the tax farm rent of 100 marks." Kitchin, Winchester (Historic Towns), p. 174.

4 The evidence for different towns, districts and ecclesiastical houses in England has been carefully discussed by Dr Creighton (Epidemics, t. 120), and more exhaustively by F. Gasquet (Great Pestilences), who has collected an immense amount of valuable material. His work serves to bring out the long-continued effects of the plague, and the slowness of the recovery from its devastations. The condition of Florence and other Italian cities, which has been recently examined by Dr Kowaleski, is curiously analogous to what we read of England.


clergy to benefices; for particular villages, the records of A.D. 1367-1387 show that all allowances for the ordinary death rate, more than half the parish priests died during the year, the latter give us instances where whole villages were practically annihilated. We shall not be far wrong in saying that nearly half of the population was swept away at this time.

1 Jessopp, The Coming of the Priests, 196.

2 See Appendix B.

3 The researches of Dr Creighton and F. Gasquet tend to confirm this estimate.

4 Much greater difficulty arises if we try to estimate not the proportion but the number of deaths; that is to calculate the total population at the time. This has led to a controversy between Mr Seebohm and Prof. Thorold Rogers (Fortnightly Review, ii. iii. iv.). The latter discontinued the discussion on the ground that no time is lost more thoroughly than that devoted to arguing on matters of fact with a disputant who has no facts but only very strong convictions. (Six Centuries, 117). Mr Seebohm had argued that the tax rolls of 1377, which give a population of about 2½ millions, represent pretty closely the population as left by the Black Death, since the return of the plague in 1391 and 1399, and the unsettled condition of the time had probably left little room for any increase of population between 1350 and 1377; he therefore supposes that the population before the Black Death may have been five millions (Fortnightly Review, ii. 158, iv. 89). Professors Thorold Rogers holds that the population had recovered from the ravages of the plague in the twenty-five years which immediately succeeded, because he cannot admit that medieval England had the means of supporting a larger number. The reasons for assigning this limit are, his conviction that the populace lived practically on wheat, and that the area of other cereals sown may be neglected for this purpose. He refers to the Assize of Bread, which indeed only mentions wheat, but which supplied the basis from which the price of bread of other grains could be calculated (see Appendix A). But oatmeal and other cereals than wheat were commonly used for food. In the allowances provided for various servants, the rival had equal quantities of wheat and rye, the other men had more rye than wheat (Denton, Fifteenth Century, 817). Steffen (Eng. Lohnarbremen, 294) insists that Rogers' argument only applies to the counties in the south and east, and that wheat did not become the common food of the people in the north and west till a later date. The case against Rogers' view is put more strongly by Savina, in Oxford Studies, t. 119. The area of food-producing land may therefore be taken as much larger than that which Professor Rogers assumes (Seebohm, Fortnightly Review, iv. 88); he has failed to show that five millions was an impossible population in 1440.

5 Professors Thorold Rogers also adopt another line of argument, and works backward from the time of Henry VII. and Elizabeth, when the population may be put at between two or three millions, and expresses a conviction that as there had been no change in agricultural production, population could not have been larger in 1440. But there was a great alteration for the worse during the fifteenth century: sheep farming was substituted for tillage in many places, a change which Professor Rogers postdates by a considerable period, as he underestimates its importance before the time of Elizabeth (see below, p. 463 n.). Besides, the south-east of Kent, to which he specially refers, was exposed to attack from 'Enemies,' while there is some reason to believe that the soil was more exhausted (Denton, Fifteenth Century, 158). If under these circumstances of decreased tillage and greater insecurity a population of two and a half millions could be sustained

1 See Appendix B.

2 See Appendix B.
While the plague was actually raging Parliament could A.D. 1307 not meet, but a proclamation was at once issued by the king with the advice of certain prelates and nobles, of which the

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proclamation A.D. 1349, 

All Saints and S. Giles. App. to Sixth Report of Commission on Historical MSS., 299. See also Dunstan in Norfolk. Buckling’s Suffolk, i. 195.

Some interesting information as to the plague in Lancashire is obtainable from a document in regard to claims for probate duty, as well as the administration of the estates of persons who had died intestate. It was printed by Mr A.G. Little in the English Historical Review, 1890, p. 524, 1891, p. 153.

On the enrolment of wills in London see Sharpe, Willa, xxvii. Many orphans died at Sandwich, and the Mayor as trustee had to make special arrangements for their property. Lyon, Dover, ii. 306.

Walsingham (Hist. i. 278) puts the mortality at more than half, and mentions the common opinion that not a tenth of the people of the country were left alive. The numbers given for Leicester seem to be exaggerated, unless they cover a period of years (Bateaon, Records of the Borough of Leicester, ii. p. lxiv.); Exkington states (Decem Scriptores, 2929) that 280 died in the little parish of S. Leonard, more than 400 in S. Cross, and more than 700 in S. Margaret’s parish; his account of the ravages of the plague in Southern Europe and the East is also interesting. There was formerly an inscription in the Church at Great Yarmouth which reckoned the deaths there at 7,052. Weaver’s Funeral Monuments, 862.

A similar record has been preserved about Bodmin. In registro apud Bodmin Ecclesia fratrum minorum Magna pestilencia per invensum mounds Inter Saracenos quam paganos et posteri Christianes Exceperunt primo in singularis circa Kalends Augustus et posterior anno sed diam dominii Intermittit villam Bodmin villa mortua fuerat circa Mille quinquecentum per pestilenciam Et rexus fratrum defunctorum vt in capitolio generali lagabur celebraverunt asso christi 1351 vae ad alius sequens capitulum generaliter fuerat de fratrum tristidiae nullis octingenti octoginta tres excepta sex victinis. Itinerary of William of Worcester, Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, 210, f. 28.

1 Hist. Parr. ii. 265 (4). The corresponding state of things in other countries is worth comparing. A good deal of evidence for Italian towns has been collected by Dr. Kovalovsky in his article in the Z. f. Social- and Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1895.

In France a great Ordonnance dealing with all matters of trade and industry was issued in 1350, which contains the following clause (Tit. 52, Art. 231): Son qui

III.'s

p. 377. From account it seems that the chief difficulty in France lay with the gilds of artisans who about this time endeavoured to insist on monopoly rates for all work done by craftsmen. Classis operatrices, i. p. 396.

In England the disturbance of prices affected all persons who lived on fixed incomes, and appears to have been severely felt by Parish Priests, whose demands for increased fees and payments were met by a statute in 1362. 36 Ed. I. c. 8. 2 Ed. III. The plague first attracted attention in London as a public danger at the very end of 1348, as the meeting of Parliament had to be postponed (Pamela, iii. i. 109). The proclamation about wages was issued, according to the copy printed in the Statute Book, on 25 June 1349; in Rymer it is placed in 1350, which would have allowed a very long time to elapse without any intervention (Pamela, iii. i. 198). Parliament did not meet till February 1351.

As one immediate result there was great difficulty in getting labourers; the difficulty was aggravated in those cases where the tenants had died off and the lords were left with large holdings on their hands and no means of working them; while they lost the prebendar services of those deceased tenants on the home farm. There was consequently an immensely increased demand for hired labourers at the very time when their numbers were so much thinned, and it seemed as if the agriculture of the country was completely ruined. A very vivid picture of the widely spread disaster is given in the story of a Cambridgeshire chantry at Bottisham. Sir Thomas Chedworth had endowed it in 1348, but he found in 1351 that the estate which was intended to support two secular priests was only sufficient for one, so greatly had the revenues declined. The new instrument by which the original deed of foundation was altered states that owing to the vast “mortality of men in those days ... lands lie uncultivated in many places, not a few tenements daily and suddenly decay are pulled down, rents and services cannot be levied nor the advantage of them generally had can be received, but a much smaller profit is obliged to be taken than usual.”

under the Tudors, the numbers at the beginning of the fourteenth century might have been considerably larger.

The results, which are of a somewhat negative character, may be stated as follows: (1) that the population was pretty nearly stationary at over two millions from 1377 till the Tudors, (2) that circumstances did not favour rapid increase of population between 1350 and 1377, (3) that the country was not incapable of sustaining a much larger population in the earlier part of Edward III’s reign than it could maintain in the time of Henry VII.

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the preamble states that "many seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants will not serve unless they get excessive wages," and that consequently the land can be scarcely tilled. Everyone, free or villan, who can work and has no other means of livelihood, is not to refuse to do so for anyone who offers the accustomed wages; each lord is to have the preference in hiring the men on his own estate, but none is to have too many men for his work; no labourer is to leave his employment before the specified time; nor to receive more rations or wages than he did in the twentieth year of the king and the common years before that; none are to give or take more wages in town or country,—for the proclamation mentions saddlers, skinners, tailors, shoemakers and other craftsmen,—subject to definite and severe penalties. After thus enjoining the old terms with respect to wages, the proclamation insists on reasonable prices for victuals and all the necessaries of life; and announces a strict penalty against valiant beggars—who though able to work preferred to wander about as tramps, while those who gave them support were to be imprisoned; this and a previous clause seem to imply that there was some system organised by the labourers to enforce their demands. Subsequently the same regulations were enacted by a statute 1, insisting on the accustomed wages for work of various kinds,—mowing, reaping, threshing, the labour of carpenters, masons, plasterers, their servants, tilers, and carriers, as well as shoemakers and other craftsmen,—and at the same time decreeing a limit for the price of corn and other victuals, and insisting on the use of the old measures. Strenuous efforts were made by the appointment of special justices to bring these measures into operation; the sums obtained in the form of penalties offered a new source of revenue, and were at first applied to the relief of existing taxation 1. In the year 1360 the penalties were rendered far more severe, as labourers and artificers were no longer to be merely fined but imprisoned without the option of bail; those who broke their agreement and went into another country were to be outlawed, pursued and branded with F "for their falsity"; while towns where runaways were harboured were to be fined ten pounds 1.

There are very many interesting points to be noted in regard to this legislation. It had two different sides,—in the first place it tried to fix fair rates of wages, and in the second to insist that men should do work if it was offered them and not become vagrant tramps; this second object of the statute marks the beginning of a great part of our legislation in regard to the poor—not the destitute poor, but the 'valiant beggars'—and it has been much less criticised than that which fixed the rates of wages. But as in the case of the legislation for trade, so in regard to these regulations for wages, there is need of a warning against trying to judge about the facts of the time, unless we first attempt to comprehend its ideas; it is difficult to agree with Mr Seebohm 2 and other writers in thinking that it was unjust to try to prevent wages from being determined by competition, when the prices of goods were not so determined. Prices were then so closely connected with wages, that there seemed to be good ground for expecting that if wages were forced back to their old level the abnormal prices would no longer be demanded. Both the proclamation and the subsequent statute attempt to regulate prices and wages together, both in town and country districts, and to go back to the time when normal rates had ruled 3. Under these circumstances it is not reasonable to denounce these statutes as tyrannously oppressive towards the labouring classes.

In spite of the strenuous efforts to enforce them, the statutes do not seem to have been very successful in driving back the rates of wages. Competition for labour was keen;

1 84 Ed. III. c. 9, 10, 11.
2 Fortnightly Review, II. 273.
3 Chronicles, 1346. Contemporaries remarked on the variations of prices. Under 1387 Holinshed notes, "The King sought by all possible how to recover monie, both to supply his charges for the Scottish wars and also to furnish the other wars which he meant to take in hand against the French King: he got so much into his hands that it was very scant and hard to come by throughout the whole realm: by reason of which scarce-". He kept abundance of merchandize, and other chaffer and other necessarie cause, vittels and other chattels and merchandize were exceeding cheap," in p. 605. When peace was made in 1348 and wealth poured into England, so that most "English maides and maistres were bedizened and trimmed up in French womens jewels and apparel" (Holinshed, p. 649), the drain of coined money would cease and prices would be likely to rise: the simultaneous reduction
and wages were not kept at the statutory level though they were "kept for ten years at a lower level than what resulted from a regime of free competition"; and they also gave employers an increased hold over labourers who went off before their term of service was up. But the shock to society brought about a greater mobility of labour on the whole, and the era of competitive wages had begun. Parliament failed in the attempt to go back to the old customary conditions; and began to make persistent efforts to organise a new system of reasonable wages, and regulated prices to be enforced by central authority. It is by a curious irony that the conditions were "kept for ten years at a lower level than would have been expected competition with all its severe pressure on the weak labourer by contractors and sweaters, should have been so much shocked at the men who refused to regard competition as a satisfactory means of determining wages, and who endeavoured—with little success indeed, but still honestly—to calculate wages that should be fair.

IV. CRAFT GILDS.

104. No industrial institution in the Middle Ages has attracted more interest than the craft gilds, but though a considerable mass of documentary evidence is available for the study of their practices and powers, there has been a curious conflict of opinion in regard to many fundamental questions about them. Increased investigation of local archives will doubtless throw fresh light on points which are still unsettled; but in order to read aright the evidence at present available, it is necessary to resist the temptation of the size of the coins would of course make these fluctuations more striking.

Another author recognized the connection between the continued demands of the labourers and the advance of prices which was due to the depreciation of the coinage in 1351. Willelmus de Edyngdone exceptavit et fecit insculpiti novum monetam, saltem grossum et dimidium grossum sed haec erat minortas ponderis guam correspondens summae sterlingorum. Quae rerum facta expetit occasio, quod victualia sive mensalia foce per tomat Anglum magic car. Operarii vero et artifices ac servientes prorsum callidiores et fraudulentiores solito sunt effecti. Thomas of Walsingham, Hist. Angl. i. 576.

1 As e.g. in Mr Howell's Trades Unions. The distinction is admirably drawn by Mr and Mrs Webb, and the opinion that the modern Unions had an historical connection with the old gilds is disproved. History of Trades Unionism, 14.

2 This appears to me to be a defect in Dr Brentano's Essay in the Introduction to Toulmin Smith's English Gilds: a work which deservedly attracted much attention, and influenced the treatment adopted by Mr J. R. Green and others.

3 Ibid. 121. The new ordinances which were then established, providing for the reception of weavers from abroad (c. 14), and in regard to the court (cc. 12 and 25) are not commonly found in gild regulations. Compare also Ibid. 416 seq.

4 Regalum instiliorum urbis. Tappenberg, Hund, Urbanskanderbuch, t. p. 56.

5 Nitsch, Ministerialitat und Burgerthum, p. 203.

6 See above, pp. 189, n. 6, and 223, n. 1.

to seek for parallels with the policy of modern Trades' Unions, and to beware of pressing the similarities between English craft gilds and their continental analogues too closely. It may be worth while to recall the conclusions already stated as to the earlier history of the towns before going into any details about those industrial organisations. Some reason has been adduced above for believing that craft gilds (or corps de métiers) existed in the Norman, Flemish and German towns in the twelfth century, and were first introduced into this country as royally authorised organisations among alien artisans settled in English towns. They appear to have been in occasional conflict with the town authorities, but by the beginning of the fourteenth century the causes of disagreement seem to have been set at rest; and the Mayor of London had succeeded in establishing authority over the Weavers' Gild in 1300. From that time onwards gilds were organised among the inhabitants who worked at one craft, with the consent and approval of the municipal government, and were utilised for certain purposes of police and regulation by the town officials.

But though the craft gild seems to have been of foreign extraction, the circumstances of the English towns in which it had taken root must have greatly affected its growth. In German towns in the eleventh century there were privileged merchants who carried on foreign trade. They were not a very large class, but they had a position of superiority in the towns, and in the thirteenth century these wealthy merchants made an oppressive use of their powers. In England there does not appear to have been any corresponding native class in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as
so much of the foreign trade was done by aliens. A class of wealthy London dealers had grown up in the fourteenth century, and they formed organisations of their own, like the Fishmongers, Grocers, Mercers, Drapers and Vintners' companies; but in many towns craft gilds had taken shape before special classes of dealers in wares were organised, and without being subjected to the hostile influences of which the artisans in Flemish cities complained.

As distinguished from the twelfth century weavers' gilds, which took their authority from the Crown, the fourteenth century craft gilds were created with the approval of the civic authorities, and controlled by them. Some friction may have occasionally occurred in the differentiation of craft gilds and delegation of authority. A very early instance of the formation of such a craft gild is found in connection with the lorimers, who did the smith's work for bits and other harness: "These are the provisions which the forgers of lorimery in London have provided by the common counsel of them all, and with the assent of Sir William FitzRichard, the then Mayor of London, and the other barons of the same city, for the amendment and relief of the mistery and the honour of the city, and for the abating of all guiles and trickery." They insist on the Saturday half-holiday and various other holidays; they provide against the enticing away of apprentices, and fix the terms on which apprentices may be taken and strangers received to work. "These provisions aforesaid to hold and to keep all those of the mistery have sworn, and before the Mayor aforesaid and the barons of the city have granted; and, for the greater surety, all the masters of the mistery and the wardens likewise have confirmed this writing with the impress of their seals."

The doings of the cordwainers are also of interest. Whereas many good folks cordwainers of the City of London have given to understand unto John le Blount, Mayor, and unto the Aldermen of the same city, that some persons of their trade work false things—that is to say, mix balsam with cordwain, and calfskin with cowskin, and cut out shoes of balsam, of calfskin, and of dogskin and sell the same to knights and other great lords of the land for cordwain and kid:

"And that many of the mistery trade with denizens and strangers, and are not freemen or sworn to the franchise, to the great scandal of the craft and the damage of the common people of the land, rich and poor; and it is ordained, as for a long time heretofore it has been provided and established, that those who shape and make shoes shall mix no manner of leather with other, but shall make them wholly of one leather, &c."

"And for the maintaining and performing of these points there are chosen four proved men of the mistery who are charged to go each month at least, and at all times when they shall hear that there is necessity, throughout the trade and make search; and the articles they shall find made and mixed they shall take and bring into the chamber of the Guildhall, to take their award before the Mayor and Aldermen according to the law and the usages of the City of London.

"And the said four men are charged upon their oath that all the names of those who become master cordwainers and others makers of shoes, and who trade with denizens and strangers, who are not sworn to the franchise—that such names they shall present unto the Chamberlain of the community, to be shown unto the Mayor and the Aldermen...."

"And it is forbidden that the servant workmen in cordwaining or others shall hold any meeting to make provision which may be to the prejudice of the trade and to the detriment of the common people, under pain of imprisonment."

1 French, Bazen, inferior leather made from sheepskin (Riley).
2 A tawed leather made in imitation of that of Cordova in Spain, similar probably to the modern morocco leather (Riley).
3 Liber Cust. ii. 335. 4 Ministerum, not more rigorous.
The ordinances of the London crafts were enrolled in the City records, and alterations were only made by the City authorities; the oath of the masters and wardens, as well as the attempts of the civic authorities to strengthen their hands, testify to the fact that these industrial bodies exercised their powers under the constant and friendly supervision of the City authorities. The people of Exeter were careful to preserve full control over the cordwainers' gild; for they compelled them to deliver up their powers every year to the town authorities, and to pay a fine for having renewed; and the evidence of the compositions, or annual agreements between the town authorities and the gilds, which survive for one place or another, illustrates the care that was taken to maintain complete control over the gilds. In the case of the building trades generally, it appears that the Mayors and Aldermen did not encourage the formation of gilds, but kept powers of direct regulation in their own hands; they were also always ready to put down self-constituted authorities.

In the above cases we see that the craft gilds received authorisation from the municipal authorities; where the town had no real rights of self-government, the craft gild might derive its authority from the lord of the manor, as was the case with the Cutlers' Company of Sheffield in its early days. When the industrial monopolies were effectively controlled by local authorities, as was secured by the administrative system at Bristol, there seems to have been little trouble; but disputes arose in cases where any gild of craftsmen claimed to be independent of local authority. This had probably been the real reason of the disagreement between the twelfth century weavers and the towns; and difficulties of the same sort arose again and again where aliens were introduced into a town under royal protection. The Flemish weavers, who were introduced under Edward III., did not at once fall into line with the established crafts. The London weavers were anxious to retain a monopoly, and they would in any case be unwilling to have so many skilled intruders settling among them. When they had to submit to accept the Flemings as neighbours, they tried to force them to belong to the Weavers' Gild. This the king refused to allow; but subsequently the Flemings and Brabanters organised an alien Weavers' Gild of their own, with the approval of the Mayor and Aldermen, and the quarrel was set at rest when the civic jurisdiction was fully recognised.

The same sort of difficulty, from the incomplete control of the local authorities, occurred in other towns besides London, and the Commons complained in 1376 that many of the Mayors of burghs were prevented from exercising their office thoroughly, by the special charters which had been granted to certain misteries, and that these special charters might be rescinded so that the hands of the local powers might be strengthened. In one instance—that of the tailors of Exeter—the difficulty cropped up in the time of Edward IV., owing to the special charter they held from the king, which enabled them to defy the municipality.

1 Hunter's Hertfordshire (Gatty), p. 150. The Oyster-dredgers of Faversham, who are said to date from the time of Henry II., are described as governed by customary laws and amenable to courts appointed by the Lord of the Manor. 
3 They apparently were guilty of abusing their privileges to their own advantage, e.g., by refusing to admit qualified strangers. 
4 Ashley, English Woollen Industry, 47. 
5 Maddox, Piennas Dyer, 283. 
7 Hunter's Hertfordshire (Gatty), p. 150. The Oyster-dredgers of Faversham, who are said to date from the time of Henry II., are described as governed by customary laws and amenable to courts appointed by the Lord of the Manor. 
8 Hunter's Hertfordshire (Gatty), p. 150. The Oyster-dredgers of Faversham, who are said to date from the time of Henry II., are described as governed by customary laws and amenable to courts appointed by the Lord of the Manor.
9 Riley, Memorials, 306, 351.
10 Hunter's Hertfordshire (Gatty), p. 150. The Oyster-dredgers of Faversham, who are said to date from the time of Henry II., are described as governed by customary laws and amenable to courts appointed by the Lord of the Manor.
The purpose of these gilds was the regulation of work in such fashion that the public might be well served, and that the trade might therefore flourish. The conditions of supply and demand in each city were so well known that it was possible to attempt to bring them under control, and the whole industrial life was governed by different ideas from those which are at present in vogue.

Today each manufacturer works to produce at as low a price as possible, and thus to force a sale for his goods by their cheapness. In old times the effort was to secure satisfactory conditions for production—skilled workers and honest materials—and to ensure a price which should be reasonable to receive, and therefore reasonable to pay, for such wares thus made. The tendency in the present day is for the conditions and quality of work to conform to the market price, and to be ruled by the opportunities for sale, whereas in old days the conditions of production were attended to first of all, and the price asked and the development of the trade were rendered conformable to these prior and fundamental conditions. It is, of course, true that the two sets of conditions must react on one another, but none the less has the change been very striking; it comes out more curiously perhaps in the proceedings of mercantile than of industrial associations; but it was the real basis on which all medieval dealings were supposed to rest and on which all gild ordinances were founded.

In order that the trade might thus be well conducted it was necessary that the wares should be of good quality; but this could only be secured if men who were really skilled in the trade were appointed to supervise, with a right of search into all that was done by the craftsmen; they had to see to the quality of materials, the skill of the workmen and often to the time of working. Thus night work was apt to be secret work and badly executed work; while it gave opportunities for fraud and was also objectionable as disturbing to the public; and it was consequently prohibited.

1 Thus the Bakers were to examine any strangers who came to the town and wished to follow their trade, and to report to the Mayor whether he was properly skilled, and of good standing for dwelling in the same city. Riley, Memorials, 977.

That in some instances the members of the craft gilds were also members of the gild merchant is abundantly proved. The history of industrial life in Shrewsbury has been preserved in unusual detail. We there see that from its first foundation the gild merchant contained craftsmen, and as time went on and special gilds were formed for special trades their members continued to possess the privileges of membership in the gild merchant. Dr Gross has quoted cases where the aggregate of craft gilds were spoken of as the gild merchant; and it may be regarded as established that in such towns as Reading, Andover, Carlisle, Ipswich and Kendal at all events, the old gild merchant lived on, not so much as a distinct body, but in the life of the separate crafts into which it had been specialised.

I venture to add two remarks, which may serve as suggestions for further enquiry, though they are little more than speculations at present. There is one feature in some English craft gilds which inclines me to think that this process of specialisation, which has been established in one or two instances, was not uncommon. According to the ancient custom of London, the man who served his seven years' apprenticeship in any trade became, not merely free to practice that particular calling, but free to trade in any fashion within the City. There was a recognised liberty for a freeman to change his business, and this ancient right,

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1 At Wisbech a religious gild was the precursor of the civic corporation which obtained its charter from Edward VI. Watson, Wisbech, 172.
2 Poulson, Beverley, 112.
thoroughly often attacked was never abrogated; this custom was probably in vogue in the towns which followed the custom of London. This curious usage is quite intelligible on the supposition that the crafts were all mere branches of a body as a gild merchant, and that each formed an avenue by which an apprentice became free of all the trade privileges of the town; but it is difficult to reconcile with the suppositions that the craft gilds were formed either by association in self-defence or by the civic powers with mere reference to the economic efficiency of each industry.

Medieval gilds were very numerous both in town and country places: but even when existing solely for religious objects, they appear to have been formed by men and women of some social status, and to have been somewhat exclusive. When the institution came to be adapted to be an organ of industrial regulation, within a town, it did not lose this exclusive character, and the craft gilds appear to have had a trade of a Wool Facker, and betook to himself the trade of an Upholsterer, as lawful it was for him: to do. As to the first question, which is the lawfulness of the custom, it was agreed to be good; for it might have a reasonable construction, beginning and just cause for the putting of it in execution, in so much that London, being a famous City for traffique and commerce, cannot but sometimes have merchants and tradesmen in it, who by misadventure of Pyrates, or Shipwreck in the Seas, or by the confiscation of their goods in foreign Countries abroad, or by casualties of fire etc. at home have their estates sunk; and it were lamentable, that when inevitable casualties have disabled a man to proceed in that course wherein he was brought up, he now should not be permitted to acquire his living by any other trade. Also it may be, that the trade wherein he was an Apprentice, required great labour and strength of the body, as the trade of a Smith, Carpenter and such like, and that through sickness or other disasters befaln him, he is become infirm in body and weak in strength, whereby he is not able to use that trade. Now to debar him of all other trades which are more befitting his crazy body were somewhat unreasonable. Wherefore, to meet with these inconveniences, and to give encouragement unto the Citizens and Freeman of London, this custom of relinquishing the trade whereunto they had been apprenticed by the space of seven years, and betaking themselves unto another trade, hath had a perpetually allowance, and being grounded upon so good reason, still hath its continuance, and may not any ways be called in question for the unreasonable of it.  

High status of craftsmen

CRAFT GILDS.

Consisted of the aristocracy of labour, and its membership was recruited from those who had trading privileges in that town. In London the boundaries were not a very well defined and important class, and there seem to have been large bodies of half-instructed helpers and unskilled labourers who had no part in the gild at all. The good men of the trade governed it, with constant supervision from the town authorities, but the craft gilds can hardly be regarded as democratic bodies; they were apparently the élite of each trade, and each was closely attached to the interest of a particular town. There seems to have been less regular intercommunication among men of the same craft in different towns in England than there was on the Continent; and these features in the craft life are at least congruent with the opinion that the craftsmen here inherited the local exclusiveness of the guild merchant. This is confirmed by a consideration of the trades in which craft gilds are known to have existed; in London almost every possible industry had its own guild, but there are some remarkable omissions in the later lists. It almost seems as if, when weaving was diffused through the country and regulated by statute, the weavers' gilds, which had been the earliest of all—fell into abeyance; while we have hardly any evidence as to the labour organisations among the masons who built our great cathedrals. That there was organisation we cannot doubt, but it seems to have been based on different lines from that of the ordinary craft guild. The English craft gilds were formed not merely of any men who were skilled in some craft, but of those who, being free to trade within some place, practised a particular handicraft. In

1. This point is well brought out by Mr and Mrs Webb, *Trades Unionism*, 87. Compare also *Mrs Green, Town Life*, ii. 101, who refers specially to the case of Norwich in 1340. Hudson, *Lost Jurisdiction*, 16.  


3. The ordinances of the Gilders are most instructive on this point. The London gilders had a charter which gave the wardens of their trade a right of search along with local gilders throughout the kingdom; and the custom of the London craft would be likely to influence those of other towns. (Riley, *Mem.*, 154.) The London rules insist that no one should take an apprentice unless he was free of the City, and that no stranger should be admitted to work unless he would serve as an apprentice or buy his freedom. No woman were to be set to work in the trade with the exception of the master's wife or daughter. Compare also the
any case where membership of the gild merchant went along with membership in the craft gild, the right of the craftsman to change his trade becomes intelligible, and the comparative exclusiveness of the crafts would be the natural tendency in gilds developed on this basis. Just because the craftsmen had the fullest trading privileges in these towns, their gilds were less able to welcome or find a place for members who did not possess such freedom to trade.

The curious difference, which may arise in the development of similar institutions, is illustrated by comparing the town history of Scotland with that of England. The Scotch towns derived much of their constitution from Newcastle and the custom of London; but there was a strong Flemish influence from the first, and this was officially recognised after the war of Independence; while the weakness of the royal power in Scotland gave rise to political conditions which resembled those of Flanders rather than of England.

The division of the inhabitants into guildry and burgesses reveals a state of affairs like that at Bruges or Ghent; for the guildry appear to have been an inner circle or mercantile aristocracy, and the mere burgesses did not attain to full trading privileges. Nothing analogous to craft gilds, or 'trades,' appears to have existed in Scotland till the fifteenth century, and at that time each craft was regulated by a deacon appointed by the town, which was practically governed by the guildry. During the fifteenth and sixteenth century the trades (or crafts) were constantly struggling to obtain the power to elect their own deacons, and to have a share in the government of the town, but it was only at the close of the sixteenth century that they attained these desired privileges. The local privileges survived till 1846, and gave articles of the spurious prohibiting aliens of another country or foreigners of this country from following or using the trade unless they were enfranchised. Ibid. 237.

1 The merging of the gild merchant in the constitution of a town would tell against the position of women in craft gilds. Women might be members of the gild merchant but not burgesses; and would have no standing in craft gilds consisting of burgesses. (See below, p. 512.)

rise to frequent cases in the courts of law, so that the study of old town life in Scotland is facilitated by its survival till recent times. But the continued existence of the guildry as an active body, and as a body from which the craftsmen were excluded, serves to accentuate the difference of development in England and Scotland respectively; such remarkable divergences in the external relations and internal rules of the craft gild bring out the necessity of studying the evidence about this institution as it is found in each country, and not trusting to the argument from analogy, however tempting it may be.

106. When craft gilds reached their full development the members were ranked in three distinct classes:

(a) Apprenticeship seems to have been at first a private arrangement between a master, who was also a householder, and a youth whom he undertook to instruct in his business; but it had become a recognised institution before the fourteenth century, and was subject to public regulation in London, and other towns adopted a similar practice. During the fifteenth century it became the usual, if not the only, method of entering a calling. The position of the apprentices may be most easily understood from the terms of an indenture of the fifteenth century:

"This indenture made the eighteenth day of September the year of our Lord 1580.

1 In Scotland the deacons concerned themselves with viewing articles exposed for sale, but the right of search by the wardens, into the materials and conditions of manufacture, was little exercised; there was much laxity in Scotland about the terms of apprenticeship and the essay or masterpiece was the chief test of fitness for the trade; little is heard of that in England though something of the sort was required by the London Grocers Company in 1555 (C. H. Welch, History of Grocers Company, I. 93. See also p. 538 above. The growth of apprenticeship in England has been carefully traced by Miss O. J. Dunlop in an unpublished essay on the National System of Apprenticeship.

2 These grades are found in the highly developed gilds of Paris as early as the thirteenth century (Riétor Bollet, Livre de métier), and they are apparently alluded to in the thirteenth century Assize of Bread, where servants and lads are mentioned as well as the baker (see below, p. 568).

3 Bristol, 1344 (Bickley, Little Red Book, 90), Lincoln, 1328 (Toulmin Smith, English Gilds, 133).

4 Miss Dunlop points out that the older practice had been to admit any men who could prove that they were skilful workmen into the craft gild (p. 342, n. 1 above); but that this practice, though not wholly forgotten, became much less common after the middle of the fourteenth century.

"This indenture made the eighteenth day of September the year of our Lord 1580.
year of the reign of King Edward the iiiith the xxth between John Gare of Saint Mary Cray in the county of Kent, cordwainer on that con partie and Walter Byse, son of John Byse sumtyme of Wimelton in the same county, fuller on that other partie, Witnessith that the saide Walter hath covenanted with the saide John Gare for the time of vii yeres, and that the saide John Gare shall find the saide Walter mete and drink and clothing during the saide time as to the saide Walter shall be according. Also the saide John Gare shall teche the saide Walter his craft, as he may and can, and also the saide John Gare shall give him the first yere of the saide vii yeres iiid in money, and the second yere vid and so after the rate of iiid to an yere, and the last yere of the saide vii yeres the saide John Gare shall give unto the saide Walter x shillings of money. And the saide Walter shall well and truly kepe his occupacyon, and do such things whereof the parties aforesaide chaungeably have put their partie, Witnessith that the saide Walter hath cove

There are many additional illustrations of the position of apprentices as it was defined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some rules are intended to protect the masters against an apprentice leaving before his full time had expired, or leaving in the master’s debt.

At Coventry (1520) no caper was to take an apprentice unless he had two sureties that he would perform his covenant; if the apprentice complained that he had not sufficient “finding,” and the master was in fault, the apprentice was to be removed on the third complaint and the master would have difficulty in replacing him. Once a year, the principal master of the craft was to go round the city, and examine every man’s apprentice and see they were properly taught. The Clothiers’ regulations, which appear to be of about the same date, though they are incorporated with rules of a later character, had a system of allowing an apprentice to be turned over to another master if his own master had no work, so that he might not lose his time. In Norfolk, where a similar custom was in vogue, the masters were liable to very severe punishment if the change worked unfairly to the apprentice.

(b) In describing the position of the apprentice it has been possible to draw on evidence from a later date, as well as the rules which were enforced in the fifteenth or sixteenth century at all events serve to illustrate the condition of this class. But there is much greater difficulty in obtaining evidence about the journeymen; this class is not so clearly defined as that of the apprentices, and we have not sufficient data to distinguish with certainty between skilled and unskilled helpers in any craft. The records of some continental towns are full of regulations for the journeymen; we read at S. Omer that they were not to seek work at shops but were to wait in public to be hired, that preference was to be given to the decayed master, and to the burgess of the town over the foreigner. In England the journeymen had occasionally a position of importance; but for the most part the rules about them and the serving men are confined to insisting on the responsibility of masters for the conduct and welfare of those they employed, and with laying down that no master is to entice away another man’s servant, and that the servants are not to combine among themselves and make congregations. The evidence which we have as to the condition of the journeymen comes almost entirely from times when disputes occurred between them and the masters. Such difficulties arose after the Black Death among the London Shearmen, when the serving men and journey-

1 Pastor Letters, r. 378.
2 In some places on the Continent the journeymen class was not more clearly defined than in England. Bombast, Der moderne Capitalismus, r. 117.
3 Giry, S. Omer, r. 349.
4 At Exeter in 1481 two of the Cordwainers’ Wardens were shopholders and two were journeymen. English Gilds, 232. The ordinances of the London Bawyer were agreed to by the serving men as well as the masters. Riley, Mem., 248.
5 Heamers, Riley, Mem., 239, Braders, Ibid. 277.
6 Shearmen (1350), Riley, Mem., 247, Olivera, Ibid. 245, Braders, Ibid. 277, and Pewterers, Ibid. 244.
7 Ibid. 247, 250. See also the general order, 233.
men were combined in a demand for higher wages. But similar trouble had arisen among the cordwainers as early as 1306 and the journeymen were forbidden to make ordinances for themselves. In 1387 there was a great conspiracy among the servants in this craft to raise wages; they maltreated a blackleg who would not join them, and relied for assistance from the Court of Rome on the kind offices of a friar. At the same time these conspiracies appear to have been merely occasional, and there is at present little evidence that English journeymen united in permanent associations, such as were common on the continent. This lack of organisation is not improbably connected with a difference of practice, for English journeymen do not appear to have formed the habit of spending some Wanderjahre in perfecting their acquaintance with their craft.

(c) The master was a substantial man and a householder who both from his skill and his position in the town could undertake the responsibility of training an apprentice. The members of his household had a recognised position, for his eldest son could claim to become free of the craft by patrimony, while he was prohibited from employing other women. In the case of the London weavers these rights descended to his widow, but in a restricted form; for if she subsequently married a man who was not of this craft, she had to relinquish her house to someone who was a weaver. Even in this carefully limited form the right seems to have been exceptional; for the position of women was much less favourable in the gilds of London than in Paris. In the French town women workers had gilds of their own, which were organised on exactly the same type as the other corps de métiers; while women members were definitely recognised in many of the other bodies; women workers do not appear to have been

under any disability on account of their sex. In London, A.D. 1307

on the other hand, there seem to have been no organisations among women workers in the fourteenth century, and the privileges they enjoyed were very restricted. That they were regarded as mere outsiders may also be inferred from a statute, which left them free to pursue various callings while it restrained any artisan from following more than one.

V. ECONOMIC DOCTRINE.

107. The rapid development of trade, which had taken place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had rendered commerce a very important element in social life. The commercial classes had attained an independent status in their gilds merchant, and their representatives were able to take a decided part in the government of the realm. And as merchants had such a distinct and well marked position, and were such an important factor in the State, it was natural that special attention should be given to their requirements, and that men should reflect on the conditions which would promote the prosperity of merchants and through them that of the realm. The time was ripe for an advance in economic doctrine, for economic phenomena could be easily examined as a well marked group of social affairs.

The fourteenth century too rendered some examination of commerce, and especially of the medium of exchange, not only possible but inevitable. In many countries the coinage had been much debased, and internal trade as well as foreign commerce was hampered by the scarcity and defective character of the circulating medium. The most in-

2 Lib. Cost. (R. S.), 84.
3 Riley, Mem. 406. As Mrs Green points out the friars were in several cases accused of aiding and abetting these movements. Town Life, ii. 139.
4 The yeoman and bachelors gilds, see below, p. 443.
5 Schanz, Gewerbl. Verbande, p. 81.
6 Webb, Trades Unionism, 23 n.
7 English Gilds, 139. Riley, Memorials, 273, 379, 547.
8 Riley, Mem. 124.
A.D. 1272—1377.

The most interesting economic treatise of the time, written in England, deals with the subject of the currency; the Tractatus novae monetae was probably the work of Walter de Barde, a Lombard who held the office of Comptroller of the Mint during a great part of the latter half of the fourteenth century; he describes the technicalities of his department in a fashion which invites comparison with the dialogue on the organisation of the Exchequer. He treats at some length of the purchase of metal for coining, and of the business of the mint, especially of the trial of the pyx; but while he writes as an authority on these technical points, he hardly touches on any of the financial questions about the currency which were coming to the front. Grave practical difficulties had arisen in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III.; and the various proposals put forward show that the legislators were feeling their way and had no clear doctrine in regard to money and coinage. A very successful effort had been made by a French bishop, however, before the end of Edward III.'s reign, to investigate the whole subject; and his treatise De mutatione Monetarum may be regarded as the first careful study of the reviving commercial life of Europe. Its interest lies partly at least in the fact that it is not a mere re-setting of fragments of classical learning, but is a careful examination of the actual difficulties that were felt in commercial circles at the time when the author lived.

Some information in regard to the economic doctrine of the fourteenth century may be obtained from another source; the condemnation, which City authorities pronounced and enforced on certain forms of business, gives us an insight into City opinion as to the legitimate and the baneful use of commercial capital. The sixteenth century worked a revolution in mercantile habits and ordinary business practice, as in much else, but even as early as the fourteenth century there were conditions which favoured the growth of a moneyed class; it is interesting to see the problems which exercised men's minds at this time, as well as to trace the influence on industry which the nouveaux riches exerted in the fifteenth century.

108. During the whole Edwardian period we have seen how a conscious regard to the well-being of the realm as a whole was superseding the mere municipal privileges of the earlier reigns. In the work of Nicholas Oresme, which was apparently written in 1373, some years before he was elevated to the see of Lisieux, this comes out with great clearness. It was known and circulated in England and an English version was attempted by a translator who was quite incapable of carrying out the work intelligently, but his unsuccessful effort at all events proves that the work was known and valued in England in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. It had to do with questions of coinage—a matter of pressing interest both in England and France. Before dwelling on the economic doctrine it contains, however, we may just note the political principles embodied in it.

The fundamental point in his whole argument is the assertion that the money of a country belongs to the community and not to the prince; it is not the sole possession of the monarch, as it is not intended for his sole use, but for a social purpose. The prince has authority to issue coinage and regulate it, though it is not his own possession, but that of the whole body who have the use of it. From this principle the author deduces an opinion that the expense of minting should fall on the community; and he also insists that the prince has no right to make a gain out of the coinage or to tamper with it in any way.

The object which the prince should keep in view in all acts of government is clearly stated, while the conduct of the prince and the tyrant is contrasted. The tyrant aims at his own private gain.

1 My attention has been called to this treatise by Mr. Hubert Hall, who has discussed the authorship in his Introduction to the Red Book of the Exchequer. The treatise is also found in the British Museum, Lansdowne, 171.

2 Means Crump and Hughes suggest that the treatise was written in the reign of Edward I., but that in its present form it contains insertions made in 1350; they make no attempt to solve the question as to the identity of the author. 

Economic Journal, vi. 81 n.

355 ECONOMIC DOCTRINE.
good and tries to subordinate the subjects to this end; the
king on the other hand prefers public to private 'utility,'
and next to God and his own soul he loves the good and the
public liberty of the subjects. The whole treatise is full of
references to the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, such as are
not common in fourteenth century books. It is also interest-
ing because the author disputes the opinion expressed in
the Opusculum attributed to S Thomas Aquinas, and shows
that the prince has no right to make gain out of the coinage.
So grave are the economic evils which come from debase-
ment, that the community itself could never be justified in
delegating a power of this kind, and the prince neither
possesses it inherently nor is there any source from which he
can receive it.

Even though this treatise did not fulfil the author's
expectation and serve to set all controversy on the subject
of coinage at rest, it may fairly be credited with very great
practical results. During the reign of John the Good, and
especially in the years 1359 and 1360, the French coinage
had undergone a series of constant variations; and the evil
effects of the uncertainty thus produced were everywhere
patent. Nicholas Oresme as the tutor, or at least adviser,
of Charles V. had ample opportunity of indoctrinating that
king with his own views on the currency, and during his
reign practical effect was given to the views expressed in
this treatise and the fluctuations ceased, with most beneficial
results as far as the commerce of France was concerned.
M. Wolowski has pointed out that Nicholas Oresme
formulated opinions which were prevalent and were embodied
in a great ordinance of 1355, issued from Paris. It is also
ture to say that some of the views he promulgated were
those on which Englishmen were acting. This is especially
obvious in regard to the political principles which he put
forward; with him the 'communitas' is not the commune,
but the commonwealth. He is not merely concerned to
promote the well-being of some incorporated town, as
against other towns, but he deals with the whole body

1 c. 22. 2 Prolusiose. 3 Wolowski's edition, p. xxxi.
4 p. xlvii, note. 5 c. 1. 6 cc. 16, 21. 7 c. 2.
precious metals; they can be readily handled, they are portable, and they have much value in small compass. All these qualities gold possesses in a high degree; but it is not always available in such abundance as to be a sufficient medium of circulation, so that it may often be necessary to use silver also, and even baser metals like copper or an alloy of silver like black money, which is specially convenient for small payments. He lays down as a rule that if two kinds of metal are circulating together, the more precious should not be alloyed, but should be kept above suspicion, while a sufficient supply of money may be provided by an alloy of the less precious of the two.

Next we have a discussion of the different ways in which money may be altered. The stamp on the coins may be altered, but this is of little importance, as long as it involves no farther change; though there may be good reasons for calling in the old coinage when this is done, if worn coins or debased foreign coins are in circulation. Again, the ratio of exchange between gold and silver may be altered; Oresme assumes that 20 to 1 is the ordinary ratio of exchanges, and he rightly holds that their ratio as coins ought to follow the relation of gold and silver as commodities, and that there should be no arbitrary rate. This is perfectly sound as far as it goes: the farther question—what determines the ratio of exchange between gold and silver—is one on which he does not enter; and indeed it was not satisfactorily dealt with even by the economists who discussed recoinage in the time of William III: they had made but little advance on the medieval doctor.

He then passes to consider another expedient—that of altering the denomination of the money by affixing a new sense to the old names; if only one name is altered while the others are preserved, that is a change of ratio; but if all are altered, so that the ratio is preserved, there can be no good result; and it ought not to be done, because it is merely false and scandalous to call that a pound which is not a pound. Besides it will be really prejudicial to those who have made agreements about regular payments, such as rents, in terms of coin.

Diminution of the weight of coins, as well as the coining of less pure metal, are both condemned as false, and unworthy of the prince; but the latter is worse as it is less easy to detect: "magis est sophistica et minus perceptibilis et magis potest nocere et plus lade commoditatem." All through there runs the idea that for the prince to issue money, under his own image and superscription, which is not what it purports to be, is mere lying; and that to try and get gain by so doing is to grasp at wealth which is not really his. In one very interesting chapter the author proves that to get wealth in this way is worse than usury—in fact it is a depth of depravity to which Aristotle's contemporaries had not attained, so that the philosopher does not discuss it at all. For the usurer lends his money to one who has made a voluntary contract with him, while the prince who debases the currency deprives the subject of good money and gives them bad, whether they like it or no.

The author follows out the evils that arise from debased currency in some detail. The prince may have to condemn utterers of false coin, but how scandalous if he were guilty of the same crime himself. There is a temptation to get gain in this way rather than by levying taxes, because it does not cause such immediate complaint; but it is all the more perilous on that account: for where bad money has been issued, good money will be carried out of the realm, however careful the supervision may be, and debased money, similar to that which already passes, will be imported from abroad. In this way the bullion of the country will be diminished, and if there are no mines, the prince will not have the necessary material for issuing coinage. Altogether it may be said that a very large number of points of economic doctrine in regard to coinage are discussed with much judgment and clearness.

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1 c. 3.
2 c. 9.
3 Verumtamen ista proportio debet sequi naturalem habitudinem auri ad argentum in praepostitate, et secundum huiusmodi habitudinem est huiusmodi proportio, quam non licet voluntario transmutare, nec potest jusve variari, nisi proper causam realem, et variationem ex parte ipsius materie, quam tamen rare contingit. c. 10.
Evidence has been already adduced to show that during the fourteenth century a moneyed class of Englishmen was coming to the front. English capitalists had ousted the Jews and Lombards from their position as intermediaries in public finance; they had been temporarily balked in their endeavours to force their way into foreign trade but they were more successful in their efforts to secure a command of internal trade. The existence of this capitalist class gave rise to many interesting developments of town life and industrial institutions in the fifteenth century, which we shall have occasion to consider below; but even in the fourteenth the ethical questions connected with the use of capital were engaging the attention of the City courts. One case has been recorded which serves to illustrate the nature of the monetary transactions in the City, and the opinions of business men about them.

In the month of January, 1377, Ralph Cornwaille, of Broad Street, made a complaint to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. At the preceding Michaelmas he had been anxious to get a loan for a period of three months, and went to two brokers, one of whom was a Lombard, to procure it for him, at the same time promising them a commission for their trouble in the matter. The brokers found that Walter Soutous was willing to lend the money (either his own or acting on behalf of a friend) on receiving security for the repayment of the full amount on a given day from Ralph Cornwaille, as well as similar security from Ralph’s friend, John Tettesbury. When the necessary documents were complete, however, the brokers only advanced £10 to Ralph; at the time of repayment, he tendered the £10, which was all he had had, but Walter Soutous refused to receive it, persisted in his demand for £2 more, and sued Ralph before the Sheriff, to his “great wrong and damage.”

The case was a hard one according to modern ideas, for 20 per cent. was an extravagant charge for a three months’ loan fully secured; but the wrong which rankled in the mind of Ralph was not that the interest was extortionate, but that he was called to pay interest at all,—to return anything more than he had received—and his view of the case was fully endorsed by the City authorities before whom the matter was re-opened. Some years before this time, King Edward III. had empowered the men of the City of London to form a special tribunal to deal with cases of the sort. They had framed their own ordinances and they had full power to enforce them. In the present case, Ralph Cornwaille was declared free from all obligations in connection with the debt, and Walter Soutous was condemned to be imprisoned till he made over double the £2, which he had tried to get by usury, as a forfeit to the City of London. He had, with the cognizance of the brokers, disregarded the ordinances of the City of London against usury,—ordinances which the public opinion of the day completely endorsed—and there could only be one result, according to the law and feeling of the time, when such conduct was brought home to him.

1 Riley, Liber Alloc. (4to.), 328.
2 Fras. in 1630. “Whereas heretofore the City of London has sustained great mischiefs, scandal, and damages, by reason of certain persons who, neither for love of God nor for shame of the world, cease, but rather do daily exert themselves to maintain the false and abominable contract of usury, under cover and colour of good and lawful trading; which kind of contract the more subtly to deceive the people they call ‘exchange’ or ‘chevisance,’ whereas it must more truly be called ‘mischeaunce,’ seeing that it ruins the honour and soul of the agent, and sweeps away the goods and property of him who appears to be accommodated, and destroys all manner of right and lawful traffic, whereby, as well throughout the land as the said city, they ought principally to be upheld and maintained.” In 1390, additional explanations were framed. “And whereas such ordinance is too obscure and it is not comprised therein what is especially usury or unlawful chevisance, Adam Bamme, Mayor, and the Aldermen with the assent of the Commons of the said City in the Guildhall assembled on the twelfth day of May in the fourteenth year of King Richard the Second with good advice and wise deliberation declared, with the assent aforesaid, have ordained and declared these articles as to usury and chevisance, in manner following, that is to say,—If any person shall lend or put into the hands of any person gold or silver, to receive gain thereby, or a promise for certain without risk, such person shall have the punishment for usurers in the said ordinance contained.” Riley, Liber Alco. (4to.), 319, 344. Complaints of ecclesiastical laxity in this matter are not unfrequent. Compare Parl. J. ii. 280 (24) and 541 (68).

The Commons petitioned in 1376 that the ordinances of the City of London be enforced against usury and that similar powers be given to the bailiffs and mayors of all cities and boroughs. Parl. J. ii. 280 (24). On the transference and extension of municipal customs in earlier times see above, p. 294.
The conditions of business in the fourteenth century were such that banking operations were very circumscribed. Though bills were used for the transmission of wealth, there is a striking difference between those times and ours in the absence of commercial credit as a basis for transactions of other kinds; there were no bank notes or cheques, or other instruments of credit. We must remember that transactions were carried on in bullion; men bought with coins and sold for coins; loans were made in coins and repaid in coins; a special coin was struck for payments to foreign countries; and thus the whole currency was metallic. There was no paper circulation of any kind; this continued to be the case, for practical purposes, till the latter part of the seventeenth century. Dealing for credit was little developed, and dealing in credit was unknown; hence there was no room for a large part of the functions of modern banking.

It might have been supposed, however, that there was scope for business in money changing; that just as the modern banker receives payments in "promiscuous money's worth," and converts them into money, so there was need of some men to distinguish the different values of the coins of different countries, and to supply merchants from abroad or merchants going abroad with current coin in exchange for the money they had with them. This was certainly a very difficult business; and the necessity of accomplishing it somehow led at a later time to the establishment of the Bank of Amsterdam. But it was not a calling which was open to moneyed men in London in the fourteenth century, as it was carefully preserved as a prerogative of the Crown, and exercised by royal officers, or merchants who farmed it from the Crown for a period of years. The reason of this was obvious: the minting of money was one of the royal prerogatives, and the officers of the Exchange were empowered to see that no foreign coinage got into circulation in this country, but that it was sent to the Mint for re-coining; and also that the English currency was not undue exported. It was not unnatural, therefore, that the business of exchange should be kept in the hands of officials, though freedom was granted to merchants to exchange with one another as long as they did not do it for gain, but only for mutual convenience.

While two of the principal functions of modern banking were not open to the moneyed men of the fourteenth century, they were also restricted in their operations, because the opportunities for lending out money were comparatively few. The demand for money for commercial or industrial purposes was at the only rates at which men were accustomed to lend, was practically nil. It is not likely that the medieval merchant was often able to make a profit on capital if he borrowed at 80 per cent., and, as a matter of fact, money was not borrowed except for emergencies, as in the well-known case of The Merchant of Venice. The emergency might arise in many ways; but it less frequently occurred in connection with trade, than from the sudden pressure of taxation on a man who was really wealthy, but had no ready cash in which to defray those demands. Thus royal and papal agents had the most frequent opportunities for lending money to English subjects; the Jews had come over with the Conqueror and settled in the principal English towns to carry on money-lending as a sort of royal monopoly, and the Lombards are said to have come as the agents of papal taxation. In these times taxes were levied in large amounts, which were demanded every now and then as occasion arose, and the Jews and Lombards lent money to the subjects who were suddenly called on to pay large sums which they did not possess; they might be wealthy landowners or merchants, but their wealth could not be realised, and the Jew or Lombard was able to take advantage of their necessity to charge exorbitant rates. Money-lending in its beginnings here had nothing to do with commerce; wealthy men borrowed in an emergency, or to equip for a war; they could give ample security to the lenders, but the rate of interest they had to pay had no relation to the profits of commerce, for it was simply determined by the temporary necessity of the borrower. No wonder that the Commons

1 Except what corresponds to book debts.
3 Rae, Country Banker. 196.
4 Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, iv. 3.
It is probable that even in an emergency merchants did not often have recourse to borrowing, as the gilds merchant made arrangements which enabled them, in some cases at all events, to get temporary aid; but for the ordinary course of business they preferred another expedient when they saw an opportunity of trading on a larger scale. They formed temporary partnerships, in which two or more persons joined in the risks of an enterprise on the understanding that they would share in the gains; this was lawful traffic as the people of London understood it, and men who had money lying by them might use it so as to gain by it fairly and honourably if they would share risks and profits with other merchants. There was no reason why a hoard should lie idle because it could not be borrowed on a promise for certain gain without risk, as it might be clubbed with the hoards of other men who shared risks and profits together. No objection, either ecclesiastical or popular, was made to such a manner of proceeding as this; while it was available, there was no necessity to borrow capital for trading purposes; and hence the field for lending money was limited, although the rates at which it could be done were exceedingly profitable.

Lastly, and most important of all, there was in those days a comparatively small supply of money which could be loaned out; the whole amount of the precious metals in Europe was small, and though England had long carried on a prosperous trade, the drain for papal taxation and political purposes must have been considerable. In the reign of Edward III., indeed, the spoils of Calais and the newly-planted industries may have combined to bring more bullion to England, and to render it more common for merchants or other burghers to possess a hoard which they did not know how to use; but at all events it was convenient that the business should be carried on by the intervention of brokers, who brought the borrower and lender together, and had a commission for their trouble; this seems to have been the nearest approach to banking during the fourteenth century in the City. The ordinances of 1368 mentioned above are very instructive as to the usual practice, and the opinion of the City authorities on the subject. "Whereas such bargains are but rarely carried out without false brokers, who, for their own profit, do often intermeddle so as to deceive both parties, the said good folks have also ordained and established, that all those who shall from henceforth be attainted of acting as brokers in such knaverys, shall the first time be put in prison one whole year; and if they shall be a second time attainted thereof, that they shall forswear the said City forever, and shall be led through the City, with their heads uncovered, unshod, and without girdle upon horses without saddles; and shall be so escorted from the midst of the place unto without one of the gates of the said City that so all others may be warned through them, and be the more abashed to commit such or other like knaverys. And be it made known that the intention is of all the good folks that the punishments aforesaid shall be incurred as well by those who shall be attainted of being partners in the said bargains, as by the principals therein." Evidently an evil time for those who had hoards who were disposed to lend, or for the brokers who brought the lender and borrower together, and thus did banking business.

111. This account of fourteenth century opinion may be rendered clearer if we revert to the consideration of the special illustration quoted above. Ralph Cornwaille went to the Lombard broker who was to negotiate the loan and get something for his trouble; so far it was all right, no one took exception to such payment for a real service rendered. Walter Southous demanded full security that the money should be repaid at a definite date, and there, too, his conduct met with full approval from City men at the time. He might be inconvenienced if he lay out of his money beyond the given time, and if the borrower did not keep his day; to avoid risks as to repayment and risks as to punctuality he was perfectly justified in seeing that the debt was amply

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1 Rot. Parl. n. 350 (159).
2 Compare the Gild Statutes of Coventry. Gross, Gild Merchant, ii. 50.
For other cases of gratuitous loans see above, p. 369 note.
3 See above, p. 361.
4 Riley, Liber Albis (4to.), 350.
secured. But when he went further than this and charged for the use of the money, public opinion did not support him. His money was safe, it appeared, he was sure to get it back at the time he wanted it himself; and that being so, why should he charge for the use of it? He need not, they would have said, have lent the money unless he liked.—unless it was lying idle in his strong box,—but having lent it why should he be paid for an action which involved no risk and no privation? Of course, if there was risk, or if the borrower broke day and caused inconvenience, there was a reason for making a charge; but the case we have before us was typical of a vast number of transactions when there was no real risk and no real privation, and therefore, as men thought, no justification for taking usury, or interest as it is more commonly called in the present day. We may regard 80 per cent. as an excessive rate of interest, but the City men of 1377 did not condemn it because it was excessive; in their eyes it was wrong that there should be any charge for the use of money, of which the repayment at a given date was fully secured. ‘No risk, no gain’ was their maxim of lawful traffic, and therefore, from their point of view, the man who took security, or otherwise bargained himself out of all the risks of trade, had no claim to share in the profits.

What then were the reasons of a feeling, which is at first sight unintelligible? Modern men would be inclined to say ‘that so long as the rate was not excessive, Walter Soutoun laid a real service to Ralph Cornwaille by lending him the money when he wanted it, and that the Lombard showed himself a useful member of society by introducing the two, and thus bringing about a transfer of capital that was lying idle into the hands of a man who had occasion to use it. Such money-lending was in itself useful to society; and even though risks were excluded by the terms of the bargain, the wealthy man required some inducement to render the other a service; had the City authorities not made regulations which rendered it necessary to do such business secretly he would probably have been satisfied with a moderate rate; Ralph Cornwaille had to pay highly for the accommodation, because of the mistaken attempts at regulation.’ Such I take to be ordinary City opinion now, that (a) money-lending is useful to society by bringing capital into the hands of men who see their way to employ it well; that (b) people must have some inducement beyond security for its return, or they will hoard their money instead of allowing others to use it; and that (c) exorbitant rates have been brought about by mistaken governmental or ecclesiastical interference. From each of these propositions City opinion in the fourteenth century would have dissented.

To begin with (c): As a matter of fact, money-lending for the sake of gain had first appeared in England under royal, and had continued under ecclesiastical, patronages. The high rates paid to the Jews were not due to the risk incurred in evading the law, as there was no tribunal which could touch a Jew for his part in such business. The high rates obtained by the Pope’s merchants were apparently charged under forms which were not condemned by the Canon Law, and there was no appreciable danger of their being convicted in any of the ecclesiastical courts. The exorbitant rates were charged because there were comparatively few moneyed men, and these men were able to trade upon the necessities of their fellow-subjects.

Again, it would have been said in reply to (b), that the opportunities for gain which partnership afforded were quite sufficient to draw out the hoards of the wealthy. ‘Let him have full security, or let him have gain,’ but money was forthcoming without bribing men by offering both security and gain. Partnership in risks and in gains was the true way to develop sound enterprise: brokers would be well employed in arranging such partnerships, and there was ample inducement for the wealthy man to bring out his money and have it employed for him. But if he would not take business risks, he ought not to bargain for a share in business gains; however small the sum he asked might be he was claiming an assured gain when the speculation might really fail, and the borrower have to pay for the use of money which had as a matter of fact proved useless. If he liked to lend money for which he had no use, and to require repayment at a given date, and get security for the repayment, good and
well; but to ask for the most moderate usury for money he could not use, and would not risk, seemed to the men of that time quite unjustifiable and merely extortionate.

And hence the fourteenth century City men would have emphatically denied (a), since money-lending was not useful to society according to their notions. Apart altogether from the injurious effect on the morals of the lender, which the Church should look to; apart altogether from the injury done to the borrower who was lured by an unreal advantage to his ruin, it did mischief to society by hindering lawful traffic; just because men could make large sums by lending, they were less likely to join in partnerships, and undertake the risks of trading, though it was by 'lawful traffic' and not by money-lending that the prosperity of the country was really developed. In so far as the wealth of moneyed men was diverted to usurious dealings instead of being employed in regular trade, there was a danger and not a benefit to society, for money was actually diverted from the directions in which it could be best used for the real advantage of the nation. On the whole it appears that City opinion was in perfect harmony with the principles about natural and artificial riches which are laid down in Oresme's treatise.

1 See p. 557 below. The ecclesiastical authorities busied themselves about the moral character of secured investments of various kinds rather than with the use of capital engaged in trade. The conditions, under which Rent charges had been treated as allowable, were gradually disregarded. An interesting example is given by Mr Leland, Select Cases in the Star Chamber, LXXIII.

