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SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY OF YORK  
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES  
1300 - 1550

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Thesis  
submitted for  
the degree of Ph.D.  
in the University of London.

May 1958.

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## ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

This thesis makes no pretence of studying every aspect of York's economy. But an attempt has been made to elucidate the principal economic functions of York and to establish the main trends of its economic evolution in the later Middle Ages. The relative importance of the occupations pursued by York's citizens at various points of time has been discussed in Chapter I, and the three subsequent chapters are devoted to a detailed analysis of those occupations which seem to have been of outstanding importance both to the inhabitants of York and to men who lived many miles from the city. Chapter II examines the fortunes, products, and organisation of the cloth-making industry; Chapter III studies the changes in the nature and the value of the international trade conducted by York merchants at Hull; and Chapter IV considers the regional trade of York and the widespread activities of York merchants in England. Chapter V is concerned with trends in the size of York's population in the light of the developments discussed in the previous chapters. A separate chapter has then been devoted to the recruitment of York's population. Chapters VII and VIII investigate the financial and political rewards accruing to the members of various crafts and trades and examine in particular the factors uniting the governing class of the city, and the thesis is concluded with a summary of the main trends in the economy of York between 1300 and 1550.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.A.S.R.</u>	<u>Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers.</u>
<u>C.C.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Close Rolls.</u>
<u>C.Ch.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Charter Rolls.</u>
<u>C.F.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Fine Rolls.</u>
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Patent Rolls.</u>
<u>Cal. Inq. P.M.</u>	<u>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>
<u>Cath. Ang.</u>	<u>Catholicon Anglicum.</u>
<u>C.E.H.E.</u>	<u>The Cambridge Economic History of Europe.</u>
D. & C. Library.	Library of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.
<u>Dipl. Island.</u>	<u>Diplomatarium Islandicum.</u>
<u>Dipl. Norv.</u>	<u>Diplomatarium Norvegicum.</u>
<u>Du Cange.</u>	<u>Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis</u> ed. Du Cange.
E.C.P.	Early Chancery Proceedings.
<u>E.T.F.C.</u>	<u>Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century.</u>
<u>Ec. H.R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
Halliwell	J.O.Halliwell, <u>A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.</u>
H.B.	House Books.
H.C.A.	High Court of Admiralty.
H.T.H. Archives.	Archives of Hull Trinity House.

Heaton	H. Heaton, <u>The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries.</u>
<u>H. R.</u>	<u>Hanserecesse.</u>
K. R.	King's Remembrancer (of the Exchequer).
Lipson	E. Lipson, <u>The Economic History of England, I: The Middle Ages.</u>
L. T. R.	Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer (of the Exchequer)
<u>M. B.</u>	<u>York Memorandum Book.</u>
<u>O. E. D.</u>	<u>The Oxford English Dictionary.</u>
Park	G. R. Park, <u>The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire.</u>
P. C. C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
<u>Prompt. parv.</u>	<u>Promptorium Parvulorum.</u>
Rymer	<u>Foedera, conventiones, etc.,</u> ed. T. Rymer.
Reid	R. Reid, <u>The King's Council in the North</u>
Shaw	<u>An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street.</u>
Skaife	<u>Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi,</u> ed. R. H. Skaife
Skaife, <u>Survey.</u>	<u>The Survey of the County of York taken by John Kirkby,</u> ed. R. H. Skaife.
Thrupp	S. L. Thrupp, <u>The Merchant Class of Medieval London.</u>
<u>T. E.</u>	<u>Testamenta Eboracensia.</u>
<u>T. R. H. S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</u>

Torr	J. Torr, <u>The Antiquities of York City,</u> <u>etc.</u>	
<u>U.B.</u>	<u>Hansisches Urkundenbuch.</u>	
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria History of the Counties of</u> <u>England.</u>	
Wedgwood I.	History of Parliament, Biographies, ed. J.C. Wedgwood.	
Wedgwood II.	History of Parliament, Register, ed. J.C. Wedgwood.	
Y.P.R.	York Probate Registry.	
<u>Y.A.J.</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological (and</u> <u>Topographical) Journal.</u>	
<u>Y.A.S.</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological Society,</u> <u>Record Series.</u>	
<u>York Mercers</u>	<u>The York Mercers and Merchant</u> <u>Adventurers, 1356-1917.</u>	?
<u>Yorks. Woollen Trade.</u>	<u>Early Yorkshire Woollen Trade</u>	?
<u>York Poll Tax Returns.</u>	<u>The Lay Poll Tax Returns for the City</u> <u>of York in 1381.</u>	?

### NOTE ON SOURCES

The ancient fame of York has excited the attention of numerous local historians. No fewer than nine general histories of York have been published excluding several popular historical guides for the tourist, and a large number of monographs have examined the stained glass, memorial inscriptions, and the history of the Minster and the parish churches. (1) These works have been of assistance in establishing the topography and the political history of York, which are rarely mentioned in this thesis but form an essential background for the study, and in throwing some light on the machinery of government and the leading merchants who held civic office. Among the pioneer histories of York F. Drake's Eboracum, has proved especially valuable in all these respects, and his use of references is in marked contrast to the attitude of some subsequent historians of York who have omitted all reference to source material. In the field of topography the maps constructed by R.H. Skaife and G. Benson have provided a valuable supplement to the work of Drake, as has A. Raine's topographical survey of the city which appeared when the thesis was nearing completion; while Miss Sellers has added considerably to our knowledge of the method of

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(1) For an introduction to the work of local historians on York see J.M. Biggins, Historians of York.

governing York in her introduction to the York Memorandum Book. The four manuscript volumes of notes made by Skaife on prominent citizens of York between the end of the thirteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries, and his footnotes to the Register of the Corpus Christi Guild published by the Surtees Society in 1871 which contain the bulk of this manuscript material relating to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, have given much information on the civic offices held by the leading citizens and on their family connections.

The economic history of York has, however, been much neglected. In the middle of the last century, R. Davies in a lecture to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society analysed the enrolments of new freemen at York from the accession of Edward I to the death of Edward III with the object of discovering the ways in which the inhabitants of the city earned their living. He observed the growth of crafts concerned with cloth manufacture during the reign of Edward III, commented on the fact that a number of aliens had entered the cloth-making industry at that period and drew attention to the numerous occupations mentioned in the Register in which the names and trades of new freemen were recorded.

The most extensive work on York's economic history was

published some sixty years later when Miss Sellers contributed chapters on 'The Textile Industries' and 'Social and Economic History' to the Victoria County History for Yorkshire and wrote introductions to the two volumes of the York Memorandum Book published by the Surtees Society in 1912 and 1915 and a selection from the documents of the York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers published by that Society in 1917. These articles ranged widely over a number of topics. The extent and importance of York's foreign trade was illustrated from the somewhat inadequate material at her command, and the legislation governing the crafts of the city was examined to throw light on the products made by the various crafts, to reveal the attitude of York craftsmen to both native and alien immigrants, and even to discover how far some of the industrial products of York were distributed over the North of England. The cloth-making industry received very full treatment. The growth of the industry during the reign of Edward III which had been observed by Davies was rediscovered; the annual payments made by the Weavers' Gild to the Exchequer for the privileges enjoyed by Royal Charter were examined; and Miss Sellers was able to demonstrate from the numbers of master craftsmen assenting to the regulations of various crafts in York that quite a high proportion of York's



population was engaged in the manufacture and distribution of cloth at the close of the fourteenth century. Professor Heaton's book on the Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries, which appeared in 1920, further enlarged our knowledge of York's cloth-making industry and has modified some of Miss Sellers' conclusions. He commented on the organisation of the York textile crafts; emphasized far more the decline of cloth-making in York in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the face of competition from the growing industry of the West Riding; and exploded her views on the importance of alien immigrants to the York cloth-making industry in the reign of Edward III. But the work of Miss Sellers has remained in other respects unchallenged and represents the most comprehensive survey of York's economy hitherto available.

The debt owed by this study to Miss Sellers is considerable and it is a pity that she was unable to write at length on the economic history of York. Yet it is important to remember that her articles were, of necessity, more in the nature of informed preliminary surveys rather than detailed enquiries into any sector of York's economy. Thus, she did not attempt any systematic analysis of the Register of York Freemen when discussing the trades of the city; the fortunes of the cloth-making industry were not clearly outlined; and it was her

misfortune to write an introduction to the records of the York Merchant Adventurers' Company before the value of the particular and enrolled customs accounts, which permit quantitative estimates of trends in the international trade of York's merchants, was generally realised.

Moreover, the researches of Davies, Heaton, and Miss Sellers, have not, as yet, been integrated so that our knowledge of York's economy has remained fragmentary and disjointed. C.B.Knight, the author of the latest detailed and comprehensive survey of York's history published in 1944, has incorporated some of Miss Sellers' work, but he has erected nothing on the foundations she laid; he has attempted virtually no analysis of York's economy in a total of some 200 pages devoted to later medieval York; the cloth-making industry has scarcely been mentioned; and a chapter on the city's medieval commerce has been written without a single reference to the Hull Customs Accounts. An economic history of York is thus long overdue.

The lack of an economic history is all the more astonishing in view of the abundance of printed sources available for such a study. The Archives of York Corporation in particular have attracted the attention of editorial committees. The great bulk of the medieval records in the

possession of the Corporation, including several hundred deeds of property, the account rolls of the custodians annually appointed to supervise the property owned by the city for the maintenance of Ouse Bridge and Foss Bridge, and the preliminary account books and final account rolls of the city chamberlains, are still in manuscript. But some of the more important material in the city archives has now been published. Thus the names of nearly 20,000 men admitted to the freedom of York from 1272 to 1559, contained in the earliest Register of Freemen, which is perhaps the most striking source in the corporation archives, were published by the Surtees Society in 1897. Lists of men admitted to the freedom of the city during the later Middle Ages survive for a number of English boroughs; but York is unique in possessing a continuous record of the names, and usually the occupations, of men newly enrolled as freemen each year since the end of the thirteenth century, thus affording a fairly reliable indication of the relative importance of each trade and craft.

The information in the Register of Freemen is supplemented by the regulations governing the various crafts, recorded with other diverse memoranda relating to the activities of York's governing body, in the Register labelled A/Y and in the House Books owned by the Corporation. The Register A/Y, which was

printed as the York Memorandum Book by the Surtees Society in two volumes in 1912 and 1915, covers in some 400 folios mainly the century subsequent to the accession of Richard II. The later House Books provide a much more detailed picture of the activities of York's governing body and the first 19 volumes, which relate to the period 1475 to 1550, contain a total of some 2,000 folios. Their sheer volume obviously precludes any attempt to publish them in extenso but selections from the 19 volumes amounting to approximately a fifth of the total material, has been published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in a series entitled the York Civic Records.

The contents of a second important archive collection in York have also been published in part and the excerpts from the account rolls, ordinances, letters, and deeds, of the York Merchant Adventurers edited by Miss Sellers for the Surtees Society in 1917 are of considerable value in tracing the organisation and development of the Company. Extracts from less than a third of the Account Rolls of the Company surviving for the period 1432 to 1550 were printed by Miss Sellers and lists of members in the fifteenth century recorded in the First Minute Book are still in manuscript, but it seems likely that the bulk of the letters and decrees of the Company before the middle of the sixteenth century were

included in her volume. An exhaustive survey of the Merchant Adventurers' Archives however proved impossible since they are no longer readily accessible to the student as in Miss Sellers' day.

A number of wills of York citizens have also been published in extenso or in the form of selected excerpts. These wills, used in conjunction with the many York wills still in manuscript, are indispensable in studying the wealth and family connections which bound together the governing class of the city, and are of some value in examining the organisation of the cloth-making industry. The wills are mainly drawn from the York Probate Registry, which houses wills proved in the Exchequer and Prerogative Courts of York after the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Few wills of York's citizens exist elsewhere; the wills of a small number of citizens survive in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster since grants of probate during a vacancy of the See were made in the Court of the Dean and Chapter; a few wills dealing with property in the city are in the Archives of York Corporation; and the will of Richard York, a very eminent mayor of York, is to be found in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury Registers at Somerset House.

The most comprehensive collection of York wills in print

is contained in the six volumes of north country wills published by the Surtees Society under the general title Testamenta Eboracensia between 1836 and 1902. These consist largely of extracts selected in a haphazard fashion from wills in the York probate Registry, together with extracts from a number of wills in the Dean and Chapter Library and Somerset House, and are heavily laden with the wills of landed gentry and the clergy. Portions of the wills of some twenty York mayors, of whom more than half died between 1480 and 1530, have however been printed in these volumes with useful notes on their family connections, and a few wills of humbler York freemen have also found their way into the series. The wills edited by R.B.Cooke and the Rev. P.J.Shaw on the other hand relate exclusively to citizens of York and have been drawn entirely from the District Probate Registry. Shaw printed translations of the wills of persons buried in All Saints, North Street, as an appendix to his volume on that church; whilst Cooke confined his attention to men who held office as mayor during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and printed, before death cut short the enterprise, virtually complete translations of the wills of 24 mayors, often accompanied by a full transcription of the will.

Much material relating to York in the Public Record Office

and foreign archives is also in print. A York aulnage account for the year 1394-95 published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1925 throws some light on the entrepreneurs of the cloth-making industry and the types and colours of cloth probably produced in the city that year; the published York lay subsidy returns of 1327 and 1524 illustrate the unequal distribution of wealth in the city; and the Star Chamber Cases concerning Yorkshire during the reign of Henry VIII, issued by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in four volumes between 1909 and 1927, provide additional data on the efforts of York's merchants to dominate the trade in Yorkshire lead in the early sixteenth century. Much miscellaneous information on various aspects of York's economy and particularly on the activities of York merchants, may be obtained from the Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. The Calendars of Close Rolls and Calendars of Patent Rolls and such general foreign collections of documents as the Hanserecesse, Hansisches Urkundenbuch, Diplomatarium Norvegicum, and Diplomatarium Islandicum, throw much light on the foreign markets visited by York merchants, while the Enrolled Customs Accounts printed by Schanz and Power and Postan, used in conjunction with the Enrolled Accounts for the second half of the fourteenth century and for the reign

of Henry VII, are invaluable in determining the trends of Hull's international trade,

The abundant printed sources available for the economic history of York must be heavily supplemented from unpublished records. The quality of cloth manufactured in York when the industry was at its zenith may be determined largely by reference to the particular Hull customs accounts and the Memoranda Rolls of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer for the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and the aulnage accounts for Bristol, Coventry and Salisbury in the late fourteenth century afford an indirect means of estimating the relative importance of York as a centre of the English cloth-making industry. Early Chancery Proceedings concerning citizens of York provide much miscellaneous information about York's foreign trade, which may be supplemented in the early sixteenth century from the High Court of Admiralty Records, and quantitative data on the nature and the value of the foreign trade conducted by York's merchants is afforded by the particular Hull customs accounts. The very complete series of returns of the subsidies levied on aliens in York in the fifteenth century affords some indication of the number of aliens in the city and to a much smaller degree gives data on their nationality and occupation, while other unpublished lay subsidy returns for the city are of some value in forming



an estimate of the unequal distribution of wealth among the industrial and trading community.

The most important single manuscript at the Public Record Office relating to York is the Lay Poll Tax Returns for the city in 1381 which records the occupations of the heads of households in each parish. An analysis of the returns reveals the distribution of industry in the city and the document is invaluable since it confirms the impression of the relative importance of various occupations given by the Register of Freemen at that date and greatly strengthens our belief in the value of that source. When this study began the manuscript was still unpublished but it has been possible through the generosity of the East Riding Antiquarian Society to edit the document and submit the printed returns as an additional appendix to the thesis.

One of the chief local sources of value to the economic historian is wills, since, despite the work of the Surtees Society, the Rev. P.J.Shaw and R.B.Cooke, scarcely any wills of men concerned with the manufacture of cloth - which throw some light on the organisation of the industry - have been printed, and the wills of the majority of the members of York's ruling class are still in manuscript. The wills of the textile workers and the governing class are mainly to be

found in the York Probate Registry, but the wills of four York mayors are recorded in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of the Minster and the will of Andrew de Bolyngbroke, a mayor who died in the early fourteenth century, has survived in the Civic Archives.

Of great value also are the rent rolls giving details of the income received from property in York by the Vicars Choral of the Minster and by the Common Chamber of the city for the maintenance of Ouse Bridge and Foss Bridge. The rolls kept by the Custodians of Ouse Bridge, who were annually appointed by the civic authorities, are extant for only the last 120 years of our period but the Rent Rolls and Chamberlains Account Rolls of the Vicars Choral giving details of their tenements in York are exceptionally complete and some 50 rolls survive at fairly regular intervals from the early fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century. Jointly the rolls shed much light on changes in the size of York's population during the later Middle Ages.

At Hull valuable information on the foreign trade of the port in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century is provided by the first Account Book in the Archives of Trinity House. This records the payments made to support the Hull mariners' charitable organisation of the

Trinity Gild on behalf of ships using the port from 1461 to the middle of the sixteenth century, often accompanied by a statement of the foreign ports or countries with which the ships were trading. It is clear that not all the ships visiting Hull, more especially vessels engaged in coastal trade and ships not manned or owned by Hull men, were recorded, but the volume affords a valuable indication of the foreign countries with which Hull was trading at that period, thus supplementing the evidence of the particular Hull Customs Accounts in which the origin or destination of ships using the port is not stated.

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## INTRODUCTION.

Much has been written in recent years about the recession in the economy of North Western Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Certain aspects of the recession have been closely investigated, but there have as yet been few detailed investigations of urban trends in that period. In particular, the fortunes of English towns, unlike the fortunes of some of their larger rivals on the Continent, have received little attention. It has been computed that the population of the North German cities declined by at least 20 per cent; careful studies of Bordeaux, Rouen, Arras, and other towns, notably Toulouse and Metz, have revealed signs of a similar contraction; and the decline of Ypres, Ghent, and other Flemish textile centres is well known.<sup>(1)</sup> But it is, as yet, uncertain whether there was a comparable decrease in the population of English towns. Cunningham drew attention to the remission of taxation granted to certain boroughs during the fifteenth century and argued that they were in temporary or permanent decline.<sup>(2)</sup> More recently Professor Russell, in a

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- (1) M.M.Postan, 'The Trade of Medieval Europe: the North', C.E.H.E. II, 215; P.Wolff, Commerces et Marchands de Toulouse; J.Schneider, Recherches sur la vie économique de Metz au XVe siècle: le livre de comptes des merciers messins Jean le Clerc et Jacquemin de Moyeuivre.
- (2) W.Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages. pp. 453-56.

brief survey of the population of English towns during the Middle Ages, has tentatively concluded that in 1545 the percentage of persons living in settlements of more than 400 people was smaller than in 1377.<sup>(1)</sup> But further general studies have not been attempted since detailed investigations of trends in individual towns, with the exception of Lincoln,<sup>(2)</sup> are not available. Hence it is the aim of this thesis to attempt such an investigation of York, based on an analysis of the sources of the town's prosperity and relating changes in the principal occupations of its citizens to its overall expansion and decline.

York was throughout the two and a half centuries covered by this study one of the leading English cities. In 1377, when it is possible to determine the population of most English towns, York ranked as the second city of England, and more than a century later her national importance was recognised by a shrewd Italian visitor to this country who declared that Bristol and York were the only cities of note outside London.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) J.C.Russell, British Medieval Population, pp. 283, 305-306.

(2) J.W.F.Hill, Medieval Lincoln; see also Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, by the same author.

(3) Italian Relation of England: A Relation or rather a True Account of the Island of England, ed. C.A.Sneyd, p.41.



York's importance was derived largely from her geographical position. Situated on the river Ouse some 30 miles inland, in the heart of a rich agricultural plain flanked on the West by the Pennines and on the East by the Wolds and North Yorkshire Moors, York constituted a natural centre for the social, political, economic, and religious activities of Northern England. The network of navigable rivers draining into the Ouse afforded easy access to the valleys of the Pennines; the main route from the South East of England to the Scottish Border via Carlisle or Newcastle-on-Tyne, passed through the city; the Trent, which joined the Humber a mere dozen miles from the mouth of the Ouse, provided a convenient mode of transport to the Midlands; and the Ouse itself, which was tidal as far as York, was the gateway to the fishing grounds of the North Sea and to the valuable markets of the Baltic, the Low Countries and yet more distant parts.

As a religious centre, overshadowed only by Canterbury, York had long been important. The Northern Province of York and the diocese, which embraced Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire and extended into Cumberland, Westmorland, and the extreme north of Lancashire, were administered from the city, and the major part of the diocesan business, particularly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the archbishop

was constantly absent from the diocese, was conducted by his deputies who were often members of the Cathedral Chapter and resident in York. To the Minster, the mother church of the diocese, clergy and laity came in procession at Whitsuntide and other important festivals, and the possession of shrines and relics and the grant of indulgences for the rebuilding and enlargement of the cathedral fabric, made it the constant resort of pilgrims. (1)

Later medieval York was also important as an administrative centre for the government of Northern England. In times of rebellion, dynastic strife, and warfare with Scotland, York assumed great strategic value in the eyes of the reigning monarch, and was frequently visited by nobles, royal servants, and soldiers, bent on urgent business, and sometimes by the King himself, as for example by Edward I, II, and III during their Scottish campaigns, and by Edward IV after his victory at Towton in 1461, whilst in peace as often as in war the administrative and judicial bodies responsible for maintaining law and order in a wide area of Northern England met regularly in the city. The sheriffs of Yorkshire used York castle as their headquarters, where minor civil cases were tried at the county court and the King's prisoners were

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(1) Based mainly on A.H. Thompson, The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages.

detained; the Justices of Assize for the northern counties regularly met in York to exercise their wide powers of civil jurisdiction over Yorkshire and often, empowered by commission of gaol delivery, to try the prisoners in York castle; and the Justices of the Peace for the East Riding found it convenient in the second half of the fourteenth and probably also in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to hold some of their sessions in York. The Council of the North, designed to ensure justice and good government in all counties north of the Trent, also came in Tudor times to be centred in York, and when the powers and geographical scope of the Council were extended in 1537 after the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Lord President of the Council took up permanent residence in York, and one of the four annual sessions of the Council for the administration of justice in the northern counties was held in the city. (1)

York was also an important centre for the social life of the gentry of Northern England, and the luxurious food-stuffs, skilled services, and the wide variety of manufactured

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(1) See for example, J. Raine, Historic Towns: York; articles on 'Justices of Assize' by M. M. Taylor and 'The Sheriff' by W. A. Morris in Vols. II and III of The English Government at Work, 1327-1336, ed. W. A. Morris, J. R. Strayer, J. F. Willard, and W. H. Dunham, junior; Yorkshire Sessions of the Peace, 1361-1364, ed. B. H. Putnam; and R. Reid, The King's Council in the North.

goods readily available in York must have led many north countrymen to visit the city for pleasure and encouraged them to prolong their business visits to the city. Country gentlemen frequently made bequests to their favourite church in York or requested burial in the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries there, and a number owned property in the city, whilst some country families were related to the leading citizens by marriage. (1)

The provision of goods and services to supply the needs of men resident in York or attracted to the city for any of the above reasons would alone have made York an important economic centre. But York had a number of other important economic functions. Part of her economic importance lay in her use as a market town, where men from a wide area of Northern England sold their goods to other visiting north countrymen or York merchants for redistribution to customers throughout the region. York was also the foremost industrial town in the North of England and a distributive centre both for goods imported from the Continent and for the principal exports of Yorkshire. Cloth, bells, bows, spurs, and girdles manufactured by York men enjoyed a wide market; lead

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(1) See for example L.M. Goldthorp, 'The Franciscans and Dominicans in York', Y.A.J., XXXII, 281-89, 379-85; Skaife; M.B. I and II; and T.E. I-VI.

mined in Swaledale, Wensleydale, and Craven, and wool from the Yorkshire Dales, the North York Moors, and even from the Wolds to the south east of York, passed through the city on their way for export from Hull; and wine, copper, spices, and dyestuffs imported at Hull were among the many goods distributed by York merchants to customers in Durham and the West and North Ridings.

York was, however, economically of much more than regional importance. York merchants were regularly trading with London; the principal industry of the city was producing cloth for sale in countries as distant as Iceland, Prussia, and Gascony; the skimmers, bowyers, dyers, smiths, armourers, and cutlers of York were in varying degrees dependent on imported raw materials; and the governing class of York was to a large extent recruited from men who engaged in international trade. Thus York constitutes a useful field of study for the general economic historian, not wholly moved by local loyalties.

This thesis makes no pretence of studying every aspect of York's economy. But an attempt has been made to elucidate the principal economic functions of York and to establish the main trends of its economic evolution in the later Middle Ages. The relative importance of the occupations pursued by

York's citizens at various points of time has been discussed in Chapter I, and the three subsequent chapters are devoted to a detailed analysis of those occupations which were both of more than local importance and of major importance to the inhabitants of civil York. Chapter II examines the fortunes, products, and organisation of the cloth-making industry; Chapter III studies the changes in the nature and the value of the international trade conducted by York merchants at Hull; and Chapter IV considers the regional trade of York and the widespread activities of York merchants in England. Chapter V is concerned with trends in the size of York's population in the light of the developments discussed in the previous chapters. A separate chapter has then been devoted to the recruitment of York's population. Chapters VII and VIII investigate the financial and political rewards accruing to the members of various crafts and trades and examine in particular the factors uniting the governing class of the city, and the thesis is concluded with a summary of the main trends in the economy of York between 1300 and 1550. One day I hope to write a more comprehensive study of York; but at present I will be content if I have betrayed neither the hopes of my supervisor, Professor Carus-Wilson, whose critical guidance has been invaluable, nor the faith of my parents whose financial sacrifice has made this study possible.

## CHAPTER I

### THE OCCUPATIONS OF YORK'S FREEMEN

#### 1. Occupational Surveys of the Inhabitants

The number of specialised occupations pursued in York was less than in London or other leading European cities. Thus there were for example less than 60 organised crafts in York in the early fifteenth century,<sup>(1)</sup> in comparison with more than 100 occupations possessing some form of craft organisation at that date in London.<sup>(2)</sup> But in the North of England York was, par excellence, the specialised centre of industry and commerce. In Beverley, the third largest town in England north of the Wash, only 38 crafts were mentioned at the end of the fourteenth century as supporting the pageants performed on Corpus Christi Day,<sup>(3)</sup> while the occupations of bowyers and fletchers, which at York had separate craft organisations, were in the early fifteenth century grouped into one craft because of the small numbers working in each occupation.<sup>(4)</sup>

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- (1) R.Davies, Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York in the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. pp. 233-35.
- (2) G.Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London, pp.88, 370-71.
- (3) Beverley Town Documents, ed. A.F.Leach, pp. lix, 33.
- (4) A.F.Leach, Report on the Manuscripts of the Corporation of Beverley, p.98

The contrast between the specialised occupations of York and the West Riding, as might have been expected, was still greater. In the whole of the West Riding the tax collectors who assessed the inhabitants for the Lay Poll Tax of 1379 according to their occupations and social status,<sup>(1)</sup> recorded only 70 of the 120 specialised occupations noted by the collectors of the Lay Poll Tax in York two years later,<sup>(2)</sup> and in none of the more important West Riding towns, such as Pontefract, Tickhill, and Doncaster, were there more than 30 specialised occupations recorded.

The total numbers working in each specialised occupation in York cannot be determined. The government of York never held a census of the inhabitants; persons who did not become citizens seldom appear in the civic records except when accused of some delinquency; and the extant taxation returns for York, with the exception of the 1377 and 1381 Poll Tax Returns, refer only to the wealthier inhabitants of the city. The 1377 Poll Tax Returns do not record the occupations of persons rated for tax<sup>(3)</sup> and the returns for 1381 do not provide a comprehensive occupational survey of York if only

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(1) Y.A.J. V, VI, VII.

(2) See Appendix F.

(3) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/13.



because a number of inhabitants, of whom the majority were servants, evaded taxation. (1)

Yet it is possible to make a reasonably accurate estimate from at least two sources of the relative numbers of those wealthier men in each occupation who became freemen and were employers of labour. The Register of Freemen which provides a continuous record of the names, and usually the occupations, of persons newly admitted to the freedom of York each year by the city chamberlains since the end of the thirteenth century, affords data for one such estimate. (2) A handful of clergy and gentry living outside the boundaries of York were enrolled as freemen of the city, but it is clear that the large majority of freemen were, in fact, residents of York, for the marginal notes opposite the names of some of the freemen in the Register show that York was not normally prepared to grant citizenship to men from other towns unless they would first agree to take up residence in the city. Robert de Sandall, smith, John Rychard, butcher, and John de Lounde, tailor, who became freemen in 1364 and 1366, had their citizenship cancelled because they left York; (3) Hugo de Stokton and Nicholas Blackburn at the end of the

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(1) See the introduction to Appendix F.

(2) In the decade 1301-1311 some 50 per cent of freemen were enrolled without any indication of their occupation, but in all other decades the proportion was much lower and for the period 1301-1551 as a whole less than 10 per cent of freemen were thus enrolled.

(3) Register of Freemen, I, 58, 62, 63.

fourteenth century were pardoned for non-residence and re-admitted to the freedom of York after payment of a fine, on the understanding that they came to dwell in the city by a certain date;<sup>(1)</sup> and when Thomas Bower, a merchant of Bradford, and Thomas Burlay of Coventry were admitted to the franchise in the middle of the fifteenth century it was made a condition of their admittance that they took up residence in York.<sup>(2)</sup>

Some inhabitants of York never became freemen. The names of other inhabitants who were enfranchised have probably been lost because of carelessness in compiling the Register of Freemen, for it seems likely that the names of new freemen were initially recorded by the city chamberlains in their rough accounts and only entered on the Register after a delay which may sometimes have amounted to several years.<sup>(3)</sup> Yet it is probable that the Register records the majority of men in each occupation who, as master craftsmen and traders, were jointly responsible with the civic authorities for regulating

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 99, 103.

(2) Ibid, I, 168, 171.

(3) Ibid, I, xi-xii. It is impossible to determine the number of freemen omitted from the Register by careless transcription in any year, since no chamberlains' rough account books of an earlier date than the middle of the fifteenth century have survived, and the few books surviving between then and the end of our period do not contain the names of freemen enrolling per patres.

the conditions of employment in their occupation, and who are referred to in such regulations in terms which seem to imply that they alone were entitled to employ apprentices and servants and to sell their goods or services in their own shops instead of in the open market-place.<sup>(1)</sup> Registration as a freeman was compulsory for any man who wished to work as a master in York,<sup>(2)</sup> unless he lived in York Castle, a monastery, St. Leonard's Hospital, or the Liberty of St. Peter near the Minster, outside the jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen, and an analysis of the names of master craftsmen and traders assenting to the regulations of more than two dozen occupations in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries suggests that in many occupations some 80 per cent of the master traders and craftsmen can be traced on the Register of Freemen.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) M.B., I and II, passim.

(2) Register of Freemen, I, xiv; York Civic Records, II, 3; III, 107.

(3) The names of the masters analysed were drawn from the cutlers (M.B. I, 133), girdlers (M.B. I, 184), lorimers and spurriers (M.B. I, 101, 104), pinners (M.B. I, 87), marshalls (M.B. II, 176), armourers (York Civic Records III, 177), cordwainers (M.B. I, 72-3), curriers (M.B. I, 65), glovers (M.B. I, 49-50), tanners (M.B. I, 81-2), saddlers (M.B. I, 88, 92), bowyers (M.B. I, 52, 200), chandlers (M.B. I, 55), cardmakers (M.B. I, 78), potters (M.B. I, 150), carpenters (M.B. II, 277-78), glaziers (M.B. II, 208), joiners (M.B. I, 148), plasterers (M.B. I, 115), cooks (M.B. II, 161), weavers (M.B. I, 238-39), tapiters (M.B. I, 84; II, 196), fullers (M.B. I, 70), dyers (M.B. I, 112), and tailors (M.B. I, 94-6).

The steadily changing impression of York's occupations throughout two and a half centuries obtained from the annual enrolments of freemen recorded by the city chamberlains may be supplemented by the static picture for the later fourteenth century derived from the returns for the city made by the collectors of the Poll Tax in 1381. The returns must be used with caution since as we have seen, a number of inhabitants evaded taxation, and in addition the names and occupations of some 30 per cent of the persons rated for tax are illegible, the occupations of women are not given except in the case of single women living on their own, and some 200 householders in the returns are described vaguely as 'labourers'. But if it is assumed that the proportion of taxpayers whose names are illegible was approximately the same in each occupation,<sup>(1)</sup> that the members of one occupation were not markedly more successful than the members of other occupations in evading taxation, and that the labourers were engaged in a large number of crafts and trades, then the returns afford a rough

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(1) The proportion of taxpayers whose names are illegible may have been slightly higher in trades which were concentrated in a particular area of York than in trades which were dispersed throughout the city. See Appendix E, pp. 8-10. It is unlikely, however, that there were marked differences between occupations in this respect, as would have been probable if the members of each occupation had been grouped together and listed consecutively in the returns.

indication of the relative number of men in civil York above the status of apprentices or servants who were working in each occupation. Moreover it is evident from the analysis of an arbitrary sample of 300 men, omitting servants and labourers, whose occupations were stated in the Poll Tax Returns that more than three quarters of these men were in fact freemen. Hence, a very large majority of York's master craftsmen and traders are recorded in both the major sources available for a survey of York's occupations, whilst the value of the civic Register of Freemen as an occupational census is confirmed by the returns of the royal tax collectors shortly before the end of the fourteenth century.

Some indication of the relative number of master craftsmen and traders in various occupations in York may also be obtained by comparing the number of masters present when legislation governing the occupations was approved. Professor Heaton and Miss Sellers indeed used this method as a means of estimating the relative importance of the textile industry in York. The method has, however, considerable limitations. It provides no indication of the number of masters in occupations which were not organised or whose regulations have not survived; the number of masters approving the regulations of such notable York crafts and trades as the skinners, pewterers,

goldsmiths, capmakers, shearmen, fletchers, coopers, butchers, bakers, and fishmongers, is not stated; and even when the names of the masters in an occupation are given it is not always certain that the list includes all the masters in that occupation. It has thus proved impossible to make a general survey of the number of master craftsmen and traders in various branches of York's industry and trade solely by examining the regulations of occupations which indicate the number of masters present when the regulations were approved, and the information obtained in this way has, instead, been used only incidentally to supplement the more detailed picture derived from the Register of Freemen and the 1381 Poll Tax Returns.

The proportion of York's population who became freemen cannot be determined for the greater part of our period. But some estimate may be obtained for the late fourteenth century by an analysis of the York returns for the 1377 Poll Tax, which was to be levied from every lay person in the city over the age of 14 years. The returns group the persons rated for tax in family units on the same principle as in 1381, save that a man's dependents - wife, children, relatives, and servants - are left nameless and simply enumerated on the same line of the manuscript as the head of the family himself. The returns of three parishes - St. Sampson, St. Saviour, and St. Martin in Coney

Street - survive in full containing the names of nearly one seventh of York's inhabitants who paid the Poll Tax. In each of these parishes the male heads of families, of whom some 90 per cent were married, comprised between a quarter and a third of the total inhabitants over the age of 14, whilst in the parishes as a whole they represented 29 per cent of the recorded inhabitants. There is no reason to suppose that the parishes of St. Sampson, St. Saviour, and St. Martin in Coney Street were in this respect untypical of the rest of York. The complete returns for St. Egidius and St. Olave in Bootham in 1377, which are partially illegible, and the extant portions of the returns for Holy Cross in Fossegate and St. Helen in Stonegate that year reveal that 201 of the 606 persons in these returns whose status may be determined were male heads of families; nor does an examination of the later 1381 Poll Tax Returns, if we assume that the servants who evaded taxation have been equally omitted from each parish, suggest that other parishes contained a markedly different proportion of male heads of families.

The male heads of families in 1377 on the basis of the Poll Tax Returns for the three parishes of St. Sampson, St. Saviour, and St. Martin in Coney Street, thus may have numbered some 2,100 persons, constituting 29 per cent of the

total population of York over the age of 14. Not all these men, however, had been enfranchised, and an analysis of the 263 male heads of families recorded in the parishes of St. Sampson, St. Saviour, and St. Martin in Coney Street, exclusive of men with trade surnames which were seldom used on the Register of Freemen then, reveals that in 25 per cent of cases there is no record that the male heads of families were freemen. Hence, if the proportion of male heads who had been enfranchised was the same in the other parishes of York as in the three parishes analysed, there would be nearly 1,600 freemen alive in 1377, representing 22 per cent of the lay inhabitants of York over the age of 14.

The picture of York's occupations derived from the 1381 Poll Tax Returns and the Register of Freemen is in one way deceptively simple, since it is impossible to determine how far freemen pursued only the occupation in which they are recorded in these sources. Yet the simultaneous pursuit of more than one occupation was perhaps not widespread. Thus it is apparent from the fierce and rigid exclusiveness displayed in the regulations of the industrial crafts that it would have been difficult for a man to work simultaneously in more than one of these crafts. (1) The merchants of the city handling

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(1) M.B., I and II, passim.



miscellaneous merchandise, too, were closely organised by the early fifteenth century and determined to exclude outsiders.<sup>(1)</sup> An analysis of the surviving Hull Customs Accounts suggests that in the fifteenth century, in contrast to the second half of the fourteenth century, foreign trade was, as in Bristol,<sup>(2)</sup> virtually the monopoly of specialised merchants rather than men who were in some cases also industrial craftsmen;<sup>(3)</sup> and very nearly all the men who became members of the Merchant Adventurers' Company of York, which had established a monopoly both of miscellaneous wholesale and retail trade in York later in the fifteenth century, were described on the Register of Freemen as merchants.<sup>(4)</sup> The picture of York's occupations obtained from an analysis of the Register of Freemen and the 1381 Poll Tax Returns should thus not be substantially misleading and a survey of these sources provides a guide to the number of men employing labour in a Medieval English city almost without parallel at this date.

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(1) York Mercers, p.xiii.

(2) E.M.Carus-Wilson, Medieval Merchant Venturers, pp.84-5.

(3) For the names of York men importing and exporting goods at Hull see Appendix C.

(4) York Mercers, pp.91-2. A list of members in 1472 and 1529 is given on pp. 66-8, 130: The names of members at various other dates from 1420 onwards have been obtained from the First Minute Book of the Company.

## 2. Changes in the fortunes of various occupations.

In the early fourteenth century the crafts working leather and fur probably comprised the largest manufacturing industry in York. The importance of this industry was undoubtedly exaggerated by R. Davies in the middle of the last century when he concluded, as a result of a rapid survey of the Register of Freemen, that there were virtually no other manufactures carried on in York during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II;<sup>(1)</sup> but the predominance of this industry is clearly revealed as a result of the more precise analysis of the Register of Freemen made in Table I of Appendix A which suggests that one in every five freemen in York between 1311 and 1341 whose occupation may be determined was entering a craft working leather or fur. The cordwainers with 93 new entrants comprised 37 per cent of the 252 freemen entering the industry, the skinners and tewers, with 51 entrants a further 21 per cent, and the 60 tanners and 4 curriers 26 per cent of new entrants to the industry. The other leather crafts were much smaller. The saddlers and glovers with 32 members recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1341 jointly comprised 13 per cent of the new freemen in

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(1) R. Davies, 'On the Statistics of York, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, March, 1847, pp. 4-5.

the industry, and the minor leather working crafts were represented on the Register by 3 parchment-makers, 3 schethers making sheaths and scabbards, 3 bottle-makers, 2 purse-makers, and a maler who probably produced leather bags.