2 John Gower, Vices of Society in Political Songs (Rolls), t. 558.

IV. LANCASTER AND YORK.

I. DISINTEGRATION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SOCIETY.

112. THE course of English History till the reign of A.D. 1377 Edward III. was marked by continued, if not steady growth. Even the struggles which brought about temporary disorganisation, had resulted in the infusion of new and valuable elements into the population. Danish settlers and Norman artisans found a footing on our island, along with the agriculturists who had won it at an earlier time. From the Norman Conquest onwards, we appear to have a constant development of the powers of producing wealth. There was a rapid increase in the towns and a real progress in the rural districts, as is evidenced by a comparison of Domesday Book with the Hundred Rolls; and the monuments which survive prove the excellence to which Englishmen had attained in many of the arts of life.

There also had been a great improvement in the means and social of regulating the industrial and commercial forces of the country. The moral suasion of the Church, in protesting against slavery, in securing the weekly rest of the serf, or in seeking the protection of the pilgrim, was no longer the chief factor in introducing improved conditions for industry and for trade; the king's peace and royal charters had given definite securities here and there, parliament had begun to legislate for the country as one industrial and commercial whole, and the ambition of Edward III. synchronised
Disastrous effects of French War.

But the social structure, which had been thus gradually built up, was subjected to a severe strain, and to more than one serious shock, during the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and in subsequent times. The long-continued French war, even though it enriched this country with spoil for a few years, must have been a constant drain on English resources, both of men and money; the energy thus misdirected was not available for prosecuting the various lines of industrial progress that were opening up. On commerce this long war had still more noticeable effects; for the disturbances in France rendered the old route from the Rhone valley northwards impracticable for merchants, and the great fairs of Burgundy ceased to exist; the old lines of communication and places of intercourse were utterly destroyed.

Still more serious mischief was done by the Black Death; some attempt has been made above to estimate the extent of loss inflicted, but it is also necessary to add that recovery seems to have been very slow indeed. There was no country from which a stream of population could pour to fill up the space that was left, and it may be doubted whether the population and productive power of England had even begun to recover, thirty years after the plague first visited our shores. It is perfectly clear however, that even if the population were increasing, it could not be so effective industrially as in old days. The old methods of organisation had broken down, and a long series of troubles with the labouring class culminated in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. In preceding chapters we have been able to follow the story of a gradual growth which went on for centuries; but in entering on this new period we shall have to try to trace the effects of sudden and violent catastrophes. It is not easy to follow out the far-reaching consequences of the Black Death, or to indicate all the readjustments which it set in motion.

There is a special difficulty in solving these problems, because the most superficial examination of the fifteenth century presents us with a number of startling contrasts, so that it is by no means easy to detect the general course of events. There is a temptation to lay stress on some feature, which was prominent in certain places, and to exaggerate its importance by neglecting the qualifying or conflicting conditions which were certainly present, but which do not lie so much on the surface. Under these circumstances there need be little reason for surprise that different writers have expressed strangely conflicting opinions about the condition of England during this period. Mr Denton paints it in the darkest hues as a period of misery and disaster; while authorities like Sir Frederic Eden and Professor Thorold Rogers have argued from the rates of wages actually paid, and have spoken of it as the time when the masses of the people attained the highest degree of material prosperity. The picture they have drawn of the rural population harmonises with the vivid description, which Mrs Green has given us, of the vigorous life in some English towns at this time.

Many interesting facts may be brought forward in support of each of these conflicting opinions in turn, and hence a great mass of evidence can be adduced to show that each one of them is an overstatement. It has been noticed above that there is no such clear sign of prosperity, either in the present day or in the past, as is given by certain building operations. If men have wealth which they can afford to sink in unrenumerative works, they must have enough and to spare. The fifteenth century was a great period of church and chantry building and decoration; it was also an age when many civic halls and merchants' houses were erected in the towns, and it cannot have been such a desperate time as Mr Denton's language would lead us to suppose. On the other hand, the evidence which he adduces as to the general condition of the rural districts renders it necessary that we should be careful in interpreting the figures which Professor Rogers has collected; quotations of prices never carry their own explanations with them, and we can only get at the real mean-
A.D. 1377—1485.

The parallel in France is of considerable interest; when commerce began to revive after the Hundred Years' War, it was no longer conducted by Lombards and other aliens at the great fairs, but by native Frenchmen who formed a sort of commercial aristocracy, and it centred in the towns, especially those of the south (Pigeonneau, Commerce de la France, ii, 339), though there was also much activity in Rouen (ib. 304).

The violence of the economic changes, which were partly indicated from the fashion in which they reacted on towns, had not vigour enough to recover from the desolation caused by the Black Death. Industry, internal commerce and tillage were alike depressed. But yet the gloom was by no means unrelieved; there were two directions in which, despite the general distress we may find signs of new prosperity. The cloth trade was developing in many parts of the country, and all those who were connected with this particular industry—in growing wool, or manufacturing cloth, or exporting it—were flourishing greatly; it is not a little curious to notice how many of the perpendicular churches—like those of Long Melford and Lavenham—are monuments to the prosperity of this special industry in a time of general depression. The action of Edward III. in encouraging the introduction or improvement of this trade was bearing good fruit. But even if there had been no additions to the production of the country and no increase in the volume of English trade, there was another way in which there seem to have been new developments of native prosperity. The commercial and financial business of the country had been partly and was being increasingly transferred from the hands of aliens to those of Englishmen; the wealthy burgesses, who had taken the places of the Jews and Lombards, were able to organise themselves in important companies and to build magnificent Halls both in London and other towns. We may find a clue to thread our way through many of the confused phenomena of the time, if we remember that, despite the general depression and decay in town and country alike, the cloth trade, in all its branches, was developing rapidly; and that the English capitalist was conducting in English towns much of the business which had hitherto been done by aliens at fairs.1

113. The violence of the economic changes, which were at work during the last half of the fourteenth century, can be partly indicated from the fashion in which they reacted on

1 The parallel in France is of considerable interest; when commerce began to revive after the Hundred Years' War, it was no longer conducted by Lombards and other aliens at the great fairs, but by native Frenchmen who formed a sort of commercial aristocracy, and it centred in the towns, especially those of the south (Pigeonneau, Commerce de la France, ii, 339), though there was also much activity in Rouen (ib. 304).
the constitutional system of the country. It has been pointed out above that during the Norman and Plantagenet reigns, the Crown was of supreme importance as connecting the various parts of the country into one, in controlling the whole, and initiating progress of every kind. This was no longer the case at the beginning of the fifteenth century; though there was a revival of royal influence at its close, under the Yorkists and Tudors. Richard II. seems to have schemed ingeniously, in order to utilise the unrest of the times for his personal advantage; but his efforts to obtain absolute power ended in failure. His deposition affected the prestige of the crown; while the usurpation of Henry IV., and the weakness of Henry VI., all contributed to lower the importance of the kingly office. A strong monarch like Edward IV. was able to do much to assert himself, but it may be said of him, and of the Tudors, that they appeared strong, because there was no effective resistance; it may be doubted if they had the same influence in controlling the conduct of affairs throughout the realm — so much power to rule — as Edward I. or even as Edward III.

And if the Crown was ineffective for internal rule, it was not successful in fulfilling the duty, most recently undertaken, of protecting the realm from enemies on the seas, and in finding a footing for our citizens in foreign parts. English shipping continued to suffer from the attacks of pirates; the English coasts were plundered by ferocious expeditions that recall the days of the Danish invasions; and the terms of the commercial treaties, of which so many were made during this period, show that trade was not a peaceful calling.

While the royal power was thus wanting, it cannot be said that the parliaments were as yet either wise enough or strong enough to provide an effective substitute, or to maintain a good central government. We may perhaps trace in them the new political importance of that class of English moneyed men whose rise has been noticed above. In so far as English merchants, or English towns, were the royal creditors, they had an opportunity of bringing pressure upon the Crown — an opportunity which was constantly used by both under Richard II. and by the Lancastrian parliaments.

The centre of gravity of power had shifted since the time of Edward I. in accordance with changes in the distribution of wealth. But though the Commons were able to assert themselves effectively as against the Crown, they had neither the wisdom nor the self-restraint that was necessary if the realm was to be well governed. The Lancastrian parliaments furnished important precedents in regard to constitutional procedure, but they were not altogether deserving of respect, and their influence was not such as to provide the country with a really strong central authority.

The lack of effective political control is even more obvious when we turn from the central authority to the local administrative authorities. Their weakness appears to be to some extent the unlooked-for result of Edward I.'s reforms; through his action there had been a growth of national powers, and it was perhaps an inevitable result that local life, industrial and political, should at any rate cease to develop, and as new circumstances arose, should be proved inadequate. Edward I. possibly intended parliament to do little more than supplement the existing institutions, and during his reign it may be that both were doing good work, and that the local courts and chartered towns were conducting their affairs wisely in the comparative peace which was secured them by a strong ruler. But the succeeding reigns tried them severely; the parliament not only supplemented but superseded their powers1, while the feeble government of Edward II., and the economic difficulties of the time of Edward III., subjected them to a very severe strain. The manorial authority proved powerless to control the social and economic movements which originated with the Black Death. The reign of Richard, with the convulsions that marked it, brings into clear light the darker side of the changes which had been taking place in the previous reigns.

The Peasants' Revolt in 1381 was the overt expression

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1 Stables, Const. Hist. ii. 379.
A.D. 1377—1485.

Diary of manorial powers.

of municipal authority.

of gilds.

Of ecclesiastical influence.

of the disintegrating influences which were affecting every side of social life; though the outbreak was repressed, there is no reason to believe that the old institutions, which had maintained order and enforced morality, recovered an effective sway. Alike in town and country the foundations of their influence were sapped. The manorial system was doomed at the time of the Black Death, and an agricultural revolution was spreading slowly but surely throughout England; not till the time of the Tudors did it advance so rapidly as to attract the great attention it deserved; but the change in the position of the labourers, which was a concomitant in this revolution, soon came into startling prominence. When Richard II. ascended the throne a large proportion of the English peasant population were serfs; when Henry of Richmond defeated the third Richard, serfdom was fast becoming extinct. Manorial authority was ceasing to have the practical importance which it had once possessed in regard to all the details of village life.

Nor did it fare better with the regulation of town industry; many of the towns were over-assessed and sank into decay under the burden of taxation for the war; but even in cases where trade was expanding, just because it was a time of growth, there was a strain on the industrial organisation. It could not readily adapt itself to the new circumstances which had arisen in consequence of this expansion; the management of commerce by Livery and other Companies may have undergone some improvement, but the system of craft gilds, at any rate in London, was beginning to get out of gear, as we may note with special clearness in the time of Henry VI.

The weakness, which is seen in all these civil authorities, also affected the Church on every side. The supply of clergy continued to be insufficient, and the religious houses never really recovered from the devastation caused by the Black Death; from one cause or another the ecclesiastical powers no longer inspired the respect which had once rendered them important factors in the economic life of the realm, and this may be one reason why the condition of secular morality sank so terribly low as it appears to have done during this period. A.D. 1377—1485.

But in some directions, at any rate, the secular consciousness imposed a stricter rule than ecclesiastical authorities tried to enforce; the laxity of the courts Christian in regard to usury and chevisance is a complaint on the part of city men—who certainly showed no inclination to connive at these malpractices. Nor do the monasteries appear to have been altogether exemplary in providing for the relief of the poor, when they needed an admonition from parliament in regard to this matter.

114. The reign of Richard II. may be regarded as a turning-point, because in the course of it this process of decay comes into clear light, but it would be an error to regard this age as destitute of all constructive force. The constitutional changes by which the Commons were able to assert themselves and to establish their claim to take an effective part in the government of the country were of last importance; and they were specially noticeable at this juncture, since they mark a turning point in economic policy. We may discover in the legislation of Richard II.'s reign the germs of economic ideas which were destined to have most important results in the subsequent history of the country. The commercial policy which Edward III. had pursued was discredited by failure; and a new scheme began to appear, which maintained itself in its main outlines till the present century. It was a policy of encouraging the native shipping which Edward III. had neglected; it favoured native merchants, and subsequently artisans, in opposition to aliens, and at the possible expense of consumers; there were deliberate attempts to encourage the agricultural interest and especially the corn grower; part of this new scheme was an endeavour to attract the importation of bullion for the accumulation of treasure and not merely with a view to the maintenance of the purity of our coinage. In all these respects the legislation of Richard's Parliaments is very different from that which held sway during the greater part of the reign of Edward III.; but the dust of conflicts between sectional interests, local requirements and personal ambitions

1 Gasquet, The Great Pestilence, 205.

2 See pp. 266 and 311 above.

1 Denton, Fiftteenth Century, 118.
must have completely obscured the underlying issues at the time. The London Fishmongers were the spokesmen of the shipping interest; but there was frequent agitation against their monopoly of an article of common consumption; and it may be doubted if they were conscious pioneers of a new policy, even though they had an important part in laying the foundations of the Mercantile system. The Navigation Laws, the Corn Laws, and the deliberate manipulating of commerce with a view of procuring bullion were allied in fact, since they were economic expedients which subserved the development of a vigorous national life; but in Richard's time they seem to have been adopted separately to meet pressing practical needs. The agricultural depression consequent on the Black Death gave a sufficient reason for encouraging tillage; the jealousy of aliens—even though they were continental subjects of the Crown—contributed to the passing of the first Navigation Act; and the difficulty of meeting the demands for Papal taxation called attention to the dangers which might accrue from a steady drain of bullion. Each was a separate object, and each appealed to them as parts of a definite economic policy. The keystone which eventually bound them into a 'mercantile system'—the desire of national power—was not altogether wanting in Richard's reign, though it was not so potent as it afterwards became; but we may certainly feel that an age which took a new departure in so many directions, and with such far-reaching results, is not without great constructive importance in the story of English commerce. The history of after times throws a strong reflected light on the maxims of commercial policy which were coming into operation from the time of Richard II.

In looking back, too, we may discern something more than the disintegration of society; there were signs of decay on all sides, but there were also traces of social reconstruction in new forms and on new lines. Mediaeval groups were breaking up, but modern distinctions were beginning to appear; and we see indications of the lines of cleavage which are familiar to us in modern times, and which have given us the different classes of our existing society. Feudal society had been an aggregation of local groups, each directly connected with the king as head; the inhabitants of each place had their position and privileges as members of that group, whatever their precise status might be. In Edward III.'s sumptuary laws, however, there is a recognition of classes in the nation at large; and this appears more clearly at the time of the Black Death and in the subsequent 'statutes of labourers,' which attempted to enforce regulations for wage-earners wherever they were found, throughout the whole country. Before Tudor times, the main lines of cleavage of English society had ceased to be perpendicular, into privileged local groups, and had become horizontal, into separate classes, and classes precisely similar to those we have now. Employer and Employed, Landlord and Tenant are seen, with the relations between them reduced to something like the simple cash nexus of modern times; social conditions had become such that the owner of Capital could make himself felt as an important power, not only in commerce, but also in regard to the management of land and the organisation of industry. Large capitals were invested in sheep farming, and the wealthier companies and wealthier members of them were the dominant powers in industrial life in London.

The recognition of a labouring class in the country generally, and also of a moneyed or capitalist class of native Englishmen is the principal feature in the period on which we are entering. The attempts to define and to regulate the labouring class throughout the realm as a whole, begin at the time of the Black Death. It is not so easy to assign any date for the rise of a capitalist class. We find the names of wealthy individuals and little knots of moneyed men specified all through the fourteenth century. We cannot be surprised that

1 Those accused of demanding excessive wages were drawn from a large number of callings. Pateman, op. cit. 90.
2 Compare the Cambridge Modern History, i. 497, on Economic Change.
A.D. 1377—1485.

A considerable class should have arisen before its close, when we consider the opportunities which were accessible to the enterprise of the English capitalist. The financial crises of the time of Edward III. had laid open to natives a large field for business operations which had previously been carried on by aliens. One after another of the bodies which had formed the moneyed interest in the country had succumbed. The Jews had been expelled by Edward I., the Templars had been broken up in the time of Edward II., and the Florentine Bankers had been ruined by Edward III. The whole of the financial and banking business of the country had been broken up once and again; yet all this time the trade with foreign lands was increasing, and industry was being developed, while money was coming more and more into use in the ordinary life of rural districts, and natural economy was being superseded by a system of cash bargains. The forms and methods of business differed from those to which we are accustomed, but there can be little doubt that during the fourteenth century native Englishmen had new opportunities at every commercial centre of taking a part in financial business.

The reality of this change in social structure must not be ignored, for it had very important results: there is sometimes a temptation to speak as if the halcyon days of English prosperity had been arrested at the death of Edward I., and mere disorganisation subvened till the strong government of the Tudors rendered progress possible once more. But the two centuries which intervened between the time of Edward I. and Henry VII. were not wholly barren, and the Tudors did not take up the task where Edward left it. It may be that the soil had rest while the nation was distracted, and that a silent recuperation had taken place unknown and unobserved; in any case the manorial farm of Edward's days would have been a terrible obstacle to the agricultural improvement which was going on under the Tudors and the Stuarts. Whereas commerce had merely been municipal and inter-municipal in Edward I.'s time, it had become national and international in Tudor days; while a vast amount of experience as to the possibility of regulating industry, and the best methods of promoting commerce had been acquired.

When we see how intimately the great industrial and commercial code of Elizabeth is connected with previous attempts at legislation, we can judge better of the real advance which was made during the long period of depression and transition.

II. THE MERCANTILE CLASS AND THE LABOURERS.

116. The first hints of the so-called mercantile scheme of commercial policy and the increasing importance of capital have been spoken of above as the two main elements which attract our attention at this time. It is not fanciful to connect them both with another phenomenon which is noticeable during the reign of Richard II.—the wealth and political importance of the native merchant class. It is not a little remarkable that, in spite of the disadvantages of which they complained, the mercantile classes had been growing in wealth and importance during the reign of Edward III.; the ranks of the nobility were even then recruited from among English merchants. We should probably realise the new state of affairs most clearly if we thought of the new men, not so much as merchants, but as capitalists. The progress made by the capitalist class is most clearly shown by their increasing organisation, and the formation and incorporation of companies of merchants, each of which dealt in a particular class of goods.

Some account has already been given of the rise of the two most important companies of this type, the Grocers and the Mercers; during the first forty years of their existence the former attained to overweening proportions; they were accused of encroaching on the business of other traders, and they had immense influence in the government of the City. They

1. The deliberate encouragement of a body of London merchants to compete with aliens in the shipping of Wines is seen in the letters patent granted by Edward III. to the Vintners' Company. See below, p. 382.

2. Bourne, English Merchants, 65, 68.

A.D. 1377—1399.

were largely represented among the aldermen, and one of them, Nicholas Brembre, seized the mayoralty for a second time by violence in 1385. These companies had emanated from the classes of wholesale dealers and retailers respectively. There is evidence of the growth of a trading class and specialisation by different branches of commerce, not only in the offshoots of the older companies, such as the Apothecaries and Haberdashers, but in the new attempts to discriminate between different kinds of trade. In 1363 it was enacted that no merchant should deal in more than one kind of merchandise, and though this measure was repealed in the following year, a somewhat similar result was attained by the formation of two new companies, the Vintners and Drapers, in 1364 and 1365 respectively. The charter granted to the former company is of special interest, not only because its language affords an early anticipation of many parts of the Mercantile System, but because we see that this company of Vinetarii of Gascony was to consist of two classes,—the Vinetarii, who dealt wholesale and were importers, and the Tabernarii, who bought from the importers and retailed the wines; the two branches were analogous to the Grocers and Mercers, as one had to do with the wholesale trade, by turn and large measures, and the other with retailing by the small measures. The Vintners had exclusive rights of retail as against aliens, and were encouraged to compete as aliens in the import trade; for this purpose they were allowed to export cloth and herrings, but only to Gascony as return cargo for imported wine. The Drapers, as they were called in London, corresponded to the Clothiers of the West of England and dealt in cloth; the growing importance of the industry is shown by the establishment of a weekly market for the sale of country cloth at Blackwell Hall in 1397. The Fishmongers had a long standing, and were not mere retailers, for they were among the chief shipowners on the Thames, they were wealthy enough to give considerable assistance to Richard II.; they were strongly hostile to aliens, but there were many complaints of their monopoly of this victualling trade and it was thrown open under the Lancastrians. The attempt to limit each trader to one kind of goods could not be maintained; and we have already, in the case of the Vintners, an indication of a new method of definition, by the local limits to which they might export.

The formation of capital in the hands of native Englishmen was evidently going on, and there are indications that men were rising from the ranks of the craft guilds to compete in internal trade. Nicholas Brembre appears to have taken an active part in preventing weavers and tailors from taking up the business of drapers, by enforcing the restriction which parliament passed in 1363; this was obviously intended to prevent artisans from encroaching on the business of merchants.

We may gather some additional confirmation as to the growing importance of the capitalist class from the changes which were made in the constitution of the City. These were sudden and violent, and it is difficult to understand the objects which rival factions had in view, more especially as the worst rioting by the city mob synchronised with the incursion of peasants from Kent and Essex under Wat Tyler.

Wealthy artisans.

1 A. B. Bevan, "English Historical Review," XXI. 523.
2 Herbert, p. 39. See the Mercers' petition in Rot. Parl. (1286).
3 See above, p. 344.
4 Offshoot of Grocers.
5 Offshoot of Mercers who deal in raw materials. Herbert, p. 533.
6See Ed. III. c. 4.
7 See another document, 37 Ed. III. c. 5.
8It is printed in Strype's "Stowe," ii. bk. v. p. 194. Compare also Byrner, "Fedde," iii. 749.
9But apparently some aliens were members of it.
10Herbert, 804.

The mercantile class and the labourers.
The constitution of the City had been settled in the time of Edward II.; but in 1376, when the conduct of Lyons and Peche had caused wide-spread scandal, an attempt was made to put the government of the City on a more democratic basis by organising a Common Council to be elected by the misteriess. Complaint was subsequently made, however, that the proceedings of the Council were swayed by clamour rather than by reason and the popular powers, both as to the election to the Council, and in regard to the election of Aldermen were considerably restricted. Steps were taken to insure that no single company should have a disproportionate share of influence; but the wealthy merchants were able to retain a dominant position in civic politics; and by a custom which continued unbroken for centuries, the important administrative offices were reserved for members of one of the Twelve Great Companies.

The great increase in the wealth of the mercantile class is specially significant, as it occurred at a time when the nobility were greatly impoverished. There had been an extraordinary change in the distribution of wealth, and the moneyed interest began to exercise unwonted political power. The movement was not by any means confined to London, though it is not likely that there were many companies of a purely trading character in provincial towns in the time of Edward III. The formation or reconstitution of great guilds for social and religious purposes in such towns as Wisbech, Coventry and Norwich at all events suggests the existence of a class of prosperous dealers; and there is other indirect evidence that the centres of trade were places of very considerable wealth. Like Edward I. and Edward III. Richard II. found it necessary to borrow, either in anticipation of revenue or for the sake of some exceptionally large expenditure; but, while his predecessors had for the most part relied upon foreigners, he was able to draw upon native resources, and he seems to have borrowed chiefly, though not exclusively, from corporate bodies. On one occasion he pledged his jewels with the city of London and obtained £9000; and lists have been preserved of the payments made by different towns in 1382, 1386, and again in 1397. It is not easy to see on what principle the demands were regulated, as it did not apparently depend on any accurate assessment. These loans were exacted both from private persons like the great landowners and from towns as well; an analysis of the list of 1397 shows that of the 193 contributors 78 were ecclesiastics who gave sums varying from £1000 to £13 6s. 8d., 45 were gentlemen who gave sums varying from £400 to £2 6s. 8d., and the remaining 70 payments came from towns. The class of moneyed men were made to bear a large share of the burdens which had hitherto been defrayed by the landed interest only, whether ecclesiastical or lay. To lie out

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1 On his transactions with Richard Lyon, see Rot. Parl. iii. 324 (17).
2 Thus Gloucester which paid twice as much as Cambridge in 1387, paid a smaller sum, £54 as against £60, in 1388; default to meet the demand called for a renewed requisition of a proportional payment from every citizen worth £30 in Boston. Rymer, Foedera, vi. 544. No mention occurs of several important places in this list, e.g. Newark and Coventry, the latter of which had contributed £539 in 1386. Interesting information as to the special characteristics of each town will be found in a document printed by C. Bonnier, Eng. Hist. Rev. xvi. 561.
3 London, £6666. 13s. 4d.; Bristol, £800; Norwich, £333. 6s. 8d.; Boston, £300; Lynn, £296. 13s. 4d.; York, Gloucester and Salisbury, £350 each; Lincoln, £133. 6s. 8d.; Southampton, £113. 6s. 8d.; Exeter, £166. 13s. 4d.; Cambridge, Colchester, Hull, Horncastle, Shrewsbury and Winchester, £200 each; Oxford, £100; Abingdon, Canterbury, Chichester, Grantham and Harlaxton, Leicester, Northampton, Nottingham, Sandwich, Stamford, Scarborough, Worcester and Yarmouth, £66. 14d. each; Norwich, £20; Wells, £23. 3s. 4d.; Beverley, £46; Bedford, Blakemere and Cley, Dover, Ely, Grimsby, Huntingdon, Hadleigh, Horncastle, Ipswich, Louth, Maldon and Sa1 and Reepham, £40 each; Lynn, £233. 13s. 4d.; Barnstaple, Burton-on-Humber, Cromer, Llawly, Pontefract, Sleaford and Thirsk, £20 each; Bath, 48s. 4d. each; Canterbury, £26. 13s. 10d.; Dover, £13. 2s. 4d.; Lavenham, Whitby, Plymouth and Lichfield, £20 each; Bideford, Tiverton, Bodmin, Burton-on-Trent and Lostwithiel, £100. 13s. 4d. each; Harwich, £50; Bournemouth and Lisvane, £26. 13s. 4d. each.
4 Macpherson, i. 696.
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The standard of living in the XVth century and the present day.

A.D. 1377-1399

1 The lists from which these facts are taken are in the form of letters to the treasurer to offer security for the repayment of the loans to the various parties who had accommodated the king. Rymer, Fawkes (original), vii. 541, 545. The loss of 1397 was on the king's personal security. Rymer, viii. 2.

2 Rot. Parl. ii. 304 (19).

3 The counties of Durham and Chester are not included, but the return gives for the rest of England 1,375,442 lay persons above fourteen years of age. The total population, clerical and lay, including those counties is usually estimated at 2,000,000. Topham, in Archaeologia, vii. 357.

4 Rot. Parl. iii 57 (19). For the clerical payments see Wilkins, Concilia, x. 141.

1377 was probably much more of a grievance to the merchants than to the landowners.

Even more distinct evidence as to the position of merchants may be gathered from the rate at which they were assessed for the poll tax of 1379. The tax of 1377 had been levied at the rate of 4d. per head, and the returns of the amounts collected give invaluable information as to the population at that date—a quarter of a century after the Black Death. But the poll tax of 1379 was graduated. The sums levied on the trading classes are as large as those taken from the nobility, if the Dukes of Lancaster and Bretagne and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who were each to contribute £6.13s.4d., are left out of account. The Lord Mayor of London was to pay £4, like an Earl, Bishop or Mitred Abbot; the London Aldermen and the Mayors of larger towns £2 each, like barons or abbots with a rental of £200 a year. The mayors and jurators of other towns and the great merchants were to give £1 each, like knights or abbots with a rental of over £60. The substantial merchants and mayors of small towns were to pay 13s.6d., 10s. or 6s.8d. according to their estate, like the landed esquires and lesser abbots; and smaller merchants and artificers were to give 6s.8d., 3s.4d., 2s., 1s., or 6d. All seems to show that the trading classes had come to form a very important section of the community for fiscal purposes.

117. These lists give an interesting survey of English society, and of the wealth of different classes at the end of the fourteenth century; it is impossible to glance through them without having questions raised in regard to the material well-being of the ordinary Englishman then, as compared with that of a man in a similar social position in the present day. No attempt will be made here to answer such questions at all precisely, but some suggestions may be thrown out which show the difficulty of solving the problem.

In the fifteenth century the mercantile classes had a position of dignity and importance in all English towns; and the house and style, which were maintained by a merchant prince who could entertain royalty, show us the height of material comfort that was attainable by rich men at the time. The visit of Edward IV. to Bristol was the occasion of magnificent pageants in the town, and he was the guest of William Canynges in a house of which fragments still remain. It had been built as a suburban residence about the end of the fourteenth century, and had all the newest improvements; the ground floor was no longer of bare earth but covered with tiles, and the overhanging bay windows of the first floor were completely glazed, probably with richly stained glass. The amount of plate, which a merchant prince could then display, was of great value, as he invested an extraordinary proportion of his wealth in this form; and the hangings on the wainscot, and the glass would not improbably be better than any that could now be procured. But despite all this magnificence, there was a singular lack of comfort even in the house of a merchant prince. "Few houses, even those of the gentry, could boast of more than two beds for the accommodation of the inmates, and any possessing three or four were considered to be furnished with this article of domestic comfort after a very extraordinary if not extravagant fashion." The sleeping accommodation in the attics of Canynges' house was small and uncomfortable; the principal apartment would have tables on trestles, benches, and window seats, with but little other furniture, and the floors would have mats of plaited straw.

This picture of the home of a merchant prince is at least suggestive of the conditions under which other men lived, who were so poor that they could afford little or nothing for display, if there was so little comfort in the sumptuous abode of the
great magnitude of Bristol, the homes of the poor must have been most miserable, according to nineteenth century notions. It may be that our life would seem dull and colourless to the fifteenth century burgess; the whole conditions of society have so altered, and the requirements of an ordinary Englishman are so different, that we can hardly get any sound basis for comparing the standard of comfort then and now, and we are forced to fall back on a merely physical test. We may ask how far the social conditions were favourable for the maintenance and prolongation of human life, and whether they were more or less favourable in the fifteenth century than they are now?

Unless the statements of the chroniclers are grossly exaggerated, England suffered severely during the fifteenth century from two scourges which are now entirely unknown — famine and pestilence. The population was dependent on the seasons for the food supply, and though this might be plentiful in good years, there was often a general scarcity which was intensified in particular districts into a local famine. At such times men were driven to use acorns and roots for food, and had recourse to the flesh of dogs and horses; some cases of cannibalism are reported. It was only rarely that starving people were reduced to such extremities, but there is some reason to believe that they habitually used diseased and unwholesome food, and that they were thus rendered a ready prey to the ravages of pestilence. The Black Death was specially terrible, but we read of many other visitations, the accounts of which are sufficiently appalling. “A century during which more than twenty outbreaks of plague occurred, and have been recorded by the chroniclers, can hardly be regarded by us except as one long unbroken period of pestilence.”

The undrained neglected soil; the shallow stagnant waters which lay upon the surface of the ground, the narrow unhealthy homes of all classes of the people; the filthy neglected streets of the towns; the insufficient and unwholesome food; the abundance of stale fish which was eaten; the scanty variety of the vegetables which were consumed... predisposed the agricultural and town population alike to typhoidal diseases and left them little chance of recovery when stricken down with pestilence.” It is thus that Mr Denton sums up the normal conditions of life in the fifteenth century.

It may however be argued that this picture is too highly coloured, that he has attached too much importance to the exaggerated statements of ill-informed chroniclers, and that the famines were only local, and the pestilences only occasional and due to climatic conditions rather than induced by the habits of life. We may approach the problem from the other side and try to form some estimate as to the means at the command of the ordinary labourer for procuring the necessaries of life. He could not of course secure a greater degree of comfort than the merchant prince, but how far could he count on obtaining an adequate share of the supplies that were available? What were the means at his disposal? For even though food were plentiful and cheap, the labourer might suffer real privation, if he was too poor to purchase corn. The means at his disposal would depend partly on the rates of wages and partly on the constancy of employment.

It is probably true that when the daily labourer was engaged on a long-continued piece of work, and could count
on constant employment, he fared well; the statutable wages were not low as compared with rates that had been formerly paid, and Professor Thorold Rogers maintains that the sums actually paid were sometimes in excess of the limits laid down by parliament. This might seem to show that there was a great demand for labour; but there is also evidence that employment was irregular. "The custom of hiring labour by the day is more general during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than it was in the thirteenth and fourteenth, mainly because the practice of cultivating lands was abandoned by the great landowners and wealthy corporations, and the labour which they hired was occasional and casual." A comparison of the salaries of servants engaged by the year, with the wages of day labourers, makes it probable that day wages were comparatively high, because employment was so irregular that the labourers could not live unless they were well paid for any work they got to do; but no accurate conclusion can be drawn, as those who had yearly salaries may not improbably have been indoor servants. Still it seems unlikely that, even if they could eke out a living from the common waste, the daily wage earners of the fifteenth century had a larger free income than the agricultural labourer of the present day; we could not institute an accurate comparison unless we knew not only the prices of the articles they used, but also the quality of the goods they were able to procure. It is not easy to obtain such information in the present day, and we cannot hope to get sufficient data for judging about the distant past. We can, however, as Prof. Nicholson has shown, find illuminating facts both as to the condition of particular classes and the progress of society by a careful study of the changes in the relative prices of certain commodities in common use.

On another side, however, the question seems simpler, as to the amount of free time at the labourer's disposal. The holidays were frequent, and those who were paid yearly salaries would have the advantage of them; they were care-

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1 Agriculture and Prices, iii. 489.
2 Principles of Political Economy, iii. 65—99.

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founded in reckoning the payments that were due for opera vendita; but the day labourer would only find that they reduced his opportunities of finding employment and therefore of earning. His free time must be reckoned, not by the periods of enforced idleness, but by the leisure he could count on when fully employed. In so far as regularity of employment and short hours are a test of the well-being of the workman, the fifteenth century day labourer was badly off; his summer hours lasted from five in the morning till half-past seven at night, with breaks which amounted to two hours or two hours and a half in all.

On the whole it appears that, even if we altogether forego the attempt to measure how much one or the other was better off, the balance of advantage lies with the modern rural labourer. In all probability his employment is less irregular, and his hours are shorter; he enjoys practical immunity from famine and pestilence, and he is far less exposed to attack from enemies, or to violence from unruly retainers. The French Wars and the Wars of the Roses led to a terrible amount of disturbance and crime, and we may be certain that whatever disasters occurred,—whether pillage or famine or pestilence,—the poor were least able to resist its effects and suffered most from it. Taking one consideration with another we may feel that the lot of the labourer did not render his life a good one from an insurance point of view.

It might indeed have been supposed that these evils were so far common to all classes of society, that the labourer might be satisfied with his condition, since he could not hope for any great improvement. The distinction between rich and poor was marked by all the externals of rank, but it
was not such a wide gulf as separates the East and West of London in the present day. Though all classes were so much more nearly on a level, so far as the material conditions of well-being were concerned, there is ample evidence that the labourer was not so comfortable as to be contented with his lot; the records of frequent riots and constant crime show only too clearly that the masses of the population were not only poor, but also miserable; their political importance came out chiefly in antagonism to the existing order. The attempt to widen the basis of taxation and to force wage-earners and peasants to contribute directly to the revenue was the signal for the great revolt of 1381.

Political influence of merchants.

118. Changes in the relative distribution of wealth as between landed proprietors and the capitalist classes seem to be reflected in the new powers which merchants possessed for influencing the policy of the realm. A body of men, who contributed to the royal necessities as largely as the citizens of London did, had really a direct means of putting pressure on the king; the towns from which the king borrowed had a more immediate means of making their wishes felt than through the agency of petitions in parliament, where the landed interest might not always support them. This is possibly the reason why the objects they had at heart were secured to them by charter, at a time when the statutes of trade-management for which the London merchants had been steadily contending.

Mercurial policy.

i. The chief point for which they pressed was a limitation of the freedom of aliens, especially their freedom to compete with Englishmen in internal trade, and to sell by retail. The deeply rooted objection to the upland man, which shows itself in the earliest municipal laws, appears here in a later form; men who bore the burdens of the town had a right to the gains which came from its trade. The men of London put their case very strongly in 1372, when they urged that they could not meet the royal demands if their ancient charters were infringed by the privileges newly granted to aliens. They took a very early opportunity of bringing their grievances before Richard II., who reaffirmed their ancient privileges, but in doing so he made a further exception in favour of his subjects in Aquitaine. This indulgence appears to have been withdrawn by the statute of 1378, which forbids the aliens to sell wine or other imported merchandise by retail in London or other towns, though it gave them considerable freedom at fairs for selling by retail and selling to one another. Subsequently the privileges of aliens were affirmed by statute, and the charters of boroughs set aside in their favour; but in the end the citizens were too strong for them, and carried a measure after their own heart, for it prohibited aliens from selling to one another and from selling by retail. The statutes which had favoured aliens were set aside and it was enacted that "no merchant stranger alien shall sell, nor buy nor merchandise within the realm with another strange merchant alien, to sell again; nor that no strange merchant alien shall sell to retail within the said realm, nor shall put to sale any manner of wares or merchandises, except livings and victuals, and also that aliens shall sell wines by whole vessels, and spicery by whole vessels and bales, and in no other manner; and that no manner of spicery, after that it be brought within the realm, shall be carried out of the same realm by alien or denizen upon pain of forfeiture of the same." It may be said that this measure marks a stage in this long struggle with foreigners; contests with foreign merchants in the fifteenth century have a different character, for Englishmen were beginning to compete with them in that foreign trade and carrying trade in which they were eventually to succeed so well. What they had accomplished so far was that they secured the retail trade and the internal trade of England for Englishmen.

Restrictions on aliens.

1 The poll tax offered the means of procuring revenue by a much less cumbersome machinery than was required to collect the fines incurred by offenders against the Statutes of Labourers. Dictumque sunt ibidem quod pecuniarum regni fiscalis in mandatis opificum et laborantium. Eulogium Historiarum, R. S. iii. 345.
ii. They were not satisfied with the victory however, for they were anxious to obtain a firm footing in foreign trade as well, and demanded that encouragement should be given to English shipping. The policy of Edward III. had told against the English shipper; though the statutes which gave commerce over to his alien subjects were not strictly enforced, for the London Vintners got their charter in 1364, and Englishmen continued to frequent the marts at Bruges, and obtained indemnity for the severe penalties to which they had rendered themselves liable. The commercial restrictions, though they hampered, did not entirely destroy English shipping; but there were other causes which led to its decline. The owners and crews of ships requisitioned for war were put to great expense and inconvenience, and they suffered by the enforcement of forfeiture for trivial breaches of custom regulations; and the decrease of the navy appeared to be a public danger. This feeling found expression in the first Navigation Act, which is of a very sweeping character.

A.D. 1381. “To increase the navy of England which is now greatly diminished, it is assented and accorded, that none of the king’s liege people do from henceforth ship any merchandise in going out or coming within the realm of England, in any port, but only in ships of the king’s liege,” under penalty of forfeiture of goods shipped in other vessels, the third part of which were to go to the informer. Apparently, however, the navy was so far diminished that the statute could not be enforced; and an explanatory clause was added in the following year to the effect that English ships when “able and sufficient” should be preferred before all other ships.

A.D. 1390. A further condition was annexed some years later, from which it appears that the shipowners had taken advantage of their monopoly to charge exorbitant rates, instead of being satisfied with “reasonable gains.”

Money and bullion. A.D. 1376. iii. There was a third point in the great statement of the grievances of the towns which was made in the Good Parliament; it was mentioned in connection with the encouragement of aliens and the decay of shipping. Men said that the land was without money, and this last point received consideration from the parliaments of Richard II. “For the great mischief which the realm suffereth, and long hath done, for that gold and silver as well in money, vessel, plate and jewels as otherwise by exchanges made in diverse manners is carried out of the realm, so that in effect there is none thereof left, which thing if it should longer be suffered would shortly be for the destruction of the same realm, which God prohibits,” it was ordered that no one should export gold or silver except for the wages of Calais and other fortresses beyond the sea. Necessary payments were to be made with royal licence, and through the agency of good and sufficient merchants, who were to be sworn not to send any gold or silver beyond the sea under colour of the said exchange; the debt was to be liquidated in the last resort by the export of goods, not of bullion. By a later A.D. 1390. statute this was explicitly ordained with respect to payments made to Rome; it is possible that a decline of the Florentine exports of wool rendered intervention of this kind more necessary than before. An interesting commentary on the whole is found in the record of the information on which it appears that the statute was based. The Warden and other officers of the Mint were summoned to give evidence as to the reasons of the scarcity of coinage. The large sums paid to Rome, and the export of money in the course of exchange were the chief points they spoke of; some laid greater stress than others on prohibition of the export of bullion, but one of the officers, Richard Aylesbury, stated his opinion in terms which appear to anticipate the doctrine of the balance of trade. Since neither gold nor silver is to be had in England unless it is imported from abroad, he considered that if the merchandise which goes out of England were well and justly governed, the money that is in England would remain, and great plenty of money would come from...
was the case in London, and probably in the clothing country of Norfolk. But in rural districts generally there was a wealthy capitalist class such as existed in the towns; the men who had been wealthy were now on the verge of ruin; the old system of land management which rested on mutual personal obligations, discharged in kind, had become impracticable; and great difficulties arose in connection with the introduction of the cash nexus, pure and simple, into rural life. This was what the villains preferred; and the commutation of labour-services for money payments which was gradually taking place went on rapidly in the period after the Black Death when larger amounts of circulating mediums were available; but when the landowners began to reorganise estate management in accordance with the new conditions, they adopted expedients which afforded less scope for employment, and there must have been increased difficulty in maintaining even the diminished population. In cases where labour could not be procured, or additional land was thrown on the lord's hands through the deaths of the tenants, the lord might be almost compelled to take to sheep farming (p. 371) as a land owner.

A.D. 1377.

Abroad; the value of imports should never exceed the value of exports. Parliament went so far as to pass a statute of 'employment' by which they insisted that half the value of the imports of aliens should be expended on English exports.

Edward III. had also legislated with reference to the currency and in terms that are somewhat similar to those quoted above, but none the less may this enquiry, and the statute which resulted from it, be taken as marking an important point of departure. The reference to the "destruction of the realm" suggests at any rate the importance of accumulating treasure for political purposes, and not merely as a circulating medium; of this there is no hint in Edward's statute. Besides this, the attempt to regulate the expenditure of merchants was a distinct addition to his regulations. The permission Edward made in favour of fishermen coming in small ships with fish, and who might be paid in gold and silver since they did not "meddle in other merchandise" shows that the rule at which he aimed was an exchange of bullion for doing it. Much importance to it, or saw its bearing in the same light as the parliaments of Richard II.

A.D. 1381.

These grievances in connection with the commerce of the country will help to account for much of the unrest which characterised the time of Richard II., but we must look a little more closely in order to understand the reasons for the violent and widespread revolutionary movement which occurred in 1381. The peasants had many sympathisers in other classes of the community, and the irritation caused by the enforcement of the Statute of Labourers would be felt in any area where capitalism had come into vogue and there were clearly marked classes of employers and employed; this was the case in London, and probably in the clothing country of Norfolk. But in rural districts generally there was no wealthy capitalist class such as existed in the towns; the men who had been wealthy were now on the verge of ruin; the old system of land management which rested on mutual personal obligations, discharged in kind, had become impracticable; and great difficulties arose in connection with the introduction of the cash nexus, pure and simple, into rural life. This was what the villains preferred; and the commutation of labour-services for money payments which was gradually taking place went on rapidly in the period after the Black Death when larger amounts of circulating mediums were available; but when the landowners began to reorganise estate management in accordance with the new conditions, they adopted expedients which afforded less scope for employment, and there must have been increased difficulty in maintaining even the diminished population. In cases where labour could not be procured, or additional land was thrown on the lord's hands through the deaths of the tenants, the lord might be almost compelled to take to sheep farming (p. 371) as a land owner.

A.D. 1385.

The peasantry revolt.

1 Compare the commission to the Keepers of the Peace at Beverley. Rélévé, Besoldement, 568, No. 164.

The Mercantile Class and the Labourers. 397.

14 R. 1. c. 1. Parliament adopted a bullionist expedient, while Richard Aylabyre appears to have been a mercantilist,—to adopt terms which were in vogue in the seventeenth century.

2 See Ed. III. st. 1. c. 2. The mercantilists of the Stuart time would have condemned with all the force of language which they could command, to leave fishing—the school of seamanship—in the hands of foreigners and to pay them in bullion for doing it.

3 And this is clear from the Villagers' charter of the same date.

4 Compare the commission to the Keepers of the Peace at Beverley. Rélévé, Besoldement, 568, No. 164.
but this was quite likely to bring him into conflict with the surviving tenantry\(^1\). Another expedient was for the lord to let his land either for arable purposes or for sheep. The stock-and-land lease was a convenient agreement during the latter half of the fourteenth century\(^2\), but instances occurred both earlier and later\(^3\). The new tenant took the land and the stock off the lord's hands and made in return a definite annual payment. Gradually, and possibly by mere lapse of time as the stock died off, it was replaced by the tenant, not the lord; and we thus have early examples of the ordinary system of English tenant farming, in which the capital is supplied by the tenant, who pays a definite rent to the landlord for farm and buildings. The yeoman farmers, or tenant farmers, as we may call them, may have mostly sprung from the class of labourers who had no holdings, and were under no obligations to do predial service\(^4\), but some of the bondmen were able to take land on new terms.

The grievances of the villains in 1881 were primarily social; to some extent they might perhaps be described as sentimental; though they also involved serious hardships. In the lack of detailed evidence as to the precise nature of the economic element in their revolt against the existing order\(^5\), we may borrow some light by considering the agrarian difficulties which came into prominence in Tudor times, and by arguing retrospectively to the earlier stages of the movement for enclosing\(^6\). It is also very instructive to examine the analogies suggested by economic changes that are going on in Russia at the present time in consequence of the freeing of the serfs.

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2. Ibid., Rogers, Agriculture and Prices, p. 24.
4. Mr Page points out that the services exacted from the new essarts were comparatively light, and that as soon as all the waste land of the village was allotted in holdings, an increase of villain population would mean the growth of a class of villain status, who had no predial obligations because they had no land.
5. See below, p. 523.
6. There is an interesting statement in I rt. II. c. 6.
7. See below, p. 523.

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Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace points out that in "the time A.D. 1377..." of serfage an estate formed, from an economic point of view, a co-operative agricultural association under a manager who possessed unlimited authority and sometimes abused it, but who was generally worldly wise enough to understand that the prosperity of the whole required the prosperity of the component parts." A "communal equality" had been artificially maintained; but in consequence of recent changes "the strong compact whole fell into a heap of mutually independent units with separate and often mutually hostile interests..." The restrictions on individual freedom have been removed, the struggle for life has become intensified, and as always happens in such circumstances, the strong men go up in the world while the weak ones go to the wall. All over the country we find on the one hand the beginning of a village aristocracy,—or perhaps we should call it a plutocracy, for it is based on money,—and on the other hand an ever increasing pauperism. Some peasants possess capital with which they buy land outside of the Commune, or embark in trade, while others have to sell their live stock, and have sometimes to cede to neighbours their share of the communal property. This change in rural life is so often referred to that a new word *differentiatio* (differentiation) has been invented:"

In England the economic changes consequent on the introduction of the cash nexus would be similar, with the great difference that in England in 1381 the serf had not become free, and was therefore not able to better his position by migrating or seeking other employment as the Russian peasants habitually do. The sudden introduction of the cash nexus in consequence of the labourers' demands could not but give rise to a great deal of mutual recrimination between different classes of the community. The personal ties between rich and poor were sometimes softened by kindly sentiment and timely assistance; this seems to have survived in the case of some of the monasteries till Tudor times\(^8\), but the cash nexus would strain it considerably; and there is

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much complaint in Wycliffe and Piers Plowman of the harshness of the landed classes. The breaking down of habitual practice and introduction of new conditions almost necessarily roused a spirit of enquiry as to what the bounds on which the authority of the manorial lords rested. What justice was there in the exclusive claims of the lord to the game on land, where the villains had common right? What right had the lord to prevent one of his tenants from trying to better himself by taking service in a town? The economic grievances in rural districts, and such incidental annoyances as the obligation to use the lord's mill, or the interfering with a right of way, were the occasions of a discontent which found expression in attacks on the foundations of society. The villains of 1381 were not communistic, but they were in a sense anarchists, since they regarded the whole social system, defined by legal documents, as unjust, and as something that ought to be swept away. Hence the assaults on muniment rooms, and on the Temple as the home of the legal profession became sufficiently intelligible; while the manner in which the tenants of St Albans were satisfied over the question of game, and the men of Kent and Essex hundred were satisfied on the question of mill rents, so that a sixth part of the town is said at that time to belong thereunto. Hence the assaults on muniment rooms, and on the Temple as the home of the legal profession became sufficiently intelligible; while the manner in which the tenants of St Albans were satisfied over the question of game, and the men of Kent and Essex hundred were satisfied on the question of mill rents, so that a sixth part of the town is said at that time to belong thereunto.

1. "Lords strive with their tenants to bring them in thraldom, more than they should by reason and charity." Wycliffe, English Works, B. E. T. B. 294.
2. Langland, Piers Plowman, vt. 83.
5. The villains on breaking into St Albans abbey at once attacked the refectory and the cloisters and the whole city, and the monks fled. This popular feeling gave additional point to the address of Jakke Mynter, where the state is compared to a windmill. Knighton, 1381. Compare also Sir Walter Scott's description of the Miller of Melrose and his anxieties, in the Monastery, c. 15. In 1377 there was much dissatisfaction at Manchester, because the millers of Manchester insisted that all the inhabitants should grind at their mills "thee they were not able to serve half the town." See the epigram in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1737 (c. p. 307).
6. The particular grievances that seemed most oppressive differed in different places: at Cambridge the townsmen rose against the University, and first attacked Corpus Christi College, "because that college was endowed with many candle rents, so that a sixth part of the town is said at that time to belong thereto." Fuller, Hist. Univ. Camb. p. 53.
7. J. Ross, Historia Regum Angliciae, p. 196.
8. The sentiments which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Jack Cade are more appropriate to the rising under Tyler and Ball. Henry VI, Part II. Act IV. Sc. 2.
10. Oman, op. cit. 58.
11. Evetts, op. cit. 56, 45.
12. The revolt was mainly due to agrarian discontent.
13. The poverty of the peasant proprietor in France is a matter of common sentiment, as appears in the Commonwealth, Bk. iii. c. 10.
14. Petrukovsky, Famalline Vita Taillare, ii. 294. In the latter part of the fifteenth century tenants were sometimes able to purchase the farms they worked. Johnson, Disappearance of small Landowners, 51. Compare also Sir T. Smith, Commonwealth, Bk. vii. c. 10.
15. Kovalevsky, op. cit. 49; Neison, Ramsey Abbey, 49; Davenport, op. cit. 19. It seems that in Tudor times 20 acres was regarded as the minimum on which a husbandman could live and thrive, as no effort was made to maintain smaller holdings as separate tenancies. 4 H. VII. c. 19. 2 and 3 P. and M. c. 2.
16. The poverty of the peasant proprietor in France is a matter of common remark, and is said to be due to the tiny holdings from which they can only obtain the barest subsistence by hard work. M. de Foville, who defends the system in France at present, points out that under existing conditions there are re-adjustments which prevent excessive subdivision from being permanent but the English serf had no such freedom to deal with his land as the French peasant enjoys. (Moncellement, 199.)
17. The same difficulty would arise about paying their quota of taxation under the Poll Tax. It is noticeable in Russia how closely the arrears of taxation reflect the poverty of the serf in any district. Wallace, op. cit. 294.
to be the first steps in the regeneration of society. So far as they had a positive political programme it was apparently the establishment of a free peasant proprietary, to be governed by the king as monarch⁴, without the intervention of the knights and nobles, whom they regarded as oppressors.

There were successive outbreaks in Kent, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk and other counties, and much light has recently been thrown upon these from new sources of information. The most violent proceedings were in London, where the combined mobs from the rural districts and from the City itself were for a time masters of London⁵ and wreaked their vengeance on the persons of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Richard Lyon, while they also destroyed the property of John of Gaunt. But their triumph was very brief and they were unable to use it so as to secure permanent advantage; the manumissions were retracted the peasants were exposed to ruthless punishment at the hands of the Bishop of Norwich. The legal system, which they had defied, reasserted its power and long accounts remain of judicial proceedings, while new repressive statutes were passed.

So far as regards the political and social objects which the villains had in view, they entirely failed to carry out any constructive policy; and the law givers of the next reign looked back on them as merely subversive of order of every kind, and condemned the Christian Socialism of the Lollards as a mischievous doctrine. The rebellion had also been an

1 There is a close analogy between the English Revolt and that of the German peasants, especially in the desire of both for a political absolutism. See Bocque, Geschichte der Nat. Oek. 79; and compare the assertions of the peasants that they were loyal to the king. The Russian empire is probably a closer approximation to their ideal than anything that exists elsewhere in the world.

2 Reville, La Souveraineté des Travailleurs d'Angleterre; Powell, The Rising in Kent Anglia in 1381; Travelyan and Powell, The Peasant Rising and the Lollards; also the Anonimal Chronicle printed by Travelyan in Eng. Hist. Rec. xiii. 509, and translated by Prof. Oman (Great Revolt, 1906).

3 See p. 383 above.

4 6 R. II. st. i. c. 6, also c. 8; and 6 H. II. st. i. c. 4. Compare also Rymer, Fylapha (Recrodi), iv. 126.

5 Henry V. c. 7. Travelyan (Life of Wycliffe, 149) defines Wycliffe's personal position clearly. Compare also Kovalovsky, op. cit. iv. 283.

6 The opinion of Stubbs (Const. Hist. ii. 483) and Thorold Rogers' Economic Interpretations of History that the rebellion was the means of securing substantial gain is discussed by Petit-Dutaillis in his introduction to Reville, op. cit. xxxix.

7 See p. 334 below. The course of the changes in Norfolk has been carefully traced by Miss Davenport in A Norfolk Manor, 96.

8 12 H. II. cc. 3-7. "The servants and labourers will not, nor by a long season would, serve and labour without outrageous and excessive hire, and much more than hath been given to such servants and labourers in any time past, so that for want of the said servants and labourers, the husbands and land tenants may not pay their rents nor unnethes live upon their lands, to the great damage and loss as well of their lords as of all the Commons."
prohibition was introduced against those who had served in
agriculture till twelve years of age, being subsequently
apprenticed to a trade in the town; this might prevent the
supply of agricultural labour from being still further dimin-
ished. We also find some indication of a feeling that it
was important to maintain the rural population, not only for
agricultural but for military reasons; the servants and
labourers were to have "bows and arrows and use the
same on Sundays and Holy days, and leave all playing at
tennis or football, and other games called coits, dice,
casting of the stone, kales (i.e. skittles), and other such
importune games." The prohibition of swords and daggers
to the labourer and artificer, "but in time of war for defence
of the realm of England," was no unnecessary precaution
when there were so many disorderly but able-bodied tramps.
and when there were large retinues of liveried ruffians ready
to maintain a quarrel. Bands of discharged soldiers lurked
in the woods and made travelling unsafe, and the "assemblies,
conferences and conspiracies" of labouring folk seemed to be
fraught with danger, and were prohibited in the first Game
Law.

There are two other points, which are worth noticing; in
subsequent statutes Edward III. had prohibited the exportation
of corn to any foreign port but Calais and to Gascony; if
the production was diminished, it was desirable to secure
the whole harvest for the use of English subjects, but under
Richard II. parliament entered upon another policy. If the
prosperity of agriculture was to be assured, it was necessary
that the farmer should have a good market for the corn, and
so at the request of the Commons the king "granted licence
to all his liege people of the realm of England to ship and
carry corn out of the said realm to what parts that please
them except to his enemies." The king's council appear to
have interfered frequently and to have rendered this law a
dead letter, but this statute, as confirmed and amended
under Henry VI., may be certainly taken as an attempt to
keep up the price of corn and so to encourage the farmer to
carry on and to improve tillage. The policy thus begun, of
affording protection to native tillage, was carried still further
under Edward IV. The merchants of the Hanse League
had taken to importing corn in considerable quantities, and
in 1463 parliament prohibited the importation of foreign
grown corn, when the price of wheat at the port to which it
was brought did not exceed 6s. 8d. the quarter. This was
deliberately done to relieve the condition of the labourers
and occupiers of husbandry and to raise the price of corn
grown within the realm.

The statutes of this reign also notice the existence of a Poor
Relief class about whom there was to be an immense amount of
legislation in later times—the impotent poor; there was no
intention that they should incur the penalties which were
designed for the sturdy tramp who was wandering about
with no testimonial from his last employer, but they were
to stay in the cities and towns where they were dwelling at
the time of the proclamation of the statute, "and if the
people of cities or other towns will not or may not suffice
to find them, then the said beggars shall draw them to other
towns within the hundreds, rape or wapentake, or to the
towns where they were born, within forty days after the
proclamation made, and there shall continually abide during
their lives." There is a certain naiveté in the sanguine
temperament of legislators who thought that the 'settlement'
of the impotent poor might be effected once for all in six
weeks; the maintenance of the impotent was of course left to
charity, and this could not always be depended upon. Owing
to the agricultural depression, there had been a considerable
A.D. 1377

falling off in clerical incomes; and the tithes, which had formed a somewhat uncertain source for poor relief, were quite insufficient for the purpose. The claim of the poor upon them was not wholly forgotten, and it was enacted that when a living was unappropriated, a convenient sum should be set aside to be distributed yearly to the poor parishioners. As Professor Ashley has argued, there is little reason to believe that the almshouses, either at monasteries or from the establishments of wealthy nobles did much to relieve or abate pauperism. More real benefit may have accrued from the parish stock which was sometimes available for the use of the poor, and from the proceeds of which relief could be given both in kind and in cash. The foundation of hospitals and almshouses of an ecclesiastical character had been a favourite form of benefaction in the thirteenth and earlier part of the fourteenth century. After the Black Death, many of these foundations suffered from greatly reduced incomes, while others were grossly mismanaged. Municipal authorities had occasionally exercised supervision in regard to the control of these establishments; but in the fifteenth century there was a great increase in the philanthropic activities of secular institutions. Town authorities and companies busied themselves, not only in the maintenance of orphans, but also by providing accommodation for the passing traveller, for the sick and for the impotent poor.

Hospitals.

It thus appears that in dealing with rural problems, the parliament of Richard initiated several very important lines of policy. They set themselves to encourage tillage as a permanent employment, and began the Corn Laws, and in doing so they had a regard not merely to the need of food, but to the military strength of the country as recruited from the rural population. Again, we have in this reign the first legislation for the impotent beggars as distinguished from the sturdy tramp, and since both sides of the problem are

1 Ashley, Economic History, i. 310.
2 Idem, op. cit. 310.
3 Idem, op. cit. 310.
4 Idem, Economic History, i. ii. 313.
5 R. M. Clay, Medieval Hospitals, 182, 222. This was partly through the fall of rents and partly from the decrease of tolls at fairs. See above, p. 180, n. 5.
6 H. V. et L. e. c. 1. Ashley, Economic History, i. ii. 316.
7 H. M. Clay, op. cit. 16.

attacked we may consider this the beginning of the Poor Laws; the idler was discouraged by the Statutes of Labourers, which attempted to force vagrants to accept employment, and by the Game Law. Like the mercantilist regulations for trade, and the Navigation Acts of the time, they are mere germs from which a whole elaborate code was to spring, but it is not uninteresting to notice how all these branches of social legislation have their first beginnings during this reign.

III. Commercial Relationships.

121. It is commonly said that Richard's failure to protect English shipping alienated the merchants from his side, and indeed that his deposition was directly connected with the weakness of the naval force of the realm, since a small fleet might have prevented the landing of Henry of Bolingbroke. Be this as it may, Richard's successors were more careful than he had been, and tried, with but little apparent result, a variety of expedients for giving protection to English shipping and to the English coasts.

Some allusion has been made above to the piratical organisation known as the Victual Brothers; when it was crushed the evil hardly abated; several small nests of pirates were formed out of the surviving elements of the great association. Their ravages both by sea and land were so bold that the men of Amsterdam at length endeavoured to take the matter in hand, and entered into a league with Hamburg, Lubeck and other towns for the extirpation of the evil. They were successful in destroying nine of the haunts of these pirates at the mouth of the Ems; but little permanent good was done. A celebrated pirate named Voet, who was at any rate acting in the interest and possibly with the connivance of the Hanseatic League, sacked Bergen in 1428; this was a serious blow to English trade in the

1 Macpherson, Annals, i. 610.
2 See p. 301 above.
system of defence rather for the coasts than the shipping; A.D. 1399
he committed this duty to the merchants themselves in letters addressed to the various ports, which empowered
them to take three shillings on every cask of imported wine,
besides other payments on staple exports for expenses
connected with the work. They were also to nominate two
admirals, one for the south and one for the north, to be
appointed by the king and to have full jurisdiction in
maritime affairs, as well as power of organising naval forces
whenever it was necessary; but a brief experience seems to
have shown that the scheme was a failure, and the payments
were rescinded. A somewhat similar expedient was tried
under Henry VI.; the Earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Wor-
chester, and Wiltshire, with Lord STURTON, were appointed
to ‘keep the seas’ for three years; a grant of tonnage and
poundage was assigned them for the purpose, and certain
towns were to contribute specified loans, on the security of
these taxes, for their immediate equipment. But this
attempt was also dropped, and the lords were, at their own
request, discharged from the duty.

It is indeed difficult, in looking back, to realise that
there was a real difference in the actual security afforded
during any part of this period, or that Richard’s reign was
marked by greater losses than those of his grandfather and
his successor. The expedients of the Lancastrians appear to
have been futile, though the military intercommunication with
France, especially in the days of Henry V., may have afforded
England, and how by doing the contrary the said ship fully freighted was taken by the
enemy: for the which ship and goods be required recompense of all the other
ships.

1 Byrner, Paderes, VIII, 438.; 2 Ibid. VIII, 439.; 3 Ibid. VIII, 455.; 4 Cotton’s Additament, 552.; 5 Ibid. 657.;
6 It appears however that the tradition of the English sovereignty of the seas had not become altogether a dead letter, if we may trust the complaint alleged on behalf of John Willis, a poor fisherman of Oystead, who was carried off to Hull
along with fifteen companions and four boys, although they were unarmed and
lowered their sail as soon as the English hailed them: the incident is traditionally interpreted as a sort of salute. Byrner, Paderes, VIII, 377.
7 See above, p. 290.
8 Henry V. had in 1417 a fleet consisting of six large vessels, eight barges and
ten balsingers (Nicolas, Agincourt, App. p. 21).

A good deal of interesting information on the state of the arts in England is to be found in the accounts of Henry V.’s preparations for his French campaigns.

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A.D. 1039-1046.

North Sea. But similar evils occurred nearer home, and
there were pitiful complaints of the attacks of bands of
outlaws, known as ‘Rovers of the Sea,’ who pillaged the
coasts in the time of Henry VI. The reprisals of one,
trading community upon the merchants of another, was
also a serious trading risk; but it ought not to be confused
with mere plundering, for after all it was a rough and ready
way of obtaining recovery for debts.

It is only, however, by an examination of the separate
histories of different localities that we get any real idea of
the frightful extent of this evil along all our coasts. Agnes
PASTON writes in 1450, as an everyday event, of a neighbour
“who was taken with enemies walking by the sea side,” and
adds, “there ben ten great vessels of the enemies: God give
grace that the sea be better kept than it is now, or else
it shall be a perilous dwelling by the sea coast.” The
marauders seem to have kidnapped young and old; we can
well believe that rural districts like the neighbourhood of
PASTON had cause for alarm, when towns like Sandwich and
Southampton were burned, and London and Norwich were
forced to plan means of defence with booms and chains.

Henry IV., though he organised a considerable navy in
1400 by requisitioning ships from the nobles and the towns,
did not attempt the difficult task of protecting English ship-
ning. Probably the best security was given by merchant
vessels sailing together as a fleet, and this was a generally
recognised practice. But Henry attempted to organise a

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1 Rot. Roy vi. 350 (19), 376 (29). One of the first signs of the rising maritime
importance of Holland was given when they helped to clear out a nest of pirates
from Flandern. Mapleson, Annals, 1 620.
2 The line was not drawn very
strictly however. The commanders of vessels,
who gave security for their good conduct according to treaty engagements with
Brittany, were expected to refrain from attacking Breton vessels, presumably
under all circumstances. Byrner, Padere, 8, 504.
3 Paston Letters, I, 114.
4 Denton, 15th Century, pp. 87, 89.
5 Byrner, Paderes, VIII, 127, 172.
6 Cotton, Avizadgement, 548. John Sharpe owner of a vessel called the
Christopher of Hull, complainant, sheweth that the same Christopher at Bordeaux
was appointed to be one of the Admirals of the English navy then bound for
England, and how that all the English Masters were sworn before the Chief
Officers of Bordeaux not to depart or leave the said Admiral until they came to

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A.D. 1499

-1506.

Exposed condition of the coasts.

Self-protection by merchants.

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A.D. 1463.
A.D. 1460

a greater measure of safety on the seas. This was at best a very temporary improvement, for in the reign of Henry VI. we find all the old complaints; the people on the coasts could not even get satisfaction by pillage, for their enemies claimed the prizes they took by forged letters of safe conduct. It appears that it was safer for neutrals to send their goods in foreign ships, as they were less likely to be attacked, and the native shipping—so important for the safety of the realm—was much discouraged. It is also curious to note how the

There was a great gathering of craftsmen to wait for the king; tents (Rymer, Fingera, x. 290), bowes (254), cartes (248), horsehorses and bulls (250), arrows (486), guns (842), are all to be provided. Ships were to be hired in Holland and Zealand (315), and impressed from English ports; seamen were to be got to man them; carpenters and masons, presumably for making engines of attack (201), and surgeonous (292 and 860), to accompany the expedition; while bacon (417) and all sorts of other victuals were to be provided (239). For ready money he seems to have had recourse to pawning the Crown jewels (284), and to trying to raise loans, though without much success (492 and 814). The regulations made for the good government of Normandy, providing for uniform weights and measures, and coinage (736), the repression of unfair dealing by soldiers and merchants (728, 749), and confirmation of former possessions and privileges, show a real effort to govern the conquered country well.

I. "Whereas poor Merchants of the King of this Realm daily be robbed by the Kings Enemies, upon the Sea, and to divers Rivers and Ports within the said Realm, of their Ships, Goods and Merchandises, of great Riches, and their Bodies taken and imprisoned with great Duress, and of People defensible to keep the Sea and Coasts of the same, for that the Ships, Goods and Merchandises by them taken from the said Kings Enemies, be sometimes claimed by the King's Enemies, by Colour of Safe Conducts not duly enrolled, so that the said Merchants be discouraged to have had their Chattels and Infants upon Land, and carried by the said Enemies where they should, and of People defensible to keep the Sea and Coasts of the same, for that the Ships, Goods and Merchandises by them taken from the said Kings Enemies, be sometimes claimed by the Kings Enemies, by Colour of Safe Conducts not duly enrolled, so that the said Merchants be discouraged to

"Letters of Safe Conducts" as to the damage they had suffered, and as to the course taken by the English Ambassadors in requiring clear proofs of the wrongs done, and in cutting down the amounts claimed.

1 Rymer, Fingera, x. 208.
2 William of Worcester's Itinerary (Dallaway), p. 114. But it is not clear that they were English built; for it is stated as a grievance in 1442 (Rot. Parli. v. 64, No. 38) that Englishmen were prevented from buying or building ships in Prussia and the Hanse towns. The largest ship of which we hear at this time in English waters was one belonging to the king of Sweden, which was of 1000 tons. Rymer, Fingera, xi. 364.
3 Macpherson, i. 631.
were fit to be employed in voyages of discovery under the Tudors.

While this direct encouragement to the building of ships may be regarded as a new departure, the older and indirect methods were not left out of sight, though they were allowed to drop, and the navigation policy was somewhat in abeyance; a navigation act very similar to those of Richard II. was passed in 1463; but it was only temporary, and it appears to have expired at the end of three years and not to have been renewed.

122. The growth of English commerce at this time is shown by evidence of another kind, for we have a considerable number of commercial treaties. There was much correspondence between the Venetians and Edward III. before the trade was established on a satisfactory footing. The Venetians appear to have desired protection for their Flemish galleys on the Channel, but they were indisposed to call at English ports, till they were driven to do so in self-defence by the competition of the Genoese. The agreement with Brittany had special reference to the hostilities between England and France; that with Burgundy laid the foundation of English trade at Antwerp. Others were of a more general character, and show that direct trade was extending to wider limits. An agreement for the security of the subjects of the two contracting parties was made between England and Castile in 1403, by which freedom was given to them to go and stay for a time and return with their goods, in safety both on land and sea. Our political relations with Portugal rendered the commercial ties closer than before; though the connection was not very popular in this country, and the existence of a treaty did not restrain English subjects from capturing ships and goods belonging to natives of Portugal.

It must be added that these agreements do not render it quite clear that English merchants were actually accustomed to visit the Peninsula at that time.

To the north of the continent of Europe they certainly traded; but English merchants in Prussia and the Hansa towns found themselves at a disadvantage and exposed to loss, because there was no proper authority to regulate their officers and settle disputes among them; they elected a governor whose authority was confirmed by Richard in 1391. Subsequently Henry IV. empowered the merchants trading in those parts to meet together and elect governors who should not only have authority in quarrels which arose among the English themselves, but should have power to arrange disputes between English and foreign merchants and to secure redress for any injury that might be done them in foreign parts. This was in 1404, and three years later similar privileges were granted on precisely similar grounds to the English merchants of Holland, Zealand, Brabant and Flanders, and afterwards to those of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. These documents are of considerable interest as they are among the earliest instances of the formation of organisations of English merchants for mutual protection in the prosecution of trade. In the formation of these companies there is no close analogy with the Merchants of the Staple, though they formed a trading association, for they were not "abide the streight goodea," and others who could not "shide the stricte rule of the saide
A.D. 1399—1461.

primarily concerned with one great source of revenue and carried on their transactions in a town that belonged to England. The various companies of Merchant Adventurers which were authorised at this time seem to have been created for commercial purposes, and not as administrative agents of the government; each of them had definite territorial limits assigned, within which its members were privileged to trade. Similar companies played a great part in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and served as the organs by which English trade was so greatly extended in America, Africa, and the East Indies. As institutions these companies form a curious connecting link between the intermunicipal trade of the Middle Ages and the world-wide commerce of modern times. The merchants who traded from London, Newcastle, and Hull to Bruges, and whose affairs were managed by a court of English residents in Flanders, advanced so fast as to become dangerous rivals to the Hanse League in some branches of their trade. The prime object of these companies was to secure judicial facilities for their members in foreign places; but they also had much to do with the regulation of trade, and they laid down rules which were intended to keep the members from reckless trading, and to prevent any of them from spoiling the market for English goods. In the later history of the Merchant Adventurers we hear much of a ‘stint’ or limit assigned to each member according to his standing in the Company, and which restricted the number of cloths he might export in each year. Similarly the regulations for the trade of Bristol, as reissued under William Canynges, presuppose that there should be a ‘ruled price’ for each of the chief commodities of trade, and that no merchant should

A.D. 1467.

sell below it, unless he was in difficulties and the warden of the company had failed to provide a remedy after three days’ notice.

Provision for the protection of English merchants could also be made by the appointment of foreign consuls. The Italian cities had accredited such agents long before this time; but the appointment in 1485 of Lorenzo Strozzi, a Florentine, to be English Consul at Pisa appears to be the first instance recorded of an official being empowered to undertake this responsibility for Englishmen in the Mediterranean. Possibly his duties were not very arduous at first; it appears from the terms of the appointment that English merchants were intending to trade there, and that the experience of other nations showed that the existence of such an officer would prove an inducement to Englishmen to undertake direct voyages to Italy.

In the north, however, Englishmen were really pushing rivalry with their trade to such an extent that they were brought into difficulties with more than one of their neighbours. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hansards found that their monopoly of the Baltic trade was threatened by English merchants, as well as by their old antagonists the Danes; after the accession of Queen Margaret, the Danish influence became dominant over the whole Scandinavian peninsula. There was no immediate breach with the Hansards, but they complained that they were unfairly treated by the Danish officials in various ports; and open war was carried on in the time of Eric. The great Norwegian staple town of Bergen suffered severely during this struggle; a corsair from Wismar a.D. 1499 attacked and destroyed it, and the English merchants who resided there were massacred. They had been in a more favoured position than the Hansards, and were thus specially obnoxious to their rivals. On the whole, however, English merchants gained by the struggle between the Danes and the Hansards; they were able to open up communications with Prussia, where they were welcomed by the Teutonic knights, and

1 Barrett, History of Bristol, 179.
2 Rymer, Seldoni, xii, 370.
4 Worms, La Ligue hanséatique, 139.
5 Ibid. 144.
6 Ibid. 150.
thus the monopoly, which the Hansards had enjoyed in the
Baltic, was completely broken down. Even by the treaty of
Utrecht, in which Edward IV. was forced to treat the
Hansards with special indulgence, the right of the English
to trade in the Baltic was preserved, and the position of
Eastland merchants who traded with Prussia was rendered
more secure on paper, though it does not appear that they
gained much practically.

Though the rulers of Scandinavia and Denmark were
willing to encourage the merchants of England and Holland
in preference to the Hansards, and in order to break down
their monopoly, they were by no means inclined to brook
interference in the regions where they had themselves en-
joyed an exclusive trade. Iceland was their chief
preferred to deal direct for their sole benefit, and also to keep their fishing rights on
the north and western coasts inviolate. This was the regular
policy of the Norwegian rulers, but though it was frequently
re-enforced, it was not steadily maintained, and foreign mer-
chants did not willingly conform to it. The English persisted
in trading with Iceland; and in the early part of the four-
teenth century, an elaborate proclamation was issued for
regulating the bartering at the general market; for coined
money does not seem to have been in use there. Englishmen
preferred to deal direct with the island, and were not content
to frequent the royal staple at Bergen and abide by the
regulations which governed transactions there. The king
endeavoured to enforce his rules and confiscated the goods of
English merchants throughout his dominions—a step which
causd general consternation, for as there were no Danes
trading to England it was impossible to make reprisals. Our seamen continued to carry on the contraband trade with

Iceland under various excuses, and in 1476 they ravaged
Iceland and slew the royal bailiff there. Such open defiance
was promptly met by their expulsion from Bergen and re-
sulted in the triumph of their Hanseatic rivals for the time.

123. The disabilities to which Englishmen were liable
in foreign parts reacted on the position of foreigners in
England. King Henry IV. was forced to call pointed attention
to the fact that the privileges granted to the men of the
Hanse Towns had been accorded to them on the express
condition that English merchants abroad should receive
similar treatment in Germany. But negotiations were always complicated by the fact that reprisals were
constantly going on, from both sides; and the main business
was not so much to arrange the footing on which merchants
might trade, as to settle the large claims for redress which
were put in by the merchants of different trading towns.
The practice of reprisal and the existence of organised bands
of pirates have been spoken of above; but much additional
information may be drawn from the accounts of the two
serious attempts that were made to settle outstanding
grievances.

Tedious negotiations began in 1403 when William Esturmy,
Knight, and John Kington, Canon of Lincoln, were sent
from the court of parliament at Coventry, "very slightly
informed," as royal ambassadors to treat about the "injuries
unjustly offered" on both sides. Each town makes its plaint
in turn, and the ambassadors endeavoured to cut down
exorbitant demands. The chief complaint against the English
came from the Livonians, who had had three ships "unjustly"
robbed and rifled by the English in July 1404; they valued
the ships and goods at £8307. 12s. 7d., but the English
ambassadors reduced the claim to £7498. 13s. 10d. It was

1 John, one of the Icelandic bishops who was afraid to go and get installed,
deputized John May, Captain of the Katharine of London, to go and inspect the
temporality of his see. Richard Weston, a stock-fishmonger, was also con-
cerned in this voyage. Rymer, x. 645; see also 682 and 792.
2 Werner, La Ligue hansatique, 192.
3 Werner, La Ligue hansatique, 152.
4 Rymer, Fornar, viii. 112. Richard II. had made an express stipulation "of
their aiding, counseling, and comforting" Englishmen abroad. Rot. Parl. ms.
42 (b).
5 Pp. 303, 403.
6 Hakluyt, Voyages, x. 154.
also alleged that in the affair the English had caused “250 men very barbarously to be drowned, of whom some were noble and others honourable personages, and the rest common merchants and mariners,” in respect of whom the English agreed that the “said sovereign lord the king should of his great piety vouchsafe effectually to devise some convenient and wholesome remedy for the souls of such persons as were drowned.” The people of Hamburg claimed 9117 nobles, and after due examination restitution was promised to the sum of 416 nobles; to the men of Bremen, who claimed 4414 nobles, no satisfaction was promised; and the claims from Stralsund, Lübeck, Greifswald and Kampen were greatly reduced. Some matters were deferred till additional evidence could be procured, and English goods in the hands of foreigners were to be counted as an offset.

The chief claims on the English side were against the citizens of Wismar and Rostock, who, in the ten preceding years, had committed robberies on ships from Newcastle, Hull (five complaints), York (two), London (two), Colchester, Yarmouth (five), Norwich, Clee (six), Wiveton (six), Lynn (seven). The most serious charge was from the people of Lynn; they had a mercantile settlement consisting of twenty houses at Bergen in Norway; this town was attacked by the men from Wismar and Rostock and burnt; the English merchants lost their houses and goods, and had to ransom their persons at an expense of £1815. It was further averred by the English ambassadors that these were not the mere acts of individuals, but that the whole towns were implicated in these outrages, since the men were “hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies of the cities aforesaid, and that the inhabitants of every household in the aforesaid cities (each man according to his ability) wittingly and purposely set forth one, two or more men for the same expedition.” Eventually king Henry agreed to pay the sum of 5808 nobles.

Claims by the English.

A.D. 1399

A.D. 1399—1401.

When the question of damages is thus set aside, we may see more clearly the nature of the grievances on each side.

The Hansards chiefly complained of the way in which the customers performed their duties at different ports, in charging customs twice over, or charging at illegal rates, and they claimed the privileges of their ancient charters. The English complained that the Hansards would not deal with their merchants, and had carried this boycotting so far as almost to starve some of them; they had not only made unreasonable regulations themselves, but had procured the passing of similar laws in Norway and Sweden. It was also urged that they had infringed their privileges in London; they were accused of allowing strangers, who were not members of their society, to “colour” their “goods and merchandise under their company,” and so had diminished the king’s custom. This had been done so commonly for twenty years past, both by the general council and particular cities, that the loss to the revenue could not easily be calculated. The loose organisation of the Hanse League rendered it very difficult to check frauds of this kind, and the English ambassadors demanded a declaration in writing as to “what and what manner of territories, cities, towns, villages or companies they be, for which the said society challengeth and pretendeth that they ought to enjoy the privileges granted unto their merchants.”

One result of these negotiations was a new effort to put down ‘unjust’ robberies by sea; it was agreed that when anything was taken by English pirates from Prussian subjects and carried to England, the governors of the various ports should be bound on sole report or probable suspicion to arrest and keep the goods in safe custody to be restored to their owners; and if they omitted to do so they were themselves bound to recompense the losses; a delay in executing justice or reimbursing the pillaged merchants, was to be met by the arrest of English goods in Prussian towns. Such limitation of reprisal, so that it became the final remedy when legal processes failed, was a real step in advance.

Still more important negotiations were carried on in the

1 Hakluyt, Voyages, 2. 189.
2 Rymer, Foedera, viii. 607. It is especially stipulated that the payment should be by bills and not made in bullion, except a reasonable sum for the ambassador’s expenses.
A.D. 1399—1461.

relations of the Hansards.

time of Edward IV.; and the treaty of Utrecht was confirmed by the king in 1474. The Hansards then secured very favourable terms, which were wrung from Edward IV. somewhat against his will, for he desired to stand well with the City merchants; but the Hansards had come to his aid at the crisis of his fortunes and he did not dare to resist their demands. When, in 1470, Warwick secured French support for the cause of Margaret and the Lancastrians, the Hanse towns, with some exceptions, felt called upon to interfere; if French influence came to dominate in London, there was little hope that their privileges would be respected, and they gave substantial assistance to Edward, who landed at Ravenspur and carried all before him. Four years later he had to pay the price for their aid, and the Hansards were able to secure unusually favourable terms; they were to have absolute possession of three factories, the Gildhalla Teutonica, or Steelyard in London, the Steelyard in Boston, and another in Lynn. Besides this, they were credited with a sum of £10,000 in satisfaction for injuries done them. Various important privileges were confirmed to them, and they secured the right of selling Rhenish wines by retail.

This agreement probably marks the highest point of success to which the Hanse merchants attained in their dealings with this country; the settlement in London had flourished for more than four hundred years, but their monopoly of the Baltic trade was already broken. So far as their position in England was concerned their decline and fall were singularly rapid, and in the time of Elizabeth the ancient Steelyard was altogether deserted.

124. The frightful disasters which overtook France during the Hundred Years' War must have reacted to some extent on the trading connections of England. The whole of the country had suffered terribly, but no part was more utterly exhausted than the districts of Champagne and Burgundy, where the great fairs had been commonly

1 On the whole incident compare R. Pauli, Die Haltung der Hansestädte in den Rosenkriegen in Händische Geschichtsblätter, (1875), 76—105.
2 Bymer, Nord. ex. 796.
3 Ibid. x. 799.
4 Bassin, Hist. de Charles VII, ii. c. 1, ed. Quicherat, p. 44.

held. These were practically discontinued, and merchants no longer travelled along the ancient trade route from Marseilles by Lyons to the north; the course of traffic was diverted, and the chief stream of commerce between Italy and the north was forced to make its way through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Bay of Biscay. Italians continued to frequent this country, but they sailed here in their galleys and no longer travelled by the overland route. There was a change too in the style of the business they carried on, for it was mercantile rather than financial. It is commonly said that Italians originally settled here, as in other parts of the north, with the view of collecting and transmitting papal taxation; and this becomes probable, when we bear in mind that finance was not their exclusive calling, and that, as we have seen, the Florentines were also engaged in procuring raw wool for the manufacturers in their own city; while men of Italian extraction were partly occupied in the importation of spices. In 1284 three Italian merchants wrote from London to acquaint their principals with the arrangements they had made for procuring wool regularly from various monastic establishments; and a list survives from the year 1315 of nearly two hundred ecclesiastical houses in England and Scotland which furnished the Florentines with this article. The fact that the papal agents were also engaged in an export trade goes far to explain how it was possible for England to meet the continual drain of papal taxation; as the wool trade declined it became more necessary to insist on the use of bills of exchange in this business, for the
wool-merchants would prefer to export raw material when they could.

The first Florentine merchants settled in England were chiefly occupied in transmitting money's worth to Italy and in carrying on financial business in England: the Frescobaldi, Bardi and Peruzzi were, not so much merchants, as bankers with whom Edward III. had large transactions. He was not the only royal defaulter of the time, and the disasters which attended the banking-houses appear to have reacted on the prosperity of the Tuscan city itself. They never recovered their financial importance however, but they seem to have followed in the wake of the Venetians and to have carried on a direct maritime trade with London, while their merchants threw by their business relations with the Netherlands.

The original connection with the Genoese was of a different character. Richard I. had established relations with them, but it was not easy to preserve friendly ties with the Ligurian republic. They took the same impartial interest in the maritime struggles of the fourteenth century as the Swiss did in military operations at a later time, for they were always ready to supply mercenary ships of war. In 1316 King Robert the Bruce hired some galleys from Genoese citizens to be used against England, and Edward II., into whose hands some letters about the transaction had fallen, complained of this infraction of the ancient amity with the Republic; while a few months later he endeavoured to procure similar assistance for himself. Edward III. was at great pains to court their friendship and to disarm their hostility. As French influence over Genoa increased there was a breach of the friendly relations with England. This was a matter of regret on other grounds, as the Genoese had opened up commercial as well as military connections with the north of Europe, and the trade with them would have been particularly profitable. At one time there was a prospect of a Genoese staple being established at Southampton, but this was prevented by the jealousy of London merchants; and England lost the advantage which would have accrued. The Genoese were skilled in the manufacture of weapons and munitions of war, and they also imported alum, woad and other materials which were useful for the cloth manufacture, while they exported large quantities of English goods; the business they carried on was more in favour with the English citizens than that done by other Italians despite their political connection with France. But this connection affected the privileges which the king allowed them to enjoy, and their position suffered from the varying relations of the Lancastrians and Yorkists to France.

The Venetians were under no such disadvantage; they seem to have frequented this country for trading at an earlier date than any of the other Italians, and they were the pioneers among their countrymen in organising direct trading voyages. The Flanders galleys first sailed in 1317, they seem to have called at Southampton on some of their earlier voyages; we hear of a quarrel between the crews of five Venetian galleys and the people of Southampton and the Isle of Wight in 1323; shortly afterwards a regular grant of trading privileges was accorded by the Crown, but the Venetians do not seem to have been willing to take advantage of it at first. The growing success of their Genoese rivals in Flanders, however, forced them to alter their views and to visit Southampton, in the early part of the fifteenth century.
Import commodities from Venice and the East, as they had over and over again, but it nowhere finds more definite expression than in the Libelle of English Polycey.

The grote galleys of Venice and Floreance
Be wel ladene with thynges of complacence
All spicerye, and of grocers ware,
Wyth swete wynes, al manere of chaffare,
Apses, and japes and marmassettes taylere,
Trifles, trifles that litelle have avaliade
And thynges wyth whiche they fethely bere our wyne:
With thynges not endureygyn that we bye.

Thus these galeise for this lykyngye ware,
And eyng ware, bere hens our best chaffare,
Clythe, wolfe and tynne, whiche as I said beforne,
Oute of this londe wertse myghte be forborne.
Fuyr cote other londes of necessete
Have grote nele to by some of the thes,
And wos grethe of thems into this cooste
Ware and chaffare that lyghtlye wol be loste1.

On these and other grounds public opinion demanded that some limitation should be imposed on the Italian traders. It was asked first of all that they should only import commodities from Venice and the East, as they had engaged in the carrying trade between Spain, Portugal, Britainy and England; here we have another indication of Navigation policy, requiring these foreign merchants to

1 Libelle of English Polycey in Politicall Songs (Rolle), n. 173. This most interesting tract should be compared with Sir John Fortescue’s Comodytes of Englynde, written before 1451 but only recently printed. After mentioning the (1) rivers and (2) harbournes, which gave all parts of the land the advantage of trade, he adds, “The third comodyte of this land ys that the comones have with in hem...” Since the Italians had taken up the carrying trade they had brought fewer goods from their own land, with the usual complaint of increase of price, decrease of customs, lowering the price of native exports, and “olde quam tres monys...” Rolle, p. 129.
import only the produce of their own land. The petitioners also urge the singular plea, quite in a Cobdenite spirit, that commercial needs would facilitate peace between the hostile nations, if it were not for the intervention of neutral traders. "All tho that are your Enemys in any Contres on this half the said Streites schall beayne to desire your peas and friendeship, or atte best to Brynge theyr Merchandises and fette yours be sauf conduys". No action was taken on this petition, and in 1445 there were other complaints brought against them; this is the first symptom of the objection that they were seriously interfering with the native industry of the country—and indeed with the staple trade. "Whereas the Merchauuds Straungers Italyans, of longe tyme continually abyinginge in this your noble Reame, have customably used to ryde aboute for to bye Wollen Clothes, Wolle, Wollefelles, and Tynne, in every partie of the same Reame, by the suffereance whereof the said Merchauuds have knowleche of all the privetees of the same Reame, as well of the povertye of your peole as of their penury. Wheche povertie and penurye the said Merchauuds percevyeng, have redye money and therwith at the first hande bye Wollen Cloths, Wolle, Wollefelles and Tynne, of suche indygent persones as sell hit at theire grete myschief and losse, and summe of the said Merchauuds putte the said Wolle for to make Clothe thereof," and the price of wool and cloth had in consequence been greatly diminished and decreased, than which there could be no greater hurt to the liege people of the realm. The suggested remedy was to ordain that these foreigners should only buy the staple commodities at the ports where their galleys called, and that they should not be allowed more than three months in which to dispose of their cargoes. Like the previous complaint this was ineffectual and it is not hard to discern the real ground of the objection here alleged. The London wool staplers and clothiers did not pay ready money, and for that matter did not always pay at

1 Rot. Parl. v. 32 a.
2 Rot. Parl. v. 394 (11).
3 See a complaint of their monopoly from the drapers in 1466. Rot. Parl. III. 508. No. 137.

All. Such competition as that of the Italians in the internal trade of the country must have interfered seriously with their accustomed profits. The complaint of their buying wool, "some of which they delivered to clothiers to make cloth after their pleasure," reappears in the reign of Richard III., A.D. 1484, along with a very complete summary of the other grievances which had been matters of complaint at all times—of storing goods so as to sell at enhanced prices, of selling by retail, of exporting money and not commodities, and of harbouring other aliens.

125. Though the outcry about the interference of foreigners in the great manufactures of the country had no immediate effect, serious efforts were made in the latter half of the fifteenth century to encourage native industry, partly by prohibiting the importation of finished goods and partly by encouraging the importation of materials. In 1455 a complaint was made on behalf of the silkwomen and spinners of the mistery and occupation of silk-working in London that the Lombards, with the intention of destroying the said mistery, were introducing "ribbands and chains, falsely and deceitfully wrought, all manner girdles and other things concerning the said mistery and occupation, in no manner wise bringing in any good silk unwrought as they were wont to bring heretofore"; and parliament entirely prohibited the importation of these goods, under the penalty of forfeiture together with a heavy fine.

The reigns of the Yorkists were particularly distinguished for the eagerness with which this policy was pursued. Edward IV. passed similar measures with regard to silk in 1463 and 1483; but the former statute contained another clause of a far more sweeping character. It complains that owing to the import of wares "fully wrought and ready made to sale" the "artificers cannot live by their mysteries and occupations as they have done in times past, but diverse of them, as well householders as hirelings and other servants and apprentices in great number be this day unoccupied and
do hardly live in great misery, poverty and need," and it proceeds to prohibit the introduction of a very miscellaneous assortment of finished goods.1

The wardens of the various misteries in towns where they existed were to have the right of search to aid in executing this statute, and their powers were extended so that they might search in adjoining towns and villages where there were no wardens of their own craft. It is a curious feature that the prohibition did not extend to the sale of "goods taken upon the sea without fraud or collusion or that come into the realm by way of wreck." Similar prohibitions were enacted by Richard II, and there is every reason to suppose that this protective policy was worked with some success, for towards the close of the fifteenth century we begin to hear of an incursion of Italian artisans to reside and exercise their callings, but not to settle in England. Parliament prohibited

1 Woodens Cares, Woodlen Cloth, Laces, Corsetes, Ribbons, Fringes of Silk and Thread, Lace of Thread, Silk Twined, Silk in any wise embroidered, Laces of Gold, Tyes of Silk or Gold, Saddles, Stirrups or any Harness pertaining to Saddlery, Spurns, Bosses of Bridles, Anadrons, Gridelins, any Manner of Locks, Pinsoms, Fire Tonges, Drippings Pans, Dice, Tennis Balle, Points, Furzes, Gloves, Gridles, Harness for Gridles of Iron, Latton Steel, Tin or of Allenizing, anything wrought of any Tawed Leather, any Tawed Furres, Buscs, Siooa, Galloche, or Corks, Knyves, Daggers, Woodkinnes, Bodkins, Sceaons for Taylors, Scissors, Razors, Sheathes, Playing Cards, Pins, Patterns, Pack Needles, or any Painted Wares, Forcers, Caskets, Rings of Copper or of Latton Gib, or Chaffing Dishes, Rings for Cards, Ladles, Scissors, Counterfeit Basones, Ewers, Hats, Brushes, Cards for Wool, brass Iron Thread commonly called White Wire. 3 Ed. IV. c. 4.

2 H. III. c. 12.

3 IV. Moreover a great number of artificers and other strangers not born under the king's obedience do daily resort and repair to the city of London, and to other cities, boroughs and towns of the said realm, and much more than they were wont to do in times past, and inhabit by themselves in the said realm with their wives, children and household, and will not take upon them any laborious occupation, as going to plough and cart, and other like business, but use the making of cloth and other handicrafts and easy occupations, and bring and convey from the parts beyond the sea, great substance of wares and merchandises to fairs and markets, and all other places of this realm at their pleasure, and there sell the same, as well by retail as otherwise, as freely as any of the king's subjects use to do, to the great damage and impoverishment of the king's said subjects, and will in no wise suffer nor take any of the king's said subjects to work with them, but they take only into their service people born in their own country, whereby the king's said subjects for lack of occupation fall into idleness, and be thieves, beggers, vagabonds, and people of vicious living to the great perturbance both of the king and of all his realm; and when the merchants, artificers and strangers before rehearsed have gained within this realm, by buying

artificers who came from abroad from exercising their crafts a.d. 1399 as independent householders, or as employers; they were to engage themselves as "servants unto suche of your subiects only as ben exparte and connyng in suche Fryys, Crafts and Werkes as the seide Strangiers can occupie." Alien artificers, already established in the country, were only to sell by gross and not by retail, and only to take the king's subjects for their servants. There is indeed one interesting exception to this prohibition; the act was not to be prejudicial to any "Artificer or Merchant Stranger, of what Nation or Country he be or shall be of for bringing into this Realm or selling by Retail or otherwise of any manner of Bokes wryttin or impriynted or for the inhabitynye within the said Realme, for the same intent, or to any writer, lyrnymer, bynder or impriynter, of such bokes as he hath or shall have to sell by wryt of Merchandise, or for their abode in the same Realm for the exercising of the said occupations."

129. The preceding paragraphs show that there had been a very great increase in the trading connections of the country since the time of Edward III, and considerable attention was directed to questions connected with the media of exchange. There was not however any fresh departure from the lines laid down under Richard II; aliens were still required to expend half their money in goods though they might take the rest in bullion3; but before long this permission was rescinded4 and they were required to expend the whole of or by such easy occupations and handicrafts, great substance of goods, with the same substance they go out of this said realm to such parts beyond the sea as liketh them best, and there spend the same goods, oftentimes among the king's adversaries and enemies, to the great damage of our sovereign lord the king and his subjects, and impoverishment of this realm and the commons of the same, and so by occasion of the premises, the substance of the inhabitants in the said cities, boroughs and towns now late hath fallen, and daily doth fall into great poverty and decay, to their great undoing, unless the king's gracious aid be to them in this behalf saved." In answer to this petition aliens were restrained from exercising handicrafts, and were compelled to sell their goods in gross, and within eight months from landing, and restrained in other ways. 1 Richard III. c. 9.

1 Of these the number must have been considerable; in 1438 no fewer than 1750 aliens, dwelling in different counties, were naturalized. Rymer, Fœdera, x. 867.

2 See above, p. 395.

3 H. IV. c. 5.

4 H. IV. c. 15.
A.D. 1403

their moneys, saving only their necessary expenses, on the commodities of the realm. Severe restrictions were also put upon their dealings with one another; and houses were to be assigned for their residence where they might live with sufficient hosts. This statute is chiefly remarkable for the clause which renders it felony to multiply gold or silver or use the craft of multiplication.

Henry V. framed a complete code of regulations in connection with an attempted reformation of the gold coinage; he ordained that the clipped and worn coin should only be accepted by weight, and endeavoured to induce the public to bring in their money to be recoined; they were to pay a signorage of 5s. on the Tower Pound of gold, and fifteen pence on the pound of silver, and to receive the money recoined in eight days; all the gold in the hands of the exchange was to be brought for coinage also. At the same time he extended the time which was allowed to the Pope's Merchants to export gold to the value of their bills, from three months to nine; as they complained that they could not bind themselves to carry out the terms of their bonds within the shorter time. In the reign of Henry VI. a new step was taken, and aliens were required to give sureties from their companies that they would not export gold; the same measure contains a noticeable exemption, for it permits the exportation of gold for the ransom of English prisoners.

The evils could not be easily prevented however; the precious metals were so scarce in Europe at this time, that all nations were making similar regulations in the vain effort to retain them, while they were being extravagantly used for purposes of adornment and display; and Edward IV. increased the penalties by rendering the export of bullion felony, in the hope of averting "the impoverishing of the Realm, and final destruction of the Treasure of the same Realm." He also enacted that merchants of the staple should insist on immediate payment, and that half their receipts should be in the form of money or bullion and should be sent within three months to the mint. While a political motive may just be detected in the foregoing regulations with regard to treasure, a similar intention stands out in clear relief in the measure which insisted on the importation of bow staves. Richard's statute in 1483 is particularly curious, as it combines the diverse objects of providing for the defence of the realm and encouraging a body of native artisans. "Mekely shewed unto youre discrete wisdom youre besachers the Bowyers inhabitant within Citeez, Burghes and Villages of this noble Realme of England, occupying Artillery to theym belonging for the sure tuition and defence of the seid Realme, that where in tymes past goode and hable stuff of Bowestaves as well by Englishe Merchants as by Straungeyers hath been brought into this said Realme, by the whiche the said inhabitants Artillers myght competently live upon suche Stuff as they then bought of Bowestaves at xls. the C, or xlvis. and viid. atte moosote. It is so nowe, that by the subtile meanes of Lumbards using to diverse Portes in this Realme, the Craft of Bowiers aforesaid is sore mynushed and likely to be utterly undone, and therby the londe greatly enfedled to the great Jeopardie of the same, and the great conforto to the
Enemies and adversaries thereof" They continue to point out that bowstaves are now sold at four times the old price, and that they are sold unsorted, good and bad alike, at this outrageous price. While the political motive lies in the forefront, the statute is interesting as being an early case of legislation for the import of the raw materials needed in a branch of manufacture.

IV. Industry and Internal Trade.

There is abundance of evidence to show that the manufacture of cloth had increased with such extraordinary rapidity, that it had grown to be a very important trade. English wool was still sought after by foreigners, but much was retained at home; the customs from wool were declining, while commerce was expanding fast; and in the notices of trade, as well as the complaints about pirates, we find that cloth, and not merely wool, was an ordinary English export. The manufacture had its chief centre in the eastern counties, but it was really diffused throughout the length and breadth of the country, as we may gather from the various statutes which were intended to regulate the production. The aulnager held an ancient office, as it existed in the time of Edward I.; it was his duty to visit the fairs and presumably to try to enforce the one measure of cloth which had been established for the kingdom. His office gave great opportunity for fraud and there are frequent complaints of 'covin' between dealers and aulnagers, to the hurt of the public. The attempt to enforce one measure for the whole country was discarded in favour of the makers of Cogware and Kendal cloth, in divers counties; and from the same statute we learn of such abuses in the manufacture in Somerset, Dorset, Bristol and Gloucester, that the merchants who took them abroad were imprisoned, and in danger of being killed. The Essex custom, of selling cloths opened, so that the buyers might examine them, was put in force more generally. A few years later greater scope was given for the varieties of local manufacture, as any one was allowed to make cloth of the length and breadth he liked, so long as it was measured by the king's aulnagers and sealed to show what it really was; but this liberty was abused and subsequent statutes defined the exact sizes to which cloths of different sorts should be made. Worsted were made in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge, of four different dimensions, and the oversight of these counties was assigned to the eight wardens chosen at Norwich. The making of broad-cloth was also carried on in East Anglia and Essex; London was known as a centre for manufacture, as well as for sale, early in the fifteenth century, and towards its close, we hear of the cloth industry at Salisbury and Winchester.

The manufacture was evidently extending to different localities, and as the hands became more skilled, an increased variety of articles was produced; though high-priced and, presumably, fine cloths were still imported. The variety was partly due to the quality of the wool grown in particular districts, and on this account the practice of mixing flocks with the cloth was permitted in certain parts of Devonshire, though it was forbidden elsewhere; but in other cases, increasing skill was doubtless able to meet varieties of taste. The statute of Richard III. which defines the sizes of the ordinary cloths, broad-cloths, straight, and kersays, usual breadth of three-quarters of a yard. This, one may notice, is the Flemish ell of 27 inches (Tomlin Smith, Gilds, Winchester, p. 351 n.), and the practice may possibly point to a Flemish origin of the species of manufacture.

1 On the project of opening a staple for wool at Pisa see below, p. 493.
2 From £68000 in the time of Edward III. to £212000 in 1448, at Calais.
3 See also Ramsey, Lancaster and York, ii. 297.
4 Perrot le Taulour forfeited the office and Peres de Edleton was installed in his place and took the oaths. Madox, Exchequer, 538. See also Rot. Park, L, 292 (18) and m. 28 (56).
5 Magna Charta (9 H. III. c. 35).
6 3 R. II. c. 2; 17 R. II. c. 5.
7 13 R. II. st. 1. c. 10. They were allowed to make these sorts of cloth of the

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80. 7 Ed. IV. c. 4.

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yet enumerates some half-dozen additional sorts to which it did not apply1.

By far the most complete picture of the cloth manufacture in the fifteenth century is furnished by a statute yet enumerates some half-dozen additional sorts to which it did not apply1. The preamble makes the usual complaint of bad workmanship, and alleges that English cloth was falling into disrepute abroad; the statute regulates the whole business in all its details. The size of cloths of different sorts, the modes of sealing good cloths, imperfect cloths and half cloths were all ordained, and full discretion was given to appoint a sufficient number of officers to attend to these duties. The long list of officials charged with powers under this act gives proof that the trade was carried on alike in towns and rural districts, and that mere municipal supervision could no longer prove effective. The whole act serves to show that there was a very complete system for the national regulation of the chief industry of the country, and that this system was chiefly enforced by the action of a royal official and his agents.

The existence of such national supervision was unfavourable to the maintenance of a system of local regulation by means of craft gilds, though in Norfolk and other places the local gilds were used as instruments for exercising parliamentary control. The craft gild was an association of householders to whom the supervision of the trade in their own locality was officially entrusted; and the granting of parliamentary recognition to any of these gilds would tend to perpetuate this domestic type of industrial organisation. When authoritative regulation was exercised over craftsmen by outside officials, there was less obstacle to the introduction of new forms of business organisation. We can see that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the moneyed men with capital were coming to take an active part in the clothing trade, and that in the arrangements they made for the conduct of business, the household no longer served as the unit for purposes of trade regulation, as it had done in the ordinances of craft gilds. As early as 1338 we find that Thomas Blanket of Bristol, who came of an important family there, was setting up looms and causing workmen to be hired to carry on the trade; whilst a few years later, certain merchants had their cloths fulled in villages round about the city to the disadvantage and discredit of the Bristol fullers1. This class of capitalist employers might be recruited from different sides; it might consist to some extent of those who bought up the wool used as material, and let it out to workmen to weave into cloth; it might be drawn, as Professor Ashley2 points out, from a class of manual labourers like the shearmen who finished the cloth, and began to trade wholesale in the product when thus ready for the market; or it might be that drapers, who dealt wholesale in cloth4, and tailors, who made goods out of cloth5, began to employ workmen in the manufacture. By whatever steps a man rose to be a capitalist, those whom he set to work would become economically dependent, and the small masters in a trade he organised approximated to the position of journeymen. Personal supervision by an employer was more effective than guild regulation, and capitalist management was compatible with increasing division of labour and with the introduction of machinery. The signs of progress in equipment are an additional indication that the industry was being conducted on a large scale; and the confused story of the trade organisations of the time becomes more intelligible when we view them as incidents in this transition; on the one hand we have associations of capitalists, connected with the manufacture, but engaged in wholesale trading, while on the other, there are

1 English Gilds, 268.
2 Ashley, Ec. Hist., i. ii. 227. 4 Ed. IV. c. 1. and 3 H. VIII. c. 6.
3 Ashley, Ec. Hist., i. ii. 211. The proclamation of 1354, conferring a charter on the Drapers' Company shows that artisans, as we should call them, were engaging in the cloth trade. It orders that "Each of the mysteries of hatters, letters and fullers confine themselves to their own mysteries, and in no manner intermix themselves or interfere with the making, buying or selling of any manner of cloth or drapery on pain of imprisonment." Herbert, Literary Companions, t. 400.
5 Their ordinances show that the tailors of Bristol were skilled artisans who could cut out in 1401, but that they claimed to engage in the trade of dealing in cloth as an ancient usage in the time of Charles I. Fox, Merchant Taylor's of Bristol, pp. 25, 36.
struggles to maintain, under the new conditions, regulations similar to those which had been in vogue under the old order. The statute of 1465 already referred to, indirectly indicates that the influence of capital had made itself felt on every side, and that the industry was carried on in those forms which survived till a century ago when the invention of machinery brought about the Industrial Revolution. Clothiers delivered the wool to the spinners, carders and other labourers by weight, and paid them for the work when it was finished; but apparently they perpetrated frauds on the labourers, in delivering the wool, and by forcing the labourers to take a great part of their wages in pins, girdles, and other 'unprofitable wares.' This appears to be the earliest act against trick; it ordains that for the future payment shall be made in true and lawful money. The various employments, which were combined in the manufacture of cloth,—as carders, spinners, weavers, fullers, shearmen and dyers,—are distinguished, and the duties of the fullers described with great precision. Among subsidiary employments connected with the preparation of cloth, the dyers seem to have occupied a prominent place. At Coventry in particular they seem to have been a powerful body; and defective dyeing with materials that faded or of cloth not properly prepared was especially condemned by statute in 1484.

Considerable care was taken that English workmen should be well supplied with raw materials; Edward IV. rearranged the regulations for the staple with the intent that "sufficient plenty of wool might continually abide and remain in the realm, and might serve for the occupation" of clothmaking, in all its various branches, while he prohibited any bargains for the clip of wool before the sheep were shorn, in any of the southern counties where the clothing trade chiefly lay.  

On the other hand we do not hear of such restrictions on the export of fuller’s earth, teasels and other agents in the manufacture, as had been in vogue in its early days under Edward II. Parliament had apparently endeavoured to preserve the English breed of sheep but Edward IV. is commonly charged with less care in this matter, and it is said that the breed of Spanish sheep was greatly improved in consequence of a present of rams sent by him to the king of Aragon. There were also endeavours to keep the whole of the process of manufacture in the country, and prohibitions of the export of ‘thrums’ and woolen yarn.

Whether the rapid development of the industry was the reason why it attracted capital, or whether the introduction of capital led to its rapid growth, or how far these conditions reacted on one another, it is hardly possible to say. The fact remains, that while there was stagnation or retrogression on so many sides of economic life, the one industry, which was already organised on modern lines, was flourishing greatly; it affords one of the few redeeming features in the gloomy story of the fifteenth century. The beautiful buildings which perpetuate the somewhat gaudy taste of the prosperous classes at the time are so striking, that we may easily exaggerate their testimony, and argue that the century which produced them was a time of general prosperity. That this is a hasty and onesided inference has
been already shown; but on the other hand it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that the rich clothiers, and others were able to spend large sums on building; the distribution of the finest examples of Perpendicular Architecture in England coincide closely though not exactly with the areas where the clothing industry was planted. There is also good evidence that there was, in other districts, a decay of tillage and lack of rural employment, during this century, and many of the towns were impoverished too. The frequent complaints which led to exemption from taxation, the preambles of the Yorkist statutes, as well as the narration of the gild difficulties, show that there was much suffering in towns in all parts of the country. But while tillage was decaying, and some towns were becoming impoverished, the wealth of the clothiers was increasing; the rates of wages for agriculture, and to increase the difficulty of carrying on tillage with hired labour; boys and girls who had opportunities of learning some branch of the textile trade were authoritatively forced to labour in the fields. We may thus work was going on, are not evidence as to the frequency or length of periods when work was not obtainable. Some men worked all through Sundays and holidays and worked extra hours to complete a piece of work, but this does not help us to guess how far employment was constant.

1 This can hardly be regarded as conclusive however; King’s College Chapel and monastic buildings which were paid for by wealth drawn from distant estates might be flourishing, while the lay inhabitants of a town were much reduced in numbers and wealth. The building of Great St. Mary’s at Cambridge dragged over many years (Fuller, History of the University of Cambridge, vi.), and was only accomplished by persistent begging for subscriptions; as a matter of fact these buildings must have been going on at the very time when the town obtained exemption on the ground of poverty in 1472, and again in 1489 (Rot. Hort. vi. 450). On the other hand the great Suffolk churches like Lavenham and Long Melford were erected by the munificence of successful clothiers.

2 Denton, Fifteenth Century, 94. The authors of that invaluable storehouse of facts, the Annals of Commerce, also speak decidedly: “the manufactures and commerce of the country were grievously depressed and their advancement retarded.” Macpherson, t. 609.

3 Professor Thorold Rogers calls attention to it as a matter of importance in “the later years of the sixteenth century” and notes that the complaint is found “as early as” 6 Henry VIII. c. 5; but it had attracted attention in parliament long before that time. He apparently holds that the enclosures of the fifteenth century was not made at the expense of tillage (Agriculture and Prices, iv. 63. 64 n., 109).

4 12 H. II. 54; 7 H. IV. c. 17.

find in the growth of the clothing trade, a solution of the apparent contradictions spoken of above. For some of the rural population the fifteenth century was a time of abundance; not because agriculture was flourishing, but because of the reaction of the development of the clothing trade upon rural life. By way of contrast we may note that the close of the eighteenth century was a time of great misery—not merely because agriculture was in difficulties, but because the domestic industries were giving place to the factory system.

128. Phenomena somewhat similar to those which have been described in connection with the cloth manufacture may be observed in other trades, though they operated in a different fashion. Parliament interfered to exercise a national control over various branches of industry; but in doing so, it did not set the gilds aside, but acted through them and used them as the instruments of national authority. Public attention was given to the goldsmiths and embroiderers’ craft, since they were concerned in the use of the precious metals and gold thread. The statute about goldsmiths in a v. 1423.

the time of Henry VI. recognises their gild as the agency for carrying out the regulations that seemed necessary; each workman was to set his own mark on every article as well as the Leopard’s Head which testified to the quality of the metal; and the mark and sign of every goldsmith was to be known to the wardens of the craft. In the time of Edward IV. other craft gilds came to be recognised by statute as the authorities for searching out manufactures illegally imported; they were charged with important public functions, and had power to exercise them outside their own particular town. Such functions could hardly have been undertaken by mere operatives, and there are signs of the existence of employers in various callings. The mason’s craft had always been carried on by substantial men, who could undertake a considerable responsibility; but the organisation of this
industry lay outside ordinary municipal control. Difficulties arose when any attempts were made by a prosperous man to carry on some municipally authorised branch of industry on capitalist lines: the whole system became strained. It has been argued above that there is no evidence of a conflict between craft gilds and a merchant class in the twelfth century; but during the fourteenth century a class of wealthy burgesses had come into being and there is reason to believe that there was a divergence of interest between them and the manual labourers in their crafts. If Professor Ashley's supposition is correct, and the Coventry shearmen took up the business of dealing in cloth, then the frequent and partially successful efforts of the fullers to separate from the shearmen and form their own gild, may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of craftsmen, both masters and journeymen, to retain economic independence. There is reason to believe that towards the middle of the fifteenth century there was a considerable increase in the population, unaccompanied by any great improvement in the means of production, and consequently a relative overpopulation in several European countries; and there can be little doubt that this was the case in English towns at all events. The alleged exhaustion of the soil and the prevalence of sheep-farming were at all events incompatible with any great increase in the food-supply, while there was a tendency for the rural population to move into the towns. The frequent complaints of poverty and lack of employment, which led eventually to a struggle for better terms for them by forming yeoman or journeymen gilds. The movement appears in England at a very early date indeed, as in 1308 the "servant workmen in cordwainery" were forbidden "to hold any meeting or make provision which may be to the prejudice of the trade and the detriment of the common people." The confederacy of masons which was put down by Edward III appears to have been a joint effort of masters and journeymen to get better terms from the public, but among the Shearmen the Black Yeoman gilds, Death seems to have roused a dispute between masters and men in regard to wages. The earliest proclamation recorded in a.d. 1383 English in the City was directed against "congregations and conventicles"; but it had no effect on the cordwainers who met at the Friars Preachers, and did conspire and confederate to hold together in rebellion against the overseers of the trade. They had given money to a certain Dominican to obtain confirmation to their fraternity from the Pope. Similarly the Saddlers had a yeoman gild, the members of which attended mass once a year, and went when summoned to vigils and masses for dead members of their fraternity; but the masters asserted that under a "certain feigned colour of sanctity" they were really combining to secure excessive wages. The journey-

1 Brentano, History and development of Guilds, 74. Miss Dunlop has collected much additional English evidence on this point.
2 See p. 541, below.
3 Similar gilds attained so great importance on the Continent. Schanz, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Gesellenverbande im Mittelalter, 11.
4 Liber Cust. n. 541.
5 B. Hist. e. 1.
6 Riley, Memorials, 541.
7 Ibid. 490.
8 Ibid. p. 495.
9 The journeymen brotherhoods sometimes had a religious character similar to that of the Tertiaries among the Franciscans. Schanz, Gesellenverbande, 70 n.
10 Riley, Memorials, 542.
A.D. 1461 -1485.
A.D. 1396. Tailors.

The formation of such combinations in London, even if they had little permanence, testifies to dissatisfaction, among the workmen, while there is evidence of similar difficulties in at least one provincial centre of trade. At Coventry in the early part of the fifteenth century the masters and journeymen of the weavers' craft came to a formal agreement; its terms serve to indicate the nature of some of the points in dispute. It was agreed that anyone who could use the art freely might have as many looms, both linen and woollen, in his cottage, and also take as many apprentices as he liked; every cottager or journeyman, who wished to become a master, might do so on payment of twenty shillings; while the journeymen were also allowed to have a fraternity of their own, on condition that they paid a shilling a year to the Weavers' Guild for the privilege, and a shilling for every member they admitted.

The journeyman tailors of Bristol had wardens of their own and a common chest to which contributions were made for the relief of poor brethren, but the whole arrangement seems to have been under the supervision of the Master and Fraternity of Merchant Tailors. The Bachelors' Company of the London Merchant Tailors consisted of small masters as well as journeymen; Mr Unwin has adduced other examples which seem to show that the London yeomen gilds came to be organisations of small masters, under the general control of the trading elements in the companies.

Not only do we thus see symptoms of organised struggles between the employer and the employed, but there was also a difficulty arising from the introduction of machinery. This was apparently felt in the cappers' trade in 1376 when a question arose as to the use of water-mills, which were said A.D. 1461 to do the work insufficiently and badly; but still the public bought their caps from the men who used the mills, and the simple folks of the trade were greatly impoverished and at the point of perishing. Despite the prohibition then, members of the craft and others frequently had recourse to the use of these mills. Eventually the matter came before parliament and the use of Fulling Mills was forbidden by statute in 1483.

The gilds were not only in difficulties as to their internal affairs, but in regard to their relations with the public. The weavers' monopoly was a grievance as early as 1321; there had been other difficulties in 1376. The charges in 1487 were more specific, although the grounds of complaint were similar,—that the gilds set the local authorities at defiance, and thus injured the public. This petition called A.D. 1487 forth an act, the preamble of which recites that "masters, wardens, and people of gilds, fraternities, and other companies corporate, dwelling in divers parts of the realm, oftentimes by colour of rule and governance and other terms in general words to them granted and confirmed by charters and letters patent of divers kings, made among themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances, as well in prices of ware and other things for their own singular profit and to the common hurt and damage of the people"; and it goes on to provide that new ordinances shall be for the future submitted to justices of the peace, and recorded by them. There is here a further step in the process of nationalising the craft gilds; on the one hand they were being used by parliament as its agents for regulating trade, while on the other they were being controlled more rigorously by extra-municipal authorities.

Even the spirit of monopoly had somewhat changed its character in accordance with the new conditions of the

1 Riley, Memorials, 460.
2 Webb, Trade Unions, p. 4. It is noticeable, however, that journeyman gilds seem to have existed as important institutions among the plasterers and tailors in Dublin in the eighteenth century, H. Nelson, A poem in honour of the ancient society of Journeymen Tailors, 1726. Brit. Mus. 1899 e, 5 (265), see also 1500 a, 5 (326).
3 Coventry Municipal Documents, Leet Book, f. 27.
4 Fox, Merchant Tailors of Bristol, 88.
5 Chafe, Early History of Gild of Merchant Tailors, p. 60.
6 Industrial Organisation, 60.

1 Riley, Memorials, 400. There is an instructive phrase: "which to the advantage of the people cannot be properly and lawfully saved through the support of persons skilled in the said trade."
3 2 E. IV. c. 5.
5 Rot. Parl. iv. 867.
6 15 Henry VI. c. 6.
times. In the old days it had been directed against upland men, who, though English, were foreign to the town—in fact against non-residents who did not contribute to the burdens of the town. In the fifteenth century the same feeling was brought to bear on the resident alien. The mercers of Shrewsbury, in the time of Edward IV., made an ordinance against receiving French, Flemish, Dutch, Welsh or Irish apprentices; and the tailors and coopers of Southampton were also at pains to exclude resident aliens from competing in their crafts; they were more particularly exposed to the immigration of Italian artisans which has already been noticed. English capitalists had ousted the aliens from financial business and from internal trade; English merchants were at last holding their own in foreign trade; but under the Yorkists and Tudors the stress of alien competition was borne by English artisans; and the national prejudice gave new force to the local exclusiveness of the craft gilds.

The union which took place among many of the gilds in the fifteenth century was probably due to the success of one gild in obtaining ascendancy over allied crafts. It may have been fostered by such social influences as the struggle of Englishmen to hold their own against aliens, and the obligation to take part in the pageants which were provided annually in some towns and occasionally in others. The plays at York, at Chester, and Coventry were performed by the various misteries; Shrewsbury Show was also a magnificent spectacle, which involved a heavy outlay. The wearing of liveries was another extravaganza by which the companies rivalled the in some towns and occasionally in others. The plays at York, at Chester, and Coventry were performed by the various misteries; Shrewsbury Show was also a magnificent spectacle, which involved a heavy outlay. The wearing of liveries was another extravaganza by which the companies rivalled the

have proved a heavy burden to the poorer ones, and accelerated the process of decay.

On every hand it appears that the gilds were changing their character and were coming more and more, in so far as they were preserved, to be at once the organs of and subject to national regulation; while their exclusiveness was the expression of a national feeling. They were accused of permitting oppression on one side and of being guilty of extravagance on the other. But there was no easy remedy for the mischiefs which were beginning to appear in craft gilds, and which at length called forth the mournful reflections of Clement Armstrong who looked back to the reign of Edward III., when there were no corporations of no crafters in London nor halles with no constitution and ordinances for no synnergalties as now is but the Guydhall?"

129. The agricultural policy of these reigns was developed on the lines that had been indicated under Richard II.; but the preamble explicitly state that the statutes were intended to encourage tillage. Those who went in for higher farming and "used manure on their land," could only get a "bare price," and were therefore allowed to export wheat without a license when the price was not more than 6s. 8d. per quarter; in 1444 this statute was made perpetual, especially for the advantage of the counties on the sea-coast which could not sell the "substance of their corn" except for transport by water. In 1463 the English farmer received another boon; he suffered greatly from the importation of foreign corn, and this was only allowed for the future when the price exceeded 6s. 8d. per quarter, so that in plentiful harvests he had a monopoly of the home market. These measures offer the most signal instance of the reversal of the policy of Edward III.; that corn and victuals should be plentiful and cheap was quite axiomatic in his time, and the complaints of the doings of alien merchants generally allege that somehow or other they made goods scarce and dear.

Wool and cloth were treated differently, as Englishmen

1 Hibbert, Gilds, 64.
2 Davis, Southampton, 272, 376.
3 See Vol. III, p. 36.
4 Unwin, Industrial Organisation, 32.
5 In Norwich the Ridings or processions of the gilds were organised under the authority of S. George's Gild, and occurred three or four times a year (Blomefield, Norfolk, ii. 97). Latterly several gilds seem to have combined under the same banner on these occasions (ibid. xi. 148).
6 Miss L. T. Smith (York Plays), and Miss Sellers in Eng. Hist. Rev. ix. 300.
7 Holby's Ormerod's Chester, i. 380.
8 Discourse of Common Wealth, p. 16, l. 18 n.
9 Hibbert, Gilds, 117.
10 Ashley, Economic History, i. II. 127.
12 See above, p. 314.
13 See above, p. 416.
wished to sell at dear rates to the foreigner. When we remember the dislike of engrossers and others who raised the price of victuals, it is very strange to find that parliament was willing to pass measures of this kind. One can only suppose that the increase of sheep farming, at the expense of tillage and cattle breeding, was going on so fast as apparently to threaten the national food supply.

The first signs of this change have been noted above; it had gone great lengths in the time of Henry VII, and there are isolated notices which show it was steadily progressing. The case of Stretton Baskerville in Warwickshire is a striking example. "Thomas Twyford, having begun the depopulation thereof, in 4 Henry VII. decreeing four messuages, and three cottages, whereunto 160 acres of errable land belonged, sold it to Henry Smith, Gentleman. Which Henry following that example, in 9 Henry VII. enclosed 640 acres of land more, whereby twelve messuages and four cottages fell to ruine, and 80 persons there inhabiting, being employed about tillage and husbandry, were constrained to depart thence and live miserably. By means whereof, the church grew to such ruine, that it was of no other use than prophaned, to the evil example of depopulation thereof, in 4 Henry VII. decaying four church grew to such ruine, that it was of no other use than prophaned, to the evil example of others, as are the Words of the Inquisition." It might at first sight appear strange that while the breadth of ground under tillage was thus decreasing there should be any serious difficulty in finding a supply of labourers well qualified for agriculture, but the renewals of the statutes of labourers show that there was an alarming deficiency. In the time of Henry VI. it was ordained that every servant leaving employment must give ample notice so that his master might find some one to take his place. Rates of wages both in town and country were laid down with very great precision for summer and winter, with meat and without it. These are obviously intended to be the maximum rates; since the time of Richard II. the Justices had been empowered to assess agricultural wages twice a year according to the plenty or scarcity of the time so long as they did not exceed the statutory limitations; they had the means of authoritatively lowering wages, when it seemed expedient. Every effort was made to promote tillage by rendering cheap labour available; but the labourers in rural districts must have had diminished opportunities of employment, at carefully restricted rates of pay. Besides this, the frequency of holidays must have made a considerable difference to the wage-earner, since he was only allowed to take a proportionate payment on these days.