The metal industries recruited 13 per cent of the freemen entering various occupations in York between 1311 and 1341. The largest craft - that of the cutlers - who were perhaps making swords to meet the demand caused by hostilities with Scotland, recruited a quarter of the 164 new freemen in these industries; a further 19 per cent of the metal workers enrolling as freemen became girdlers; and the armourers and the smiths respectively recruited 13 per cent and 11 per cent of the freemen entering the industries. Ten of the 167 metal workers were described as marshalls, and 9 as lorimers and spurriers, whilst 3 wiredrawers, 2 nail-makers, and a locksmith were recorded. No persons described as pin-maker appear on the Register of Freemen at that date but the 6 freemen given the description aguiler and nedeler may, in fact, have been making pins. In addition 10 ironmongers concerned with the distribution of iron and metal goods were recorded.

Among the crafts wholly working non-ferrous metal we may particularly note the presence of 11 goldsmiths, who probably met not only the needs of the wealthier York freemen and the

resident ecclesiastical population but also supplied their wares to monasteries, parish churches, and the houses of country gentlemen over a wide area of Northern England. Four freemen working latten were recorded, and it seems likely that some of the 13 freemen described as potters were, like freemen so described at a later date, making brass pots and bells rather than earthenware vessels. (1) No freemen in the early fourteenth century were described specifically as bell founders, bell makers or even as founders, but it seems probable that York was, throughout the Later Middle Ages, the principal bell-foundry in England north of the Humber, whose activities are immortalised in the bell founders' window in the Nave of York Minster, presented by Richard Tunnoc, a former bailiff of York who died in 1330. (2)

The manufacture of cloth in York in the early fourteenth century, as Davies suggested, seems to have been of little

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- (1) H.B. Walters, 'Bell-Founders', V.C.H. Yorkshire, II, 449-50. A number of freemen in the fifteenth century were described specifically as 'earth potters' (Register of Freemen, I, 139, 156, 177, 178, 187). In Appendix A potters have been listed throughout under 'Miscellaneous Occupations'.
- (2) Idem, Church Bells of England, pp. 202-204. A panel of the window, reproduced in colour, forms the frontispiece of this volume.

importance. (1) Only 3 chaloners, 3 fullers, 8 shearmen, 12 weavers and 12 dyers were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1341 and their combined numbers represented a mere 3 per cent of the freemen entering various occupations in the city during that period. Men who specialised in the wholesale and retail distribution of cloth, as might have been expected, were also relatively unimportant X and only 10 drapers and 2 cloth-sellers were enrolled.

Nearly a dozen miscellaneous manufacturing crafts, which cannot be grouped conveniently into any industry, complete the picture of industrial York at the beginning of the fourteenth century, accounting for 3 per cent of the men recorded on the Register of Freemen with a definite occupation between 1311 and 1341. The most important of these crafts was that of the bowyers, who attracted 9 new freemen between 1311 and 1341. Six freemen were described as coopers and five as chandlers, and in addition four horners, two cartwrights, a roper, three bollers, who probably made bowls, a turner, a shipwright, and a fletcher, were recorded.

The other 60 per cent of the population whose occupations

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(1) R. Davies, op. cit. pp. 16-17. He gives only the total enrolments for the periods 1272-1327 and 1327-1377 however, and omits any reference to shearmen in the earlier period since he equates men described on the Register of Freemen as toundours with barbers.

were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1341 were concerned in the food trades, in the building industry, in various forms of tailoring, in the transport of goods, in general wholesale and retail trade, and in the provision of a variety of personal services. No less than a quarter of the new freemen of this period entered the food trades, perhaps because of the large numbers of soldiers, civil servants, and nobles temporarily residing in York for the campaigns against Scotland. The trades providing the basic foodstuffs attracted the largest number, and 73 butchers, 60 bakers, and 55 fishermen and fishmongers, were recorded in addition to 11 poulterers and 4 millers. A further 44 enrolled as taverners, 35 as cooks and 7 as saucemakers, whilst one freeman, perhaps famous for his soups and cooked vegetables, was described as a potager. Only one new freeman was described as a brewer and two as maltsters, but it seems likely that the Register of Freemen underestimates the relative number of persons brewing ale since a number of wealthy citizens who specialised in some other occupation probably brewed ale on their own premises with the help of their wives and servants, as at the end of the fourteenth century. (1)

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(1) See for example the wills of Helen de Gisburne and Robert Holme, 'Some Early Civic Wills of York', ed. R.B. Cooke, A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 836-37, 842-43.

Men who specialised in general wholesale and retail trade comprised 12 per cent of new freemen whose occupation can be determined between 1311 and 1341. Only 52 freemen were described specifically as merchants and 18 as chapmen compared with 81 as mercers, but it seems probable that the terms chapman, mercer and merchant were synonymous in York as in the later fourteenth century,<sup>(1)</sup> and that all these freemen were in fact general dealers. In addition we may note among the more specialised dealers who traded mainly in a particular commodity, exclusive of dealers such as ironmongers, drapers, and fishmongers previously mentioned, the presence of five horse-dealers and a man described specifically as a wool-merchant.

A further 7 per cent of new freemen specialised in making up clothing and in its retail distribution. Seventy tailors, 10 hosiers and 8 hatmakers were enrolled, whilst a parmenter, who may have concentrated on the manufacture of ecclesiastical vestments rather than suits for citizens, and a chapeller, who probably made hats and caps, were also recorded.

Men concerned in the transport of goods comprised 5 per cent of the freemen whose occupation was stated on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1341. More than 50

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(1) Appendix F, p. 9n.

were described as mariners and there were also 7 porters, a carter, and a mukdragher, who was probably engaged in the cartage of refuse or mamure.

The building trades in the early fourteenth century, as Davies noted,<sup>(1)</sup> were of little importance, and only 36 new freemen were recorded in these trades, representing a mere 3 per cent of the freemen entering all occupations in York between 1311 and 1341. Nearly half of them were carpenters, and in addition 4 plasterers and tilers, 7 masons, 5 plumbers, and 3 glaziers were enrolled. The numerical strength of the building trades as a whole is however probably underestimated. It seems probable that few of the migratory workers temporarily attracted to the city for special building projects on, for example, the Minster or the parish churches, enrolled as freemen, and craftsmen more permanently employed by the Dean and Chapter on the Minster, outside the jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen, would have been under no obligation to enrol.

A few freemen specialised in providing various personal services not mentioned above. Primitive medical services were provided by nine barbers and a freeman described as medicus; and an illuminator, a stationer, and four painters

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(1) R. Davies, op. cit. p.7.



were also recorded.

During the next century the number of new freemen entering various occupations in York increased as did the variety of occupations attributed to them, suggesting a general expansion of the city's economy. Thus it is apparent from Appendix A that the number of new freemen whose occupations may be determined between 1411 and 1441 was slightly more than twice the number recorded between 1311 and 1341, whilst 139 specialised occupations were recorded compared with 102 in the early fourteenth century.

The most striking change can be observed in the cloth-making industry. As Davies and Miss Sellers showed the number of freemen entering crafts concerned with cloth manufacture steadily increased during the fourteenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> The number of freemen enrolling as weavers, fullers, shearmen, dyers, and tapiters increased more than eightfold, from 38 between 1311 and 1341 to 308 between 1411 and 1441, whilst the proportion of freemen entering these crafts rose from 3 to 12 per cent of all freemen whose occupations were recorded. The increase in the number of weavers was

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(1) R.Davies, op. cit, pp. 14-17. M.Sellers, 'Social and Economic History', V.C.H. Yorkshire, III, 438-41. The expansion of the cloth-making industry is considered in more detail in the next chapter.

particularly striking and the craft had become one of the largest crafts or trades in York, rivalling the tailors and cordwainers in numbers; 75 weavers were recorded in the extant Poll Tax Returns in 1381 compared with 73 tailors and 44 cordwainers, and 112 weavers became freemen between 1411 and 1441 whilst the tailors and cordwainers recruited 186 and 111 new members respectively. The rapid expansion of the clothmaking industry, not unnaturally, was accompanied by a marked increase in the number of drapers. It is clear that drapers by the end of the fourteenth century were performing a vital function in the manufacture of cloth by acting as intermediaries between the cloth producer and the merchant who exported York's cloth to foreign markets,<sup>(1)</sup> and the number of drapers who enrolled as freemen had increased fourfold since the early fourteenth century, from 10 freemen between 1311 and 1341 to 40 freemen between 1411 and 1441.

Several crafts of very minor importance early in the fourteenth century had also developed considerably. Most noticeable is the expansion of the bow-making industry.

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(1) See p. 89.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING IN THE  
BOW-MAKING INDUSTRY 1311-1551

DECADE (1)	BOWYER	FLETCHER	BOW-STRING MAKER	TOTAL	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311 - 1321	3	-	-	3	18 <sup>(2)</sup>
1321 - 1331	3	1	-	4	
1331 - 1341	3	-	-	3	
1341 - 1351	8	-	-	8	
1351 - 1361	6	3	-	9	90
1361 - 1371	17	4	1	22	
1371 - 1381	11	7	3	21	
1381 - 1391	11	9	-	20	
1391 - 1401	14	2	2	18	
1401 - 1411	12	5	1	18	85
1411 - 1421	14	6	-	20	
1421 - 1431	9	8	1	18	
1431 - 1441	13	2	2	17	
1441 - 1451	8	4	-	12	
1451 - 1461	5	2	-	7	39
1461 - 1471	4	3	1	8	
1471 - 1481	5	6	1	12	
1481 - 1491	5	-	2	7	
1491 - 1501	3	2	-	5	
1501 - 1511	4	-	-	4	26
1511 - 1521	5	3	-	8	
1521 - 1531	-	2	-	2	
1531 - 1541	4	2	-	6	
1541 - 1551	3	3	-	6	
TOTAL	170	74	14	258	258

(1) In this and the other Tables of the Chapter the decades commence in the month in which the city chamberlains (who enrolled new freemen) were appointed.- not on the 1st January. See the introduction to Appendix E.

(2) Covers only the years 1311-1351. The data for the decade 1301-1311 has been omitted from this and the following Tables because the occupations of some 50 per cent of freemen are not indicated.

The strategic position of the city gave a natural impetus to the manufacture of the longbow, whose military value had been finally demonstrated after the battles of Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill in 1332 and 1333 and Crecy in 1346,<sup>(1)</sup> and bows manufactured in York with bowstaves imported from the Baltic were famous throughout the North of England by the early fifteenth century. In the decades 1311-1341 only 9 bowyers and a fletcher were recorded on the Register of Freemen; yet soon after the middle of the fourteenth century as many freemen were entering the crafts in one decade alone. The rapid expansion of the industry was reflected in the bowyers' complaint to the King in 1364 that a number of insufficiently skilled workmen had begun to make bows of poor quality in the city,<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1381 at least 18 bowyers and fletchers were recorded by the Poll Tax collectors. Shortly before the end of the century 22 bowyers were present when regulations governing the craft were drawn up,<sup>(3)</sup> and in the early fifteenth century, between 1411 and 1441, no fewer than 36 bowyers and 16 fletchers became freemen, representing a fivefold increase in the number of new entrants

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(1) C.Oman, A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, II, 57-103.

(2) C.P.R. 1361-64, pp. 543-44.

(3) M.B., I, 52.

to the two crafts in the course of a century. The expansion of the industry was also reflected in the fact that the manufacture of bowstrings became a specialised occupation. The first stringer was recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1364, and 5 more members of the occupation were enrolled as freemen before the end of the century.

The cardmakers, who made the implements used in carding wool before it was spun, were also flourishing by the early fifteenth century, as a result of the expansion of the textile industry in York and the West Riding. No cardmakers were recorded on the Register of Freemen before 1350, but 4 members of the occupation were noted in the extant 1381 Poll Tax Returns, and 13 cardmakers became freemen between 1411 and 1441.

An equally marked improvement had occurred in the fortunes of the shipwrights and seven shipwrights were enrolled as freemen between 1411 and 1441 as compared with only one between 1311 and 1341. The craft was always relatively small compared with the majority of York crafts, and it is unlikely that ships of much more than 30 tons were ever built at York;<sup>(1)</sup> even if members of the craft when performing their annual play in the city cycle on

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(1) See below, pp. 95-97.

Corpus Christi Day did instruct their fellow citizens in the technical details of constructing Noah's Ark.<sup>(1)</sup> But it seems clear that the craft ranked in the fifteenth century as one of the leading groups of shipwrights in England of which we have knowledge.<sup>(2)</sup>

The making of rope also seems to have been more important in the early fifteenth century than it was a hundred years earlier. The craft of rope-makers was one of the smallest York crafts yet a steady if unspectacular expansion in the number of rope-makers had occurred since the middle of the fourteenth century and 8 new freemen were described as rope-makers between 1411 and 1441 compared with the single rope-maker recorded on the Register of Freemen from 1311 to 1341.

Nevertheless, despite the expansion of these various industries, more particularly that of cloth-making, the leather and fur industry remained the largest industry in York, embracing some 17 per cent of men above the status of servant in the extant 1381 Poll Tax Returns and 14 per cent

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(1) The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi, ed. L. Toulmin Smith. pp. 40-44.

(2) M. A. S. Hickmore, "The Shipbuilding Industry on the East and South Coasts of England in the Fifteenth Century" (London M. A. Thesis, 1937), Chapter II, passim.

of the freemen whose occupation may be determined in the period 1411-1441. But its expansion had been at a much slower rate than that of the city as a whole and it no longer occupied the dominant position it had held in the early fourteenth century, when one in every five freemen entered the industry and the number of freemen becoming leather and fur workers was equal to the number who entered all other industrial crafts in York.

Within the leather and fur industry a number of minor changes may be discerned. Thus the curriers in 1411-1441 recruited 5 per cent of the freemen entering the industry as compared with only 2 per cent in 1311-1341 and the increased specialisation within this section of the industry was temporarily reflected in the appearance on the Register of Freemen of 2 persons described as fresers, men who carried out the process of fresyng normally performed by the curriers.<sup>(1)</sup> The glovers also increased in importance; the number of new freemen entering the craft increased from 13 in 1311-1341 to 35 in the corresponding period of the fifteenth century whilst they accounted for 10 per cent of freemen described as leather or fur workers

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(1) M.B. I, 65. A definition of the process is given in the glossary of that volume.

at this later date compared with only 5 per cent from 1311-1341. The cordwainers were by contrast less important by the early fifteenth century although they remained easily the largest single group working leather or fur, and an analysis of the Register of Freemen and the extant 1381 Poll Tax Returns suggests that they represented barely 30 per cent of masters in the industry in 1381 or 1411-1441, as compared with 37 per cent in 1311-1341.

The metal industries as a whole were also relatively less important in the early fifteenth century than they were a century earlier. The number of men in these industries becoming freemen had increased from 164 between 1311 and 1341 to 263 between 1411 and 1441, but new entrants in the latter period represented only 10 per cent of the freemen recruited to all occupations compared with 13 per cent between 1311 and 1341. The most striking change in these industries was the decline in the importance of the armourers and of the cutlers and bladesmiths, whose numbers had probably been artificially inflated in the early years of the fourteenth century as a result of the importance of York as the headquarters for English campaigns against Scotland. Thus the armourers recruited 13 per cent of freemen entering the metal-working crafts in 1311-1341, but only 6 per cent in 1411-1441, whilst



a mere 3 per cent of the men whose occupations may be determined in the Poll Tax Returns of 1381 were described as armourers. The cutlers had been even more prominent from 1311 to 1341, representing 26 per cent of the metal workers then recorded on the Register of Freemen; but it is apparent from the Table overleaf that the number of freemen entering the craft actually declined after the middle of the fourteenth century although the economy of York as a whole was expanding, and the evidence of both the Poll Tax Returns and the Freemen's Register in the early fifteenth century suggests that the cutlers and bladesmiths combined then constituted only some 11 per cent of the industry. The decline of the cutlers and bladesmiths moreover was not offset by a marked rise in the number of smiths who might perhaps have performed some of the functions of these crafts, for the proportion of freemen enrolling as smiths was only one per cent higher - 12 per cent - in 1411-1441 than in the same decades of the fourteenth century. The girdlers, too, were relatively less important than formerly. A survey of the accompanying Table suggests that the craft failed to expand when the majority of crafts and trades in the city were growing in numbers, and only 12 per cent of the new freemen recorded in the metal industries between 1411 and

TABLE II.

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING AS  
CUTLERS AND BLADESMITHS 1311-1551.

DECADE	CUTLER	BLADESMITH	TOTAL	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311 - 1321	13	-	13	58 <sup>(1)</sup>
1321 - 1331	12	-	12	
1331 - 1341	18	-	18	
1341 - 1351	15	-	15	
1351 - 1361	8	-	8	41
1361 - 1371	11	2	13	
1371 - 1381	9	3	12	
1381 - 1391	2	-	2	
1391 - 1401	3	3	6	37
1401 - 1411	2	2	4	
1411 - 1421	10	4	14	
1421 - 1431	6	3	9	
1431 - 1441	5	1	6	24
1441 - 1451	3	1	4	
1451 - 1461	3	1	4	
1461 - 1471	4	5	9	
1471 - 1481	3	2	5	16
1481 - 1491	2	2	4	
1491 - 1501	1	1	2	
1501 - 1511	1	2	3	
1511 - 1521	-	-	-	16
1521 - 1531	2	4	6	
1531 - 1541	1	2	3	
1541 - 1551	3	1	4	
TOTAL	137	39	176	176

(1) Covers only the years 1311-1351.

TABLE IIINUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING AS GIRDERS  
1311-1551.

DECADE	NUMBER	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311 - 1321	15	45 <sup>(1)</sup>
1321 - 1331	9	
1331 - 1341	7	
1341 - 1351	14	
1351 - 1361	17	52
1361 - 1371	18	
1371 - 1381	8	
1381 - 1391	2	
1391 - 1341	7	46
1401 - 1411	3	
1411 - 1421	16	
1421 - 1431	8	
1431 - 1441	8	28
1441 - 1451	11	
1451 - 1461	7	
1461 - 1471	7	
1471 - 1481	9	17
1481 - 1491	1	
1491 - 1501	4	
1501 - 1511	4	
1511 - 1521	2	17
1521 - 1531	3	
1531 - 1541	4	
1541 - 1551	4	
TOTAL	188	188

(1) Covers only the years 1311-1351.

1441 were described as girdlers compared with 19 per cent of the freemen entering the industry between 1311 and 1341. The number of specialised dealers in iron and metal goods, too, had declined, and only 2 ironmongers were enrolled as freemen compared with 10 between 1311 and 1341.

The goldsmiths, by contrast, were now even more important than in the early fourteenth century, perhaps because of the increasing prosperity of the city. They represented 16 per cent of the freemen enrolling in the metal-working industries between 1411 and 1441 compared with 7 per cent of those enrolling in 1311-1341 and 11 per cent of men in the metal industries in the 1331 Poll Tax Returns. The pewterers too were flourishing. The first pewterer recorded on the Register of Freemen was enfranchised in 1349 and although no members of the craft can be detected in the extant 1331 Poll Tax Returns, 16 pewterers, representing 6 per cent of all metal workers, were recorded on the Register of Freemen in the period 1411-1441. The manufacture of bells in York may also have increased in importance. Only one freeman enrolling between 1411 and 1441 was described specifically as a bell founder, but 16 potters and 13 founders were enrolled compared with only 13 potters between 1311 and 1341.

Among the non-manufacturing trades the food trades had

declined relatively in importance. A century earlier the food trades were recruiting a quarter of the new freemen in all occupations in York, yet in the early fifteenth century between 1411 and 1441, only 14 per cent of new freemen were enrolled in these trades. The most striking change within the food trades was the growing importance of the millers, for it seems likely that an increasing number of millers were grinding corn within the city boundaries, either in windmills on the fringes of the city outside the walls or in mills worked by horses within the heart of York. <sup>(1)</sup> Only 4 freemen were described as millers between 1311 and 1341, but a century later, between 1411 and 1441, no less than 22 millers were enrolled.

The relative importance of the bakers had also increased and they constituted 24 per cent of freemen enrolling in the food trades in the decades 1411-1441 compared with 19 per cent of those enrolling in 1311-1341 and 21 per cent of men in the food trades in the 1381 Poll Tax Returns. The increased importance of the trade was, perhaps, also indicated by the appearance of 2 persons on the Register of

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(1) For evidence of mills worked by horses see A. Raine, Medieval York: a topographical survey based on original sources, p. 194; York Civic Records, II, 116. Two mills leased by the Vicars Choral in Goodramgate in 1479 were probably of this type, D. & C. Library, Vicars Choral, Chamberlains' Roll, 1479.

Freemen between 1411 and 1441 described as oblet or ublet makers, who specialised in making a type of wafer cake often distributed to communicants at Mass.

The textile trades concerned with the making up and retail distribution of clothing were probably no more important than in the early fourteenth century. The number of tailors becoming freemen had only doubled, whilst 16 freemen were recorded as hosiers, capmakers, hatmakers, embroiderers, and vestmentmakers, compared with 20 between 1311 and 1341, although the occupations of embroiderer and vestmentmaker do not appear on the Register of Freemen before the middle of the fourteenth century.

Freemen engaged in the transport of goods were also relatively about as numerous as in the early fourteenth century. The number of freemen enrolling as mariners had only increased from 52 between 1311 and 1341 to 60 between 1411 and 1441, whilst the total number of freemen had doubled. A number of new specialised trades, however, had begun to be recorded. Thus sledmen, who hauled heavy goods, such as stone for building the Minster, on wooden sledges from the river bank to various destinations in the city,<sup>(1)</sup> appear as a specialised occupation on the Register for the first time after 1400, and 13 sledmen were enfranchised between 1411

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(1) L. Salzman, Building in England down to 1540, p. 351.

and 1441. The occupations of waterleader, sandleder, and carrier, too, had begun to be recorded since the early years of the fourteenth century, and in the decades 1411-1441 sixteen freemen enrolled in these trades.

The importance of the building trades among actual York residents was considerably greater than at the beginning of the previous century. Six times as many freemen entered the building trades between 1411 and 1441 as in the corresponding decades of the fourteenth century and the number of freemen entering the industry represented 9 per cent of freemen whose occupations may be determined, compared with a mere 3 per cent of freemen between 1311 and 1341. The number of glaziers and plumbers recorded on the Register of Freemen was three times as great as in the period 1311-1341, whilst 35 masons were enrolled as freemen between 1411 and 1441 compared with 7 masons during the earlier period. The trades which were concerned with the erection and repair of the predominantly tiled and timbered houses expanded still more rapidly with the general growth of York's economy and their numbers increased both relatively and absolutely. The number of plasterers and tilers increased eleven fold and the 43 freemen enrolled in these trades between 1411 and 1441 represented 17 per cent of all freemen then entering building

trades. The number of freemen described as carpenters was only five times greater in 1411-1441 than in the corresponding decades of the fourteenth century, but a number of freemen were described as sawyers and joiners - wood working trades which were not mentioned on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1341. The total number of freemen in wood working trades had thus increased more than sevenfold so that they comprised 51 per cent of freemen entering the building industry in the early fifteenth century compared with 47 per cent of freemen in the early fourteenth century.

The number of persons who specialised in general whole-sale and retail trade was also relatively greater than in the early fourteenth century, and the 403 freemen described as chapmen, mercers, and merchants, between 1411 and 1441 represented 15 per cent of freemen recorded in all occupations, compared with 12 per cent of freemen from 1311 to 1341. In addition, among the more specialised dealers, seventeen woolmen were recorded compared with only one, whilst two freemen were enrolled as corn-merchants, an occupation not previously noted on the Register.

Among other miscellaneous occupations we may particularly note an apparent increase of medical services. In contrast to the period 1311-1341 when the only freemen specialising in



the provision of medical services were 9 barbers and a man described as medicus, more than 50 freemen described as medicus, barbers, physicians, leaches, and surgeons were recorded between 1411-1441, whilst 4 treaclers specialised in producing medicinal compounds and another freeman who combined this trade with dentistry, was described as treacler et tuthdragher.

Provision for the cultural life of York seems also to have increased. Two bookbinders and 3 scribes were recorded in York in 1381, and 10 bookbinders, illuminators and scribes were enfranchised between 1411 and 1441, whereas a stationer and an illuminator were the only members of the occupations recorded on the Register of Freemen from 1311 to 1341. The number of painters and stainers had also increased. Four freemen enrolled in these occupations between 1311 and 1341 whilst 16 freemen became painters and stainers in the same decades a century later.

In the early sixteenth century the number of persons becoming freemen of York was considerably lower than at the beginning of the fifteenth century and 1,548 persons were enfranchised in various occupations between 1511 and 1541 compared with 2,641 persons between 1411 and 1441. The industries of York, however, declined at a slightly greater rate than the non-industrial trades and they recruited 40 per

cent of the freemen whose occupation may be determined instead of 42 per cent of these freemen as in the early fifteenth century.

The most significant change amongst the industrial crafts was the decline of cloth production in the city.<sup>(1)</sup> The total number of freemen engaged in the manufacture of cloth from 1511-1541 still represented nearly 9 per cent of the freemen enrolling in all occupations compared with 12 per cent of freemen between 1411 and 1441. More than half these freemen in the early sixteenth century were, however, not concerned in the manufacture of the woollen broadcloth which had been the typical product of the York industry at its peak. The tapiters, the largest craft, who were noted for the production of worsted cloths, alone recruited 67 of the 143 new freemen entering crafts concerned with the manufacture of cloth between 1511 and 1541, and the linen weavers with 21 new members in this period accounted for a further 15 per cent of freemen entering the cloth producing crafts. Men weaving, fulling, and shearing woollen cloth were, by contrast, relatively unimportant. Only 22 freemen were described as weavers or woollen weavers compared with 112

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(1) A more detailed analysis of the decline is given in the following chapter.

between 1411 and 1441, and the fullers and shearmen combined had a mere 16 representatives compared with 85.

The number of freemen described as drapers also declined sharply after the first quarter of the fifteenth century as the production of cloth in York began to decrease and by the early sixteenth century the fortunes of the drapers were at a low ebb. The mayor and aldermen of York in 1505 decided that every tailor and hosier who sold cloth retail should contribute to the drapers' pageant because it was said that there were only 3 drapers left in the city,<sup>(1)</sup> and only 6 drapers were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1511 and 1541, compared with 40 between 1411 and 1441. It is moreover clear that in 1552, when the drapers and tailors were finally united in one craft,<sup>(2)</sup> the drapers had long ceased to fulfil a vital function in the manufacture of cloth as the link between the cloth producer and the international merchant,<sup>(3)</sup> but were instead concerned largely with the retail of cloth.

The leather and fur industry remained the largest

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(1) York Civic Records, III, 14.

(2) *Ibid.* V, 57.

(3) See p. 89.

industry in York. But one of the most important crafts in the industry - that of the skinners - was now a shadow of its former self. Only 12 skinners were recorded as freemen compared with 74 skinners between 1411 and 1441 and the members of the craft represented 5 per cent of all freemen entering the industry instead of 20 per cent as in the early fifteenth century. The decline of the craft in York as in London and other English towns may be traced back to the middle of the fifteenth century when garments lined with squirrel began to decrease in popularity perhaps partly as the result of a change of fashion which seems to have spread from the Court of the Dukes of Burgundy, and of the increasing difficulty in obtaining furs from Russia.<sup>(1)</sup> The dramatic change in the fortunes of the skinners at York is shown quite clearly by the Table overleaf, which summarises the number of skinners enrolling every decade as freemen of the city. In no decade between 1321 and 1451 had less than 15 skinners been recorded on the Register of Freemen, and during the first half of the fifteenth century 115 members of the craft were enfranchised, yet in only one decade between

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(1) E.M.Veale, "The London Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages, with particular reference to the Skinners' Company" (London Ph.D.Thesis, 1953), pp. 388-434 passim. See also pp. 50-56.

TABLE IV.

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING AS SKINNERS  
1311-1351.

DECADE	NUMBER	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311 - 1321	7	64 <sup>(1)</sup>
1321 - 1331	18	
1331 - 1341	22	
1441 - 1351	17	
1351 - 1361	15	117
1361 - 1371	28	
1371 - 1381	19	
1381 - 1391	28	
1391 - 1401	27	
1401 - 1411	18	114
1411 - 1421	29	
1421 - 1431	25	
1431 - 1441	20	
1441 - 1451	22	
1451 - 1461	7	25
1461 - 1471	1	
1471 - 1481	4	
1481 - 1491	10	
1491 - 1501	3	
1501 - 1511	3	18
1511 - 1521	7	
1521 - 1531	3	
1531 - 1541	3	
1541 - 1551	2	
TOTAL	338	338

(1) Covers only the years 1311-1351.

1451 and 1551 were there as many as 10 skimmers recorded, and in the second half of the fifteenth century a mere 25 skimmers enrolled as freemen. The declining prosperity of the craft was finally recognised in 1517 by the mayor and aldermen of York when it was decided that the vestment makers should contribute to the costs of producing the skimmers' pageant, since the skimmers were 'of littill substance' and unable themselves to support the pageant. (1)

The glovers, by contrast, increased considerably in importance and in the early sixteenth century ranked as the third largest leather working craft, exceeded only by the cordwainers and tanners. The total number of leather workers enfranchised between 1511 and 1541 was nearly 30 per cent less than in the period 1411-1441, yet 35 glovers enrolled as freemen in both of these periods and the craft constituted 16 per cent of all leather workers compared with only 12 per cent of leather workers in the early fifteenth century. The parchment-makers were also slightly more important than formerly. Thirteen freemen were recorded as parchment-makers between 1511 and 1541 compared with 7 freemen between 1411 and 1441 and the members of the craft represented 6 per cent of all freemen entering the leather

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(1) York Civic Records, III, 61.

crafts instead of 2 per cent as at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The metal industries still comprised 10 per cent of all freemen entering various occupations in York, although the number of new freemen recorded in the metal working crafts had declined from 263 between 1411 and 1441 to 160 between 1511 and 1541. Within the industries the girdlers had declined still further in relative importance; it is apparent from the Table on page 29 that the number of freemen entering the craft had fallen steadily since the middle of the fifteenth century and only 5 per cent of new freemen recorded in the metal industries between 1511 and 1541 were girdlers, yet the craft had ranked a century earlier as the third largest metal craft, embracing 12 per cent of all metal workers enfranchised from 1411 to 1441. The number of cutlers and bladesmiths becoming freemen of York also continued to decline both absolutely and relatively, perhaps because of increasing competition from the cutlers of the West Riding near Rotherham and Sheffield which were noted centres for the manufacture of cutlery by the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> The craft, which had been as important

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(1) The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L.Toulmin Smith, IV, 14. See also R.E.Leader, History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York, I, 6-8; and A Descriptive Catalogue of Sheffield Manorial Records, ed. T.W.Hall, II, vi-ix.

as the girdlers' craft in the early fifteenth century, ranked as one of the minor metal working crafts embracing only 6 per cent of freemen entering the industries between 1511 and 1541, and the Table on page 28 reveals that only 16 cutlers and bladesmiths became freemen from 1501 to 1551 compared with 37 freemen during the first half of the fifteenth century.

The armourers and locksmiths, by contrast, had improved their relative position. The armourers represented 9 per cent of new freemen recorded in the metal industries between 1511 and 1541 instead of 6 per cent between 1411 and 1441, whilst the number of freemen in the industries described as locksmiths had increased from 2 to 9 per cent.

An equally striking improvement had occurred in the fortunes of the pewterers. The number of pewterers becoming freemen had risen steadily since the early fifteenth century and they constituted the second largest metal craft with 14 per cent of all freemen recorded in the metal industries between 1511 and 1541, although they had represented only 6 per cent of metal workers between 1411 and 1441. The Table overleaf, which records the number of pewterers being enfranchised in each decade, suggests that the craft declined slightly during the early sixteenth century, but at



TABLE V.

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING AS PEWTERERS  
1311-1551

DECADE	NUMBER	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311 - 1321	-	
1321 - 1331	-	
1331 - 1341	-	2 <sup>(1)</sup>
1341 - 1351	2	
1351 - 1361	-	
1361 - 1371	-	
1371 - 1381	1	5
1381 - 1391	1	
1391 - 1401	3	
1401 - 1411	1	
1411 - 1421	4	
1421 - 1431	6	26
1431 - 1441	6	
1441 - 1451	9	
1451 - 1461	4	
1461 - 1471	8	
1471 - 1481	10	47
1481 - 1491	11	
1491 - 1501	14	
1501 - 1511	4	
1511 - 1521	6	
1521 - 1531	6	36
1531 - 1541	11	
1541 - 1551	9	
TOTAL	116	116

(1) Covers only the years 1311-1351.

the beginning of the century when the number of pewterers in York was probably at its maximum, the craft seems to have had a national reputation second only to that of London, since legislation passed in 1504 to ensure that only high quality pewter was produced throughout the country was drawn up at the request of the pewterers and braziers of London, York 'and other places in the Realm', none of which were specified by name. <sup>(1)</sup>

Some of the more important miscellaneous manufacturing crafts were now in decay. The manufacture of wool cards in the city declined as the fortunes of the textile industry waned and only 5 cardmakers became freemen between 1501 and 1551, whilst 22 members of the craft had enrolled on the Register of Freemen in the first half of the fifteenth century. The bow-making crafts also declined both relatively and absolutely. In its later stages the decline may partly be attributed to the gradual supersession of the longbow by fire-arms as a military weapon. <sup>(2)</sup> But it is

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(1) C. Welch, History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the City of London, I, 94-7; Statutes of the Realm, 19 Hen. VII, c 6.

(2) C. Oman, A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century, pp. 285-6. The longbow was still a fairly common military weapon in England even after the middle of the sixteenth century. Ibid. pp. 380-84.

evident that the York industry was declining by the middle of the fifteenth century before fire-arms were in widespread use in English armies. In 1441-1451, for the first time in any decade since 1360, less than 17 bowyers, fletchers and bowstring-makers were enrolled as freemen, and in 1451-1461 only 7 were enrolled. During the next 20 years the number of bowyers and fletchers increased slightly, but in 1481-1491 the number enrolling fell again to the level of 1451-1461 and thereafter the industry never recovered. The last person specialising as a bowstring-maker was recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1489 and in the first half of the sixteenth century only 26 bowyers and fletchers were enrolled as compared with 85 in the first half of the fifteenth century and 39 between 1451 and 1501.

Other miscellaneous manufacturing crafts, however, remained relatively prosperous. The number of freemen enrolling as ropers in 1511-1541 was one fewer than in 1411-1441, the number of shipwrights was unchanged, and 21 chandlers and cartwrights were enrolled as compared with 15. In addition, the occupation of alabasterer had made its appearance on the Register of Freemen since the early fifteenth century. Only one freeman was thus described between 1511 and 1541 but in the second half of the fifteenth

century, when Nottingham was flourishing as the leading English centre for the production of pious images and figures made of alabaster, seven alabaster workers had become freemen of York. (1)

The food trades in the early sixteenth century were still exceedingly important. The number of freemen entering the food trades had declined from 402 between 1411 and 1441 to 332 between 1511 and 1541, but the relative importance of these trades had increased and 19 per cent of freemen were recorded in the food trades as compared with 14 per cent a century earlier. It seems likely from the number of new freemen recorded as butchers, bakers, and cooks that these trades were slightly less important than in the early fifteenth century, whilst the occupations of poulterer and saucemaker then current had ceased to be recorded on the Register of Freemen. The fishermen and fishmongers, however, were probably more prosperous than before and 91 freemen were described as fishermen and fishmongers compared with 82 freemen given this description between 1411 and 1441. The millers, vintners, victuallers, inn-keepers, and brewers, were equally flourishing; the number of freemen described as

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(1) W.H. St. John Hope, 'On the Early Working of Alabaster in England', Archaeological Journal, LXI, 221-40.

TABLE VI.

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING AS MILLERS  
AND CORN-MERCHANTS 1311-1551

DECADE	MILLER		CORN-MERCHANT	
	NUMBER	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY	NUMBER	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311-1321	2		-	
1321-1331	-	5 <sup>(1)</sup>	-	
1331-1341	2		-	-
1341-1351	1		-	
1351-1361	1		-	
1361-1371	5		-	
1371-1381	1	28	-	
1381-1391	10		-	-
1391-1401	11		-	
1401-1411	4		-	
1411-1421	12		1	
1421-1431	3	35	1	2
1431-1441	7		-	
1441-1451	9		-	
1451-1461	13		-	
1461-1471	16		-	
1471-1481	13	70	6	13
1481-1491	10		4	
1491-1501	18		3	
1501-1511	8		2	
1511-1521	17 <sup>(2)</sup>		2	
1521-1531	8	62	9	35
1531-1541	21		13	
1541-1551	8		9	
TOTAL	200	200	50	50

(1) Covers only the years 1311-1351.

(2) In addition one freeman was described as miller and mylnwright.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING IN FOOD TRADES  
CONNECTED WITH THE PREPARATION OR RETAIL  
OF WINE, ALE, OR BEER. 1311-1551 (1)

DECADE	INN (2) KEEPER	VICTUALLER	BREWER	VINTNER	TOTAL	TOTAL IN EACH HALF CENTURY
1311-1321	11	-	-	-	11	54 <sup>(3)</sup>
1321-1331	21	-	-	-	21	
1331-1341	12	-	1	-	13	
1341-1351	9	-	-	-	9	
1351-1361	4	-	2	-	6	40
1361-1371	10	-	2	1	13	
1371-1381	5	-	1	-	6	
1381-1391	1	-	2	-	3	
1391-1401	7	-	1	4	12	
1401-1411	1	-	1	4	6	74
1411-1421	4	-	5	10	19	
1421-1431	1	-	8	5	14	
1431-1441	3	-	5	3	11	
1441-1451	3	1	13	7	24	
1451-1461	3	-	6	3	12	58
1461-1471	5	1	5	5	16	
1471-1481	5	-	4	4	13	
1481-1491	1	-	5	4	10	
1491-1501	3	-	3	1	7	
1501-1511	7	-	-	1	8	102
1511-1521	4	-	4	3	11	
1521-1531	7	6	1	2	16	
1531-1541	9	19	4	2	34	
1541-1551	8	18	5	2	33	
TOTAL	144	45	78	61	328	328

(1) In addition six freemen were described as maltsters and two freemen as 'malt-grinders' during this period.

(2) Includes men described as hostelers and taverners.