That many mere idlers were kept as retainers under colour of husbandry may have accounted for part of the difficulty of procuring labour when it was needed; but it was probably chiefly due to the development of the cloth manufacture in rural districts. Children who had served till the age of 12 years at husbandry were to keep that occupation, and under Henry IV. it became illegal for any but freeholders with 20s. per annum to apprentice their children to a trade. But while this had little success so far as husbandry was concerned it checked the development of, and indeed did positive injury to, chartered towns. The citizens of London (8 H. VI. c. 11), and later those of Norwich (11 H. VII. c. 11), were exempt from its operation. The citizens of Oxford were not so successful in their appeal; they complained of the

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1 15 R. II. st. ii. c. 8. Allusion was made to this attempt to regulate wages in accordance with prices in the first edition of this book, p. 194. I had mistakenly supposed that it was a mere paper provision and omitted all reference to it in the second edition; but Miss McArthur has shown (English Hist. Review, ix. 305) that the assessment of wages formed one of the well-recognised duties of the Justices of the Peace under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. It is therefore evident that the system of assessing wages was intended to operate along with the limitations fixing a maximum wage. The change introduced by the Elizabethan Act (5 El. c. 4) was the removal of the upper limit; it did not introduce new machinery or impose a new duty on the Justices (though it did impose penalties if they neglected the duty) but it removed the old limitation, so that they could fix wages at a high rate as they thought desirable. See vol. ii. p. 38.

2 Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 56.

3 23 H. VI. c. 12.
Decay of roads.

130. The break-up of the manorial system, the decline of tillage and the paucity of agricultural labour soon came to affect the internal communication in the country, and the roads and bridges were not properly maintained. There were some public-spirited individuals who gave attention to the matter, and a fourteenth century stone bridge was built to replace the wooden one at Rochester; but on the whole it seems that care for internal communication diminished with the declension of manorial courts, and still more through the impoverishment of the monasteries which had done much for the maintenance of roads. Professor Thorold Rogers has connected the complaint of bad roads with their disruption, but it may certainly be traced back to the time of their decline. The monasteries had difficulty in adapting themselves to the conditions of money economy, and in some cases their resources were dissipated through the bad management of an abbot, and many of them were much impoverished at the time of the dissolution. The roads suffered, because the institutions which had been accustomed to do repairs lost their resources, and no one else had sufficient public spirit to take up the matter in earnest. There were occasional benefactions for the purpose; a London alderman left for "the repair of the highway without Bishops-gate 5 marks and for the highway without Aldgate 100 shillings." In A.D. 1469. Reformation times the Bishops regularly enquired at their visitations as to the manner in which such bequests had been expended. But when a great town like London was dependent for repairs of the leading highways on private munificence, we can easily guess how much the rural districts were neglected in such hard times.

The bad condition of the roads must have reacted on the decay of internal trade of the country, and was alleged as a reason for the decay of some of the fairs. In 1391 the burgesses of Cambridge complained that on account of the mire on the king's highway, men withdrew themselves and their merchandise from Reach Fair. There were also other causes at work which brought about the decline of fairs: a large number of grants for new fairs were given in the fifteenth century, and the competition of these new centres must have affected the prosperity of the old centres of trade. Thus a fair was set up at Bristol, and this interfered with the trade in cloth which had been previously done in the fair at Bath.

services had been commuted for money (ibid. 164). A supply of corn, rather than of money to buy corn, was also preferable in Elizabeth's time for the maintenance of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. 18 Ed. 6. 8. Denton, Parish Antiquities, 608.
2. Orridge, Illustration of Jack Cade's Rebellion, 8. 3. Denton, 175.
4. Similarly the town of Bristol could not repair the streets, not for lack of money so much as because they had not the necessary powers. Rot. Parl., v. 390 (9).
5. Cooper, Annals, 1391, p. 139.
6. A. Law, Town Life in Economic Review, iv. 385; an article to which I am indebted for several references. These new fairs might be convenient for the sale of country produce, as are the numerous fairs in Ireland now; when trade was so much distributed, no one mart would be important enough to attract aliens.
It is possible that at a time when social disturbance was rife, the Government looked with some suspicion on these great gatherings of people, who could not be effectively controlled. In 1394 the king commanded the sheriffs to attend Barnwell fair in person, and to make proclamation against any illicit conventicles or congregations, secret or open, which might lead to a breach of the peace. Whatever the causes may have been which co-operated to produce this result, there can be no doubt that the great fairs, which had attracted merchants from all parts of Europe, were declining in importance.

The fairs of S. Botolph at Boston and of S. Giles at Winchester had been two of the principal events of the commercial year in 1327, when the skinners of London obtained a right of search with regard to the sale of furs throughout the kingdom. It had been the custom in London to put off the Husting at the time of Boston fair; but in 1416 it was alleged that the holding of the fair had entirely ceased for many years, and that there was therefore no excuse for interrupting the usual course of legal business in London. S. Giles's fair was also greatly reduced in 1471; and a statute of 1478 seems to show that the evil was general, and that trade no longer centred at these great annual marts. The courts of Piepowder were, like all other local jurisdictions, working badly. Complaint was made that the stewards and bailiffs were inclined to take cognizance of matters over which they had no jurisdiction, and to misuse their powers for the private advantage of their friends; these malpractices were said to be the reason of the decline of some of the fairs.

The restrictions on town trade which had been imposed in the interest of the fairs had been grievances of long standing; and it might have been supposed that the decline of the fairs would react favourably upon the prosperity of the towns. That this occurred to some extent is likely enough, but there is no reason to believe that the business which had been done at a provincial fair was transferred to a neighbouring town. It is more probable that the decline of provincial fairs favoured the development of London, and possibly of some other centres of trade. The aliens who had frequented S. Giles's fair did not transfer their business to Winchester; and in the time of Edward IV., the men of the Hanse withdrew from Boston. It is probable that the towns had gained from the concourse of people in their neighbourhood much more than they lost from restrictions on their ordinary business, and that the decline of the fairs reacted prejudicially on the prosperity of provincial towns. Despite the wealth and extravagance of the capitalist class in many places, the fifteenth century towns were in a miserable plight; several of them had failed to recover from the ravages of the Black Death. This seems to have been true of Richmond in Yorkshire, while the case of Bristol is still more striking; as the port where the most enterprising merchants fitted their ships for foreign trade, and a convenient centre for the products of West of England looms, Bristol had every chance of growing rapidly; and yet even in this case, a century seems to have elapsed before it recovered from the blow which had been inflicted by the Black Death. We cannot be surprised that in other parts of England, where there was less opportunity for foreign commerce, less development of weaving, and more disturbance from the Wars of the Roses, the revival should be delayed still longer.

The administration of town affairs appears to have been gradually concentrated in the hands of those who were best fitted to exercise it efficiently. This change was the natural

1 Cooper, Annals, 148. In the xviith century May Fair was complained of as a centre of disorder, and Bartholomew Fair was limited on the same grounds. Reasons for suppressing the yearly fair in Brook Field (1709).
2 Riley, Memorials, 164.
3 Ibid, 637.
4 For a brief period after 1456, in consequence of disturbances in London, the Italian merchants ceased to frequent that city, and resorted to Southampton and Winchester instead. Kitchin, Winchester (Historic Towns), 175.
5 Kitchin, Charter for S. Giles's Fair in Winchester Cathedral Records, p. 29.
6 Kitchin, Charter for S. Giles’s Fair in Winchester Cathedral Records, p. 29. 17 Ed. IV. c. 3. The fair was less frequented, so the Lords lost the tolls and the public were not so well served with goods. 1 R. III. c. 8.
outcome of the conditions which have already been sketched with regard to the distribution of wealth; for it too was concentrated in a few hands and places. An almost uninterrupted wall of complaint rises from town to town; they professed themselves unable to pay their shares of the tenths and fifteenths. Such grumbling might not perhaps be in itself conclusive—the more important fact remains that very large remissions were actually granted; one parliament after another evidently believed that the complaints were well grounded and that the burgesses could not pay. Hard pressed as the parliaments were to find money, they were forced to make special exemptions in some of the votes under Henry VI. The tenths and fifteenths were still assessed on the basis of 1334; and in 1433 parliament allowed a remission of £4000 in voting a fifteenth and tenth, "in release and discharge of the poor towns, cities and burgs, desolate, wasted or destroyed, or over greatly impoverished or else to the said tax greatly overcharged"; Great Yarmouth and Lincoln are specified for particular exemption. £6000 was also remitted on the fifteenth and tenth and half fifteenth and tenth voted in 1439, when Lincoln, Elm, Wisbech, Leverington, Newton S. Giles and Tidd S. Giles in Cambridgeshire and Andover and Alresford in Hampshire are particularised for relief. In 1442 the remission is at the same rate on the sum granted; but Lincoln is to be entirely exempt, Cheltenham, Alresford, Andover, Headington in Oxfordshire and Scarborough are to pay half, and Great Yarmouth three-quarters of their ordinary assessment. In A.D. 1461 1 consecutive entries 2 March 15th and April 9 in 1445 there are grants of half a fifteenth and tenth, and of a whole, and a half, fifteenth and tenth; in the former the remissions were similar to those of 1442, but by the latter £9000 was remitted. In 1449 there was a remission of £5000 on the half tenth and half fifteenth granted, Great Yarmouth being named for relief; in 1453 the remission was at the same rate, £6000, on one fifteenth and tenth, and Lincoln and Great Yarmouth were entirely relieved. The same towns were again allowed to go free when £31,000 was given to Edward IV. in 1465, though he endeavoured to get payment of the £6000 which had been remitted of the last grant of a fifteenth and tenth. In 1472 there is the same remission, New Shoreham and Cambridge coming in for the boon as well as Great Yarmouth and Lincoln.

There is no reason to look far afield for the causes of this general distress; the strain of the long-continued French War imposed a heavy burden, and the disturbances arising from the Wars of the Roses caused terrible misery. It is the fashion to regard this struggle as a sort of tournament in which the nobles and their retainers took part, while the routine of ordinary life went on with little interruption. A very different picture is given us by the contemporary chronicler, who had seen the wretched fugitives seeking refuge in the fens from the navages of the northern army. Peterborough, Cambridge and Boston were burnt, and Stamford suffered so severely that it never recovered its former prosperity. The soldiers who fought in these battles must have obtained supplies somehow, and it is only likely that they laid hands on any cattle they found, and left the peasantry without any means of cultivating the land. The

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very defences which the towns erected for their own protection were terribly costly; the burgesses at Coventry appear to have found great difficulty in erecting and repairing their wall. In some other cases special reasons are alleged for the poverty of a town. At New Shoreham the heavy pressure of taxation is assigned as the chief cause of decline from 500 to 36 residents, though it had also suffered from incursions from the sea. Rottingdean suffered from the sea, but it had also been burned by the French, and the heavy assessment forced the inhabitants to withdraw. The port of Yarmouth was stopped up, so that ships could not enter.

Of the others mentioned, it may well have been the case that the Cambridgeshire towns had been attacked by enemies; while Lincoln had probably been injured by the competition of Boston. It is obvious that whenever a town was temporarily injured from any accidental circumstance, the necessary contributions for the ferm would fall very heavily on those who were left, and that the temptation to migrate from corporate towns must have been strong. We may see in the present day how high rates drive inhabitants outside the municipal boundaries to build large houses in the suburbs, and even affect great business concerns; the Great Eastern Railway is said to have saved in rates by moving their continental traffic from Harwich to Parkston. The real extent of the decay, and the position and character of the places which escaped, could only be clearly understood by the investigation of the history of many localities separately.

Northern men laye there so long before the Feble was Fowghten that they Impovertyshed the country. And the tenancies were fayne to yeld up theyre Copye holdes, for that they were not hable to Repayre them. And then came other tenancies and occupied thym as tenancies at wyll and they had the Bentes Abatyd."

1. Discourse of Commons Weal, p. 16, I, 53 n.
3. Ibid. m. 620.
4. Ibid. m. 638.
5. Ibid. m. 640.
6. Ibid. m. 640.
7. Ibid. m. 688.

V. MEdieval and Modern Economic Ideas contrasted.

The fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth may be regarded as a period of transition from medieval to modern society; many of the changes which took place under the Lancastrians and Yorkists went on with greatly accelerated rapidity under the Tudor kings. It is always exceedingly difficult to mark with any precision the point which the tide of progress had reached at any particular date; but this difficulty is really insurmountable in the present case, from the meagreness of the economic literature with which we have to deal. In the Libelle of English Polygve we have one invaluable storehouse of information, and the preambles of Statutes and Rolls of Parliament have much to say on particular points; but there was little if any attempt to expound the old principles afresh, and till the invention of printing there was no facility for the publication of pamphlets discussing current topics. But though we cannot mark how far the change had gone at the time of the battle of Bosworth, we may try and set in clear light the real character of the movement which was taking place. We can most easily specify the phase of development on which England had entered in the fifteenth century by noticing some of the habits which were being discarded.

In preceding sections the characteristics of what is commonly called a system of natural economy have been pointed out. There may be plenty of production from the soil, and a considerable development of industry, but trade does not advance very far, unless there is a recognised medium of exchange in some form of money. Money facilitates trade of every kind, since it renders bargaining easier and more accurate, and so soon as it is used at all it is sure to be gradually introduced into all economic relations. At the close of the fourteenth century money had come into use in all parts of the country for many economic purposes. Comparatively few of the obligations of the citizens were discharged in
person; and their payments to the government were ordinarily made, not in food or wool, but in money. The disputes about wages after the Black Death, and the act against truck in the time of Edward IV. show that the obligations of the employer to the employed were ordinarily discharged in money, or in money with food; while the value of all sorts of goods exposed for sale at fairs or markets can be quoted from recorded prices in money. Even the relation between landlord and tenant was commonly expressed in terms of money, and noted in a rental; though payments in service or in kind continued to be the practice on some estates.

With the partial exception of the payment of rent, however, it may be said that money had come into use in all economic relations; at the time of the Peasants' Revolt it offered a more convenient method of discharging obligations and of receiving what was due. But the habitual use of money in any department of business prepared the way for a further change. At first, the substitution of payments in money for payments in kind made no difference in the recognized method of calculating the amount that was due; there was a customary standard of what was fair which was reflected in a customary price. The intervention of money brought with it a possibility of close bargaining, of which either the buyer or the seller was anxious to take advantage. There may be great advantages to the community in maintaining a steady range of prices, but the individual at each moment prefers to get the highest and pay the lowest price that is possible then and there. It is obvious that in the case of any commodity like corn, the plenty of which is affected by the seasons, a regulated price would often be secure; and if it were enforced, either the buyer or the seller would suffer. Hence it follows that so soon as the use of money becomes common in any department of economic life, competition prices or rates are likely to take the place of calculated or customary rates. Customary prices are the money equivalents of payments in kind; they are the expression of a natural economy in terms of money; but, as the habit of close bargaining comes to be practised in one direction after another, these customary prices give way, and competition comes to be the means of determining price.

In the fifteenth century the use of money had become general; the old forms of natural economy were discarded, but though prices could be quoted in a money form, they were not yet determined by monetary considerations pure and simple. This seems to me to be the gist of the confused movements of the time, and to mark the particular step of progress which was taken during this period. Old institutions of every kind, in town and country, were falling to pieces; new attempts were being made to regulate industry and encourage commerce—that lies on the surface, and no one can fail to observe it. But the completeness of the change cannot be satisfactorily accounted for until we see that the principles on which the economic organisation of the middle ages was based were being discarded, and that the system which was rising on its ruins was being framed in accordance with entirely different ideas and objects; we shall really get near the root of the matter if we contrast the modern and medieval ideas to the principles which determine or should determine prices.

So long as each man had a definite place in the social group to which he belonged, it was possible to calculate what his reasonable wages should be, and thus to estimate reasonable prices for the commodities he produced. Even in articles like bread and beer, which were closely dependent on the chances of the season, an element of reasonable calculation and regulation could be introduced; but the competition of aliens in the fifteenth century, and of unfree craftsmen in the sixteenth, rendered it a matter of increasing difficulty to secure these calculated prices, and the organizations which had assessed them were falling into disrepute and decay. The gradual subdivision of employments and the appearance of intermediaries rendered it more and more difficult to name a price that should be precisely just—as had been attempted in bygone days—and competition prices, from their greater convenience, came slowly into vogue.

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1 As in the Corn Bounty System in the xvth century. See vol. ii. p. 541.
2 On the break-down of the Assize of Bread see vol. i. p. 318.
It is of course possible to argue that the price which is reached by mere competition is the just price there and then; it gives a rough and ready way of measuring what is due to the seller, by showing what buyers are willing to give for the right to use these wares. It certainly is true that in a large market, where there are many buyers and many sellers, one effect of competition is to give a uniform and therefore a fair price all round; but the results are not so satisfactory when prices are determined by mere competition, although there happens to be little competing. Sometimes the physical conditions are not present which render it possible to prevent, as any attempt to make gain out of the necessities for many buyers and sellers to meet; at such times the price of the commodity is really settled by a bargain in which one party can take the full advantage of some accidental circumstance which gives him an advantage in haggling. This was the very thing which mediaval regulation had been intended to prevent, as any attempt to make gain out of the necessities of others, or to reap profit from unlooked for occurrences would have been condemned as extortion. It is by taking advantage of such fluctuations that money is most frequently made in modern times; but the whole scheme of commercial life in the middle ages was supposed to allow of a regular profit on each transaction. Traders did not flood a market with goods so as to force a sale; but they stisted the export in the hopes of getting a good price and a clear profit on all the transactions; and all the industrial and commercial institutions of the fifteenth century—craft gilds, merchant companies, or ‘Flanders fleets’—were engaged in regulating industry and commerce so that there was comparatively little room for fluctuations. As all these institutions decayed a great opportunity was given for enterprise and business capacity; there were henceforward fields in which the active man could push forward and the man of capacity could speculate with success, and thus the breaking down of the old system gave scope for an extraordinary development of industry and trading. The spirit of enterprise which had been checked before was at last left free to assert itself.


In our own modern days then we take for granted the existence of continual fluctuations in price as mediaval society did not do; but we also approach all questions about prices from an opposite pole. The older view was that of taking the common estimation of the cost of production, while an attempt was made to secure that the articles were of good quality and thus likely to meet the needs of the purchaser who was willing to pay the ‘just’ price. But the ruling conception, which has come to the front in modern times, is not the cost of making the article, but its convenience and usefulness and desirability when made. One might say that in old times utility determined whether any exchange took place or not, but considerations of fairness regulated the terms of the exchange; whereas in modern times it is by mere reference to present or future utility, which includes the idea of scarcity, that the rate of exchange is agreed on. Only on an average and in the long run do competition prices represent the cost of production; mediaval prices were regulated by a consideration of the requirements of the producer, modern prices are determined primarily by the utility of the wares.

The difference, which emerges according as we start from one principle or the other, comes out most distinctly with reference to wages. In the middle ages reasonable wages were taken as a first charge, both by the writers who laid down the doctrine of just price, and by the gilds which calculated the rates that were to be paid; in modern times the reward of the labourer cannot but fluctuate in connection with fluctuations in the utility and market price of the article; its usefulness to him if he resolves not to part with it, or its usefulness as a means of procuring other goods at a future time if he defers the sale; he may often part with it for less than the expense of production if he neither wishes to use it nor sees a chance of getting a better price. So too the buyer only thinks of the usefulness of the article to him; he will not pay more for any piece of goods than will suffice to get him something else that serves his turn as well; the expense of production is nothing to him, the utility of the article is all he cares about.

* The really important consideration in the mind of the seller is the utility of the article; its usefulness to him if he resolves not to part with it, or its usefulness as a means of procuring other goods at a future time if he defers the sale; he may often part with it for less than the expense of production if he neither wishes to use it nor sees a chance of getting a better price. So too the buyer only thinks of the usefulness of the article to him; he will not pay more for any piece of goods than will suffice to get him something else that serves his turn as well; the expense of production is nothing to him, the utility of the article is all he cares about.

In large market this is disguised; the price to all is that which is expected to tempt just so many buyers to come forward, that all the stock offered may be sold; the price which all pay accords with the usefulness of the article to the least anxious buyer who actually buys it.
There always must be a connection between wages and prices, but in the olden times wages were the first charge, and prices, on the whole, depended on them, while in modern times wages are, on the other hand, directly affected by prices.

Something similar may be noticed in regard to payments made to landlords; a fertile estate would have yielded but little annual income, unless the necessary labour was attached to it. The peasant’s share of taxation, paid through the landlords, was probably the original element in rent; and so far as the copyholders were concerned, their quit rents had direct reference to the personal predial services of which they were quit, and the fines marked their entry on a definite personal relationship with the lord, in which mutual obligations were implied. But in letting land on lease, account had to be taken of the character and worth of the land and of the possibilities of working it at a profit, and rent in its modern form, as the surplus which goes to the landlord after outlay has been defrayed, came into vogue.

The rent to be paid on this basis could best be settled by competition and not by assessment. Immediately after the Black Death, there seems to have been a keen competition for holdings, and rents were high; but during the fifteenth century generally, the landlords who desired to keep up the effective force of their tenantry seem to have had difficulty in getting offers from substantial men, and the rent of arable land ranged low. Hence the price which could be obtained for wool, opened up possibilities of gain of which the landlords in many districts were ready to avail themselves.

Land was diverted from a less profitable to a more profitable use and sheep runs took the place of cultivated farms. We read complaints of reckless evictions and depopulation; but it does not appear that rents rose on the land which continued to be used for tillage. In the sixteenth century, however, the effects of bargaining began to be felt; landlords began to demand from the arable farmer a payment which should be equivalent to the utility of the land if employed for pasture. Here once more, consideration of the personal condition of the tenant falls into the background, and attention is fixed on the utility and worth of the holding under a system of competition rents.

In the same sort of way the old objection to usury broke down because men came to look at the matter in a new way. In the middle ages attention had been riveted on the personal needs of the borrower, and public opinion condemned those who took advantage of his folly or his necessity; but in the fifteenth century men were awaking to the use which might be made of their stored-up wealth for industrial as well as commercial purposes, and the formation of ‘capital’ was beginning. Of course every craftsman must have had his stock in trade and tools as well as food and clothes; he must have had the means of waiting till his work was completed as well as the means of working. But by capital we habitually mean far more than this: we mean a store of wealth which can be directed into new and more profitable channels as occasion arises. Stock in trade is fixed and cannot be readily diverted from one channel of production to another; capital is to some extent fluid—always being consumed and replaced, and so far changing its form that it is capable of transfer from one kind of production to another.

The moneyed men of the fourteenth century had demonstrated the power of capital by their operations in commerce and to some extent in industry, and the formation of capital became an object of ambition. A man who had some success in his calling and began to gather wealth would not necessarily increase his own stock in trade, and he could hardly be contented to hoard his money; he tried to embark in any profitable investment; it seems that there were such opportunities for the profitable use of money at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, that money was not so much hoarded—perhaps even that hoards were broken up.

1 This was a matter of common complaint early in the sixteenth century (below, p. 525), but Thorold Rogers contends that there was no real, only a nominal, rise of rents until the time of Elizabeth, Agriculture and Prices, iv. 355, 356.

2 For an investigation of the conditions and effects of the introduction of Capital in the later middle ages, see Stonaher, Der moderne Capitalismus, i. 358.

3 = ‘We (Enterprize) will promise you to wante noe tremounes.’ The merchants, the farmers, the graziers that be rich, into this market will bring their bages that they have kept so long. And as for the widows and the wyves also they will
and that the coinage circulated more rapidly. Such investors, dealing as they did for the most part with prosperous city men, felt no call to consider the personal condition of the borrower, as long as the security was good; for he seemed well able to look after himself. The one important point on which they insisted was that their wealth was of use in industry or commerce, and that they could be paid by men who wished to have it to use.

132. Medival economy with its constant regard to the relations of persons was giving place to modern economy which treats the exchange of things as fundamental; and this has introduced an extraordinary simplification in the structure of society; the whole of the complicated industrial organisations of the middle ages have passed away, and the strong esprit-de-corps, which gave so much healthy life in many cities, has also disappeared. Economically we have only three broad divisions in society, for men arrange themselves according to the things they own and exchange; they may exchange their labour for wages, or they may exchange the use of their capital for interest, or they may exchange the use of their land for rent. In modern societies Labourers, Capitalists and Landlords are the three classes which group themselves around the possession of the power to labour, the possession of wealth and the possession of land. This is the social structure we habitually assume, but it is strangely unlike the municipal and manorial life it has superseded.

The change which has so altered the structure of society has also affected the individuals who compose it; the old burgess society has doubtless been idealised to an absurd extent; but it had this striking characteristic, that the ordinary object of ambition was not so much that of rising out of one's grade, but of standing well in that grade; the citizen did not aim at being a knight, but at being warden and master of his gild, or alderman and mayor of his town. For good or for evil we have but little sympathy with these humble ambitions; ransack their forges (chesta) and their knotted clothes to the last penny they can find.  

1 Dudley, Tree of Commonwealth, 92.
2 Bield, Deutsche Arbeit, 92.

133. These changes had a very important bearing on all questions of commercial morality; so long as economic dealings were based on a system of personal relationships they all had an implied moral character. To supply a bad article was morally wrong, to demand excessive payment for goods or for labour was extortion, and the right or wrong of every transaction was easily understood; but when all dealings are
considered as so many instances of exchange in an open market, the case is different. No compulsion was put upon either party to the exchange; and if either of them came badly off, it might be regarded as his fault or his misfortune; but it was not always easy to say that the other party to the transaction was to blame. In every case of exchange one party has an advantage; he may have superior knowledge, or he may be less anxious to come to terms, and he can therefore afford to wait; in either case he is able to drive the better bargain. There are extreme limits which define whether any transaction shall take place or no; and though the advantage which accrues within these limits is not often equally divided, there is no apparent moral wrong in taking full advantage of the power of driving a good bargain under conditions of free competition. In many cases the weaker has gone to the wall; and some writers have even formulated an iron law of wages which states the existence of an irresistible tendency on the part of the employer to drive down the labourer. Thought and opinion on economic affairs at present are not now attempted to offer decided judgments, and so long as transactions are above-board and in accordance with market rates, the ordinary modern conscience is unable to go behind these circumstances and discuss how far they are right or wrong.

Once again the existence of the gild system demonstrates how much medieval and modern feeling differ in this matter; it is often spoken of as a police system, and it was a police system because it served the purpose of bringing home the responsibility for every mischief and scandal to some one or other. The city authorities looked to the warden of each craft to keep the men under their charge in order; and thus for every public scandal, or underhand attempt to cheat, some one was responsible, and the responsibility could generally speaking be brought home to the right person. In the great social difficulties of modern times all this is altered; all deplore the evils of the sweating system, but the blame cannot be brought home. Thought and opinion on economic subjects do not now attempt to offer decided moral judgments.

1134. While the structure of society was being recast, National and the recognised principles of economic morality were only derided, there seemed to be complete moral chaos; but there was one factor which was strong enough to reduce the anarchy to order again; men were forced in their dealings to have a due regard to the power of the state; this is the central idea in the commercial systems of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods.

In the fifteenth century this principle was consciously taken into account, and it operated to restrict action which seemed to be fraught with danger. Naval power was affected by the use of foreign shipping; and native vessels were preferred; so too, the export of bullion was prohibited as it led to the impoverishment of the realm. Any importation which interfered with the employment of the people, the wool-growing and cloth-making which threatened the food supply, and the unthrifty games which interfered with their military training, were all authoritatively checked; but as time passed on, the desire of advancing the national power came to be much more effective; it was the ruling ambition, and the whole commercial and agricultural system was formed

Political Economy explains what tends to happen, but declines to decide what ought to be done at any juncture; it professes to be non-moral. And hence modern ways of thinking about business transactions were very shocking to the ordinary conscience when they were first propounded. The immorality of rent enhancers1 and others, who only thought of their own private gain, was a favourite topic for preachers in Reformation times; though their language has been re-echoed during recent agitations, the ordinary modern reader is out of sympathy with their denunciations of many practices which he takes as a mere matter of course.
MEDIEVAL AND MODERN IDEAS.

A.D. 1377
-1485.

did not contest the point so forcibly as he might have done, although he accused the English of merely using their ships to plunder the commerce of others; the English Herald extols the national policy by which the English "cunningly withdraw and bring to their own countries the money of the neighbouring countries;" and he speaks of the great quantities of cloth exposed for sale at Calais, and the number of large and populous villages. Sir John Fortescue's Commodities of Fortunes, England is a noteworthy contribution to the controversy which was written some years earlier; it enumerates the rivers, havens, and so forth, the "woollen cloth ready made at all times to serve the merchants of any two kingdoms, Christian or heathen," and lays claim to the greatest treasure in the world, that is gold and silver ore, "whereof Englishmen had the worthiest payment passing any land, Christian or heathen." But it is against France that he draws unfavourable comparisons with most gusto; her havens never had any navy of ships and never shall have, but only a few ships of war that can do us no harm, while we on the other hand cannot do the French much harm, for they have very little maritime trade with other countries. The Libelle of English Polygeye, already quoted, is full of a similar spirit of national ambition; and this conscious desire of national power was the element that was needed to bring all the isolated experiments in mercantile legislation together and form them into a complete system. Other nations were taking up the same ideas, and Charles V. is generally spoken of as the man who created this mercantile policy; but he was certainly anticipated by Fernando of Portugal, and, as we have seen, A.D. 1487.

English commerce had long been affected by similar principles. So far as England is concerned and with regard to

on this basis. As this principle was more definitely thought out it became, not a restrictive and limiting, but a constructive force, and under its guidance commercial enterprise and industrial skill were stimulated, while they were combined into a great national economic system.

National ambition could hardly come to be the guiding principle in industry and commerce, while municipal life was at its best; the enthusiasm of the mediæval merchant did not go far beyond the advance of his own town in wealth and dignity. Under this limited impulse the Italian cities attained a high degree of wealth and power, and the monuments of their mediæval splendour are still a glory to the world. In England this feeling was less potent than elsewhere; the work of William I. and Edward I. had laid the foundations of a true national life; even in England, however, the great centres of wealth were municipal in their feeling and ambitions, and the decay of municipal institutions, in the fifteenth century, must have done much to check this ancient spirit, and to sap the old burgess ambitions; while the long war with France called forth a new sense of national unity, and a pride in England as a country. This is strongly reflected in the literature of the time, especially in that curious work the Debate of the Heralds which, fashioned as it apparently was on a real incident, puts before us the points of which the English were wont to boast. The claim that they were "more richly and amply provided with ships than any other nation of Christendom" was "one plain lie to begin with": the French Herald 1

1 The enthusiasm for their city was perhaps stronger in Venice than elsewhere (Oliphant, Makers of Venice, p. 1), though the jealousy of other Italian cities was felt in each of them.

2 The Merchant Adventurers and some of the other fifteenth century companies though chiefly composed of Londoners were really national institutions. Gross, Gold Merchant, i. 151.

3 On the growth of nationalities in Europe at this time see R. Pauli, Rosenkrieger in Hanische Geschichtsblatt. (1874), p. 78.

4 Written by Charles, Duke of Orleans, 1455-1461.

5 The dispute at the Council of Constance in 1416 as to whether England should form a distinct nation. Pyne, England and France, p. xii.

6 Pyne, p. 69.

7 As Sir Thomas More said of another assertion, which has taken its rise from these Debates, that there were 60,000 parishes in England. Pyne, op. cit., xvi. note. More, Supplication of Souls, in Works, p. 292.

8 Gross, p. 113. Schanz, i. 369.

9 Pyne, pp. 51, 62.

10 The works of Sir J. Fortescue, edited by Lord Clermont, ii. 551.

11 Blanqui, History of Political Economy, 218.

12 Schanz, i. 369. See also for a later period Heyd, ii. 511.
her insular position, we may state the main lines of policy thus,—to obtain Power, we needed (i) Shipping, (ii) Treasure, which came by commerce; while within the realm, we had to attend to (iii) the Food Supply, which gave the means of maintaining a vigorous Population. All the galling interferences with private interests which Adam Smith condemned, and which move us to wonder, were directly connected with one or other of these objects, and hence had their ultimate justification in a desire to promote the power of the nation.

When this aim was consciously and persistently pursued as the main end of mercantile regulations there was an entire reversal of the principles which had actuated such a ruler as Edward III.; the first signs of tentative efforts in the new direction may be found in the complaints of the Good Parliament and the Statutes of Richard II. Edward had legislated in the interests of the consumers and with the view of providing plenty; the parliaments of Richard II. took another turn, and insisted on introducing conditions which eventually, as they were worked out in subsequent centuries, favoured the growth of English power. It is only when we cast our eyes forward that we see the full importance of the changes which were urged in the Good Parliament and carried out in Richard's reign, and that they really laid the foundations of the famous mercantile system.

The encouragement of natives and discouragement of foreigners, the development of shipping, and the amassing of treasure—these were the three main points of the mercantile programme, and they were all deliberately adopted by the parliaments of Richard II., who deliberately rejected the opposite policy which had been pursued in each of these particulars by Edward III. The scheme for commerce which they preferred directly favoured the immediate interests of English merchants, while it had obviously grown out of the antipathy to the upland man and the stranger, which characterised the householders of chartered towns. But the rise of nationalities and the increasing bitterness of national rivalries, the discoveries of the New World and the struggle for the possession of its treasures, brought about, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, political conditions which were favourable to the detailed development of the mercantile system, though the main lines of it had been laid down long before.

When Lord Bacon in a well-known passage remarks that Henry VII. bowed the ancient policy of this realm "from consideration of plenty to consideration of power" he calls attention to the leading characteristic of the commercial action of the Tudor kings; but it was not they who made the change, it really occurred when the City merchants had attained such an influence that they were able to give effect to their own ideas. To some extent, plenty is a condition of power, and the two policies may have much in common; but, whereas Edward III. desired to see large cargoes, whoever brought them, i.e. plenty, the Ricardian Parliament desired to have more English ships, even if the home consumers were for a time badly supplied with wine. The distinction may become clearer for us if we take a modern analogue. It was only last century that England discarded the economic policy on which the parliament of Richard II. entered, and began again to aim at plenty instead of power. The corn laws had been intended to keep up the home food-supply, and thus to give us strength; but parliament repealed them in 1846, with the view of making corn more plentiful. The navigation laws have disappeared, and intercommunication with all parts of the world is unfettered, with the result that the mercantile marine of other nations has greatly developed, and that our naval supremacy is threatened. While questions of currency, and especially those connected with a double standard, are felt to be of overwhelming importance, no serious effort is now made to amass treasure as a source of political strength. In fact, England has reverted to the commercial policy of Edward III., a policy framed in the interest of the consumer, but a policy which depended for its assured success on the maintenance of stable political relationships with other regions. There are great differences of course; the consumers of foreign produce in Edward's time were the comfortable classes who drank wine, not the masses who needed bread; the area within which the exchange took place was most

1 Bacon, Hist. Henry VII.; Works, vi. 95.
limited, now it is world wide; none the less is it true that Cobden turned the policy of this realm back from considerations of power to considerations of plenty, and that England thus returned to a line which bears a closer analogy to the policy of Edward III. than it does to the scheme which had been on the whole dominant since his time.

V. THE TUDORS.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

135. The great discoveries of the last decades of A.D. 1485 the fifteenth century effected a revolution in the whole trade of the world, for they opened communications between the most distant parts, and thus laid the foundations for the great international commerce of present times. Medieval, like earlier European trade, centred in the cities of the Mediterranean; there were streams of traffic by the Russian rivers and the Danube, which led towards the Baltic and to South Germany, but the great centres of commerce and industry were on the shores of the Mediterranean: the citizens of Genoa and Venice were the chief agents in carrying on the traffic between East and West. But when the Cape of Good Hope was successfully rounded by the Portuguese, an entirely new prospect was opened to European traders; they could make their way to India direct, instead of submitting to the exactions of intermediaries in Alexandria and elsewhere; the great stream of commerce between East and West was at once directed from the Levant to the Atlantic, and the Portuguese became for a time the chief trading people of the world. Partly at all events in the hope of sharing in this lucrative trade, Columbus planned the voyages which led him to the West India Islands, and Cabot found his way to the coast of North America. A little later, according to the ordinarily accepted view, a Portuguese
expedition to the East was driven out of its course, and this led to the discovery of Brazil; and from this time onwards Lisbon bore away the palm from the Italian cities and became the great commercial depot for Western Europe.

Henry VII. was too parsimonious to seize the opportunities which were offered him and to take a leading part in this age of discovery; perhaps the English colonial empire was all the stronger because it grew so slowly; the immediate effects on English commerce were small, but none the less the events of this time really form the great epoch in English commercial history. Far from the Mediterranean, English merchants had taken little part in the trade of the world; they sold English products and catered for English tastes, but they had not had any opportunity of acting as intermediaries and carrying goods to their own depots to be distributed thence to other nations. From the Tudor times onwards English trade assumed this character, and with ever-increasing success; in the present day by far the larger part of the trade of the world is carried on in English ships, and London is a depot for the trade of all nations. England had only been on a side-eddy before, but the discoveries of the fifteenth century placed her on the main stream; and though the immediate results were small, English enterprise took a new character with most far-reaching effects.

The change lies far deeper than any mere modification of the political life of the country, for it affected the world as a whole, and England as one of the family of nations arising in Christendom; it is a striking instance of the sudden removal of a limit imposed by physical conditions, and of the extraordinary advance which enterprise is ready to make when thus set free. It has no parallel but in the mechanical inventions of the last hundred years; in both cases advancing knowledge removed barriers which seemed to be insuperable. The limit lay of course, as always, not in any material obstacle which was removed by some physical change, but in the A.D. 1485 want of that knowledge and skill which at length enabled men to grapple with the difficulty and overcome it. There is no absolute limit to the advance which man may ultimately make; though there is in every age a relative limit, not set by physical nature, but corresponding to the limitations of human skill and energy at that time. Nor do we sufficiently honour the names of those pioneers of invention and discovery, whose skill, or patience, or daring enabled them to overlap the barriers, which former generations had found insuperable, and by so doing to break them down for all posterity; the name of Columbus is known to all, but “some there be which have no memorial.” Those who deprecate hero-worship assure us that the “spirit of discovery was in the air” and that Columbus was only the “embodiment of the spirit of his age.” He certainly did not embody the spirit of any other ages than his own; if he had done so he would have been a far less important personage for practical life; only in literary circles is there much interest in such anachronisms. His greatness simply consists in the fact that he did embody the spirit of his age, and that through his energy, the floating speculations of many took definite shape and were brought to a successful issue.

The revolution which occurred at this time was of such immense importance that it is worth while to indicate very briefly some of the steps which led up to it. The travels of Sir John Mandeville and the Venetian Marco Polo had aroused a great deal of interest, and there was a desire which survived from the time of the Crusades to break through the ring of Mahommedan influence which circumscribed Christendom on every hand. Prince Henry the Navigator and his captains succeeded in coasting beyond the region dominated by the Crescent, and past the inhospitable desert of Sahara, to the rich territory beyond. The trade on the African coast was so profitable as to check the enthusiasm of the sailors for further discoveries, though the Prince seems to have been eager to press on and force a route to the East by circumnavigating Africa. Others who had been at most pains

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1 Mr. Yule Oldham has argued with much force that this was the most accessible route to America, and that Brazil was probably discovered by the Portuguese as early as 1447, but that they did not pursue this line of enterprise. *Geographical Journal*, March 1895.

2 Heyd, p. 511.

3 Bacon, *Henry VII.* (Spedding), p. 197.
to enquire about Eastern countries were of opinion that Cathay might be approached from the west; the Florentine Paolo Toscanelli (born in 1397) had drawn a map of the world in which this is suggested, and sent it to Portugal; Columbus entered into correspondence with him and procured a copy of his map in 1474. A globe embodying the same geographical views was made in 1492 by Martin Behaim of Nuremberg. Toscanelli (born in 1397) had drawn a map of the world in which this is suggested, and sent it to Portugal; Columbus entered into correspondence with him and procured a copy of his map in 1474. A globe embodying the same geographical views was made in 1492 by Martin Behaim of Nuremberg. His residence in that town cannot but have stimulated his interest in possible discoveries, as such projects seem to have met with much support from the merchants there; he may have met the great John Cabot—a native of his own town of Genoa, but a Venetian citizen—who was to rival his own fame as a discoverer of America

There had been previous attempts which had ended in failure indeed; as in 1291 when the Genoese Theodorus Doria and Ugolino Vivaldo set out with two vessels through the Straits of Gibraltar on a voyage of discovery westwards from which they never returned; and again in 1480, when two ships set out from Bristol, in quest of the island of Brazil, but after a two months' voyage they returned to take shelter in an Irish harbour.

There were, however, distinct commercial objects which rendered the views of Columbus attractive, and which afforded the discoverers plenty of support, so soon as it became quite clear that their scheme was at all practicable. The gradual

1 Peschel, Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen, 110.
2 A portion is figured in Mr Yule Oldham's paper, Geographical Journal, March 1895, p. 8.
3 Peschel, op. cit., 107.
5 Kisielbach, Der Gang des Welthandels, 808. Hoyd, ii. 143.
6 William of Worcester, Itinerary (Dallaway), 153.
A.D. 1485

The Portuguese and the Venetians.

new route, and Vasco da Gama anchored with his four ships at Calicut in May 1498. From that time onwards King Manuel sent out fleet after fleet in rapid succession, impressed the native princes with his power, and established strong factories for trade. Despite the indignant efforts of the Venetians to use Arabian influence to oust the Portuguese from the East, they made good their footing; African gold and Indian spices were obtained in greater abundance than ever before, and the Levantine trade with the East was destroyed. The greater part of the trade was carried on in royal ships, though the king allowed Florentine vessels to accompany them on some occasions; but he deliberately planned that the whole trade should flow through Lisbon, and that the monopoly for Indian spices in Europe should be in his hands. A new incentive was now given to the exploring expeditions of other peoples, for they hoped to find out some new routes by the west, which might break down the Portuguese monopoly, and Englishmen were specially haunted by the ambition of discovering a north-west passage.

136. Before this commercial revolution occurred, industry and commerce had been considered almost entirely with reference to the internal condition of the country; commercial policy was affected by the facilities for collecting customs and the prospect of increasing them, and by the expectation of providing plenty, or of securing employment for the people. Local interests had gradually fallen more and more into the background, and parliament legislated for the prosperity of England as a whole; but at length men came to see that if this was to be preserved, they must take a still wider survey. We have already traced the growth of the idea of a national interest; in modern times, this conception has been consciously grasped and has dominated all commercial policy. Our statesmen have considered the condition and progress of England not by itself, but relatively to that of other nations; what they sought was not mere progress within their own land, for they wished to

1 In 1603 pepper was brought to England in Portuguese ships, and we were no longer dependent on the Venetian supply. Heyd, ii. 536.

2 Heyd, ii. 555.
be set aside and that woollen should be used. And as in these matters, so in everything else; current opinion demanded that private interest should be set aside, at once, in favour of an apparent public gain. How far the gain which accrued to the power of the country was real may be admitted that private interest should be set aside, at once, in favour of an apparent public gain. How far the gain which was a loss of their wealth, and a decrease of the aggregate wealth to that extent. This was obvious long before the time in injuries, because they believed, rightly or wrongly, that the power of the country was real may be an effective Population.

(a) The accumulation of Treasure, in a country which has Treasure, no mines, depends on the proper management of commerce, whether by (a) making regulations for the flow of the precious metals and the exchanges, or (b) by making regulations for the export and import of commodities. From this point of view the volume of transactions is much less important as a sign of prosperity than the nature of the trade that is being carried on.

(b) A strong navy was obviously necessary for defence, shipping and with this purpose it was desirable to encourage the development of Shipping, and (c) the maintenance of an effective Population.

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employment of English ships; hence we have a whole series of navigation acts, while attention was also directed to measures for procuring the materials for shipbuilding and necessary naval stores. It was also felt to be a matter of the first importance that we should encourage the fishing trade, as that was the best school for seamen.

Subject to the restrictions about the kind of trade and its bearing on treasure, the increase of the volume of trade was important, as it not only gave a larger sum in customs but also stimulated the development of shipping. Hence there was a preference for distant trade over coasting trade, as it gave more employment to ships, while the commodities of distant lands were often things that could not be produced at home. On the other hand, the planting of new trades in England, the development of our industry, and the retention of all the arts in which we excelled, enabled us to dispense with purchases from rival lands and gave us more products which we might sell in the markets we frequented. This also tended to give employment to our own people and so to maintain an effective population. Hence arose all the attempts to regulate industry; it did not itself directly promote power, but it could be so managed as to give a stimulus to the accumulation of treasure, and lead to the development of commerce as well as provide favourable conditions for the population.

(c) This last object depended most immediately and directly on the food supply. Sufficient corn could be most easily secured by the encouragement of tillage, though the fisheries were also an important source of supply; tillage also gave the kind of employment which was most favourable for the maintenance of a healthy and vigorous race, accustomed to outdoor sports and likely to offer the best material for forming a military force.

The end in view was Power; this was furthered by attention to Treasure, Shipping and Population; while these objects could only be attained by the careful regulation of Industry and Tillage. Such in brief is the rationale of the so-called Mercantile System, which had been gradually coming into operation since the time of Richard II., and which survived with much vigour in some of its parts till Cobden and Bright completed the revolution in English policy.

The long period when these principles of commercial policy dominated in England can be conveniently divided according to political considerations; but here again there is a difference from the periods we have already reviewed. Since shipping and treasure, as the handmaids of power, have become the main objects of importance, we are compelled to look, not so much at the main changes in constitutional structure, but at the changes in political relations. It has been noted above that the personal character of the monarch was, in Norman times, one of the most important factors in industrial life and progress during his reign, but the changes from Elizabeth to the Stuarts, from the personal government of Charles to the Commonwealth, or at the Restoration, made very little difference in industrial affairs; a similar system of policy was carried out, with more or less skill, and more or less success, through all these sweeping constitutional changes; their chief effect lay in altering our political and trading relationships with other nations. Hence the epochs which form the most convenient divisions of the history of the Mercantile System in England will be found in the accession of Elizabeth, and entire breach with the rulers of Flanders; the accession and fall of the Stuarts, coinciding with the period of bitter rivalry with the Dutch; the Revolution serves to date the outbreak of a life and death struggle with the French for supremacy in the East and in the West; the victories of Clive and Wolfe marked its greatest triumph, and the revolt of the American colonies was the beginning of its fall. From that time onwards we can trace the steady and rapid decline of the system which had held sway so long.

II. ACCELERATED RATE OF CHANGE.

The views and schemes above described were slowly coming into operation much more clearly than they had done during the fifteenth century. From the accession of the Tudors onwards we hardly hear of serious attempts on
the part of English kings to acquire great continental possessions,—not because they were less powerful than their predecessors, nor certainly because they were less ambitious, but because their ambition took a new form. They felt that it might be possible to exercise a practical sway over the affairs of Europe by holding the balance between rival powers. The foreign policy of England took this shape during the time of Henry VIII.\(^1\) and Elizabeth succeeded in playing off her angry neighbours against one another. “True it was,” as Camden said, “which one hath written, that France and Spain are as it were the Scales in the Balance of Europe, and England the Tongue or Holder of the Balance.” The ambition of an English statesman was to hold the balance, not merely to be a passive tongue that announced the relative position of the other monarchies, but an active member that could decide it.

So far as they desired to extend English power, they were won with an ambition to share in the riches of the New World; these recently discovered lands stretched more widely than the provinces of France and could be far more easily won. Lord Herbert of Cherbury sketches this prospect as it appeared to the more far-seeing statesmen who, in 1511, endeavoured to dissuade Henry from reviving his claim to the crown of France.

“Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the Business, reasoned thus; that the Kings Title indeed in France, especially to the Hereditary Provinces was undoubted, the Occasion fair, and many Circumstances besides conducing to this great Business: yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a War against so potent a Neighbour, unless there were more than Possibility of effecting our Purposes. This they might consider by comparing those Times with the former. And if when all Guyenne, Anjou, Tourrain and for a long while Normandy was ours; and when besides this the Duke of Britany was our Friend, and the House of Burgundy an assured Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our Designs in that Country, what Hope is there now to attain them? Are we stronger now than at that time? Or can we promise ourselves better Success? Let it be granted, that as many Battles as we have fought against the French have been almost as many victories, What was the Kingdom the better for them; who can say he made a fortune thereby; Had we ever a more glorious Time than that of Edward III.; and was yet the Country ever more poor or weary of the Wars? If you will not believe our Histories, look even on our Records, and you will find not only how the Treasure of our Kingdom was much exhausted but even the People themselves glutted with their Prosperity? And shall we now trust to better Days? What though with over 12,000 or 15,000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50,000 or 60,000? Stands it with Reason of War to expect the like success still? especially since the Use of Arms is changed, and for the Bow, proper for men of our Strength, the Calaver begins to be generally received. Which besides that it is a more costly Weapon, requirith a long Practice and may be managed by the weaker Sort. Let us therefore in Gods name leave off our attempts against the Terra firma. The natural Situation of Islands seems not to sort with Conquests in that Kind. England alone is a just Empire. Or when we would enlarge ourselves let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal Providence hath destined us, which is by Sea. The Indies are discovered, and vast Treasure brought from thence every Day. Let us therefore bend our Endeavours thitherward, and if the Spaniards or Portuguese suffer us not to join with them there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a pietie equal to that of succouring Julius II.\(^1\) be wanting, since by converting those Infidels to the Christian Religion, there will be a larger field opened for doing of Good, than by establishing a doubtful and controverted Head\(^2\) of the Church.\(^3\)” Whether this be a trustworthy report or not,

\(^1\) On the connection between the commercial and political theories consult Baron v. Heyking’s admirable Geschichts der Handelstitansetheorie.
\(^2\) Camden, Elizabeth (1688), 223.
\(^3\) Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. (Ed. 1741), p. 17.
it is certainly an excellent statement of the policy which came to be more and more popular from that time onwards, and it gives precision to the more general remarks which have been made above.

138. That the importance of Treasure was fully recognised appears very clearly in some words which Bacon puts into the mouth of Cardinal Morton, as a speech to the Commons. “His Grace prays you to take into consideration matter of trade as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the barren and bastard employments of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges, that they may be (as their natural use is) turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading; and likewise that our people be set on work in arts and handicrafts, that the realm may subsist more of itself, that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasures for foreign manufactures stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further that whatsoever merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the seas may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdoms stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any overtrading of the foreigner. And lastly because the King is well assured that you would not have him poor overtrading against this contingency; he was a king managing of trade in the public interest than in some of the preceding reigns. The navigation laws were hardly enforced; despite the decay of tillage, there was no change after the insurrection was put down; a great treasure may have seemed the best security against other pretenders. In 1497 the Milanese ambassador reported that Henry was perfectly secure, partly through his wisdom and partly on account of his treasure, which was even then said to exceed 6,000,000 golden ducats and to which he was adding at the rate of 500,000 per annum; this he might easily do, for his revenue was great and real, not a more written schedule, and his expenditure was small. Indeed it was not till he was firmly seated on the throne that his most oppressive exactions began. “As for Empson and Dudley’s mills” they did grind more and more. So that it was a thing strange to see what golden showers poured down upon the King’s treasury at once. The last payments of the marriage money from Spain. The subsidy. The benevolences. The coinage. The redemption of the city’s liberties. The casualties...He needed not to make riches his glory, he did excell in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness

1 History of Henry VII. (Spedding), v. 79. See also on p. 76, note 1.
2 Not outracing his capital or credit, but “overbalancing us in trade” so as to export bullion.
3 Bacon, Henry VII. (Spedding), v. 172.
4 Various exactions.

ing the royal coffer, and the sums that he acquired by the more rapid means of ‘Morton’s Fork’ and the exactions of Empson and Dudley are proverbial. Perkin Warbeck’s proclamation called public attention to these “extortions, the daily pillaging of the people by dismes, tasks, tallages, benevolences and other unlawful impositions,” but there was no change after the insurrection was put down; a great treasure may have seemed the best security against other pretenders.
where he would have an enormous purchasing power in the early years of the century, before the flow of silver from Potosi and the rich mines of America had begun.

Though Henry VIII. was personally extravagant and soon ran through this large sum, he had resources to draw upon which his father had left untouched. The nobles, the towns and the Cornish miners had felt the pressure of that hand; it was left for the Defender of the Faith to appropriate the lands of the monasteries, and to eke out his resources by debasing the coinage. Edward VI. continued the confiscations and the debasement. The sense of insecurity and the confusion of the currency disturbed the whole social fabric, but they did not do much to replenish the royal coffers.

Like the Portuguese and other monarchs of the time the Tudors also tried to reap a direct benefit from the expanding commerce of the world. Henry VII. and Elizabeth made some efforts to participate in the profits, but not in the risks of trading with the New World; Henry VII. was quite unsuccessful in the attempt, and the gains of the English ships upon the Spanish main in the days of the Virgin Queen did not always arise from legitimate trading.

The Tudors thoroughly understood the possibility of treasure being brought to England in the course of trade, but they also realised that it could be most easily secured for the use of the Crown by extortion, or confiscation, or piracy. The exactions of Henry VII. must have added to the pressure on the citizens of corporate towns, as well as on the agriculturist; industry and tillage could scarcely revive in his reign; but the high-handed proceedings of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. added new difficulties both to rural economy and to mercantile dealings. The disintegration of society became complete; and the institutions, which had already begun to decay, could not survive the shock they then received. With some exceptions in regard to shipping, and possibly in regard to the repair of the towns, there is no improvement, no reconstruction which can be traced to the reigns of the Tudor kings; the blight which fell on England with the hundred years' war, was not removed when peace once more reigned. It was indeed necessary that the throne should be secured from pretenders and the crown strong enough to be above the intrigues of king-making nobles; but the social anarchy which was produced under the Tudor régime was a heavy price to pay for the privilege of living under the tyranny of such a king as Henry VIII., and of such place-hunters as Cromwell, Somerset or Northumberland.

Even under the most favourable circumstances the marvelous commercial expansion which followed on the discovery of America would have involved rearrangement within the realm, and considerable social change. Old institutions cannot readily adapt themselves to changed conditions; but while better rulers would have set themselves to diminish the evils and render the transition as smooth as might be, the action of the Tudors tended in every way to aggravate the mischiefs. The towns were decaying, and Henry VII. pressed on them unnecessarily for additional grants; the decline of tillage and increase of grazing was a national danger, and Henry VIII. transferred large tracts of land to courtiers who evicted the tenantry, and lived as absentees on the profits of their flocks. The minister of Edward VI., who was so ready to rob churches, seems to have had no scruple in continuing and increasing a public injury by the debasement of the coinage. The rising of the commons under Arundel and Kett were startling expressions of the grievances which were felt in all parts of the country; other evidence is supplied by the frequency and severity of the poor laws which were called forth by the misery which ensued from the disorganisation of the whole economic system.

1 Bacon, Henry VII. (Spedding), vi. 225. Some of the chantries he founded for perpetual prayers for his soul were obtained by diverting ancient endowments to himself.
III. Shipping.

A.D. 1485

140. The navigation policy, which had been begun under Richard II., was fitly maintained under Henry VII. In response to complaints of the decay of shipping and the lack of employment for mariners, the traders with Gascony were compelled to import their wine and woad in English ships manned with English sailors, when they could be obtained. The king was personally in favour of this policy, for he rarely granted exemptions, though the sale of licences to use foreign ships would have been an easy source of revenue; it was one of which Henry VIII. availed himself so frequently that the law became a dead letter, and there are contemporary complaints of the laxity which prevailed, especially when compared with the strict navigation laws which were in force in Spain. Wolsey was apparently not disposed to insist on a regulation which undoubtedly rendered wine less plentiful in England, so as to diminish customs and raise prices, but Cromwell took a different line. In 1540 a very complete act was passed for “the maintenance of the navy”; it calls attention in the preamble to the insular position of England, and adds that “the navy or multitude of ships of this realm in times past hath been and yet is very profitable, requisite, necessary and commodious as well for the intercourse and concourse of merchants transporting and conveying their wares and merchandises as is above said, and a great defence and surety of this realm in time of war as well to offend as defend, and also the maintenance of many masters mariners and seamen, making them expert and cunning in the art and science of shipping and sailing, and they and their wives and children have had their livings of

A.D. 1485

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Schanz, II., No. 119, Starkey, Dialogue, 174.

Brewer, Calendar, iii. part ii. 639, No. 1544. In the time of Edward VI. when the navy of England had again declined, the act in favour of shipping wine and woad in English ships was repealed, as it tended to keep up the price in England to an excessive rate. 5 & 6 Ed. VI. c. 18.

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companies and electing their own Aldermen; they had A.D. 1485 favourable terms given them in regard to customs and the recovery of debts, and they were permitted to trade direct with Iceland, on paying the customs there.

Another great commercial treaty, which was signed some A.D. 1490, months later, presents many points of interest and is in itself evidence of the development of English trade with the Mediterranean. This was probably due to the remarkable scheme, which Florence had tried experimentally and at length embraced heartily, of abandoning protective tariffs and navigation regulations and adopting a policy of Free Trade. The neighbouring cities and Venice were most jealous of the Tuscan capital, more especially as she could now obtain the raw material for her woollen trade at an easier rate; it was to the advantage of the Florentines that English wool merchants should make the port of Pisa, where they already had a consul, a regular depot, while the Florentine connections with Constantinople and Egypt rendered it very desirable for the English to establish a footing there. The Venetians were greatly perturbed when they heard that the project of establishing an English Staple for wool at Pisa was seriously under consideration, and in private letters to their agent in England, as well as public despatches to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Mayor, they argued against the scheme as prejudicial to English interests, and threatened that if it were carried out they would no longer send their galleys to England. In the treaty as finally drawn up, it was agreed that 600 sacks of wool should be allowed to go to Venice, but that the rest of the wool required for all Italian towns should be shipped to Pisa in English ships. Englishmen were to be put on the same footing as the scholars who resorted to Pisa, and they might if they wished form a company and elect officers to have

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1 The Regent of 1000 tons was the largest of the rest, 1 was of 500 tons, 3 of 400, 1 of 300, 1 of 240, 1 of 200, 1 of 160, 3 of 140, 4 of 120, and one of 70 tons. The admiral had 10s. a day, the captains 1s. 6d. a day, the soldiers and marines 6s. a month for wages and an allowance of 8s. a month for victuals. 
2 See above, p. 418. 
4 Rymer, t. 922. 
5 Schann, t. 254. 
6 Rymer, Fodora, xii. 381. 
7 Rymer, Fodora, xii. 526.
A.D. 1485
1558.

The Levant.

jurisdiction over their affairs. This was probably the first attempt at establishing a regular factory of English merchants in the Mediterranean; but trade was soon pushed farther eastwards, for in 1513 Baptista Justiniano, a Genoese, was appointed consul for English merchants in Scio and the Archipelago1, and an Englishman, Dionysius Harris, was appointed consul in Candia in 1530. The articles of trade to the Levant were those in which grocers dealt; it is probable that these merchants were members of their company, and that the Turkey Company grew out of the Grocers2, much as the Merchant Adventurers was an offshoot from the Mercers.

While these new developments of English trade were being carefully fostered, attention was also given to the trade with the Netherlands. It had indeed greatly changed its character; the weaving industry in the neighbourhood of Bruges had declined3, as that of England increased; the trade in wool was inconsiderable, but England was trying to secure a footing for the regular sale of her cloth. Antwerp had come to be the centre of the commercial world4, and it offered advantages which neither Calais5 nor any other town afforded to the merchant. Henry VII. was fully alive to its importance; he succeeded in re-establishing commercial relations by means of a treaty, the Magnus Intercurus6, which gave rise to general rejoicings7; and pressed for and obtained an agreement against the arbitrary increase of customs beyond the rates which had obtained previous to the present time8 in 1506. This measure proved ineffective, but it set forth an ideal9, which Henry VIII. and his ministers strove to realise, with but indifferent success. The political and religious10 conflicts of the time caused frequent interruptions1 to trade, and the jealousy of A.D. 1485 the new commercial and surviving industrial interests in the Low Countries complicated the matter. Despite these difficulties, however, the English seem to have advanced on the whole, for we see signs of progress in the organisation of the merchants who traded with the Netherlands. They claimed to exercise privileges granted by the Duke of Brabant in the time of King John, but the body probably came into existence in 1407, when Henry IV. granted the Adventurers the privilege of a consul at Bruges12; they had developed out of the Mercers Company in London, and had local connections in Newcastle, Boston, Exeter, and many other towns1. Though nominally national, their main strength was in London, and provincial merchants regarded them with jealousy; like the other companies of the time they became more and more exclusive, and they raised the entrance fees from 6s. 8d. to £20;13 Henry VII. pursued the sound policy of reducing the entrance fine to ten marks (£6. 13s. 4d.). But while checking the exclusiveness of the company he gave it a much more complete constitution14 than it had hitherto possessed; the members were to choose a governor and twenty-four assistants, who were to have authority to hear complaints, levy fines, and make and enforce regulations, while all the merchants trading within their limits were to submit to their authority. Their head-quarters were to be at Calais, and they soon got into difficulties with the merchants of the Staple as to their respective rights and jurisdiction15; but it is unnecessary to attempt to follow the struggle in detail or to adjudicate on the merits of the case.