(3) Covers only the years 1311-1351.

vintners, victuallers, brewers, and inn-keepers had increased from 44 between 1411 and 1441 to 61 between 1511 and 1541, whilst the number of millers enrolled had doubled; and it is evident that by the early sixteenth century York was a prominent centre for the marketing of grain and for the manufacture of malt. The description "corn-merchant", which had been employed only twice before, came into increasing use on the Register of Freemen after the middle of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century 35 freemen were thus described; the persistent activities of York merchants in purchasing grain from East Anglia led in 1503 to a dispute with Lynn over the levying of tolls on grain purchased there;<sup>(1)</sup> and nearly 40 years later the Dean of York Minster wrote to Cromwell in London complaining that the corn merchants had caused 'all the town to be ale tipplers', whilst honest trade had been completely forsaken for the making of malt.<sup>(2)</sup>

Freemen who specialised in general wholesale and retail trade, were both absolutely and relatively fewer than in the early fifteenth century. Only 145 freemen were described as mercers, merchants, and chapmen, between 1511 and 1541

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(1) York Civic Records, IV, 74.

(2) Letters and Papers, XV, no. 417.

compared with 403 freemen between 1411 and 1441, and the group comprised only 9 per cent of the freemen whose occupations may be determined.

Several textile crafts making and retailing clothing, by contrast, were flourishing in the early sixteenth century. Thus, 14 hosiers and 6 vestmentmakers became freemen between 1511 and 1541 although only 3 members of each occupation were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1411 and 1441. The number of capmakers had also steadily increased; 65 of the 89 capmakers recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1551 were enfranchised after the middle of the fifteenth century and 20 members of the craft became freemen between 1511 and 1541 - five times the number of capmakers who were recorded as freemen in the corresponding decades of the fifteenth century.

The building trades were relatively less important than formerly; the number of freemen recorded in these trades was exactly half the number recorded between 1411 and 1441 and the proportion of freemen entering the building industry declined from 9 to 8 per cent of all the men who were enfranchised in York. The masons virtually disappeared from the Register of Freemen, perhaps as a result of the limited amount of construction work undertaken on the parish



churches of the city during the early sixteenth century, and only 5 masons, of whom 4 enrolled between 1521 and 1531, became freemen in the first half of the century. The glaziers and carvers, by contrast, actually increased in numbers, and 13 glaziers were enfranchised between 1511 and 1541 compared with 10 glaziers between 1411 and 1441, whilst the number of carvers becoming freemen increased from 13 to 24.

Freemen concerned with the transport of goods were relatively less numerous than in the early fifteenth century. Only 20 mariners were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1511 and 1541 compared with the 60 mariners between 1411 and 1441. The number of sledmen also declined markedly, perhaps as a result of the decreasing demand for the cartage of heavy building stone from the Ouse by the beginning of the sixteenth century when the Minster had been completed and little new construction was being undertaken on York's parish churches. No fewer than 17 sledmen had been enfranchised in both the first and second halves of the fifteenth century, yet only 9 sledmen, of whom 8 enrolled before 1530, were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1501 and 1551.

Provision for the cultural and artistic life of York again seems relatively to have increased. Fifteen painters

enrolled as freemen in 1511-1541, only one less than the combined number of painters and stainers in 1411-1441, although the number of freemen enrolling in all occupations was some 40 per cent lower, whilst seven minstrels were enrolled as compared with only one. In addition, printing seems to have been introduced to York from the Continent in the early sixteenth century. Only one freeman before 1550 was described as a printer but R.Davies was able to show that another printer was enfranchised in 1497 as a bookbinder and stationer, and that three more printers, who escaped civic jurisdiction by living in the Liberty of St. Peter near the Minster and were therefore under no obligation to become freemen, resided for a time in York in the early sixteenth century. (1)

The picture of York's industries and trades by the middle of the sixteenth century was thus somewhat different from that when Edward II came to the throne. Perhaps the majority of people in York earned their living in a way not very different from that of their ancestors two and a half centuries before. The food trades still embraced the largest group of non-industrial freemen in York, the leather and fur industry remained larger than any other industry, and

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(1) R.Davies. A Memoir of the York Press, pp. 7-27.

the tailors and cordwainers were still more numerous than any other groups of freemen. But in the course of our survey a number of significant changes have been discerned. The bow-making industry which had begun to flourish in York soon after the middle of the fourteenth century and was famous throughout the North of England some fifty years later had virtually faded away by the early sixteenth century; the pewterers had climbed during the course of the fifteenth century to the point where they had become the only notable body of pewterers outside London; the once substantial crafts of skinners, girdlers, and cutlers and bladesmiths had become almost extinct; and in the sixteenth century towards the end of our study, the introduction of printing to York was observed. Yet the most striking change in York, which must have been felt by nearly every citizen, was undoubtedly the rise and decline of the cloth-making industry and it is that industry which must now be considered in detail.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CLOTH-MAKING INDUSTRY

#### 1. The Fortunes of the Industry.

The cloth-making industry that flourished in York in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was not a new phenomenon in the history of York. In 1164 a gild of York weavers began paying £10 a year to the Exchequer for the privileges granted by royal charter,<sup>(1)</sup> and during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the city was one of the leading English centres for the manufacture of cloth which was then a mainly urban industry, largely concentrated in the towns of Beverley, Lincoln, Stamford, Northampton, York, Leicester, Colchester, Louth, Oxford, and Winchester.<sup>(2)</sup> Only at London could the gild of weavers afford to pay a larger annual sum to the Exchequer for the grant of royal privileges,<sup>(3)</sup> and the cloth produced in York, though inferior to the internationally famous cloth of Lincoln and Stamford, was marketed abroad with these more expensive cloths in regions as distant as Genoa and was purchased with them on more than one

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(1) Heaton, p. 3.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. 211-214.

(3) Heaton, p. 3.

occasion in the thirteenth century for furnishing the King's Wardrobe. (1)

The York cloth-making industry of the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries was thus of importance for both England and the Continent. Yet when this study commences, it would seem that little trace remained in York of her once great industry, and that the severe decline of the urban English industry towards the end of the thirteenth century, in part due to the use of the fulling mill which reduced the costs of rural cloth production, was amply reflected in York. (2) The York weavers by the third quarter of the thirteenth century had fallen into serious arrears in making their annual payment to the Exchequer (3) and during the early years of the fourteenth century whilst they complained bitterly of competition from country cloth-makers, as in a petition to the king in 1304, (4) their debt continued to grow, increasing by

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- (1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. 211-212. The specific references to the purchase of York cloth for the Royal Wardrobe are given in C.P.R. 1232-47, p.23; C.P.R. 1247-53, p.367. The sale of York cloth in Genoa is recorded by R.Doehaerd, Les Relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles, I, 192; II, 579, 586; III, 622.
- (2) E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Woollen Industry', C.E.H.E., II, 403-13.
- (3) M.Sellers, 'The Textile Industries', V.C.H.Yorkshire, II, 407.
- (4) Heaton, p.29; C.C.R. 1302-07, p.134.

£70 for example between 1302 and 1312. (1) An analysis of the enrolments of freemen in the main cloth-making crafts at that date, as in Table I overleaf, moreover suggests that the poverty of the weavers was no fiction invented to deceive the Exchequer and that the cloth-making industry in York was in fact at a low ebb. Only 3 weavers, 3 shearmen, 5 dyers, a fuller, and a chalonier were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1331, and their combined number represented barely 2 per cent of the new freemen whose occupation can then be determined.

Very different must have been the fortunes of the industry later in the century when, as a result of some 40 years' rapid expansion during the second and third quarters of the century, the weavers ranked as the largest craft in York and the cloth-making industry was of major importance to the city. The English cloth-making industry as a whole underwent a rapid expansion during this period at the expense of its foreign competitors, who had to pay at least 33 per cent more for their essential supplies of English wool than the English cloth producer, and there is little doubt that the York textile crafts shared in this expansion, which virtually priced foreign cloth out of the English market and created a substantial

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(1) Pipe Rolls, 148, m.6; 149, m.11; 151, m.29; 152A. m.3; 154, m.36; 155A, m.24; 157, m.23.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING EACH DECADE IN  
THE MAIN CLOTH-MAKING CRAFTS

Decade(1)	Weaver(2)	Linen Weaver	Fuller	Shearman	Dyer	Tapiter(3)	TOTAL
1311-1321	1	-	1	1	-	1	4
1321-1331	2	-	-	2	5	-	9
1331-1341	9	-	2	5	7	2	25
1341-1351	20	-	2	5	19	3	49
1351-1361	44	-	15	8	25	8	100
1361-1371	69	-	21	16	27	19	152
1371-1381	53	1	13	7	23	31	128
1381-1391	41	4	16	15	25	17	118
1391-1401	64	1	22	12	33	17	149
1401-1411	34	-	9	7	14	3	67
1411-1421	44	4	12	13	26	16	115
1421-1431	32	1	20	12	22	19	106
1431-1441	36	1	20	8	14	8	87
1441-1451	51	3	23	7	26	15	125
1451-1461	35	-	20	13	17	9	94
1461-1471	31	1	22	10	15	9	88
1471-1481	23	3	12	9	28	16	91
1481-1491	15	2	9	8	11	13	58
1491-1501	21	8	11	7	14	11	72
1501-1511	9	-	9	3	8	11	40
1511-1521	9	8	6	2	6	22	53
1521-1531	8	5	3	1	5	19	41
1531-1541	5	8	3	1	6	26	49
1541-1551	7	-	2	-	3	30	42
TOTAL	663	50	273	172	379	325	1,862

(1) In this and the following Table the decades commence in the month in which the city chamberlains (who enrolled new freemen) were appointed - not on the 1st January. See the introduction to Appendix E. The data for the decade 1301-1311 has been omitted because the occupations of some 50 per cent of freemen are not stated.

(2) Includes a few freemen described specifically as 'woollen-weaver'. The description was first employed towards the end of the fifteenth century.

(3) Includes coverlet weavers and chaloners. Only 33 persons received the latter description. The last chaloners was enrolled in 1376.

demand for English cloth in the Baltic, Gascony, and Flanders. (1) Between 1331 and 1361 there was a more than twelvefold increase in the number of weavers, fullers, dyers, shearmen, and tapiters becoming freemen of York, although the number of new freemen enrolling in all occupations merely doubled, and the percentage of new freemen in these cloth-making crafts rose from two to fifteen per cent. The drapers, who frequently performed a vital function in the manufacture of cloth by acting as intermediaries between the cloth producer and the merchant who exported York's cloth to foreign markets, (2) also increased in numbers and, as shown in Table II, 28 were recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1361-71 as compared with only 5 in 1321-31. The improving fortunes of the York weavers meanwhile were reflected in the renewal of their original charter from the King in 1346, (3) and the general prosperity of the industry was indicated by its ability to absorb a number of immigrants from the Low Countries when once the expansion had begun. (4)

The expansion of the industry continued until the very end of the fourteenth century, though at a less spectacular rate.

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, Chapter VI, passim.

(2) See page 89.

(3) C.P.R. 1345-48, p.199; Sellers, V.C.H. Yorkshire, II, 409.

(4) Sellers, V.C.H. Yorkshire, III, 439. Heaton, pp.15-16, has demonstrated that the aliens did little to initiate the expansion.



TABLE II

NUMBER OF NEW FREEMEN ENROLLING EACH DECADE IN THE  
OTHER MAIN TEXTILE CRAFTS AND TRADES AND IN TRADES  
ALLIED TO THE CLOTH-MAKING INDUSTRY

Decade	Tailor	Draper	Hosier	Cap- maker	Hat- maker	Card- maker	Wire- drawer
1311-1321	15	-	4	-	2	-	-
1321-1331	14	5	4	-	2	-	-
1331-1341	41	5	2	-	4	-	3
1341-1351	54	9	5	-	1	-	1
1351-1361	43	8	1	-	5	1	3
1361-1371	96	23	2	4	2	5	3
1371-1381	73	22	3	4	-	3	4
1381-1391	67	17	-	2	-	4	1
1391-1401	81	30	1	2	-	5	5
1401-1411	52	6	2	1	1	2	-
1411-1421	66	16	-	-	1	4	1
1421-1431	74	16	-	2(1)	1	3	-
1431-1441	46	8	3	2	-	6	2
1441-1451	49	7	-	7	-	7	1
1451-1461	45	3	1	-	-	6	3
1461-1471	46	7	-	10	7(2)	-	-
1471-1481	37	3	-	11	6	3	2
1481-1491	46	5	4	7	1	2	2
1491-1501	44	4	2	5(3)	4	1	-
1501-1511	34	2	3	6	3	1	2
1511-1521	34	-	5	6	2	1	-
1521-1531	26	-	6	10	1	1	-
1531-1541	41	6	3	4	-	1	1
1541-1551	63	8	-	6	1	1	2
TOTAL	1,192	215	51	89	44	57	36

(1) Includes one person described as capknytter.

(2) Includes three persons specifically described as 'felt-hat-makers'.

(3) Includes one person described as capnthiker and another as a thyker of cappez.

The number of weavers, fullers, shearmen, tapiters, and dyers recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1361-71, when 152 members were enrolled, was the maximum recorded in any decade, but in each of the decades between 1371 and 1401 more than 110 freemen were recorded in these crafts as compared with enrolments of 49 and 100 respectively in the two decades immediately preceding the peak of 1361-71, and in 1391-1401 the number enrolling again rose to 149, whilst the proportion of new freemen entering the crafts during these last three decades of the century was never less than 12 per cent.

The continued expansion of the industry in York moreover was reflected in the growth of crafts allied to the industry. Cardmakers manufacturing the implements employed in carding the wool before it was spun appeared for the first time on the Register of Freemen, where eighteen members were recorded between 1351 and 1401; and the wiredrawers making the tiny metal hooks that fitted into the wool cards, in addition to their other manufactures, increased their numbers on the Register from four in the decades 1311-51 to sixteen in the second half of the century. The sharpening of the shears used to impart a fine finish to the cloth after it had been X fulled also became a specialised occupation and sheargrinders began to be recorded as freemen of the city; the first made

his appearance in 1346, and by the end of the century a further seven persons had been noted with that occupation or were described simply as grynder.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the manufacture of cloth was thus a major industry of York. More than a ninth of some 3,500 master craftsmen and traders who became freemen of York between 1371 and 1401, assisted by their servants and apprentices, were working in six specialised crafts directly concerned with the weaving, fulling, shearing, and dyeing of woollen, worsted or linen cloth; another fiftieth of the master craftsmen and traders in the city, enrolled as drapers, specialised in the distribution of the finished woollen cloth and in organising its production, whilst many York merchants exported cloth to foreign markets; and scores of obscure men and women who were not organised into crafts, and very rarely appear in the civic records, must have been needed to sort, clean, card and spin the wool before it was ready for the weavers. The subsidiary crafts of cardmaker, wiredrawer, and sheargrinder, were at hand to provide some of the industry's technical needs, and the quantities of woad regularly arriving at York were such that its measurement before sale was, after 1390, recognised as a matter for civic concern and regulated by four officials appointed by the city. (1)

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(1) M.B. I, 43, 45.

The York industry was by continental standards puny. Some two dozen specialised wool-working crafts were to be found in the fourteenth century Florentine and Flemish textile industries,<sup>(1)</sup> a city such as Ghent in 1346 boasted nearly 4,000 weavers,<sup>(2)</sup> and Florence in the early years of the century provided employment for perhaps as many as 30,000 textile workers engaged in the manufacture of some 80,000 cloths a year.<sup>(3)</sup> Yet it seems probable that in England York was one of the leading centres of textile production in the late fourteenth century. The output of cloth from individual centres of production cannot be determined both because the aulnage accounts of the late fourteenth century, even when not deliberately designed to deceive the Exchequer,<sup>(4)</sup> were not concerned with worsted cloths, and because they simply recorded the woollen cloths aulnaged at some central place which served as a convenient centre for aulnaging the cloth manufactured for sale in that district. Thus, much of the cloth in an aulnage account for York which carefully notes the colour and size of woollen cloth aulnaged day by day between

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(1) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 395.

(2) H. Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p.172.

(3) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 393.

(4) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, Chapter VIII, passim.

6 September 1394 and Michaelmas 1395, (1) was recorded in the name of prominent drapers and merchants of the city, who probably brought cloth made many miles from York into the city to be aulnaged, whilst the presence of several scores of women in the account, each possessing a few yards of cloth, suggests that the country housewife frequently brought cloth woven in her home for sale in York during one of her shopping expeditions. The aulnage accounts therefore enable us to compare quantities of cloth aulnaged in different centres, rather than quantities of cloth produced there, but if we assume that the amount of cloth produced in a centre was very approximately proportional to the amount aulnaged there, the accounts afford some indication of the relative importance of English cloth producing centres in the late fourteenth century. On this basis York, with 3,300 cloths aulnaged between 6 September 1394 and Michaelmas 1395, ranked as one of the leading English textile centres, second in importance to Salisbury with 7,000 cloths aulnaged between November 1397 and November 1398 and closely rivalling Coventry, where 3,000 cloths were aulnaged in the same year. (2)

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(1) Yorkshire Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95.

(2) K.R. Various Accounts, Aulnage, 344/25, m.1; 345/2, m.15. Both the Coventry and Salisbury accounts appear to be genuine, not spurious compilations to deceive the Exchequer. I am indebted to Professor Carus-Wilson for the Salisbury reference.

The proportion of York's cloth that was made for export when the industry was at its height is completely obscure. In the last decade of the fourteenth century an average of some 3,400 cloths a year, representing nearly a tenth of England's cloth exports, were shipped from Hull, (1) and York merchants, whose activities ranged from the Baltic to Bordeaux, accounted for nearly half Hull's cloth exports. (2) But the customs collectors rarely indicated the town in which a piece of cloth had been manufactured and the York cloth exporters may well have exported cloth from the West Riding, which already possessed an extensive textile industry. (3)

Some of the more important data on the York cloth-making industry at its height is therefore missing, but there is no reason to doubt that the industry in the late fourteenth century flourished as it had not flourished fifty years earlier and as it was not to flourish again. In the early years of the fifteenth century there were already signs that the industry had passed its peak, for the number of weavers, fullers, shearmen, dyers, and tapiters enrolling as freemen in 1401-11

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p.245 and graph facing p.xviii. Professor Carus-Wilson has kindly supplied me with the separate figures for Hull's cloth exports.

(2) See page 147.

(3) See for example the 1379 Poll Tax Returns for the West Riding, Y.A.J. V, VI, VII.

for the first time in any decade since the middle of the fourteenth century fell below a hundred, and less than 300 freemen were recorded in these crafts between 1401 and 1431 as compared with 395 freemen from 1371-1401. x

During the second half of the fifteenth century in the face of growing competition from the cloth industry of the West Riding and other rural districts of England where labour was cheap, taxation was light, and water power existed to work the fulling mill, the decline of cloth-making in York was very noticeable. The Abbey of Durham which normally bought its cloth from York drapers in the first 60 years of the fifteenth century subsequently made purchases from men of Halifax and Leeds, (1) and York itself was increasingly invaded by country cloth, particularly by cloth made in the West Riding, where Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, and Wakefield were by the reign of Henry VII on their way to becoming the prosperous clothing towns noted by Leland in his Itinerary. (2) The mayor and aldermen of York had to consider regulations for the sale of country cloth in the city at their meetings, (3) and in 1502 one of the two Fairs instituted in York after an expensive petition

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(1) Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. J.T.Fowler, III, 616, 632, 636, 649, 656.

(2) Heaton, pp. 76-8.

(3) See for example York Civic Records, II, 90-91.

to the king made special provision for the sale of country cloth, setting aside two separate parts of the Fair, one for cloth from Kendal, Knaresborough and Ripon, and the other for cloth from Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield, and Halifax. (1) The triumph of the West Riding cloth is also suggested by the stock of cloth kept by a York tailor whose shop contained at his death in 1485 a wide variety of cloths of Halifax and the district of Craven, including green, tawby and russet cloths of Halifax, a dozen pairs of Halifax hose, and a black Halifax kersey. (2) It is therefore not surprising that, although the number of new freemen recorded as tapiters, who specialised in the production of worsted cloth, (3) remained constant, the number of weavers, fullers, shearmen and dyers declined from 430 between 1401 and 1451 to 331 in the second half of the century. The number of weavers enrolling as freemen in particular averaged only 25 a decade as compared with an average of more than 50 a decade between 1351 and 1401, and the fading prosperity of the Weavers' Gild was reflected in the reduction of their annual fee farm by a half in 1478 because of poverty and its total remission eight years later. (4) The drapers,

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(1) York Civic Records, II, 172-75.

(2) T.E. III, 301.

(3) See pages 73-74.

(4) Sellers, V.C.H. Yorkshire, II, 410; C.P.R. 1476-85, p.135, C.P.R. 1435-94, p.109.



who often played a vital part in organising the production of woollen cloth, were also reduced in numbers. Only 22 were enrolled as freemen between 1451 and 1501 as compared with 53 in the first half of the fifteenth century, and in 1505 the mayor and aldermen of York decided that every tailor and hosier who sold cloth retail should contribute to the drapers' pageant because it was said that there were only 3 drapers left in the city. (1)

The cloth-making industry contracted still further in the early years of the sixteenth century. Only 96 weavers, fullers, shearmen, and dyers, were enrolled as freemen between 1501 and 1551 as compared with 331 between 1451 and 1501, and the proportion of freemen enrolling in these crafts was less than 4 per cent as compared with more than 12 per cent in the second half of the fourteenth century. The more highly skilled crafts of shearmen and dyers, who might have remained relatively prosperous by dyeing and shearing West Riding cloth before it was exported, like the flourishing groups of cloth finishers in Bristol, Exeter, Ipswich, and London, who sheared before export cloth that had been woven and fulled in the country, (2) declined no less markedly than the crafts of weavers

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(1) York Civic Records, III, 14.

(2) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 425.

and fullers. Some country cloth may still have been dyed in York as it had been when the York cloth-making industry was at its zenith, (1) but the West Riding dispatched much of its cloth for export direct to London and purchased its woad and madder from men of that city, (2) thus largely avoiding the markets of York and Hull, whose cloth exports had shrunk far below their late fourteenth century level. (3) All branches of the industry connected with the manufacture of woollen cloth therefore declined, as did the trades allied to the industry manufacturing textile implements. The last shearsmith to become a freeman was recorded in 1481, and only 10 wiredrawers and cardmakers were mentioned on the Register of Freemen between 1501 and 1551.

The branches of the cloth-making industry not connected with the manufacture of woollen cloth, by contrast, showed considerable vitality, partly but by no means wholly compensating for the continued decline of the woollen crafts. Thus 21 linen weavers were enrolled as freemen between 1501 and 1551 - four times the number recorded during the second half of the fourteenth century - and in 1518 the linen weavers

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(1) M.B., I, 113; II, 204-206.

(2) Heaton, p.146; E.C.P. 63/154, 355/70, 661/1, 782/11; H.C.A. Examinations, IV, 19 November et seq.

(3) See Appendix B.

were recognised as a separate craft by the civic authorities. (1)  
 The tapiters, who specialised in the production of worsted cloth known as coverlets, were also extremely flourishing. More than 100 members of the craft were enrolled as freemen between 1501 and 1551 as compared with 58 members in the second half of the fifteenth century, and the importance of coverlet manufacture in York was recognised in 1543 when the civic authorities paid half the costs of obtaining an Act of Parliament which conferred a monopoly of coverlet making in Yorkshire on the York tapiters, empowering them to search all fairs and markets north of the Trent to enforce the regulation. (2)

The manufacture of cloth in York thus had a varied career. The industry reached its peak towards the end of the fourteenth century after a period of rapid growth which characterised the English industry as a whole, and thereafter, whilst the English industry in general continued to expand, cloth-making in York slowly declined. The decline became most marked in the early years of the sixteenth century and the major crafts engaged in the production of woollen cloth - the weavers, fullers, shearmen, and dyers - in addition to the drapers, and the shearsmiths, wiredrawers, and cardmakers allied to the industry, were reduced to a handful of freemen; but certain branches of

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(1) York Civic Records, III, 65.

(2) Heaton, pp. 55-7; York Civic Records, IV, 92-3; Statutes of the Realm, 34 and 35 Hen.VIII, c.10.

the industry not primarily concerned with woollen cloth - the linen weavers, and the tapiters - continued to flourish, attracting to their ranks more newly enfranchised citizens than they had during the years when the York industry as a whole was at its height. Hence the cloth-making industry was able by concentration on the production of linen and worsted cloth to save itself from complete extinction at the hands of the West Riding and retain a few traces of its former glory.

## 2. The Products of the Industry.

The products of the cloth-making industry were almost as diverse as the regions to which York merchants exported its manufactures, but three main types of cloth - woollen, worsted, and linen - may be distinguished. Of these linen cloth was of relatively little importance. It was seldom exported to overseas markets and the number of persons concerned in its manufacture, even in the early sixteenth century when the craft of linen weavers was most flourishing, was much smaller than the number making woollen and worsted cloths. Hence our concern will be solely with the larger textile crafts - the weavers, fullers, shearmen, dyers and tapiters - making a variety of woollen and worsted cloths for an international market.

The principal type of woollen cloth produced in York and most of the English centres of production in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century when the York industry was at its height, was the broadcloth, defined by statute as 26 yards long and six or six and a half quarters wide before fulling,<sup>(1)</sup> and woven on a double horizontal loom by two workers seated side by side.<sup>(2)</sup> The short stapled wool employed in its manufacture had been carded before spinning, and the web on its removal from the loom was completed by fulling and shearing to strengthen the cloth and impart a fine finish. The manufacture of woollen cloths of any other size was forbidden on several occasions during the fourteenth century,<sup>(3)</sup> and when their manufacture was given official sanction, the broadcloth was adopted as the standard in terms of which the customs and aulnage collectors calculated the duties they levied on these cloths.<sup>(4)</sup> The adoption of the broadcloth as the standard cloth unit for fiscal purposes, with the exception of worsted cloths, meant that cloths shorter and narrower than the broadcloth were seldom

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p. 244, n.4.

(2) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 380.

(3) Lipson, I, 462-63.

(4) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p. 244, n.4.

separately indicated by the customs and aulnage collectors who made up their accounts in terms of the broadcloth, and for this reason the fifteenth century Hull customs accounts, which record without separately indicating the exports of York cloth, cannot give even a tentative indication of the proportion of York cloth that was exported as broadcloths. But there have survived for the final decade of the fourteenth century an account of the collectors of tunnage and poundage at Hull and an aulnage account for York in which these short, narrow cloths, known as straits and woven by a single person on a narrow loom, were in fact carefully recorded. It is impossible to state what proportion of the cloth mentioned in the two accounts was made in York, but the proportion of strait cloths, which were equated to broadcloths at the rate of 40 ells or 4 dozens to a broadcloth, was in both cases very small. In the particular Hull customs account covering the period 8 December 1391 to Michaelmas 1392, when the equivalent of more than 3,000 broadcloths were exported, not even a sixth of the cloth was described as ells or dozens of strait cloth,<sup>(1)</sup> and the 538 dozens and numerous small pieces of cloth as wide as, but shorter than, the broadcloth recorded by the York aulnage collectors in 1394-95, represented barely a tenth of the 3,250

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 59/23.

cloths (expressed in terms of the broadcloth) that were aulnaged in York in the thirteen months covered by their account. (1) Hence the output of woollen cloth in York at the end of the fourteenth century must have consisted largely of broadcloths.

Information about the worsteds made in York, which were distinguished from woollens by their manufacture from long stapled wool that had been combed before spinning and woven into a cloth that required little or no subsequent treatment by fullers or shearmen, is more meagre. We may infer from the export cargoes of York merchants recorded in the Hull customs accounts that in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries York was making both the outer coverings for beds known as coverlets and single beds (lecti simplici) which may have comprised not only a bed but also a coverlet, curtains and canopy. But it is not until 1472 when the tapiters, who specialised in the production of worsteds, laid down the size to which cloth made by members of the craft was to conform, that we possess any definite information as to the type or dimensions of worsteds being made in York. (2) The regulations do not refer to beds of worsted and it would seem

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(1) Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95.

(2) M.B. II, 195-96.

that the principal types of worsted then being made were coverlets and tapetts, which might be employed as curtains for a bed or simply as decoration for a wall. Large coverlets, 'called worstede ware of the moste assisse', made by the craft were to measure  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards in length and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards in width, small coverlets were to be  $3\frac{1}{8}$  yards in length and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  yards broad, and tapetts were to be only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards long and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  yards wide. It is probable that coverlets of very similar dimensions continued to be the principal type of worsteds manufactured in York until the middle of the sixteenth century, for in 1543 the tapiters met half the cost of obtaining an Act of Parliament which gave them a monopoly of coverlet making in Yorkshire with powers to search all fairs and markets north of the Trent and stipulated that the three grades of coverlets they made were to measure 3 yards by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  yards, 3 yards by 2 yards, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  yards respectively. (1)

The relative production of worsted and woollen cloth in York at no time can be directly determined, but the main interest of the city for much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lay in the manufacture of woollens rather than worsteds. In the second half of the fourteenth century when the cloth-making industry was extremely flourishing the number of tapiters who

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(1) Statutes of the Realm, 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c.10.



enrolled as freemen was less than a sixth of the number of weavers, fullers, shearmen and dyers enrolling, and even in the early sixteenth century when the manufacture of woollen cloth was in decay and the tapiters had become the largest textile craft, the manufacture of worsteds left no mark on the economic life of the city comparable with that made in the previous century by worsted production at Norwich, where a special hall known as the Worsteds Seld was set aside for the sale of worsted cloths woven in the city.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is also clear from the Hull customs accounts that York's worsteds never rivalled her woollens in value as an export commodity. None of the worsteds or woollens recorded can be traced specifically to York but it is significant that the value of the worsteds annually exported from Hull represented only a very small proportion of the value of her exports of woollen cloth. In the late fourteenth century when the York cloth-making industry was at its peak an annual average of 120 single beds, which were probably worth 7 shillings each, were exported from Hull and exports of coverlets, which were not subject to a specific duty and therefore only appear in the particular customs accounts, may have averaged less than 100 a year, thus suggesting that the average annual

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(1) The Records of the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson and J.C. Tingey, II, 90.

value of worsted exports was barely £60, whereas exports of woollen cloth from Hull averaged more than 3,200 broadcloths a year which were probably worth some £4,800.<sup>(1)</sup> The predominance of woollen cloth among Hull's textile exports moreover continued until the middle of the sixteenth century, despite the considerable decline of woollen cloth production in York and the increased relative and absolute importance of the tapiters who specialised in the manufacture of worsteds. Thus, exports of coverlets on the basis of the extant particular Hull customs accounts averaged some 30 dozen a year, valued at the standard figure of £1 a dozen, during the first half of the sixteenth century, and it is doubtful if the other worsteds exported were worth an average of more than £10 a year,<sup>(2)</sup> whereas an annual average of some 1,100 broadcloths, which were probably worth 30 shillings each, were exported during the decades 1507-37.<sup>(3)</sup>

The chief product of the York industry in its prime, and by far the most important York cloth sold overseas, was there-

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(1) The annual average export of single beds and woollen broadcloths has been calculated from the figures for the years 1377-1397, kindly supplied to me by Professor Carus-Wilson. The annual average export of coverlets and the average values of single beds and coverlets have been estimated from K.R. Customs Accounts 59/2, 59/8, 59/23, 159/11, and 61/32 (which covers the period Mich.1430-Mich.1431). The value of the broadcloth is discussed on pages 77-81.

(2) K.R. Customs Accounts 202/4, 64/5, 64/6, 202/5, 64/10, 64/15.

(3) See Appendix B.

fore woollen cloth, which consisted in the late fourteenth century largely of standard broadcloths. The woollen broadcloths manufactured in York however were of a very different quality from those manufactured in the southern Cotswolds and exported from Bristol and Southampton, and were more akin to the cheaper fabrics of East Anglia.

The difference in quality between the broadcloths produced in York and East Anglia and the broadcloths made in the West of England is partly suggested by the much lower values generally given by the customs collectors to cloth exported from Hull, through which the York cloth was mainly sent overseas, and from Ipswich, Lynn, and London, which handled considerable quantities of East Anglian cloth, as compared with the values given to cloth exported from Bristol and Southampton. At Bristol and Southampton in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries broadcloths were frequently valued at more than £2. each. Thus some 1,300 cloths valued in a Bristol customs account covering the period 16 November 1378 - 27 May 1379, none of them priced at less than £2, were worth on the average 46s. each,<sup>(1)</sup> and more than 4,000 cloths exported from Southampton between Michaelmas 1443 and Michaelmas 1444 were assessed at a value of

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(1) The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages, ed. E.M. Carus-Wilson, pp. 180-189.

46s. 8d. apiece. (1) Broadcloths exported from Hull on the other hand, like some 800 cloths exported from Lynn and Ipswich in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and more than 2,000 cloths shipped from London in 1449, were on the average given a value of only 30s. (2)

The most complete valuation of cloth exported from Hull is to be found in an account of the collectors of tunnage and poundage at Hull covering the period 8 December 1391 - Michaelmas 1392, in which ells and dozens of strait cloth were carefully recorded and valued separately from broadcloths. (3) Numerous entries in the account are now illegible, but the values of 189 dozens, more than 7,300 ells of strait cloth, and 1,769 broadcloths may still be determined. The strait cloth recorded was invariably much cheaper than the broadcloth and four dozens or 40 ells of strait cloth, which were by the customs collectors considered the equivalent of a broadcloth, were worth on the average scarcely more than 14s. The broadcloths ranged in value from £1. to £2. 5. 8d. but only four were worth as much as £2. and the average value came to 29s. 7d per cloth.

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(1) H.L.Gray, 'English Foreign Trade from 1446 to 1482', E.T.F.C., p.7.

(2) Gray, E.T.F.C., pp. 7, 362 n.19.

(3) K.R.Customs Accounts, 59/23.

Two other particular Hull customs accounts of a later date covering the periods Michaelmas 1393 - Michaelmas 1399 and Michaelmas 1430 - Michaelmas 1431 confirm this picture,<sup>(1)</sup> although both tend to undervalue the broadcloth since strait cloths were not separately valued in the accounts. The average value of 756 cloths mentioned in the 1393-99 account, whose prices ranged from £1. to £2, was slightly more than 28s, and in the 1430-31 account the cloths were valued by the collectors, until they suddenly ceased the practice less than half way through the year, at the standard figures of 26s. 8d. for a coloured broadcloth and £1. for a white one.

It is hazardous to assume that the value adopted by the customs collectors when assessing cloth for the subsidy of petty custom or poundage approximated to the actual market price of the cloth, and it is possible that the customs collectors at each port, whilst discriminating between cloths of different qualities, may nevertheless have based their valuations on local books of rates and given the cloth somewhat artificial or antiquated values.<sup>(2)</sup> The values given to uncustomed cloth seized by the searchers at Hull, Bristol and Southampton, however, should afford a truer indication of the

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts, 159/11 and 61/32 respectively.

(2) Gray, E.T.F.C., pp. 7-8.

value of cloth exported from these ports, in that the searchers were allowed to retain half the proceeds from the sale of forfeited cloth;<sup>(1)</sup> and it is significant that the values given this uncustomed cloth also suggest that the cloth exported from Hull was less expensive than that shipped from Bristol and Southampton. Thus, 13 woollen cloths seized at Southampton in 1423 were stated to be worth a total of £34; some 30 dozens of woollen cloth, stated to be equivalent to 15 broadcloths, arrested in Bristol in 1430 were priced at £2. apiece; and 10 uncustomed cloths exported from Bristol to Bordeaux in August that year were valued at 33s. 4d. each.<sup>(2)</sup> Some 80 cloths described as whole or half pieces of broadcloth which were seized by the customs collectors at Hull during the third decade of the fifteenth century on the other hand ranged in price from 17s. 9d to 30s. a broadcloth. One and a half blue cloths, a green cloth, and half a cloth dyed a shade of ruby arrested in August 1425 were valued at £4; 9 broadcloths of various colours seized in October the following year were valued at £8; 44 broadcloths loaded on to the Margaret of York at Hull in March 1429 without payment of customs duty were worth £66; 5½

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(1) P. Ramsey, 'Overseas Trade in the Reign of Henry VII: The Evidence of Customs Accounts', Ec.H.R., Second Series, VI, 176.

(2) K.R. Memoranda Rolls, Recorda, 8 Hen.VI, Trinity, rot 12; Recorda, 11 Hen.VI, Michaelmas, rot.18, Easter, rot.16.

cloths of a Hanseatic merchant living in York which were seized at Hull in January 1430 for non-payment of customs duty were valued at £5. 10s.; and 19 uncustomed cloths being shipped from Hull later in the same year were said to be worth a total of £22. (1)

Cloth seized in York for the evasion of aulnage during these two decades was also worth about 30s. a broadcloth. A blue broadcloth distrained in the house of John Marton, a cordwainer, in St. Saviourgate in 1430 was said to be worth 33s. 4d., (2) a half broadcloth taken in the shop of John Stranton, a draper, in Fesegale, was priced at 13s. 4d., (3) and two cloths of mixed blue colour which belonged to William Girlington, another draper, and were seized on the grounds that he had applied his own seal to the cloths without permission from the official aulnager, were valued at 60s. (4)

It therefore seems very probable that the cloth manufactured in York was inferior to that made in the West of England. It is impossible to identify any of the cloth

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts, 183/5; K.R. Memoranda Rolls, 6 Hen. VI, Recorda, Michaelmas, rot. 24; 9 Hen. VI, Recorda, Michaelmas, rot. 28, Easter, rot. 16.

(2) K.R. Memoranda Rolls, Recorda, 9 Hen. VI, Hilary, rot. 11.

(3) Ibid. Recorda, 11 Hen. VI, Trinity, rot. 1.

(4) Ibid. Recorda, 10 Hen. VI, Hilary, rot. 10.

recorded by the Hull customs collectors and the York aulnagers as York cloth but in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries much of this cloth must have been made in York, and it is clear that the cloth seized for evasion of customs duty or assessed for poundage at Hull, like the cloth confiscated by the York aulnagers, was seldom valued at more than 30s. a broadcloth whereas broadcloths exported from Bristol and Southampton were rarely valued by the customs collectors at less than £2. apiece.

Evidence relating directly to the quality of York cloth at a somewhat later date reinforces this conclusion. One of the typical broadcloths of the city exported by the York Merchant Adventurers was referred to specifically in 1475 as pak ware<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1484 when a scheme to revive the declining cloth industry was mooted by the civic authorities the cloth to be compulsorily manufactured by York men trading in lead was described as 'course cloth called packyng ware',<sup>(2)</sup> thus suggesting that the York textile crafts were not accustomed to making finely finished high quality cloth. The coarse nature of the city's woollen cloth is also apparent from the grievances voiced by the Merchant Adventurers of York, Beverley,

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(1) York Mercers, p.65.

(2) York Civic Records, I, 94.