The difficulty of adjusting the conflicting claims of the different bodies of merchants comes out in a curious paper, written by King Edward VI., which contains an abortive project for opening a great mart at Southampton. It was

1 Rymer, Fadela, xii. 553; xiv. 424.
2 Ibid. xiv. 869.
3 Heath, Grocers Company, 39.
5 Rymer, Fadela, xii. 578.
6 Rymer, Fadela, xiii. 133.
7 Bishop Creighton has kindly pointed out to me a case in point when Pope Clement demanded that the King of England should not admit into his realm merchants from those parts of Germany which had not submitted to the Edict of Worms, since they might be suspected of heresy. The king was loth to take this step; "substanto forse che pot il Osterling non se movesseno contra di se reteneandol quale polvere una il Inglesi a conservar la sua poca, senza el qual in minor termine de dati amori получить tutta," Baslan. Mosana Reformationis Lutheranae, p. 560.
8 The story of those diplomatic efforts, their partial success and occasional failure is told by Schanz, Handelspolitik, l. 65 fol.
9 See Appendix C.
10 Gross, Gild Merchant, l. 183.
11 Schanz, l. 18.
12 Schanz, l. 89.
13 Schanz, l. 59.
14 Bishop Creighton has kindly pointed out to me a case in point when Pope Clement demanded that the King of England should not admit into his realm merchants from those parts of Germany which had not submitted to the Edict of Worms, since they might be suspected of heresy. The king was loth to take this step; "substanto forse che pot il Osterling non se movesseno contra di se reteneandol quale polvere una il Inglesi a conservar la sua poca, senza el qual in minor termine de dati amori conseguir tutta," Baslan. Mosana Reformationis Lutheranae, p. 560.
15 The story of those diplomatic efforts, their partial success and occasional failure is told by Schanz, Handelspolitik, l. 65 fol. 

*SHIPPING.*
proposed that for five weeks after Whitsunday, merchants should be encouraged to frequent Southampton, by a remission of half the usual customs on goods landed there; business was to be suspended in the neighbouring counties; and it was thought that Southampton would soon rival Antwerp as a commercial depot. The mart was to be closed before the time of S. James's Fair at Bristol and Bartholomew Fair in London, so as not to interfere with them. It was thought that in the disturbed condition of the Netherlands, the Channel might provide safer means of communication than the land routes; that continental merchants would frequent our island, bringing bullion with them; and that English merchants would carry on trade in greater security, as they would not be liable to arrest for every light cause. The whole project was mooted in consequence of the unsettled state of the Continent. It was evident that there would be some difficulty in changing the channels of commerce, though this perhaps might be done when the advantages of the new harbour and depot were understood; but the chief obstacle lay in the privileges of the Hanse Merchants and of the Merchants of the Staple, while the Merchant Adventurers would be unwilling to break up their factory at Antwerp. Whether any serious attempt was made to carry this scheme into effect does not appear; had it succeeded, the king contemplated opening a similar mart at Hull, some time after Stourbridge Fair, but before the northern seas became unsafe from the 'Great Ice.' The day when commerce could be advantageously controlled in this fashion had however gone by; companies of traders were pushing their business in the places where they found that it could be made to answer; some of the evils which King Edward proposed to rectify were cured, not by our merchants withdrawing to the limits where the king could protect them, but by their making good their footing abroad, so that they were able to protect themselves.

While the Merchant Adventurers were prospering abroad, the position of their ancient rivals the Hanse League became less and less secure; internal dissensions loosened the bond between the various towns which were its members. Danzig had always maintained a somewhat independent policy, and the authorities of Riga concluded a separate treaty with A.D. 1498. Henry VII; the English antipathy to the Hansards did not diminish, and in 1551 the Merchant Adventurers urged on the Privy Council that these merchants had abused their privileges and ought to forfeit them. After mature consideration the special privileges which had been granted them were resumed and they were put on the same footing as other merchants alien. King Edward VI. was obdurate, despite repeated appeals, and they never regained their old position. The action they had taken in support of Edward IV, probably gave them a longer tenure of their special privileges in England than they would otherwise have possessed; but the fact that they could no longer hold their own in London shows how much English commerce had developed. Not only had native merchants succeeded in ousting foreigners from the internal trade of the country, but they were able to do a large proportion of its foreign business as well.

142. The condition of the coasts and harbours of England exposed our ships to many serious risks, and Henry VIII. took an excellent step towards reducing the losses when he incorporated the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Deptford. There is every probability that there was some gild already existing among the pilots on the Thames, and that Henry VIII. reconstituted and incorporated it; the original documents relating to this venerable body were destroyed by a fire in 1714, but copies of the charters of Henry and Elizabeth survived. According to the original charter they were empowered to frame "all and singular articles in any wise concerning the science or art of mariners"; and to make ordinances "for the relief, increase and augmentation of this our realm of England." They were governed by a governor,
A.D. 1485-1558. against their rules, while they had power to sue and to hold real property. By the first charter of Elizabeth they were also empowered to erect beacons and sea marks, which were much needed in consequence of the destruction of certain steeples and natural landmarks on the coasts, and in 1594 she conferred on the incorporation all the rights connected with beacons, buoys and ballastage which had hitherto been enjoyed by the Lord High Admiral of England, and which were now formally relinquished by Lord Howard.

A body was thus established which had general oversight over the coasts and harbours, but special attention was given to the requirements of particular localities. There was a very large outlay in making piers at Dover and Scarborough, and parliament intervened to prevent the harbours of Devonshire and Cornwall from being injured by the operations of the miners. Similarly provision was made for the ruined condition of Rye and Winchelsea in 1549. Henry VIII. also made a beginning in the work of fortifying the Thames; the river was so exposed to the attacks of pirates that Henry IV. had narrowly escaped capture when crossing the river, and all his baggage had fallen into the enemy's hands. A fort was now erected however at Gravesend, and another opposite it on the Essex shore, and Londoners were able to rest in greater security than they had done before.

Henry VIII. also attempted to establish a naval arsenal; this too was settled at Deptford. So long as there had been no royal navy, there was of course no need for royal docks or magazines for naval stores. But Henry was really bent on having a well-equipped fleet; the destruction by fire of the Regent, his great ship of 1000 tons, set him on building another, the Grace de Dieu, which should be of still larger dimensions; and there was decided need for an arsenal, like the celebrated one at Venice, for building and fitting ships.

In this connection we may notice one or two in. A.D. 1485 indications of what was afterwards an important part of the policy of developing shipping. In Elizabeth's and subsequent reigns great pains were devoted to increasing the supply of naval stores and materials used in shipbuilding; one little enactment shows that Henry VIII. was alive to the importance of doing so. The decline of arable farming had affected the growth of other sorts of produce besides corn, and for naval purposes it was most desirable to have a good supply of hemp. This was probably the intention in insisting on the cultivation of hemp, as well as flax, in a statute which recites the mischief which accrued from dependence on other countries for linen cloth; a quarter of an acre was to be in flax or hemp, for every sixty acres of tillage.

But there was another matter of far greater moment; Seamen neither the royal nor the mercantile navy could be well manned unless there were a number of able-bodied sailors from whom mariners might be drawn; and the fishing trades offered a convenient and inexpensive, as well as a thorough, school of seamanship. This was one of the commonplaces of politics in the seventeenth century, when the keenest anxiety was felt about driving the Dutch fishermen out of waters which might have afforded remunerative employment for the men from our own coasts. Neither Henry VII. nor Henry VIII. realised its importance sufficiently to interfere actively in favour of the English fisherman; but in 1549 parliament enacted an extraordinary measure for encouraging the fishing trade by promoting the general consumption of fish. “Albeit,” it runs, “the King's subjects now having a more perfect and clear light of the gospel and true word of God, through the infinite cleansing and mercy of Almighty God, by the hand of the King's Majesty and his most noble father of famous memory, promulgate, shewed, declared and opened, and thereby per-

1 J. Cotton, Memoir of the origin and incorporation of Trinity House (1818), 161.
2 Ibid. 169.
3 Pensant, Journey from London to Isle of Wight, t. 197.
4 St. H. VIII. c. 14.
5 23 H. VIII. c. 8. See above, p. 490.
6 Holinshed, 1497.
7 St. E. VI. c. 30.
8 Macpherson, Annals, ii. 46.
9 Denton, 89.
10 Macpherson, ii. 46.
11 So, 28 H. VIII. c. 4.
12 See above, p. 490.
13 Holinshed, 1497.
coerving that one day or one kind of meat of itself is not more holy, more pure or more clean than another, for that all days and all meats be of their nature of one equal purity, cleanness and holiness, and that all men should by them live to the glory of God, and at all times and for all meats give thanks unto Him, of which meats none can defile Christian men or make them unclean at any time, to whom all meats be lawful and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience or vice; yet forasmuch as diverse of the King's subjects turning their knowledge therein to satisfy their sensuality when they should thereby increase in virtue, have in late time, more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence which hath been used in this Realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, the Embering days, and other days commonly called Vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times, the King's Majesty considering that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, and considering also especially that Fishers, and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, especially that Fishers, and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by eating of fish much flesh shall be saved and increased, doth ordain that all statutes and constitutions about fasting shall be repealed, but that all persons who do not observe the usual fast days (Fridays, Saturdays, Ember days, and Lent) shall be fined 10s. and suffer ten days' imprisonment for the first offence. This curious effort to maintain, from motives of political expediency, the very usages which were officially condemned as superstitious is characteristic of the times; the measure was taken up with great energy by Burleigh, who regarded it as the best means of encouraging fishing and seamanship.

144. Though the Tudors did so much for developing English commerce, they took no real part in the great discoveries of the age; Henry VII. had the opportunity but wanted the will, and Henry VIII. who had the will to A.D. 1485 push forward in this matter, was fully occupied with more urgent affairs. England was most favourably situated for the undertaking, and in 1487 while Christopher Columbus was waiting on court favour in Lisbon, his brother Bartholomew went to London to try to interest Henry VII. in the enterprise; he was robbed by pirates on the way, and was glad to get employment at the English court for a time in drawing maps and making a globe, but he was unsuccessful in the main object of his journey.

John Cabot was more fortunate; there is some reason to suppose that he had resided for a considerable time at Bristol, where the interest in maritime discovery was exceedingly strong. On July 15th, 1480, two ships of eighty tons burden belonging to John Jay, a prominent merchant of Bristol, who had served the office of sheriff, and whose monument is in S. Mary's Redcliffe, set sail to the west of Ireland to find the Island of Brazil. They were driven back in September by tempestuous weather, and had met with no success; but it was evidently a serious expedition which had been placed under the charge of "the most skilled mariner in the whole of England," and some students have hazarded the guess that Cabot was the man, though it is clear that he was a Welshman named Lloyd. Even if he had not this reputation, however, Cabot was apparently entrusted with the charge of an expedition

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1 Schanz, i. 322.
2 Peache, 112.
3 William of Worcester, Itinerary (Dallaway), 183. The author died about 1484 (ibid. 17), before the actual discovery of America.
4 F. v. Hallwrad, Sebastian Cabot, 9; M. d'Avezac-Macaya, Les Navigations terrestriennes, 10. These writers have discussed the intricate questions connected with the Cabots in some detail, and on the whole their results harmonise. The voyage of 1494 is much questioned and the information furnished by the Paris map has been recently shown to be merely second-hand (Goode, S. Cabot in Dictionary of National Biography); but the tradition of the early discovery appears to be confirmed by the terms of the Patent granted in 1497 (Rymer, Foedera, xi. 395). Biddle's Life is most careful and thorough, but it was written in 1831 and without knowledge of the important documents which have now been published in the Calendars of State Papers. The story that he was employed in 1495 by Henry VII. to effect a treaty with Denmark by which Iceland should be made a staple for trade is exceedingly improbable; similar privileges had been granted to English and other merchants in 1490 (Schanz, i. 297 n.).
5 The name is given variously as Thibide and Lidile. Dallaway, 163.
which set out from Bristol in 1494, and discovered the mainland of America; he sighted it at five in the morning on June 24, 1494, and called the land Prima Vista, and the island opposite S. John's. Thus far it would seem that the expeditions were sent out at the expense of the Bristol merchants. "The people of Bristol," wrote Pedro de Ayala in 1498 to his masters in Spain, "have for the last seven years every year sent out two, three or four light Ships in search of the Island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese. The king has determined to send out, because the year before they brought certain news that they had found land. His fleet consisted of five vessels which carried provisions for one year. It is said that one of them in which went Friar Buil has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyages. I have seen, on a chart, the direction which they took and the distance they sailed, and I think what they have found or what they search is what your Highness already possesses." This document is of great interest in one point of view, as it is confirmatory evidence of the fact that the merchants of Bristol had sent out exploring vessels before the news of the success of Columbus could have reached them.

King Henry was now willing to patronise these expeditions; he had taken no initiative; according to P. de Ayala he "equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents which he was informed some people of Bristol had found who manned a few ships for the purpose." The licence Pro Johanne Cabot et Filis suis super Terra Incognita Investiganda empowers Cabot to fit out five ships at his own expense, but confers a strict trading monopoly with all the lands he might discover, on the condition that a fifth part of the capital gain was to go to the king. Cabot was to go to lands "which have hitherto been unknown to all Christians" and to take possession, plant the English flag, and exercise jurisdiction in the king's name over the peoples there.

This was in 1496, and Cabot was able after some delay to set out in a single ship the 'Matthew.' The results of this voyage are best described in the language of a contemporary writer. Lorenzo Pasqualigo wrote to his brothers, on October 11, 1497, "The Venetian our countryman who went with a ship in quest of new islands is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham. He coasted for 300 leagues and landed, saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares, which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm. He was three months on the voyage, and on his return saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. He says that the tides are slack and do not flow as they do here. The king of England is much pleased with this intelligence. The king has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet. The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is a Venetian, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the great admiral. Vast honour is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases and a number of our own rogues besides. The discoverer of these places planted on his new found land a large cross with one flag of England, and another of S. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield."

The patent for this new voyage was granted in 1498; it appears to imply a scheme for colonisation rather than for

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1 Brown, Calendar State Papers (Venetian), t. 269, No. 752.
2 The Milanesi Envoy had less accurate information than the Venetian: he says that Cabot had discovered two large islands and the seven cities 400 leagues from England. Brown, Calendar (Venetian), t. 266, No. 759.
3 To him that found the new isle, £10. Biddle, p. 80 n.
4 Brown, Calendar State Papers (Venetian), t. 269, No. 752.
A.D. 1485-1558

Sebastian Cabot.

From the interval and Sebastian carried out the undertaking, and started from Bristol with five ships; they discovered also discovery or trade. Apparently John Cabot had died in the success did not come up to the expectations of Newfoundland, and Cabot afterwards stated that he had also made out the route of a north-west passage. But his success did not come up to the expectations of Henry; and Cabot, having entered the service of the king of Spain, was not to be tempted back even by the liberal offers of Wolsey in 1516.

Though there was so little royal encouragement for the explorers, the merchants of Bristol were not readily discouraged. In 1501 Henry VII. granted a patent to Richard Ward, John Thomas, Hugh Eliot, Thomas Ashehurst, and three Portuguese to go on a voyage of discovery and exercise a trading monopoly. Shortly afterwards a larger scheme was planned and two Bristol merchants with two Portuguese associates were empowered to establish a trading settlement on the newly-found lands; the king afterwards assigned them a trading monopoly for forty years and granted them some remission of customs on imports.

It is unnecessary to attempt to follow out the results of the different exploring expeditions which were now sent out to the west. Robert Thorne, a linen merchant, persuaded Henry VIII. to make an attempt at finding the north-west passage to the Moluccas. "With a small number of ships," he urged, "there may be discovered diverse new lands and kingdoms in the which without doubt your Grace shall win perpetual glory and your subjects infinite profit. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the north." Spain had already discovered the west and Portugal the east, "so that now rest to be discovered the said north parts, the which it seemeth to me is only your charge and duty, because the situation of this your realm is thereunto nearest and aptest of all other." The expedition did not prosper however, and royal interest in the matter was again checked, though English enterprise pushed on. Hawkins made his way to Guinea and Brazil in 1530, and South

Other expeditions.

Thorne.

A.D. 1502.

North-east passage.

Chancellor.

The English Company.

Hawkins.

The English merchants, who complained of a depression of trade, turned their attention, on the suggestion of Sebastian Cabot, to a north-east passage to the Indies. Some London merchants founded a joint-stock company with a capital of £6000 in £25 shares, for prosecuting the enterprise; Edward VI. looked favourably on the scheme and gave them letters to foreign potentates in Latin, Hebrew and Chaldee. The whole of the arrangements were directed by Cabot; but Richard Chancellor and Hugh Willoughby were in charge of the expedition, which set out from Harwich in 1553. Willoughby was forced to winter in Lapland, and he and his companions perished miserably; but Chancellor was more fortunate and succeeded in reaching Archangel. The people, who were "amazed with the strange greatness of his ship (for in those parts before that time they had never seen the like), began presently to avoid and to flee; but he still following them, at last overtook them, and being come to them they prostrated themselves before him, offering to kiss his feet: but he (according to his great and singular courtesy) looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures." The friendly intercourse thus set on foot, led to the establishment of regular relations. The Russian Company obtained recognition from Philip and Mary, and when

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1 It is printed by Biddie, Sebastian Cabot, 76.
2 Or possibly a north-east passage. Brown, Calendar (Venetian), iii. 294.
3 See Schanz, E. 677.
4 Rymer, xiii. 41.
5 Ibid. xiii. 87.
6 Hakluyt, t. 218.
7 Hakluyt, t. 246.
8 Ibid. iii. 129.
9 Biddie, Life of Cabot, 184.
10 Strype, Ed. Mem. ii. 76.
11 Ibid. iv. 96.
an ambassador from the Great Duke of Muscovy reached London in 1557 he was received in state by the merchants adventuring for Russia, to the number of 150 persons with their servants, all in one livery. This was a promising trade for it seemed to offer an inexhaustible supply of wood for shipbuilding, hemp, oil, tallow and furs. It also led ultimately to other important openings, for the operations of the Russian merchants prepared the way for the Whale Fishery at Spitzbergen, while their connection with Moscow enabled Jenkinson and other English merchants to enter into trading communication with Persia and the east.

IV. THE GILDS.

145. While shipping was thus fostered and commercial enterprise was being stimulated into such new activity, there is very little sign of any fresh development of industry; indeed the evidence of contemporaries would lead us to suppose that there had been no recovery from the blight which had fallen upon the urban communities at the time of the Black Death. Complaints of the impoverishment of towns continued under Henry VII., and were supported in the next reign by appeals to the obvious testimony of deserted houses and impassable streets. There is indeed no reason to suppose that the places which had suffered so much from the pressure of taxation and the troubles of the fifteenth century were able to recover under the exactions of Henry VII. Pedro de Ayala describes the general decay in 1498 and ascribes it to its true causes. The king of England “likes to be thought very rich because such a belief is advantageous to him in many respects. His revenues are considerable, but the custom-house revenues, as well as the land rents, diminish every day. As far as the customs are concerned, the reason of their decrease is to be sought in the decay of commerce partly by the wars but much more by the additional duties imposed by the king. There is however another reason for the decrease of trade, that is to say, the impoverishment of the people by the great taxes laid on them.” There must have been very real decay when such a king granted large reductions by letters patent,—for example in the fee ferm of York which was allowed to fall from £160 to £18. 5s. 2d. When two fifteenths and tenths were A.D. 1496 there was a remission at the usual rate amounting to £12,000 in all, and Lincoln and Great Yarmouth obtained specially favourable treatment. There is indeed less mention made of decay in the first thirty years of the sixteenth century; but the facts were again brought forcibly forward when the parliament, of Henry VIII. began to put pressure on the owners of houses to repair their property and to remove the rubbish that endangered life in the towns. Norwich had never recovered from the fire of 1508; the empty spaces at Lynn Bishop allowed the sea to do damage in other parts of the town. Many houses were ruined and the streets were dangerous for traffic in Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Bridgenorth, Queenborough, Northampton and Gloucester; there were vacant spaces heaped with filth, and tottering houses in York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Chester, Rochester, Portsmouth, Poole, Lyme, Beverley, Worchester, Stafford, Buckingham, Pontefract, Grantham, Exeter, Ipswich, Southamton, Great Yarmouth, Oxford, Great Wymcombe, Guildford, Stratford, Hull, Newcastle, Bedford, Leicester and Berwick, as well as in Shaston, Sherborne, Bridport, Dorchester, Weymouth, Plymouth, Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Launceston, Lostwithiel, Liskeard.

1 Bergengroth, Calendar of State Papers (Spanish), I. 177, No. 210.
3 As this sheet was passing through the press my attention was called to Mr W. Hudson's most interesting publication of the assessment of Norfolk, as made in 1594, with the remissions as adjusted in the sixteenth century (Norfolk Archaeology, xi. 243). The assessments of Blakeney and Wroughton were much reduced, while Cay remained at the old figure. The explanation of the facts is no easy task, but the facts themselves are of great interest.
4 Rot. Park, vi, 314, also 398. 526 H. VIII. c. 8. 626 H. VIII. c. 2. Shrewsbury and Ludlow are mentioned both in 27 H. VIII. c. 1, and in 36 H. VIII. c. 4.
5 27 H. VIII. c. 1.
6 Canterbury, Rochester, Guildford and Buckingham are mentioned in 33 H. VIII. c. 36, as well as in 32 H. VIII. c. 18.
complaints which were made in London of the mischievous A.D. 1485 ordinances of the gilds. In the sixteenth century the gilds were no longer serving a useful purpose. The organisation of industry on a household basis was proving cumbersome and was being superseded; where the old system was still retained, efforts to enforce restrictions drove workmen to leave the towns and establish themselves in villages where the gilds had no jurisdiction. In some cases the towns may have been suffering, not through any real decay of the trade, but because their own regulations led to a displacement of industry; while in other instances they were prevented from getting the full benefit of the revival that was beginning to be felt in different directions.

It may be worth while to call attention to the facts which indicate that the difficulties in regard to the gilds, which have been noted in the fifteenth century, were becoming more pronounced. The craft gilds had in their origin exercised police control over their members and thus secured the safety and good order of the town; while each master really had a limited number of apprentices and servants living under his roof, this was a practicable method for maintaining good order, as each man was responsible for his own household. The conduct of the tailors in 1415 described above, shows that the journeymen were inclined to withdraw from this control; and in the beginning of the sixteenth century the apprentices appear to have been a very unruly body; they were doubtless strongly imbued with the prejudice against alien workmen which found expression under Edward IV, and in 1517 they broke out in a riot which was long remembered as Evil May Day. The incident appears to have been caused by the absence of the gilds which have been noted in the fifteenth century, were suffering, not through any real decay of the trade, but because their own regulations led to a displacement of industry; while in other instances they were prevented from getting the full benefit of the revival that was beginning to be felt in different directions.

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strangers for taking the livings away from artificers, and the intercourse from merchants"... Dr Bell then preached from the words, *Caelum cadit Domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum*, and "upon this text he entreated, how this land was given to Englishmen, and as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves and to hurt and grieve aliens for respect of their commonwealth. * * By this sermon many a light person took courage and openly spoke against strangers, and as unhap would, there had been diverse evil parts of late played by strangers in and about the city of London which kindled the people's rancour more furiously against them. The 28th day of April diverse young men of the city picked quarrels to certain strangers as they passed by the streets, some they did strike and buffeted, and some they threw into the channel, wherefore the Mayor sent some of the Englishmen to prison. * * Then suddenly arose a secret rumour and no man could tell how it began, that on May Day next, the city would slay all the aliens, in so much that diverse strangers were sensible men. The rumour came to Wolsey's ears, and after consulting with him the City authorities ordained that every man should shut his doors and keep his servants within from nine at night till nine in the morning. This was proclaimed but not very generally, and Sir John Mundie on his way home found two young men in Cheap playing "at the bucklers" and a crowd of others looking on; he ordered them to desist and would have sent them "to the counter," but the prentices resisted the alderman, taking the young men from him and crying "Prentices and Clubs; then out at every door came clubs and other weapons so that the alderman was fain to fly. Then more people arose out of every quarter; forth came serving-men, watermen, courtiers and others" to the number of 900 or 1000; they rescued the prisoners who had been locked up for mishandling strangers. They plundered all the houses within S. Martin's; near Leadenhall they spoiled diverse Frenchmen who lived in the house of one Mewtas, and if they had found him, "they would have stricken off his head"; and they brake up the strangers' houses at Blanchapleton and spoiled them. When order was A.D. 1485 at length restored signal justice was done on the offenders, including Doctor Bell, who was sent to the Tower. On the whole it may be said that those members of the City Council, who did not feel satisfied with the authority of the house-holders and "thought it well to have a substantial watch," were sensible men. Another of the objects which had been clearly kept in view in the authorisation of craft gilds was the welfare of the public; these associations were able to ensure the production of wares of really good quality. They had so far ceased to fulfil these functions that their own ordinances were brought under the control of the justices in 1437¹; but the evil reappeared when that statute expired, and parliament enacted in 1503² that "no masters, wardens and fellowships of crafts or misteries nor any of them, nor any rulers of gilds and fraternities take upon them to make any acts or ordinances, nor to execute any acts or ordinances by them here afore made, in diminution of the prerogative of the king, nor of other, nor against the common profit of the realm"; unless their ordinances were approved by the Chancellor or the Justices of Assizes. The third object which the gilds had professed to serve was that of obtaining fair conditions for those who worked in the trade; instances of difficulty between the journeymen and the rising class of employers have been mentioned above¹, but in the time of Henry VIII. the mischiefs were so patent as to attract the attention of the legislature. This point is of very special interest as it helps to explain the reason of the displacement of industry which characterised the times. Restrictions had been imposed on admission both to merchant companies⁴ and to other corporations by charging excessive fees on apprenticeship. "Divers wardens and a.d. 1558. fellowships have made acts and ordinances that every prentice shall pay at his first entry in their common hall to the wardens of the same fellowship some of them forty shillings, some thirty, some twenty, some thirteen and four-

¹ See above, p 445. 15 H. VI. c. 6. ² 19 H. VII. c. 7. ³ See above, p. 443. ⁴ 12 H. VII. c. 6.
A.D. 1485–1558.

pence, some six and eightpence, some three and fourpence, after their own sinister minds and pleasures, ... and to the great hurt of the king's true subjects putting their child to charge more than half-a-crown as an apprentice fee and three and fourpence as a fine at the end of his term of service.

Of still greater practical significance were the grievances of the journeymen for which redress was provided in 1536. Previous acts relating to craft abuses are recited and the statute proceeds, "sithen which several acts established and made, divers masters, wardens and fellowships of crafts have by cautel and subtle means practised and compassed to defraud and delude the said good and wholesome statutes, causing diverse apprentices or young men immediately after their years be expired, or that they be made free of their occupation or fellowship, to be sworn upon the holy Evangelist at their first entry, that they nor any of them after their years or term expired shall not set up, nor open any shop, house, nor cellar, nor occupy as freeman without the assent and license of the master, wardens or fellowship of their occupations upon pain of forfeiting their freedom or other like penalty; by reason whereof the said prentices and journeymen be put to so much or more charges thereby than they before-time were put unto for the obtaining and entering of their freedom, to the great hurt and impoverishment of the said prentices and journeymen and other their friends." Such restrictions naturally resulted in the withdrawal of the journeymen to set up shops in suburbs or villages where the gild had no jurisdiction; and from this they were not precluded, in all probability, by the terms of their oath. This might often be their only chance of getting employment, as the masters were apparently inclined to overstock their shops with apprentices, rather than be at the expense of retaining a full proportion of journeymen.

147. Such were the abuses connected with the craft gilds; it is obvious that they were working badly, and the policy which Henry VII. and Henry VIII. pursued was sound; they carried on the work, which had been already begun, of nationalising the gilds. The increase of capitalism had rendered the old system of municipal regulation, exercised through householders, nugatory, and the abuses called for the intervention of parliament or the crown. Henry VII. took a decided step in transferring the supervision of the craft gilds from the municipal authorities to the Judges; and they could be conveniently used for administrative purposes when they were thus brought under effective control. The gilds still appeared to be the most effective instruments for regulating each industry and keeping it in good order, and the Tudor kings continued to employ them for this purpose.

The Tudors continued to pursue a protective policy against alien workmen, such as had come into vogue under Edward IV., and the struggle between the London crafts and the alien workers was at last decided by the victory of the gilds in 1523. The aliens were prohibited from taking more than two journeymen, and they were forbidden to take aliens as apprentices; by a still more stringent clause, every alien handicraftsman in any part of the City or within two miles of it was to be under the search and reformation of the London wardens of his craft, who were, however, to choose a stranger to act along with them in searching, viewing and reforming the aliens at their work, and in assigning their trade marks. Similar powers were to be exercised by the craft gilds, or, when no gild of the craft existed, by the borough authorities, over alien workmen all over England.

There were complaints from the pewterers and brassiers of braziers. London and York as to the frauds perpetrated by those who carried on the trade in out-of-the-way places, or who stole the materials, did bad work and used false weights. The remedy was again found by insisting that the standard adopted by the London gild should be everywhere adopted; the craft gilds in every town and borough were to have the right of search in towns, and the Justices of the Peace to appoint searchers for the shires.

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19 Henry VII. c. 7.
24 and 25 H. VIII. c. 2. See an earlier instance with regard to alien cordwainers, 3 H. VIII. c. 10.
28 H. VIII. c. 5.
22 H. VIII. c. 4.
3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 22.

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Precisely similar steps were taken in 1532 with regard to the coopers, who had, perhaps with the connivance of the brewers, been making barrels of uncertain and insufficient size. The London coopers were to have search and to gauge mark all barrels turned out in London; and in towns where no gild of coopers existed the local authorities were to insist on the same standards being used.

In the same way the tallow-chandlers were to search oils, and to destroy such as were mingled or corrupt.

The leading trades of the country were dealt with in similar fashion; Henry VII. defined the respective relations of the tanners, curriers, and cordwainers, in the hope of securing better work if each man was only responsible for one part of the process; in 1512 the fellowship of curriers in London was given the right of search over the tanners, and also over the fellowship of alien cordwainers. The evil did not abate, however, since in 1533 few of the king's subjects could either "go or ride either in shoes and boots," and by the Act concerning true tanning and curing of leather the powers of the fellowship of curriers to search in London were confirmed, and the mayors were instructed to appoint cordwainers or others to search all tanned leather. The interest of the fellowships of saddlers and of girdlers in the matter was acknowledged, and perhaps stimulated, by giving them shares in the forfeitures under the Act.

A precisely similar measure was passed with regard to the dyeing of cloth; the warden of the mistery of dyers in each corporate town might search the dye-houses within a mile compass of each town, and in places where no warden existed, the local officers were to do it instead.

The regulation of the cloth-manufacture continued to be a matter of interest; from very early times it had been conducted by royal officials, and was only committed to the gilds in special cases. The manufacture had expanded rapidly in the fifteenth century. In some parts of England a very large trade was being carried on, as we gather from

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1. John Winchcombe, who died in 1519, was a clothier whose prosperity became proverbial and was celebrated in a sixteenth century ballad. (Ashley, Ec. Hist. ii. 285.) "Within one roome being large and long. There stood two hundred Lemnes full strong; Two hundred men, the truth is so, Wronged in these Lemnes, all in a row." Each weaver was assisted by "a pretty boy"; on the same premises were employed a hundred women in carding, two hundred maidens in spinning, one hundred and fifty children in sorting the wool; fifty shearmen, and eighty rowers, besides forty men in the dye-house, and twenty persons in the fulling-mill.


3. Watson, Hali/bon, p. 66.

4. H. VIII. c. 11; 22 H. VIII. c. 2; 37 H. VIII. c. 13.

5. Compare the authority given to the woolmen of London with regard to the winding and folding of wool in all parts of the kingdom. Tudor Proclamations, May 23, 1530.

6. H. VII. c. 1; 22 H. VIII. c. 2; 37 H. VIII. c. 13.

7. Compare the proclamation of April 15, 1549. All such proclamations.
Some instructive illustrations of the difficulties with which the legislature had to contend, in its efforts to regulate and encourage industry, are furnished by the worsted manufacture in Norfolk. The trade had been organised with eight wardens in 1467, but it had remained in a stationary or declining condition till 1495; this was attributed to the action of the statute of Henry IV. respecting apprentices, "by reason whereof the young people of the said city be grown to idleness, vices and other diverse misgovernances." This Act was consequently repealed so far as the citizens of Norwich were concerned, the custom of a seven years' apprenticeship was enforced, and the shearmen of Norwich (always subject to the authority of the mayor) were to have search over the shearmen, dyers, and calenderers of worsted. The powers thus vested in the worsted shearmen interfered with the rights of the old-established shearmen who plied their craft in regard to cloth of all sorts; and we have the usual trouble about disputed jurisdiction between two crafts; this led in 1504 to a minor alteration of the Act of 1495, and in 1514 order was taken with respect to the process of calendering; dry calendering was forbidden, and those who did the work were to serve a seven years' apprenticeship and satisfy the Mayor of Norwich and two masters of the craft of their ability to do this work well. Under these various regulations the trade was much increased and multiplied in Norwich and the adjoining towns; but since it was "costly and painful" for the people of Yarmouth and Lynn, "who were daily using and practising the making of the said cloths more busily and diligently than in times past," to take the worsteds to be examined at Norwich, the worsted weavers of Yarmouth were to be permitted to choose a warden of their own; as soon as there should be ten householders of the said craft of worsted weavers at Lynn, they were to have the same privilege. The whole was recited in an Act of 1534, which makes some provisions for trade marks, limits the number of apprentices to two for each worker, and exempts

1 7 H. IV. c. 1. See above, p. 435. 2 11 H. VII. c. 11; 19 H. VII. c. 17. 3 4 and 15 H. VIII. c. 3. 4 § Henry VIII. c. 4.
advantage they possessed by a special reputation for good manufacture. The displacement of industry from these ancient towns was also accelerated by other causes, for they had not only lost their advantage, but suffered from considerable drawbacks in attempting to compete with new districts. The pressure of the apprenticeship Act of Henry IV., the heavy assessments which they paid for the wars with France and for Henry VII.'s unnecessary exactions, and lastly the regulations made by the gilds with regard to apprentices and journeymen, were all telling against the old corporate towns; they were at a disadvantage as compared with neighbouring villages, and there was as a consequence a considerable displacement of industry from old centres to new ones, or to suburbs.

**Worcester.**

An excellent instance may be found in the complaint of the clothiers of Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster and Bromsgrove with regard to a trade which had been existing from a very early time. "Whereas the said city, burghs and towns have been in time past well and substantially inhabited, occupied, maintained and uphelden by reason of making of woollen cloths, called long cloths, short cloths and other cloths, as well whites, blues, and brown blues, and the poor people of the said city, burghs, towns and of the country adjoining to them daily set awork as in spinning, carding, breaking and sorting of wools, and the handicrafts there inhabiting as weavers, fullers, shearmen and dyers, have been well set awork and had sufficient living by the same, until now within few years past that diverse persons inhabiting and dwelling in the hamlets, thorps and villages adjoining to the said city, burghs and towns within the said shire, for their private wealths, singular advantage and commodities, nothing regarding the maintenance and upholding of the said city, burghs and towns, nor the poor people which had living by the same, have not only engrossed and taken into their hands diverse and sundry farms and become farmers, graziers and husbandmen, but also do

exercise, use and occupy the misteries of cloth making. A.D. 1485 weaving, fulling and shearing within their said houses, and do make all manner of cloths, as well broad cloths, whites and plain cloths, within their said houses in the countries abroad to the great decay, depopulation and ruin of the said city, towns and burgs." It was therefore enacted that none were to make cloths in Worcestershire but the residents in the towns, and with a view of facilitating the return of the craftsmen it was ordered that house rent should not be raised to clothiers above the current rate of the preceding twenty years.

Precisely similar measures were also passed with regard A.D. 1529. to Bridport about rope-making, which was a trade of special importance for naval purposes, and another about coverlets A.D. 1548. in Yorkshire: none were to be made but in the city of York, and the wardens of their craft were to have the right of search all over the country. There is some evidence in 1550 of the special difficulties to which London artisans were exposed "as well in bearing and paying of taxes, tallages, subsidies, scot, lot, and other charges as well to the kings majesty as to the said city and at many and sundry triumphs and other times for the kings honour," so that there was a danger of the freemen being driven away. In the time of Philip and Mary the same sort of change was A.D. 1555. taking place in Somerset, and the weavers and other artisans were moving into villages where they escaped the supervision that would have been exercised over them in Bridgewater.

Nor was this a merely local affair which was only to be noticed in one or two districts; it was a cause of general complaint by John Coke, the Secretary of the Merchant Adventurers, in his vapid reply to the Debate of the Herald's, and it called forth a statute in 1554 of a perfectly general character. The preamble sets forth how the cities were formerly very populously inhabited by craftsmen, and the children "were civily brought up and instructed" so that the

1 21 H. VIII. c. 12.
2 34 and 35 H. VIII. c. 10.
3 8 and 4 Ed. VI c. 20.
4 2 and 8 Ed. VI. M. c. 12.
5 "Also if our clothiers were commanded to inhabit within towns as they do in France, Flanders, Brabant, Holande and other places, we should have as many good towns in England as you have in France and cloth fyner and trustyer made notwithstanding your bragges." John Coke, Debate. See also Armstrong (Pauli), p. 64.
kings could obtain the services of many persons well furnished for the wars, and the towns could pay fifteenths and tenths, which were far too high for them in their impoverished condition. The most pressing mischief arose from the way in which linendrapers, woolendrapers, haberdashers and grocers in the country districts, not only carried on the trade where they lived, but interfered with the retail trade in the towns as well; and it was provided that countrymen might not retail goods in market towns except at fairs. From this very curious statute we may see that the migration of industry had gone so far, that the retail dealers were forced to follow the artisans in order to get a livelihood, and that the older towns were decaying, not merely as places for industry but as centres for buying and selling. There were so few substantial householders who were not concerned in the victualling business and eligible for the duty of regulating the assize of bread and ale, that the regulations of the statutes were relaxed in their favour in 1512.

What has been proved so far is the general decay of English towns in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, the effects of which were patent in the sixteenth; we have also found evidence of the displacement of industry in particular centres where it was migrating from the older towns to the country districts; while there are indications of the growth of one important industry and the partial recovery of Great Yarmouth; the whole picture would become more complete if we could name any new towns which were beginning to come into prominence. But it is much harder to date the expansion of a village into a town, than to mark precisely the signs of the decline of what had once been a flourishing city into a mere village. There are, however, three of the great modern centres of industry which began to come into notice in the Tudor reigns. Manchester is casually referred to as a market town in the time of Edward IV, but it is spoken of in 1542 as a flourishing centre of textile manufacture, both linen and woolen, especially of Manchester

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1 1 and 2 P. and M. c. 7.
2 A.D. 1477.
3 B. and P. c. 9.
4 "Man and the most part of the cities, burgs and towns within this realm of England be fallen in ruin and decay." 5 Ed. VI, c. 109.
5 33 H. VIII, c. 15.
The generally accepted opinion, that the entire property of the gilds was confiscated by Somerset in 1547, can no longer be maintained without considerable modification. Professor Ashley has shown that the confiscatory statute was drafted in most careful terms, and discriminated clearly between the property devoted to religious and to secular purposes. All the property of gilds which simply existed for religious purposes was taken away; but the property of craft gilds was left untouched, except in so far as it was held for religious purposes was taken away. The real question is as to the fairness of the commissioners in enforcing the Act; some educational foundations were spared as had been done in 1540, but since this was the work which the royal advisers professed to have chiefly at heart, they could hardly do less. On the other hand the story of the difficulties connected with the preservation of the hospital at Coventry renders it doubtful whether they were scrupulous or other companies in attempting to conceal their lands if there was no danger that the commissioners would deprive them of their property.

1. J. Toulmin Smith, English Gilds, 250. 2. Rogers, Six Centuries, 349. 3. Economic Hist. i. 114. 4. Watson, Wisbech, 169 f. 5. At Ludlow, English Gilds, 136 f. 6. No new schools in Yorkshire were founded by Edward VI., and some existing educational foundations were dissolved. 7. Page, Charity Certificates, ii. 43. 8. It appears from Dugdale's Warner'shire, that the lands of Ford's Hospital were claimed by the Crown under the Act, and that Bond's Hospital was re-founded by a patent in 2 Ed. VI. 9. Sibly's Stowe's Survey, ii. v. 177. 10. Cline, Early History, 144.

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Though the character of the Act of 1547 has been misrepresented and its effect exaggerated, it is difficult to believe that it passed over the craft gilds and left them untouched. Another measure in 1549 struck a more direct blow, not at their property but at their powers. It was especially aimed at victuallers and cooks, and it decreed that any brotherhood or company of any craft or mistery of victuallers which combined to raise prices should be immediately dissolved; but it also prohibited any artisans or workmen from making those very regulations which it had been the chief function of the craft gilds to enforce. Workmen were not to conspire or make oaths that they shall not do their work but at a given rate, or shall not work but at certain times and hours. This enactment seems to strike a blow at the powers of all the craft gilds, in so far as any of them rested on merely municipal authority, and had not been re-enforced by the crown or by legislation.

In any case, the day of these municipal institutions was over; as was pointed out above, they were hardly consistent with capitalist production; and the leading manufacture of the country was being organised more and more on the new lines. John Winchcomb was a great employer of labour, who seems to have been under little restriction as to the number of his apprentices or the conditions of his journeymen. Stump, who fitted up monastic buildings at Malmesbury as a sort of factory, was a man of a similar type; that cloth-making had assumed a capitalistic type is no longer a mere inference, and the evidence is confirmed by the terms of the Act of 1555, which shows that this trade had got into the hands of employers with large capitals. For as much as the weavers of this realm have as well at this present parliament as at diverse other times, complained that the

1. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 15. The third section of this Act relating to the building trades was repealed in the following year. 2 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 30, but the sections summarised in the text were made perpetual by 22 and 23 Charles II. c. 19, and only repealed in 1825. 3. In Scotland where these measures did not operate the remains of the gild system are far more obvious than in English towns; as in S. Mary Magdalen's Chapel in the Cowgate in Edinburgh or the Trinity Hall in Aberdeen. 4. Leland, Hist. ii. 53, On the Tames of Cirencester and Fairford compare Mrs Green, Town Life, v. 60, and Leland, Hist. v. 55.
rich and wealthy clothiers do many ways oppress them, some by setting up and keeping in their houses diverse looms, and keeping and maintaining them by journeymen and persons unskilful, to the decay of a great number of artificers which were brought up in the said science of weaving, their families, and households, some by engaging of looms into their hands and possession and letting them out at such unreasonable rents as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves, much less their wives, family and children, some also by giving much less wages and hire for the weaving and workmanship of cloth than in times past they did. Economic conditions would cooperate with the decay of the towns and the action of Parliament, to hamper the old craft guilds, but there is no reason to believe they were actively stamped out or entirely suppressed. Even if their prestige was lowered and their authority sapped they might still linger on; before the close of Elizabeth’s reign there was a reaction in public opinion in favour of some institution of the kind, and they were reconstituted, or companies which corresponded to them were created anew. But these Elizabethan institutions differed from those they had replaced in two particulars—they were national not merely municipal institutions, for they drew their powers from Parliament or the Crown; they were also in their composition, capitalistic associations, and thus they were in close accord with the changed conditions of the times.

The increasing importance of capital in industry may also be indirectly gathered from measures which were passed in the reigns of Edward VI. and his sister. Steps were taken to prevent employers from hiring their journeymen by the week or for other short periods; and they were also prohibited from overstocking with apprentices, as each man was to have one journeyman to every three apprentices. Those who are familiar with the discussion which has arisen in our own time about uncertainty of employment and ‘hourlyhirings’, or with the eighteenth century outcry about ‘overstocking with pauper apprentices’, will have no difficulty in recognising in such phenomena the symptoms of capitalistic industry.

There is another striking instance of the important part which industrial capital was beginning to assume in connection with textile manufactures. Russets, satins and fustians of Naples had been imported into the kingdom in large quantities and the Norwich worsted trade was said to be suffering in consequence. It occurred to certain substantial men of that city, however, that it might be possible to introduce the foreign art into this country; and the Mayor with six Aldermen and six other merchants of Norwich had, “at their great costs and charges, as well in bringing of certain strangers from the parts beyond the sea into the said city, as also in making looms and all other provision for the same,” introduced the art, and set twenty-one weavers to learn it, so that the russets and fustians of Norwich were better and cheaper than those of Naples. They accordingly obtained an Act of Parliament by which they were incorporated, and had power given them to regulate the manufacture and to choose wardens who should search for defective goods. This is, so far as I know, the first venture of capitalists to import the necessary plant and the necessary skill so as to introduce a new trade; the craft guilds had originated as associations of those who were actual workers, but it is evident that this was a corporation consisting not of artisans but of capitalists. Just as the merchants of Bristol were empowered to make discoveries and trade to the west, and the London merchants to send their expeditions to the north and east, so were these Norwich merchants associated, but for an industrial and not a trading enterprise. We might push the analogy farther and notice that in both cases they were enabled to form a regulated and not a joint-stock company. The efforts which were made to develop mining in England with the help of Germans and others in the sixteenth century must certainly have proceeded on capitalistic lines. The increased attention which was now given to industrial improvement was at least congruent with the new importance which capital was assuming in industry.

1 2 and 3 P. and M. c. 14. 2 3 and 4 E. VI. c. 32. 3 Cunningham, Alien Immigrants, 122.
V. The Land Question.

150. The Tudor reigns were a period of great discontent and some disorder in rural districts; the tendencies which had begun to operate after the Black Death were causing results which were viewed with great anxiety; the depopulation of some parts of the realm—with the dearness of provisions which was supposed to be associated with it—seemed to be a great political danger. The remarks of such writers as Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor of the Realm, and Thomas Starkey, a Royal Chaplain, are conclusive as to the wide range over which the change was progressing, as well as the preamble of the Act of 1534. It is necessary, however, to look at the matter a little more closely, in order to appreciate the reasons which rendered the new methods of land management profitable, and to note the precise nature of the injuries which were being inflicted on some classes of the rural population.

There were doubtless many landlords who used their land as sheep runs, and this was the form of the new land management which struck the popular imagination. But this was only one of the ways in which the new order was proving incompatible with the old; whatever was inconsistent with the traditional customary husbandry was injurious to a peasantry who preferred to carry on their work by the methods to which they were habituated. Improved land management of any kind implied the withdrawal of some open fields or some portion of the waste from use in common: it was the destruction of the “territorial shell” of the traditional agricultural organisation, and was spoken of as enclosing. Neither a landlord nor a tenant could use his land exclusively, in the way in which he could turn it to most advantage, without depriving his neighbours of some of the rights they had previously exercised. If a portion of the common waste were enclosed, the area on which the tenants could pasture their cattle was diminished, and they might find it impossible to keep their stock in proper condition. A similar injury, though on a smaller scale, was done by the enclosure of adjacent strips in the arable fields, as the commoners could no longer let their cattle range over the whole of the stubble in what had once been common fields. The nature of the evil becomes most clear when we refer to a present day illustration afforded by recent troubles in the north-west of Scotland. The position of the Skye crofter is, economically at all events, closely analogous to that of the husbands in the Tudor times; a struggle has arisen between the small farmer working his holding on traditional lines and the leaseholder or tacksman with a farm, which he worked on the most remunerative system. The precise grievances alleged are very similar, as in many instances sheep farming was very profitable. Sometimes we hear more of eviction and the pulling down of houses, sometimes of deprivation of pasture and the consequent inability of the crofters to farm at a profit. The parallel becomes even more close when we remember that much of the depopulating in Tudor times was made not so much for profit, and the keeping of sheep, as for the amenity of enjoying a park, and for sport. “If they will needs have some deer for their vain pleasure, then let them take such heathy, woody grounds as is unfruitful for corn and pasture so that the common wealth be not robbed; and let them make good defence that their poor neighbours joining with them be not devoured of their corn and grass.” The fashion of imparking seems to have been less prevalent in Elizabeth’s time, and some of those who realised that it was a useless extravagance began to disband their land.

1 On this point the judgment of contemporaries seems to have been mistaken. There appears to have been no disproportionate rise in the price of corn and other victuals. It was a time when all prices were rising. Strype, Ecc. Mem. ii. i. 146 and ii. ii. 399.
2 Utopia, p. 41.
3 Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Inpact (E. E. T. S.), p. 11; Introduction, Sec. 2. refs.
4 25 H. VIII. c. 13.
5 See p. 448 above.

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2 Report, p. 32.
3 H. Brinklow, Complaynt of Roderyck More (E. E. T. S.); p. 17. Whittaker’s Whalley, ii. 188.
There can be no doubt that in some cases there was deliberate depopulating on the part of landlords who desired to get the whole of the area into their own hands and to use it in the way that gave them most profit or pleasure. The practice of granting land on leases of lives had become to get the whole of the area into their own hands and to use management was adopted, the tenantry could be gradually dispossessed without any straining of legal rights on the part of the landlords; though the greatly increased fines which were sometimes demanded were felt to be a hardship. In very many instances, however, it would appear that the landlords were not the prime movers in the matter, but they were only to be blamed for giving permission to enterprising tenants to enclose. There is ample evidence that the process of differentiation was going on among the English peasantry and yeomen, and that while some felt the pressure of the new conditions severely, others were prospering greatly. Farmers were doing so well that many of them were able to buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen. These men were not for the most part sheep farmers, but men who combined arable farming with cattle breeding, and carried on what was known as convertible husbandry. To do this, however, it was necessary to withdraw the land from the customary system of tillage, and to be free to fence it, and use it as separate closes. This could hardly be managed so long as a man had a holding which consisted of many scattered strips: what the tenant wished to do, was to get hold, by exchange or purchase of contiguous strips which he could fence, and which would form a convenient close. The enterprising tenant who wished to work his land on the best system was anxious to join several holdings and to work them as one farm, and this practice of letting two or three tenancies unto one man was particularly singled out for reprobation in 1514 and subsequent years. Under these circumstances there would be a keen competition for farms, and those who were carrying on their business on the best methods would be able to outbid the men who adhered to the customary system. The man whose holding was in severity was well able to thrive, both as regards ploughing with oxen, folding his sheep on fallow, breeding and rearing lambs, rearing calves, and using his pasture to advantage; while he could also count upon having better crops than grew on the common fields. Trouble almost necessarily ensued from the inevitable competition between the men who farmed in severity and those who kept to the traditional practice. Men who practised convertible husbandry were able to afford to pay rents which were ruinous to those who carried on the traditional customary tillage. The rise of rents would occur in connection with improved agriculture, and not merely because the value of the land for sheep-pasture had increased.

The operations of a tenant who obtained leave from the lord to farm in severity were plainly injurious to the rest of the villagers; and it is interesting to note that the most dangerous of all the outbreaks against enclosing appears to have originated in grievances of this type. There is no reason to suppose that there had been any great development of sheep farming in Norfolk, and the complaints of Kett and
A.D. 1485—1558.

his followers were almost entirely confined to allegations of encroachment on common rights, and to abuses in connection with dove-cotes and rights to fishing and to game. There is no mention of the pulling down houses in order to convert land to pasture, and the excitement might all have arisen in connection with piece-meal enclosure by tenants for convertible husbandry. Fitzherbert, and the other advocates of agricultural improvement appear to have thought that it would be possible for all the tenants in a town to adopt convertible husbandry, so that all should gain by enclosing their holdings into severality. But the improved husbandry was a labour-saving system; a large area could be profitably worked by the tenant himself, without help; and each man was anxious to get as large a holding as he could manage to advantage. The march of agricultural improvement involved a certain amount of depopulation; as Harrison observed "The ground of a parish is gotten into a few men's hands yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two, or three, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired servants unto the others or to beg their bread in misery from door to door." This change was not so ruthless as the depopulation caused by the introduction of sheep farming, but it was practically incompatible with the maintenance of open fields and of the customary tillage. The enclosure of a few acres might be felt as a serious grievance even in cases where the greater part of the parish continued to lie in open fields.

1 4 H. VIII. c. 16.
2 6 H. VIII. c. 5 and 7 H. VIII. c. 1.
4 Schade, ii. 671.
6 27 H. VIII. c. 22.
single grazer from having a flock of more than 2000 sheep. The political danger which arose from the progress of sheep farming was also put prominently forward as the ground for the Commission of enquiry issued in 1547.

We should have been inclined to suppose that Parliament would have been as decidedly opposed to depopulating the sake of forming a park; but an exception was made in favour of these enclosures. The reason may probably have been that the sheep farming proprietor was likely to be an absentee, while the man who indulged in the extravagance of a park was likely to make his country house his home. Whatever the faults of monastic management may have been, the religious houses were resident landlords and tradition ascribed to them a readiness to perform duties which new men were not unlikely to ignore. A very large area of landed property changed hands about this time, and the evils of enclosure were brought into fresh prominence by the action of those who had obtained possession of confiscated lands. The Act of 1536 had endeavoured to guard against absenteeism and contained a clause that the new owners should be bound to keep a good and continual house and household on the same site, and to keep up the same amount of tillage as formerly.

On the other hand the form of enclosure which was being pushed on by enterprising tenants, who desired to have holdings in sevency, was a real improvement in agriculture, and provided an increased food supply; and no government could have seriously set about trying to stop it. Bacon explains the discriminating policy which was adopted under Henry VII. The government were content to try and guide the change, and to prevent the small men from being crowded out, in the hope that the practice of farming in severality might be adopted generally without injury to any one. As, however, convertible husbandry was a labour-saving system, its introduction tended to a decrease of the population maintained upon the soil and social difficulties necessarily ensued.

152. The failure of the Commissions of 1549 shewed that the new system of land management had come to stay: forming for the market superimposed the old system of cultivating for household needs. The failure of the Commissions of 1549 shewed that the new system of land management had come to stay: forming for the market superimposed the old system of cultivating for household needs. The government were content to try and guide the change, and to prevent the small men from being crowded out, in the hope that the practice of farming in severality might be adopted generally without injury to any one. As, however, convertible husbandry was a labour-saving system, its introduction tended to a decrease of the population maintained upon the soil and social difficulties necessarily ensued.

1 John Hales in Miss Lamond's Introduction to the Discourse of the Common Wealth, XI. LXXI.; Supplication of Poor Commons, 80.
2 Bacon, Henry VII. in Works, VI. 93.
4 There is a parallel but also a contrast. In towns there had been an association of small householders and it gave place to a system of large employers; in rural districts there had been large households and they gave place to small capitalist farms.
Manorial economy had come to an end, for the traces of serfdom which crop up at intervals before this time may now be said to cease. There is incidental evidence of the very general continuance of serfdom long after the time of the Peasants' Revolt. The efforts of the villains to shake off their disabilities by inducing the lords to answer their pleadings in the king's courts, would hardly have demanded special legislation in 1385 if they had practically succeeded in attaining their ends. Servitude of a practical character survived the revolt; Henry VI. legislated about his villains, or bondsmen, in Wales; the manumission of a serf and his three sons on the estates of Bath Abbey is recorded in 1531. Much evidence of the general retention of serfdom has been adduced in corroboration of the complaint in disgrace to the country. In mena, but Elizabeth issued a commission for enquiring into the cases of bondmen on royal estates and for granting manumissions. In some localities the exaction of personal obligations in the ordinary conduct of the operations was superseded personal obligations in the ordinary conduct of the operations by the statutes of labourers. The Act of 1495 closely follows on the lines of that which had been passed fifty years before; it could not be enforced and was repealed but its provisions were revived in 1514. These Acts limit the payments for holiday times, and permit reductions for laziness in the morning or at noonday or for sitting long over meals; they fix maximum rates of wages and permit the payment of lower rates, where lower rates are usual. They are thus obviously intended to keep wages down, but it is interesting to notice that the statutable rates are higher than they had been; the bailiff might get 3s. 8d. as against 24s. 4d.; the common servant in husbandry 16s. 8d. and 4s. for clothes as against 15s. and 3s. 4d. for clothes; artisan wages (without meat and drink) go up from 4d. and 5d. to 5d. and 6d. per day in summer and winter respectively. The prescribed hours of labour are long. From the middle of March to the middle of September artificers were to work from 5 a.m. till between 7 and 8 p.m., half an hour for breakfast and an hour and a half for dinner and for the midday sleep, which was allowed from May to August. In winter they were to work during daylight. This Act could not be enforced in of rural life; but survivals of the old system in the habits of A.D. 1549 collective husbandry remained in many districts, and continued to affect the rate of agricultural progress. The open field system, with customary tillage, held its own in many parts of the country till the beginning of the nineteenth century; and it would be interesting if we could detect the local causes, economic and others, which brought about the introduction of new methods of land management in some areas, while the old and less profitable system was maintained in other districts.
London, where higher wages had been given and where the artisans were "at great charge for rent and victual"; so that London was specially exempted from these regulations in the following year. The statute book also furnishes some additional evidence of a continued rise of the prices of food, and consequent demands of labourers; victuallers were prohibited from combining to ask unreasonable prices, and the artisans from combining for various purposes. Some of them agreed not to work but for a rate which they themselves fixed, they would not carry on the work which others had begun, they limited the work they would do, and the hours they would work each day, and generally conspired and took oaths to back one another up in securing their own terms; this conduct called forth a severe law against such combinations in 1549.

Such were the conditions on which employment was obtained; it remains for us to glance at the arrangements made for the unemployed. The problem was not new but it was pressing, and it was felt in all parts of Europe; the best methods of dealing with poverty were being debated, and the municipal authorities, in English and Continental towns, made strenuous efforts for the better organisation of relief. Reform in the method of bestowing alms to the poor was one point on which Roman theologians were at one with Lutherans and Zwinglians. The English legislation of the day distinctly reflects the new view of duty which was thus gaining ground; it was an endeavour to adapt the experience that had been obtained and the principles laid down in other countries to English use.

There was of course the double problem of dealing with the vagrant and with the impotent poor respectively. The difficulty in regard to the latter class was greater than ever. The progress of enclosing, accompanied as it was by eviction, must have reduced large numbers of the population to the condition of homeless wanderers, while the disbanded retainers were even more dangerous tramps. The literature of the time is full of complaints of this evil, and in Starkey's dialogue one of the speakers contends that idleness is the root of the mischief. But the Act of Richard II was so severe that it could not be enforced; all the vagrants could not be committed to gaol, as there was no accommodation for imprisoning the crowds of valiant and sturdy beggars. Accordingly the first measure of Henry VII reduces the penalty for vagabonds to three nights in the stocks, a punishment which was afterwards limited to a day and a night.

The difficulty about impotent beggars was met by enjoining everyone who was not able to work to "go rest and abide in his hundred where he last dwelt, or where he is best known or born, there to abide without begging out of the said hundred." Those who professed to be scholars of the Universities were to be punished like other vagabonds unless they could show letters from the Chancellor; and soldiers and sailors were to be provided with letters from the captain of the ship in which they landed. Subsequent legislation followed on these lines but became more and more definite. In 1531 licences were required from all impotent persons; these were to be granted by justices of the peace and to define the limits within which the holder was licensed to ask for alms. The able-bodied vagrants were now submitted to more vigorous treatment; they were to be tied to the end of a cart and whipped through the place where they were found begging, and then to be dispatched by the straight way to the place where they were born or last dwelt, there to labour "like a true man oweth to do."

So far legislation had proceeded on the old lines; it is Funds for the poor in the Act of 1536 that the traces of the new opinions may be seen; and, as Professor Ashley points out, this measure is the real basis of the English Poor Law System as it was further developed under Elizabeth. An attempt was now

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made to raise funds in each parish which might be used for the employment of the able-bodied and for the relief of the impotent. The lack of some such provision had been the chief defect in previous measures; it had been found that the existing Acts could not be enforced because there was no money for the relief of the impotent poor, nor for the employment of the able-bodied, when they did return to the places where they ought to be maintained; there were besides no sufficient instructions as to the way in which tramps should repair to their proper districts. A beggar who was tramping homewards at the rate of ten miles a day was to be relieved "upon the sight of his letters given him at the time of his whipping," and the officers of all towns and villages were to keep the poor by way of voluntary and charitable alms; while they were to set the able-bodied to work so that they might maintain themselves. The churchwardens were to gather the alms with boxes on Sundays, festivals and holy days, so that the poor, impotent, lame, sick, feeble and diseased might be sufficiently provided for and not have to go about and beg 1.

The most startling feature of this Act, however, is to be found in the clauses which prohibit begging and those that are directed against indiscriminate charity. It was here that the influence of the new opinions on Christian duty is most obvious. If adequate provision were made for the impotent by the authoritative administration of charitable alms, begging was inexcusable, and private munificence only came to be a temptation to the idle. Hence the first clause imposes a penalty on any parish which does not make suitable arrangements for organising the charity of the parishioners; and anyone who gave common doles or alms, except through the agency thus created, was liable to a fine of ten times the sum so expended. It is obvious that this provision could not be strictly enforced, as the bona fide traveller was permitted to give alms, and the monasteries were allowed to continue their usual doles.

It is important to notice that these enactments were found necessary before the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries could be felt; the religious houses obviously had not sufficed to relieve all the pauperism in the country for the complaints to which allusion has been made above date all the time when they were still in full possession of their wealth. But there can be little doubt that their suppression was followed by a frightful increase of the evil; we cannot of course obtain anything of the nature of statistics, although the desperate measures of Edward VI. are monuments of the greatness of the evil with which they attempted to deal. His attention was called to the subject by a sermon which Bishop Ridley preached at Westminster, and the municipal authorities were encouraged to utilise the resources of the London Hospitals so as to provide for the different classes of the poor 2. The Grey Friars' house was intended, as Christ's Hospital, to be a home for beggar children. S. Thomas's and S. Bartholomew's were assigned to the sick, while Bridewell was to be used for the reception of the thriftless poor; this scheme was worked out by Bishop Ridley in conjunction with the Lord Mayor. Three hospitals "were also set aside as places where the poor could be set on work" in the city of York, where much consideration had been given to the best means of dealing with the poor.