Hull, and Scarborough, in 1478 about the behaviour of the London Merchant Adventurers' Company in the Low Countries, for one of their grounds of complaint was that they were compelled to sell their cloth in streets adjacent to those where the London men sold cloth 'to the intent that the clothe of the north parties sall apere wers'.<sup>(1)</sup>

The coarse cheap quality of the broadcloth was also, in part, reflected in the colour that the cloth was dyed. The only comprehensive survey available of the colour of cloth produced in York and its neighbourhood, is that made by the York aulnage collectors in 1394-95, but Table III which summarises the information given in the account, makes it clear that very little of the cloth then aulnaged in York was dyed an expensive hue. Red and sanguine cloths represented slightly more than a quarter of the cloths mentioned in the account; but blue, russet and 'plunket' or pale blue cloths, which were in general much cheaper than other coloured cloths,<sup>(2)</sup> accounted for more than a third of the cloths aulnaged that year, and cloth described as 'murrey', a purple cloth in which some of the civic dignitaries dressed on

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(1) York Mercers, p.77.

(2) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 375-76.

TABLE III

THE COLOUR OF CLOTH AULNAGED IN YORK  
6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395 (1)

Description of cloth	Number of Broadcloths	Description of cloth	Number of Broadcloths
Black	78	<u>Paly</u>	3
Blue	797	Plunket	239
Blue Meld	1	Plunket Meld	1
Blue Motley	6	Ray	2
<u>Checary</u>	1	Red	534
<u>Cogsall</u>	16	Red Meld	12
Green	322	Russet	169
Green Meld	10	Russet Motley	4
Green Motley	5	Sanguine	230
Meld	87	Scarlet ( <i>'in grain'</i> )	1
Motley	35	<u>Taude</u>	16
Murrey	60	White	390
		White Motley	2

(1) Strait cloths and pieces of cloth smaller than half a broadcloth, which constituted less than six per cent of the cloth recorded in the account, have been omitted.

important occasions,<sup>(1)</sup> constituted less than two per cent of the cloth recorded by the aulnagers. Only one cloth was dyed in the very expensive scarlet kermes, and 'perse', the rich dark blue cloth that was almost as valuable,<sup>(2)</sup> does not appear in the account.

The woollen cloth produced in York, which comprised the major product of the York cloth-making industry at its height and was immensely more important for her foreign markets than the worsteds produced in the city, was thus cheaper than the broadcloth manufactured in the West of England. The size, colour and quality of the cloth varied considerably, for the woollen industry had many customers at home and abroad, but the typical York product was a 'utility' cloth rather than an expensive luxurious fabric.

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(1) e.g. for the visit of Hen. VII in 1486. York Civic Records, I, 152

(2) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E. II, 376.

### 3. The Organisation of the Industry at its Zenith.

The cloth-making industry, more especially the section of the industry making woollen cloth which will be examined here rather than the crafts making linen and worsted cloth, was clearly distinguished from the other industries of York by the form of its organisation. Alone among her industries its products served international markets, only the skinners, bowyers, and metal workers of the city were similarly dependent on imported raw materials, and no product made in York was the work of so many separate groups of specialised workmen who each contributed by a sub-division of labour something to its manufacture. The industry was thus operating under conditions very different from those which produced the typical master craftsman of York's industry who manufactured with the possible help of an apprentice and hired labour the goods of his craft and sold them from his shop direct to the consumer. The master craftsman in a textile craft could rarely hope to market his own product, and the producers of the industry were in varying degrees of dependence on entrepreneurs who could organise the various stages in the production of cloth and arrange for the export of the finished product. The exact degree of dependence of the cloth producer at any moment of time in York varied considerably.

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The smaller scale of the York industry seems to have preserved it from the more minute regulation and the bitter labour disputes that characterised the great textile industries of Florence and Flanders, yet the entrepreneur in York was no less essential nor less important than on the Continent.

The dependence of the York cloth-making industry upon the entrepreneur is in part indicated by the 1394-95 aulnage account for the city. Some of the cloth recorded in the account was made outside the city, and too little is known of the methods of the aulnager to permit rash generalisations, but in general the persons paying aulnage on cloth in the account were the persons who first sold the finished cloth. The names of 160 York freemen enrolled in a variety of occupations appear in the account, paying aulnage on some 2,100 out of 3,300 cloths aulnaged that year, but many freemen were recorded with very small amounts of cloth; 95 of the York aulnage payers accounted for less than six broadcloths apiece and 23 freemen, each paying aulnage on the equivalent of 30 or more broadcloths, between them accounted for two thirds of the cloth recorded in the names of York citizens. Hence it is apparent that the sale of cloth in York was concentrated in a few hands.

It is extremely difficult to establish any definite

connection between the leading aulnage payers and the production of cloth, but the few wills of aulnage payers remaining and fragments of information about entrepreneurs at a later date, suggest that there was no such thing as a typical entrepreneur. Some of the entrepreneurs were active in foreign trade. Robert Holme and his brother and business partner, Thomas,<sup>(1)</sup> who was recorded in 1394-95 paying aulnage on 70 cloths, both exported cloth and imported madder and woad<sup>(2)</sup> which they supplied to dyers in York and the North and West Ridings, some of whom Robert Holme remembered in his will;<sup>(3)</sup> yet the primary concern of both brothers was the export of wool to Calais where they jointly owned property. A further nine of the leading aulnage payers in 1394-95, in addition to Thomas Holme, may be traced as cloth exporters in the particular Hull customs accounts of the period, and Thomas Newland and Robert Warde who paid aulnage on 32 and 80 cloths respectively, also imported madder and woad.<sup>(4)</sup> The clearest example of a merchant organising the production of cloth and exporting this overseas as part of his general

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(1) For evidence of their joint operations, see C.C.R. 1377-81, pp. 270, 314; C.C.R. 1385-89, p.111.

(2) K.R.Customs Accounts, 59/8, 59/24, 159/11.

(3) C.P.R. 1333-92, 66, 396; Cooke, A.A.S.R., XXVIII, part 11, 848.

(4) K.R.Customs Accounts, 59/8, 159/11.

foreign trade is, however, provided by Robert Colynson, a York merchant whose goods had been arrested by men of Danzig in 1440;<sup>(1)</sup> for he instructed his executors to distribute five russet cloths to provide the poor with clothing and to give the dyers, fullers, shearmen, and weavers working with him (meum operantibus) a good breakfast and the sum of a shilling.<sup>(2)</sup>

An equally important entrepreneurial figure was the draper who acted as an intermediary between the cloth producer and the international merchant. Thus, seven of the leading aulnage payers in 1394-95 may be identified on the Register of Freemen as drapers, none of whom exported cloth nor imported ashes, alum, madder or woad. William Girlyngton, a prominent draper of the early fifteenth century who became a mayor in 1440 and twice fell foul of the official aulnager of the city for selling cloth that had not been aulnaged,<sup>(3)</sup> and Thomas Carr, a draper who in 1444 left legacies ranging from half a mark to twenty shillings to six weavers and named a seventh weaver as his executor,<sup>(4)</sup> also appear to have had no interest in

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(1) H.R. 1431-76, II, 542.

(2) Y.P.R. II, fol. 373; Shaw, p.97.

(3) K.R. Memoranda Rolls, Recorda 10 Hen.VI, Hilary, rot.10, and Recorda 13 Hen.VI, Trinity, rot.16 respectively.

(4) Y.P.R. II, fol.79.

foreign trade.

Occasionally an entrepreneur would be a master craftsman in one of the main cloth-making crafts. Ten of the 160 York freemen paying aulnage in 1394-95 can be definitely identified on the Register of Freemen as weavers, although only three of them paid aulnage on more than two cloths, and two weavers were recorded in the 1398-99 particular Hull customs account exporting cloth, one of them - Adam Helperby - exporting eight cloths. (1) No fullers or shearmen have been traced shipping cloth from Hull but five members of these crafts, paying aulnage on six cloths, can be identified as aulnage payers in 1394-95. Some master craftsmen actually producing cloth were therefore able to market their products, and an exceptional man in their ranks could enlarge the scale of his operations and rise to social parity with the international merchant and the draper. Thomas Bracebrigg, a weaver who in 1394-95 paid aulnage on 38 cloths, became mayor in 1424 and on his death thirteen years later bequeathed twenty shillings to the weavers gild, ten shillings to two weavers of York, and 6s 8d to his godson who was the son of a weaver; and Thomas Easingwold, a shearman who paid aulnage on two cloths in 1394-95, and was mayor a year earlier than

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts, 159/11.



Thomas Bracebrigg, also revealed in his will, which named a couple of drapers as his executors and bequeathed money to two shearmen of the city, his life long interest in the production of cloth. (1)

The economic status of the cloth producer varied as widely as the functions and the type of the entrepreneur. Humblest of all the workers, perhaps, and by far the most obscure, were those who sorted, cleaned, carded, and spun the wool before it was ready for the weaver - men and women who apparently were not organised into craft guilds, were too poor to make wills, and were rarely recorded on the Register of Freemen. (2) In a more favourable position were the master weavers, fullers, shearmen, and dyers, who were freemen of the city, like other master craftsmen in York, and possessed their own craft guilds. Some weavers, fullers, dyers, and shearmen appear to have worked on the entrepreneur's premises as did the employees of Robert Colynson in the middle of the fifteenth century; and it was doubtless the existence of such practices which led the shearmen in 1405 to forbid their members to work in the house of anyone who was not a fully enfranchised member of their craft. (3) But probably the majority of master weavers,

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(1) Cooke, A.A.S.R., XXXIII, part 1, 164, 166, 171-2, 176.

(2) During the period 1311-1550, for example, only 3 combers, 2 carders, and a wolwynder were recorded on the Register of Freemen.

(3) M.B. I, 107.

fullers, shearmen, and dyers, worked in their own homes and themselves employed an apprentice and one or two servants. It is clear from the regulations of these crafts in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the master craftsmen, as in other York crafts, were employers of labour, and an analysis of the 1331 Poll Tax Returns in which more than a hundred weavers, fullers, shearmen, and dyers, were recorded as heads of families, who, as we have seen, were usually master craftsmen or traders and therefore freemen,<sup>(1)</sup> suggests that they were living in their own homes rather than in the houses of wealthy drapers or merchants.

The master weavers, fullers, shearmen, and dyers also frequently owned the tools necessary for their craft and often bequeathed them to servants or relations. Thus, Stephen de Gryllington, a dyer, in 1394 bequeathed his lead vat valued at five marks to his servant, Thomas,<sup>(2)</sup> and Ralph Sproxton left his brother Richard a vat and four lead plates.<sup>(3)</sup> Richard Pontefract, a weaver, whose will was proved in 1401, gave Thomas Castelford 'the best loom of his craft' in addition to a belt and a dagger;<sup>(4)</sup> another weaver,

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(1) See page 6-7.

(2) Y.P.R. I, fol. 73.

(3) Y.P.R. III, fol. 461.

(4) Y.P.R. III, fol. 64.

Robert Hoton, left his son a loom;<sup>(1)</sup> and Thomas del Syke, senior, left his brother's son a tapiterlom on condition that he completed his apprenticeship with the testator's wife.<sup>(2)</sup> Robert Walker, a shearman who died in 1389, bequeathed his son, William, a pair of schermanscheres;<sup>(3)</sup> another shearman, Thomas de Thornton, left a pair of shears each to his servant and his friend Thomas Loucysby, and gave the servant in addition, two tables for shearing the cloth with a 'platyngborde cum un strayte et hawetys' used in his work;<sup>(4)</sup> and John de Herpham, a fuller, died possessed of a workshop (domum meam artificialem) separate from his house containing two tenters and the other, unspecified, equipment of his craft.<sup>(5)</sup>

The master weaver, fuller, dyer, and shearman of York was therefore probably in a more favourable position than his counterpart in Florence, where the entrepreneurs of the industry united in the powerful Arte della Lana came increasingly to own the dye-works, tenter-yards and fulleries

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(1) Y.P.R. II, fol. 505.

(2) Y.P.R. III, fol. 49.

(3) Y.P.R. I, fol. 2.

(4) Y.P.R. III, fol. 51.

(5) Y.P.R. III, fol. 94.

in which the craftsmen worked.<sup>(1)</sup> But the biggest contrast between the organisation of the York industry and the Flemish and Italian textile industries lay in the political power of the entrepreneurs and the relations between employer and employed. In York, as on the Continent, the entrepreneur was a member of the ruling class, but the master craftsman in a textile craft was not, as we have seen, prohibited from selling cloth, as he was abroad, and neither the wages nor the hours of work of York's craftsmen were rigorously regulated. The fullers were alone among the York textile crafts in having a standard rate of payment laid down for their master craftsmen by the civic authorities<sup>(2)</sup> and the regulations governing the crafts nowhere stipulate their hours of work. The open warfare between the entrepreneurs and textile workers that plunged Flanders into Civil War in the late thirteenth century had no parallel in York and the bell over the cloth hall at Bruges that summoned the cloth workers to their daily task would have been as alien to York as the hanging of a wool carder, as in Florence in 1345, because he had held public meetings and incited his fellows to unite.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 397.

(2) M.B., I, 71.

(3) Carus-Wilson, C.E.H.E., II, 386, 393.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF YORK'S MERCHANTS

##### 1. York as an International Port.

International commerce was no less important as a source of income to the inhabitants of York than the manufacture of cloth. The cloth-making industry itself in a large measure relied on the operations of York merchants abroad; the bowyers, skinners, and metal workers of the city in part depended on bowstaves, furs and iron, imported at Hull, and the lot of York's citizens in general was improved by supplies of foreign timber, fish, fruit, and wine, and by such varied imports as hats, frying pans, looking-glasses and card tables. Yet mariners and vessels of the city were seldom in direct contact with the Continent; ships which engaged in international trade rarely sailed up the Ouse to York; and it was primarily through Hull that York merchants traded with distant lands.

The position of York, far inland on a navigable river at the junction of the three Ridings, was not in itself unfavourable for the establishment of an international port. The advantages of landing foreign cargoes in the heart of Yorkshire compensated for the lengthy journey of some thirty miles up the Ouse to York and in the early thirteenth century the city flourished as a seaport.<sup>(1)</sup> But the size of vessels that could sail up the Ouse

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(1) Gras, English Customs System, pp. 221-22.

to York was strictly limited, although the river was then tidal as far as the city.<sup>(1)</sup> Royal customs duties were collected at York on only two occasions between 1300 and 1550, and both experiments were short lived. On the first occasion the experiment lasted for barely seventeen months from 30 January 1333 - 7 June, 1334,<sup>(2)</sup> and when York again became a port for the collection of customs duties in 1339, the grant of royal authorisation specifically stated that large vessels unable to reach the city were to be loaded with wool at Selby, some twelve to fifteen miles down the river, or even at Faxfleet, more than thirty miles from York, where the Trent flows into the Humber.<sup>(3)</sup> A grant of quayage made to the city in 1377 which laid down the charges to be levied on vessels calling at the quay near the monastery of the Friars Minor according to their tonnage, refers to the largest ships as those of 20 tuns and over,<sup>(4)</sup> and some 150 years later when the city was asked to mobilise all its ships for action against Scotland the mayor wrote to the Duke of Suffolk, the King's Lieutenant General of the North, pointing out

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(1) See M.B. I, 1111-liv, 224-35, for the record of a case held in the Admiralty Court in the late fourteenth century over the seizure of a ship less than a mile to the south of York. The case was heard in that Court on the grounds that the Ouse was tidal and 'an arm of the sea'.

(2) L.T.R. Customs Accounts 8, m.29d.

(3) C.P.R. 1338-40, p. 393.

(4) C.P.R. 1377-81, p. 65.

that York had only two vessels capable of going to sea and that these, although only 36 tons apiece, often could not sail down the Ouse to Hull because the river was too shallow.<sup>(1)</sup> The larger ocean-going vessels were therefore unable to reach York and the wine ships arriving at Hull in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries with cargoes which often exceeded a hundred tons would have been completely incapable of making the journey up the Ouse.<sup>(2)</sup>

The merchants of York thus came to rely on ships using Hull for their contact with the Continent. On occasions her merchants employed more distant English ports. York men sometimes imported goods such as figs and raisins from Portugal at London;<sup>(3)</sup> Richard de Wateby, a draper and mayor of the mid-fourteenth century once imported 100 cloths at Boston;<sup>(4)</sup> and in 1399 Nicholas Blackburn, Thomas Gare, and Richard Russell, three very eminent York citizens, exported 87 sacks of wool from Newcastle.<sup>(5)</sup> But an examination of particular customs accounts for these ports reveals that such instances are rare and suggests that the

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(1) York Civic Records IV, 99-100. Letters and Papers, XIX, part 1, no. 109.

(2) K.R. Customs Accounts 159/11, 59/8, 61/71, 62/9, 62/17.

(3) See page 103.

(4) C.P.R. 1358-61, p. 166.

(5) Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, 1150-1485. ed. H.J. Smit, I, no. 806

foreign trade York men conducted through ports other than Hull seldom amounted to even five per cent of the value of the foreign trade they annually handled in that port.

The shipping employed by York merchants at Hull was rarely owned by them and the master mariners of the vessels that carried their imports and exports were seldom freemen of York.<sup>(1)</sup> But despite these apparent handicaps, York merchants played a leading part in the foreign trade of Hull and they used the facilities of the port almost as they would have employed those of their native city. Her merchants could ride to Hull in less than a day to supervise the freighting of their cargoes, and bulky merchandise for export was regularly shipped down the Ouse to Hull in small barges known as keels. The citizens of York owned ten of these barges in 1544 when they were able to provide only two small sea going vessels for national defence,<sup>(2)</sup> and one of the avowed objects of civic policy was to maintain easy navigation of the Ouse. Two commissions were set up in the final quarter of the fourteenth century as a result of complaints by the city that landowners whose property bordered on the Ouse were hindering the passage of ships by erecting weirs to ensure a plentiful

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(1) Based on an examination of the particular Hull customs accounts, Early Chancery Proceedings and wills in the York Probate Registry.

(2) York Civic Records IV, 99-100. Letters and Papers, XIX, part 1, No. 109.



supply of fish; <sup>(1)</sup> a jury of York men shortly before the turn of the century testified that in the summer months from June to October, when the level of water in the river was often very low, fifteen ships had been wrecked by such weirs between 1375 and 1392 on a short stretch of the Ouse extending roughly from Selby to Goole; <sup>(2)</sup> and in 1463 the mayor and aldermen of York were appointed permanent commissioners of the Ouse, Derwent, Aire, Wharfe, and Don, with powers to remove obstructions in these rivers. <sup>(3)</sup>

In the later Middle Ages the Ouse was, therefore, important to York only in so far as it constituted a link with Hull, and it was primarily through Hull that York conducted her extensive international trade. The foreign cargoes of her merchants, imported by seamen of many lands, were unloaded at Hull before dispatch to York, and wool, lead, and cloth, were shipped from Hull by York merchants in vessels of Newcastle, Hull, Danzig, Veere, and many other English and foreign ports.

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(1) C.P.R. 1377-81, p. 471; C.P.R. 1388-92, p. 272

(2) Public Works in Medieval Law, ed. C.T. Flower, II, xxiv, 253-55, 258-66.

(3) C.P.R. 1461-67, p. 223.

## 2. The Markets Visited by York's Merchants

### I. Countries supplying imports

York merchants were known over a wide area whose perimeter stretched from Iceland in the north west to Prussia in the east and ran from thence in a south westerly direction through the Low Countries and Calais to Gascony, the north of Spain, Portugal, and Andalusia. Yet information about the imports of York merchants before the end of the fourteenth century is very scanty and it is impossible at a later date to determine the value or the volume of trade conducted with any one of these countries. The relative quantities of various imports and exports at Hull, with the exception of wine, wool, cloth, hides, and wax, can only be determined for isolated years which may not be typical of the period as a whole from the few surviving particular Hull customs accounts, and the origin or the destination of goods paying customs duty is never stated save in the case of wool. The port of origin of ships arriving at Hull or the destination of vessels leaving the port is not given as at Bristol,<sup>(1)</sup> and the source of imports recorded in the accounts can thus only be determined from the nature of the products - a procedure which is very hazardous in view of the function fulfilled by Flanders as the entrepôt for the trade of Europe.

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Overseas Trade of Bristol, p.7.

The most southerly region visited by York men was Andalusia, where they obtained wine, oil, and dried fruit. No evidence of direct trade between York and the south of Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been discovered. But the more favourable conditions for Anglo-Spanish trade which operated from the late fifteenth century until shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century, (1) induced merchants from Hull and York in the early sixteenth century to visit Andalusia and enter the lucrative trade which was being developed by their rivals from London, Bristol, and Southampton. The earliest Account Book of Trinity House, Hull, records payments made between 1534 and 1536 for voyages to and from Spain by Robert Car, William Angyll, John Okey, and William Smyth, master mariners of the port, to support their charitable organisation of the Holy Trinity Gild; (2)

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(1) G. Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake, passim.

(2) H.T.H. Archives, Account Book I, fols. 114, 115, 117, 118. Okey was a steward of the Gild in 1532-33 (fol. 113v) and Car, Angyll and Smyth held office as aldermen (fols. 18, 20, 95v., 110v., 114). Hull mariners were supposed to contribute to the Gild all payments received for the lowage and stowage (otherwise known as primage) of ships entering and leaving Hull. Lowage and stowage appears to have been the payment they received for loading and unloading the cargo of the ship on which they were sailing and was in the early sixteenth century levied at the rate of 3d per ton. J. Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull, pp. 700-709; The First Order Book of the Hull Trinity House, 1632-1665, ed. F.W. Brooks, pp. 111-v; H.C.A. Libels, 5, the second item in one of two unnumbered bundles.

the ship of William Grystrofte, a Hull mariner, was lost on the Goodwin Sands when returning from Andalusia soon after the summer of 1534;<sup>(1)</sup> and a London merchant visiting Cadiz in 1538 wrote to Thomas Cromwell stating that four ships had arrived with butter and other food from Hull and Lynn that year because of the high price of provisions in southern Spain.<sup>(2)</sup> The Mary James of Hull, the Antony of Newcastle, and the John Baptist of Hull which arrived at that port in the months of November and December, 1540, laden with wine and large amounts of figs and raisins, some of which belonged to Robert Hall, and Robert Paycock of York, may have returned to Hull direct from that country;<sup>(3)</sup> and Richard Thornton who became a freeman of York in 1527 died less than a dozen years later off the coast of Brittany on a return voyage from Spain.<sup>(4)</sup> The interest of Hull and York men in Spain at that period, too, would account for the arrival at York of Gracianus de Agnero, and Martin Soza, who later held civic office as chamberlain and sheriff - the only two Spanish immigrants whose presence can definitely be established in the city during the later Middle Ages.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) E.C.P. 798/48.

(2) Connell-Smith, p.11; Letters and Papers, XIII, part II, No.429

(3) K.R.Customs Accounts 64/15.

(4) E.C.P. 903/18.

(5) Register of Freemen, I, 227, 250, 253; F.Harrison, The Painted Glass of York, p.148; Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/108.

Portugal could offer the same products as Andalusia so that it is often impossible to tell from which of these countries a ship laden solely with wine and dried fruit had arrived. But the fragmentary evidence that is available suggests that in the late fourteenth century, when merchants from England had begun to visit Portugal in considerable numbers,<sup>(1)</sup> York merchants trading with the Iberian Peninsula purchased these goods in Portugal rather than the south of Spain. Thus, six York men who had purchased 40 tuns of wine, 15 tuns of oil, and 200 small barrels of figs and raisins in Portugal called in at London on their way to Hull in 1388;<sup>(2)</sup> the same year John de Brandesby of York sailed to London from Portugal with 600 small barrels of figs and raisins, sold two thirds of the cargo there, and shipped the remaining 200 barrels to Hull;<sup>(3)</sup> and nearly seven years later 850 barrels of figs and raisins which had been bought in Portugal by Robert del Crosse of Hull and William Sallay and Walter Benton of York, were seized at Harflete in Normandy.<sup>(4)</sup>

Further to the North, in the Spanish ports on the Bay of

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(1) V.M.Shillington and A.B.W.Chapman, The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal, pp. 46-55, 302.

(2) C.C.R. 1385-89, p. 368

(3) Ibid. p. 371.

(4) C.C.R. 1392-96, p. 324.

Biscay, York merchants sought mainly supplies of iron to feed the highly specialised metal trades of the city. Imports of iron always constituted a significant part of Hull's imports and the accompanying Table, based on the four particular

TABLE I

ESTIMATED VALUE OF IRON IMPORTS AS A PROPORTION  
OF ALL IMPORTS BY VALUE AT HULL, EXCLUDING WINE

Period Covered by the Account	Estimated value of (1) Iron Imports (£)	Value of Imports paying Poundage or Petty Custom (£)	Percentage value of Iron Imports
Mich. 1393-Mich. 1399	228	3,470	7
Mich. 1471-Mich. 1472	425	2,300	18
Mich. 1525-Mich. 1526	272	7,400	4
Mich. 1540-Mich. 1541	296	3,510	8

customs accounts covering the years 1393-1399, 1471-1472, 1525-1526, and 1540-1541, <sup>(2)</sup> reveals that iron can seldom have represented less than seven per cent of Hull's total imports, excluding wine. Iron was sometimes imported with other Hanseatic products direct from Prussia and on many other occasions it was recorded by the customs collectors simply as

(1) The iron was given an average value of 1s 8d a hundred weight in 1393-99, and £4 a tun in 1471-72. In 1525-26 and 1540-41 all cargoes were valued at the standardised figure of £2 for 120 ends, which comprised a tun.

(2) K.R. Customs Accounts 159/11, 62/17, 202/5, and 64/15 respectively.

'iron', without any indication as to its origin, in vessels that had arrived from the Low Countries with mixed cargoes of madder, soap, teasels, copper kettles, glass and mercery. But occasionally ships sailed into Hull with cargoes consisting almost entirely of Spanish iron (ferrum Ispanum) which must have been obtained directly from Spain. Spanish iron worth some £50 was imported in the George of Hull in June 1392; the Leonard and the Janet of Hull, freighted by nine York and a dozen other English merchants, arrived at Hull during the months of April and August 1399 laden with Spanish iron valued at nearly £150; and in June 1453 when the Leonard of Hull returned to that port its only cargo consisted of five tuns of Spanish iron. (1) More rarely, it is possible to trace the actual purchase of iron in Spain by York merchants, as in 1541, when a Hull mariner gave evidence in the High Court of Admiralty that some 16 tuns of oil and 96 ends of iron purchased in Spain by William Man of York had been seized at Hull to meet a claim for debt. (2)

Iron, and figs and raisins, the characteristic products of Portugal and Spain, were also imported at Hull in vessels arriving from Bordeaux, but the greatest attraction of Gascony

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 59/23, 159/11, 61/71.

(2) H.C.A. Examinations, IV, 10 February, 1541.

was its wine. Wine was easily the principal import at Hull and for much of our period a significant proportion of the wine consumed in England was imported there. In the early fourteenth century, before the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, Hull probably accounted for nearly a tenth of England's wine imports, which have been estimated at some 20,000 tuns a year, and by the end of the century this proportion had increased, since the quantity of wine annually imported at Hull was probably no lower than before, whilst English imports as a whole had declined considerably.<sup>(1)</sup> In the early fifteenth century, when continuous statistics of the volume of wine imports and the value of other imports become available, wine accounted for more than one third of all imports by value at Hull and Hull was, as Table II shows, the third most important centre for the import of wine, well behind London but closely rivalling Southampton in the quantities of wine it handled annually.<sup>(2)</sup> Even in the early sixteenth century, when Hull's wine imports were only half the level reached a hundred years earlier,<sup>(3)</sup> wine represented

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(1) M.K.James, "The Non-Sweet Wine Trade of England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (Oxford D.Phil.Thesis, 1952), pp.56, 101-2, Appendix I, (c), (f). See also her article, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade during the Fourteenth Century', Ec.H.R.Second Series, IV.no.2.

(2) Based on E.T.F.C., Tables of Enrolled Customs and Subsidy Accounts, 1399-1482.

(3) See Appendix B.



over a quarter of her total imports in terms of value, and it is clear from the payments made by Hull mariners to support their Holy Trinity Gild out of earnings from overseas voyages to and from Hull between 1461 and the middle of the sixteenth century that Bordeaux was, after the Low Countries, the area most frequently visited by Hull mariners and ships sailing

TABLE II

THE MAIN ENGLISH PORTS FOR THE IMPORT OF WINE  
IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Port	Tonnage of Sweet and Red Wine imported Mich. 1407 - Mich. 1417.
Boston	3,200
Bristol	13,200
Hull	14,300
Ipswich	2,800
London	58,700
Lynn	4,300
Sandwich	5,300
Southampton	16,500
Yarmouth	2,600
Total	120,900

from Hull. (1) York merchants played a leading part in the wine

(1) H.T.H. Archives, Account Book I, passim.

trade of the port. It is impossible to determine what proportion of the wine imported at Hull was shipped by York merchants before the final quarter of the fourteenth century, but from that date to the middle of the sixteenth century they regularly imported some 30 per cent of the wine arriving there, and towards the end of the fourteenth century, when Hull's wine imports were probably at a level far higher than that reached during subsequent years of our period, some 50 citizens of York were annually engaged in its import. (1)

The wine ships frequently carried no other cargo, but sometimes small consignments of other goods - mainly rosin and Spanish iron - were imported in the same vessel. Thus, canvas and iron valued at £21 were imported in the Margaret of Lynn in 1384 in addition to 25 tuns of wine; (2) the George of Hull which arrived there in June 1453 with more than 200 tuns of wine was also carrying 9 stones of rosin and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tuns of iron worth a combined sum of £6; (3) and the Peter and the Mary of Hull which sailed into that port in May 1467 with 162 tuns of wine were carrying as the remainder of their cargo 7 tuns of iron. (4)

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(1) See Appendix C, Tables IV and VI.

(2) K.R.Customs Accounts 59/8.

(3) Ibid. 61/71.

(4) Ibid. 62/9.

An equally important subsidiary cargo of the wine ships was woad from the region of Toulouse, whence English merchants were obtaining the bulk of their woad imports after the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> The evidence of the particular customs accounts suggests that merchants trading through Hull imported woad mainly from the Low Countries with mixed cargoes of teasels, madder, alum, soap, glass, garlic, mercery, and paper. But occasionally ships carrying a large cargo of wine arrived at Hull with woad which had probably been grown near Toulouse. The Mary of Hull which entered the port in the summer of 1461 was carrying rosin valued at £2 and 1½ tuns of woad valued at some £10 in addition to 63 tuns of wine;<sup>(2)</sup> the Peter of Hull which returned to England in February 1518 had a cargo consisting of 139 tuns of wine, 3 cwt. of rosin and 39 bales of woad;<sup>(3)</sup> and the Mary George and the Jesus of Hull on their arrival in the Humber in June 1526 were each carrying 7 bales of woad, with cargoes otherwise composed of wine.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'La guède française en Angleterre: un grand commerce du Moyen Age', Revue du Nord, XXXV, 103-4. See also Medieval Merchant Venturers, p.257 by the same author.

(2) K.R. Customs Accounts 62/1.

(3) Ibid. 202/4.

(4) Ibid. 202/5.

The most northerly region visited by York merchants was Iceland. During the fourteenth century English merchants no longer traded with Iceland as in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. (1) But the striking technical improvements in English ships and the energetic search by English merchants for new markets for the rapidly expanding English textile industry and new sources of raw materials and foodstuffs in the second half of the fourteenth century, laid the basis for a revival of interest in Iceland; both as a market for English cloth and as a source of salted fish, in place of Bergen - the export staple for all fish caught off the coasts of Norway, Iceland and other dependencies ruled by the Danish King. It is therefore not surprising that English merchants in the early years of the fifteenth century, when they had been virtually excluded from the Norwegian market by the Hanse, sought to compensate for this loss by trading direct with Iceland in defiance of the Danish King. (2) The King of England by Act of Parliament in 1430 had also finally forbidden English voyages to Iceland, but during the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century, merchants from Bristol and from Hull, Lynn, and other East coast ports,

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. 98-101.

(2) Ibid. pp. 105-108.

evaded these regulations secretly or by the open purchase of royal licences of exemption, and regularly visited Iceland, supplying her varied needs of food, metal goods and cloth and returning with cargoes composed almost wholly of stockfish. (1)

A number of York merchants were active in this trade. Thomas Crathorne, who subsequently became mayor of York, and Henry Dawtre and Richard Todd, two other merchants of the city, were among the 23 Englishmen accused of a variety of crimes in Iceland between 1420 and 1425 by the Danish governor, Hannes Pálsson. (2) Thomas Danby, a future mayor, exported cloth, beer, osmund and kettles to Iceland in the Cuthbert of Berwick which sailed from Hull in June, 1431; he was caught smuggling uncustomed goods there five years later, and on his death he bequeathed a silver spoon made in Iceland to a fellow alderman. (3) John Lillyng, a prominent merchant who conducted the negotiations in London which secured the York Merchant Adventurers their royal charter in 1430, (4) was only three years earlier reprimanded by the aldermen of the city for deliberately disguising landyren as osmunds for

(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p. 109 et seq.

(2) Dipl. Island. IV, no.381. Dipl. Norv. XX, part 1, no.757.

(3) See his biography in Appendix E.

(4) York Mercers, pp. 33-35.

export to Iceland, (1) and William Todd and Richard York who both held office as mayor, became involved some 50 years later in a lawsuit concerning 900 stockfish allegedly sold in Iceland to the agent of Richard York by Richard Pollington, a York fishmonger who was acting on behalf of William Todd. (2) Pollington himself was frequently in that country; he imported 7 lasts of stockfish in the Christopher of Hull in 1453, owned 500 stockfish on board the Hilda of Hull which sailed into that port nineteen years later, (3) and shortly after 1480 he was sued by John Nappet, a merchant of York, who claimed that he had broken an agreement made in Iceland to trade for a year with goods valued at £13 belonging to Nappet's servant and then return this sum, keeping half the profits. (4)

York merchants, however, never dominated the Iceland trade as they did Hull's trade with the Baltic or her exports of wool to Calais; they were content to let Hull men take the initiative in securing licences from the English King for

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(1) English Miscellanies, p.3.

(2) E.C.P. 64/709.

(3) K.R.Customs Accounts 61/71; Dipl.Island. XVI, part 1, no.20.

(4) E.C.P. 60/91.

vessels of the port to trade with Iceland;<sup>(1)</sup> and the ships that sailed from the Humber to Iceland were freighted mainly by burgesses of Hull. Thus, eleven of the fifteen merchants who were shipping goods in the Katherine of Hull, which was seized with uncustomed goods bound for Iceland in 1436, were citizens of Hull, whereas only three came from York;<sup>(2)</sup> and the dozen York merchants with cargoes on board the Trinity and the Mary of Hull, which departed for Iceland in June 1461 with 135 broadcloths and miscellaneous goods valued at £247 and returned three months later with stockfish worth nearly £500, owned only a fifth of the total merchandise imported and exported in these vessels.<sup>(3)</sup> The sole ship sailing to Iceland from Hull between Michaelmas 1466 and Michaelmas 1467 was freighted by four burgesses of Hull; the Trinity, the Anne, and the Peter of Hull which left the port in June 1470 with cargoes of honey, horse-shoes, barley meal, beer, osmund, thread, bonnets, and malt, worth nearly £500, were loaded in the name of eight Hull merchants; and the merchandise carried

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(1) Based on an examination of some dozen Treaty Rolls covering the period 1442-1470. These have supplied the names of eleven Hull merchants who received licences to trade with Iceland (Treaty Rolls, 22 Hen. VI, m.9; 29 Hen. VI, m.9; 1 Edw. IV, m.15; 5 Edw. IV, mm. 7,8,19; 6 Edw. IV, m.3; 10 Edw. IV, mm. 5,11). No licences, however, were granted to men of York.

(2) C.P.R. 1436-41, p.294. Dipl.Norv. XX, part 1, no. 824.

(3) Dipl. Island. XVI, part 1, no. 8.

by the Hilda and the James of Hull, which sailed from the Humber for Iceland in 1472 was also owned entirely by merchants of the port. (1)

Towards the end of the fifteenth century English trade with Iceland met with increasing competition from Hanseatic merchants (2) and Hull's commerce with Iceland began to decline, although her fishing vessels may still have visited Icelandic waters in undiminished numbers and landed their cargoes at Hull exempt from customs duty. Merchants from Hull probably continued to visit Iceland until at least the middle of the sixteenth century. Edmund Gryngley, Robert Michelson, Robert Hall, Nicholas Scaffe, and William Michelson, master mariners of Hull, contributed to the funds of the Holy Trinity Gild between 1485 and 1491 on account of voyages to and from Iceland; (3) Nicholas Palmer in 1493 was able to promise two hundredweight of fish from Iceland for his entrance to the York Merchant Adventurers' Company; (4) and in several years of the early sixteenth century the Hull customs collectors

(1) Dipl. Island. XVI, part 1, nos. 14, 16, 20.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. 139-142.

(3) H.T.H. Archives, Account Book I, fols. 48, 49v., 54v. Gryngley was a steward of the Gild in 1469-70 (fol. 34v). and Scaffe held the office in 1493-95 (fol. 56v). The others served as aldermen of the Gild during this period (fols. 49v., 53, 56v.)

(4) York Mercers, p. 85.



recorded the departure of ships laden with miscellaneous cargoes of malt, honey, horse-shoes, cloth, osmund, laces, flour, and kettles, which were in great demand in Iceland, and the return of these ships with salted fish.<sup>(1)</sup> But there seems little doubt that this trade was only a shadow of its former self and, on the evidence of the customs accounts, the cargoes carried by merchant ships trading between Hull and Iceland were seldom worth even a quarter of the value of such cargoes in the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century.

Far more important than Iceland as a source of imports were the markets of Prussia, the Baltic, and Norway, which was particularly well situated for trade with the English ports bordering on the North Sea. Icelandic fish had to be obtained from the Norwegian staple of Bergen before the development of direct English trade with Iceland in the fifteenth century, and herrings, timber, and valuable industrial raw materials were imported from the Norwegian, Prussian, and Baltic ports. Imports of osmund to feed the metal industry of York were always considerable; copper was often imported at Hull; and the supplies of iron from Spain were supplemented by Hungarian iron shipped in Hanseatic

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(1) Dipl. Island. XVI, part 1, nos. 38, 46; part 11, nos. 50, 54, 61, 67, 70.

vessels. The skimmers of York in the late fourteenth century received furs from Hull, in addition to the supplies they probably obtained in London;<sup>(1)</sup> the dyers of the city used ashes from the forests of Scandinavia and Prussia as a mordant; and the York bowyers, whose work had a high reputation in the north of England, in part depended on bowstaves imported from the Baltic ports. In a year of heavy demand in the late fourteenth century as many as 10,000 bowstaves would be imported at Hull, although the annual import might on occasions fall to scarcely a quarter of that figure,<sup>(2)</sup> and the anxiety of the York bowyers to obtain regular imported supplies was demonstrated in 1373 when John Swerde, a bowyer of the city, obtained a licence from the King to dispatch six of his servants to Prussia and stay there four years fashioning bowstaves for export to York.<sup>(3)</sup> Food, too, was imported from the Baltic, ranging from eels, herring and sturgeon to beer and grain, which was needed in times of scarcity in England and for re-export to Gascony in ships which returned with wine.

In the early fourteenth century it seems probable that merchants of Hull and York played little part in the import of

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(1) See Miss Veale's Ph.D. Thesis, ut supra, pp. 322-323, 380-382.

(2) K.R. Customs Accounts 59/8, 159/11 respectively.

(3) C.P.R. 1370-74, p. 264.

fish, timber, furs, wax, bowstaves and other products from Norway and the Baltic. English merchants at that date rarely penetrated the Baltic, there is no definite proof that they visited the Skania fisheries off Denmark until later in the century,<sup>(1)</sup> and English trade with Norway seems to have been largely in the hands of men from Lynn, Norwich and Yarmouth.<sup>(2)</sup> But by the end of the fourteenth century men from Hull and York, with other English merchants in search of new markets for the expanding English textile industry, were visiting Norway and Skania in increasing numbers and regularly traded with the Baltic.<sup>(3)</sup> John Tuttebury, a future mayor of Hull in 1395 suffered losses estimated at more than £150 when goods of his were seized by the Hanse off Norway; John Wisdom, a Hull mariner, was stated to have lost goods worth £300 in a similar fashion off the Norwegian coast three years later; and in 1404 some 120 broadcloths, 30 coverlets and other goods belonging to Robert Gaunt, Henry Hyndley, Robert Feriby, Richard Bautry, Roger Thornell and other York merchants were

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(1) M. Postan, 'The Economic and Political Relations of England and the Hanse from 1400 to 1475', E.T.F.C., p.97.

(2) A. Bugge, 'Handelen mellem England og Norge indtil Begyndelsen af det 15de Aarhundrede', Historisk Tidsskrift, Raekke III, Bind 4, 59-84; Dipl. Norv. XIX, nos.407-566, passim.

(3) Postan, E.T.F.C., p.97. See also his article 'The Trade of Medieval Europe: the North', C.E.H.E., II, 244-45.

arrested at Sandford in the Sound of Norway. (1) The Skania Fisheries were frequently visited by vessels from Hull in the final quarter of the fourteenth century and each year during the months of October and November some ten or a dozen ships whose combined cargo represented over a third of Hull's imports by value, excluding wine, would arrive at Hull laden almost entirely with herrings save for an occasional small consignment of beer, wax, eels, or the purses and gloves which were carried at that time in the majority of vessels returning from the Baltic. The particular Hull customs accounts for 1383-84 and 1393-99 record the names of many York merchants importing herring in these ships (2) and when on other occasions we possess details of ships wrecked or plundered whilst returning from Skania to Hull, herrings freighted by York merchants often formed part of the cargo. Thus a ship belonging to Robert Bisset of Hull that had been wrecked in 1384 at Roucliff in Yorkshire when returning from Skania was carrying herrings owned by no less than eight York merchants, (3) and a few years later a vessel of Amsterdam seized by Scotsmen whilst hugging the Scottish coast on the return journey from

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(1) Dipl. Norv. XIX. no. 666; Recesses und Akten, V, 331-2; Literae Cantuarienses, ed. J. B. Sheppard, III, 84-7, 100-101.

(2) K. R. Customs Accounts 59/8, 159/11.

(3) C. P. R. 1381-85, p. 505.

Denmark was laden with 10 lasts of herring belonging to citizens of York and another 49 lasts which were the property of burgesses of Nottingham. (1)

But the main interest of York merchants lay further to the east on the mainland of Prussia and especially in Danzig where many English merchants owned houses. Some measure of their importance towards the end of the fourteenth century may be obtained by an analysis of the claims submitted by English merchants for compensation for the losses incurred in 1385 when the goods of all English merchants in Prussia were seized as a reprisal for an English attack on six Prussian vessels off Swyne. (2) The highest claim submitted by any English town was presented by the merchants of Lynn, who demanded nearly £3,000 - more than a quarter of the total sum claimed by English merchants, exclusive of compensation for physical injuries. But the claims of York merchants were only some £100 less than those of Lynn, and the number of York merchants making claims was larger than that of any other town, representing very nearly a third of the English traders who applied for compensation.

During the first quarter of the fifteenth century English

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(1) C.C.R. 1339-92, p.426.

(2) Postan, E.T.F.C., p.107; Recesses und Akten, III, 405-407, 412-414.

merchants trading in Norway and Skania met with increasing opposition from the merchants of the Hanse who sought to exclude their English competitors. Direct references to English trade with Skania disappear soon after the beginning of the century, and English merchants importing fish from Bergen were for the most part driven by oppressive export duties and tiresome restrictions to visit Iceland instead, leaving the trade of Norway as a Hanseatic monopoly. (1)

English merchants, however, continued to visit Prussia in considerable numbers until the open outbreak of war with the Hanse in 1463, despite several major crises in commercial relations in 1405, the years leading to 1437, and the period between 1449 and 1454 when the Sund was closed to English vessels. (2) The hazards of trade were always considerable even in times of peace; in 1422 the goods of three York merchants were arrested with merchandise belonging to seven merchants of Hull and Beverley on a ship sailing from Danzig, (3) and John Cuthbert of York was imprisoned for six weeks with three other English merchants returning from Prussia some four years earlier in the Hanseatic town of Greifswald where, we

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(1) Postan, E.T.F.C., pp. 142-143; Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p.108.

(2) Postan, E.T.F.C., pp. 108-135.

(3) H.R. 1431-76, II, 64-5.

are told, 'they suffered from the severe cold because it was snowing'.<sup>(1)</sup> But York merchants were not deterred by such dangers; soon after 1440 no fewer than 13 merchants of the city trading to Prussia submitted claims for damages inflicted by the Hanse amounting to nearly £1,200,<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1468, on the eve of the six years naval struggle with the Hanseatic League, when the King of Denmark seized a fleet of English vessels in the Sund, one of the ships, the Valentine of Newcastle, contained the goods of a score of York merchants who included a dozen former or future mayors of the city.<sup>(3)</sup>

English trade with Prussia was perforce interrupted by the war and for some decades after the conclusion of hostilities English merchants, deterred by peace terms which did nothing to ensure their future protection in Prussia, seldom visited the Baltic, instead, purchasing their supplies of timber, bowstaves, osmund, and ashes, either from Hanseatic merchants at English ports or in the Low Countries, which thus became easily the most important market visited by English merchants.<sup>(4)</sup> It is not until almost the second quarter of

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(1) Recesse und Akten, VI, 579-80; VII, 397-98.

(2) H.R. 1431-76, II, 541-44.

(3) U.B. IX, 369-70.

(4) Postan, E.T.F.C., pp. 137-138, 150-153.

the sixteenth century, when English vessels were again entering the Baltic in considerable numbers, (1) that there is once more evidence of merchants from Hull and York regularly trading with Prussia. Thus, twelve ships of Hull passed through the Sund into the Baltic in 1528 and another fourteen in 1537 and 1538; (2) the Trinity House Account Book records payments by Robert Car, John Meterson, William Gyllam, James Johnson, Richard Tailour, and John Cowerd, master mariners of Hull, for various Danzig voyages between 1521 and 1538; (3) and in the months of June and July 1541 the Matthew of Newcastle, the Trinity of Beverley, and the Katherine of Newcastle, arrived at Hull laden with osmund, tar, iron, lime, ashes, and timber belonging to various English merchants including William Watson, William Beckwith, Robert Hall, and Thomas Appleyard of York. (4) William Watson and Thomas Appleyard on another occasion were unable to dispatch 29 fothers of lead to Danzig in the Angell of Emden as they had

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(1) N. E. Bang, Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund, 1497-1660, I, 2-17.

(2) Ibid. pp. 4, 6, 7.

(3) H. T. H. Archives, Account Book I, fols. 76, 95v., 101v., 122v. Car, Meterson, and Johnson were aldermen of the Trinity Gild during this period and Tailour, Gyllam, and Cowerd held office as stewards (Ibid. fols. 69, 80v., 87v., 110v., 117, 122v.)

(4) K. R. Customs Accounts, 64/15.



arranged because of an embargo on its export and Watson's brother sold lead in Danzig on behalf of Henry VIII. (1) But despite this revival York's trade with the ports of the Baltic and Prussia never regained its former importance, and it was to the Low Countries that her merchants increasingly turned after the middle of the fifteenth century.

York's trade with the Low Countries even before the middle of the fifteenth century was no less important than her trade with the ports of Prussia and the Baltic. Long before their large scale penetration of the Baltic towards the end of the fourteenth century English merchants had been active in Flanders, supplying the Flemish textile industry with some of the English wool which it annually consumed in large quantities and importing some of the Flemish cloth then in great demand in England. (2) Amongst the English merchants visiting the Low Countries in the early fourteenth century may be discerned a number of men from York. Adam de Kyngesson of the city was one of the English merchants who complained in 1319 that cloth and other goods which they were shipping from Sluys had been stolen on the voyage to Hull; the goods of Richard de Brikenhale

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(1) York Mercers, pp. 135-36; Letters and Papers, XXI, part 1, no. 1334.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. xiv, 242. See also L.J.Buyse, "The Market for Flemish and Brabantine Cloth in England from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century" (London M.A.Thesis, 1955), pp. 161-172.

another York merchant were seized at Sluys in 1336; and in 1337 Henry Goldbeter, who became mayor of York 9 years later, was said to have lost more than £300 through the seizure of his goods at Bruges and Sluys. (1) Henry de Belton a wealthy wool exporter and contemporary mayor also had connections with the Low Countries. He was one of the English merchants in Bruges ordered by the king in 1332 to release the wool that they had taken from a merchant of Bridgnorth; (2) he owned part of the cargo of a ship laden with cloth, armour, and other goods which was detained by the bailiffs of Blakeney in Norfolk on its way from Swyne to Hull shortly before October 1334; (3) and in 1337 he and Goldbeter were members of the Syndicate of English merchants who contracted to purchase 30,000 sacks of wool in England and export them to the Low Countries to finance the early stages of the Hundred Years War. (4)

The original establishment of the Staple at Calais in 1363 and its final consolidation there in 1391, (5) meant that the English wool exporters no longer served the needs of their

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(1) C.C.R. 1318-23, p.163; C.C.R. 1337-39, pp. 74, 327-28.

(2) C.C.R. 1330-33, pp. 466-67.

(3) C.C.R. 1333-37, p. 348.

(4) S.B.Terry, The Financing of the Hundred Years War, 1337-1360, pp. 6-8; C.C.R. 1337-39, pp. 148-150.

(5) Lipson, I, 561-62.

customers in Flanders by direct trade with that country, but it is clear from particular Hull customs accounts of the late fourteenth century that York men were then visiting the Low Countries in considerable numbers. One in every three or four ships whose arrival is recorded at Hull in the particular customs accounts of 1383-1384, 1391-1392, and 1398-1399, was laden with miscellaneous cargoes containing madder, alum, soap (smigmates), mercery, paper, battery, kettles, hats and garlic, and occasionally much rarer items such as a barrel of rice or an image of the Virgin Mary found their way to Hull. Woad was a very important cargo, and the particular customs accounts suggest that York merchants were obtaining their supplies of the dye mainly from the Low Countries, and especially from Brabant, which had become an important source of supply for English merchants as the woad trade of Picardy steadily declined during the Hundred Years' War. (1) Thus, virtually the whole of the woad imported at Hull in 1383-1384 and 1391-1392, amounting to some 400 tuns, arrived in mixed cargoes of the type usually imported from the Low Countries, and 109 tuns, representing nearly half of the woad whose origin was indicated in these two years, were described specifically as woad of Brabant.

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Revue du Nord, XXXV, pp. 101-2.

Trade between York and the Low Countries continued to flourish in the early years of the fifteenth century. Five men of the city in 1417 borrowed £100 from a merchant of Dordrecht; (1) William Eseby of York during this period was in the habit of purchasing goods in Flanders for various other men of the city at their own risk and charging them a shilling in the pound for his services; (2) and the Lord of Veere wrote to York in 1421 for redress for an attack made by English sailors on one of his seamen although the delinquents were men of Hull and Newcastle over whom, as the mayor pointed out in his reply, York had no control. (3)

In the second half of the fifteenth century the importance of York's trade with the Low Countries increased since in common with other English merchants they visited this market in increasing numbers as they endeavoured to compensate for their virtual exclusion from the Baltic and for the decline in their wine imports after the loss of Gascony. The York Merchant Adventurers regularly organised the dispatch of ships laden with cloth to the Low Countries; (4) some two-thirds of

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(1) M.B. II, 82.

(2) C.P.R. 1416-22, p.86

(3) M.B. II, xxvii, 186-88.

(4) York Mercers, passim. See also the unpublished Account Rolls of the Company.

the payments made by Hull mariners to their charitable organisation of the Holy Trinity Gild between 1461 and the middle of the sixteenth century were, in nearly every year for which detailed accounts exist, made on behalf of 'Zeeland voyages'; and the majority of ships arriving at Hull came from the Low Countries with mixed cargoes more valuable and more varied than the cargoes of ships returning from there at the end of the fourteenth century. Imports of soap at Hull, which were then worth less than £100 a year, exceeded £350 in value in both 1525-26 and 1540-41, and glass, hops, and paving tiles, which were rare imports at the beginning of the fifteenth century, now arrived in considerable quantities. (1)

English merchants as a whole succeeded in this attempt to compensate for their exclusion from the Baltic and their diminished trade with Gascony. English cloth exports during the last five years of Edward IV's reign exceeded the high level reached shortly before the middle of the century, when English cloth exports had surpassed all previous peaks, (2) and it has been estimated that the value of miscellaneous goods imported by English merchants in the years 1479-82, when English trade in general had recovered from the severe

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(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 59/8, 159/11, 202/5, 64/15.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p.xix, and graph facing p.xviii.

depression of the third quarter of the century, was some £120,000, more than double the value of such imports in 1446-48, immediately before the slump began, thus amply compensating for a decrease of some £10,000 in the value of English wine imports. (1)

Yet although the value of goods handled by English merchants was no lower than before the setbacks to English commerce in Gascony and Prussia, it is clear that the relative importance of the various groups of English merchants engaged in foreign trade had changed considerably and that London merchants played the major part in the expansion of English trade with the Low Countries at the expense of merchants from Hull, York, Lynn, and other provincial ports of Eastern England. In the early years of the fifteenth century it seems likely that London merchants already constituted the largest group of English merchants trading with the Low Countries (2) and by the end of the century they dominated the commercial policy of all English merchants trading there and drew to themselves an increasing proportion of English trade. The merchants of York and all other English towns North of the

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(1) Gray, E.T.F.C., pp. 18, 32, 36.

(2) See for example N.J.M. Kerling, Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the late Thirteenth Century to the close of the Middle Ages, pp. 148-150.

Trent as late as 1478 successfully maintained their right to elect a governor in the Low Countries independently of the governor chosen by the London men,<sup>(1)</sup> but the charter granted by Henry VII in 1505, which consolidated the organisation of the English Merchant Adventurers in the Low Countries finally reversed this decision and stipulated that one governor was to be elected by all English merchants trading there.<sup>(2)</sup> London men were thus able, by virtue of their wealth and numbers, to dominate the conduct of English trade in the Low Countries with official approval; the governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company was invariably a Londoner, and the English Headquarters of the organisation was in London where all important decisions of policy were taken, often it would seem, in the absence of members from provincial towns and perhaps in defiance of their interests.<sup>(3)</sup>

York merchants thus occupied a subordinate position in English trade with the Low Countries in contrast to the leading role they had once played in English trade with Prussia, and they failed to increase their trade with the Low Countries sufficiently to compensate for the loss of their

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p.173; York Mercers, pp. 75-80.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p.175.

(3) Ibid. pp. 175-180.

trade with Prussia. The value of merchandise paying poundage at Hull between 1437 and 1497 was less than half the figure reached between 1437 and 1447 in the years immediately preceeding the severe depression of the third quarter of the century, and exports of cloth from Hull amounted to less than 16,000 cloths as compared with more than 35,000. (1) At the turn of the fifteenth century, between 1497 and 1507, when English cloth exports reached new heights and trade in miscellaneous merchandise was extremely flourishing, (2) the value of goods paying poundage at Hull was ten per cent higher than in 1437-47, although exports of cloth were still considerably below their mid century level. But thereafter, exports of cloth from Hull and the value of goods paying poundage there steadily declined, until in the middle of the sixteenth century York merchants trading with the Low Countries had lost much of the ground that they had gained by the end of the fifteenth century. x

York merchants therefore obtained a wide range of imports from many different sources to meet the varied needs of their fellow citizens and customers throughout the North of England. The extent of their trade was probably greatest in the final

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(1) See Appendix B.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, graph facing p.xviii; Ramsey, Ec. H.R., Second Series, VI, 173-181.



quarter of the fourteenth century when they imported wine and dried fruit from Gascony and Portugal, iron from the North of Spain, herrings, codfish, furs, bowstaves, timber, ashes, and osmund from Norway and the ports of the Baltic, and from the Low Countries, which might also supply these goods by virtue of its function as the entrepôt of Europe, were drawn such diverse products as madder, woad, alum, soap, paper, mercery, kettles, hats, and garlic. In the early fifteenth century Iceland was opened up as a new source of codfish when the Hanse virtually excluded English merchants from Norway, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century York men probably made regular voyages to Andalusia for the first time, but in general the trade of York merchants during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries declined. They were driven from the Skania fisheries by the Hanse; their imports of wine were much reduced after the capture of Bordeaux by the French in 1453; the Prussian market where they had once played a leading part in English trade was lost during the third quarter of the fifteenth century and was only partially recovered in the second quarter of the sixteenth century; and in the Low Countries to which English merchants increasingly turned after the middle of the fifteenth century York merchants were unable to compensate for these losses and had soon to play a very subordinate role to the merchants of London.

## II. Markets for exports.

In return for these diverse imports from many shores, the exports of York merchants during the late fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the early sixteenth centuries, when particular accounts of poundage are available to permit a study of the miscellaneous goods exported from Hull by native as well as alien merchants, consisted mainly of wool and cloth. The importance of these two commodities in English foreign trade in general has often been observed, but the fortunes of Hull's export trade in cloth and wool differed to a considerable extent from the general English experience. Thus, it is clear from Table III that the export of wool was, for most of our period, the more important of the two branches of trade. In the late fourteenth century when Hull's cloth exports were at their peak they were worth perhaps only a quarter of her exports of wool and represented in terms of the weight of wool probably used in their construction, about a fifth of the quantity of raw wool then exported from the port; yet for the country as a whole the weight of wool exported in the form of cloth was then equal to very nearly half her exports of raw wool. (1) At a later date the fortunes of merchants exporting

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, p. 256. The figure of 81 lbs of wool per cloth used by Professor Carus-Wilson (p. 250, n.2) has been adopted here.

TABLE III

ESTIMATED VALUE OF WOOL AND CLOTH EXPORTS FROM HULL  
PER DECADE 1357-1547 (1)

Decade (2)	Wool (3) £	Cloth (4) £	Total £
1357 - 1367	256,400	11,500	267,900
1367 - 1377	186,400	18,600	205,000
1377 - 1387	159,500	40,400	199,900
1387 - 1397	222,400	56,400	278,800
1397 - 1407	162,100	38,500	200,600
1407 - 1417	174,500	32,500	207,000
1417 - 1427	216,500	33,500	250,000
1427 - 1437	116,200	44,000	160,200
1437 - 1447	92,700	52,200	144,900
1447 - 1457	76,800	36,700	113,500
1457 - 1467	24,500	18,000	42,500
1467 - 1477	30,500	18,200	48,700
1477 - 1487	17,000	37,700	54,700
1487 - 1497	11,400	22,700	34,100
1497 - 1507	16,400	38,000	54,400
1507 - 1517	18,900	22,100	41,000
1517 - 1527	22,400	14,300	36,700
1527 - 1537	6,100	12,200	18,300
1537 - 1547	5,200	10,200	15,400

- (1) The values have been rounded to the nearest hundred units. For the sources used in constructing the Table see Appendix B.
- (2) The decadal totals given run from Michaelmas, the beginning of the Exchequer year, in the year commencing the decade to Michaelmas ten years later.
- (3) Valued at £5. a sack.
- (4) Valued at 30 shillings a broadcloth; worsted cloths have been omitted.

wool and cloth from Hull diverged still more markedly from the fortunes of English wool and cloth exporters as a whole. Total English cloth exports had some years before 1450 passed the high level achieved during the closing years of the fourteenth century and this, combined with a further fall in wool exports, meant that exports of wool in the form of cloth exceeded those of raw wool;<sup>(1)</sup> but at Hull cloth only became of greater importance in the final quarter of the fifteenth century because of the continued fall in Hull's wool exports rather than as a result of a steady expansion of her exports of cloth. Hull was therefore in the days of her greatness primarily a wool exporting port, with Calais as her principal export market, and it is clear from the analysis of the particular Hull customs accounts for 1398-99, 1430-31, and 1471-72, made in the Tables overleaf<sup>(2)</sup> that the goods imported there were, until the early sixteenth century, to a large extent paid for indirectly through the channels of multilateral trade rather than by the cloth and miscellaneous goods exported by her merchants. English cloth by contrast was supplied to each region visited by York men. It was until the early sixteenth

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. xix-xx and graph facing p. xviii.

(2) Based on K.R. Customs Accounts 159/11, 61/32, and 62/17, respectively. The quantity of wool exported in 1398-99 was determined from L.T.R. Customs Accounts 14, m.13.

TABLE IVTHE BALANCE OF TRADE AT HULL MICH. 1393- MICH. 1399. (1)

<u>IMPORTS</u>				<u>EXPORTS</u>			
			£				£
				Wool	..	..	12,220
Wine	..	..	6,096	Cloth	..	..	2,766
Miscellaneous goods			3,470	Miscellaneous goods			460
Total			<u>9,566</u>	Total			<u>15,446</u>

TABLE VTHE BALANCE OF TRADE AT HULL MICH. 1430 - MICH. 1431

<u>IMPORTS</u>				<u>EXPORTS</u>			
			£				£
				Wool	..	..	16,155
Wine	..	..	3,936	Cloth	..	..	4,495
Miscellaneous goods			6,160	Miscellaneous goods			870
Total			<u>10,096</u>	Total			<u>21,520</u>

TABLE VITHE BALANCE OF TRADE AT HULL MICH. 1471 - MICH. 1472

<u>IMPORTS</u>				<u>EXPORTS</u>			
			£				£
				Wool	..	..	3,330
Wine	..	..	2,532	Cloth	..	..	1,260
Miscellaneous goods			2,300	Miscellaneous goods			1,470
Total			<u>4,832</u>	Total			<u>6,060</u>

- (1) In this and the two following Tables wool has been valued at £5 a sack, wine at £4 a tun, and broadcloths at 30s. each. Exports of hides and worsted cloths, very minor items in Hull's foreign trade, have been omitted.

century the principal export from Hull except wool and its relative importance cannot only be measured in terms of value since it was the need for new markets for cloth that in part led York merchants to penetrate the Baltic in the late fourteenth century.

The other components of Hull's export trade, as Table VII suggests, were of little importance until the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, and were mostly goods not intended for general export but directed towards a particular market.

TABLE VII

ESTIMATED VALUE OF WOOL AND CLOTH EXPORTS AS A (1)  
PROPORTION OF ALL EXPORTS BY VALUE FROM HULL.

Period covered by the account	Estimated value of wool and cloth exports £	Estimated value of all exports £	Percentage value of wool and cloth exports
Mich. 1393-Mich. 1399	14,986	15,446	97
Mich. 1430-Mich. 1431	20,650	21,520	96
Mich. 1471-Mich. 1472	4,590	6,060	76
Mich. 1525-Mich. 1526	3,246	4,493	72

(1) Hides and worsted cloths have been omitted. The wool has been valued at £5 a sack and broadcloths at 30s. each.

Miscellaneous cargoes of malt, honey, flour, butter, beer, horseshoes, nails, osmund and cloth, which might be worth nearly £500 in a year, were annually exported to Iceland to satisfy the needs of a country lacking natural wealth except for its fish, and grain and herring were exported with small quantities of peas, beans and salted hides to the people of Gascony whose specialisation in the production of wine left them peculiarly dependent on foreign supplies of cloth, fish, and corn. No less than 5,000 quarters of corn were exported to Bordeaux from Hull in 1346-47,<sup>(1)</sup> and in the third decade of the fifteenth century William Gaunt, William Yarom, Thomas Benson, William Gayregrave, and Robert Chapman, merchants of York who received licences to ship 800 quarters of corn overseas despite the official ban on its export, may also have been taking it to that city.<sup>(2)</sup> The fragmentary evidence of the particular Hull customs accounts, however, suggests that grain exports fluctuated considerably and corn was perhaps only shipped abroad in quantity when there was famine or some special emergency in Gascony. Thus, exports of corn amounted to only 204 quarters in 1430-31,<sup>(3)</sup> and were

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(1) N.S.B.Gras, The Evolution of the English Corn Market, p.287.

(2) K.R.Memoranda Rolls, 7 Hen.VI, Recorda, Trinity, rot.7.  
8 Hen.VI, Recorda, Mich, rot.3, 33; Recorda, Trinity,  
rot. 1, 6.

(3) K.R.Customs Accounts 61/32.

still lower during the periods Mich. 1464 to 18 March, 1465, and 5 Feb. to 18 June, 1471; yet very nearly 3,300 quarters were exported between 18 March and Mich. 1465. (1) Imports of corn, too, could be substantial; in the year 1541-42, 2,600 quarters of grain were imported, and some of the grain shipped to Gascony from Hull may well have been originally imported from the Baltic. (2)

Herrings were dispatched overseas more regularly, for the substantial quantities imported by York merchants from the Skania fisheries in the Baltic afforded an adequate basis for an active export trade to Gascony and exports must often have exceeded 40 lasts worth some £130 in a year. (3) The exclusion of English merchants from the Skania fisheries and the consequent severe reduction in herring imports, seems to have destroyed this flourishing re-export trade, but at its height herrings represented the most important and regular of the miscellaneous commodities exported from Hull.

The remaining exports which ranged from feathers to the three tables of alabaster exported by William Eland of Hull in 1466, (4) were, with the exception of lead, dispatched abroad only in fairly small

(1) Gras, English Corn Market, p. 237

(2) Ibid. p. 274.

(3) Exports in 1393-99 amounted to 40 lasts, valued at an average of nearly £4 a last; in 1430-31, 62 lasts 'full' and 11 lasts spawned herring valued at £4 and £2 the last respectively were exported.

(4) K.R. Customs Accounts 62/9.



quantities. Timber, wax, and wine were occasionally re-exported and in 1430-31, 108 dickers of pouches worth £1 a dicker, were shipped from Hull;<sup>(1)</sup> but the only regular export was coal which had perhaps arrived from Newcastle in coastal vessels. The amounts exported were very small but shipments are recorded in nearly all the years for which particular customs accounts survive and exports, as in 1430-31 and 1530-31, sometimes exceeded 100 chaldrons.<sup>(2)</sup>

Towards the end of the fifteenth century considerable quantities of lead accompanied the supplies of cloth which found their way to every market. Exports of lead from Hull which had been worth less than £100 a year before the middle of the fifteenth century increased tenfold by the early years of the sixteenth century and scarcely a ship sailed from Hull that did not include lead amongst its cargo. Nearly every York merchant trading in Hull shipped lead abroad; as Tables VII and VIII show, it was by value, after the second decade of the sixteenth century, almost as important as the wool and cloth exported from Hull, and some York merchants recorded in the particular customs accounts for 1525-26, and 1540-41, exported nothing else. The majority

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32.

(2) Ibid. 61/32, 64/10.

TABLE VIII

VALUE OF LEAD EXPORTS AS A PROPORTION OF ALL EXPORTS  
BY VALUE FROM HULL, EXCLUDING WOOL, CLOTH, AND HIDES

Period covered by the account	Value of lead exports £	Value of all exports except wool, cloth, and hides £	Percentage value of lead exports.
Mich. 1398-Mich. 1399	13	460	3
Mich. 1430-Mich. 1431	88	870	10
Mich. 1466-Mich. 1467	321	443	72
Mich. 1471-Mich. 1472	1,037	1,470	74
Mich. 1525-Mich. 1526	1,057	1,247	85
Mich. 1531-Mich. 1532	1,905	1,993	96
Mich. 1540-Mich. 1541	1,036	1,171	88

of the lead was probably dispatched to the Low Countries. A list of ships due to sail for the Continent with lead before the king had imposed an embargo on its export, drawn up by the York Merchant Adventurers towards the middle of the sixteenth century, indicates that three of the vessels, carrying 65 fothers of lead, were destined for Bordeaux and another, with 29 fothers for Danzig, whilst the remaining six ships laden with 307 fothers were bound for Flanders. (1) Some

(1) York Mercers, pp. 135-36.

indication of the large quantities of lead being exported to the Low Countries earlier in the century is given in a letter sent to the York Merchant Adventurers from Antwerp by the governor of the English Merchant Adventurers' Company complaining that the York men in the summer of 1510 had ignored the regulations requiring every merchant adventurer who intended to sell his goods in the Summer Mart to have them ready for shipment by a certain day and had after this appointed time made various voyages to the Low Countries, shipping lead in such quantities that it was of 'litell reputation and value'.(1)

The pattern of York's export trade therefore did not necessarily correspond with that of her imports and the wool that constituted the major export of York merchants until the later fifteenth century found its way to only one of the major markets from which they drew their imports. But York merchants nevertheless supplied all their markets with cloth and later lead, and catered for the special needs of Iceland and Gascony.

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(1) York Mercers, pp. 123-24.

### 3. The Share of York Merchants in Hull's Foreign Trade

Some measure of the important part played by York's merchants in the foreign trade of Hull during the late fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the early sixteenth centuries may be obtained by an analysis of the extant particular customs accounts. But the role of York merchants in Hull's foreign trade during the first 70 years of the fourteenth century is much more difficult to determine, since records of the cloth exported by individual English merchants were not kept before 1347, when a tax was for the first time imposed on native cloth exports, and details of the wine and miscellaneous goods handled by individual native merchants at English ports were not recorded with any regularity until the introduction of the subsidies of tunnage and poundage as a normal method of raising revenue during the reign of Richard II. (1)

It is, however, clear that in the export of wool, the one important branch of Hull's foreign trade in which we can determine the size of individual cargoes in the early fourteenth century, York merchants played little part, although wool was, at the close of the century, easily the most valuable commodity of international trade handled by

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(1) Gras, English Customs System, pp. 80-84

York merchants at Hull. Alien merchants dominated the export of wool as in other English ports at the beginning of the century<sup>(1)</sup> and native exporters accounted for only 18,000 of the 47,000 sacks of wool shipped from Hull between Michaelmas 1304 and Michaelmas 1311, when the relative quantities of wool exported by native and alien merchants may for a time be determined.<sup>(2)</sup> York merchants, moreover, seem to have been relatively unimportant even when compared with the other English exporters; they exported less than 200 of the 1,300 sacks of wool exported from Hull by English merchants between Michaelmas 1324 and Michaelmas 1325,<sup>(3)</sup> and it is significant that, in marked contrast to their successors in the second half of the century, only two of the eight mayors of York between 1301 and 1330 can be traced as wool exporters.<sup>(4)</sup>

A few years later there are signs that York merchants had begun to take a greater interest in the export of wool, perhaps partly because York was a staple town between May 1326

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- (1) E. Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History, pp. 54-5.
  - (2) L.T.R. Customs Accounts 2, m. 26.
  - (3) K.R. Customs Accounts 57/11; see also Table I in Appendix C.
  - (4) Thomas de Redeness (6 sacks) and Nicholas le Flemyng (36 sacks). Both appear in an account covering the period Michaelmas 1309 - Michaelmas 1310 (K.R. Customs Accounts 56/11).

and September 1327 and again between September 1332 and February 1334, (1) whilst royal customs duties were collected there from January 1333 to June 1334. (2) Henry de Belton and Henry Goldbeter of York were members of the Syndicate of English merchants who contracted to purchase 30,000 sacks of wool in this country and export them to the Low Countries to finance the early stages of the Hundred Years War; (3) and when in May 1333, the King seized the wool of the Syndicate lying at Dordrecht before the operation was completed, 18 York merchants, who were credited with £4,800, were included among the numerous English merchants promised £66,000 compensation for their losses by the remission of customs duty on their future wool exports. (4)

During the next two decades York merchants in general had little opportunity to export wool. The export of wool for some dozen years after the Dordrecht seizure remained virtually the monopoly of successive small groups of very rich merchants, because of Edward III's need for liquid

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- (1) Lipson, pp. 557-8; Power, The Wool Trade, pp. 91-2.
  - (2) L.T.R. Customs Accounts, 8, m. 29d.
  - (3) Terry, Financing the Hundred Years War, pp. 6-8.  
C.C.R. 1337-39, pp. 143-150. See also G.Unwin, The Estate of Merchants, 1336-1365', Finance and Trade under Edward III, ed. G.Unwin, pp. 179-190.
  - (4) C.C.R. 1337-39, pp. 424-35; Terry, op. cit. pp. 20-21.

financial resources, and although the monopoly was broken in 1351, when the resources of these rich merchants were finally exhausted, a Great Council which met in 1353 was so determined to prevent a future monopoly of wool exports that it adopted the drastic remedy of prohibiting all English merchants from exporting wool, thus leaving its export for a time entirely in the hands of alien merchants.(1)

But when after 1361 the English Company of the Staple, embracing the majority of English wool exporters, gained virtually a monopoly of the export of wool to Northern Europe, because Edward III realised that the Company could afford him a steady and reliable source of loans,(2) York merchants played an increasingly important part in the export of wool. In 1363, when Calais was established as the Continental Staple for English wool exports, John de Gisburne and Roger de Hovingham, who later held office as mayors of York, were two of the aldermen chosen by the Company of the Staple to rule Calais,(3) and in the final quarter of the century when the wool exports of York merchants may again be quantitatively measured, York men comprised the most important

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(1) Power, The Wool Trade, Chapters IV-VI, especially pp. 83-5, 97-8, 114-118.

(2) Ibid. pp. 85, 98-9.

(3) Rymer, III, part 11, 691, 693.

group of merchants shipping wool from Hull, far exceeding the level of their exports some 50 years earlier. York merchants between Michaelmas 1378 and Michaelmas 1379 shipped some 1,600 of the 2,700 sacks of wool exported from Hull, compared with a mere 200 sacks between Michaelmas 1324 and Michaelmas 1325, and in the final decade of the century, from 8 December 1391 to Michaelmas 1392, they accounted for nearly half the 3,000 sacks exported. (1)

York merchants were also prominent as cloth exporters at Hull in the late fourteenth century. It is impossible to determine the extent of changes in their foreign trade in cloth during the century, but there is little doubt that from the middle of the fourteenth century York merchants steadily increased their exports of cloth as in common with men of other English towns they sought new markets for the rapidly expanding English textile industry. (2) Exports of cloth from Hull, which served as an outlet for the cloth made in York and the West Riding, rose from 8,000 cloths between 1357 and 1367 to very nearly 38,000 cloths between 1387 and 1397, (3)

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts, 59/2, 57/11, 59/24 respectively; the names of the exporters with summaries of their cargoes are given in Tables I, II, V of Appendix C.

(2) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, Chapter VI, passim.

(3) See Appendix B.



and the evidence of three particular customs accounts for the late fourteenth century suggests that York merchants seldom shipped less than half the cloth annually exported from Hull. (1)

York merchants were also very active in other branches of foreign trade towards the end of the fourteenth century; they shipped nearly a third of the miscellaneous imports and exports paying poundage at Hull from Michaelmas 1393 to Michaelmas 1399, valued at more than £1,000, and in that year, as in the period 21 June 1383 - 27 July 1384, they imported approximately a third of some 1,500 tuns of wine arriving at Hull. (2) A statistical comparison with the trade of York merchants at the beginning of the century is impossible. But here, too, we may surmise that York merchants had grown in importance during the fourteenth century. The volume of wine imported at Hull, in contrast with English ports as a whole, was probably no smaller than at the beginning of the century, yet English merchants accounted for more than 90 per cent of the wine imported there as compared with only 50 per cent until the eve of the Hundred Years War, when English merchants in general displaced aliens from the import trade in wine. (3)

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts, 59/1, 59/24, 159/11; Appendix C, Tables III, V, VI.

(2) Ibid. 59/8, 159/11; Appendix C, Tables IV and VI.

(3) See Miss James D. Phil. Thesis, ut supra, pp. 56, 101-102, Appendix I, (c), (f), and also her article in Ec. H.R., Second Series, IV, no. 2.

Hence, unless we assume that the York merchants importing wine were much less enterprising and less fortunate than other English wine importers at Hull, it seems reasonable to suppose that the volume of wine imported by York merchants was somewhat larger than before. The miscellaneous imports of York merchants too must surely have increased as a result of their search for new markets for York cloth, which took them for the first time to Prussia in the final quarter of the century.

It is at any rate clear that in the late fourteenth century York merchants constituted by far the wealthiest group of men trading at Hull. They handled approximately half the wool and cloth exports of the port and a third of the wine imports and the miscellaneous goods paying poundage, whereas Hull merchants probably accounted for 40 per cent of the wine imported there and less than 20 per cent of the wool and cloth exports. (1) The combined value of the foreign trade of York merchants in 1393-99, when all imports and exports at Hull were worth nearly £25,000, may be conservatively estimated,

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(1). Based on an analysis of the particular Hull customs accounts previously cited. The names of the Hull men recorded in these accounts have been determined by reference to Bench Books I and II and the returns for a tallage levied in 5 Ric. II to meet the costs of a royal charter, in the Archives of Hull Corporation.

as is here shown, at £10,400, (1) and it was almost certainly far in excess of the value of their foreign trade at the beginning of the century, when their wool exports alone were probably worth less than £1,000 a year.

TABLE IX

ESTIMATED VALUE OF THE FOREIGN TRADE OF YORK MERCHANTS  
MICH. 1398 - MICH. 1399.

				£
Estimated value of cloth exports	..	..	..	1,225
Estimated value of miscellaneous exports.	..	..	..	112
Estimated value of wool exports (on the assumption that York men shipped half the wool exported from Hull that year).	..	..	..	6,110
Estimated value of wine imports.	..	..	..	1,960
Value of miscellaneous imports.	..	..	..	980
			Total	<u>10,387</u>

Shortly after the beginning of the fifteenth century there are signs that the international commerce of York's merchants had begun to decline. It is impossible, in the absence of adequate particular customs accounts, to determine

(1) Appendix C, Table VI. In estimating the total value of Hull's foreign trade in this Table and throughout the chapter, as mentioned in Appendix B, wool has been valued at £5 a sack, wine at £4 a tun and broadcloths at 30s. each, whilst exports of hides and worsteds have been omitted. For exceptions to this rule see Appendix B and the individual Tables in Appendix C.

the extent of their share in Hull's foreign trade between the beginning and the middle of the century, except for cloth and general exports in 1430 when York merchants handled slightly more than half of the 3,000 cloths exported. (1) But some measure of their fading fortunes can be seen by the middle of the fifteenth century in the downward trend of Hull's foreign trade, which was probably worth only £250,000 in the decade 1437-47 compared with a figure of some £390,000 between 1407 and 1417. (2) Imports of wine at Hull in the decade 1437-47 amounted to only 10,000 tuns compared with an import of 14,000 tuns between 1407 and 1417, and the value of goods paying poundage, in part reflecting the exclusion of English merchants from the Skania fisheries by the Hanse, stood at £62,000 in 1437-47, £50,000 less than in the decade 1407-17. The decline in the foreign trade of merchants shipping through Hull, however, mainly reflected the fall in their wool exports and was a symptom of the general decline in English wool exports as the English textile industry made a further striking advance towards the middle of the fifteenth century and still more English wool was diverted from foreign to English textile

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32; Appendix C, Table VII.