The effects of the destruction of the religious gilds in 1547 appear to have been exaggerated 3; but even if the labouring classes of the poor 4.
classes did not suffer much from the actual loss of property, they were poorer by the destruction of these institutions. The landed property of these gilds was for the most part devoted to the maintenance of masses for departed brethren; but from the chests, as they were annually replenished with fees and payments, assistance had been given to brethren which enabled them to tide over hard times. The loss of the peasantry cannot be measured by guessing at the probable amount of cash in these chests, for the wrong that was done them consisted in the removal of the friendly aid which would have enabled them to pass through times of difficulty without being ruined. The real mischief lay in the break up of institutions which had saved men from falling into poverty, far more than in the actual loss of accumulated funds. Full information in regard to the possessions and rentals of the gilds at the time of the confiscation is available for the county of Somerset; and while it is clear that there had been considerable sums set aside for the support of priests and the maintenance of lights, as well as wealth in the forms of vestments and plate, it is not obvious that there were accumulated funds or much land of which the income had been assigned to benefit purposes; it is doubtful how far the discriminating provisions of the Act were carried out, but it is possible that the benefit funds were sometimes preserved for their original purposes. The destruction of the organisation was a serious matter, but the loss of the possessions was comparatively unimportant, so far as their friendly society functions were concerned.

The first year of Edward’s reign was remarkable for an extraordinary statute about loiterers; they were to be reduced to a temporary, and if incorrigible, to perpetual slavery, to be kept in irons, and branded with a V. for vagrant or an S. for slave according as their slavery was terminable or life-long. It was also enacted that beggar children might be taken from their parents against their will and apprenticed to serve till they reached the age of four and twenty; but such severe remedies were of course ineffectual; they were set aside and

1 E. Green, Survey and Rental (1888), Somerset Record Society.
2 1 Ed VI c. 9.

The Tudors

V. THE REVENUE.

The Tudor kings were distinguished in various ways from all other English monarchs, but they are specially marked out by the expedients on which they ventured in order to obtain supplies. Their high-handed robbery of religious and charitable institutions is sometimes defended on the ground that the monasteries and hospitals had become useless anachronisms. Their abuse of royal rights, by the reckless debasement of the coinage, seems even less excusable; but we ought to bear in mind that they had very little experience to help them to steer their way through the currency troubles of the sixteenth century. The remedies which they tried aggravated the disease; but this need scarcely be a matter for surprise when we take account

1 5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 16.
2 1 and 3 P. and M. c. 6.
of the extraordinary complexity of the financial difficulties of the
day.

The root of the evil lay in a variation in the ratio
between gold and silver, and this was in all probability due to
the opening up of new sources of supply. There had been
frequent complaint that the silver money of the realm
was much clipped, and in 1522 the rate at which gold and
silver coins of recognised weight should be current in
the king's dominions was fixed by proclamation. Soon afterwards
a new evil began to appear; the Council had reason
to fear that the kingdom would be depleted of its gold alto-
gether, since gold coins were rated much higher in terms of
silver in Flanders than in England. With the view of
correcting this arrangement two proclamations were issued
in 1526 and the value of an ounce of gold in England
was enhanced from 40s. to 45s. in silver. Silver coins were
struck of the old purity, but of diminished size, so that they
might correspond to the newly-fixed rates of the precious
metals; thus two very different issues of silver coins were
circulating together, and the clipping of the larger and older
coins came to be once more the subject of complaint.
Some years afterwards, at the instance of Sir Richard Gresham,
the restrictions on the import and export of the precious
metals were abandoned, with the result that England came
to be more directly affected by monetary conditions on the
Continent. A farther enhancement of gold within the realm
from 45s. to 48s. to check the drain of gold to foreign parts
may have been desirable; but the debasement of the issues
from the Mint, both of gold and silver, had disastrous con-
sequences whatever excuse there may have been from the
standards which were adopted in other lands. The difficulty
with which Henry VIII. had to contend was not solved till
1816, by the complete acceptance of a gold standard and the
coining of silver as token money; the Tudor monarchs were A.D. 1488
unable to cope with it. The drain of gold became more
alarming than before, while at the same time the currency
deteriorated still further. The base issues from the Mint
gave an excuse both for the counterfeiting of English coins
and for the importation of debased money from abroad.

There can be little doubt that silver was the ordinary
standard of value for internal prices; as early as 1530 it was
remarked that the groats had been so far reduced in size as
to be less valuable than formerly, and the debasement of the
currency was followed by a rapid rise of prices. The regulations
restricting the price of butchers' meat and of poultry had
to be revised from time to time. This appeared to be
due to special causes; and even the evidence of a con-
siderable rise in the price of corn was not attributed to the
condition of the currency. King Henry VIII. issued a
Proclamation concerning Corn in 1542, and stated that
"corn of all greynes and especially wheate and rye is
sodaynely enhanceds at unreasonable prices and one special
cause is, by occasion that it is used for a common merchandise,
and most commonly bought by suche persons as haue plentie
of their owne growthe, to the entente to make a derthe
thereof; and dyverse husbandmen and fermers do colour
such byngis for sede, where they have no such necessitie
to do...the kinges most royall maiestie...consydering
that (thankes be to God) there is no just ground or cause,
way such grayne should be so high enhanceds in price, as
it is, but that the enhancmeon thereof groweth by the
occasion aforesaid, and by the subtle invention and crafte
of dyvers covetous persones." The evidence of contemporaries as
how ex-
placed by to the Black

1 See vol. ii. p. 450.  5 All such proclamations, 11 April, 1649.
2 Hall's Chronico, 718.  6 Rastell, Pastime of People, p. 242.
3 Raging, I. 302.  8 Tudor Proclamations, July 5, 1527.
4 Burgon, Life of Sir T. Gresham, I. 54.  9 Tudor Proclamations.
6 16 May, 1544.  11 Tudor Proclamations, 21 May, 1544,
17 Tudor Proclamations, 21 May, 1544, 2 July, 1549.
18 Test H. VIII. c. 3; Test H. VIII. c. 1. Tudor Proclamations, 21 May, 1544,
22 Oct. 1554, 25 March, 1555. The export of grain was prohibited, except
under special conditions, on 27 June, 1540, and 24 Sept. 1550. Tudor Proclamations.
19 Tudor Proclamations.
Death had been due to the way in which the landlords took advantage of their monopoly, and in the sixteenth century each class was supposed by its neighbours to be acting in a similar fashion and to be guilty of causing general distress. The landlords were said to enhance their rents, and hence it was believed food was dearer; the rich graziers were said to have combined so as to keep up the price of wool, and the clothing trade suffered; and labourers were accused of joining to dictate their own terms to their masters. At the very time when competition was destroying the old institutions, there could be no such close rings formed by rival traders, and it is much simpler to suppose that the main cause of the change lay in the debasement of the circulating medium and the consequent rise in the price of goods of every sort. Indeed the

1 The unanimous opinion of contemporaries that the rise of prices was due to combination is very curious. It finds expression in the very severe law which was passed against the engrossing of corn, wine, fish, butter, cheese, candles, tallow, sheep, lambs, calves, swine, pigs, geese, capons, hens, pigeons and conies (3 and 6 E. VI. c. 15). This was intended to render food cheap, by preventing middlemen from reaping speculative profits. So too there is a similar enactment about the engrossing of butter and cheese (3 and 4 E. VI. c. 21). The law against conspiracies to raise the price of victuals and to obtain excessive wages is conceived in the same spirit (3 and 8 E. VI. c. 15). But this view of the cause of the rise of prices appears in its most naive form in connexion with the price of wool. We should say that when wool was plentiful it must be cheap, and that felt that since it was plentiful and not cheap, the price must be unduly raised by the speculations of the graziers. "They that have grete numberment of shepe must make of their goods great store of woll, and we cannot think who should make the price of wool, but those that have grete plentye of shepe. And we do partly know that there be many wise men begane to putt ther erthe to fyne pastures, and to make the pryse of woll, but ther remedy is that the lordes cowd gete erth in ferme by alle the holl reame to spryng and sprede owt of London duryng this tmayne and prevent prices from rising. If he withdrew anything much bullion would also diminish the circulating medium like silver trappings, heavy gilding and massive plate must have been obtained by making use of silver that might otherwise have got into circulation. The frequent regulations of the goldsmiths' trade seem to imply that they found a good deal of employment, and we need not forget that if society generally was distressed in the fifteenth century, there were many individuals who had prospered in trade as clothiers and had made considerable fortunes. Edward IV. did not borrow from the overtaxed towns, but cast himself on the benevolence of individual citizens; the nobles and the gilds vied with one another in costly display.

Besides this, the action of Henry VII. in hoarding so much bullion would also diminish the circulating medium and prevent prices from rising. If he withdrew anything like £500,000 a year, it would certainly do a great deal to keep nominal prices stable during the less active period of debasement. Much of this wealth was probably drawn from the private hoards which Edmund Dudley knew so well, and not taken directly from the money in active circulation; but the action of the royal miser would at all events tend to minimise the rise which might have been expected from debasement, and which became more apparent as Henry VIII. squandered his father's treasures.

1 See above, p. 428, on the competition of aliens and clothiers.
Other considerations drawn from general social conditions render it improbable that the debasement would act very rapidly on prices: Money economy was not completely introduced; and under a system of paying labour partly in coin and partly in rations, an alteration in the coinage would be very slowly felt in the agreements between employers and employed. This practice was found not only in the immemorial customs of manorial estates, but in a newly developed industry. We hear of a truck system in 1465, and it existed in the clothing trade, which would otherwise have been most likely to be easily affected by changes in the circulatig medium, as it was growing rapidly. So long as natural economy survived or calculated prices were in vogue, there were institutions which tended to diminish the fluctuations; the regulations of each gild, and the jealousy which each gild felt for its neighbours, would make for stability in prices. The relations of exchange were chiefly determined by the calculations of the makers of different wares, and coins were to some extent like counters, in which the payments agreed on could be settled, and for which valuable articles could be procured at the calculated rate.

Another suggestion to account for the stability of prices during the later Middle Ages has been made by Professor Thorold Rogers, who supposes that payments were generally made by weight and not by tale, and that nominal prices continued to represent the same quantities of silver, though as the coins were reduced, each pound in weight would be made up of a larger number of coins. Some reasons have been given above which tell against this view, for it appears that when payments were made by weight, they were made according to the weight of the current coin; but it is very doubtful if any considerable number of transactions in silver money were conducted in this curious fashion during the fifteenth century. There can be no doubt that payments by tale were common at the time of the Conquest, and it is not clear why the more primitive practice should have been re-introduced, while it is difficult to see what possible motive

There could be for diminishing the size of the coins, if the Crown was not to pay by tale, and so to gain the difference. When the state of the currency was the subject of official enquiry in 1382, John Hoo suggested that a remedy would be found by insisting that payments should for the future be made by weight; this sufficiently proves that payment by tale was a usual practice then. On the whole we are forced to suppose that silver payments were usually effected by tale, and that, when made by weight, they were reckoned in terms of the diminished coins, so that the stability of prices is due to the fact that the value of silver was steadily rising at the time when the kings were reducing the weight of their issues.

These considerations as to the structure of society and doubts about the mode of payment serve at least as suggestions which may some day or other be so far confirmed as to render the stability of prices in the fifteenth century more explicable. They may certainly warn us against the error of trying to interpret the fluctuations of medieval prices as easily as the changes which take place in the modern society with which we are perfectly familiar: in the case of articles such as corn, in regard to which no general regulation was possible and where fluctuations were frequent, the difficulty of carriage and the accidents of drought or flood, made it possible for prices to be at a famine point in Leicester while they were much more moderate in London. Changes in prices, while the state of society is known and remains practically unaltered, may lead us to examine the possible causes of change, and may even help us to estimate how great a change has been brought about by some known cause; figures may give more precision to the knowledge we already possess, but we must have some acquaintance with the social conditions and the forces that were actually at work in each age, if we are to avoid anachronisms in trying to interpret the course of commercial transactions.

1 See above, p. 326, n. 5. A proclamation of July 5, 1297, takes account of the practice of paying by weight, but it does not appear to have been the ordinary practice. Tudor Proclamations.

1 Rot. Parl. iii. 177 a.
made it obvious that some new form of contribution must be devised. The fifteenths and tenths, which had been originally a payment of fractions of actual possessions, were in 1334 turned, by agreements between royal commissions and the local authorities, into fixed payments to be regularly made and accepted in lieu of accurately assessed fractional parts of the actual wealth at the time when a fifteenth and a tenth were voted. The towns which had declined in importance were too heavily burdened, while there must have been many wealthy clothiers and graziers who only contributed a very small quotient for public purposes. It would have been very difficult to upset the old settlement; Englishmen have apparently always objected to inquisitorial sessions amount to, and greatly prefer to pay a fixed sum, levies based on attempts to find out what their actual possessions amount to, and greatly prefer to pay a fixed sum. The levying of an additional charge was the simplest solution. In 1514 when the Commons were endeavouring to make up the deficiency which had been caused by Henry's French expedition of the year before, they granted a general subsidy of 6d. in the pound; and similar general subsidies were afterwards voted along with grants of fifteenths and tenths. As an illustration one may refer to the Act of 1534, when supplies were voted because of the expenses incurred by the king during the twenty-five years just closed in war with Scotland, in fortifying the Northern Border, and in renovating the defences of Dover; and also because of his intention "to bring the wilful, wild, unreasonable and savage people of his said land of Ireland, and his whole dominion of the same, to such conformity, rule, order and obedience as the same for ever hereafter shall be much utile and profitable to the kings of this realm, and a great surety and quietness to the subjects and inhabitants of the same." A fifteenth and tenth were then granted; and in addition a general subsidy of one shilling in the pound on the property of those who had lands of £20 a year, or goods to the amount of £20, and who were subsequently known and commonly spoken of as "subsidy" men. Gilds, Corporations and Companies, as well as all aliens, were to pay at double this rate. The king was to send commissioners to every shire, who were to make enquiries through the constables as to the amounts which different persons should contribute to this tax; these persons had however the opportunity of appealing to the commissioners if they were overcharged. But this elaborate machinery did not really serve for the purpose of readjusting the claims of the revenue, as the wealth of the country developed; the assessment got into a regular groove. Each subsidy was simply based on the payments made on the last occasion when one was levied; and thus in the later Tudor times a subsidy came to mean a payment of about £80,000, though there never were such definite agreements as those which had reduced the fifteenths and tenths to payments of about £37,000, irrespective of the actual value of the property of which they professed to be fractional parts.

So far for direct taxation. A very important change was also made in the collection of the customs during this period. The old practice had been to take the oaths of the merchants as to the value of the goods which were passing in or out; in the time of Queen Mary, however, a book of rates was compiled, which assigned an official value to different classes of goods. This may have served a double purpose, as it prevented frauds on the part of merchants, and it would probably operate as a check upon the collectors. It was notorious that frauds on the revenue were constantly practised by the officers; there was surely some exaggeration in the statement of the Venetian ambassador that of £200,000 levied from merchants, only a fourth part reached the royal treasury, but the accounts show that the admitted expense of collection was sixteen per cent., and this may in itself be taken as evidence that the management was inefficient and corrupt.

The returns of the customs also reflect the changes that were going on in English commerce. In the time of Edward III. the main revenue had come from the custom on wool, but during the Tudor period this became less important.

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1 Dowell, History of Taxation, l. 97.
2 Ibid. l. 107.
3 Ibid. l. 156.
4 Ibid. n. 144.
5 Ibid. n. 183.
6 Ibid. n. 196.
while on the other hand the revenue obtained from cloth was increasing; what remained of the Great Custom on wool was assigned for the maintenance of Calais, and at the fall of that town the whole system was re-arranged by the book of rates.

One other matter of considerable importance comes out in the Tudor times, and especially in the reign of Mary, for new payments over and above the customs, tonnage and poundage were levied as 'impositions' on the goods imported by aliens, and on the importation of foreign luxuries. This was a new development of the ancient prerogative of the Crown, and it was used in a fashion which did not at first render it unpopular, for it was the means of giving special advantages to English merchants, and of protecting English artisans. This definite political object was kept clearly in view with regard to direct and indirect taxation alike. In the very same year in which the general subsidy was voted, which aliens paid at a double rate, the king was empowered to re-arrange the whole scheme of rates; and the subsequent manipulation of the new customs was prejudicial to alien merchants, while the levying of impositions was favourable to the English artisan. The conditions under which aliens had to trade were rendered so hard that soon as English shipping again revived under Elizabeth they were driven out of the field; in the time of Edward III. they had done most of the trade of the country, but they had been gradually forced out of internal trade and were now driven from conducting our foreign commerce.

VII. Changes in Opinion.

157. The period which we have been reviewing was a time of transition; mediæval life was breaking up, and modern society was slowly rising on its ruins; but just because it was a time of startling changes, it was not a time when the full bearings of these changes could be clearly understood, and there is very little progress in A.D. 1485 -1558. thought on economic matters.

National regulation for national objects was accepted as Mercantilist system set aside under Edward VI. necessary and right; but the maxims by which effect was being given to this aim had not taken such a firm hold on the minds of the men of the time as to dominate over practical politics. Under Edward VI. it was impossible to sacrifice the least chance of obtaining an immediate revenue, and the increase of the customs was felt to be of more importance than anything else; hence the navigation law with regard to wine and woad was suspended. Everyone seemed to be poor; the range of prices was high, and it appeared cruel to force up the price of bread to a higher level; hence corn laws were dispensed with, though the government was most anxious to encourage tillage. The collection of the full 'fifteenths and tenths' from the old and highly assessed towns was rendered difficult by the migration of industry to more favourable centres, and this natural development was checked in the hope of reviving the prosperity of decaying towns. The government of Edward VI. was living from hand to mouth, and was forced to discard all the recognised principles for increasing the power of the nation, in order to keep things going from day to day. But just because the government was living from hand to mouth, and was unable to attend to the development of the national wealth and to strengthen the foundations of national power, little fresh experience was obtained as to the best means of promoting this object, and so systematising industry and commerce as really to build up the national strength.

The government of the day could not afford to attend to Capital.
the development of the power of the country, and it was also suspicious of the new element which was coming into play to facilitate improvements in the production of wealth. So far as it had intruded in rural districts, capital was bringing about progress of many kinds; but contemporaries did not welcome this advance; on almost every side an outcry was raised, and the legislature were ready to check the new mode of working. The large graziers and the wealthy clothiers were held up to execration, and every effort was made to retain the
old arable farms, and to regulate the action of capitalist employers in the cloth manufacture. In our time the wealthy capitalist has been spoken of by men of the Manchester School with great enthusiasm as if he were a sort of national benefactor; in Tudor days he was regarded with grave suspicion. There was at that time a remarkable growth of this very powerful factor in economic life; but so much attention was directed to the evils which accompanied it, that no one recognised the importance of the power of capital, nor gave serious thought to the question of directing it aright.

158. The economic literature of the time is of great interest, since it reflects current opinion at a time of startling change; but just because the times were so confused, there was much difficulty in obtaining a clear grasp of economic principles, and the writing of the Tudor reigns has very little scientific value. The surviving literature is full of interesting description and suggestion; but if we except the Discourse of the Common Weal which was probably written by John Hales, there is little sign of greater accuracy of thought or definition of language in dealing with the social and economic problems of the time. He was the only writer who did much to give clearness to the current ideas of national prosperity, or to lay down principles which should guide men in pursuing it. There are, however, some treatises of a practical character which show a distinct progress in particular arts.

Husbandry. Fitzherbert’s Husbandry is in itself evidence that serious and conscious efforts were being made to improve the agriculture of the country. Till the sixteenth century Walter of Henley’s treatise had been the best work on the subject; and though the later copies and English translation show, by the interpolations, that some progress had been made in knowledge that was necessary for the grazier, the thirteenth century suggestions appear to have been accepted as a sufficient guide in regard to tillage. Fitzherbert was possibly acquainted with Walter of Henley’s book and deals with similar topics; but he was also a practical farmer and he embodied the result of forty years’ experience in the treatise he wrote, out of the “great zeal, love and comfort,” he bore to the “farmers and tenants, and all other goddis creatures that they may surely easily and profitably increase and susteyn their poore householde, wyves and chyldren, and also truly to pay theyr rentes customes and services unto theyr lorde.” It opens with a discussion of the parts of a plough, and the best team for doing the work, and gives practical hints on all agricultural operations, as well as on the management of sheep, cattle, horses, pigs and bees; it is specially explicit on hedging and ditching and on arboriculture; the concluding portion is taken up with remarks on household and personal duties. This work went through an extraordinary number of editions in the sixteenth century; and the author also issued another tract on Surveying, intended, not for the husbandman, but for the landlord. It is a treatise on estate management in the form of a commentary on the Extenta Manaria in the Statute Book. The author speaks very strongly about the iniquity of unfair evictions, and adjures lords that they “do not heighten the rents of their tenants.”

“A greater bribery nor extortion a man cannot do than upon his own tenants for they dare not say nay, nor yet complayne, and therefore on their sowles go it that so do and not on myn1.” At the same time he is fully alive to the advantages of convertible husbandry, and in the last chapter he shows how by enclosing, the annual value of a township may be increased fifty per cent.

When the work of enclosure was actually undertaken, the process of measuring out each man’s holding and readjusting the various lots must have presented grave practical difficulties; it was hard enough to manage this satisfactorily in the

1 From the two MSS. which she had discovered (Mr. Lambarde’s, and the Bodleian) Miss E. Lamond proved that the date of this dialogue is 1549, and showed that the edition published in 1581 had been deliberately garbled. Of the three MSS. which have been identified since her text was printed, two—Lord Calthorpe’s and the Hatfield MSS. (see vol. ii. p. 169)—are very similar to the Bodleian. The British Museum MS. (Harl. 4888), to which my attention was drawn by Prof. C. M. Andrews, is closely allied to the Lambarde copy, though it is not disfigured by so many careless blunders, and it contains the table of contents for the third dialogue.

1 See the colophon. This statement renders it probable that the work was not written by Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, but by his elder brother John. Compare R. H. G. Fitzherbert, The Authorship of the Books of Husbandry and Surveying in English Historical Review, xxiii. 520.
later era of enclosing, at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and Fitzherbert wrote his *Husbandry* with a view to the requirements of landlords who were not able to write, and there was much need for a simple book of rules for the more ordinary calculations in connection with the management of land. This was supplied by Sir R. de Benese, a Canon of Merton, whose *Boke of the measuring of land* was published in 1537. One can easily see that, in conjunction with Fitzherbert's hints in regard to quick-set hedges, it would be a real help in carrying out the enclosure of open fields.

The section of Fitzherbert's *Husbandry* on Horticulture would be acceptable at a time when increased attention was being given to gardens and orchards. There are signs of a revived interest in this matter in the fifteenth century, as the work of Palladius enjoyed a considerable popularity. It was translated in verse by a Colchester Monk, and formed the basis of a *Treatise of Planting and Grafting of Trees* which is sometimes found in conjunction with Walter of Henley. The merchants and clothiers were inclined to take to rural pursuits, and they had plenty of money to invest in the planting of trees and laying out orchards and vineyards.

There is another series of writings which have survived, and which bear on practical matters of another kind. There is a great deal that is fascinating in the accounts of voyages, and the speculations which go to make up so much of the literature of discovery. The whole world then afforded problems such as are now presented by the remoter parts of Africa; one writer after another collected accounts of voyages and travels, and on the information thus obtained, schemes for new expeditions were based. Hakluyt's great collection is full of recitals of pluck and enterprise, but none of the papers it contains is of greater interest than Mr Thorne's argument in favour of prosecuting the north-west passage. In particular it brings out clearly the objects which attracted the English merchants of that time in urging the government to carry on the work of discovery; they were eager to trade and to secure a share of the highly prized spices of the East, for which the demand in Europe was very great, and also to establish factories and plantations. The idea of mining for the precious metals did not take a prominent place in their schemes, at first; but as the Spaniards obtained larger spoils and at last opened up the seemingly inexhaustible treasures of Potosi, English enterprise was for a time diverted to lawless methods of sharing their booty and to lands where similar gains might be secured.

169. The treatises which deal with strictly economic topics are of great interest from the way in which they afford an insight into opinion current at the time, but the explanations they give of the phenomena they describe do not commend themselves to the modern mind as sufficient. The very form of some of the most interesting works indicates the uncertainties of the times; for the chief writings which deal with the welfare of the nation as a whole, do not lay down definite principles, but set forth conflicting opinions in dialogue form. More's *Utopia* and Starkey's *Dialogue* are both works of intense interest, but it is hard to see that the authors reach any very definite conclusions, or are able to formulate any new principles for economic life. The justification of sheep-farming, which is put in the mouth of Cardinal Pole, and assertion of the benefits which accrue to us from being able to buy foreign goods which we cannot make at home, may be taken as an interesting statement of the importance of securing plenty, but it cannot be said to advance beyond the views of Edward III. and his councillors. To make a real step forward it would have been necessary to show how this pursuit of plenty could be really reconciled with the pursuit of power, which seems to be the guiding principle in other passages; but as this is not done the whole tract lacks cohesion. On the other hand, in the *Discourse of
the Common Weal of this Realm of England, the dialogue form serves not only to set forth the complaints of different classes, but to lead up to the very acute and discriminating remarks in which the Doctor suggests remedies to be applied.

Besides these dialogues, there is a good deal of literature which deals with economic topics from a moral point of view, though it gives little definite light. The sermons of Clement Armstrong, Latimer, and Gilpin are full of spirited denunciation of the vices of the time. There is a still greater interest attaching to the Tree of the Commonwealth, the treatise which Edmund Dudley wrote while in prison and sent to King Henry VIII., and Crowley’s Epigrams contain some pointed remarks. But these moralists do not speak with a very certain sound; they waver between principles of Christian duty and judgments of political expediency, and though their exhortations were very vigorous, we can hardly be surprised that they were not effective, for there is no satisfactory basis for positive teaching.

So long as they confined themselves to denouncing vices there was little difficulty. Some launched out against the extravagance of the rich, some against the idleness and discontent of the poor, some against the greed of merchants in their bargains, some against the harshness of landlords in raising their rents. We may agree that all social evil springs from human selfishness and admit that if all men did their duty unselfishly and wisely the whole nation would be in a better state; but these are mere truisms. What was needed was definite teaching as to the particular duties of life in each different position in society. Mediaeval moralists had distinguished the kind of transaction that was right from the kind of transaction that was wrong, and the distinctions they drew could no longer be enforced; there are also signs of a feeling that the self-interest, which they denounced absolutely, was not only sometimes allowable but, when kept within limits, was positively beneficial to the community.

Christian moralists in all ages had said it was wrong not to work; and in the organised structure of mediaeval society there was little difficulty in saying what each man ought to work at, or how long he should work. He might serve the king in war, or till the soil, or follow his trade and make goods to sell; but in a time of transition, when there were so many who could get no work to do, there seemed to be no particular use in reproving them for being idle. Lupset and Dudley are both inclined to take that line, but what was really needed was some positive teaching as to the duty of employers. They were turning men off from the opportunity of working, and were thus increasing idleness, but there was great difficulty in deciding what their duty really was. It is not a duty to find a man in work, in the same way as it is a duty to pay him for the work he does; the obligation is entirely different. It may be an act of charity to make employment for those who are out of work, but it is impossible to say that it is the duty of every employer to carry on his business in such a fashion as to provide the greatest opportunities of employment. This has been seriously urged, and it is a common feeling on the part of those who destroy property in the vain hope of thereby making work. But there is no need to demonstrate how unsound the position is; all the great improvements in the power of satisfying human wants have come about by introducing natural forces to lighten the pressure of the drudgery done by human muscles—but at the same time each step in advance has necessarily restricted the opportunities of employment, for a time at all events. Preachers could not positively say that it was a duty to conduct affairs in such a way as to give employment, but they gave utterance to a sentiment that it was wicked not to do so.

In similar fashion all Christian moralists had contended that it was wrong to be greedy of gain; and the merchant, as a man who was peculiarly liable to this temptation, was held to pursue a dangerous calling. There had been a great deal of acute casuistry expended on the effort to distinguish what kinds of transactions were fair, and what were to be deprecated; to ask for a share in the profits of business while bargaining to be free from the risks, had always been denounced as wrong; and yet in the changed

1 Strype, Ec. Mem. ii. 134.
circumstances of Tudor times it was very hard to say precisely why it was wrong. Professor Ashley has examined the teaching of continental Canon Lawyers and Theologians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it is not easy to see the precise influence which their decisions exercised on the practical conduct of business in England. To lend a merchant money, and to bargain for a definite, instead of a contingent, share in his gains was not extortionate, and it was without risk. The duties of employers could not be laid down and formulated by Christian moralists became inapplicable for great foundations of Christian teaching on social matters; and there was no rational definition of what was excessive, for the limiting of the rate to 10 per cent., as was done in 1545, was no real solution of the difficulty; to some borrowers 10 per cent. might be an excessive, to others it might be an easy rate.

The duty of work and the evil of greed had been the two great foundations of Christian teaching on social matters; and in the Tudor times, the maxims which had been thought out and formulated by Christian moralists became inapplicable for guidance in actual life. This change was due to the introduction of capital. The duties of employers could not be laid down as duties of strict obligation, nor could the right and wrong use of capital be stated with perfect precision; both were constantly treated and regulated not as matters of right and wrong, but with a view to political expediency; their bearing on the power of the state came to be the criterion of what was allowable. In this way enclosures were deprecated, and on this ground the State did much to control the direction in which capital was employed; but Christian moralists were no longer able to give positive teaching as to what was right or wrong, they were contented to appeal to sentiments which practical men regarded as merely fanciful. The outcry against the un-Christian character of social life in the present day is a vigorous protest against the movement which has been going on steadily since the fifteenth century. Since the power of capital has come into being, society has been reconstituted on a basis in which the old moral distinctions do not apply; the sentiment has remained, but merely as a sentiment, and no serious effort has been made to determine what is right and what is not criminal but still wrong, so as to give clear and definite guidance in ordinary business affairs.

160. The good intentions and the real weakness of current economic discussions are admirably exemplified in a paper which possesses a special interest, as it is in the handwriting of King Edward VI. In presence of the social disorganisation of the time, there was a wide-spread feeling that it would be well if everyone would do his duty in his own station of life; this was one element of canonist teaching which, as Professor Ashley has pointed out, has to some extent survived. "Men * * had been placed by God in ranks or orders, each with its own work to do and each with its own appropriate mode of life." Fitzherbert, following the Game and Play of Chess which is familiar to lovers of Caxton, insists on the differences of degree among men, and the importance of fulfilling the "authorities, works and occupations" for which they were respectively responsible. The idea runs through the whole of King Edward's tract. He is nervously anxious that society should be well organised with each man in his own appropriate place, and he dreads any increase of individual wealth which would disarrange the social fabric. The gentleman who took to sheep farming, the merchant who became a landed man, the farmer who took several farms at once, or who became a pedlar merchant, the artificer

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1 Ashley, Economic History, i. ii. 397.
2 See p. 367, above.
3 On the contractus trivium or threefold bargain with one person, which opened the way for lending at definite interest to persons engaged in trade, see Ashley, Economic History, i. ii. 440.
4 37 H. VIII. c. 9.
who for his more pastime would live in the country, were all pushing, prosperous men, but they were all obnoxious according to Edward's idea of a well-ordered commonwealth. No one should have more "than the proportion of the country would bear"; and therefore the king approved of laws for preventing any one man from having too many sheep, or more than two farms or more than one trade to live by.

There is indeed a constant and ever recurring difficulty between maintaining a systematic organisation on the one hand and leaving scope for expansion and growth on the other. Regulation and organisation are good, but they become an evil if it is necessary to sacrifice activity and vigour in order to maintain them; and this was what Edward was quite prepared to do, in his capacity as head of the body politic, and to ensure that no one part of the body should "eat up another through greediness." But in attempting to repress the evils of the time he had no clear principle to guide him, but the rough guess that it was "hurtful to enrich immoderately any one part." He writes, "this country can bear no merchant to have more land than £100; no husbandman nor farmer worth above £100 or £200; no artificer above 100 mare; no labourer much more than he spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such cases may fail in one particular; but this is sure: This commonwealth may not bear one man to have more than two farms, than one benefice, than 2000 sheep, and one kind of art to live by. Wherefore as in the body, no part hath too much nor too little, so in a commonwealth ought every part to have ad victum et non ad satiaturatem." But the whole of his argument suffers because there is no clear principle to which appeal can be made; the proportion of the commonwealth gave no certain guidance. He entirely failed to see that the very energies which he was repressing were working indirectly for the enriching of the whole commonwealth, so that in time to come each of the various classes would be the gainers; the proportion of the country was so altered that it was able to bear the rise of a moneyed class, and middle class, and the struggles of a vast working class, to help themselves.

The contrast is easily pointed by turning to the contemporary writing which affords a singular anticipation of the modern attitude of mind, on most of the questions in dispute. The *Discourse of the Common Weal* has always been regarded as an accurate and striking work; but it gains immensely in interest now that we know its real date, and are able to see how much its author was in advance of his contemporaries. He treats of each of the topics which attracted attention in his day, and he deals with each in a masterly fashion; there is much that is remarkable as a vivid description of the state of the times, but the main interest lies in the clear enunciation by the leading speaker in the dialogue of principles which his companions are skilfully led to accept. A brief summary of the leading principles the Doctor lays down will serve to bring out the epoch-making character of this treatise.

The Political Philosophy which is implied in the Doctor's remarks first claims our attention; it shows a curious similarity to the principles which were implicitly assumed by economists for the next two hundred years. 'Modern Political Economy,' says Mr Bonar, 'may be said to begin with the introduction of taxation as a means of supporting states.' This method of finance is habitually assumed by the Doctor. 'So long as the subjects have it, so it can meet the king should have it; but what and how they have it not? for they cannot have it when there is no treasure left within the realm. And as for the subsidies, how can they be large, when the subjects have little to depart with?' The paragraph as summarised in the margin—"How the king cannot have treasure when his subjects have none"—gives a philosophy of taxation in a nutshell.
A still closer affinity with modern habits of thought is brought out by another point. All through the middle ages self-interest and private lucre had been spoken of as immoral and evil principles which ought to be put down; as we have seen the preambles of the Tudor statutes reiterate the condemnation; and writers of every school of thought were equally strong in denouncing them. But in modern times, self-interest is recognised as a stimulus to energy and enterprise, which may have beneficial results; we are inclined to let it have free play, or only to check it when its influence is plainly baseless. Under the Mercantile System it was the avowed object of statesmen to play upon self-interest so as to direct it into the wisest channels; and with this the Doctor agrees. Men ‘may not purchase to themselves profit by that that may be hurtful to others. But how to bring them that they would not do so is all the matter’. True it is that that thing which is profitable to each man by himself (so it be not prejudicial to any other) is profitable to the whole commonweal, and not otherwise. To tell you plainly, it is avarice that I take for the principal cause; but can we devise that all covetousness may be taken from men? No.... What then? We must take away from men the occasion of their covetousness in this part. This discriminating view of self-interest marks a considerable divergence from contemporary writings; and the general attitude of the Doctor corresponds very closely with that taken by economic writers long after his time.

When we turn to specific economic doctrines we find that the Doctor is perfectly clear on one important point, which was not fully understood by some of the financial authorities of his own day. He is quite decided as to the evils of a debased currency, and as to its effect in causing dearness or dearth. ‘And thus to conclude,’ he says, ‘I think this alteration of the coin to be the first original cause that strangers first sell their wares dearer to us; and that makes all farmers and tenants, that rearth any commodity, again to sell the same dearer; the dearth thereof makes the gentlemen to raise their rents.’ This is a commonplace now, but it was an acute observation at that time.

While there is no sign of attaching undue importance to the precious metals, as if they were the only wealth, there is a clear recognition of the fact that a treasure of gold or silver is necessary for the royal requirements, especially in war, and that this might be most easily supplied through the commercial balance of trade. ‘If we keep within us much of our commodities we must spare many other things that we have now from beyond the seas; for we must always take heed that we buy no more of strangers than we sell them; for so we should impoverish ourselves and enrich them. For he were no good husband that hath no other yearly revenues but of husbandry to live on, that will buy more in the market than he selleth again.’ The Doctor takes the mercantilist position as distinguished from the bullionist. Modern writers are inclined to assert that the object which these parties had in view was a mistaken one; without discussing this criticism it may be enough for me to point out that the Doctor advocates the more sensible means for attaining the end in view; in 1549 he urged an opinion which found general acceptance a century later.

If we pass now from points of doctrine to direct practical proposals, we find the Doctor recommending measures, the wisdom of which was eventually recognised, so that they were adopted at later times.

The dialogue of 1549 is full of remarks on the debased state of the coinage; among them is a suggestion as to the best method of effecting a remedy. After criticising various proposals for a gradual change, the Doctor says, ‘for the goldsmiths “appearing the new coin of gold to be better than the new coin of silver that was made to counter-value it, picked out all the gold, as fast as it came forth

1 Discourse of Common Weal, p. 104. It is one of the grounds for believing that the Doctor was drawn from Hugh Latimer that this bishop had expressed himself in similar terms in his Lent sermons before the King. (Sermons, 68, 96, 137.)
2 Ibid. p. 51.
3 Ibid. p. 121.
4 Ibid. p. 51.
A.D. 1485—1558.

of the mint, and laid that aside for other uses; so that now ye have but little more than the old current. And so both the king's highness is deceived of his treasure, and the thing intended never the more brought to pass; and all is because there is no due proportion kept between the coins, while the one is better than the other in his degree. And as I meant to show you another way; that is, if the king's highness should call in suddenly all his now current money, and set forth a new coin somewhat better, but yet not all so pure as the old. It is interesting to notice how closely the suggestion here made tallies with the plan actually adopted in 1560.

The Doctor was also strongly in favour of inviting skilled artizans to settle among us. He would not set the privileges of the old companies entirely aside, but he condemned them as being sometimes injurious. 'I say not that strangers should commonly have like liberty or franchise [as they that were prentices in a city]. But as one craft makes but one particular company of a town or city, so I would have the wealth of this city regarded, rather than the commodity or franchise of one craft or mistery: for though commonly, none should be admitted there to work but such as is free, yet when a singular good workman in any mistery comes, which by his knowledge might both instruct them of the town, being of the same faculty, and also bring into the town much commodity besides, I would in that case, have private liberties and privileges to give place to a public wealth, and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the freedom of the same town, without burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or setting up. Yes, where a town is decayed, and lacks artificers to furnish the towns with such crafts, as either were sometime well exercised there, or might be by reason of the situation and commodity of the same town, I would have better crafts allured out of other places, where they be plenty, to come to those towns decayed to dwell, offering them their freedom, yes their house rent free, or some stock lent them of the common stock of such towns. And when the town is well furnished of such artificers, then to stay the coming of foreigners; but where the town lacks inhabitants of artificers, it were no policy for the restoration of the town to keep off any strange artificers; for the most part of all towns are maintained by craftsmen of all sorts, but specially by those that makes any wares to sell out of the country and brings therefore treasure into the same. When we remember how much England has gained from the introduction of skilled workmen under Elizabeth, and in later reigns, we cannot but feel that the Doctor was wise in pleading for such liberty.

The most imminent danger of his time was of course due to the increase of sheep farming at the expense of tillage, and the agricultural policy which the Doctor suggests closely coincides with that which was eventually adopted. He was anxious to make the profit of the plough as good as the profit of the graziers; he proposed—in language which still more closely harmonises with the views of the statesmen who granted Corn Bounties under William III.:—

that 'the husbandman might have as much liberty at all times to sell corn, either within the realm or without, as the grazier hath to sell his; which should make the husbandmen more willing to occupy their plough. And the one seeing the other thrive would turn their pasture to tillage. And though it enhanceth the market for a time, yet would it cause much more tillage to be used, and consequently more corn; which in time of plenty within the realm, might bring in much treasure; and in time of scarcity would suffice for the realm, as I showed you before. And thus with lure they should be enticed to occupy the plough.' A comparison of this argument with the remarks of Harrison, some thirty years later, on Corn Bodgers, enables us to feel how much the Doctor was ahead of his contemporaries. It is not a little noticeable that as in his commercial principles, so with respect to industry and agriculture, he makes recommendations which were afterwards generally accepted, and long maintained.

The author of the Discourse was in advance of his time,
and full effect was not given to all his ideas when the economic system of the country was really organised on a national basis in the time of Elizabeth, but there was comparatively little of the repression which Edward recommended; and the repression was exercised in connexion with a political, not an economic, principle. The idea of national power which had been gradually coming into clearer consciousness was treated seriously by her advisers; private interest was looked on with disfavour, but it was only repressed when it conflicted with the strength of the realm; for the rest its activity and force were recognised and directed. The true solution of the conflict between public and private interest is not perhaps to be stated in general terms; it must possibly be discovered anew by each age for itself; but we may at least feel that if the legislation of Elizabeth had been drafted in the spirit which inspired Edward’s little essay, it could not have stood so firmly or so long as it did. Rules were laid down for every department of life—for industry and agriculture and commerce—and a very elaborate code was passed for employers and employed and unemployed. Yet so much scope was given for enterprise and the accumulation of wealth that the great force of private interest was guided and regulated, not repressed; its best energy was directed into channels which served to promote the riches of individuals, and did not at any rate injure the power of England.

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 abundantiae, sive tempore caritatis, quam modium publicum et noviter statutum. De modo de avena\(^1\) denario uno, modio ordii\(^2\) denariis duo, modio sigi\(^3\) denarii tres, modio frumenti\(^4\) denarii quatuor. Si vero in pane vendere voluerit duodecim panes de frumento, habentem singuli libras duas, pro denario dare debeat, sigalatius quindecim =quo ponderie pro denario, ordeaceos viginti similiter pensantes, avenatios viginti quinque similiter pensantes. De vero annonas publica domini regis, si venundata fuerit, de avena modius 2 pro denario, ordeo den. 1, sigalo den. 3, frumento mod. denar. 3. Et qui nostrum habet beneficiium, diligentissime videat, quantum potest Deo donante, ut nullus ex mancipiis ad illum pertinentes beneficium famen moriatur, et quod superest illius familiae necessitatem, hoc libere vendat jure prescripto\(^5\).

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 earlier\(^6\).

De constitutione et ponderatione panis.

Lune post sanctum lucam constitutum est apud Gildhallam quando frumentum vendebatur pro xl et alium pro xxxvij d. tumc ponderavit castellum\(^7\) de ob. ix solidos et panis bisus\(^8\) de ob. ix marcos.

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\(^{1}\) Oats.  \(^{2}\) Barley.  \(^{3}\) Coarse wheat.  \(^{4}\) Wheat.  
\(^{5}\) Capitularies. Migne, xcvii, 193.  
\(^{6}\) British Museum, Add. 14,292, f. 118 b, in a twelfth century or very early thirteenth century hand.  
\(^{7}\) Wasted bread, fine bread (Fr. gâteau).  
\(^{8}\) Brown bread (Fr. bis).
De conditione operariae.

Et ibidem tunc provisum est ut magister carpentarius et magister macerius et magister tegulatorius capiat inde iij d et conrecto duobus vel sine conrectio iij d pro omnibus. Minores vero iij ob. cum conrectio vel sine conrectio iij d. Cooperiores vero ut de funco vel arundine capiat magister iij ob. cum conrectio vel iij d sine conrectio, minorum autem vel et conrectio vel iij d pro omnibus, et ita servetur usque pascha.

The same ms. contains (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 quarter. 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.

According to the assize in Arnold’s Chronicle, which is probably of the fifteenth century, the prices of wheat given range from 8s. to 20s. a quarter. The weights are given in ounces and pennies; if the ounce was 4d., the farthing loaf was to weigh 256 pence when corn was 4s., as against 360 in the time of Henry III.; this looks as if the devaluation of the currency was really felt, but it is too difficult to be the basis of any inference.

Quando quartium in fustata se vendi pro sex sol.; tunc debet panis esse bonus et alius ponderare sexaginta sol. de xxI. loris; et panis de toto blando debet esse bona ita quod nihil inde subtrahatur et debet ponderare quattuor sol. de xx loris. Quando quartium in fustata se vendi pro quinque

1 The maker of the wattled sides of a house.
2 The tiller.
3 Allusion of fuel, ration.
4 The farthing.
5 According to the assize in Arnold’s Chronicle, which is probably of the fifteenth century, the prices of wheat given range from 8s. to 20s. a quarter. The weights are given in ounces and pennies; if the ounce was 30d., the farthing loaf was to weigh 256 pence when corn was 4s., as against 360 in the time of Henry III.; this looks as if the devaluation of the currency was really felt, but it is too difficult 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 A. II. quoted as a note in Record Edition of Statutes, t. 200.
10 Whole meal bread.

ASSIZE OF BREAD.

solidis et sex denariis tunc debet ponderare viginti sol. et alius panis viginti octo sol. Quando pro quinque solidis tunc debet ponderare viginti quattuor sol. et alius panis xxI. loris. Quando pro quattuor solidis tunc debet ponderare viginti solidis et sex d. tunc debet ponderare viginti solidis et alius quadraginta solidis.

Quando pro quattuor solidis tunc debet ponderare trinfginta sex sol. et alius quadraginta sex sol.

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

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

Quando pro duobus solidis et sex denariis tunc debet ponderare quadraginta duos sol. et alius quinquaginta quattuor sol.

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

Quando pro octodecim denariis tunc debet ponderare sexaginta sex sol. et alius quattuor libras et octo sol.

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

(Explicit leges illustrissimi et invictissimi Henrici Regis secundi filii Matillidis predicto imperatoribus.)

The various loaves mentioned in this assize then appear to be made of wheat and of wheat only; but the Judicium pillorius, which is attributed to the time of Henry III., orders 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 pistora-bus too has a special clause de venditione farine which refers to the adulteration of oatmeal. It appears that just as the price of wasted bread was given as sufficiently indicating the price of other wheats 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 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, 11. 337.
B. MANORIAL RECORDS.

I. SERVICES AND EXTENTS.

The interesting description of the duties of a *vill* has been printed by Dr. Liebermann from the ms. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (occ. CCCXXXIII. f. 162); for the translation and notes I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Sleath. 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 villagers 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 marks; 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 (Mornant, Essex, n. 318). The extent is now transcribed from a book in the British Museum which belonged to Dr. Archbold in his *Somerset Religious Houses*, p. 385, 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.

I. BE OECEADWIAN GEREFAN.

[1] Se seolaw gerefa sceal ægðer witan ge hlaforðes landriht ge folcse gerihu, be ðam se hit of ealdsgan witan gereadlic, and ælre tilfan timan ðe to tunel bilimp; for ðam on mangu lannum til ðe redre ðonne on oðrum: ge yrde tima bradra, ge munda radran, ge winterdun eac swa, ge gehwile oðer tilin.

[2] Hede se ðe sceare healde þet he friðige and forðige sele be ðam ðe hit selec sceal; and be ðam he eac mot ðe hine weder wisan. He sceal motlice smeagean and georme Surhamugan eallæ se ðing se hlaforðes mangan to rede.

[3] Gyf he weal agingan wile, ne maeg he sleace beon ne to- oferhyðig; ac he mot ægðer witan ge lesse ge mare, ge betere ge mætre ðe to tune bilimpæ, ge on tunel ge on dune, ge on wula ge on westere, ge on felds ge on faldæ, ge inne ge uæ; for ðam to sige se sceage, ofercyhe he ðonne forgyme se ðing to beginne and to bæwitanæ; se to scipene ðonne to odune bilimpæ, se to hitryð on bernæ þet to ðam bilimpæ.

[4] Ac iste her þet he do swa ic ær æwâs; gyne ægðer ge ðonne seinan ge ðoon searnan, þet naðor ne misfaræ, gyf he wealad magæ, ne corn ne seac, ne þesse ne flotanæ, ne cyse ne cysleb, ne nan Sera ægre ðonne to note magæ.

[5] Swa sceal god scearman his hlaforðes healdan, do ymbe his agen swa swa he wylle. A swa he geoneordra swa bið his wærðra, gyf he wæl witan hæfð fæ his wisan gemene.
[6] Symle he seol his hyrmen sceypan mid manunge to hlaforfes noode and him ec lealian be 3am he hy earian.

[7] Ne lyste he nesdre his hyrmen hyne oferwealdan, ec wile he selune mid hlaforfes creade and mid folclire. Sore he him sefre of folgo0onne on, gyf hine magan wyldan fa he scoldwealdan. Ne bit hit hlaforfe rede jet he 3eafge.

[8] Æfre he maeg findan on 3am he maeg nyt been and 3a nytte don de him fylstan seyllan; huru is maest noed jet he asece, hu he yrde mage fyrme gefordian 3onne 3a tima sy.

[9] Me maeg in Maio and Junio and Julio on sumera, feselan, myxreindingan ut dragun, bychellira tidila, scap seyran, bytlian, bote atan tynan, tymbrian, wudian, woecian, faldian, fisvor and myyne macian;

[10] on hafestip ripan, in Agusto and Septembris and Octobri mawan, wad spittan, fela tilia ham segerian, 3acian, seogan and fald woecian, scipiana beawran and hloean ec swa, ar to tune to stila winter cume, and ec yrde georne forul;

[11] on wintra eandr in miolium gefystram timber cleofan, orceard ranan and menige inweroe wyceoan, dorstan, wudo cleofan, hysye anystallan, syw stigian, on odena cyline macian ofn and aste and fela 3inga sceal to tune ge ec henna hrost;

[12] on lengetene ereqian and inpian, beama sawgan, wingeard settan, dician, deorhege heawan andn after 3am, gift hit mot gewerian. Here, meigran settan, lined sawgan, wypo, wyrtun plantian and fela 3inga ec eal geteallan ne maeg, jet god scirman byegan sceal.

[13] A he maeg findan hweat he maeg on byrig betan; ne Searf he na umyn beon 3onne he 3oer binnan bos 3oec hus gedian, rihan and woexian and grep hegian, discocard betan, hegian godian, wood wyrtwalian, between husan bridigan, bescand ec swa, bescian, hros anystyllan, for formian ose synnes sum 3ing 3e to yrde mege.

[14] He sceal fela tola in tune tilian and fela andndomen to husan habban:

[15] Æces, adsan, bil, byre, seafan, saga, simebren, tinehour, nesfero, matte, lipping-ten, secar, cultur and eac gaduran, site, sitecl, woodho, spade, scife, wapadspite, barvan, beasman, bytel, race, geale, hiedeer, horse scand and seara, fyrtyng, weaspiertan; and fela totolten: flexilina, spinle, real, grawnwinian, stodian, longas, presse, pitheen, timplan, witfe, welle, wulscarb, cib, amb, cranestaf, secedel, saemsticcan, searela, nedd, edic.

[16] And gif he smecwyrtan hef, 3am he seolal to tuna fyhtan. Myleyweorde, suere, leadgotan and ofran wyrhtian ale weor scyf wi33hwet he to gebrye; nin seig man jet astellan mage fa tolalle 3e man habban sceal.

[17] Man sceal habban wengeeward, auhlgeside, eggegetig and fela binga 3e bo numenman ne can, ge eac mete, 3wel and to odene flyht and andlimena fela: lweor, lead, cytel, hiedei, pandan, crocon, brandiron, dixas, stelmelias, cyfe, cyffas, cynne, cyfset, coedlan, wifian, windlas, sterre, cyfe, mcedl, hridel, herufa, temesplian, fanna, trogas, ascena, hyfa, hunginbina, borebytene, beffiet, beodes, butas, bleda, melas, cippian, seohian, caklesfas, seafett, stefidder, piperhorn, cyste, mydereaon, bernmeeting, hyldan, seameel, stolas, lasles, leocht, blacen, cyllan, sapbox, camb, yrsefinne, fodderhe, fygerebee, meulhuder, sellyde, orfrnce, memcaold.

[18] Hit is earf6e call to geeseagene jet ce bohemen sceal be scire healt; ne scodweal he nan 3ing forgyman ce eire to note neche: ne forsa muclifulan ne, jet git ille is, to hapesan pinn; fela sceal to holdan hames gecel on ando gemitzenan homnyne.

[19] Ve gecede be 3am de ic cufe; se bo betunn gecyde his mære.

(1) The sagacious manse 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 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 into 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 water, both in field and fold, both indoors and out. For I tell you of a truth, if he be too diligent 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 manse 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.

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1. Lit., 'to creep into'; but Sceafaðman was used (like the Icel. mugapl), with the particular sense of putting the head through the neck-hole of a smock-like garment; see Skoet, Eydyn. Diet., s.v. smock. Hence the sense of 'peer into,' 'look into,' or 'investigate.'

2. Perhaps a proverbial phrase.

3. Cweol means what we now call 'cream.' Flitswerna is obviously 'creem,' though poorly translated hitherto by 'floating-fat.' However, the Icel. mejir is the usual word for 'butter'; and 'float-butter' is obviously 'cream.'

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.

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. For better wise-words, it is 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.

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 farming, when the right time for it comes round.

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

In harvest one may reap, in August and September and October one may mow, set wood with a dibble, gather home many crops, thatch them and cover them over, and cleanse the folds, prepare cattle-sheds and also shelters, are too severe a winter come to the farm; and also diligently prepare the soil.

In winter, one should plough, and in severe frosts cleanse the timber, make an orchard, and do many affairs indoor; thresh, cleave wood, put the cattle in stalls and the swine in pig-folds, prepare cattle-sheds and also shelters, ere too severe a winter (i.e., that which is 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.

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 house, make tables and benches, provide horse-stalls, scour the floor; or let him think of something that may be useful.

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

He should 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 house, make tables and benches, provide horse-stalls, scour the floor; or let him think of something that may be useful.

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

(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, chimble-iron, tie-hook, auger, mattock, prise, share, couler; 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-threads, spindle, reel, yarn-winder, stoddel, weaver's beams, press, comb, carding-tool, weft, wool, wool-comb, roller, slyf (f), with a bent handle, shuttle, seam-peg, shoars, needle, slick-stone.

(16) He should have them with tools. As for the millwright, shoemaker, 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-valet, bags, baskets, crates, bushels, sieves, seed-basket, wire-sieve, hair-sieve, winnowing-fans, troughs, ash-wood-pails, honey-bins, beer-barrels, bathing-tub, bowls, butts, dishes, vessels, cups, strainers, candle-sticks, salt-cellar, spoon-case, pepper-horn, chest, money-box, yeast-box, seats, foot-stools, chairs, basins, lamp, lantern, leathern bottles, box for resin (or soap!), comb, iron bin, rack for fodder, fire-guard, meal-ark, oil-flask, oven-rack, 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.

[Provenance and footnotes not transcribed as part of the main text.]
(19) I have declared all as well as I could; let him who knows better declare more than this.

2. Extenta Manorii de Borell

Extenta Manerii de Borel russa facta ibidem die martis proxima post festum sancti Matthaei Apostoli Anno dominii MCCCCLXXI regno Regis Eduardi filii Regis Eduardi primo, coram Johannes de Deo Seneschallo per manus Willulmi de Flosheim clericis per sacramentum Philippi de Reo de Borell, Henrici Lartemi, Dioniici Rauf, Ricardi atte Meere, Waleri Johan et Roberti Ernald tenentes domini in predicta villa de Borelg, qui omnem jurat diem quod est ibidem unus mesunagum bene et rationabiliter edificatum et sufficit pro exitibus manerii et continuet in se infra situm manerii quatuor acras per estimationem.

Et valet herbagium inde per annum per annum viij d. aliquando plus et aliquando minus secundum quod appetiatur. Et gardinum inde valet per annum ut in pomis et uvis vinearum cum accidenter vs. et aliquando plus.

Et curtilgiam inde valet per annum viij d. aliquando plus et aliquando minus secundum quod appetiatur. Et gardinum inde valet per annum ut in pomis et uvis vinearum cum accidenter vs. et aliquando plus.

Et scidentium quod dominus est verus patronus ecclesiae de Borell, et valet dicit ecclesiae ut in Bladiis oblatis subventionibus et aliis minutiis decimis per annum secundum taxationem x libro.

Et ibidem unus molendinum aquaticum in manerio, et valet per annum ad dimittendum adfirmans vs. et piscarium in stagno viij per annum per annum  pro estimationem cum avallatione Angullarum de gurgitibus xij d. Summa viij s.

Est ibidem unus boscus vocatus le Hoo et continet in se x acras, et valet herbagium inde per annum v s. et hoc sine waste, s. Et pannagium in stagno viij per annum per annum pro estimationem cum avallatione Angullarum de gurgitibus xij d. Summa viij s.

Et ibidem unus boscus vocatus le Hoo et continet in se x acras, et valet herbagium inde per annum v s. et hoc sine waste, s. Et pannagium in stagno viij per annum per annum pro estimationem cum avallatione Angullarum de gurgitibus xij d. Summa viij s.

Et scidentium quod pertica terre in isto manerio continet xvi pedes et dimidium ad terram mensurandum. Et quelibet acra potest congrue seminari de ii busellis et dimidio flumentis, de iij busellis et dimidio frumenti, de iiij busellis et dimidio pisorum, de iij busellis avens, et hoc annulatun et de iij2

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bussellis ordei per mensuram rasam.1 Et quelibet caruca debet jungi de iij3 bobus et iij4 affinis. Et caruca potest communiter arrare per diem unam acram terre et aliquando plus.

Sunt ibidem de prato falcatiboli in diversis locis xxviii acre et prata

Sunt ibidem de pastura separabili xxvilliij acre et saltent per Pastura xij li. d. viiij s. et dominiunii acre xij d. de quibus xiij acre assignabili, vacceso pro daera. Et xii bobus et stottis. Summa xlix s.

Scidentium quod dominus potest habere in comunia pastura in Borlee cum aisiamento frissorsum et dominio cum dominiunii tempore aperto5 C bitiones per maus centunm.6 Et valet pastura exquisitis capitis per annum ij d. et non plus propter resumptionem cibi Borlee.5

Summa xx s.

Est ibidem quodam curia de libere tenentibus domini et custumariis de iii septimanae in iij septimanae. Et valent fines et perquisite inde per annum cum visum protegunt xx s.

Summa patet.

Williamus filius Radvulph Miles tenet de domino xvij acras reddendo inde per annum ad pascha xvij d. ad festum Sancti Michaelis xvij d.

Henrichus de Latheleye tenet de domino x 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 xlii acras terre et iij acras prati reddendo inde per annum ad festum Sancti Michaelis viij d. pro omnibus serviciis.

Williamus Jove tenet de domino unum mesunagium et xx acras prati et iij acras terre reddendo inde per annum ad festum Sancti Michaelis viij d. pro omnibus serviciis.

Williamus filius Radvulph Miles tenet de domino x acras terre reddendo inde per annum ad pascha xviij d. Et debet sectam curie.

Hugo atte ffen tenet de domino vi acras terre et dimidium acras 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.

Williamus le Yacht er tenet de domino in domino et servitio iij acras terre et dimidium acram prati, reddendo inde per annum ad Pascha et ad festum Sancti Michaelis per equales portiones viij d. Et debet sectam curie.

Summa sectae.

Terriens terre Simonis Aunse elucidet.  

1 Weir or milldam.
2 Payment for permission to feed swine in the lord's wood.
APPENDIX.

Johannes Annels tenet unum cotagium et unam rodam terre. 1. Rogerus atte Remte ilii 2 acres et ilii rodas terre, Ricardus Gakoun jii acres terre. 3. Williamus Oslock i acres terre. 4. Augustus le Clerk 5 acres et dimidium terre. 6. Walterus More ilii acres terre. 7. Dominus Raufus i rodam prati. Et reddent inde per annum videlicet ad Pascha ix d. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis ix d. Et ad purificationem de Unhtiel ijs ij d. ob. q. Et ad Natale domini unam gallinas preci i d. ob. Et inveniunt ille homines metentes ad unum Bedrepere 8 in autumno pro voluntate domini ad cibus domini ut pateat inferius. Precisum cujuslibet operis j d. Et faciunt sectam curae.

Williamus Oslock tenet de domino i messagium et xx acres terre et i rodam prati. Redendo inde per annum de predicis ijs terminos ilii s. Et de Unhtiel ad purificationem Beate Marie ij s. ij d. ob. q. Et ad Natale domini et gallinas preci i d. ob. Et metes in autumno ad unum Bedrepere per duas homines ad cibus domini ut supra. Et debit mercede. Et faciunt sectam curae.

1 Summa redditus assise de termino Sancti Michaelis libere tenentium ijs ix viii d. 2 Item v. s. 3 Summa termini purificationis de Unhtiel per annum ijs iij d. ob. 4 Summa redditus termini pasche viij s. iij d. 5 Item v. s. 6 Summa Gallinarum de termino Natale domini iij d.

Walterus Johan tenet de domino in villanagio unum messagium et x acres terre Redendo inde per annum ad festum Paschae Beate Marie de Huntehild ijs s. v. ob. Et ad Pascha vix d. ob. Et ad festum Sancti Michaelis iij d. ob. Et ad festum Natale domini i gallineam et dimidiatam preci galline i d. ob. Et a festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vinca quolibet septimana trita opera per unum hominem sine cibo domini precium operis ob. Exceptis iijbus septimane, videlicet septimana Natale Domini, Pasche, et septimana Pentecostes in quibus non operabant, nisi indigent de necessitate pro blado in autumno ligando, et fenisi levantia. Et arabant cum caruca sua, sive iungat sine non ilii 2 acres terre domini sine cibo domini preciuidiciatum acer d. q. unde iijbus tempore se(radius furentiae 4 et ii acres ad avenam. Et carabiat fenum domini in maniero cum equo et caretta sua ad cibus domini, videlicet quolibet die i panes et dimidiatam siliginis unde de quariero debent fieri x planes. Et sacerdore bladium domini fuerint sacerdandum et allocabatur

MEN: Money holding in villanaga but paying money rent, with light services.
2 Resiping done at the lord's holding.
3 Hay.
4 Time for sowing wheat (autumn).
5 Manure.
6 To weed the corn.

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in operibus suis. Et debet falere 1 prata domini videlicet i acrem et tertiam partem unius acre per mensuram ydouem. Et allocabatur in operibus suis, videlicet pro qualibet acro ijs operis.

1 Men's sheath, which two zappers received while at work, Soper, Castle Combe, 50.
2 August 1. Lammas Day.
3 Possibly the sheaf received by the holder of a toft who worked in harvest;
Spelman gives tofemen, the owner of a toft.
4 Bobble was much valued, and in reaping a great deal of straw was left.
Et arribit, cariabit finum, sarcabit bladum, falsabit pratum, sperget, cumulabit et ad Manerium cariabit, metet in autumno, averabit et faciet omnia alia servicia ut predictus Walterus Johan. Et dabit auxilia et merchet et faciet sectam curie.

- Idem Richardus tenet unum tofum. Et facit a festo Trinitatis usque ad Gulam Augusti qualibet septiman a i opera precum et usus. Et a festo Gule Augusti usque festum sanceti Michaelis qualibet septiman a i opus sine cibo domini precum r d.
- Robertus Ernald tenet de domino in villagio xx acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo omnia servicia et consuetudines in omnibus sicut predictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et dabit auxilia et merchet et faciet sectam curie. Et tenet i tofum de domino et facit in omnibus et singulium sicut predictus Ricardus atte Mere.
- Idem Philippus tenet unum tofum et facit pro eo omnia servicia ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere et sectam curie.
- Dianthus Rolfus tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo omnia alia servicia ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et pro uno tofto quod latent faciunt in omnibus sicut idem Philippus et facit sectam curie.
- Petrus ad crusem tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre. Reddendo inde et faciendo redditum et alias consuetudines et servicia ut predictus Philippus le Reve. Et pro uno tofto quod latent faciunt in omnibus sicut idem Philippus et facit sectam curie.
- Edmund Nel tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre reddendo inde per annum et faciendo omnia servicia ut predictus Philippus. Idem Edmund tenet dimidium tofum et facit in omnibus servicia medietatem ut tofum predictus Philippus.
- Wauterlus de Lyncyn tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo omnia servicia et consuetudines ut predictus Philippus le Reve.
- Idem Wauterlus tenet de domino x dimidium tofum et facit in omnibus sicut predictus Edmund Nel.

- Aschelot le Yonge tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre et dimidium tofum et facit in omnibus ut predictus Wauterlus de Lyncyn.
- Henricus Lamberd tenet de domino x acras terre et dimidium tofum. Et facit in omnibus et singulis sicut Wauterlus de Lyncyn. Et insuper pro quadam strata vocata Rapsestre iij d. per annum.
- Johannes Rolf tenet de domino x acras terre et dimidium tofum. Et facit in omnibus servicia ut predictus Wauterlus et pro quadam Rapsstre ii d. per annum.
- Agnes Solene tenet de domino x acras terre et dimidium tofum. Et facit in omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus sicut dictus Wauterlus.
- Thomas de Reculver clericus tenet de domino quandam terram vocata Stanagroundesilond que continet x acras terre et dimidium tofum. Et facit omnia alia servicia et consuetudines in omnibus serviciis sicut dictus Wauterlus de Lyncyn.
- Williamius Warengus et Matilda Warengus tenent de domino in villagio x acras terre. Et reddunt inde per annum ad festum purificationem beate Marie de Unthiell xii d. ob. q. Et ad Pascha viij d. Et ad festum Sancti Michaelis viij d. Et ad Natale domini et gallinam preci i d. Et arribat, cariabit, cumulabit, falsabit bladum, falsabit prata, sperget, cumulabit. Et faciet omnia alia servicia medietate ut terra predicti Ricardi atte Mere. Et dabit merchet et faciet sectam curie.
- Idem Richardus tenet unum tofum et facit pro eo omnia servicia ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere et sectam curie. Idem Philippus tenet unum tofum et facit pro eo omnia servicia ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere et sectam curie.
- Dianthus Rolfus tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus sicut dictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et etiam pro tofto suo sicut dictus W. Warenger.
- Idem Philippus tenet unum tofum et facit pro eo omnia servicia ut predictus Ricardus atte Mere et sectam curie. Idem Wauterlus tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus sicut dictus Ricardus atte Mere. Et dabit auxilia et faciet in omnibus sicut dictus Ricardus atte Mere.
- Thomas de Reculver clericus tenet de domino quandam terram vocata Stanagroundesilond que continet x acras terre et dimidium tofum. Et facit omnia alia servicia et consuetudines in omnibus serviciis sicut dictus Wauterlus de Lyncyn.
- Williamius Warengus et Matilda Warengus tenent de domino in villagio x acras terre. Et reddunt inde per annum ad festum purificationem beate Marie de Unthiell xii d. ob. q. Et ad Pascha viij d. Et ad festum sancti Michaelis viij d. q. Et ad Natale domini et gallinam preci i d. Et faciet in omnibus alia servicia et consuetudinibus medietatem ut terra Philippus le Reve.
- Idem Williamius et Matilda tenent unum tofum et faciunt in omnibus sicut predictus Philippus.
- Idem Williamius tenet x acras terre per se. Et faciunt in omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus medietatem ut predictus Philippus. Et pro quarta parte unius tofci quod tenet, faciunt quarta partem sicut et ali solvant pro tanto tenemento.
- Idem Williamius debet pro Warenkeeperstre iij d. per annum ad terminos prescriptos.
- Williamius Faber tenet de domino vi acras terre per ferramento carucarum domini de proprio ferro eiusmod domini fabricando. Et reddit de Unthiell xii d. ob. q.
- Dominus State tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre, et quartam partem unius tofci, reddendo et faciendo in omnibus et singulis per annum sicut dictus Williamius Warengus pro x acras terre et quarta partem unius tofci sui.
- Nicholas Hervy tenet de domino in villagio x acras et iiij parte j tofci, reddendo et faciendo in omnibus per annum sicut dictus W. Warengus pro toto terras.
- Williamius Selene tenet de domino in villagio x acras terre et iiij parte j tofci, reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus per annum sicut dictus W. Warengus pro tosta terras.
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Margaria Simonides tenet de domino v acras terre, reddendo inde et faciendo in omnibus sicut dictus Willelmus pro tanta terra.

Walterus Arnewey tenet de domino in villenagio v acras terre reddendo inde et faciendo omnis servicia sicut predicita Margeria.

Mabillia atte Mere tenet de domino v acras terre, reddendo et faciendo in omnibus et singulis sicut predicita Margeria.

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

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

Cotenam.

Radulphus Denys tenet de domino unum toftum reddendo inde per annum in omnibus sicut dictus Philippus le Reve. Et proper hoc debet aperire solos aquaticos in yme super terram dominii, tempore seasonem frumenti. Et debet spargere fima dominii quoniam fuerint spargendo qualibet seasona annu. Et si non aperiatur neque fima sparserit nihil debat.

Mabillia de Aftone et Gundreda soror eius tenent de domino j toftum et faciant in omnibus sicut predicata Radulphus Dynis.

Willelmus Denour tenet de domino j cotageum et facit qualibet septimana operabilis j opus die luna preciun 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 i d.

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

Notandum.

Et scientiam quod si predicti W. Nenour et Walterus Solone tritutaverint bidium in Grangia dominii habeant de domino de foragio quantus poterunt simul et semel cum uno rastro in area dictae Grangie conregare. Et sic de feno cum in prato dominii eum conregaverint. Et hoc a tempore quo nos extat memoria, ut dicatur.

Notandum.

Scientiam quod omnes custumarii supradicti debent metere in autumnum pro annum diem ad annum Bedephe de frumento. Et habeant inter eos vij bussellos frumenti ad panem suum in manerie furnitum et potagium et carmen videlicet duo homines i formulam carnis bovine et casu eae et cervisiam ad bibendum. Et predicti custumarii operabunt in autumnum in duas precarias avene. Et habeant vi bussellos siliginis ad panem suum ut predictum est. Potagium ut pries, et allece Bệnh quilibet duo homines vi allece et casum ut pries et aquam ad bibendum.

1 Herringa.

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Summa redditus assise custumarium de termino Sancti Michaelis per annum

viii s. xi d. ob. q.

Summa redditus de Unthiell de termino purificatio

iv s. vii d.

Summa redditus de termino Pasche

vix s. ii d. ob.

Summa redditus Gallinarum dictorum custumariorum de termino Natales Domini

i s. xi d. q.

Summa redditus assise de termino Pasche, tam libre tenendum quam custumariorum

xxv s. iv d. ob.

Summa redditus eorundem de termino sancti Michaelis per annum

xxvii s. vii d. Item x s. ad predictos terminos

Summa Custumarium vocatorum Unthiell ad purificatorem pace.

lx s. ob.

Summa redditus Gallinarum de Natales dominii

iii s. ii d. q.

Summa summunarum predictorum cum Unthiell per annum

evxi s. iii d.

Item de Reginald Cruamelond x s. redditus per annum

Inveniente... post extensum factam.

Sunt ibidem de operibus custumariorum ut patet superius a Opera

testo sancti Michaelis usque ad galum Auguri per xliiiij septimanas

mece v s. iv d. operis.

Et de duobus catogiaris per idem tempus iiiij viii opera de qualibet eorum per septimanas i opus.

Et de xjx toftmen a festo sancto Trinitatis usque ad galum

Auguri per x x x septimanas et xx opera preciun quilibet

operis ob. de quibus restructurati pro iijseptimans videlicet Natales

Pasche et Pentecostes allocandis. Et stetis pro ij catogia et

pro arrurie galula, ad seconamas diversas allocandis, cli opera.

Et remanet iuxtaeiij opera precius operis ob.

Summa iiij li. vii s. vii d. ob.

Sunt ibidem de exitu predictorum custumariorum xxij

gabule et dimidia quarum quilibet gabula debet arrare super

terram dominii ad diversas seasonas. Et valet gabula ad commodium

domini ad omnes seasonas x d. ob.

Summa xix s. viii d. q.

Sunt ibidem de operibus autumnales predictorum custumariorum a gula Auguri usque ad festum sancti Michaelis

coco xxiiij opera precius operis ii d.

Summa xij s. ii d.
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Sequitur servicium quod dicti tenentes tenendum facere annuatim sub hac forma. Memorandum quod dimidium virgatis terre custumabilis in villa de Barenton de homaggio domini Ricardi de Munificet debet operari per annum vix a festo sancti Michaelis usque ad Natale Domini in qualibet quindies tres operationes precium operis ob. Et debet arrare per unum diem et dimidium et erit allocatum pro tribus operationibus. Et valet arrare si non arat v. d. Et debet herclare quinque dies cum i eoqu et allocutur ei v operationes, et valet si non hercut v. d. Et habet ad festum sancti Martini j d. ad Warbpay et iij j. ad Slavrecher et ii gallinas ad Natale domini precii ii iij. Et debet avarere per annum et erit allocatum pro tribus operationibus. Et si sit foris per annum noctem habebit subdomum et equum suo de custo domini, et erit allocatum de qualibet aven(l)io i operationes et valent obere. Et facie que quarterum brasi contra Pascha vel i j. et debet x oua ad Pascha et valent ob. Et debet operare a Pascha usque ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste in qualibet quindies i operationes precium operis ob. Et debet arrare per unum diem et dimidium. Et erit allocatum pro iij operibus. Et valet si non arat v. d. Et debet operare a festo sancti Johannis Baptiste usque ad gium Augusti in qualibet quindies iij operationes precium operis ob. Et falcabat holium domini infra clausum et omnes custumarii simul *** pro multam suo precium x d. ob. Et falcabat aiji pratum et levabit pro iij operibus. Et scribabit per unum diem pro amore, vix quod a festo sancti Michaelis usque ad gium Augusti quem debet tritare pro operibus xxiij garbas frumenti tribulabat pro uno opero et iij ordini pro uno opero et tantum fabrum et piscarum pro i opero. Et si ad opus facerat operabat a maine usque ad nonas pro uno opero. Et de gula Augusti usque ad festum sancti Michaelis debet in qualibet quindies v operaciones per totum diem cum iij homine precium operis j d. et ob. Et debet facere iij precorias per iij dies qualibet die cum iij hominibus et habebit cibum suum. Et debet facere iij lovezones prodigins cum i homine suo opero et suo cibo precium cuiuslibet d. et ob. Et carabat xii carucarz bladi su opero precio cuiuslibet carecte ob. Et falcabat j sellionem de dolo domini si dominus vult, et carabat ad hospicium domini pro i opero. Et sib sit dimidia acra falcabat pro iij operibus et debet dimidiam acrum ad festum sancti Michaelis precio j d. Et debet iij garbas frumenti proper quad equi sui manducat duum interdum bladum suum aliqua occasione. Et sequiam quod infra xij dies Natalis domini, septimana pascha et Pentecostes quietus erit ab omni opero, et si dies operationes sues sit in die apostoli vel in allo die santo de quo habebat vigilia quiescit est ab omni opero, et consuetudine. Et non potest ponere illius suum ad stedium neque maritare illiam suam

1 Matt.
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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.) Dominio terrarum.

Memorandum quod omnes tenentes infra scripti tam de Wynsloue quam de Greneburgh concedunt pro se et suis vel in terris per ingressu habendo in tenementis quousque domini. Greneburgh offerthinglez ab alique in tenura bondagii et pertinentium, mod0 dominum contract very clearly, though it is a case of letting a farm stocked not for tillage but for grazing.

A later entry shows that a considerable area of land was taken and by thys our present wrytting indented confyrmvd to William Pole of Combe in the comety of Sorham and Convente or chapiter of the same place sevnden greten in our lorde god everlasting. Knowe ye that we the foresayd priour and Conuent or chapiter with one assente have lett taken and by thys our present wrytting indented confyrmvd to William Pole of Combe in the comety of Sorham and Convente or chapiter of Edythe hys wyfe and to Thomas their sonne alle that our farrne barne and sheppon sett and byeng withyn our manour of Combe aforsayde with alle landes medowes leases pastures woodes and underwoodes with alle and sundrye there appertenuance to the foresaid farrne of olde tyme by ryght perteyning or belongyng. Exceptu not withstandingy and reseruyd allewayes to vs the saide priour and Conuent and to our successours the Rentes Relevys and alle other seryces of all other tennantys theire togethre with alle custumarye werkes of the same tennantys there to be done or elleswhere and also excepte likewise and reseruyd to vs and to our succes
tours the mansione or place of our manour of Combe aforsayde with alle the courte and dovehouse garden and orchardre there and also the wyse that goth frome the keclyn wallt til the highe wyse by the Shepen. And also excepted and reseruyd to vs and our successours our lordoshippe or Roallte there with wyffles and streis alle ryghtes and profiytes of our courte there sayde and acustomyd And also excepte and reseruyd to our chauentre or chauentreys office for the tyne being the thythes of the lande of our parke within our lordoshippe of Lyncombe and Jusementsof alle catelle and bestes there pastyring abre thys nombre folowingy thys to saye of xij oxen or for them other xxl bestes vj leyn vj kalves one bulle a mayere and i colte. And also except and reseruyd to vs the saide priour and Conuent and to our successours the pasture or fedyng of cc female connyes their brede goyn restyng and fedyng yerlye duryng thys grante at horsecombe witn the slot of Combe frely and in reste withoute any lette gaynesayre or Impedymyte of sayd William Edithre or Thomas theire sonne or theire assynes. And moreover knowe ye that we the foresayd priour and conuent by our lyke assente and consent have grantede lett taken and by thys our present wrytting indented confirmed to the saide William Pole Edythe his wyfe and Thomas there sondre alle that our wether filoke of Combe aforsayde containing in nombre ccixx wethers with alle and alle manere Issues profiytes and renouewes yerlye coyning and growynge of the saide wether filoke together with pastures sleetyes closes medowes hylles or dounnes and alle other maner of landes or filldes belongingy or perteyning to the sustentacyon or fedyng of the saide wether filoke of olde tyne within the lordoshippe of Combe aforsayde and allsoe with the custumary werkes of our tennantys there that ys to saye of waysshyng and sheryng of the saide wether filoke at the seasons or tymes mete and acustomyd To have and to holde alle the foresayd farrne of our manour aforsayde with other the premisses excepte before excepted. And also the foresayd wether filoke containing in
nombred cxl. with the pastures of the same and customary
werkes aforesayed to the foresaid Wylylyam Pole Edythe his wyfe
and Thomas their sonne frome the laste daye of Apryle in the
xxiiij. yere of the reigne of our sovaigne lord kyng henrye
heigh for terme of their lyves and for euer of them longer
lyver successively holylye weile and in peace yeldynge
and payyng therve yerylye durynge the terme aforesayed to vs
the sayd pryveur and Convent and to our successours in maner
and forme following That ys to saye for the aforesaid
yere that they shalbe paye or cause to be payed garde or
cuse to be caryed at their owne propre costes and expenses yerylye
durynge the terme aforesayed into the Garnere of the sayd pryveur
and Conveult and their successours within the sayd manoure
of pure and clone and of the beste white and purelye threysyd and wynowed xvi quarters
of good and lawfull and reasonable mesure. To be payde and
delyvelye alyways betwene the feaste of Saynt Mychelle
tharchanngell and Wintoutyde weclyke as shalbe demanded and
reprinted of theyn by the sayd pryveur and hys successours or
their seveynants or oficers. And in pure and of the beste baryle
weill and purelye threysyd and wynowed xxii quarters of good
lawfull and reasonable mesure. To be payde broughght in and
diliveryd as ye to be foresayed yerylye alyalways betwene the feeste of
alle sayntes and of saynt Davide the confesorf the fyfste daye
of Marche wytkeile lykewyse as shalbe demanded and required of
them by the sayd pryveur and hys successours or their mynysters.
And moreover thei shall cutte dwayne cloth and make before the
mynorders of Maye and carye or clympe to be caryed at their
owne propre costes and expenses yerylye durynge the terme aforesayd
fourte weyne loodes of woods or fuellle owte of our wood
of Pryston or elles where as then shalbe assignede into the
Brauerne Orte within our Monasterye or to our manoure
of Combe yt thei be so commannde and there to pyle the same
where ye shalbe assisgned at their owne costes and charges and
also they shalbe flocde and faten in stalle yerylye durynge the sayd
terne for vs and our successours with there beaste heye frome
the feaste of Saynt Martene the Bysshope in wynter unto the
Invenycyon of the holylye crosse one xox. And moreover thei
shall carye or cause to be caryed yerylye durynge the terme aforesayd
three loodes of heye of the draught of vi oxen owte of the
brodectores to Combe for the fiding of the sayd wetherloke
as their owne propre costes and expenses and yeldynge and
payyng yerylye durynge the sayd terme to vs the sayd pryveur and
Convent and to our successours for the sayd wetherloke with
their pastures and other their appertenaunces vi pountes of good
and lawfull monye of Englyse. To be payed yerylye in the
feaste of the Nativitye of saynt John the baptyste in the
chapelle of alle sayntes within our monsterye aforesayed. And
the foresayed Wylliam Edythe his wyfe and Thomas their sonne
and euer of them shalbe sue durynge the terme aforesayed to the
halyvote courte of the sayd pryveur and Convente and there
successours twyswy euer yere at lyncombe and lykewyse at the
lawe dayes hundre of the Bartone twyswy euer yere as the
manour ys summons hade before. And furthermore thei and euer of
them shalbe yerylye durynge the sayd tyme gather paye and leuye
alle the rentes of the sayd pryveur and Convente and hys
successours of their tenantyns there and byng hyt home to there
monasterye and there paye yt to the sayd pryveur and hys
successours or euer in there behalfe quarterlye and therefore
also at there audeyte make a trewe compte without any fee
therefore demanding. And furthermore yt ys commannte
for the foresaide

MANORIAL RECORDS.
susteynd and mayntaigned. Or yf there chance any wayste to be made there by the saide Wylliam Edythe hys wyfe or Thomas their soune then it shalbe weill lawfull to vs the saide prionr and Conuente and to our successors or assignes into alle our foresaid flamme and other the premynses with alle and sundrye thereip appetiteynances to rentene resease and haue agayne and in our handes after our first or formere state to retynge and possiblle to possess thys our present grante in anythyng not withstanding. And furthermore to resete and sae in to our handes alle the goodes and catallyes of the saide Wylliam Edythe and Thomas tharrerages and dutyes for the sayd farme and floke of any. 

Furthermore by specyally coenuant made the saide William and Edythe hys wyfe and Thomas their soune coenuant and bynde them and euerie of them theye heyes and executours by these presentes that they and euerie of them stant bye and medylately after the sealyng and deluerye of these Indentures shalle stonde oblysshed and bounden by theye wrytyng obligatory under the payne of one e lii to vs the saide priour and Conuente and to our successors that they or one of themy whom it shalle chance to be late or hys executours or assignes in that be halve in thende of the forsaiide terme well and truly yelde and delueryer to vs the saide priour and Conuente or to ower successors or to our deputie in that bulaule the forsaiide wetherlocke conteynyng in nombre cexol hoile sounde and stronge not rotten banyd nor otherwise diseased. Or as the loaste for euer pole or peace xviijd to be esteynd valued or Judly by the hole homage there. So that alloweeways notwithstanding yt shalbe at the libertie and choice of vs the saide priour and Conuente and over successors whether we wylle then take the forsaid spe or the price aforesayd and also that they and euerie of them continually duryng the terme aforesaid shalle mayntejye and kepe ypp the moste of the wetherlocke aforesaid without any notable dynymycon vpon the pasture aforesayd. And furthermore that they shalle stonde to performe and fullfyle euerie one off hys tymne alle other thynge before specyfyyed and expressyd. And we the forsaiide Priour and Conuente and our successors alle the forsaid flamme and other the premynses with their appes- taneuces excepte before exceptyd to the forsaiide William Edythe and Thomas for termes off their lyves and of euerie of themy longer lyuer in maner and forme aboue wryten shalle ayygene alle people waraunte acquyte and defende by theye presentes. In wytynes whereof to thone parte of thys wrytyng indentyd remaynyng with the forsaiide William Edythe and Thomas the foresaiide Priour and Conuente have putt our comen or Conuente seal. And to thother parte off the same wrytyng Jndytynd remaynyng with vs the said Priour and Conuente and our succes- sours the foresaiide William Edythe and Thomas have putt their seales. Yeven in our chapter house with our hole assent conente and wylle the xii th day of Novembre in the xxth yere of the Reigne or our souerayne lorde Kyngge Henry theght. 

II. COMPTUS ROLL.

This remarkably full statement of the accounts of a Hert fordshire 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.

**ANSY HERTS. 2 & 3 Henry IV.**

Anstie ] Comptos Wilhelmi Wodeward prepositi ibidem 

f] a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Henrici 

Quarti post Conquestum secundo usque in Crastinuous ejusdem 

festi tunc proximum sequentum anno Regni Regis predicit tertio 

videcit per unus annus integram. 

Arreovia ) De arrearovia ultimis sui comitii precedentibus nil 

hic quia solvuntur super comptum suum. 

Summa nulla. 

Redditus Assise ) Iadem oneratur de lx s. iij d. ob. de redditu 

assise ibidem termino Sancti Andreas Apostoli. 

Et de iij d. de redditu assise ibidem termino Natalis Domini. 

Et de liij s. xijd. de redditu assise ibidem termino Annunciationis Beate Marie. 

Et de xij s. iij d. de redditu assise ibidem termino Pasche. 

Et de vj d. de auxilio vicecomitis ad eundem terminum. 

Et de xijd. de redditu assise ibidem termino Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ. 

Et de xij d. de redditu assise ibidem termino Sancti Michaelis. 

Et de iij d. de auxilio vicecomitis ad eundem terminum. 

Su concessi dii d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de Henrico Pake per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Thomas Olde nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Su concessi dii d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Su concessi dii d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Et de iij d. de incremento redditi in acarum terre libere quos Johannes Whasshs nativus Domini perquisivit per cartam de dicto Henrico per annum ad eundem terminum. 

Ev, in our chapter house with our hole assent conente and wylle the xii th day of Novembre in the xxth yere of the Reigne or our souerayne lorde Kyngge Henry theght.
quas predictus redditis condonator predicto Ricardo et heredibus suis per Dominum ut potest per litteras Domini patentes audiotori directas super hunc compostum ostensas et penes eundem Ricardum remanentes Datas apud Hertfordiam iij° die Decembris anno regni Regis Henrici quarti secundo.1 Et de v. d. de novo redditis unius totius et iij° acerarum terre libre vocato Paskates quas Petrus Philipe nativus Domini perquisuit per cartum de Johanne Paskat per annum ad eodem terminos.

Summa xlii. x. x. ob. q.

Firmae2) Et de iij° a. de Roberto Tryndelevgh pro firma j tentamentis quondam Alicie Milward sic eadem dimissi per annum Solvendis terminis Andree Annuaciacisonis Barte Mariae et Nativeliosis Sancti Johannis Baptists equaliter et solobat dimissit pro vj. s. Et de x. s. de eadem pro firma tentamente Haccholson sic eadem dimissi per annum ad terminum ix° annorum hoc anno iij° et solobat dimittit pro xij° vj. ix. d. Et de xij° vj. ix. d. de firmis vj. acerarum iij° roderam terre dominice sic dimissarium diversa homines per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de xij° d. de Wilhelmo Joyce pro firma unius acre terre vocate Ethomisere per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de iij° a. de Mauricio Longe pro firma tentamenti Andree nuper in tenura Johanne Helde pro firma eadem dimissi per annum ad terminum xvij° annorum hoc anno xj° et solobat dimittit pro vj. y. s. Et de v. s. de Mauricio Wodeward pro firma tentamenti Verdonis hoc anno ad eodem terminos et solobat dimissit pro vj. s. Et de v. d. de eadem pro firma unius acre terre dominice apud Milhemar in Northayfelde juxta terram Boarda per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de x. s. de Johanne Longe pro firma unius mesangiti et vj. acerarum terre naties quondam Roberto le Cook sic dimissarium eadem per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de xij° vj. iij. d. de Johanne Perleben et Wilhelmo Thomas pro firma unius totii et v acerarum terre naties quondam Johannis Mervyn vocatorum Ratelers sic eis dimissorum per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de v. j. de Johanne Ode pro firma unius totii et v acerarum terre naties quondam Ricardo filii Alicie Gayller que Wilhelmas Waldynge nuper tenuet sic ei dimissorum per annum ad terminum xij° annorum hoc anno vj.° Et de x. s. de Nicholao Goodzer pro firma tentamenti quondam Johannis Breostere sic eis dimissum per annum pro omnibus servituis exceptis pecunia in Autunno pro annum ad eodem termino. Et de v. s. de Petro Philipe pro firma unius mesangiti et v acerarum terre naties vocatorum Buddexa que Wilhelmas Arnold nuper tenuet sic ei dimissorum per annum ad eodem termino. Et de iij° a. de Ricardone Andrew pro firma tentamenti quondam Wilhelmi Longe quod Wilhelmas Vauwe nuper tenuet sic ei dimissum per annum ad terminum xij° annorum hoc anno vj.° Et de v. j. de Johanne Ballard pro firma tentamenti et v acerarum terre naties vocatorum Olde Andreeux que Robertus Wyse nuper tenuet sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xij° annorum hoc anno xij°. Et de xij° a. de Mauricio Sothman pro firma unius totii et v acerarum terre naties vocatorum Cates que Wilhelmas Waldynge nuper tenuet sic eadem Mauricio dimissorum per annum ad terminum xxij° annorum hoc anno iij°. Et de v. d. de Johanne Ballard pro firma unius acre et dimidii terre Jacobinum in Weston quas Matriche Driquet nuper tenuit pro xij° d. in manu Domini existentium per escouatum causas felonius quam Johannes Bexor fecit sic dimissarium eadem Johanni per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de v. d. de eodem Johanne pro firma unius acre terre in Weston quondam Johannis le Rues parcella dicit escouet sic eadem Johanni dimisse per annum ad terminum xvij° annorum hoc anno xj°. Et de xvij° d. de Ricardone Gerard pro firma unius croesti vocati Crowescroftus cum acre terre adjacentes sic eadem dimissi per annum ad terminum xvij° annorum hoc anno xj°. Et de iij° a. de Johanne Dourant pro firma iij° croestorum vocatorum Whelmers continuatio in xerus terre naties parcellam de xv acres wardei terre naties quondam Johannis Reynoum de Wodestrate per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de x. d. de Johanne Heider pro firma iij° acre terre eadem dimissi per annum ad terminum xj° annorum hoc anno xj° (sic) ut potest per rotulum curiei de anno regni Regis xij°. Et de xij° d. de eodem Johanne pro firma iij° acerarum terre naties parcella dicit tentamenti in Berstall feld que Wilhelmas Kent nuper tenuet sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xvij° annorum hoc anno xj° (sic) ut potest per rotulum curiei de anno regni regis xij°. Et de xij° d. de eodem Johanne pro firma iij° acerarum terre naties parcella dicit tentamenti sic dimissarum eadem per annum ad eodem terminos. Et de x. d. de Henrico Colweyn pro firma unius acre et dimidii terre naties et unius rode prasti parcella dicit tentamenti sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xxij° annorum hoc anno xj°. Et de v. d. de Ricardone Thruston pro firma unius acre et unius rode terre naties parcella dicit tentamenti sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xvij° annorum hoc anno xj°. Et de v. d. de Nicholao Reynolds pro firma unius acre et dimidii terre naties parcella dicit tentamenti in Berstallefeld vocatorum le Thonge sic ei dimissarum per annum ad terminum xvij° annorum hoc anno xj°. Et de iij° a. de Roberto Taylour pro firma iij° rodarum terre naties parcella dicit tentamenti sic dimissarum eadem Johanni per annum ad eodem termino. Et de iij° a. de Johanne Barcon pro firma dimidii acre terre naties parcella dicit tentamenti sic dimissae eadem Johanni per annum ad terminum xxij° annorum hoc anno xj°. De firmae iij° acerarum et dimidii terre natie parcella dicit tentamenti nil hoc anno pro defectu conductiones. Et de iij° a. de Ricardone Reynoum pro firma unius tentamenti minoris terre vocati Beckske quod Wilhelmas Keno prius tenuet per opera sic dimissae eadem Ricardone pro anno ad eodem terminos. Et de iij° a. de Thomma Wyse pro firma unius

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 Precarios, 100 days, or occasional days of work which were required in addition to the regular week work.
et v acarum terre native vocatorum Rauenes que Nicholas Goodner prius tenuit per opera nuper in tenura Alicie Lavender ex concessione Domini tenenda eadem Alicie ad terminum xviiij anno

et idem annorum hoc anno x et solutat dimitti pro v s.

Et de iij s. de Wilhelmo Algod pro firma unius mensajig et iij acarum terre native vocatorum Coupera tenement que Johannes Milnere nuper tenuit per opera s.e dimissorum eadem Wilhelmo et heredibus suis per annum ad eodem terminos ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno regni regis iiiij. Et de v s. viij d. de Thoma Martyn pro firma unius mensajig et v acarum terre native cum pertinenciae vocatorum Hewlotes Croft quod Wilhelmus Joyce nuper tenuit modo sic dimissi eadem Domino Johanni per annum ad terminum xxiij anno anno xiiij. Et de xvij d. de Domino Johanne Cualas rectore pro firma unius crofti continentis j eacram terre native cum pertinenciae vocatorum Buntyn que Thomas Samento nuper tenuit per opera s.e dimissi eadem Wilhelmo per annum pro omnibus servitiziis ad terminum xvij annorum hoc anno xij.

Et de iij d. de Johanne Ode pro firma unius tenementi maioris tenure cum pertinenciae quondam Ricardz Buntyn que Thomas Samoto nuper tenuit per opera s.e dimissi eadem Wilhelmo per annum pro omnibus servitiziis ad terminum xvij annorum hoc anno xij. Et de iij d. de Johanne Ode pro firma unius aere terre dominice jaacentis apud Hungeril nuper in tenura Johannis Therseller modo sic dimisses ejus Johanni ad terminum viij anno anno xij. Et de vij d. de eodem Johanne pro firma iij acarum terre dominice cum pertinenciae parcella dicit sic dimissorum eadem Johanni per annum ad terminum x pari annorum hoc anno xij. Et de iij d. de Wilhelmo Togool pro firma unius aere terre dominice cum pertinenciae jaacentis apud Smethesilh sic dimisses eadem Wilhelmo et heredibus suis per annum ad eodem terminos ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno regni regis x. Et de viij d. Nicholaus Reymond pro firma unius aere terre dominice jaacentis apud Hungeril sic dimissorum eadem Wilhelmo per annum ad terminum xx annorum hoc anno iiiij. Et de viij d. de Wilhelmo Crench pro firma unius aere et unius rode terre dominice jaacentiam apud Hungeril sic dimissorum eadem Wilhelmo per annum ad terminum xx annorum hoc anno iiiij. Et de viij d. de Ricardz Stokwell pro firma unius tenementi et x acarum warecti de Moland existendium in manu Dominii per escacum causa abjuracionis et felonie quos Wilhelmus Martyn factit 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.
Perquisita Curis | Et de xxiv s. v. d. de j curis tente ibidem | die Lune proximo ante festum Simonis et 
Jude. Et de x s. viij d. de j curis tente ibidem die Iovis proximo 
past festum sancti Hilarii. Et de xxiv s. v. d. de j curis tente ibidem 
die Sabbaeti in Vigilia Transfigurationis. Et de iij s. xij d. de j curis tente ibidem die Lune in festo Sancti 
Jacobi.

Summa lxiiiij s. ix d.

Venditio pasture | Et de ix d. de pastura circa sepes bercaris | vendita Johanni Baroni. Et de ix d. de pastura circa Milheg eodem vendita. Et de vij d. de pastura per 
sepes circa gurdinam eodem vendita. Et de iij d. de pastura | vendita in La Stonydale vendita. Et de iij d. de pastura per 
sepes exoppostio tenemento Johanni Heldor eodem vendita. Et de vij d. de pastura subitas tenementum Wilhelmi Togood vendita 
Johanni Frer hoc anno. Et de xv d. de pastura de Teenaeres vendita Wilhelmo Thomas hoc anno. Et de vj s. recepta de 
pastura in terra frisea tam pro iij viro de abatetis quam pro 
bestitis diversite ultra scitum maneri ibidem pasturandis hoc anno. 

De agistamento in campo post agistosuis nil hic quia amicertatis 
in Rothelo Curie. De pastura apud La Lygh nil causa supradicta 
et eciam quia depastum bidentibus Dominii. De pastura subitas bescera Prioris nil quia subiet et diminishitur ad firmam supra 
in titulo firmarum. Et de iij s. iij d. de pastura apud La Hale 
cum una pars pecia terra frisea subitus erodium Roberti Wyse 
ein eodem campo tenetur Dominus Johanni Caules rectore hocr anno. Et de iij s. de agistamento eorum diversorum in Estwoodo 
vendito hoc anno.

Summa xvij s. vj d.

Venditio bladi | Et de xlvij s. de ix quartieris tramendi | venditis extra pro quarterio s. iij d. Et de 
iij li. xix s. de xv quartieris iij basellis tramendi venditis 
hostipio Dominii extra pro quarterio vj s. Et de xlij s. iij d. de 
xij q. viij bu. pasturas venditae ad diversa preicia. Et de xxxj s. 
vij d. de ix. qr. iij bu. draget venditae gr. ad iij s. iij d. Et de 
vijli. vj s. d. de xlv irij bu. ordei venditae qr. ad iij s. viij d. 
Et de iij li. iij s. x xx qr. iij bu. ordei venditae gr. ad iij s. iij d. 
Et de xxxs s. viij d. de xij qr. iij bu. avene venditae hostipio Dominii 
apud Waltham quarterium ad iij s. viij d. Et de lii li. iij s. xij d. 
de xxxij q. vi bu. avene venditae extra quarterium ut supra. Et 
de xvij s. de vj qr. avene venditae extra quarterium ad iij s.

Summa xxx. l. ix s. j d.

Venditio Stauri | Et de xxij s. de iij bovissis venditae extra 
mense Octobris pro capita viij s. Et de 
vij s. de xij stottis debilibus venditae extra mense Junii. Et de 
iij s. de xij bovis venditae extra pro capite iij d. Et de 
iij s. iij d. de xxv caponis venditae extra pro capite iij d. Et de 
xx d. de x gallinis de redditis venditae extra pro capite iij d.

Summa liij s.

1 Waste land.
2 The cartilage of the manor-house.
3 The taking in of other people's cattle to graze.
4 The curtilage of the manor-house.
5 The taking in of other people's cattle to graze.
Custus carcerum: In unctu a empte pro carris iij d. In dimidio ovoro deslebto empte pro harnessis reparandis viij d. In ij reyne pro cansabe empte pro capistris.

Summa viij d.

Empeo bladi et stauri: In xxiiij pulcinis empte pro caponies pro bus faciendas pro capitjs j d. In iiij vitulis empte de firmario vacarum ex consuetudine firmis sue iiij.

Summa vij s.

Minuta: In oblacione iiij famularum carcerariarum et unius carcerarii de dio Natalis Domini quijubilat in die iij d. x d. In oblacione correundam pro die Paschae quijubilat in die ob. iij d. ob. In pergamento empte pro Rotulo Curie et Extracta quam pro ijs Compoto superscribendo xij d. In emendacione iij parvum catherumarum et servarum equinorum iij d. In stipendio Mauricii Longe facientis xij clades pro falsa dicis de virgins Domini viij d. In stipendio Johannis Doraunt carpen- tarii de novo facientis unum alveum unam alveum lignosum et unum presepe pro vitulis iiij d. In una seroca equina cum canis de Domine iiij.

Summa iij s. x d. ob.

Custus Domini: In stipendio Mauricii Longe cooperientis super longum stabulum ac eiam super stabulum carcerarium per iij dies [et] dimidium capientia per diem iij d. xij d. In stipendio Alite Heiler tractante stramen-eidem per idem tempus viij d. In stipendio Wilhelmi Joyce carpen- tarii vergentis granarium infra per j diem iiij d. In spykyngs et minuta clavis empte ad idem viij d.

Summa iij s. viij d.

Custus Molendini et bidentum: In una petra molaris empte pro molendino ix s. In stipendio molendinarii circulantis le trendelii molendini iij d. Solati molendinarii cubanti dictam novam petram molarem ex consue- tudine xij d. In stipendio Wilhelmi Joyce carpenterii scalpanis meremium pro iiij postibus novas una cum imposione unius whepe unius overway ac eiam bordantias latera ex utralibet parte molendinii ex consuetudine in grosso xij d. iij d. In spykyngs et clavis empte pro dictis bordcanebus firmandas xij d. In expensi prepositis et unius molendinarii cumentum usque Cantabriam pro dicta petra molar emenda viij d. In caricacione dicti petrae molaris una cum expensi ipius prepositi molendinarii famularum et equorum maneri ac aliorum ad idem auxilium eundo et redeundo omnibus in denarios computante precum avne ut extra iij s. iij d. In ijs legena reyne empte pro bidentibus ungendis viij d. In una legena butiri empte ad misendum cum cedem pro uctura unde habenda viij d.

Summa lxxix s. x d.

Trituracio et vannacio: In vij qr. iij bu. frumentum trituratis ad tascham pro qr. iij d. xij d. ob. In vij qr. avente trituratis ad tascham pro qr. iij d. xij d. In lx qr. diversorum blatorum tam de trituratione famularum quam ad tascham vannatis ad tascham pro qr. ob. qij s. iij d. ob.

Sarculatio et falcatio: In bladi Domini sarculandis ultra opera custumariorum et molennorum hoc anno vs. x d. In v acris [et] dimidii herbagii fal- cansis ad tascham hoc anno pro acra viij d. iij s. viij d. In dicto herbagio spargendo levando et in feno faciendo ut in servis data eisdem custumarium et molennium ultra auxilium famularum hoc anno iij d. et non plures acere falcata ad tascham quae xij acere falcata pro opera custumariorum et molennorum et nos plures pro tenemento que sunt in manu Domini hoc anno. In uno homine conducto ad falcandum cum eisdem custumarium et molennis loco tenentibus Rauenus quia in manu Domini et ad firmam supra viij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Henrici Joyce causa predicta viij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Ricardii Buntyning causa predicta viij d. Et pro tenemento Whellers causa predicta iij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Nicholas Hereman causa predicta iij d. Et pro tenemento quondam Thome Ode causa predicta iij d. et non plures quia factent opera sua ut molennas. Et pro tenemento messoria causa officii sui iij d. De iij d. pro uno tollto cum iij acres dimidia terre de molagio vocato Claces existente in manu Domini per suorum reddicionem Hugonis Blunyly et Agnetis uxoris sue usque ad plenam etatem hereditatis nulla allocatio hic quia Mauricius Wodeward facit predictum opus hoc anno. Et scinditum [et] quod Mauricius Wodeward facit predictum alterando anno. De iij d. pro tenemento quondam Wilhelmi Martyn existente in manu Domini causa suprapredicta nulla allocatio his nec decetor quia tenementum predictum in manu Domini et ad firmam supra cum operibus suis. In caso emplo pro eisdem custumariorum et molenniius falcantibus in pratis Domini ex consuetudine viij d. In novo predictarum xij acerarum falcanturum per opera levando et faciendo nil quia per opera custumariorum et molennornorum de consuetudine.

Summa viij s. ix d.

Custus Autunpni: In ij xxx aliecan per minus centum empte tam pro expensi cede custumario-

\[1\] For the scab.
\[2\] Threshing and winnowing.
\[3\] Weeding and mowing.
\[4\] Molen's land.
\[5\] The surrender of a holding into the hands of the lord.
rum et molemennorum venientium quasi per annum diem ad ij siccus precarius in autumno de consuetudine ut extra quam pro expensis unius messoris unius carcerarii ejus famuli carcerariorum et unius bercarii quorum custamarii et molemeni quiubet habebat ij alleceae pretii quadrantis et predicti viij famuli quiubet simulter habebat ad unaquae precarium ij alleceae pretii quadrantis ex consuetudine iij s. iij d. ob. q.1

In xxix acriis dimidia fragmenti metendis et ligandis ad tascham pro aera vij d. xijx s. ix d. In xlij acriis dimidia pisorum et avenae metendi et ligandis ad tascham pro aera vi d. xvj s. j d. In xxiij acriis dimidia orde metendis et ligandis ad tascham pro aera viij d. xijx s. ij d. In diversis bladae de messoris famuli ligandis ad tascham proper occupato consueto carcerarii xij d. In expensis familiarum famulis ligantibus diversa blada ut extra carentiam furcantium aequum blada in grangiam ahae quod uocantur cowrodes. Et predicti viij famuli quilibet per annum iij d. pro agistamento unius rodum venientium quasi per unum diem ad ij d. per annum eadem S. de Anglia ut supra v s. Summa vi d. xijx s. viiij d. pro aera in stipendio unius rode consuetudine consuetudine,arene. Summa et apud compoti ad iij d. per annum eidem manerio ad tertios Pasche et die Novembris qui est eciam loco in Cantabrigia. In stipendio unius rode consuetudine consuetudine,ae

Expense senescalli cum foedis 2 Exepsin senescalli curiae coronarius cleruci sui et aliis ruban ibidem existentium ad unam curiam ibidem tentam proper opus inquisitionem et appetacionem bonusum et aboutorum Ralph de Reynold feloni ac eciam quod die dictus Radulphe abjuravit regnum Anglie omnis computatis in denarie v s. Et solutu senescalli tenenti curiam Domini ibidem pro peco suo per annum ex prepust Domini et consulti sui xij s. iij d. Summa xviij s. iij d. Expense forensica In expensis propositi equitantis apud Waltheam ex precepto Petri Mavan senescalli hospici Domini pro frumento et avenae providentia pro dicto hospicio cuode et reundo per iij viis hoc anno xij d. Et solutu Johanni Child coronatorii et cleruci suorum pro foedis suis existentibus ibidem die quo Radulphe Reynold abjuravit regnum Anglie ut supra v s. Summa vij s. Liberatio Domini In liberatio Henrico Bruce thesaurario hos- torum fici Domini quam victa ultimo die Februrii ut per quam indenter quam quidemibus ipsum signata xij li. xij s. iij d. Et eadem per eadem inden- teram xviij die Martii xii li. vij s. viij d. Summa xviijij li. xix s. Summa omnium expensarum et liberationum xviij li. xvj s. x d. ob. q.2. Et debet xviij li. xij s. ix d. Et quibus allocati eidem x d. pro agistamento unius vituli Raze [1] ibidem. Et eadem xij d. de rewardo facto servientibus ibidem ad potandum. Et eadem xij x d. pro j vitulo anno predicto simulter dissoluto. Summa allocata iij s. xij d. Et sic debet xviijij li. vij s. x d. quos solutus super computo thesaurarii. Et quietas est.

[Back of the Roll.]

Anesty Exitus grangis ibidem de anno Regni Henriici Quarti primo.

Frumentum Idem respondit de iij xij qu. j. bu. di. mensura jasa de toto exitus grangis ibidem de anno ultra vestuarii ij roderum eodem exitus liberatum famulis

1 Precarious when no beer was allowed. Apparently "siccus precarius" might fall due operarios and the tenant then was excused from rendering the less valuable acre, etc. See below under operarios autumnales.
2 Rigroosa. This may have been the Kern-supper when harvest was over.
3 Dairy woman.

Summa iijx qr. vj bu.

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

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Dragnetum | Et de ix qr. iij bu. dragati mensura rasa respondit de idem j bu. judece in semine super xix acras terre per estimationem seminis. Unde triturtatis et vannatis per opera mensura rasa xxxvij qr. v bu. per famulos cedem mensura vj qr. v bu. Et pro avantagio secundum iij bu. pro quarterio v qr. v bu. Et pro avantagio ad idem iij bu. di.

Summa iijx qr. bu. di. 

Inde in vindicione infra iij bu. Et pro avantagio dato ad idem iij bu. di. 

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Avena | Et de iijx qr. iij bu. avene mensura rasa respondit de idem iij bu. judece in semine super xxv acras terre per estimationem seminis. Unde triturtatis et vannatis per opera mensura rasa xxxvij qr. v bu. per famulos cedem mensura vj qr. v bu. Et pro avantagio secundum iij bu. pro quarterio v qr. v bu. Et pro avantagio ad idem iij bu. di. Et de ij bu. cedem exitus per estimationem in lx garbis liberatis pro sustentatione iij vitulorum ad staurum Domini iij bu. et de iij bu. cedem exitus per estimationem in m² iijx garbis liberatis equis carectoris et stottis manerii loco suo prebende ut patet per dietam inferiorum hoc anno. 

Summa iij bu. 

Inde in semine super iij acras dimidiam terre per estimationem seminis in Northayfeld hoc anno xxxvij qr. j bu. per tallagium contra eundem sic capiens acra iij bu. cedem mensura iij bu. di. in vendicione infra iij bu. 

Summa que supra. 

In pite | Et de xxiiij qr. vj bu. di. pisorum mensura rasa respondit de idem iij bu. judece in semine super xxv acras terre per estimationem seminis in Northayfeld iij bu. pro tantagion contra eundem sic super acras iij bu. cedem mensura iij bu. di. in vendicione infra iij bu. 

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Ordinum | Et de lxvij qr. ordei mensura rasa respondit de idem iij bu. judece in semine super xxv acras terre per estimationem seminis. 

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Ricardo molendinaro hoc anno et non plus propter defectum petre molaris.
Inde liberati ad mixtūram famulorum inferius vj qr. ij bu. Et allocați eidem Ricardo molendinario pro tempore quo molendinum quasiassum fuit per magnum ventum ac eodem statut ociosam 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 liberacione famulorum. Summa xxxiiij qr. vj bu.

Mixtūra famulorum) Inde in liberationibus unius caretarii j iiiij familorum caretariorum et unius bercarii per annum quodlibet eorum capiende per mensem iiij bu. unde iij partes frumenti et iiij pars mixture molendini et quae blada molendini dessent j frumenti et iiij bu. pisorum mixti loco ejusdem xxix qr. ij bu. In liberationibus unius messorie tempore seminii et iiij et per viij septimanae in Autunno hoc anno capiende ad quantumdē seasoniām vj bu. et in Autumno vj bu. ex consecutūdine iij qr. ij bu. unde iij partes supra. In liberationibus unius firmarius vacarum qui est ociam in loco unius daye per annum iiij qr. ij bu. frumenti capiēnte j qr. frumenti ad xviiij septimanae. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Seminānter ibidem cum diversis generibus bladōrum hoc anno supra ccxx acre. Summa ccxx acre.

Acre seminātā) Inde in liberationibus famulorum maneri ex j consuetudine pro firma unius vacce pro eis conducte pro lacte inde habendo vestra j rode frumenti et j rode avence hoc anno et vacauntur cowcros. Ét liberata messoria pro sotullis' suis in autumno ex consecutādine vestra unius rode frumenti et j rode avence hoc anno et vacauntur vaccros. Et metebantur per opera Autunnum unhersius xxxiiij acre per precariās sicces lxvij acre pro denariis infra iiij x... acre di. Et per famulos xxiiij acre di. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Equi car. Et de iij equis caretariarum de remanentibus. Summa ectorum iij. Ét remanent iij equi caretariarum.

Stottī) Et de xij stottīs de remanentibus. Et de iij prove. mendibus per escuetaem causae felonis quam Radulphus Reynōndus loci ut petet per Rotulum Curiae. Summa xvij.

Inde in vendicione infra mensum Juniī. Ét liberati Johannis Odes ex præcepto Auditoria.

Summa iij. Ét remanent xij stottīs.

Taurus) Et de j taurō de remanente. Summa j. Ét remanent j taurus.

Vacio) Ét de xv vaccō de remanentibus. Summa xv. Ét remanent xv vacos.

Bovetti et juvence) Et de iij bovetitis de remanentibus. Ét et de iij juvencis de adjunctione juvenculorum inferius. Summa vij.

Inde in vendicione infra mensem Octobris iij bu. bovetiti. Summa iij. Ét remanent iij juvenes.

Boviculi et juvencule) Ét de iij juvenculis de remanentibus. Ét de iij bovoli et iij juvenulis de adjunctione vitulorum annualium inferius. Summa vij.

Inde in adjunctione cum juvencis supra iij juvenculi. Summa iij. Êt remanent iij bovettis et iij juvencule.

Vituli de exitu) Ét de iij vitulis de remanentibus. Ét de iij vitulis de exitu emitis de firmario vacarum ex consecutūdine firme suē. Summa viij.

Inde in adjunctione cum boviciula et juvenculis supra j vitulus mas et iij feminine. In moroas mens Octobris ut petet per Rotulum Curiae j vituloes mas.

Summa iij. Ét remanent iij vituli quorum iij mas (sic) et iij feminae.

Coria crudata) Ét de coriis unius vituli de mora supra. Summa j. Ét venditur infra. Ét nil remanet.

Auce) Ét de j auce (sic) et iij aucis maribus de remanentibus. Ét de iij auculis de reduxu ad Gulam Augusti nil hie quia tenebant in manu Domini et ad firmam ut petet in titulo firmarum infra. Et de xv auctulis de exitu dictarum iij auctorums marium per annum ex certa consecutūdine facta per Dominum Rogerum de Wylesham de firmario vacarum.

Summa xix.

Inde in decembris data j. In expensis famulorum ad eorum Rigoos in fine Autunnum iij. In vendicione infra xij.

Summa xv. Ét remanent j auce et iij auctis manu.

Capones) Ét de xxiiij caponis de remanentibus. Ét de xiiij caponis de faciūrās pulcinorum inferius emptorium hoc anno. Ét de iij caponis de reduxu ad terminum Pasche.

Summa i.

Inde in decerto reduxu tenemti quondam Nicholai Horsman quod in manu Domini et ad firmam capo. In venditione infra xij.

Summa xxv. Ét remanent xiiij capones.

Galli et gallina) Ét de j gallo et xij gallinis de remanentibus. Ét de j gallo et xvij gallinis de reduxu custumariorum ad Natals Domini. Summa xxx.


1 Murraia.
Ova De exitu gallinarum nil hic quae gallinae ad firmam. Sed de iij\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{x} \textit{opus} de reddito custumariorem ad festum Pasche. Summa iij\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{x} \textit{opus}.

Inde in defectu reddito tenementi vocati Hacchioland \textit{opus} tenementi quondam Johannis Reynold de Wodestrete tenementi quondam Johannes Breustere tenementi vocati Buntyngeg tenementi quondam Nicholai Horsem et tenementi quondam Thome Ode causa supradiicta i ova pro quolibet tenemento x ova. Et pro tenemento quondam Wilhelmi Longe et tenemento vocato Claces x ova pro utroque tenemento v ova. In vendictione infra xx ova. Summa que supra. Et eque.

Pulcin\textit{i}. De pulcis de exitu gallinarum nil hic quae gallinae \textit{ad} firmam infra. Sed de xxiiij pulcinis de emptis infra.

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

Cynicrib\textit{um}. Et de \textit{j} uncia cynicribi de reddito ad terminum \textit{Saneci} Michaeli.

Summa \textit{j} uncia. Et libera tenend\textit{i}. super compotum. Et nil remanet.

\textit{Fenum}. Et de \textit{feno} \textit{xj} prati de remanente. Et de \textit{feno} xxviij acrarum di. prati de exitu praetoris ad opus Domini fater hoc anno unde in Sckemeed vij acere di. et in Homened xxj acere di.

Inde in decessu datum \textit{fenum} iij acarum iij roderum prati. In expendi\textit{um} eq\textit{uorum} carucarum \textit{et} stottorum maneri eq\textit{uorum} characturus eq\textit{uorum} senescalli eq\textit{uorum} auditoris et alterium de consilio Domini ibidem supernu\textit{enisci} hoc anno x acarum. In vendictione infra \textit{fenum} xxvj acarum di. In venditione super compotum \textit{fenum} iij acarum prati \textit{pro} [ix s. \textit{j} d. in margini]. Summa \textit{fenu} xxxiiij acarum j rode. Et remanet \textit{fenum} vij acarum j rode prati.

Et de iij\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{x} iij\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{lxxiiij operibus yemalibus provenientibus de xxviij custumariis inter festum Michaeli et Gulam Augusti videbatur pro xliii septimam et iij dies quorum \textit{vij} custumarii quilibet faciens per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera} per dies \textit{Lune} Mercurii et Veneris xxviij custumarii quilibet faciens per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera} scilicet per dies \textit{Lune} et Veneris et \textit{v} custumarii quilibet faciens per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera} videbatur per diem \textit{Lune}.

\textit{Summa iij\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{x} iij\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{lxxiiij opera}.

\textit{Opera} yemaliora \textit{precium} operis ob. Inde in defecto operum \textit{vj} \textit{majorum custumariorum videbatur tenementi vocati Hacchioland tenementi quondam Johannis Reynold de Wodestrete tenementi quondam Johannes Breustere tenementi vocati Buntyngeg tenementi quondam Nicholai Horsem et tenementi quondam Thome Ode quae in manu Domini et ad \textit{firmam} quorum quilibet faciens per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera} Dec iij\textsuperscript{a}\textit{opera} pro quilibet tenemento per tempus predictum cxx\textit{a}\textit{opera}. In defecto operum \textit{xj} tenurentiumentum \textit{ij\textsuperscript{a}\textit{tenure} videbatur tenementi quondam Aliice Milward modi dimissi. Roberto Trynedgeygh tenentem Andrieux modo dimissi Mauricio Longe tenementi Verdens modo dimissi Mauricio Wodeward tenementi Roberti Le Reue modo dimissi Johanna Longe tenente tenet\textit{ali} Rateles \textit{modo} dimissi Johanna Parleben et Wilhelm Thomas tenentem quondam Ricardi filii Aliice Gayner modo dimissi Johanni Ode tenentem Riddexx modo dimissi Petrio Philippe tenentem Longes modo dimissi Ricardo Andrew tenente\textit{ali} Rateles \textit{modo} dimissi Johanna Ballard tenentem Claces modo dimissi Mauricio Sotmanen tenentem quondam Henrici Joyce modo dimissi Thome Martyn et tenentem vocati Whelers modo dimissi Johanni Helder [\textit{quia}] in manu Domini et ad \textit{firmam} infra \textit{m} xliii opera pro quilibet tenemento per tempus predictum iij\textsuperscript{a}\textit{vij opera}. In defecto operum unus tofti [\textit{mijor}is tenure quondam Nicholai Crowe quae in manu Domini et ad \textit{firmam} xliii opera per \textit{septimam} \textit{ij} \textit{opus}. In defecto operum unus acre terre vocati Ethemarric causa predicta xliii opera per \textit{septimam} \textit{ij} \textit{opus}. In defecto operum unus tenementi ejusdemen tenure vocati Reepoc tenentem quod Johannes Milnerhuper tenent per \textit{opera} modo dimissi per senescallium Wilhelmi Algod pro iiij aceram pro omnibus serviciis ut patet per Senecallium Curie de anno Regis Ricardi iij xliii opera per \textit{septimam} \textit{ij} \textit{opus}. In defecto operum unus acre terre ejusdem tenure vocati Howlotroscoft quod Thomas Ode nuper tenent per \textit{opera} modo dimisse per senescallium Domino Johanner Caules rectori pro xxviij d. per annum pro omnibus serviciis ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno Regis Henrici Quartii primo xliii opera per \textit{septimam} \textit{ij} \textit{opus}. In defecto operum unus tenentem iij\textit{a}\textit{tenure} vocati Raunene quondam Aliice Lavender modo dimissi per senescallium Thome Vyne per iiij a. per annum [\textit{pro}] omnibus serviciis ut patet per Rotulum Curie de anno Regis Ricardi xij iij\textsuperscript{a}\textit{vij} \textit{opus} per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera}. In allocatone mediate\textit{a}\textit{opera} unus tenentem\textit{...tenure quondam Mauricio Howe quod Thomas Parker tenet per \textit{opera} ex consuetudine stipendii sui hoc ann\textit{...} \textit{opera} per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera}. In allocatone operum iij minorum custumariorum remanentiam ad operandum per iij\textit{a}\textit{septimam festivas videbatur Natali Pascha et Pentecostes in quibus nos operantur xxiiij\textit{a}\textit{opera} pro quolibet custumario per \textit{septimam} iij\textit{a}\textit{opera}. In allocatone operum dictorum iij custumariorum pro ix diebus festivis accidentibus super dies suos videbatur Lune. Omnium Sanctorum Nicholai Anunciationis Paracaeceae Marcii Baptisi Magdalene Jacobi xxxiv\textit{a}\textit{opera} cujuslibet custumario pro...die festivo \textit{ij} \textit{opus}. In allocatone operum dictorum iij custumariorum Eulamium in pratis Domini preter consuetudinem

Summa que supra. Et eque. 

Arrure precium operis iij d. Et de xvij operibus arrure f venientibus de custumaris et molemennis cum viij carucis suis junctis hoc anno ad seasonias fragmenti et xii. Et de viij operibus arrure venientibus de eisdem custumaris et molemennis cum viij carucis suis junctis ad seasonias warctationis. Et scirendum quod quilibet habens carumam per se vel junctam arbitat di. aceram ad quamlibet seasonis pro operibus suis precium operis iij d. 

Summa xxiiij opera. Ex expunturdo in terra Domini arrando et warctanda. Et nil revenendum. 

Opera sarculationis } Et de xxvij operibus sarculationis pro f venientibus per dimidium diem de iij custumaris et molemennis quorum quilibet de xxvij custumaris et molemennis predictis quilibet faciit iij opera j molemennis faciit iij opera et quilibet de xv custumaris et molemennis predictis faciit iij operis. 

Summa cxxvij opera. 


Summa que supra. Et eque. 

Et de viij iij* opera autumpnalis pro f venientibus de xxvij custumaris inter Gulam Augusti accidentem die Lune hoc anno et festum Michaelis accidentem die Jovis hoc anno sollicitet per viij septimanae et iij dies quorum vij de predicta custumaris qua- llibet faciens per septimanae v opera scilicet per dies Lune Martis Mercuvrii Jovis et Veneris xviij de custumaris predicta quilibet faciens per septimanae et iij dies Lune Martis Mercuvrii et Veneris iij de custumaris predicta quilibet faciens per septimanae et iij dies Lune et Veneris et iij de custumaris predicta quilibet faciens per septimanae j opus videolost per dies Lune et Veneris et iij de custumaris predicta quilibet faciens per septimanae j opus videolost per diem Lune. 

Summa viij iij* viij opera. 


Summa que supra. Et eque. 