(2) See Appendix B for graphs showing the trend of Hull's foreign trade in wine, cloth, wool, and miscellaneous goods paying poundage and the estimated trend of the total value of her foreign trade.

producers for export as cloth. (1) The merchants trading through Hull moreover, in contrast with English merchants as a whole, completely failed to compensate for this decline in their wool exports by increasing their exports of cloth. Exports of wool from Hull, which constituted approximately half the foreign trade of the port by value in the first quarter of the century, declined from 35,000 sacks in 1407-17 to 23,000 sacks in the following decade and 19,000 sacks between 1437 and 1447, whilst Hull's cloth exports shortly before the middle of the fifteenth century, when English cloth exports surpassed all previous peaks, represented not even a return to the level of cloth exports achieved towards the end of the fourteenth century.

During the third quarter of the fifteenth century, when English foreign trade in general was depressed as a result of the loss of Gascony and deteriorating relations with the Hanse, the international trade of York merchants declined still further. Imports of wine at Hull fell from nearly 10,000 tuns in 1437-47 to 3,000 tuns in 1457-67 at the bottom of the depression, exports of cloth fell from 35,000 to less than 13,000 cloths, and the value of imports and exports paying poundage was more than halved. Meanwhile the wool exports of

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(1) Carus-Wilson, Merchant Venturers, pp. xix-xx.

all merchants shipping through Hull again sharply contracted, shrinking from 19,000 sacks in 1437-47 to 6,000 sacks in the decade 1467-77. York merchants during this period continued to play a prominent part in Hull's foreign trade and in 1466-67 and 1471-72 they accounted for more than half Hull's cloth exports, between 37 and 43 per cent of Hull's wool exports, some 40 per cent of the goods paying poundage by value, and a substantial proportion of Hull's wine imports, ranging from 28 per cent in 1466-67 to 52 per cent in 1471-72. (1) But in absolute terms the value of their foreign trade, as is shown below, probably did not exceed £5,000 in either year, and was far less than at the end of the fourteenth century

TABLE X.

ESTIMATED VALUE OF THE FOREIGN TRADE OF YORK MERCHANTS  
MICH. 1466 - MICH. 1467 AND MICH. 1471 - MICH. 1472.

		1466-67 £	1471-72 £
Estimated value of cloth exports	..	324	710
Estimated value of wool exports	..	2,110	1,230
Value of miscellaneous exports	..	88	387
Estimated value of wine imports	..	336	1,328
Value of miscellaneous imports	..	<u>1,165</u>	<u>1,268</u>
Total		<u>4,023</u>	<u>4,923</u>

(1) K. R. Customs Accounts 62/9, 62/17; Appendix C, Tables VIII, and IX.

when, as we have seen, their foreign trade was often worth more than £10,000 a year.

In the final quarter of the fifteenth century wool exports from Hull continued to decline. But the fortunes of York merchants trading in wine, cloth, and miscellaneous goods, revived somewhat as they emulated the example of other English merchants in expanding their trade with the Low Countries in an attempt to compensate for their reduced wine imports from Gascony and their virtual exclusion from the Baltic. It is not possible to determine the share of York merchants in Hull's foreign trade again until the early sixteenth century and thus measure the extent of their revival, yet it may be safely inferred from the general trend of foreign trade at Hull that despite their increased trade with the Low Countries the value of their foreign trade, even exclusive of wool exports, remained below the level of 1437-47, the decade immediately preceding the mid-century depression. Thus, the volume of wine imported at Hull and the value of goods paying poundage in each of the decades 1477-87 and 1487-97 were some 50 per cent lower than in 1437-47, whilst cloth exports, which had amounted to nearly 35,000 cloths in 1437-47, stood at only 20,000 cloths in 1477-87 and were still lower in the following decade.

At the turn of the fifteenth century, in the decade 1497-1507, when English foreign trade as a whole was extremely flourishing, the value of foreign trade at Hull, exclusive of wool exports, was nine per cent more than in the decade 1437-47. But during the remainder of the first half of the sixteenth century, as the predominance of London merchants in English trade with the Low Countries increased, the foreign trade of York's merchants steadily declined. Wool exports from Hull never exceeded 5,000 sacks in any decade from 1497 to 1547, and the average export for this period was less than 300 sacks a year; cloth exports shrank from 25,000 cloths between 1497 and 1507 to 15,000 cloths in the following decade and then to some 7,000 cloths in the years 1537 to 1547; wine imports after 1507 returned to the low level that had been reached after the loss of Gascony in the middle of the fifteenth century; and the value of goods paying poundage declined from £63,000 in the decade 1497-1507 to less than £40,000 in 1537-47. Hence the total foreign trade handled by all merchants at Hull in 1537-47 was probably worth only £76,000 compared with £390,000 in 1407-17, and Hull was no longer a major English port.

The foreign trade of York merchants in the early sixteenth century, moreover, probably declined somewhat more



than that of other merchants trading through Hull. They accounted for only 15 per cent of Hull's cloth exports, 14 per cent of its wine imports and 17 per cent of the miscellaneous imports and exports at Hull in 1525-26, when Hanseatic merchants were very active in the port, and in 1540-41, when the trade of Hanseatic merchants was much lower, they accounted for slightly more than a third of the cloth exports and miscellaneous imports and exports and half the imports of wine. (1)

The value of the foreign trade handled by York merchants towards the middle of the sixteenth century was thus probably much lower than at any time since the late fourteenth century, and as is shown in Table XI it is doubtful if their annual imports and exports at Hull exceeded £2,600 in value, compared with some £10,000 in the final quarter of the fourteenth century. The striking gains made by York merchants in international commerce during the fourteenth century had been largely lost. Collectively and as individuals York merchants were much poorer than their predecessors in the reign of Richard II and in York men who never engaged in foreign trade began increasingly to share their political power.

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(1) K.R. Customs Accounts, 202/5, 64/15; Appendix C, Tables X and XI.

TABLE XI

ESTIMATED VALUE OF THE FOREIGN TRADE OF YORK MERCHANTS  
MICH. 1525 - MICH. 1526 AND MICH. 1540 - MICH. 1541.

		1525-26 £	1540-41 £
Estimated value of cloth exports	..	152	368
Estimated value of wool exports	..	623(1)	-
Value of miscellaneous exports	..	447	637
Estimated value of wine imports	..	260(2)	472
Value of miscellaneous imports	..	<u>1,020</u>	<u>970</u>
	Total	<u>£2,502</u>	<u>£2,447</u>

(1) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £43.

(2) Includes 9 butts of sweet wine whose value has been estimated at £36.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### THE REGIONAL TRADE OF YORK AND HER MERCHANTS.

The comparative wealth of statistical data on the foreign trade of York's merchants affords a striking contrast with the sparse material available for estimating the part York men played in internal trade. Neither the volume nor the value of the goods entering or leaving York can be determined, and quantitative estimates of the trade handled by York men are available only when their goods paid customs duty. Yet the trade of York merchants in England was probably no less valuable, if less spectacular, than their foreign trade, for they not only helped to supply the several thousand other inhabitants of York with a wide variety of foodstuffs and raw materials but also distributed the manufactures of the city and imported goods to customers throughout the North of England, dispatching in return the principal exports of Yorkshire for shipment abroad. York men moreover did business not only in England North of the Humber but in more distant places such as Shrewsbury, Chester, Coventry, Norwich, and Lynn, whilst they were frequent visitors to London, where they exchanged the wool, cloth, and lead of Yorkshire for the manufactures of London and a wide variety of valuable

imported foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactures.

The provision of food for the inhabitants of York and for the many visitors to the city alone must have been a formidable task. Much of the food was probably supplied by North countrymen who sold their produce in York. Men from a wide area of Northern England which included such towns as Kendal, Richmond, and Guisborough in the north, Halifax and Skipton in the west, and Rotherham and Hedon in the south probably sold their livestock, poultry, butter, and cheese in the city; (1) men from Hartlepoons, Whitby and Scarborough supplied York regularly with fish; (2) and grain and other produce was probably brought to the city from Lincoln and parts of Norfolk, whose victuallers were enjoined by the civic authorities in 1503 to bring 'good and holsome victale'. (3) In the provision of all these goods York men were also active, but above all they were predominant in supplying the city with wine and dried fruit, which were of necessity imported from abroad, and with stockfish from Iceland and herrings from Skania to supplement the more local supplies of fish. In

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- (1) See for example York Civic Records, II, 172-75.
- (2) M.B. I, 222. See also Register of Freemen, I, 124, 133, 139, 220, 221, 224, for examples of fishermen from these and other East coast towns who became freemen of York.
- (3) York Civic Records, II, 182.

the grain trade in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when York had become an important centre for the marketing of grain and the manufacture of malt, York merchants were also very prominent. The description corn-merchant which had been employed only twice before 1450 came into increasing use on the Register of Freemen and the number of corn-merchants enrolling as freemen increased from 13 between 1451 and 1501 to 35 between 1501 and 1551; the persistent activities of York merchants in purchasing grain from East Anglia led in 1503 to a dispute with Lynn over the levying of tolls on grain purchased there;<sup>(1)</sup> and some 40 years later the Dean of York Minster felt compelled to write to Cromwell in London complaining that the activities of the corn-merchants had caused 'all the town to be ale tipplers', whilst honest trade had been completely forsaken for the making of malt.<sup>(2)</sup>

Most valuable of the raw materials arriving at York for much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was wool,

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(1) York Civic Records, IV, 74. The name of the town has been incorrectly transcribed as Lyme Regis. The reference is clearly to Lynn, however, since it had by that date received its new official title of King's Lynn, and a dispute with Lynn over tolls levied on grain is again mentioned on pages 76 and 97 of the same volume.

(2) Letters and Papers, XV, no. 417.

sought after for the cloth-making industry and for export to the Continent where it constituted the most valuable item of foreign trade handled by York merchants in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Wool from the valleys of the Swale, Ure, and Nidd, where the flocks belonging to the monks of Fountains and Jervaulx annually produced some 120 sacks of wool for export by Italian merchants in the early fourteenth century, (1) was transported down the Ouse from Boroughbridge below the confluence of the Swale and Ure to York, and probably much wool from the neighbourhood of Helmsley, Rievaulx, Byland, and Thirsk, was also shipped to York from Boroughbridge.

York merchants were frequent visitors to Boroughbridge. John de Gisburne and Robert Holme, the two most prominent wool exporters of York in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, left money for the repair of the road near Helperby and the bridge there crossing the Swale on the route from Helmsley to Boroughbridge, (2) and towards the end of the century a careful record was made for future reference in the York Memorandum Book of a decision taken after an inquest at Richmond to the effect that Milby on the outskirts of Boroughbridge, whence

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(1) W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages, p. 631.

(2) Cooke, A.A.S.R., XXVIII, part 11, 830-31, 850-51.

Goods were transported by water to York, was outside the jurisdiction of the Duke of Lancaster and his agents who had interfered with this traffic. (1)

Wool from the Yorkshire Wolds to the east of York was also used by the textile industry and exported by York merchants. Richard Russell, a fifteenth century wool exporter who was mayor of York and of the Staple at Calais, left money to the farmers of the Wolds from whom he had bought wool, (2) and the wool exported by York merchants direct to the Continent in 1525-26, by virtue of a licence obtained through the help of Wolsey, (3) was specifically described as wool from the Yorkshire Wolds and the Forest of Galtres, which lay on the north western outskirts of York. (4)

Lincolnshire wool, and especially the high quality wool of Lindsey, (5) was frequently purchased for export. The broad deep channel of the Trent, linked by canal with Lincoln and the Witham, afforded easy access to the heart of Lincoln-

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- (1) M.B. I, lxii- lxiii, 37-9.  
 (2) T.E. II, 56.  
 (3) Heaton, p.48; Letters and Papers, III, part ii, no.3289(22); G.Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters, II, 80.  
 (4) K.R.Customs Accounts 202/5.  
 (5) Power, The Wool Trade, pp. 22-3.

shire and York men must often have visited Lincoln in search of wool, there meeting the citizens who claimed to speak on behalf of merchants from Hull, Newcastle, Nottingham, and York, when in 1376 and 1432 they sought the appointment of commissions to remedy the silting of the canal from the Witham to the Trent. (1) Richard Russell, the York wool exporter who remembered in his will the wool growers of the Wolds, also left money to those of Lindsey, whilst two sarplers of Lindsey wool which his brother John Russell had jointly purchased with another merchant of York for sale in Calais, were subsequently the subject of a petition to Chancery by his brother's executors. (2)

Another raw material in great demand in York was lead, both for the churches, monasteries and more important buildings of the city and for redistribution to customers many miles away. In the fourteenth century although Yorkshire lead was being supplied through York to customers in the South of England, as for instance in 1363, for Windsor Castle and in 1381 for the bishop of Winchester's newly founded St. Mary College, Oxford, the lead arriving in York

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(1) C.P.R. 1374-77, p. 322; C.P.R. 1429-36, p. 202.

(2) E.C.P. 16/592.



was perhaps mainly used in the city. (1) But during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as their wool and cloth exports declined York merchants became increasingly interested in the distribution of Yorkshire lead, in particular greatly expanding their exports from Hull where they soon dominated its export as they had previously dominated the export of wool. (2)

The lead was obtained mainly from the Pennines in the north west of the county where the rivers Swale, Ure, and Wharfe, have their origin. Men from Swaledale and the district centred around Richmond by the late fifteenth century regularly brought their lead for sale in York, and York merchants themselves were active on the banks of the Swale where they came into conflict with the local traders and had, in 1523, to appeal to the Justices of Assize to restrain the burgesses of Richmond from levying tolls on their goods. (3) In the south of this region by the Ure and the Wharfe, York men were equally busy; John Chapman, a prominent merchant of the city bought lead worth more than £200 from the prior of Bolton Abbey, (4) a chaplain of Lord Scrope of Bolton who owed

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(1) Salzman, Building in England, pp. 263-64;  
C.P.R. 1381-85, p. 50.

(2) See pages 139-141 supra.

(3) York Civic Records, III, 114.

(4) E.C.P. 728/2.

£14 to alderman John Metcalfe, agreed to settle the debt by delivering four fothers of lead to the Common Crane in York, (1) and large scale dealings in lead by the Abbot of Fountains moved the York Merchant Adventurers to send him an indignant letter in 1502 reminding him of his duties as a cleric. (2)

But the main interest of York centred on the upper reaches of the Ouse below the junction of the Ure and Swale, for the bulky loads of lead from Swaledale, Wensleydale, and Craven on their way to Hull for London or direct shipment to the Continent were carried by boat down the Ouse from Boroughbridge to York and thence to the Humber. York thus lay astride the natural route for the export of lead mined in the Yorkshire Pennines, and her merchants in the early sixteenth century devoted considerable energies toward exploiting this advantage. In order to ensure that Yorkshire lead destined for export was unloaded in York and weighed at the crane belonging to the city, freemen of the city buying lead from Swaledale, Wensleydale, or Craven were forbidden to have it weighed at Boroughbridge or anywhere else outside York, (3) and in 1500 it was decreed that lead that had been weighed at

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(1) E.C.P. 148/2.

(2) York Mercers, pp. 110-111.

(3) York Civic Records, II, 144.

Boroughbridge was not to be shipped by men of York nor were merchants of other towns to ship such lead on pain of being boycotted in the city.<sup>(1)</sup>

Merchants from other towns who brought lead to York, moreover, were under considerable pressure to sell this to freemen of the city, since goods that were sold in York by one unenfranchised person to another were by custom of the city, confirmed by royal charter in 1442, liable to be forfeited to the city chamberlains.<sup>(2)</sup> The lead of visiting merchants was frequently seized for this offence, even when the lead had been purchased in advance, as was sometimes the custom, by an agreement made in the lead mining district or even in London to deliver the lead at the Common Crane in York on an appointed day when the transaction was finally concluded. The lead of John Swale a gentleman of Richmondshire who sold 11 fothers of lead to a 'foreign' because no York man would buy it, was distrained in 1505;<sup>(3)</sup> Robert Hutchinson of Swaledale in 1509 had to pay a fine of £4 for the recovery of 10 fothers of lead that he had sold to a merchant of Hull;<sup>(4)</sup> some seven fothers

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(1) York Civic Records, II, 159.

(2) C.Ch. R. 1427-1516, pp. 30-31.

(3) York Civic Records, III, 12.

(4) Ibid. III, 30-31.

of lead delivered to a London draper in York ten years later—by Henry Young of Appletreewick-in-Craven were seized by the city chamberlains; (1) and in 1531 a Newcastle merchant had to appeal to the mayor of York by letter from Newcastle before some 15 fothers of lead bought by his factor in York from Charles Johnson of Richmond, were restored to him. (2)

The other raw materials regularly dispatched to York were intended primarily for use in the city. Chief of these in an age when houses built of brick and stone were rare was timber, which was transported from numerous sites adjacent to the Ouse and its tributaries by water to York, where it supplemented the timber of Prussia and Scandinavia imported through Hull. Timber used for a variety of purposes in York Minster, for example, was purchased from men of Topcliffe, Thirsk and Sessay near the Swale, Boroughbridge and Marton near the Ure, Spofforth and Cattall by the Nidd, Ullskelf and Bolton Percy by the Wharfe, and Cawood, Wistow and Selby on the Ouse, whilst laths were supplied on several occasions by men from Doncaster and from Bawtry on a tributary of the Trent. (3) stone for the walls of the city and the more important

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(1) Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings, Volume III, ed. W. Brown, 175-78.

(2) York Civic Records, III, 136-37.

(3) The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. J. Raine, passim.

buildings was probably quarried at Thevesdale, Bramham, Huddleston, and Stapleton in the West Riding, where stone was hewn for York Minster and then shipped down the Aire or Wharfe and up the Ouse to York. <sup>(1)</sup> The walls of York in the early fourteenth century were repaired with stone that had been quarried at Thevesdale, <sup>(2)</sup> and Thomas Holme, who became mayor of York towards the end of the century, owned a quarry at Stapleton. <sup>(3)</sup>

Considerable quantities of country cloth were also marketed in York. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when the York cloth-making industry was at its height, cloth from the surrounding countryside was often dyed in York and much country cloth was probably brought to York by visiting country housewives and York merchants and drapers to be aulnaged before it was redistributed to other parts of Northern England or dispatched to Hull for export. <sup>(4)</sup> After the early years of the fifteenth century, as the manufacture of woollen cloth in York declined in the face of competition from the expanding cloth-making industry of the West Riding,

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(1) D.Knoop and G.P.Jones, The Medieval Mason, pp. 46, 51.

(2) C.P.R. 1321-24, p.233.

(3) Cooke, A.A.S.R., XXVIII, part 11, 863.

(4) See pages 62-63.

York's citizens and the many visitors who patronised her tailors increasingly dressed in country cloth, and cloth was regularly dispatched to the city from Leeds, Halifax, Bradford and Wakefield in the heart of the main West Riding cloth-making region, from Ripon and Knaresborough, and from more distant Kendal, whose traders were very active in York. (1) But the importance of York as a redistributive centre for cloth declined and the distribution of cloth in the North of England tended to pass out of the hands of her drapers and merchants. A large proportion of the West Riding cloth destined for export was dispatched overland to London, thus avoiding the markets of Hull and York, and throughout Northern England customers who hitherto had bought cloth from men of York, like the Abbey of Durham, made their purchases instead from West Riding clothiers. (2)

Other manufactured goods were perhaps brought for sale in the city far less often, if only because York was the outstanding industrial centre of Northern England, with many groups of highly specialised craftsmen available to satisfy a wide range of needs. In the late fourteenth and early

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(1) See pages 65-66 above. For additional information about men from Kendal see York Civic Records, IV, 140.

(2) See pages 65, 68 above.

fifteenth centuries Coventry was supplying York cardmakers with cardleaves for the wool cards used in the manufacture of cloth. At least two members of the allied craft of wire-drawers which made the tiny metal hooks that were fitted into the wool cards migrated from Coventry during the third quarter of the fourteenth century and some 30 years later the York cardmakers, alarmed about the indiscriminate sale of cards and cardleaves in York, placed restrictions on the sale of Coventry cardleaves by their members.<sup>(1)</sup> Knives made in the West Riding, too, may have often been sold in York. The steady decline in the number of cutlers and bladesmiths becoming freemen of York during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries may have been due mainly to competition from the cutlers of Sheffield, Rotherham, and adjacent areas,<sup>(2)</sup> and it is significant that the shop of a York chapman who died in 1446 contained several Doncaster knives.<sup>(3)</sup>

In return for this variety of products men in the North of England and still further afield received not only the manufactures of York but also goods imported through Hull by York merchants or imports that they had purchased in London.

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 59, 67; M.B. I, 79-80.

(2) See pages 27-28, 41 above.

(3) T.E. III, 103.

William Welles, a vintner who later became mayor of York, on several occasions in the middle of the fifteenth century supplied wine to Fountains Abbey,<sup>(1)</sup> whilst it would appear that Newburgh priory near Helmsley some 50 years later was also being supplied with wine from York, for Robert Wilde who was twice Governor of the York Merchant Adventurers' Company commenced an action for debt against the prior to recover £10 owing for wine, wax, and oil delivered to the monastery.<sup>(2)</sup> Durham Abbey made various purchases of imported wine and food at York throughout the period covered by this study. A pipe of vinegar was conveyed from York to Darlington for the use of the abbey in 1329;<sup>(3)</sup> and malmsey and runney wine were purchased in York for the prior in 1412 and 1415 respectively.<sup>(4)</sup> Purchases of spices and confectionery seem to have been especially large. In the bursar's account for 1348-49, expenditure on two lbs of seedless raisins at York is recorded;<sup>(5)</sup> the following year candied ginger, and a

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(1) Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains, Volume III, ed. J.T.Fowler, 10, 45, 88.

(2) E.C.P. 341/57.

(3) Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham. ed. J.T.Fowler, II, 516.

(4) Ibid, III, 609, 611.

(5) Ibid, II, 549.



confection of sugar, ginger and mace known as Pynyonade were bought there; (1) and in 1363-64, the table of the prior was enhanced by the presence of 9 lbs of Cyprus sugar obtained in the city. (2) No less important were the valuable raw materials obtained by North countrymen through York or from visiting York merchants. The abbey of Durham purchased wax and copper in York, (3) and many Yorkshire dyers in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries probably obtained their woad and madder from York merchants, as perhaps did Henry Lytster of Helmsley who owed money to Robert Holme, a wealthy wool and cloth exporter of York, Thomas Fenay a Pontefract dyer who received a legacy in his will, and Robert Litster of Knaresborough who was in debt to his brother and business partner, Thomas Holme. (4)

The principal manufacture of York supplied to customers throughout the North of England for at least a century was probably cloth. It is impossible to trace the distribution of York cloth to these customers since we cannot determine

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(1) Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. J.T. Fowler, II, 551.

(2) *Ibid*, II, 566.

(3) *Ibid*, I, 102, 333.

(4) C.P.R. 1338-92, pp. 66, 396; Cooke, A.A.S.R., XXVIII, part 11, 848.

whether the cloth sold by York merchants and drapers had in fact been made in the city, but when the cloth-making industry was relatively prosperous it seems clear that York men were selling cloth to customers many miles away. Thus the king in 1433 ordered the arrest of two men who had dispatched on horses a considerable quantity of cloth from York to Berwick-on-Tweed and the Border Country,<sup>(1)</sup> and on several occasions during the first sixty years of the century Durham Abbey purchased various coloured cloths from drapers of York.<sup>(2)</sup>

Other York manufactures were also sold throughout the North of England. The bowyers at the end of the fourteenth century frequently dispatched their goods for sale in the annual fair at Chester, where no master bowyer was permitted by the regulations of the craft to sell more than one and a half loads of bows, and at least one bowyer emigrated to Chester during the first half of the fifteenth century,<sup>(3)</sup> whilst it would appear that York bows had a high reputation further south along the English border with Wales, for shortly after 1415 a citizen of Shrewsbury arrived in York

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(1) K.R. Memoranda Rolls, Brevia, 13 Hen. VI, Michaelmas, rot. 60.

(2) Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. J.T. Fowler, III, 616, 632, 636.

(3) M.B. I, xlvi, 53; R.H. Morris, Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns, p. 339.

with a testimonial from the bailiffs of his town to purchase bows and other things pertaining to the craft. (1) York bows, too, may have been supplied to customers in Nottingham and Norwich. A York bowyer in 1429 bequeathed 20 shillings and some tools to a bowyer of Nottingham; (2) and Thomas Hertford, the son of a York bowyer, emigrated to Norwich to practice his craft soon after his enfranchisement in 1490. (3)

Bells manufactured by York craftsmen were equally well-known and it seems likely that York was, throughout the Later Middle Ages, the principal bell-foundry in England north of the Humber. (4) Bells attributed to John de Kirkham who became a freeman in 1348 are to be found at Dacre, Cumrew, Renwick, and Threlkeld in Cumberland, and at Sproatley in the East Riding; the name of John Potter, a contemporary who cast a bell for Holy Trinity, Micklegate, occurs on a bell at West Halton in Lincolnshire, and Barnby on the Moor; and the inscription on a bell at Cowthorpe, near Harrogate, strongly suggests that it was cast by John Bery, a York founder who was enfranchised in 1460. (5)

(1) M.B. II, 47-8.

(2) Y.P.R. II, fol. 554.

(3) Register of Freemen, I, 215; The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner, III, 366.

(4) Walters, Church Bells, pp. 202-204.

(5) Idem, V.C.H. Yorkshire, II, 449-50.

Spurs, girdles, and other goods made by the girdlers and the lorimers and spurriers of York were also purchased by many north countrymen. Some indication of their extensive sale in the early fifteenth century is obtained from regulations which were probably framed in the interests of the merchants, who dominated the government of the city, limiting the areas within which members of these crafts might sell their goods. Thus, the girdlers were forbidden in 1417 to sell their goods within a radius of 32 miles from the city except at "cried opyn faires", whilst the lorimers and spurriers were prohibited from selling their wares within 40 leagues of York except at the Fairs of Darlington. (1)

Among the other York craftsmen supplying an extensive market we may note the goldsmiths who must have supplied their wares to the houses of country gentlemen and many monasteries and parish churches in Northern England, and the pewterers who had a national reputation second only to that of London at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (2) The services of York glaziers too were in great demand in north country churches and monastic houses such as Durham Abbey, which employed York glaziers on several occasions during the

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(1) M.B. I, 104, 133.

(2) See pages 42-44 above.

fifteenth century, and Furness Abbey where John Petty a glazier who died in 1503 declared that he had 'wrought mych wark'.<sup>(1)</sup> Sometimes even a York craftsman might aspire to secure royal contracts as did Thomas Drawswerde who carved a choir screen at Newark and submitted an estimate for carving the figures on the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey.<sup>(2)</sup>

York was thus collecting wool, lead, and cloth for redistribution to customers in Northern England and abroad, and obtaining from a wide area of Northern England and towns as distant as Coventry and Lynn, essential foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactures for her own citizens, whilst supplying these areas in return with the products of her industries and with luxuries and raw materials landed at Hull. But in addition to this regional trade with lands drained by the network of rivers running into the Humber, York had strong commercial ties with London. For York's merchants the attractions of London were considerable. It was a convenient port of call both for men trading with Calais and the Low Countries and for merchants returning to Hull on the

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(1) Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. J.T.Fowler, I, 152; II, 408; Salzman, Building in England, p.181; T.E. IV, 333-35; J.A.Knowles, Essays in the History of the York School of Glass Painting, pp.10-11.

(2) York Mercers, p.xxvi; F.H.Crossley, English Church Monuments A.D. 1150-1550, p.106; Letters and Papers, I, no.775.

long voyage from Gascony and Spain, whilst in the capital York merchants might sell the lead, wool, and cloth of Yorkshire and there purchase the manufactures of London and a wide variety of valuable foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactures imported from abroad.

By the late fourteenth century these commercial ties were already well established and many York citizens were trading in London. A ship bound for London from York that was plundered off Yarmouth by a vessel of Dieppe in 1384 contained the goods of a dozen York merchants, including three former and two future bailiffs of the city;<sup>(1)</sup> four years later William Byrkhead, a former bailiff of York, John de Thornton, who was bailiff in 1391 and four other York merchants who had purchased 40 tuns of wine, 15 tuns of oil, and 200 small barrels of figs and raisins in Portugal called in at London on their way to Hull;<sup>(2)</sup> and Robert de Skipwyth, Thomas Hubert, and Peter de Heslington, York skimmers who appeared before the mayor of London in connection with a debt of £100 owed by Skipwyth to the other two, may often have obtained furs from London to supplement those imported at Hull.<sup>(3)</sup> Robert Holme and his brother

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(1) C.C.R. 1381-85, p. 366.

(2) C.C.R. 1385-89, p. 368.

(3) Ibid. p. 306; see also C.P.R. 1374-77, p. 281.

Thomas, wealthy wool and cloth exporters who both held office as mayor, seem to have been frequent visitors to the capital. They were jointly creditors of William de Asshebourne, a London merchant, and Thomas was also owed money by a dyer of Kingston-on-Thames, whilst Robert Holme remembered in his will Robert de Wellawe of Grantham and Joan Girdler of Newark, with whom he had perhaps traded on his journeys by land to London, and named William Savage of London as one of his executors.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the merchants of York were still more strongly attracted to London, for as their foreign trade declined and that of London merchants increased when English foreign trade became concentrated mainly in the Low Countries, they had to obtain a growing proportion of the imports they sold in York and the North of England through London rather than Hull.<sup>(2)</sup> Often the merchants travelled regularly to London by land, as did Thomas Catour, who used to leave a valuable chest in safe keeping before he set out on his journeys by horseback,<sup>(3)</sup> and Richard Chapman, a mercer who on one occasion figured in a lawsuit over a horse he had hired which failed him on the

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(1) C.C.R. 1377-81. p.523; C.C.R. 1385-89, p.111; Cooke, A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part 11, 848, 850, 860.

(2) See pages 126-129 above.

(3) York Civic Records, II, 75-6.

journey back to York,<sup>(1)</sup> whilst others may have relied on the services of common carriers, employing men like John Jakson who once conveyed goods for a London armourer to the castle of the Earl of Northumberland at Leconfield near Beverley,<sup>(2)</sup> or Roger Shawe, a carrier of York who was employed for two years by a fellow citizen on various missions which included the collection of 12 lbs of pepper from London.<sup>(3)</sup> Many merchants perhaps relied on the sea route, dispatching their goods in coastal vessels such as those which regularly plied between London and Hull in the middle of the sixteenth century, when for the first time we possess details of Hull's coastal trade.<sup>(4)</sup> From London they returned with a wide variety of goods. Some purchased London manufactures as did a chapman who died in 1446 owing money to four men of the capital and possessed of eleven London coffers, seven London glasses, two London purses, and a London girdle.<sup>(5)</sup> But above all York merchants sought the wine, hops, and prunes, the woad, madder, and brasill, and

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(1) E.C.P. 66/326.

(2) E.C.P. 61/345.

(3) E.C.P. 569/61.

(4) K.R.Customs Accounts 65/2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12.

(5) T.E. III, 101-105.



the iron, oil, pitch, soap and countless other valuable imported foodstuffs and raw materials which were recorded in every coastal vessel that arrived at Hull from London in the middle of the sixteenth century. Haberdashery and mercery too was in great demand and was sought after by some of York's leading merchants. John Elwalde, who was mayor of York in 1499 was sued for a debt of £37 owing for 'diverse mercery wares' he had received from Edmund Watton and Richard Rokeby a London mercer,<sup>(1)</sup> and Paul Gillour, a fellow alderman, was accused in a petition to Chancery of conspiring with a London leather-seller to defraud another York merchant over the purchase of a parcel containing silk ribbon, a dozen felt hats, a gross of hooks, and a gross and a half of penyware combs in London.<sup>(2)</sup>

The growth of trade between York and London was however a mixed blessing for York's merchants, for the increased dependence of the North of England on goods imported through London seems to have led to a general expansion of the business done by London merchants in the North,<sup>(3)</sup> where they tended to usurp some of the distributive functions of

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(1) E.C.P. 181/50.

(2) E.C.P. 332/37.

(3) See for example Miss James' D.Phil.Thesis ut supra, p.310.

York's merchants. By the end of the fifteenth century the citizens of York were very conscious of this competition. Thus, some 20 years before the end of the century when regulations were drawn up about the activities of men from other towns trading in York, her aldermen thought immediately of London merchants, the only group of visiting merchants mentioned by name, and specifically forbade them to sell merchandise in the city save to freemen of York.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1506 when the treatment of London men in York induced the mayor and aldermen of the capital to dispatch a letter on this subject to York, eight London freemen trading in the city were mentioned by name,<sup>(2)</sup> and a letter dispatched by the York merchant Adventurers to the London Company four years later discussing the attendance of York men at the 'Synkson Marte' in the Low Countries, referred to the poor navigability of the Ouse during the summer which was 'not unknowne to dyverse merchants advenurers of London which knowes our ryvare'.<sup>(3)</sup> London men, too, came into conflict with York merchants because of their dealings in Yorkshire lead. Lead purchased by a London draper in 1519, as we

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(1) York Civic Records, I, 38.

(2) *Ibid*, III, 22-3.

(3) York Mercers, p.123.

have seen, (1) was seized by the city chamberlains because it had been delivered to him at the Common Crane in York by a lead miner of Appletreewick-in-Craven, and a dozen years later 45 fothers of lead which were delivered in York by two merchants of Richmond to John Gresham, a London mercer, in pursuance of a previous agreement made in London were also detained by the civic authorities. (2)

The merchants of York therefore drew on London as well as an extensive area of Northern England to supply their fellow citizens with food, industrial raw materials, and both luxurious and utilitarian manufactures, and they distributed the cloth, bows, and metal goods of York craftsmen and a wide range of imports obtained through Hull and London throughout the North of England, dispatching in return the wool, cloth, and lead of Yorkshire for shipment abroad. The share of York merchants in this trade cannot be directly determined, but in so far as trends can be perceived it would seem that the regional trade of York men was declining by the late fifteenth century. The distribution of cloth in the North of England tended to pass out of the hands of

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(1) See page 166 above.

(2) Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings, Volume I, ed. W. Brown, p.151.

York merchants with the triumph of the West Riding cloth-making industry, and many merchants and clothiers of Bradford, Halifax and Wakefield neglected the markets of Hull and York in favour of London, where they sold their cloth and purchased imported dyestuffs. London merchants invaded the North of England in increasing numbers in search of Yorkshire cloth and lead, and they supplied in return a wide range of imported foodstuffs, raw materials, and luxuries which had hitherto been obtained mainly through Hull and York. Hence it is probable that the waning fortunes of York's merchants in international trade during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were not offset by an increase in their regional trade and that there was in fact a general decline in the distributive services performed by York men in the face of competition from London and the West Riding.

## CHAPTER V

### TRENDS IN THE SIZE OF THE CIVIL POPULATION

The exact size of York's population at any point during the period covered by this study cannot be determined. It is possible to estimate the approximate number of lay people living in York in 1377 with some degree of confidence because all the lay inhabitants of the city over the age of 14, except beggars, were liable to taxation that year. But estimates of the lay population at other periods are very rough approximations. The Chantry Returns of 1543, which often estimate the number of communicant persons in a parish if a chantry existed in the parish church, must be used with caution since we cannot be sure how far such estimates genuinely record the number of communicants in a parish and it is impossible to be certain what proportion of people in the youngest age groups were communicants and therefore included in the total, whilst for slightly more than half the parishes of York the number of communicants is not stated. Estimates of the population based on the number of men enrolling on the Register of Freemen are equally approximate, for it is first necessary to estimate the number of freemen alive in a given year and then to assume that they constitute the same proportion of the total lay population

as in 1377 - the only occasion on which this proportion may be determined. A precise measurement of the fluctuations in the size of York's population is thus impossible. Yet, although neither the exact chronology of changes in the population nor their precise magnitude are known, a general picture of such fluctuations can be given.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the population of York was perhaps smaller than at any other time during our period. Her citizens seem to have played little part in international trade or the manufacture of cloth, two of the principal sources of York's prosperity in later years, whilst it is apparent from the graph overleaf that the number of men enrolling as freemen was smaller than at any subsequent date, averaging 35 and 46 a year respectively in the decades 1301-11 and 1311-21, as compared with an annual average of more than 50 freemen in each decade for the remainder of our period.

Soon after the beginning of the century there is some evidence to suggest that the population of York had begun to increase. The number of persons enrolling as freemen rose in each decade from 350 in 1301-11 to 660 in 1331-41, whilst the gross half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral of York Minster from their property in the city, as shown in Table I, increased from £34 from 92 tenements in 1321 to £48 from 114 tenements

# ENROLMENTS OF NEW FREEMEN AT YORK 1301-1551.

## DECADAL TOTALS.

Note: The decades commence in the month in which the city chamberlains, who enrolled new freemen, were appointed - not on 1st. January.  
See the introduction to Appendix E.