Et de C iij* precarios siccis predictiis de lxij custu- mearis et molemennis ad iij siccis precarios in Autumnapro quorum xxxiiij custumaris et molemennis quilibet faciens iij precarios xviiij custumaris et molemennis quilibet faciens et iij precarios et in custum- eiris et molemennis quilibet faciens et iij precarios. 

Summa C iij* j precarios.
APPENDIX.

Inde in allocations operum messoriae pro officio suo iij precariae.

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 hamlets 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.

III. COURT ROLLS.


Greneburg.

Johannes le Longe reddidit sursum in manus domini dimidiam acram terre cum pertinenzibus iuxta terram Walteri TailLOUR apud le Redebred. Et dominus concessit predicam terram cum pertinenzibus Waltero Geoffes tenendum aibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per servicia 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 pertinenzibus invenit super le Mellehulle iuxta terram dominicam. Et dominus concessit predicam terram cum pertinenzibus Isabellae Elyot tenendum aibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per servicia 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 pertinenzibus loactem in Blackwellseforlong quam Rosia Adam tenet ad terminum vite. Et dominus concessit predicam terram Johannes Hore tenendum aibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et dat de fine ij s. Et fecit fidelitatem. Et est forma talis videlicet quod dicit Johannes Hore habebit vnam dimidiam acram super hidehulle ad terminum vite supradicta Rosie et post decessum dicte Rosie ad supradictam Walerum uuercatur &c.

Radulpus Henries habet licenciam ponendii Galifræum filament suum ad scolas clericales. Et dat de fine xii d.

Walterus TailLOUR reddidit sursum in manus domini dimidiam acram terre cum pertinenzibus iacentem super Astonehulle prius cepit de terris dominicis iuxta terram dicti Waleri. Et dominus concessit predicam terram cum pertinenzibus Petro filio Eue Rolles tenendum aibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et dat de fine vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem &c.

Johannes Hughprest et alicia vxor eius examinata reddidierunt sursum in manus domini vnam cotagiam cum curtilagio adjacenti iuxta tenementum Johannes 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 Johannes Horewode et alia dimidia acra iacet super Eddelayes iuxta terram Willemi Ponteys. Et dominus concessit dictam cotagiam cum curtilagio et terra Johanni Hughprest et Alicie vxori eius ad terminum vte eorum. Et post decessum predicorum Johannis et Alicie predicta cotagia cum curtilagio et terram cum suis pertinenzibus remanente Elene filie predicorum Johannis et Alicin ad terminum vte suae. Et post decessum dicte Elene

1 f. 48 b.
dicta tenementa remanente hereditibus predictorum Johannis et Alicie tenendo de domino in villenagio et ad voluntatem per vergam1 per servicia et consuetudines debita et consuet. Et dat de fine v s. Et fecit fidelitatem aec. 

Elena atte halle per licentiam domini dimissit Johanni Martyni duo acres terre ad terminum xi, annorum proxime sequentium post datam istius Curie, sic ut tantum super Custumae iuxta terram Johannis Pieres. Et dat domino pro termino habendo2 iij s. iij d.

2. HALIMOTUM DE WYNKLOWE DYE LUNE PROXIMA POST FESTUM SANTIS DIONISII ANNO XXXIIII. AD WITTMAN.

Greneburgh3.

Willelmus Houprest mortuus est qui tenet de domino vnua Mesuagium et dimidiam virgatam terre cuius heriettum vnus bos precii iij d. Et Johannes filius eius est proximus heres etatis iij annorum. Et ratione minoris etatis dominus concessit custodian cotagium terre et heredes Isabelle Hobbes tenendum usque ad legitimam etatem heredrum in villenagio faciendo servicia et consuetudines. Et dat pro custodia habenda vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem.


Johannes Hobbes mortuus est qui tenet de domino vnua cotagium et iij acras terre cuuis heriettum vna ouis precii iij d. Et dominus concessit dictum cotagium et terram Isabelle Hobbes tenendum ad terminum viij faciendo servicia et consuetudines sine vnoo salvo iure cuiuslibet. Et dat de fine xii d. Et fecit fidelitatem.


Johannes Hore mortuus est qui tenet de domino vnua cotagium et iij acras terre cuuis heriettum vnus vitulus precii iiij d. Et Johannes soror dicti Johannis est proximus heres etatis vj annorum. Et ratione minoris etatis dominus concessit custodium terre et heredes Isabelle Hobbes tenendum usque ad legitimam etatem heredum facendo servicia et consuetudines. Et dat pro custodia habenda vj d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Radulphus Geffes reddidit sursum in manus domini vnua cotagium et dominus concessit dictum cotagium Johannis Reynald clerico de Greneburgh tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per virgam faciendo servicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine xii d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Radulphus Walteri Norton reddidit sursum in manus domini vnua cotagium continentem in longitudine xvj pedes et in latitudine xix pedes cum curtilagio adiacente. Et dominus concessit dictum cotagium cum curtilagio Willelmno Wyth tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio faciendo servicia et consuetudines. Et dat de fine xii d. Et fecit fidelitatem.

Johannes filius Radulphi Rolles mortuus est qui tenet de domino vnua Mesuagium et vnus virgatum terre cuuis heriettum vna ouis precii iij d. Et dominus concessit Radulpho Geffes dictum Mesuagium tenendum sibi et suis in villenagio et ad voluntatem domini per
virgam per servicia et consuctudines. Et dat de fine xx s. Et
ficit fidelitatem.

Tastatores cervisie presentant quod braciatrices fregerant
assias, ideo in misericordia vij d.

Radulphus de Norton dat domino vij d ad inquisitionem de iure
suoi de vna aera terre.

Johannes Reynald dat domino vij d ut inquiratur de iure suoi
de vna cotegio et dimidia aera terre.

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

Willelmus Scot debet sectam et facit defaltam, ideo in miseric-
ordia iij d.

3. HALLIUMUM TESTUM IDEM DILUNE PROXIMA POST
EPUMENT ABSENCTIONIS DOMINI ANNO REGNI REGIS HENRICI SEXTI
QUINTO.

Greneburgh1.

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

Item dicanunt quod Ricardus Harry et Walterus Harry apud
Swinburn Thomas Deye et Willelmus filius sua ibidem sunt
nati et fugitui ideo de.

Preceptum est Roberto Jauny firmario manorii de Byggyn-
gueo distinguit Galfridum Kyng filium Radefi Kyng per omnia
bona et suas usque infra domum fuerunt inuenia et
solendum et satisfaciendum alicie wyght de Greneburgh quendam
annum redditionem idem alicie debita, videlicet iij s pro annum
pro quadam clausura vocata Colettisclose. Quod iterum
fuerint inuenia et quaesitio de suis et alieis plentue fuerit satisfac-
tionem et.

Domino concessit Radulpho eyre se sex dimidias aeras terre cum
j laye, iacent super Swynhulle extendentes versus molendinam de
Greneburgh. Tenenda sibi et suis ad dato istius Curie versus ad
tinem lx annum proximae sequentiae completerunt in villaggio
ad voluntatem domini per Redendo inde annuaties vii pro sem-
ibus serviciis et sectis Curie. Et dat de fine j capons.

Walterus Henry sursum reddedit in manus domini vnum
mesagementi et quiasque aeras et dimidiam terre quondam Johanni
Eliot et Alice vice eis vnde dictum cotagium situm est inter
tenementum Radulphi wengrae et sueselanae, vna aera et dimi-
dia iacet inter culturas vocata Millehulle in duas partes
j aera iacet super longeors et dimidia aera iacet super Middul-
furlong et altera dimidia aera est quodam forera2 iacens super

1 f. 10 b.

2 Fores; a headland or transverse portion at the end of a field; see Secobram,
Village Community, 1.

MANORIAL RECORDS.

Wydepoleshulle, vna aera iacet apud Blakowelle hegge in ij
parcelit et dimidia aera iacet apud almondesnede et alia dimidia
aera sub substant molendinam dominii cuia hericium in pecuniis iij s.

domini concessit dictum cotagium et terrae cum

permissibus Roberto Cawode Tenendum sibi et suis in villanagio
ad voluntatem domini per servicia et. Et dat domino de fine
vij s. viij d dc.

Testamentum Johannis wattes probatum est coram ffratre
Roberto Onnesby Cellario et commissario in hac parte, cuia
tenor sequitur in hec verba. In dei nomine Amen. Ego Jo-

hannes [sic] watte compos mentis anno domini milleost minscu

veo condito testamentum meum in huse modum. In primis
anima mea deo et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cimiterio
sancti Johannis Baptiste de Greneburgh. Item monachi sancti
albani xij d. Item vicario de Greneburgh xij d. Item Clerico
eiudem ecclesie iij d. Item iiij luminum eiusdem ecclesie dimi-
dium quartium brasi. Item ecclesie de wynga xij d. Item agno
lary vnam ollam, potellum et cistam et j cooperium et j parcelam
linthe. Item Margerie lary j ollam, potellum et cistam. Item
fratrices de Aylesbury xij d. Item Will undo Childes filio meo spirituali
j buddellum brasii. Et de residuo
honorum meorum non lego consitiue Johanneo Geffes meus
executorum, ut ipse disponat bona mea ad utitutur Johanneo
Bouton meliore modo quo seervisor de placeo 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 privi-
leges 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, Vo, 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,
at a matter which was then in dispute (Gross, Gild Merchant, n.
48). There was a portmarnote, 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.
The document appears to be a legal or historical text, discussing matters of civil and legal matters, possibly from a manuscript of the twelfth century. The text mentions the Assize of Bread, a legal document from Oxford and other towns, and discusses the rights and duties of foreign merchants. It also references the role of constables and other officials in ensuring the order and justice in the city.

The text is difficult to read due to the handwriting style and occasional errors in the transcription. However, it is clear that the document is an important historical source, providing insight into the legal and administrative practices of the time.

The transcription provided is as follows:

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**APPENDIX.**

**MUNICIPAL LIFE.**

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1. Dyre cloth.

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1. Forestalling.
dibus ciste; feneratores et feneratrixes non iurabant hoc sacramento. Omnes sint inbreviati qui veniant ad cistam et qui non veniant; et si qui voluerit iurare quod non habent xii d. nec in redditu se catallo demonstraveri hoc maiori et civibus: et ipsi hoc emendabunt. Unusquise fuerit, pro se et pro uxore et puere suis et det pro illius quantum illius pertinet; vel si iuvavit veniant illi coram maiore et civibus et iurent pro se ipsis et solvant. Et bene defendant omnes aldermannis omnibus de Wards suis, quod nullus exeat a civitate necque viam domini nec alibi dones se et suos de hacis assequet. Si quis autem hortum faciat aliu, faciat eum inbrevari, et tradat maiori et ceteris qui omnia sua terras et catalla capiat ad opus civitatis. Et omnis femina que mercandiam 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

**DE STACHIA.**

Consideratione est per totam communisitatem Burgi Radyng, quod omnia tenentes que recuperantur per stachiam pro arrearagis redditum ad minus quatuor annorum quod ea recuperantur sub hac forma semper hucusque visita videlicet quod quicumque dominus fuerit qui aliquem redditum in quocumque tenemento habuerit illum redditum calumniabque quando per considerationem cum stachia debet et nisi factum clamavit quod tam de redditu quam de tenemento, sinitur in perpetuum. Sic positum in recordio de portesmoto tento in vigilio apostolorum Symonis et iube anno regis regis Edwardi primi post conquestum xvii.*

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 arrears by the Statute of Gloucester, c. 4 (1275) and 13 Ed. 1 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 (Percuzzi, Storia del Commercio e dei bancieri 71). It was printed by Pagnini in the third volume of his Della Devina e delle altre Gravesse 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 matelismo.**

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

Luna si vende in Londra, e per tutta l’ Isola d’ Inghilterra a sacco, di chiovi 52. pesi per uno sacco, e ogni chiove peso libb. 7. d’ Inghilterra.

Pepe, e gengiovo, e zucchero, e cannella, e incenso, e lacco, e tutte spezieria si vendono in Londra a centinajo di libb. e passi in grosso, e darsi libbre 104. per uno centinajo.

Mandorlo, e riso, e cera, e alberi, e ferro, e tutte cose grosse si vendono in Londra a centinajo, di libbre 112. per uno centinajo, e passi 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. quarteri l’ alla.

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

Piombo vi si vende a cianrea, e ogni cianrea si è di peso la montanza del pespe in soma di 6. sacca peso di lana, di chiovi 52. per 1. sacco, e di libbre 7. per 1. chiove.

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

Al marco della Torre di Londra si vende, e compera tutte maniere d’ argentii in piatte, o in vernge, o in monete, o in bilage per disfare, e nullo uomo, né cittadino, né 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 vasellina, e cose d’ argento, che l’ uomo avesse a trafficare con gli Orfevori.

Ispendesi in Inghilterra una moneta d’ argento, che si chiamano sterlini, che sono di lega d’ once 11. d’ ariento fine per libbra, e baltene 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.
APPENDIX.

a conto per 1. marco; e l’altra moneta si si chiamano medaglie sterlina, che le 2. vagliono, e si spendono per 1. denaro sterlino, ed entrano 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 entrano 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’ arieto, nè piccoli non si spendono, nè hanno corso in Inghilterra.

Diritto, e spese di panni, che si paga a chi gli mette in Londra.

Per carriagio, cioè ai nolo, ove si discarico di nave in terra alla riva di Tamiglia denari 1. sterlino per panno.

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 nolo di panni di colore, o mellati denari 2. sterl. per panno.

Diritto, e spese, che ha lana a travestita del Porto di Londra per portarla fuori d’ Inghilterra.

Primieramente per costuma allo Re soldi . . . sterl. per succo 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 comunemente fanno largo peso da . . . chiovì per succo al profitto del mercante.

E per cortesia a’ cherici della detta costuma, cioè agli scrivani per lo cocchetto, cioè per la lettera suggellata del sigello della lana 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 succo, 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 scarpiglieria.

E per gli baramanni, che traggono le sacche della lana dell’ ostello, e mettelo sul carro un mezzo den sterlino per iscappiglieria.

E quei tecnici ragionano, che comunemente tutte le sopradette spese siano a tutti gli altri porti d’ Inghilterra, onde si tragg 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 quantità in somma denari 2. in 3. sterlini.

Seta, raffinaro 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 quale con Londra, e primieramente, con Anguera di Brabante.

Libbre 100. di Londra fanno in Anguera libb. 100. di spezzeria.

Libbre 78. di seta al peso di Londra fa in Anguera 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 spezzatari 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 alla 95. e mezzo a misura di canovaccio, che è 5. quartiere l’ alla, come deve essere a tuttuna misura, ma diviene, perché a Londra in Inghilterra fanno più larga misura, che a Camo.

Con Aguamorta di Provenza.

Per ispesa di lana a conducerle da Londra d’ Inghilterra ad Aguamorta in Provenza a uno sacco di lana, che se ne fanno due balle, che sono una carica, cioè una soma di mulo, che deve essere 4. cantara di Provenza, che sono da libbre 500. di Firenze.

Primieramente per nolo di Londra fanno a Liborno alla soma den. 12. sterlini per balla, monta alla sosia soldi 2. sterlini.

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

E per guindaggio a’ marinieri della nave, quando si carica a Liborno della nave un mezzo sterlino per balla, monta alla soma den. 1. sterlino.

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

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

Somma le dette 5. parte sol. 2. den. 6. sterlini alla soma di sol. 3. sterl. 1. fior. d’ oro.
Some records in the Record Office are 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 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 tous ceux que ces lettres vendront salut. Coment qe entre autres choses en les ordinances de nos estaples stabilis nadgaires en nostre roialme Dangelterre soit contenz qe nul des marchesnts de nostre dit roialme sur forfaitaire ne passent par de la une leines quirs ou peaux lanutz. Nientmeins, puis ondone deliberation que grantz et autres de nostre conseil per commun profit de nous et de nostre dit roialme si grantames et domames congie a nos avantditz marchantz qils puissent passier per de la une leur dites leines quirs et peaux per un temps, paient a nous les custumes et subsidized ent due. Et per cause qe la moindre es parties de Flaundres estz grandement empire et les pris des leines molt amenuyse de tant qe nos ditz marchantz ne fausenient mises leur franchises illoege tiels come ils ont en deuant ces heures, si envoiames nadgaires nos messages en nostre auantditz marchaunt quils puissent passer per de la une leur dites leines quirs et peaux par un temps, paient a nous les custumes et subsidized ent due. Et par cause qe la moindre es parties de Flaundres estz grandement empire et les pris des leines molt amenuyse de tant qe nos ditz marchantz ne fausenient mises leur franchises illoege tiels come ils ont en deuant ces heures, si envoiames nadgaires nos messages en nostre auantditz marchaunt quils puissent passier per de la une leur dites leines quirs et peaux par un temps, paient a nous les custumes et subsidized ent due. Et par cause qe la moindre es parties de Flaundres estz grandement empire et les pris des leines molt amenuyse de tant qe nos ditz marchantz ne fausenient mises leur franchises illoege tiels come ils ont en deuant ces heures, si envoiames nadgaires nos messages en nostre auantditz marchaunt quils puissent passier per de la une leur dites leines quirs et peaux par un temps, paient a nous les custumes et subsidized ent due. Et par cause qe la moindre es parties de Flaundres estz grandement empire et les pris des leines molt amenuyse de tant qe nos ditz marchantz ne fau
APPENDIX.

VI. LONDON COMPANIES IN THE TIME OF HENRY VIII. Mr. L. 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. 269) 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 rent to the King; the point in dispute was not as to the qualifications of the Grocer, but as to his contribution to the Weavers' firm. 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 Grocer 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 exception to the manner in which he was organising his business.

In most humble wyse compleyneth & sheweth unto your highnes your true and faithfull Subjectes and liegenem Robert Hill and Thomas Darger Bailiffes of the Gyld of the Weuers of London...... the body of the fylieshippe of the same Gyld. That whereas the same Bailiffes and filieshipes and their predecessours have helde & holden the seid Gyld from the wyse 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 fermere And by alle the same tymne haue paid & vst to pay to your highnes & your seid progenitours for their seid ffe frierne yerele xxiiij in your Eschequer for that no weuer but if he was of the seid Gyld shuld intromytte in the seid craft within the citles of London nor in the burg of Suthwerk. And to haue the sarche & correccion of all differ & myssbeahynge in the same craft and the occupacion & exercize thereof And that no weuer that were not of the seid craft & Gyld shuld resseyue any threile within the seid citle of any dwellers of the same for the tymne beyng to be carried to other places out of the seid Cites there to be wrought or weuen as in the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere out of the tymne of mynde. And by all the same tymne hath truly & partes of your highnes & your seid progenitours the seid fee fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. 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Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith. Whiche Gyldes & libertas your seid progenitours and their seid predecessours haue peebly haude & vsed for the seid fei fermere of xxiiij yerele as it apperith of Record in the seid Eschequer. Nevertheless gracious soveraign lord so it is that seid Richard Lee of London grocer contrarie to the same Charter more plenely apperith.
God & in the wy of charite and your seid Oratours shall con-
tynually pray to God for the preseruation of your most Roiall
state long prosperously to endure.

Termino hillarye A. R. xxii.

Endoresed: Thomas Hyll and Thomas Barger ceptores london
cont maiore london & Ricardus Lee de cadem grocerum.

The Answere of Richard Lee to the Bill of complaint of
Robert Hill & other Wevers of London.

The said Richard saith that the mater of the said bill is
fayned and of no truthe. And the said Richard seith that he set
many and diuers solikes in werk with spynyng of wolle wyne
and sette on werk the wevers of the Citee of London to wepe his
clothe—till of late tymethe wevers of the said citee persuyng
that the said Richard had grete plente of wolle wyne to wepe
wold not wepe any wyllene wyne of the saide Richard except he
wolde paye for every brode cloth v* where they were afores that
tyme ves to take omly iiiij & not above. And the said Richard
seith that in the Citee of London amonge diuers other custumes
it has ben vsed oute of time of nynde that every fireman
enfranchised in any crafte or felissiphe of the said citee may &
hath vesp to occupy the craft of the occupacion of wevers awasell
as all other so that they will be contributory to such fee ferme
as the felissiphe of wevers here, and pay vyly to the kinpe after
the rate of his occupacion of wevinge as by diuers mates of
record and otherwise shall sufficiently proved. Which custume
amonge other hath bene by diuers actes of parliament & other-
wise sufficiently auctorised ratefied and confirmed. And the said
Richard saith that he is of longtyme hath bene enfranchised
and a freman of the craft or felissiphe of Grocers within the said
Citee. And he so being bought ij brodes
wise sufficiently auctorised ratefied and confermed. And the said
Richard hath doe or committed any thinge to the contrarie of
the said Charter or to the losse or decay of the said felissiphe or fee ferme, and withoute that the said Richard is
glitt of any vnlawfull demenyng sute or vexacione as in the said
bill of complanyt is submytted.

Endoresed.—Ricardus Legh deponit in vim juramenti sui in
hac parte pretost presentem suum responsim fore verum negat
cetera singula in bills quams 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 Baldacci Pegolotti incorporated in his book 1; 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 into the immediate neighbourhood of Florence (1250). The letter of Simone Gherardi to Ugo Spinelli in London in Jan. 1280, 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 Varenergh and Holbaun. 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 Nicolao Frescobaldi in 1401, 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. Chondisgualdo for Cotswold. The document has been printed by Pagnini, 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. Peruzzi 2 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 Varenergh 3, and more recently by Dr Liebermann in the Index to Holbaun, 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 guesswork; the few cases, where I have ventured on an emendation—

1 La pratica della Mercatura. I am indebted to Mr B. J. Whitwell (Atheneum, 22 Aug. 1903) 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 Id. xi. 350.
3 Storia del commercio e dei bancomiì di Firenze, p. 71.
4 L'histoire des relations diplomatiques entre le comte de Flandre et l'Angleterre au moyen age, p. 214.
5 Hannoversches Urkundenbuch, iii. 408.

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

Bricciata, vuol dire scicata, e fattone più ragione del toxone della lana.

Buona lana sì è la migliore, quando si briscia.

Mojano lana sì è la mezzana ragione della lana, quando si briscia.

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

Stecchata vuol dire, levato dal toxone della lana pura le zacche della lordura della berbicce appicchata alla lana.

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

Punges (sic) vuol dire lo toxone della lana, poi che è brisciata, e apperecchiato sì è l' ruolato, e fattone ad modo d' una palla grossa.

§ INGHILTERRA f. 171.

INGHILTERRA PER LANE DI MAGIONE, E PER LANE CHIOGLIETTE, E QUANTR LANE CHACUNA MAGIONE SOGLIONO AVERE PER ANNO, E QUELLO CHE FURUNO VENDUTE IN FLANDER L' ANNO DELL' anno, E QUELLE MAGIONI, CHE LLE BRICCIANO, SI NE FANO 5 RAGIONI, CHE SÌ DICE BUONA, E MEZZANA, CHE SÌ DICE AMONNANA (sic), E LLA MENO BUONA, CHE SÌ DICE LOCCHI.

Niobottoli (Newbottle, Edinburgh, C.) la buona, marchi 1 1/2, e lla mojano mar. 9, e locchi mar. 7 1/2 il saccho, e annone da 30. sacchi per anno.

*Mirososo (Melrose, Roxburgh, C.) la buona marchi 16, e lla mojano mar. 10, e locchi mar. 6 1/2 il sacchio, e annone da 50. sacchi per anno.

Barmicciasche (Balmervie [Balmerinach, C.) la buona mar. 10, e lla mojano mar. 7, e locchi mar. 4 il saccho, e annone per anno in somma da 14. sacche.

*Chupero (Gupar Angus, Perth, C.) la buona mar. 18 1/2, e lla mojano mar. 10 1/2, e locchi mar. 9 il sacchio, e annone da 30. sacchi per anno.

*Chiloisola (Kinscas, Elgin, C.) la buona marchi 15, e lla mojano marchi 11, e locchi mar. 7 1/2 il saccho, e annone da 15. sacche l' anno.

are italicised. The letters C. Cistervian, B. Benedictine, A.C. Augustinian Canon, G. Gilbertine, P. Premonstratensian, Ci. Cluniac are, 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*.—12*; Pagnini, op. cit. iii. p. xx) in regard to the different qualities of wool.

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APPENDIX.

Donfermellino (Dunfermline, Fifo, B.) la buona marches 13. e lla mojana 8½, e llocchi mar. 6. il saccho, e ànnone da 15. saccho l'anno.

*Donfarne (Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright, C.) la buona mar. 18. e lla mojana mar. 10½, e llocchi mar. 5. il saccho, e ànnone da 15. saccho l'anno.

*Grenellusso (Glenluce, Wigtownshire, C.) la buona mar. 18. e lla mojana mar. 11. e llocchi mar. 5 il saccho, e ànnone da 15. saccho per anno.

Balle diuacho* (Roxburgh)

Ghulinghano (Coldingham, Berwick, B.)

Ghelso (Kelso, B.)

Nobonucco (North Berwick, B.N.)

Sansasso²

Grigehorza* (Geddesworth, Jedworth, A.C.)

Il tempo di Bratendocca (Balan-trodoch)

*Chome vengono della fondis, e chagharamel furono vendute in Finido, al sopradetto anno, cioè ... da mar. 9 insino in mar. 10½ saccho, si-chione Simiola³ e bellete (sic) ricevute dalle dette magione.

Cogliette.

Di Luiznestri (Leicester) la buona Marchi 12 saccho.

Di Ledesia (Leeds) mar. 12½ saccho.

Del Pooche (The Peak) mar. 10½ saccho.

D' Elmetta (Elmet) mar. 11 saccho.

Di Trasco (Thirsk) mar. 10½ il saccho.

Di Chondisqualdo (Cotswold) mar. 11 saccho.

Mojzioni dell' ordine di Castello.

*Olochotramo (Holm Cultram, Cumberland, C.) la buona marches 18. e lla mojana marches ... e i locchi mar. 9½ il saccho, e ànnone da 40. saccho l'anno.

*Nio Montricre In orre bollanda (New Minster, Northumb., C.) la buona marches 17½, e lla mojana mar. 11. e llocchi mar. 9½, e ànnone da 35. saccho l'anno.

*Forance In norto bollanda (Purness, Lanca., C.) la buona marches

1) Mr. J. Edwards suggests Roxburgh bales, and calls attention to the form of the miller in the name of the worniser, Hughon Roch. (Innes, Origines Parochiales Scotiae, 1. 466.)

2) Mr. J. Edwards suggests the Cistercian Abbey of S. Servans or Culross.

3) Skene Celtic Scotland, ii. 257.

4) I am indebted to Mr. Edwards for this identification. Compare Innes, op. cit. 4, 466.

5) Cuilmer's Caledonia, v. 86, 812. The list is presumably earlier than 1212 when this house was transferred to the order of S. John.

6) This is apparently the port of shipment.

7) I am indebted to Mr. Whitwell for this suggestion.

8) There are not sufficient data for identification.

9) The head-line to l. 172 seems to have been mistaken by Paguini 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. 10½ il saccho, ed annone da 6 sacche per anno.

*Crocchestrengre (Croxden, Staff, C.) la buona mar. 21, e lla mojana mar. 12 e i locchi mar. 11 il sacco, e annone da 30 sacche per anno.

*Lagraziadio (Grave Diem, Mon., C.) la buona mar. 16, e lla mojana mar. 10 e i locchi mar. 7½ il sacco, ed annone da 5 sacche per anno.

*Diolacchresca (Dieulaeves, Staff, C.) la buona mar. 16, e lla mojana mar. 10 e i locchi mar. 8½ il sacco, ed annone da 20 sacche l’anno.

*Biliguassi (Bidulcseas, Shrop, C.) la buona mar. 20, e lla mojana mar. 12 e i locchi mar. 10 il sacco, e annone da 20 sacche l’anno.

*Stalleo (Stanlegh, Shrop, C.) la buona mar. 27, e lla mojana mar. 12 e i locchi, ma briscialla, 6 pietre per sacco, e annone da 25 sacche per anno.

*Morghana (Marryam, Glamor, C.) la buona mar. 17, e lla mojana viene, però che non fanno né mojana, né locchi, ma brisella, 6 pietre per sacco, e annone da 25 sacche annuo.

*Nietta (Newth, Glamor, C.) quasi vale altrettanto, e parecchissi alla medesima maniera, e annone da x sacche l’anno.

*Lantarnam (Lantarnam, Mon., C.) lo sacco di due pesi mar. il sacco, ed è grossa chona, ed annone da S. Sacche per anno.

*Tantern (Tinent, Mon., C.) la buona mar. 28, e lla mojana mar. 15 e i locchi mar. 12 il sacco, e annone da 15 sacche per anno.

*Dora (Dora, Hereford, C.) la buona mar. 28, e lla mojana mar. 15 e i locchi mar. 14 il sacco, e annone da 16 sacche per anno.

*Istanforte (Ystrad Marchal, Montgomery, C.) marchi 10 i due pesi, e annone da 12 sacche per anno.

*Bianclanda (Alba Laudo, Caernarthen, C.) mar. 10½ sacchi di due pesi, e annone da 15 sacche per anno.

*Chinesulda (Kingswood, Wilts, C.) la buona mar. 26 e lla mojana 15 il sacco, e annone da 25 sacche per anno.

*Istalle in Gildisire (Stanlegh, Wilts, C.) la buona mar. 19 e lla mojana mar. 13 il sacco ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.


*Bellaugholera (Beaulieue, Hunts, C.) la buona mar. 24 e i locchi mar. 15 sacco, e annone da 25 sacche l’anno.

*Binendona (Bindon, Dorset, C.) la buona mar. 15 e lla mojana mar. 10 il sacco, e annone da 20 sacche per anno.

*Lettelecce (Nitaly (Letley), Hunts, C.) la buona mar. 12 e lla mojana mar. 7½ il sacco, e i locchi, ed annone da 5 sacche per anno.

*La quarriera dell’Isola di Ghuacco (Quaree, Isle of Wight, C.)

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1 Omitted by Pagnini and supplied from the ms.
2 Not Beona as Peruzzi printed it.

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**Wool Trade.**

la buona mar. 20 e lla mojana marchi 11 e i locchi marchi 9, e annone da 15 sacche per anno.

*Guarverles (Waverley, Susses, C.) la buona mar. 25 e lla mojana mar. 16 e i locchi mar. 14 il sacco, ed annone da 14 sacche per anno.

*Ford (Ford, Devon, C.) la buona mar. 15 e lla mojana mar. 9 il sacco, ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.

*Bufelho in Chornovaglia (Buckfastleigh, Devon, C.) la buona mar. 15 e lla mojana mar. 9 e i locchi mar. 7 il sacco, ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.

*Labriuera di Ghontisgualdo (Browerse, Oxon, C.) la buona mar. 25 e lla mojana mar. 16 e i locchi mar. 13 e annone da 12 sacche per anno.

Muinamo (Neuenham, Devon, C.) la buona mar. 16 e lla mojana mar. 9½ il sacco, et annone da due sacche l’anno.

*Tippuelle (Tippwick, Northants, C.) la buona mar. 22 e lla mojana mar. 12 il sacco, e annone da 14 sacche per anno.

*Tamo (Thame, Oxon, C.) la buona mar. 27 e lla mojana mar. 17 sterlini il sacco, ed annone da 5 sacche per anno.

*Guardona (Wardon, Beds, C.) la buona mar. 16 e lla mojana mar. 10 e i locchi mar. 8 il sacco, ed annone da 25 sacche per anno.

*Bettsedellana (Bittesden, Bucks, C.) la buona mar. 21 e lla mojana mar. 12 e i locchi mar. 10 il sacco, ed annone da 12 sacche per anno.

*Chonbo (Come, Warwick, C.) la buona mar. 19 e lla mojana mar. 12 e i locchi mar. 10 il sacco, ed annone da 18 sacche per anno.

*Miravalle (Merevale, Warwick, C.) la buona mar. 17 e lla mojana mar. 10 il sacco, e non fanno locchi, ed annone da 30 sacche per anno.

*Basinguecc (Basingwerk, Flint, C.) la buona mar. 17 e lla mojana mar. 11 e i locchi mar. 9 il sacco, e annone da 10 sacche per anno.

*Frchesoles (Plesey, Glouces., C.) la buona mar. 15 e lla mojana mar. 10 e i locchi mar. 8½ il sacco, ed annone da 6 sacche per anno.

*Brondisea (Bordesley, Worcs., C.) la buona mar. 19 e lla mojana mar. 11 e i locchi mar. 11 il sacco, ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.

*Stalle in Guarvicche (Stonely, Warwick, C.) la buona mar. 18 e lla mojana mar. 11 e i locchi mar. 10 il sacco, ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.

*Uborno (Woburn, Beds, C.) la buona mar. 18 e lla mojana mar. 19 e i locchi mar. 9 il sacco, ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.

*Bufelthe in Chornovaglia (Buckfastleigh, Devon, C.) la buona mar. 12½ e lla mojana mar. 9 e i locchi mar. 7 il sacco ed annone da 10 sacche per anno.

1 A duplicate entry presumably made in error.
APPENDIX.

Majoni dell' ordini di Promuontieri in Inghilterra.

Alnwich (Alnwick, Northumb., P.) non briscono, mar. 10, il sacco, auonne da 20. saccha per anno.
*Santa Aghata (Easby, Yorkshire, P.) apparecchiata al modo della magione torccape, mar. 13, il sacco, e auonne da 10. saccha per anno.
*Chovremo (Corham, Yorkshire, P.) torree mar. 13, il sacco, ed auonne da 8. per anno.
*Toppolino (Tupholm, Lince, P.) la buona mar. 20, e la mojana mar. 11, e i locchi mar. 10, il sacco, e auonne da 8. saccha per anno.
*Berlingo (Barlings, Lince, P.) la buona mar. 24, e la mojana mar. 14, e i locchi mar. 12, il sacco, e auonne da 25. saccha per anno.

Chinna (Kinsor, Merioneth, C.) la buona mar. 15, e la mojana mar. 9, e i locchi mar. 8, il sacco, ed auonne da 8. saccha per anno.
*Saltcrea (Saltrey, Hunts., C.) la buona mar. 15, e la mojana mar. 9, e i locchi mar. 6½, il sacco, ed auonne da 7. saccha per anno.
*Bocchesella In Chenti (Bosley, Kent, C.) la buona mar. 15, e la mojana mar. 9, e i locchi mar. 7, il sacco, e auonne da 5, saccha per anno.
*Chonchisala (Coggeshall, Essex, C.) la buona mar. 18, e la mojana mar. 11, e i locchi mar. 9½ il sacco, ed auonne da 15. saccha per anno.
*Uncitea (Tileley, Essex, C.) la buona mar. 17½ e la mojana mar. 10, e i locchi mar. 8, il sacco, ed auonne da 12. saccha per anno.
*Lecippilona (Sibton, Saffolk, C.) la buona mar. 14, e la mojana mar. 8, e i locchi mar. 6, il sacco, ed auonne da 10. saccha per anno.
*Ponte ruberto (Roberta Bridge, Susse, C.) no la briciana, mar. 9, il sacco e auonne da 3. saccha per anno.
*Elesi in Chondisgaludo (Hailles, Gosse, C.) la buona mar. 19, e la mojana mar. 10, e i locchi mar. 7, il sacco, ed auonne da 20. sacca per anno, ed e poi peggiorata.
*Varale In gualesi (Vale Royal [Dernhall], Cheshire, C.) auonne da 6. sacca, non e di nome.
*Barche noe 1 ingualesi auonne da 20. sacca, non e di nome.
*Conte 2 Ingalesi auonne da 6. sacca per anno mar. 9, il sacco. La magione real non a luna.

1 This is identified by Peruzzi with the Premonstratensian Abbey of Torr in Devonshire.
2 The dedication of Bradsole was to S. Radegund.

WOOL TRADE.

Nixumi (Newsham, Linces., P.) la buona mar. 21, e la mojana mar. 12, e i locchi mar. 9, il sacco, ed auonne da 20. sacca per anno.
*Crocestona (Croston, Linces., P.) la buona mar. 22, e la mojana mar. 12, il sacco, e auonne da 25. saccha per anno.
*Ottub (Youboth, Linces., P.) torre mar. 16, il sacco, ed auonne da 6. sacca per anno.
*Lasulderia (Welles, Notts., P.) torcia mar. 11, il sacco, ed auonne da 6. sacca per anno.
*Agrestano (Egleston, Yorks., P.) la buona mar. 15, e la mojana mar. 11, il sacco, ed auonne da 10. sacca per anno.
*Sallhso (Saddle, Northants., P.) torcia marci 16, il sacco, auonne da 6, sacca per anno.
*Ticelrerto (Tuckfield, Hants., P.) schrahcata mar. 9, saccho, auonne da 15, sacca per anno.
*Laballa 1 (La Dale, Derby, P.) in torce mar. 14, il sacco, auonne da 9, sacca per anno.
*Ciuppi in vestrelbendla (Shapp, Westmoreland, P.), chome viene della falsa mar. 9, il sacco, e auonne da 10. sacca per anno.
*Dereforte icosta a Pportamun (Dureford, Sussex, P.) chome viene della falsa, mar. 9, il sacco, auonne da 10. sacca per anno.
*Bechano in chosta a Pante Ruberto 2 (Brigham, Susse, P.) chome viene della falsa, mar. 8, il sacco, auonne da 5. sacca per anno.
*Santa Indigonda 3 (Bradsole, Kent, P.) mar. 7, il sacco, ed e grossa cosa, auonne da 5, saccha l' anno.
*Mieldona 2 mar. 7, il sacco, ed e grossa chosa, auonne da 5, sacca l' anno.
*Bialcefo presso alla Roccea (Beauchief, Derby, P.) torceia mar. 14, il sacco, auonne da 10. sacca per anno.
*Baileo In Esechiasi (Bileigh, Essex, P.) come viene della falsa, mar. 7, il sacco, e auonne da 6, saccha per anno.
*La Ghalea In vestrelbendla (Shapp, Westmoreland, P.), chome viene della falsa, mar. 7, il sacco, e auonne da 5, saccha per anno.
*Avenbi Ilendisia (Hagneby, Northomb., P.) come viene della falsa, mar. 9, il sacco, e auonne da 2. saccha per anno.
*Inghiltera.

1 Mr. Whitewell 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 Crusis.
3 In Chenti (Boxley, Kent, C.) la buona mar. 17½, e la mojana mar. 11, e i locchi mar. 7, il sacco, e auonne da 12. saccha per anno.
4 The Premonstratensian Abbey of Buckland near Saldon in Essex, and a Gilbertine House at Meldon 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 proximity as to which of the numerous Premonstratensian houses may be intended.
APPENDIX.

*Santa Chaterina di Nicchola (Lincoln, G.) la buona mar. 22½ e lla mojana tratti mar. 12½ il saccho, ànnone da 35, saccha per anno.

Averolino (Haverholme, Linces., G.) la buona mar. 18 e lla mojana mar. 10, e i locchi mar 8½ il saccho, ànnone da 15, saccha per anno.

*Chatelles (Cattley, Linces., G.) la buona mar. 19 e lla mojana mar. 11½, e i locchi mar. 8½ il saccho, ànnone da 7, saccha per anno.

*Dollintona (Bullington, Linces., G.) la buona mar. 22 e lla mojana mar. 13, e i locchi mar. 9¼ il saccho, ànnone da 18 sacche per anno.

*Sisantes (Sichill, Linces., G.) la buona mar. 18 e lla mojana 10¼, e i locchi mar. 9, il saccho, e ànnone da 18, sacche per anno.

*Orinesbi (Ormesby, Linces., G.) la buona mar. 19 e lla mojana mar. 11, e i locchi mar. 10, il saccho, ànnone da 18, sacche per anno.

Marina (Muttersey, Notts., G.) la buona mar. 19, e lla mojana mar. 11, e i locchi mar. 10, il saccho, e ànnone da 8, sacche per anno.


*Maltona (Malton, Yorks., G.) la buona mar. 17, e lla mojana mar. 11, e i locchi mar. 6, il saccho, e ànnone da 45, sacche per anno.

Elerton (Elerton, Yorks., G.) la buona mar. 15, e lla mojana mar. 8½ il saccho, e ànnone da 10, sacche per anno.


*Sisante (Chickseand, Beds., G.) la buona mar. 16, e lla mojana mar. 9, il saccho, e ànnone da 12, sacche per anno.

Soldano (Shouldham, Norfo, G.) la buona mar. 12½, e non nono mojana, nè llocchi, ma brisiante 3, pietre per saccho, e ànnone da 16, sacche per anno.

Clarechoni (Clattercote, Oxon, G.) la buona mar. 17, e lla mojana mar. 11, il saccho, e ànnone da 3, sacche per anno.

*Alvinghamano (Alvingham, Linces., G.) la buona mar. 18, e lla mojana mar. 10, e i locchi mar. 9, il saccho, e ànnone da 10, sacche per anno.

Novellugho (Newstead, Linces., G.) mar. 15, il saccho, non nono mojana, ma brisiante fuori puro i locchi, e ànnone da 10, sacche per anno.

Al Ponte (Holland Bridge, Linces., G.) non ha lana quasi niente.

Miramesb (Mimnesb, 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.

Wool Trade.

Fordano Insulfolcho (Forkham, Cambs., G.) ha da uno saccho di lana intera, e grossissima.

**Nomarre di Dania, che anno lana di rinone in Inghilterra.**

*Istamfeltro (Stangfeld, Linces., B. N.) la buona mar. 28, e lla mojana mar. 16, e i locchi mar. 7, il saccho, ed ànnone da 12, sacche per anno, ed è molto migliorata, e vendesi in Flandra mar. 30, il saccho della buona.

*Isticchi Sigualdo (Stykeswold, Linces., C. N.) la buona mar. 20, e lla mojana mar. 12, e i locchi mar. 9, il saccho, e ànnone da 15, sacche per anno.

*Nonochotono (Vua Coton, Linces., C. N.) la buona mar. 18, e lla mojana 10, e i locchi mar. 8, il saccho, ed ànnone da 10, sacche per anno.

*Ampola (Hampole, Yorks., C. N.) torcese mar. 14, il saccho, e ànnone da 6, sacche per anno.

Grimesbi (Grimesby, Linces., C. N.) chome viene della falda mar. 17, il saccho, e ànnone da 2, sacche per anno.

Eunighe (Heynings, Linces., C. N.) chome viene della falda mar. 13, il saccho, e ànnone da 2, sacche per anno.

Chocculle (Gokselle, Linces., C. N.) chome viene della falda mar. 15, il saccho, et ànnone da 4, sacche per anno.

Langhalo presso a nontighiano (Langley, Leices., B. N.) come viene della falda mar. 12, il saccho, e ànnone da 5, sacche per anno.

Ardena (Arden, Yorks., B. N.) torce mar. 13, il saccho, ànnone da 10, sacche per anno.

Chilidona (Kildon, Yorks., C. N.) chome viene della falda mar. 12, saccho, e ànnone da 12, sacche per anno.

Rosedalla (Rosedale, Yorks., B. N.) chome viene della falda mar. 10½ saccho, e ànnone da 10, sacche per anno.

Sanchimento (Clementshorpe, Yorks., G.) stracciata mar. 12, il saccho, e ànnone da 3, sacche per anno.

Sino Inochildesna (Swinesby, Yorks., C. N.) la buona mar. 14, e lla mojana mar. 9, e i locchi mar. 7, il saccho, e ànnone da 6, sacche per anno.

Mariche In chosta ricamante (Maryke, Yorks., B. N.) chome viene della falda, mar. 11, il saccho, ed ànnone da 8, sacche per anno.

*Vichanno In chosta rivalse (Wyckham, Yorks., C. N.) chome viene della falda, mar. 11, il saccho, ed ànnone da 4, sacche per anno.

Anchordona (Ankerwyke, Buck., B. N.) chome viene della falda, mar. 11½ il saccho, e ànnone da 4, sacche per anno.

Tine chotte appresso di Verriviche a 5 miglia (Thicket, Yorks., B. N.), chome viene della falda, mar. 12, il saccho, e ànnone da 4, sacche per anno.

Monacherone presso di Verriviche (Monketon, Yorks., B. N.), chome viene della falda, mar. 11, il saccho, e ànnone da ... sacche per anno.
Endichiamo presso di Maltone (Little Maries, Yedingham, Yorks., B. N.) mar. 11. il saccho torcega. Lecceborno in chosta allua (Lekeborn, Loutha, C. N.) come viene della falda mar. 12 ¾ il saccho, ed annone da 3. sacche per anno.

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

Chisiborno (Quisiborough, Yorks., A. C.) iscrachata mar. 12 ¾ il saccho, ed annone da 20. sacche per anno.


*Brindellintona (Bridlington, Yorks., A. C.) torcea mar. 13 ¾ saccho, annone da 50. sacche per anno.

*Chircamo (Kirkham, Yorks., A. C.) in torcea mar. 14 saccho, annone da 30. sacche l'anno.

Guiote ostriottone (Whitby, Yorks., B.) i locchi grossi mar. 9 ¼ saccho, annone da 30. l'anno.

Sellibei (Selby, Yorks., B.) in torcea mar. 12. il saccho, e annone da 15. sacche l'anno.

Nostra Dana di Veruiche (S. Mary's, York, B.), chome viene della falda, mar. 11. il saccho, e annone da 30. sacche per anno.

Guarterra (Ware, Yorks., A. C.), chome viene della falda, mar. 10 ¾ sacco, ed annone da 20. sacche per anno.

Dradichisi (Drew, Yorks., A. C.) chome viene della falda mar. 12. il sacco e annone da 5. sacche per anno.

Santo Usualdo (S. Oswald's, Nostell, Yorks., A. C.), chome viene della falda mar. 12 ¼ saccho, ed annone da 10. sacche per anno.

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

Bria (Blyth, Notta, B.), chome viene della falda, mar. 12. il saccho, annone da 5. sacche per anno.

Giuisopo presso abiliada (Workkop, Blyth, A. C.), chome viene della falda, mar. 12. saccho, ed annone da 5. sacche per anno.


Tornolino (Thornholm, Lincs., A. C.) la buona mar. 16 ¼ e lla mojana mar. 10 ¾ il saccho, e annone da 8. sacche per anno.

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


ANNECHI.

Onbrestano In Lendisie (Humbreston, Lincs., B.), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. il saccho, e annone 5. sacche per anno.

*Novochna parcho (Noeton, Lincs., A. C.) la buona marchi 20. e lla mojana mar. 11. e i locchi mar. 8., e annone da 4. sacche per anno.

Rovinecestri in chosta alpeche (Rouestor, Staffs., A. C.), chome viene della falda, marches 12. il sacchio, e annone da 12. sacche per anno.

Derla (Darley, Derby, A. C.) in torcea mar. 12 ½ saccho, e annone da 16. saccha per anno.


Chuntorberj (Cantonyb, B.), come viene della falda, mar. 12. saccho, e annone da 8. sacche per anno.


Renpendona (Repton, Der. A. C.) in torcea mar. 15. il sacco, e annone 25. sacca per anno.

Lenton in chosta a Nontinhamo (Lenton, Notte., C1.) mar. 13 ½ saccho, e annone da 10. sacche per anno.

Nostra Dana di Lixestrrj (S. Mary's, Leicester, A. C.) In torcea mar. 15 saccho, ed annone da 20. sacche per anno.

Chirubbi (Kirkby, Leicester, A. C.), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. il sacchio, e annone da 5. sacca per anno.

Gitterono (Wyttering, Northants., B.), chome viene della falda, mar. 13. il sacchio, et annone da 5. sacche per anno.


*Novelliugho Soirenda (Novestead, Nottas., A. C.), chome viene della falda, mar. 12 ½ il saccho, e annone da 4. sacche per anno.

Belluere (Belvoir, Lincs., B.), chome viene della falda, mar. 15. il saccho, e annone da 5. sacche per anno.

Fine vete a 8. miglia presso a Stanforte (Finshesed, Northants., B.), chome viene della falda, mar. 9. il saccho, ed annone da 5. sacche per anno, ed è grosse chosa.

Ispaldinghe (Spalding, Lincs., B.) in torcea mar. 13. il sacco, e hannone da 40. sacche per anno.

Tornai presso aspaldinghe (Thorney, Cams., B.) iascchata mar. 10. il sacco, e hannone da 6. sacche per anno.

Anche magioni dell' ordine nero che anno lane.

Dreipieghe presso a Stanforte (Deeping, Lincs., B.) stracchata mar. 18. il sacco, ed annone da 5. sacche per anno.

Broon (Bourn, Lincs., A. C.), chome viene della falda, mar. 10. il saccho, annone 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.
E. THE IMMIGRATION OF ALIEN CRAFTSMEN INTO ENGLAND IN NORMAN AND ANGEVIN TIMES.

Professor Ashley, in the course of a kindly review 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 Ochsenkowki, as to the probable character of the early guilds 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. "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 utiitassime—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, 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 immigration 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.

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1 A translation of the following pages has already appeared in the J. Soc.
2 This seems more probable than any other house of Black Monks or Canons, with the same termination.
3 Or the name may mean more than one house of Black Monks or Canons.
4 The abbreviation is from the geographical position of the place.
5 This seems more probable.
6 A translation of the following pages has already appeared in the J. Soc.
7 The name may mean more than one house of Black Monks or Canons.
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 Guilds 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 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 host. 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 and francigenae need not detain us; but few of William's followers, whether Normans or Flemings, were French in a strict sense, and it is plain that the terms were applied indiscriminately to all those who followed William from abroad as well as to men of similar 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 anglios). The continued existence of this class of inhabitants is evidenced by the so-called Laws of William the Conqueror. 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 chief; some had very small holdings, and others are enumerated along with the villagers and borderers as servientes or described as cotarii. 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 possim; but the distribution appears to have differed a good deal. There were considerable numbers of them in several towns, such as Norwich, Shrewsbury, Southampton, and Hereford; we find several entries respecting them in the neighbourhood of Pershore, and in Cheshire. 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 lord. But though these entries throw interesting light on the position of the burhburger 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 Gileberti, who demanded unwonted tolls at Barton on Humber, may be fairly regarded as applying to immigrants, and it is of constant recurrence; on one of Holbein's Lincolnshire manors the distinction is pointed explicitly. De supra dicta terra et societas habentur homines Roberti in carucatu; unus quoque anglicus habet unum carucatum. Those who are specified as the homines of Norman leaders may be fairly regarded as swelling the numbers of the francigenae of inferior rank.

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1 A. D. de la Fontenelle, "Coprification de Poitouem" in Revue Normande (Cher), t. p. 224.
2 In several cases the word francus does not mean an alien of any kind, but is used instead of alio and in opposition to villani; e.g., iuc per francus et villani. Domesday Book (Middlesex, t. 129, a. 1; 126, b. 1; 129, b. 2; 126, a. 1). So too the arrangements for the pleas (t. 170, a. 2) and for the payment of King's and of bills at Pershore (t. 172, b. 1) were probably intended for freemen (Francia) though there were several francigenae on these estates.
3 Ex Normannia et Francobrigia seu Francus et Britonius. Guillelmus Geometricus, in Duchesne, Norm. p. 520, a. v. c. 34. The part played by the Flemings in the Conquest has been discussed with admirable care by M. Gantrel in the Novelsiticae Archivum (Grenoble), t. pp. 345-409. I have been greatly indebted to this excellent monograph.
4 Freeman, Norman Conquest, Vol. iii. p. 314.
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 them, even if the recurring phrase _anglis in hoc hundredo_ 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 _Inquisitiones post mortem_; I have noticed eight. Yet the lists of the jurors in the _Inquisitiones post mortem_ prove that they were really largely represented among the smaller tenants. 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 preserved; 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 _propositus_ who put it at £90. In Southwark the jurors, both French and English, gave evidence about a suit commenced but relinquished by the Bishop of Bayeux. In Berkshire the English jurors decided against the claim of an Englishman as unlawful. In Essex one case is noted where the French and English jurors agree, and one where they differ. In Wilts the English protested that an estate valued at £70 _ad personam_ was only worth £60 by tale, and that another valued at £18 was only worth £12, while the French jurors proved that William of Finchengi held a hide and a virgate which rightfully belonged to Edward of Salisbury and the manor of Stoche. 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 counties were divided upon to specify their origin. Now and then a tenant is simply described as an Englishman, owing to some accidental circumstance, and it is probable that there were far more _francigenae_ in each county than are directly, or by implication, described as such. 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 separately, and the detail helps to explain the cause of the rise in the value of an estate. In Hereford the fiscal obligations of the _francigenae_ were quite different from those of the other inhabitants, and in towns like Shrewsbury and Southampton the number of the _francigenae_ is described as a cause of 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 fleet 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 return. But in one case at least he paid for a ship with a carucate of land; and it is possible that this transaction was a type of the bargains he made with the shipowners of Rouen and Caen. _Knights_ gives us an understanding that a crowd of adventurers flocked to England and settled on the land. He duxit secum in Anglia tantum copiam et multitudo varium gentium, sedicet Normannorum, Piccardorum, Britonum, Burgilorum, de quibus magna pars remanuit in Anglia ubi ubi dispersa. Quidam possessiones habentes de dicto Willelmo, seu ab aliis dominis sibi datae, quidam vero ex emigrotine habentes, sive in officiis sub spes habendi remanerunt. It was on the whole the policy of the government to ignore the.
differences between the races, at least for fiscal purposes; and
Ordéric asserts that amalgamation went on rapidly and was
promoted by intermarriage. 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
In addition, the Fleming had had the earldom of Chester
assigned him, but he did not enjoy it long, and magna ibi
fell. 2
Valcher difficilia tam ab Anglis than William was
who preferred, when the war was over, to betake himself to his old avocations, as builders, as merchants, or in connection with the cloth trade.

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 Ordéricus Vitalis, 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 effectively 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 Evesham during his reign.

(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

with imported goods. The passage already quoted from Ordéricus 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 developed, while the merchants who visited this country were glad to purchase English embroidery. 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 London.

(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 fashion 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 home-spun cloth was probably the result of women's work as a household occupation. There were thus plenty of openings for enterprise 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 monks of Caen were well able to execute work in our country. Again, the river Soins 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 by Baldwin the Young, a century before the Norman Conquest. The art of weaving was well established among the Flemings, 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 sheep. This reads like an anticipation of the enclosure which caused so much indignation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it is at

1 Ord. Vit. iv. c. 11.
2 Ibid. iv. c. 11 (Migne).
3 Gualtimo Fieataeviri in Ducesne, Normannorum, p. 211.
4 Ibid. 206.
5 Ibid. iv. c. 11.
6 Ord. Vit. iv. c. 11 (Migne).
7 De R. i. 175, b. 2; Br. sdt. hoves ad manum carucam sed petram tradunt ad ecclesiam.
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 numbers 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 order.

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 Brittany; 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 cause. 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 part.

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 1174. In the preceding year there had been a pitched battle at Bury, when 3,000 mercenaries marching towards Leicester were slain or captured. Gervase of Canterbury expresses great satisfaction over this massacre. Nani Flandrenses lupi, Anglienses copiae ab olim invidentes, naturali negotio teutioria siliiest artis diniues, Angliae se jam cepisse jactabant.

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 artas, a tenitoris ad ergasterias. Flandrensim plurimi revocati.

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 continued 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

3 Ord. Vis. (in Migne) i. 13, c. xiii. anno 1157.
4 Anglica, Barony, c. 646.
6 Ibid., ii. p. 290.
7 Gervase Cant. (R. S.) t. p. 246.

IMMIGRATION OF ALIENS.

1 Baldwin de Diceto, Hist. i. 197 (Rolls Series).
4 Gallienus Neuburgensis (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 Caen; and there was frequent intercourse 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 fonts 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 Leicester, 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.

(6) 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 there 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- 

burgeoises 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 Caen. I cannot suppose, however, that the development of commerce was so rapid as to bring about the formation of a class of wealthy 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 bur- 
gesses. 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 Gildes Mercantiles; artisans who wished to buy materials or sell their goods 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, 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 Merchants of Shrewsbury have been preserved from the thirteenth century, 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 Continent 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 elsewhere that combined purchasing was the economic object in the formation of Gilds Merchant; the right of cast, 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
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 manufacturers who held aloof from and suppressed unskilled weavers. We may now turn to the history of this trade and of the organisations among weavers.

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 gilds of weavers in Winchester and other towns in the thirtieth 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 1148 only enumerates one weaver, Aldemus, and three dyers, Ailwardus, Divo, 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 gilds as early as 1151, and each paid the sum of 26 annually as the equivalent of a mark of gold; as there are numerous entries in which no calling is specified there is no conflict in our evidence.

Weavers' Gilds existed in other centres at this date. The gild 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 power. There were also gilds of weavers at Oxford and at Lincoln, each paying £6, while in Huntington there was a weavers' gild which paid £4.5. Subsequently a weavers' gild is heard of at Nottingham6, and another at York which paid no less than £10.7. They seem to have been recognised institutions which were increasing in number, but the regularity 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 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 gilds 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 secure the industry, and to give a reputation to the cloth manufactured by their members; and the gild system, whatever were the special privileges they procured, generally afforded the means of attaining such objects. Gilds, 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 franciscans of the twelfth century. The cordwainers of Rouen had a gild granted them by Henry I8, and the tanners by Henry II; while at Cologne there was a gild in a special department of the weaving trade as early as 1149. Another craft unconnected with the cloth trade which had a gild at this time was the cordwainers of London. Like the London weavers they seem to have been too heavily rated. 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 gilds 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' gilds 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 form of the town, but were answered separately by the gild, or by the sheriff on its behalf. The payment.

There are however some apparent omissions: there is no entry for Huntington in 6 H. 2, and the payment in 7 H. 2, p. 43, is made at the old rate with no mention of arrears. So the Oxford payment is not mentioned either in 6 or 6 H. 2. The Charters of Henry II, and of John to the men of Nottingham, with the exclusive privileges for cloth within ten leagues may be noted in this connection.

4 Durange, sub Roose Conversae. This entry will not occur in the Pipe Rolls, as we have seen a craft which had an organisation at Oxford.

5 C. H. 11, 134; and the gild at Chichester by the payment of 26 to silver. This was in the old rate for computing gold payments (35; for the ounce and 65 for the mark) and is in the ratio of 9 to 1.


8 2 H. 1; (Rec. Com.) p. 39, paying 40s.


10 10 H. 1, Pipe Roll Soc. p. 15; 11 H. 11, p. 45.
ments were not special fines, but regular contributions. Occa-

sional payments there were, as when the cordwainers of Oxford

had their gild reconstituted; but some of these had a political

character, for the Lincoln weavers there were, as when the cordwainers of Oxford

ments

that

Brief. When

they also agreed to pay two

libertatibus

The regular payments also had a political

contributed a mark of gold

Similarly it was

mandy; according to an inquisition of 1199 the

and dyers were responsible for the repairs of

mandy at the close of the twelfth century.

side in certain towns, with the

local taxation and assessment of a house rate. It seems as if

method and the other

times. I have already suggested that there is a possible

tion

provided, just as in the

of these gilds were alien settlers for

in

were at all events simultaneously, if not previously, organised in

a

lines, not regular annual payments like the wearers. Compare Winchester, 1

5

Pipe Roll Soc.

2


18 H. II. p. 109, Pipe Roll Soc.

8


8 H. II. p. 49. Et in suis superius de Danegello, Pipe Roll Soc. xvi. s.

10 Compare the obligations of the bakers in Nottingham in 1575, Notts Records, I. 197.


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


frequented in Flanders long before it was practised here as a

trade. It is at least a plausible hypothesis that the weavers' gilds were the political organisation of aliens, who were neither

depoited 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 weaver as a class in
certain towns in the thirteenth century. The exceptional position

of these aliens, even though it was an enormous 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 cause. That the men of Winchester, Oxford, Beverley and Marlborough should do their best to ex-

clude 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

certain part to play in the progress of all science; I put forward my

explanation tentatively as a 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 ex-

planation 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' dis-

abilities,—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 Colechester: 8 H. II. Pipe Roll Soc. pp. 12 also 62; to Canterbury (ib. p. 51) on account of a fire; to Beverley (J. H. I. Rec. Com. p. 9) for a similar reason.

3 8th century.
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°, and has kindly transcribed it for me.

De proclamando ne quis cardones terram Warecianam de extra regnum deferre vel transmittere prae sumat. Res vicecomitii Norumbrelande, salutem. Cum pro communi commodo et assisamento populi regni nostri ac terrarum nostrarum Hiberniae et Walliae per nos et consilium nostrum ordinatum sit quod statuta laranum coriorum et pellim lauantur in certa locis infra eadem regnum et terras non alibi teneantur; quoque nullus dictorum regni et terrarum, quibusdam personas dumtaxat exceptis, utatur post festum Natalis Domini proximo futurum panno de propria emptione sua post idem festum extra praedicta regnum et terras facto; jamque a nonnullis intellexerimus quod quam pluris de prae dicta futura regnum et quequo in certis populii nostri dispersum custodiri facias quousque aliud a nobis malicie dilatione extra ubi expedire videris, quod in singulis coercionis mittere dam butrum aut alia hujusmodi sive alius quicumque terram et terras facto; jamque a noctem tempore tuoe de turluculac non teneatur; et sub dilatione bonorum et valore bonorum sic arestandorum reddas sub sigillo tuo de tempore in tempus distincte et aperite sine dilatatione certiorum. Teste Regis apud Saltwode primo die Junii.

Eodem modo mandatum est singulis vicecomitibus Angliae.

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