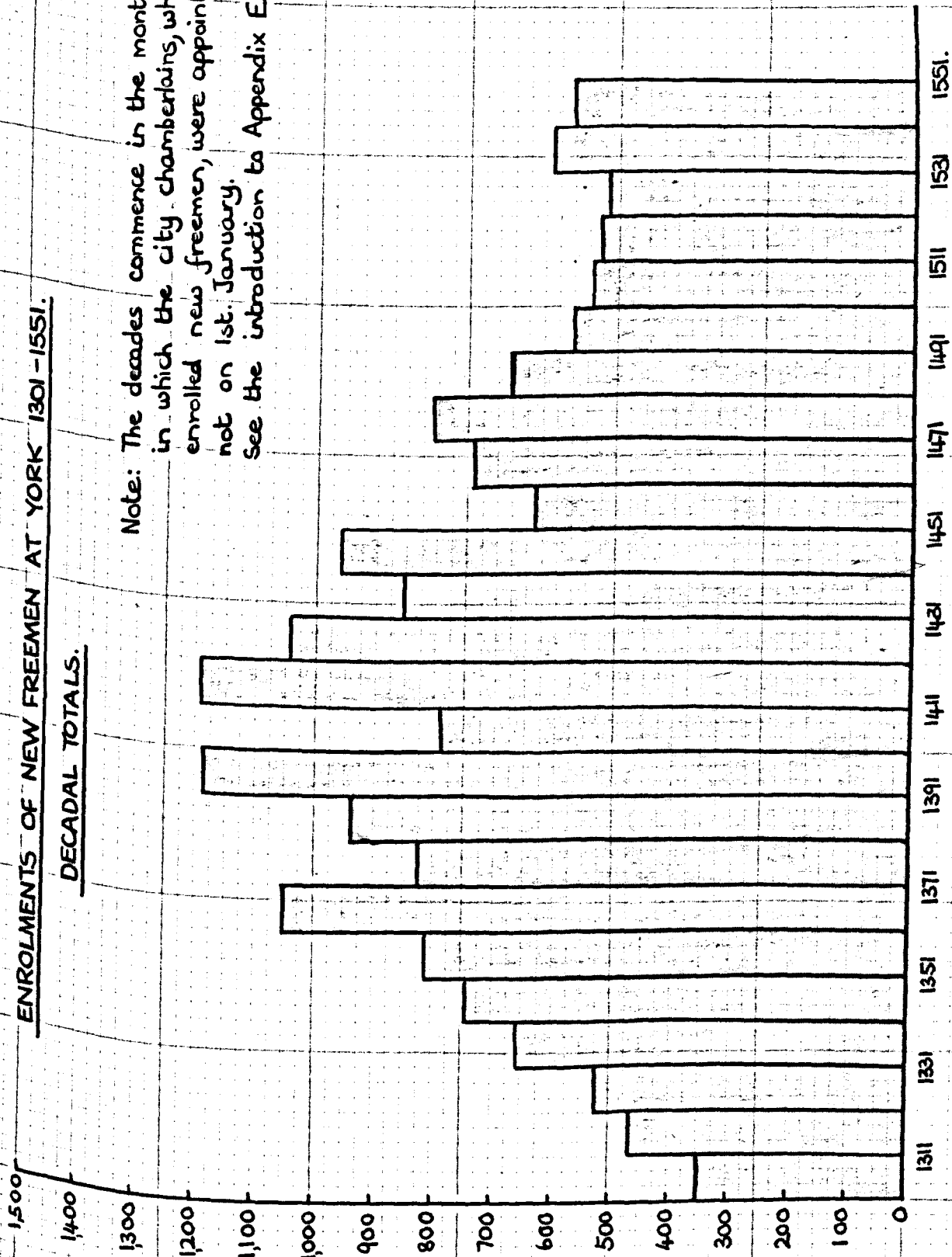


TABLE I.

HALF YEARLY INCOME FROM PROPERTY IN YORK AND ITS SUBURBS  
OWNED BY THE VICARS CHORAL OF YORK MINSTER. (1)

Date of Account	Real Gross Income £ (2)	Number of Tenements (3)
Pentecost 1321 - Martinmas 1321	34	92
Martinmas 1328 - Pentecost 1329	40	102
Pentecost 1330 - Martinmas 1330	39	101
Martinmas 1336 - Pentecost 1337	48	114
Pentecost 1342 - Martinmas 1342	44	148
Martinmas 1344 - Pentecost 1345	39	146
Pentecost 1347 - Martinmas 1347	43	145
Pentecost 1352 - Martinmas 1352	28	145
Pentecost 1359 - Martinmas 1359	37	-
Pentecost 1364 - Martinmas 1364	47	176
Pentecost 1366 - Martinmas 1366	53	174
Pentecost 1371 - Martinmas 1371	61	183
Martinmas 1378 - Pentecost 1379	70	-
Pentecost 1380 - Martinmas 1380	69	-
Pentecost 1382 - Martinmas 1382	69	-
Martinmas 1389 - Pentecost 1390	71	-
Pentecost 1395 - Martinmas 1395	75	-
Martinmas 1398 - Pentecost 1399	78	-
Pentecost 1399 - Martinmas 1399	84	-

- (1) D. & C. Library, Vicars Choral Rent Rolls 1321-1371. After that date details of the rents obtained by the Vicars Choral from their property are to be found on the Chamberlains' Rolls.
- (2) Apparent Gross Income from rents in the 'revenue' section of the Chamberlains' Account minus the amount of rent reductions and rents not paid in the 'expenditure' section of the account. The difference between the Apparent and Real Gross Income was seldom more than £2. But from 1449-1464 the rent reductions were never less than £35 and tenements whose rent had been reduced continued to appear for a number of years in both sections of the account; in the 'expenditure' section the amount of the rent reduction was noted, whilst in the 'revenue' section the tenement was still recorded as paying the old rent.
- (3) Includes property as diverse as gardens, 2 mills, and 2 telehouses where tiles were manufactured. Vacant tenements are also included in the total. The number of tenements is only approximate since a tenant was sometimes recorded as paying rent for 'houses', the number being unspecified.



Date of Account	Real Gross Income £ (2)	Number of Tenements (3)
Pentecost 1401 - Martinmas 1401	85	238
Martinmas 1403 - Pentecost 1404	78	243
Pentecost 1409 - Martinmas 1409	83	258
Martinmas 1415 - Pentecost 1416	77	254
Pentecost 1416 - Martinmas 1416	80	-
Pentecost 1417 - Martinmas 1417	79	255
Pentecost 1426 - Martinmas 1426	80	260
Pentecost 1449 - Martinmas 1449	57	252
Pentecost 1456 - Martinmas 1456	53	-
Martinmas 1456 - Pentecost 1457	50	244
Martinmas 1457 - Pentecost 1458	50	247
Pentecost 1464 - Martinmas 1464	45	-
Pentecost 1474 - Martinmas 1474	48	210
Martinmas 1474 - Pentecost 1475	48	212
Martinmas 1476 - Pentecost 1477	46	212
Martinmas 1479 - Pentecost 1480	46	220
Martinmas 1493 - Pentecost 1494	36	215
Pentecost 1500 - Martinmas 1500	35	179
Martinmas 1500 - Pentecost 1501	34	178
Martinmas 1506 - Pentecost 1507	37	175
Pentecost 1510 - Martinmas 1510	39	180
Martinmas 1511 - Pentecost 1512	36	178
Pentecost 1518 - Martinmas 1518	35	173
Martinmas 1518 - Pentecost 1519	34	-
Martinmas 1520 - Pentecost 1521	32	-
Pentecost 1521 - Martinmas 1521	32	176
Martinmas 1526 - Pentecost 1527	35	177
Martinmas 1527 - Pentecost 1528	35	173
Martinmas 1530 - Pentecost 1531	33	-
Pentecost 1531 - Martinmas 1531	31	180
Martinmas 1536 - Pentecost 1537	35	194
Pentecost 1537 - Martinmas 1537	35	196
Pentecost 1539 - Martinmas 1539	35	200

in 1336. (1) The erection of houses in the cemeteries of various York churches for the foundation of chantries also suggests that the population was increasing and that there was as a result a shortage of building sites in the city. Royal permission was granted for the building of houses in the churchyards of St. Martin in Coney Street, St. Sampson, St. Michael at Ouse Bridge, and All Saints, Pavement between 1335 and 1338, (2) whilst houses were also to be erected on the derelict site of the church of St. Benedict. (3)

The withdrawal of the officials of the Exchequer from York in September 1338 after five years' residence, as the King directed the major English military effort away from Scotland to France, (4) seems to have brought the expansion to an end until shortly before the outbreak of the Black Death. The building project on the site of St. Benedict lapsed and the half yearly income of the Vicars Choral from property in York

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- (1) A popular account of the life and organisation of the Vicars Choral may be obtained from Canon F. Harrison's book, Life in a Medieval College. The figures he gives for the number of tenements owned by the Vicars Choral and the income derived therefrom should, however, be used with caution.
- (2) C.P.R. 1334-38, pp. 121, 385, 399, 453. For the site of these churches see the map opposite page 80 in Appendix F.
- (3) C.P.R. 1338-40, p. 13.
- (4) D.M. Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations to York in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries', Essays in Medieval History presented to T.F. Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke; G. Benson, Later Medieval York, pp. 25-36.

which had declined from £43 to £39 between 1336 and 1344 was in 1347, when rents had begun to increase again, still £5 below the peak of 1336.

The upward movement of population had barely been resumed when the Black Death swept through the city. The resulting mortality, measured by its impact on the rents of the Vicars Choral, was severe. Their income from rents in York fell sharply from £43 in the Pentecost Term of 1347 to £28 in the Pentecost Term of 1352, although the number of tenements they owned remained the same; 22 tenements were described as vacant; and a detailed comparison of the two rent rolls reveals that a considerable number of tenants in 1352 residing in the same houses as in 1347 were paying a reduced rent.

Yet it would seem that York soon recovered from the effects of the Black Death and that the population of the city thereafter continued to increase. The steady increase in the number of persons becoming freemen from 660 in 1331-41 to 740 in 1341-51, 810 in 1351-61, and 1,050 in 1361-71, as Miss Sellers suggested, may have occurred partly because the heavy mortality caused by the Black Death and by a further outbreak of Plague a dozen years later, suddenly provided a chance for many ambitious young men to become master craftsmen. (1) A

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(1) M. Sellers, 'Social and Economic History',  
V.C.H. Yorkshire, III, 441.

small part of the increase in enrolments may also be explained by the final transfer of the northern suburb of Bootham from the jurisdiction of the monks of St. Mary's Abbey to the civic authorities in 1354. (1) The spectacular revival of the fortunes of the Vicars Choral after the Black Death suggests, however, that the rise in the number of persons becoming freemen reflected a genuine long-term increase in the population of York. The half yearly gross income of the Vicars Choral from rents in the city rose steadily from £28 in 1352 to £37 in 1359, whilst the rents of individual tenants were in some cases increased. In 1364 the income from rents was greater than before the Black Death and the average half yearly income from each tenement, which had fallen from 5.9 shillings in 1347 to 3.9 shillings in 1352, had risen to 5.3 shillings. By 1371 the low level of rents resulting from the Black Death had been easily surpassed; the rent of a number of tenants was increased between 1366 and 1371, the average income per tenement was a shilling more than in 1347, and the half yearly income from rents had risen to £61. The complete recovery of the Vicars Choral from the effects of the Black

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(1) C.P.R. 1354-58, pp. 84-6. The monks of St. Mary's Abbey had maintained their jurisdiction over their 'borough of Bootham' despite several earlier quarrels with the civic authorities. See C.P.R. 1313-17, p. 681; C.P.R. 1334-38, pp. 15-19; C. Ch. R. 1300-1326, p. 407.

Death, meanwhile, was reflected in the decision to increase their property in York, which had been mainly acquired by gifts or by purchase, by erecting houses between 1360 and 1364 on the site of the derelict church of St. Benedict, recently given them by the Archbishop of York. (1)

All the evidence examined therefore points to a growth of population during the fourteenth century and it seems likely that in 1377, when it may be calculated from the Lay Poll Tax Returns that some 10,800 lay persons were living in York if we assume that children under the age of 14 constituted a third of the total population, York was a prosperous expanding city larger, as the Poll Tax Returns suggest, than any other English city except London. (2) Moreover it seems likely that the growth of the population continued during the final quarter of the century. Over a hundred more persons enrolled as freemen between 1381 and 1391 than in the previous decade, although the total enrolments were lower than they were between 1361 and 1371, and during the final decade of the fourteenth century nearly 1,200 persons became freemen. The mortality caused by the Plague at York in 1379 and in 1390-1391, (3) in so far as it

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(1) Harrison, op. cit. pp. 154-7; C.P.R. 1358-61, pp. 267-8.

(2) J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population, pp. 23-4, 142.

(3) C. Creighton, A History of Epidemics in Britain, I, 218-220.

created sudden chances of promotion for scores of ambitious young men may partly explain the further rise in the enrolments of new freemen. But the continued prosperity of the Vicars Choral of the Minster as reflected in the rents of their property, suggests that some part of the increase in the enrolments was, in fact, due to an expanding population. It is impossible to determine the total number of tenements owned by the Vicars Choral in York from 1371 to the end of the century and details of the rent of individual tenements, which might have revealed increases of rent, are not available. But the half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral from their property in the city increased steadily from £61 in 1371 to £84 in 1399, and in 1401, when the number of tenements held by the Vicars Choral can be calculated again, the half-yearly income of £85 from 238 tenements represented an average rent of 7.1 shillings per tenement compared with an average rent of 6.7 shillings from 183 tenements in 1371.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century it would seem that the rise in population had ceased and that the population of York had reached its highest point during the period covered by this study. During the first two decades of the century 1,970 persons were enrolled as freemen compared with 2,114 persons between 1381 and 1401, and there was no decade between

1431 and 1551 in which even 980 new freemen were recorded. The half-yearly income received by the Vicars Choral from rents in York in 1401 was never exceeded, and by 1426 their income had fallen to £80 despite a slight increase in the number of tenements owned.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century there are definite signs that the population had begun to decline. The number of persons enrolling as freemen fell in successive decades from 1,185 in 1411-1421 to 856 in 1431-1441, rose to 962 from 1441-1451, and then fell in 1451-1461 to 639. The increased enrolments of new freemen in the early 1440's, moreover, may have represented merely a replacement of the losses caused by an attack of plague in the late 1430's, for an analysis of nearly 400 wills of York men in the District Probate Registry proved between 1431 and 1460 reveals a marked concentration of wills between 1436 and 1438, and thus suggests that these were years of high mortality. (1)

The fortunes of the Vicars Choral also suggest that there had been a steady decline in the population. The half-yearly income derived from their property in York amounted to only £50 from 247 tenements in the Martinmas Term of 1457 compared

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(1) The number of wills proved in any one year is less than twenty, except for the years 1436-1438, 1446, and 1459; from 1436 to 1438 inclusive 93 wills were proved.

with £80 from 260 tenements in the Pentecost Term of 1426, whilst the average rent per tenement had declined from 6.1 to 4.0 shillings.

The income obtained from civic property in various parts of York maintained by the Custodians of Ouse Bridge to support the bridge and swell the revenues of the city, as shown in Table II, was similarly declining. An examination of the earliest complete account roll surviving in 1440 reveals that the rent of many tenements had once been considerably higher; a number of tenements recorded in the revenue section of the account were also entered in the expenditure section with a statement that part of their rent had been excused or even that no rent had been paid because the tenement was vacant, and the total reductions of rent amounted to £43, so that the real income for the year was £129 instead of the £172 recorded in the revenue section of the account. Five years later, although many tenements were paying the same reduced rents as in 1440 and some tenements, including a house in Rotten Row only built in 1428, were still vacant, the real income had risen slightly to £137. But it is evident that the recovery was short-lived. The real income from property in York maintained by the Custodians in 1454 was some 20 per cent lower than in 1440, whilst the average income per tenement had decreased from 8.2



TABLE II.ANNUAL INCOME FROM CIVIC PROPERTY IN YORK MAINTAINED  
BY THE CUSTODIANS OF OUSE BRIDGE (1)

year(2)	Apparent Gross Income £	Rent Reductions and rents not paid (3) £	Real Gross Income £	Number of Tenements(4)
1440	172	43	129	314
1445(5)	153	16	137	-
1454	107	2	105	277
1459	100	-	-	280
1464	106	3	103	-
1463	97	1	96	257
1488	106	27	79	-
1501	90	16	74	237
1503	93	13	80	246
1518	97	33	64	244
1521(6)	98	38	60	237
1528	101	42	59	218
1533	103	44	59	213
1543	105	41	64	218
1544	68	2	66	184
1545	69	2	67	180
1546	71	2	69	188
1547	71	2	69	189

(1) Custodians of Ouse Bridge, Rent Rolls, 1440-1547.

(2) The annual accounts of the custodians before 1521 commence on 2 February; after that year the accounts commence on 15 January.

(3) Recorded in the 'expenditure' section of the account. Tenements whose rent had been reduced were often recorded for some years after the rent reduction in both the 'revenue' and 'expenditure' sections; in the former they appeared as paying their original rent, whilst in the 'expenditure' section the amount of the rent reduction was noted.

(4) Includes property as diverse as gardens, cellars, shops, cottages, and the pageant houses of various crafts. Vacant tenements are also included in the total.

(5) The account is attached to the Chamberlains' Account Roll for that year.

(6) Covers the period 2 February 1521 - 15 January 1522.

to 7.6 shillings, and thereafter the annual income from rents declined still further to a point far below the relative prosperity of 1440.

During the second half of the fifteenth century there was a further fall in the population of York. The number of persons enrolling as freemen exceeded 800 in only one decade between 1451 and 1501 and 28 per cent fewer freemen were enrolled during these years than in the second half of the fourteenth century, whilst in the decade 1491-1501 the enrolments of freemen fell below 600 for the first time in any decade since 1331.

The rents of property in York owned by the Vicars Choral continued to decline. In the Martinmas Term of 1479, after a period of relatively stable rents during the 1470's, the half-yearly income of £46 was only £4 less than in the Martinmas Term of 1457; but in the Martinmas Term of 1493, when 26 tenements were described as vacant, only £36 was received in rents, and by the end of the century the half-yearly income had fallen to £34.

The rents of civic property were also decreasing during this period. The apparent income recorded in the revenue section of the accounts kept by the Custodians of Ouse Bridge declined from £107 in 1454 to £90 in 1501, but the real

decline in income was somewhat greater since a reduction in the rent of a tenement was often recorded in the expenditure section of the accounts several years after the original reduction, whilst the tenement appeared with its old rent in the revenue section. The amount of these reductions increased from £2 in 1454 to £16 in 1501 and the real income received by the custodians therefore fell from £105 to £74, whilst the real income per tenement declined from 7.6 to 6.2 shillings.

Moreover it seems probable that the income of other property owners in York was contracting during this period. Thus, the property owned by the Merchant Adventurers Company in various parts of York for the upkeep of their hospital produced an income of £41 in 1451, yet in 1497 the income from this property had fallen to £34 and the 'decays of rent', recorded in a special section of the account for that year, amounted to £9. (1) Private property owners, too, seem to have been in difficulty. An inquisition post mortem held in 1488 on the death of Sir Richard Fitzhugh declared that he possessed 24 messuages in York which were ruinous for lack of repairs; (2) six of the nine messuages in the city inherited by the son of John Metcalf, an alderman who died in 1502, were

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(1) York Mercers, pp. 55-3, 99-101.

(2) Cal. Inq. P.M. Henry VII, I, no. 350.

said to be of no value because they were in 'decay';<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1506 the property of Robert Stokys, Esquire, who died possessed of lands in Bickerton, Thorp Arch, and Tockwith, included a ruined tenement in York.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the early sixteenth century the decline in York's population continued. The number of persons enrolling as freemen fell in each decade between 1491 and 1531, from 580 in 1491-1501 to 517 in 1521-1531, and the enrolments for the first half of the sixteenth century as a whole were 20 per cent lower than in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral from their property in York, which had risen from £34 in the Martinmas Term of 1500 to £39 in the Pentecost Term of 1510, fell in the Pentecost Term of 1521, when 22 tenements were recorded as vacant, to £32. The rents of civic property also declined. The real income accounted for by the Custodians of Ouse Bridge rose from £74 in 1501 to £80 in 1503, as the number of tenements increased from 237 to 246. But in 1518 the real income from 244 tenements was only £64 and 10 years later it had fallen to £59, representing an income of 5.4 shillings per tenement, compared with 6.2 shillings in 1501.

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(1) Cal. Inq. P.M. Henry VII, II, no. 538.

(2) Ibid. III, no. 222.

The decrease in population was now very evident and the disposal of vacant and derelict houses was a serious problem for the civic authorities. It had become necessary by 1529 to secure official approval before any house could be taken down<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1532-33 the members of Parliament for the city were instructed to secure legislation that would vest in the civic authorities the possession of all vacant sites where houses had been demolished unless the owner agreed to rebuild on the site.<sup>(2)</sup>

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century there is some evidence to suggest that the decline in population had ceased, and the population of York between 1531 and 1550 may even have increased slightly. Thus, the number of persons enrolling as freemen rose from 1,048 between 1511 and 1531 to 1,195 between 1531 and 1551. The income received by the Vicars Choral and the Custodians of Ouse Bridge from property in York also increased, although it was never greater than at the beginning of the century. In the Pentecost Term of 1539, the last year for which we possess a chamberlain's account roll before 1550, the half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral amounted to £35, compared with £32 in the Pentecost Term of 1521, and in 1546,

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(1) York Civic Records, III, 119.

(2) Ibid. 139, 146.

when the Chantry Commissioners noted the annual income of the Vicars Choral from various sources, rents from their tenements in York reached a total of £68, thus giving a half-yearly income of £34. (1) The income from civic property, meanwhile, increased from £59 in 1533 to £69 in 1546, whilst the number of tenements fell from 213 to 188, as houses which had been dilapidated or vacant for some years were abandoned.

The population of York in the 1530's, near the end of the period covered by this survey, was thus probably at its lowest level since the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the population seems to have reached its peak. The size of the population at its nadir cannot be directly determined, but a very rough estimate has been hazarded from the returns of the Chantry Commissioners for Yorkshire in 1548, which state the number of communicants (housing people) in 17 parishes of York. (2) It is impossible to discover the number of communicants in the remaining parishes of the city, but in 1381, the only occasion for which we possess even tentative information about the distribution of people between parishes, these parishes contained some seven

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(1) The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, etc., in the County of York, ed. W. Page, I, 25-30.

(2) Ibid. II, 428-73.

twentieths of the lay persons recorded by the Poll Tax Collectors. If we assume that the distribution of population between parishes had not changed greatly since 1331, we should therefore expect that seven twentieths of the communicants in York lived in these parishes, whilst the other thirteen twentieths, numbering 4,128 persons, lived in the 17 parishes for which the number of communicants is stated. Hence, on this basis, there would be a total of 5,570 communicants in York. If we further accept the assumption of Professor Russell, following a suggestion by the editor of the Yorkshire Chantry Returns, that housling people were normally over the age of 14,<sup>(1)</sup> and that persons under that age constituted one-third of the total population as in 1377,<sup>(2)</sup> there would thus be some 8,300 people living in York in 1548. But since there was no definite age limit laid down for admission to communion a number of communicants may have been below the age of 14<sup>(3)</sup> and the population may thus have been somewhat lower than this.

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- (1) The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, etc., in the County of York, ed. W. Page, II, xvi. Russell, Medieval Population, p. 19.
- (2) Russell, op. cit. pp. 23-4.
- (3) See The Catholic Encyclopaedia, sub 'Communion of Children'; Addis and Arnold's Catholic Dictionary, sub 'Children's Communion'; E. L. Cutts, Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England, p. 496.

A rough estimate of the size of the population in 1548 based on the Register of Freemen produces a similar figure. Thus, if we assume that the mortality rate of freemen at the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century can be calculated by analysing the length of time that elapsed between a man's enfranchisement and the probate of his will, and that the 116 freemen analysed in Table III overleaf, were typical of the majority of freemen at this period, it is possible to estimate, as in Table IV, that some 1,180 freemen were alive in 1548 at the time of the Chantry Survey. Hence, if the freemen constituted 22 per cent of the population over the age of 14 as in 1377, the only occasion when this proportion can be calculated, there would be some 5,400 persons over the age of 14, and some 8,000 persons of all ages, living in York in 1548.

Both estimates therefore suggest that the population of York in 1548 may have consisted of some 8,000 persons, compared with some 10,800 persons in 1377 and perhaps as many as 12,000 persons at the beginning of the fifteenth century when the population had probably reached its peak. A similar comparison with the early fourteenth century is not possible, if only because the wills of scarcely any York freemen before 1390 are extant, but the population may have been slightly



TABLE III.

SURVIVAL RATE OF A SAMPLE OF 116 FREEMEN WITH WILLS  
IN THE YORK PROBATE REGISTRY PROVED 1518-1547.

Interval between Enfranchisement and probate of will (years)	Number of freemen with will proved	Number of freemen still alive	Interval between Enfranchisement and probate of will (years)	Number of freemen with will proved	Number of freemen still alive
56	1	-	23	4	35
55	-	1	27	1	39
54	-	1	26	2	40
53	-	1	25	1	42
52	-	1	24	2	43
51	1	1	23	1	45
50	1	2	22	5	46
49	-	3	21	4	51
48	1	3	20	2	55
47	-	4	19	2	57
46	-	4	18	1	59
45	-	4	17	6	60
44	3	4	16	6	66
43	2	7	15	2	72
42	-	9	14	3	74
41	1	9	13	4	77
40	2	10	12	4	81
39	1	12	11	6	85
38	2	13	10	2	91
37	-	15	9	2	93
36	3	15	8	6	95
35	2	18	7	1	101
34	2	20	6	5	102
33	2	22	5	4	107
32	3	24	4	2	111
31	4	27	3	3	113
30	3	31	2	-	116
29	1	34	1	-	116

TABLE IV.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FREEMEN ALIVE IN 1548

INTERVAL BETWEEN ENFRANCHISE- MENT AND 1548 (YEARS)	(1) ACTUAL YEAR	NUMBER OF MEN NEWLY ENROLLED ON THE REGISTER OF FREEMEN	ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF FREEMEN ALIVE IN 1548 (MULTIPLIER)	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FREEMEN ALIVE IN 1548
56	1492 - 1493	68	-	-
55	1493 - 1494	45	1/116	-
54	1494 - 1495	54	1/116	-
53	1495 - 1496	70	1/116	1
52	1496 - 1497	55	1/116	-
51	1497 - 1498	78	1/116	1
50	1498 - 1499	44	2/116	1
49	1499 - 1500	67	3/116	2
48	1500 - 1501	59	3/116	1
47	1501 - 1502	60	4/116	2
46	1502 - 1503	64	4/116	2
45	1503 - 1504	47	4/116	2
44	1504 - 1505	48	4/116	2
43	1505 - 1506	46	7/116	3
42	1506 - 1507	49	9/116	4
41	1507 - 1508	54	9/116	4
40	1508 - 1509	75	10/116	6
39	1509 - 1510	53	12/116	6
38	1510 - 1511	41	13/116	5
37	1511 - 1512	60	15/116	8
36	1512 - 1513	46	15/116	6
35	1513 - 1514	38	18/116	6
34	1514 - 1515	45	20/116	8
33	1515 - 1516	63	22/116	12
32	1516 - 1517	60	24/116	12
31	1517 - 1518	61	27/116	14
30	1518 - 1519	46	31/116	12
29	1519 - 1520	67	34/116	20
TOTAL				140

(1) The city chamberlains, who were responsible for the enrolment of new freemen, were at this period annually appointed on the Festival of St. Maurice the Abbot in the middle of January.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FREEMEN ALIVE IN 1548

INTERVAL BETWEEN ENFRANCHISE- MENT AND 1548 (YEARS)	ACTUAL YEAR	NUMBER OF MEN NEWLY ENROLLED ON THE REGISTER OF FREEMEN	ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF FREEMEN ALIVE IN 1548 (MULTIPLIER)	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FREEMEN ALIVE IN 1548
28	1520 - 1521	45	35/116	14
27	1521 - 1522	42	39/116	14
26	1522 - 1523	66	40/116	23
25	1523 - 1524	53	42/116	19
24	1524 - 1525	54	43/116	20
23	1525 - 1526	52	45/116	20
22	1526 - 1527	44	46/116	17
21	1527 - 1528	72	51/116	32
20	1528 - 1529	43	55/116	20
19	1529 - 1530	40	57/116	20
18	1530 - 1531	51	59/116	26
17	1531 - 1532	50	60/116	26
16	1532 - 1533	49	66/116	28
15	1533 - 1534	46	72/116	29
14	1534 - 1535	58	74/116	37
13	1535 - 1536	72	77/116	43
12	1536 - 1537	46	81/116	32
11	1537 - 1538	84	85/116	62
10	1538 - 1539	70	91/116	55
9	1539 - 1540	76	93/116	61
8	1540 - 1541	67	95/116	55
7	1541 - 1542	71	101/116	62
6	1542 - 1543	56	102/116	49
5	1543 - 1544	60	107/116	55
4	1544 - 1545	51	111/116	49
3	1545 - 1546	51	113/116	50
2	1546 - 1547	61	116/116	61
1	1547 - 1548	62	116/116	62

TOTAL 1,046

smaller than in 1548, for the number of freemen enrolled from 1301 to 1321 averaged less than 42 a year as compared with more than 50 a year in each decade between 1501 and 1551.

There were thus considerable fluctuations in the population of York during the two and a half centuries covered by this study. The population expanded by perhaps some 50 per cent during the fourteenth century, despite the mortality caused by the Black Death and other outbreaks of Plague, reached its peak about the beginning of the fifteenth century and then declined for more than a century until it returned shortly before 1550 to almost the same level as before. The decline after the end of the fourteenth century, therefore, did not represent a complete eclipse of the city's fortunes, but rather a failure to consolidate the gains made during that century. There was no catastrophic depopulation as in Lincoln, where the suburbs contracted until the population was concentrated largely in a single main street,<sup>(1)</sup> and in the middle of the sixteenth century, though it had lost much of its former glory, York was still an important English town.

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(1) J.W.F.Hill, Medieval Lincoln, pp. 286-7.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE RECRUITMENT OF YORK'S POPULATION

#### 1. Immigrants from England and Wales.

The inhabitants of York, like those of London, Bristol, and other leading English cities, were of diverse origins,<sup>(1)</sup> and men were attracted to the city from a wide area of England and the Continent. The proportion of York's population recruited beyond the city walls can never be determined, nor can this be discovered for any representative group of citizens. The Register of Freemen rarely indicates the place of origin of a new freeman, and apprentice indentures, which might have indicated the origins of apprentices entering various York crafts, are seldom extant.<sup>(2)</sup> Statistics of emigration are not available and estimates of the size of the population, as we have seen, are mere approximations.

Yet there is little doubt that the considerable number of immigrants was one of the more striking aspects of York society. The rapid expansion of the city during the second half of the

(1) See, for example, Thrupp, pp. 206-210; Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book, 1532-1565, Part I: 1532-1542. ed. D. Hollis.

(2) The Book of Apprentice Indentures, 1461-1502, mentioned in the Giles Catalogue of the municipal records, in fact merely lists the names of persons becoming apprentices in the weavers' craft, with the names of their masters, for a few scattered years in the late fifteenth century.

fourteenth century, despite the Black Death and other outbreaks of Plague, would have been impossible without a steady influx of immigrants. It is significant that the infrequent notes in the Register of Freeman after the name of a new freeman, indicating that he was from a certain town or village, were at their maximum between 1351 and 1400, and the regulations of a number of York crafts towards the end of the century contain special clauses governing the employment of immigrant labour. (1) In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as the population declined, the number of immigrants must have been substantially lower. But, perhaps because there was considerable emigration and because the population was probably not replacing itself, (2) some immigrants continued to arrive at York. Native and alien immigrants may be traced in a variety of sources in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and it seems likely that there was never a time when York failed to attract fresh settlers, even if some of the existing inhabitants themselves sought new homes and fortunes.

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(1) See, for example the regulations of the cardmakers (M.B. I, 79), weavers (M.B. I. 242), dyers (M.B. I, 113), tailors (M.B. I, 100), glovers (M.B. I, 49), girdlers (M.B. I, 182), marshalls (M.B. II, 178), founders (M.B. I, 94) and lorimers and spurriers (M.B. I, 104).

(2) For a brief analysis of the number of children of York's mayors who were alive when their father died see pp. 258-59. The number of surviving sons who in their turn raised a family was still further reduced by the fact that some were minors who died before manhood, whilst others entered the Church.

The great majority of York's immigrants were born in England and Wales. It is impossible to determine the precise origin of most of them, but a survey of certain samples of the population, summarised in the Tables overleaf, suggests that two thirds of the immigrants from England and Wales came from Yorkshire. Thus, in the second half of the fourteenth century more than 70 per cent of the persons enrolled on the Register of Freemen whose place of origin may be determined from notes after their names, exclusive of immigrants from Scotland and overseas, were recruited from Yorkshire, and in the early years of the century, when it seems likely from their surnames that some 69 per cent of the persons recorded on the Register of Freemen had Yorkshire ancestors, the proportion of immigrants coming from the county may have been equally high. The Register of Freemen, which supplies the only statistical information available about immigrants, is subsequently less useful, since the entries after the names of freemen indicating their origin are much fewer in the fifteenth century and are completely absent after 1511; nevertheless it is significant that 53 of the 80 freemen from England and Wales enrolled during the fifteenth century whose origin can be determined from these notes in the Register, had emigrated from a town or village in Yorkshire.

TABLE I

FAMILY ORIGIN OF MEN ENROLLING ON THE REGISTER OF FREEMEN  
1311-31 AS SUGGESTED BY THEIR SURNAMES. (1)

County of Origin	Number of Freemen	Percentage of total to nearest whole number.
1. Northumberland and Durham.	22	6
2. Cumberland and Westmorland.	17	5
3. Yorkshire:		
East Riding	71	19
North Riding	81	22
West Riding	106	28
4. Lancashire and Cheshire.	5	1
5. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.	9	2
6. Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland.	11	3
7. Lincolnshire.	22	6
8. Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Northampton- shire.	7	2
9. Huntingdonshire, Cambridge- shire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.	3	1
10. Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, London, and Essex.	9	2
11. Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire.	5	1
12. Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.	6	2
Total	<u>374</u>	<u>100</u>

(1) Freemen with surnames suggesting that they had ancestors from Scotland or from overseas have been omitted.



TABLE II

ORIGIN OF MEN ENROLLING ON THE REGISTER OF FREEMEN  
1351-1400, WHOSE PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN  
ENGLAND AND WALES IS INDICATED ON THE REGISTER

County of Origin	Number of Freemen	Percentage of total to nearest whole number
1. Northumberland and Durham.	7	5
2. Cumberland and Westmorland.	8	6
3. Yorkshire:		
East Riding	32	23
North Riding	31	22
West Riding	46	32
4. Lancashire and Cheshire.	3	2
5. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.	2	1
6. Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland.	1	1
7. Lincolnshire.	6	4
8. Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Northampton- shire.	2	1
9. Huntingdonshire, Cambridge- shire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.	2	1
10. Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, London, and Essex.	2	1
11. Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire.	-	-
12. Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.	1	1
Total	<u>143</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE III

ORIGIN OF MEN ENROLLING ON THE REGISTER OF FREEMEN  
1401-1500, WHOSE PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN  
ENGLAND AND WALES IS INDICATED ON THE REGISTER

County of Origin	Number of Freemen	Percentage of total to nearest whole number.
1. Northumberland and Durham.	2	3
2. Cumberland and Westmorland.	6	7
3. Yorkshire:		
East Riding	12	15
North Riding	22	23
West Riding	24	30
4. Lancashire and Cheshire.	1	1
5. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.	1	1
6. Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland.	-	-
7. Lincolnshire.	3	4
8. Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Northampton- shire.	2	3
9. Huntingdonshire, Cambridge- shire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.	6	7
10. Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, London, and Essex.	1	1
11. Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire.	-	-
12. Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.	-	-
Total	<u>80</u>	<u>100</u>

Immigrants from Yorkshire were drawn from all parts of the county. In the second half of the fourteenth century men from Yarm on the banks of the Tees, Cowton, seven miles north west of Northallerton, and Upsall near Guisborough, in the north of Yorkshire, became freemen of York;<sup>(1)</sup> Richard Cokerell of Danby some miles west of Whitby, and William Marshall of Melsenby near Richmond were recorded on the Register of Freemen early in the fifteenth century;<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1501, Richard Hamilton of York, who had been accused of being a Scotsman, was able to prove that he had been born at Wycliff near Barnard Castle on the Tees.<sup>(3)</sup> From the western borders of Yorkshire in the region of Skipton, came Robert le feuier of Marton in Craven, William Moyses of Flasby, and John Jetour and Robert de Thwenge of Gisburn, who were enfranchised in the second half of the fourteenth century;<sup>(4)</sup> John Holme of Burton in Lonsdale near the border of Westmorland and Lancashire, became a freeman in 1414;<sup>(5)</sup> and in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, men from Kexbrough near Barnsley, Tickhill, and Rotherham, in the south of the county

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 61, 67, 69, 72.

(2) Ibid, I, 140, 145.

(3) English Miscellanies, p. 51.

(4) Register of Freemen, I, 50, 57, 62.

(5) Ibid, I, 121.

were recorded on the Register of Freemen. (1) A number of York's citizens had also come from the Yorkshire coast. Fishermen from Whitby, Scarborough, Flamborough and Bridlington, who had perhaps often sold their catches in York, (2) were enrolled as freemen in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whilst an occasional pannier maker or merchant from this area such as William Vesey, a wealthy wool exporter who left a legacy to the abbot of Whitby for tithes unpaid when he was a parishioner there, (3) and William Rede, who bequeathed a banner cloth to Whitby Church and a house in the town to his brother, also settled in York. (4)

Most of the immigrants who came from outside Yorkshire were not unnaturally drawn from the adjacent counties and from Cumberland, Northumberland, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland, counties which lie almost entirely within a circle of a hundred miles radius from York. Within this circle, Durham and Northumberland were two of the leading counties from which York drew her immigrants. In the early fourteenth century it seems likely that some six per cent of freemen had ancestors from these counties and Table II suggests that in the second half of

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 50, 51, 65.

(2) See p. 158.

(3) Shaw, p.87.

(4) T.E. V, 153-59.

the century five per cent of immigrants were recruited from this area. An analysis of the less frequent notes on the Register of Freemen after the names of men who enrolled during the fifteenth century suggests that the importance of Durham and Northumberland as a source of immigrants was then slightly less. Yet evidence from other sources indicates that immigrants from this area in the fifteenth century were perhaps relatively more numerous than the Register would suggest. Thus, John Hans, a glover living in York in 1431, who had been falsely accused of being a Scotsman, was able to prove to the civic authorities that he had been born at Bishop Auckland;<sup>(1)</sup> John Colyn, a weaver enfranchised in 1436 had, nine years earlier, offered evidence to show that he was born on the outskirts of Darlington;<sup>(2)</sup> John Chesman, a barber and chandler who died at the beginning of the sixteenth century, bequeathed money to St. Giles Church in Durham where he had probably been born, and left his lands in the town to the Minster;<sup>(3)</sup> and Ralph Harbottle, a merchant who became a freeman of the city in 1520, had begun his career as an apprentice from Norton on the Tees.<sup>(4)</sup> A number of immigrants from Northumberland were also

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(1) English Miscellanies, p. 39.

(2) Ibid. pp. 37-3. Register of Freemen, I, 210.

(3) T.E. IV, 337.

(4) Chamberlains' Account Books, II, fol. 23v.

recorded. Richard York and Bertram Dawson two mayors of York in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, had emigrated from Berwick on Tweed and Bamburgh respectively;<sup>(1)</sup> John Saunderson, a fisherman born at Cheswick some four miles from Berwick on Tweed, John Meldrem, from Norham on the banks of the Tweed, and William Broun, a dyer born in Nisbet near Wooler, went to the trouble of proving to the civic authorities in the late fifteenth century that they were not Scotsmen;<sup>(2)</sup> and from the south of the county, close to Newcastle on Tyne, had come Andrew Lamb, a baker enfranchised in 1468.<sup>(3)</sup>

Cumberland and Westmorland were of equal importance as a source of immigrants. Some four per cent of men becoming freemen of York in the early fourteenth century probably had ancestors from these counties and Tables II and III suggest that no less than six per cent of immigrants were recruited from Cumberland and Westmorland in the second half of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century. A considerable proportion of the immigrants seem to have come from the Eden Valley, along the main route leading from Carlisle to York

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(1) T.E. IV, 136-37; T.E. V, 61.

(2) English Miscellanies, pp. 36, 39, 38 respectively.

(3) Ibid. pp. 43-6; Register of Freemen, I, 187.

crossing the Pennines at Brough and Bowes. Some were from the immediate neighbourhood of Carlisle. Thomas de Collan and Adam Blysetblode, two men enfranchised towards the end of the fourteenth century were stated to be from the city;<sup>(1)</sup> John Richardson of York was able in 1476 to demonstrate to the civic authorities that he had been born at Crosby some three miles away;<sup>(2)</sup> and Robert Preston, a glasier, who had probably been born in that area, bequeathed a vestment to Wetheral priory at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>(3)</sup> Others had come from the region of Penrith and Appleby, further up the valley. William Johannesson, who became a freeman in 1391, had emigrated from Penrith;<sup>(4)</sup> William Crosseby of York whose Will was proved in 1466 had probably been born at Crosby Ravensworth, where his brother was still living;<sup>(5)</sup> and in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, John Malson of Langwathby, William Robinson, a weaver from Bolton near Appleby, and Thomas Backhouse who had been born at the neighbouring village of Morland, produced evidence in York to show that they were

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 82, 83.

(2) English Miscellanies, p. 35

(3) T.E. IV, 216.

(4) Register of Freemen, I, 90.

(5) Y.P.R. IV, fols. 70-71.

not Scotsmen. <sup>(1)</sup> Still more numerous, however, were the immigrants from the region of Kendal. Four freemen were recorded from the town in the second half of the fourteenth century, and towards the end of the following century, as Kendal cloth began to be marketed in York on a considerable scale, <sup>(2)</sup> a number of immigrants were attracted to the city from that area. Christopher Faddersall of Kendal was enfranchised as a chapman in 1474; <sup>(3)</sup> two drapers, a merchant and two chapmen from Kendal were enrolled as freemen in the final decade of the century; <sup>(4)</sup> and Antony Middleton, a York merchant whose will was proved in 1520, was probably born in Kirkby Lonsdale where a trental of masses was to be sung for his soul. <sup>(5)</sup>

Lancashire and Cheshire seem to have been a much less important source of immigrants than the four most northern English counties, perhaps because the Pennines were an obstacle to easy communication, and Tables II and III suggest that barely two per cent of York's immigrants came from these

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(1) English Miscellanies, pp. 40, 49, 37 respectively.

(2) See pp. 66.

(3) Register of Freemen, I, 194.

(4) *Ibid*, I, 216, 220, 222.

(5) T.E. V, 102.



counties. A number of the Lancashire immigrants probably crossed the Pennines from Clitheroe by the route linking the valleys of the Ribble and the Aire, and in the second half of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century the immigrants who are known to have come from Lancashire included two men from Clitheroe<sup>(1)</sup> in addition to John Stele and Robert de Hyndeshawe of Lancaster,<sup>(2)</sup> John Ince, an alderman of York who bequeathed a silver chalice to the church of St. Elen at his birthplace of Sefton,<sup>(3)</sup> and Robert Petty, a tapiter who was born at Urswick near Ulverston.<sup>(4)</sup>

The counties to the south of Yorkshire within a hundred miles radius of York seem to have provided a far smaller proportion of its immigrants than the four counties to the north of Yorkshire within the same circle. Thus, the analysis in Tables II and III suggests that a bare 2 per cent of York's immigrants were drawn from Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland, and 4 per cent from the whole of Lincolnshire, in the second half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, whereas as we have seen, some

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 62, 136.

(2) Ibid. I, 51, 88.

(3) Y.P.R. V, fol. 308.

(4) T.E. V, 225.

10 per cent of immigrants probably came from Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland.

The Lincolnshire immigrants were mainly from the extreme north of the county, as might have been expected from the proximity of the region to York and its good communications with the city - advantages which immigrants from the remoter areas of North West Yorkshire must have envied. Freemen from Scartho and Winteringham on the banks of the Humber and from Bromby and Ulceby less than a dozen miles away, were recorded in the late fourteenth century; <sup>(1)</sup> a corn chapman from Kirmington near Caistor and another from Messingham some ten miles north east of Gainsborough, were enfranchised in the third quarter of the fifteenth century; <sup>(2)</sup> the parents of John Fereby who was mayor of York in 1478 and 1491, were buried at Barton on Humber where a chaplain was instructed to sing masses for their souls; <sup>(3)</sup> and John Beseby, an alderman of the early sixteenth century was born at the neighbouring town of Barrow on Humber. <sup>(4)</sup> The only Lincolnshire immigrants during this period who are known to have come from further south in the county, by contrast, are

(1) Register of Freemen, I, 67, 100, 45, 69.

(2) Ibid. I, 194.

(3) T.E. III, 179n.

(4) Skaife, p. 125

John de Letburn of Lincoln and John de Bossall of Spalding, who were enfranchised soon after the middle of the fourteenth century,<sup>(1)</sup> and John Halilee of Lincoln a fishmonger who was made a freeman in 1503.<sup>(2)</sup>

Immigrants from the Midland counties within the circle seem to have been drawn equally from each county in the area. Robert Edwy of Newborough in Staffordshire was enrolled on the Register of Freemen in 1335; Nicholas Bladsmith of Leicester, John Chamberlayne of Papplewick in Nottinghamshire, and William de Clyfton of Derby, were enfranchised in the second half of the fourteenth century; and William Mitton, a mercer of Newark became a freeman in 1473.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Midland counties of Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire which lie just outside the southern perimeter of the area enclosed by a circle of a hundred miles radius from York, also provided a few immigrants. The limited data available suggests that most of these came from Warwickshire; two wiredrawers from Coventry were enrolled as freemen of York during the third quarter of the fourteenth century, when Coventry cardleaves were perhaps being sold in

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 46, 52.

(2) Ibid. I, 227.

(3) Ibid. I, 30, 52, 67, 97, 199.

York for the manufacture of wool cards as they were some 40 years later;<sup>(1)</sup> and in the fifteenth century Richard Marche from Atherstone near Tamworth and Thomas Burlay of Coventry were noted on the Register of Freemen.<sup>(2)</sup> The enrolment of freemen in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century with the surnames de Rokingham and de Northampton suggests that some York men had ancestors from Northamptonshire at that period and a few men from the county may then have been coming to live in York, but throughout our period no immigrants can be definitely traced to that county or to Shropshire and Worcestershire.

The Eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, were a further minor source of immigrants. Three freemen between 1311 and 1330 had surnames which suggest that their families had originally lived at Ely, Ludham, twelve miles north east of Norwich, and Dunwich in Suffolk; John Legard of Swafeld and John Betteson of Ruston in Norfolk were enfranchised in the second half of the fourteenth century,<sup>(3)</sup> and in the last decade of the fifteenth century, perhaps as a result of some misfortune which left them stranded in East

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 59, 67; M.B. I, 79-80.

(2) Ibid. I, 122, 171.

(3) Ibid. I, 49, 94.

Yorkshire, four mariners and a merchant of Southwold in Suffolk, and a merchant of the neighbouring town of Walberswick, were enrolled as freemen of York. (1)

A few citizens of York had also come from London and the Home Counties. Freemen with surnames suggesting that they or their families had come from London, Buckingham, Dunstable in Bedfordshire, Oxford, Thaxted in Essex, and Appleford in Berkshire, were recorded in the early fourteenth century; and in the second half of the century Joan de Wignore of King's Langley in Hertfordshire was noted on the Register of Freemen. (2) The number of immigrants who can be traced to London is, however, very small despite the considerable amount of trade between York and the capital. Few London men, no doubt, thought that York, a town only a third of the size of London, held greater opportunities than their native city. It is significant that a London pouchmaker accused of theft, who sought work in York when no one would employ him, returned to the capital once he had worked in York long enough to secure a certificate of good conduct from his employers, (3) and only three persons recorded on the Register of Freemen had notes after their names

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 218, 221, 224.

(2) *Ibid.* I, 76.

(3) Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1364-1381, ed. A.H. Thomas, p.14.

indicating that they were from London between the middle of the fourteenth century and the early sixteenth century when such notes cease.

Immigrants from the south eastern counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, from the south western counties of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire, and from Wales were naturally very rare. In the early fourteenth century men were recorded on the Register of Freemen with surnames suggesting that they had ancestors from Kent, Aldingburn in Sussex, Winchester, Bristol and Winchcomb in Gloucestershire, and Taunton and Godney in Somerset; but William Attetrew of Bristol, who became a freeman in 1337, and John Chaundeler of Kent, who was enfranchised in 1336, are the only immigrants from the whole of this area who have been traced during our period. (1)

The population of later medieval York was thus drawn from a wide area of England bounded by places as far distant as Carlisle, Coventry, Bristol, London, Swafeld in Norfolk, and Berwick on Tweed. Yet some 70 per cent of English immigrants appear to have been Yorkshiremen and more than 90 per cent of York's population, exclusive of occasional alien immigrants, was probably recruited from within a circle of a hundred miles radius from the city, bounded in the north by the frontier with Scotland

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 32, 33.

and in the south by a line running roughly between King's Lynn, Leicester, Stafford and Chester. Moreover it is clear that within this circle a considerably greater proportion of immigrants were drawn from Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, the counties to the north of Yorkshire, than from Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire and Rutland to the south, whilst a relatively small proportion of immigrants came from Lincolnshire except for the extreme north of the county within easy reach of York, or from Lancashire and Cheshire. York was therefore recruiting a somewhat greater proportion of its population locally than was fifteenth century London, which probably drew less than a third of its immigrants from the adjacent counties together with Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Hampshire, and Sussex,<sup>(1)</sup> and York never became a truly 'national melting pot' even in the late fourteenth century when immigration was at its height.

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(1) Thrupp, pp. 208-211.

## 2. Other Immigrants.

Scotland, Ireland, and the rest of Europe were naturally a much less important source of immigrants. Some indication of the small proportion of immigrants drawn from beyond England and Wales is obtained from the occasional notes in the Register of Freemen after the names of new freemen indicating their place of origin. The Register almost certainly exaggerates the proportion of immigrants from abroad since their place of origin was more likely to have been recorded than that of the more familiar and less striking English immigrants, yet the notes in the Register suggest that no more than 10 per cent of immigrants in the second half of the fourteenth century and 7 per cent in the fifteenth century came from Scotland and overseas.

The relatively small number of immigrants coming from beyond England and Wales is also suggested by an analysis of the alien subsidy returns for York in 1439, which provide the most comprehensive survey during our period of the number of persons living in York who had been born outside England and Wales. Thus when an inquiry was held in the Gildhall that year to determine the names of people in York who had to pay



the alien subsidy<sup>(1)</sup> - lay persons over the age of 12 who had been born outside England and Wales, excluding naturalised persons and women who had married Englishmen or Welshmen<sup>(2)</sup> - only 83 persons were recorded as liable to tax out of a lay population which probably amounted, as in 1377, to some 11,000 persons.<sup>(3)</sup> The returns do not indicate which aliens were married but even if we assume that all the 72 men recorded were married and had on the average one surviving child under 12 years of age who had also been born outside England and Wales, there would still have been less than 160 immigrants from Scotland and overseas, exclusive of naturalised persons and women who had English or Welsh husbands, resident in York, representing a mere one per cent of the lay population.

It is impossible to determine the number of immigrants from Scotland and overseas living in York in 1439 who had become naturalised subjects, but it is probable that they

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(1) Exchequer, Lay Subsidy Returns 217/45. The names are repeated in Exchequer, Lay Subsidy Returns 217/46 together with a statement of the amount actually collected in tax when the two equal instalments of the subsidy for the year were due. It would appear from this statement and from marginal notes opposite the names of persons liable to tax that some 30 men and women left the city during the year.

(2) M.S. Guiseppi, 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century', T.R.H.S. New Series, IX, 91-2; Rotuli Parliamentorum, V, 6.

(3) See pp. 191-93.

constituted only a very small proportion of such immigrants. Men from Scotland and overseas seem to have been admitted to most crafts and trades and to have been able on admission to the freedom of the city to work as master craftsmen and traders with the same commercial privileges in York as other freemen. Hence it seems likely that only the richer and more ambitious men who wished to hold civic office, from which aliens were excluded after 1419,<sup>(1)</sup> to pay customs duty on imports and exports at the lower rate paid by native merchants, or to acquire and dispose of real property, went to the expense of obtaining letters patent of denization or naturalisation by Act of Parliament.<sup>(2)</sup> Thus, seven of the persons assessed for the alien subsidy of 1439 had enrolled as freemen in the occupations of tailor, goldsmith, shearman, potter, skinner, and cordwainer, at various dates between 1413 and 1432,<sup>(3)</sup> and it would appear that they never were naturalised, whilst

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(1) M.B. II, xlii, 86.

(2) A. Beardwood, Alien Merchants in England, 1350-1377, pp. 59-65; W.S. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, IX, 75-7.

(3) John Grete, John Rodes, Diryk Johnson, Bernard Mallen, Richard Dene, Roland Yonge, Gilbert Man. Register of Freemen, I, 120, 130, 134, 133, 142, 143, 145, respectively.

Peter van Uppestall, a merchant of Brabant enfranchised in 1403, and Henry Market, a Hanseatic merchant enfranchised in 1412, had been freemen for eleven and eighteen years respectively before they became naturalised subjects. (1) The alien subsidy returns of 1439 should therefore record very nearly all the persons over the age of 12 living in York who had been born outside England and Wales and the estimate that they constituted only one per cent of York's lay population would seem to be reasonably correct.

The fragmentary evidence available thus suggests that immigrants from outside England and Wales never formed an important minority of the population as in London or Southampton. (2) Yet the widespread commercial contacts of York with the Continent and her proximity to the Scottish border drew to the city a steady trickle of immigrants from many lands.

Scotland probably provided the largest number of immigrants, although the open and the unofficial hostilities that raged between England and Scotland during most of the later Middle Ages gave Scotsmen arriving in York a notoriety

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(1) C.P.R. 1413-16, p.194, C.P.R. 1429-36, p.43; M.B. II, 49, 185; Register of Freemen, I, 106, 117.

(2) Thrupp, pp. 50-51; A.Ruddock, Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600.

that may have exaggerated their relative importance. It is significant that in 1419 when Scottish immigrants were particularly unpopular, seventeen men and women of Scottish birth in York publicly declared their loyalty to the king and city, whilst another six made a similar declaration within the next three years, thus suggesting, if the number of aliens in York was approximately the same as in 1439, that persons born in Scotland represented about a quarter of the immigrants drawn from beyond England and Wales. (1) No comparable estimate is possible at other periods but the relative number of Scottish immigrants in York in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is suggested by the frequency with which immigrants born in the most northern counties of England were accused of being Scotsmen and went to the trouble of obtaining a public statement that they were not of Scottish parentage. (2) The birthplace of the Scottish immigrants is not always specified but it would appear that they were drawn mainly from the eastern half of the country. Thus all but one of the sixteen immigrants in the fifteenth century whose birthplace can be identified - a man from Clydesdale - came from the East of

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(1) M.B. II, xiii, 86, 114-120.

(2) See pages 215-218.

Scotland. (1) Four were from Kelso, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh in the extreme South East, adjacent to the English border, two from Edinburgh, two from the whole of 'Lothian', one each from Linlithgow, Cumbernauld, and Monimail in Fifeshire, one from the county of Angus, and two from Aberdeen, the most northern place mentioned. (2)

The Low Countries also provided many immigrants. In the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century, during the great expansion of the York textile industry, the immigrants were mainly weavers, fullers, and dyers displaced from the declining industries of Flanders and Brabant. The two weavers of Brabant living in York in 1336 who were granted letters of protection by Edward III, were merely the forerunners of other textile workers. (3) Ghent, Louvain, and Malines, were specifically mentioned as the towns from which five York freemen enrolling between 1341 and 1370 had migrated to York, four more freemen were simply stated to have come from Flanders, and another was described as 'Brabant'; (4) two dyers enrolling

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(1) M.B. II, 120.

(2) M.B. II, 114-120; C.P.R. 1461-67, p.333.

(3) C.P.R. 1334-38, p.341; W.Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages, p.306.

(4) Register of Freemen, I, 37-63.

during the period had the names Jouine de Nivell and Arnald de Lovayne, and Geoffrey de Lovayn, who was a weaver, became a freeman in 1362.<sup>(1)</sup> The arrival of the earlier of these aliens has been noted by Miss Sellers and Professor Heaton,<sup>(2)</sup> but they failed to emphasize that the immigration continued until the end of the century and was not confined simply to textile workers. Thus, Geoffrey Overscote of Brabant and Nicholas le Yhonge of Flanders who enrolled as freemen in 1373 were described as 'merchant' and 'bellowsmaker' respectively; two weavers from Malines and another with the name John van Seint Truden became freemen towards the end of the century; and it is probable that Denis Tukbacon who enrolled as a merchant in 1398 had like his namesake Henry Tukbacon also come from Malines.<sup>(3)</sup>

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there is no definite trace of Flemish immigrants living in York, although some of the persons enrolled on the Register of Freemen during the fifteenth century with surnames such as Van Derhill, Van Kamp, Vanconehoven, Van the Brouke, and Van Yende, may

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 35, 54, 56.

(2) M. Sellers, 'Social and Economic History', V.C.H. Yorkshire, III, 436-40; Heaton, pp. 12-21.

(3) Register of Freemen, I, 70, 87, 94, 96, 100.

perhaps have emigrated from that country.<sup>(1)</sup> A number of immigrants from Brabant, however, were recorded. Rumbald Bone, described succinctly as Brabant, and Peter van Uppestall, a merchant who was naturalised in 1416, became freemen in the first decade of the fifteenth century;<sup>(2)</sup> a haberdasher known as Andrian Vanlire, who became a freeman in 1439, may have originated from Lier in Brabant;<sup>(3)</sup> and it is possible that Hugo Goetz, a printer who settled for a time in York at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the son of Matthias Goetz, an eminent printer of Antwerp.<sup>(4)</sup>

Men from Holland and Zeeland also settled in York. Thus, John Wynand, an alien merchant living in York in 1352, who obtained exemption from the payment of the Petty Customs duty of three pence in the pound, was stated to have been born in Zeeland,<sup>(5)</sup> a Hugo de Seland became a freeman in 1362, and two freemen enrolling towards the end of the century were known as William and Henry Selander,<sup>(6)</sup> whilst John Lutting

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 121, 155, 165, 171, 173.

(2) Ibid, I, 104, 106. Peter van Uppestall was naturalised in 1416. M.B. II, 49-50; C.P.R. 1413-16, p.194.

(3) Register of Freemen, I, 154.

(4) Davies, York Press, p.15.

(5) C.P.R. 1350-54, p.374.

(6) Register of Freemen, I, 55, 81, 91.

who became a freeman in 1353, was said to be 'from Holland', and Nicholas de Holand who enrolled as a freeman a few years earlier had probably come from Holland too. (1) Other immigrants from these countries may be connected with a specific town. A turner in the third quarter of the fourteenth century with the name of William de Uteright, and Lamkyn Vantreight, who was enfranchised as a beer brewer in 1443, may have emigrated from Utrecht; (2) Warmebold van Harlam and John Garward in the late fourteenth century had emigrated from Haarlem, (3) which was then rising to fame with the economic expansion of North Holland; (4) and Nicholas Middelburgh, an alien recorded in the 1439 subsidy returns, (5) had probably come from Middelburg in Zeeland. Dordrecht, the most important town in Holland in the early fourteenth century, (6) seems to have been the source of a number of immigrants. A shearman with the name Haukyn de Durdragt and a fuller known

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(1) Register of Freeman, I, 52, 29.

(2) Ibid, I, 57, 167.

(3) Ibid, I, 84, 93. Warmebold van Harlam was granted letters of denization in 1403 (C.P.R. 1401-05, p.204).

(4) Postan, C.E.H.E., II, 251-56.

(5) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/45, 46.

(6) N.J.M. Kerling, Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the Late 13th Century to the Close of the Middle Ages, pp. 4-24.



as Gerome de Durdraght, became freemen in 1344 and 1359 respectively, Gerade Rose and Henry Payntour of Dordrecht were enfranchised later in the century, and in 1417 a Henry Tetherikson van Durdraght was recorded on the Register of Freemen. (1)

Another important source of immigrants in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was Germany. There is usually no indication of the exact region from which the immigrants had arrived; Richard de Demelrothe who became a freeman in 1348 was simply stated to be de Alman, Gocelin del Haghe was described as Esterling on the Register of Freemen two years later, the origin of Peterkyn Pouchemaker was given as Estland in 1351, and Paul Fresshe, a vintner who enrolled as a freeman in 1415 was recorded as Teutonicus. (2) But a number of metal workers mentioned in the Register of Freemen towards the middle of the fourteenth century may perhaps have emigrated from Cologne which was then a famous centre for the manufacture of armour. (3) Thus two Germans, Christian de Devensrode, and Godeskalk Scudik, were enfranchised as armourers in 1341 and 1351 respectively; a Matthew de Colonia was recorded as an

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 37, 53, 64, 73, 124.

(2) Ibid, I, 40, 42, 45, 122.

(3) Postan, C.E.H.E., II, 129.

armourer in 1353; and two more members of the craft who enrolled as freemen in the second quarter of the century were known as Arnald de Almaygne and Ingilbright de Alman. <sup>(1)</sup> The majority of German immigrants were however probably merchants drawn from the leading Hanseatic ports which stretched in an arc across the north of Germany from Cologne on the Rhine, through Bremen and Lubeck to Danzig and beyond. Three Germans living with their families in York in 1352 obtained exemption from payment of the Petty Custom of three pence in the pound paid by alien merchants on all goods imported and exported by them, <sup>(2)</sup> Henry Wyman a Hanseatic merchant who settled in York later in the century married the daughter of a former mayor and subsequently held that office himself on three occasions; <sup>(3)</sup> and another German merchant, Henry Market, seemed destined for equal civic fame before death cut short his career in 1443 less than a year after he had held the office of sheriff. <sup>(4)</sup> Less fortunate was Melchior Honeman a merchant of Danzig who settled in York towards the middle of the fifteenth century, for in 1460 whilst engaged in trade

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 35, 44, 47, 24, 26, respectively.

(2) C.P.R. 1350-54, p. 355.

(3) See his biography in Appendix E.

(4) M.B. II, 185; Register of Freemen MS. fol. 296v.

with Prussia he was imprisoned at Kolberg, on the grounds that English merchants had robbed men of the town two years previously. His protests that he was of German birth were of no avail and the civic authorities of Danzig who had written to Kolberg on his behalf were informed that he would be held as a hostage until the English merchants paid compensation, since he had no possessions in Danzig, but was on the contrary an English subject living with his household and family in York. (1)

A number of immigrants also came from France. There is often no indication of the district of France from which they had emigrated; two servants assessed for the alien subsidy of 1439 possessed the surname Francheman, (2) Nevell Morrens, an alien living in the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey, was recorded by the collectors of the 1524 Lay Subsidy as a Frenchman, (3) and Stephen Darragon who was enfranchised in 1538 was described on the Register of Freemen as Gallicus and on the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1545 as Frensman. (4) The more specific information available about some other French immigrants, however, suggests that the French settlers were

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 154; U.B. VIII, 548-49.

(2) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/46.

(3) Y.A.J. IV, 170.

(4) Register of Freemen, I, 257. Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/109.

perhaps drawn mainly from the north of the country, and Perot de Casawas who served his apprenticeship with a York armourer in the late fourteenth century is the only Gascon who has been definitely traced as a resident of York. (1)

John Crespyn, recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1338 as medicus was stated to have come from Cambrai, (2) Edmund Jordan, a surgeon who settled in York shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century had emigrated from Orleans, (3) and several of the immigrants were born in Normandy. Two prisoners of war captured there in the early fifteenth century were employed as servants by a York skinner; a John Buteler of Normandy in 1425 swore allegiance to the King and the city before the mayor of York; and William Masyse and John Bothe, two of the householders recorded in the alien subsidy returns of 1443 and 1444, were described as Normand. (4) John Gatchet, a French printer who resided in York in the early sixteenth century after living for a number of years in Hereford, may have been born in the neighbourhood of Rouen where he was

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(1) M.B. II, 29.

(2) Register of Freemen, I, 33.

(3) W. Page, Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England, 1509-1603, p.138; Letters and Papers, XIV, part ii, no. 619 (54)

(4) M.B. II, 73-9, 119; Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/51.

associated with the publication of a Latin-English Dictionary in 1517,<sup>(1)</sup> and Michael Dieppe, a Frenchman recorded in the 1542 Lay Subsidy Returns was perhaps also a native of Normandy.<sup>(2)</sup>

Men from other foreign countries rarely settled in York. A physician and a goldsmith, Graciamus de Agnero and Martin Soza, who subsequently became sheriff, emigrated from Spain in the early sixteenth century when the merchants of Hull and York participated in the general expansion of English trade with that country;<sup>(3)</sup> and from Iceland, the northern pole of York's commerce, came Gomondrus Johnson to register as a freeman in 1475.<sup>(4)</sup> Ireland was scarcely more important as a source of immigrants, perhaps because York merchants had no interests there. The surnames of a handful of freemen enrolling in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries suggest that they may have been of Irish descent; a Richard Fitz Dieu was recorded on the Register of Freemen as a merchant in 1338, Adam Irysh was noted as a porter in 1390, a linen weaver who was enfranchised in 1417 possessed the surname

(1) Davies, York Press, pp. 21-27. Davies merely traced Gatchet to his previous residence in Hereford but he was in fact a Frenchman. Y.A.J. IV, 171; Exchequer, Lay Subsidy Returns 217/99, 102, 103, 110; Letters and Papers, VIII, no. 802 (23).

(2) Exchequer, Lay Subsidy Returns 217/102.

(3) See pages 101-102.

(4) Register of Freemen, I, 195.

Fitz Alan, and a man given the freedom in 1422 was known as Maurice Fitz Thomas. (1) The only definite reference to Irish settlers in York however occurs in 1394 when Matthew Sadeler and Henry Baret, a wool merchant, were granted exemption from the royal proclamation requiring all persons born in Ireland to return to their native country. (2)

Scotland, Ireland, and each of the Continental countries with which York merchants traded, except perhaps Norway, thus provided a number of immigrants for the crafts and trades of the city. The total contribution of aliens to the labour force of York, as we have seen, was negligible, and the limited supply of alien labour was diffused over a wide variety of occupations so that few crafts or trades absorbed more than a handful of immigrants. In certain trades however a concentration of aliens may be discerned. A score of the textile workers recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1331 and 1400, had probably emigrated from the Low Countries; (3) it has been seen that a few master armourers recruited to the craft towards the middle of the fourteenth century were of German origin; and the printing industry in York in the early

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(1) Register of Freemen, I, 33, 83, 125, 131.

(2) C.P.R. 1391-96, pp. 451, 461; C.P.R. 1401-05, p. 145.

(3) Register of Freemen, I, 35, 37, 48, 51, 53-6, 75, 81, 94, 96; C.P.R. 1391-96, p. 285.

sixteenth century was almost entirely in the hands of aliens. (1) The goldsmiths of York, too, included many aliens in their ranks; Warmebald van Harlam, from Holland who was naturalised in 1403 and married the daughter of a former mayor, William de Selby, was recorded on the Register of Freemen as a goldsmith in 1386; (2) Martin Soza, a Spanish immigrant who became sheriff, entered that occupation in the sixteenth century; and 8 of the 62 goldsmiths who were enfranchised between 1411 and 1460 were aliens, in addition to other members of the craft whose names strongly suggest that they were also of foreign descent. (3)

The ready absorption of aliens by these crafts may have reflected the technical superiority of the foreign craftsmen; the introduction of printing to York in the early sixteenth century seems to have been due largely to their initiative; and the armourers, too, may have learnt new techniques from

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- (1) Davies, York Press, pp. 7-27. John Gatchet, a printer whom Davies merely traced to his previous residence of Hereford, was in fact a Frenchman. Y.A.J. IV, 171; Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/99, 102, 108, 110; Letters and Papers, VIII, no. 802 (23)
- (2) T.E. III, 50n; C.P.R. 1401-05, p.204; Register of Freemen, I, 84.
- (3) The goldsmiths definitely identified as alien immigrants were John Watson, John Rodes, Diryk Johnson, Nicholas Colayn, Herman Horn, John van Arscot, Walter Gorras, and John de Culayn (M.B. II, 115; Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/46, 51, 63; Register of Freemen, I, 127, 130, 134, 157, 144, 154, 158, 169).

craftsmen emigrating from the famous industry of Cologne. But the technique of the textile industry and the goldsmiths was perhaps little advanced by alien immigrants. Thus it seems likely that the craft of goldsmiths, instead of receiving skilled craftsmen from a particular region over a fairly short period of time, bringing with them new craft processes, was continually absorbing alien immigrants from many lands throughout our period. The earliest alien goldsmith of whom we have record - a Michael de Neukirk of Flanders - was enfranchised in 1348;<sup>(1)</sup> men from Scotland, Holland, Flanders, and probably from France and Germany were recorded in the craft in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and foreign settlers were still entering the industry in the early sixteenth century when the Spaniard Martin Soza became a freeman. In the textile industry the entry of aliens was in fact limited to a few decades of the fourteenth century. But Heaton has demonstrated that foreign textile workers did not initiate the expansion of the York industry;<sup>(2)</sup> and Sagher has suggested that the alien textile workers can have made virtually no technical contribution to the English industry since the typical product

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(1) Register of Freeman, I, 40.

(2) Heaton, pp. 15-16.



of York and many other English centres of production was a light cheap cloth very different from the highly processed expensive material manufactured in the Low Countries. (1)

It would therefore seem that alien immigrants made relatively little contribution to the economic development of York either by their labour or by superior technical knowledge. But the migration of men born in such diverse regions as Iceland, Prussia, and Spain, fully reflected the widespread international connections of the city.

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(1) H. de Sagher, 'L'immigration des Tisserands Flamands et Brabançons en Angleterre sous Edward III', Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL AND TRADING COMMUNITY.

#### 1. The Pattern of Wealth Distribution.

Some of the main occupations in York have now been surveyed and it has been suggested that the activities of the principal merchants and the leading members of the cloth-making industry, when the industry was at its height, clearly distinguished them from the majority of their fellow citizens. Hence it is pertinent to investigate the distribution of wealth in York and to enquire how far it reflected the important part played by the leading merchants and textile entrepreneurs in her economy.

It is impossible to make a direct comparison between the incomes of the members of various occupations either individually or as a group, for although at one moment, in 1436, we possess the returns of a tax levied on all persons in York who received a net income of £5 a year or more from land,<sup>(1)</sup> scarcely any information about the total wealth of individuals is available. Yet very approximate and indirect comparisons of wealth and income based on the number of servants employed and the value of certain men's movable goods strongly suggest, as we should expect, that there were wide variations of wealth among the industrial and

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(1) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42; the document is summarised in Appendix D.

trading community of York, as in London, Bristol and elsewhere,<sup>(1)</sup> and enable us to determine who were the most prosperous freemen of York.

The most direct estimate of the extent to which the wealth of individuals varied is obtained by analysing the value of their movable goods at death. It is rarely possible to obtain this information from wills. The custom of the city decreed that one third of a man's movable goods at death should go to his wife, and one third to his children for equal division, while the remainder was to be spent as he decreed on funeral expenses, personal legacies, and religious and charitable bequests for the salvation of his soul; if his wife was dead the children were to receive half of the goods, whilst if she was still living but no children of the marriage survived, her share was similarly to be increased to a half.<sup>(2)</sup> A testator therefore did not specify the value of the goods to which his next of kin were entitled and he frequently left the unspecified residue of his portion, after making one or two more essential legacies, for his executors to allocate between various religious and charitable causes. Inventories giving the value of movable goods of York men at

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(1) Thrupp, chapter III, passim. Carus-Wilson, Medieval Merchant Venturers, pp. 74-95.

(2) W.S. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, III, 551-2; E.C.P. 877/11; T.E. IV, 9, 24; Y.P.R. II, fol. 73, XI, fol. 529.

death during this period, moreover, are no longer extant save for some dozen men who resided in a peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of the Minster or who died when the see of York was vacant. (1) Yet it is clear from these investories, from a handful of wills in which the testator specified the value of the goods his children were to receive because a daughter had been given some of her share in advance on marriage, and from a few lawsuits which valued a man's movable goods in the course of disputes between his executors and creditors or some of his next of kin, that the value of movable goods left by York men at their death varied enormously.

The wealthiest man mentioned in such sources was John Aldestanmore, a merchant and former mayor of York whose movable goods, which included 58 sarplers of wool, were stated in a lawsuit after his death in 1434 to be worth £1,600. (2) The goods of another merchant, John Chapman, a century later, were said to be worth over £1,000, (3) whilst Peter Jackson and John Rasyn, two aldermen of York, who ranked with movable goods worth more than £600 each as the third and fourth wealthiest men of whom we have such precise record, (4) were also merchants. Two sixteenth

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(1) D. & C. Library, Inventories; some of these have been partly summarised in T.E. III, IV, and V.

(2) E.C.P. 10/296.

(3) E.C.P. 728/2.

(4) E.C.P. 660/34, 877/11.

century mayors who were enfranchised as tailors possessed movable goods respectively worth £300 and £240,<sup>(1)</sup> whilst Ralph Pulleyn a goldsmith and contemporary mayor had goods and chattels whose value exceeded £280.<sup>(2)</sup> At the other end of the scale, by contrast, the movable goods of a mason who died in 1438 and a vestmentmaker who died in 1530 were valued at less than £12.<sup>(3)</sup> William Coltman a brewer who died in 1481 possessed goods worth slightly more than £12;<sup>(4)</sup> and John Carter a tailor who died four years later had goods valued at £36.<sup>(5)</sup>

Other data available on the distribution of wealth in the form of movable goods in York is by comparison much less direct and affords only an impression of the relative value of movable goods possessed by different individuals. Nevertheless this data covers a much larger number of persons and it is available at various points of time so that it is possible to gain some impression of the changes in the composition of the wealthiest members of the trading and industrial community in York during our period.

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- (1) Thomas Bankhouse and John Lewes. E.C.P. 749/41; Y.P.R. XIII, fol. 1005.
- (2) Y.P.R. XI, fol. 529.
- (3) D. & C. Library, Inventories of John Bradford and Robert Locksmith; T.E. III, 95-6; T.E. V, 324.
- (4) D. & C. Library, Inventory; T.E. III, 261.
- (5) D. & C. Library, Inventory; T.E. III, 300-304.

The returns of the lay subsidies of 1327 and 1334 levied on movable goods in York provide two such surveys at the beginning of our period. (1) The assessments for the subsidies almost certainly under-estimate the real value of men's movable goods for no one was assessed at more than £26 in 1327 or more than £50 in 1334, but if we assume that all the taxpayers were under-assessed the returns afford some indication of the relative distribution of movable goods among the inhabitants of York. In 1327, 55 out of some 800 taxpayers were assessed at £5 or over and 22 at £8 or more, whilst in 1334 some 50 out of the 850 taxpayers were assessed at £5 or over and 19 at more than £9. The few taxpayers whose occupation can be determined came from a variety of crafts and trades. A skinner and an apothecary in 1327 were assessed at £9 each, Richard Tunnoc, a bellfounder and former bailiff of the city, (2) was assessed at £8, and a potter assessed at £7 may also have been making bells. A baker was assessed at £3, a butcher at £7 and an ironmonger and a tanner at £5 each. In 1334 the picture was very similar and the leading taxpayers included a taverner assessed at £10, a potter at £7 and a smith at £5. In both years a number of the wealthier men were

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(1) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies, 217/3, 217/5; Lay Subsidy Rolls, 1 Edw. III, for the North Riding and the City of York, ed. J.W.R. Parker, Y.A.S. Record Series, Miscellanea, II:

(2) H.B. Walters, Church Bells of England, pp. 202-204.

merchants, including Henry de Belton and William de Redenesse, wool exporters who jointly ranked as the second wealthiest taxpayers in 1327<sup>(1)</sup> and William de Friston who was the fourth wealthiest taxpayer in 1334. But in general it seems likely that a relatively small proportion of the wealthiest members of the industrial and trading community were merchants and that of these few were engaged in international trade. Thus only 5 of the 22 leading taxpayers in 1327 and 2 of the 19 leading taxpayers in 1334 may be traced as wool exporters during the first three decades of the century, although another 5 taxpayers in 1334 later exported wool during the early stages of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>(2)</sup>

No further information about the distribution of movable goods in York is available before the final decade of the century. But an analysis of the number of servants men employed in the 1377 Lay Poll Tax Returns for York provides a rough index of men's wealth which, although not directly comparable with the previous data, suggests that there had been considerable changes in the composition of the wealthiest members of the industrial and commercial class.<sup>(3)</sup> The returns must be used with caution

(1) See Table I in Appendix C.

(2) K.R. Customs Accounts, 56/11, 57/11; C.C.R. 1337-39, pp. 424-35; C.P.R. 1338-40, p. 297.

(3) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies, 217/13.

since only the returns for the parishes of St. Saviour, St. Martin in Coney Street, and St. Sampson, which contained a seventh of the persons assessed for the tax in York, survive in full. No indication is given of the total labour force a man employed, but only of the servants who comprised his household and who were, like his wife and children, enumerated on the same line of the manuscript as himself and jointly assessed with him. Moreover the returns provide a slightly biased guide to the distribution of servants between various occupations since occupations which were heavily concentrated in other parishes must be under-represented. Nevertheless an analysis of the returns for these three parishes, combined with a critical glance at the 1331 Poll Tax Returns for the whole of York which are in themselves not a reliable guide to the employment of servants, (1) yields some interesting conclusions.

The distribution of household servants in the parishes of St. Saviour, St. Sampson, and St. Martin in Coney Street in 1377 as revealed by the Poll Tax Returns, has been summarised in the Table overleaf. Three quarters of the 156 persons employing servants had fewer than three servants each whilst the remaining quarter, who included one man with thirteen servants, between them employed more than half the 329 servants recorded in the

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(1) See Appendix F, pp. 6-8.



three parishes.

Merchants, especially those engaged in international trade, were prominent among the leading employers of servants. Seven of the thirteen men with four or more servants whose occupation can be determined, were merchants, two of whom had six servants each and at least five of them exported wool or cloth. In the 1381 Poll Tax Returns merchants were no less prominent, for four of the six men recorded with five or more servants were described as merchants, whilst merchants as a whole employed 103 of the 356 servants with masters whose occupation was stated in the returns.

TABLE I.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF SERVANTS IN THE PARISHES OF  
ST. SAVIOUR, ST. SAMPSON AND ST. MARTIN IN  
CONEY STREET IN 1377

Number of Servants per Employer	Number of Employers	Total number of Servants Employed
1	73	73
2	43	86
3	20	60
4	7	28
5	7	35
6	3	18
7	-	-
8	2	16
13	1	13
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>329</b>

Drapers also employed more than the average number of servants. The 26 men with three or more servants in 1377 whose occupation is known, included two drapers who employed between them eight servants, and two of the 17 men with two servants each whose occupation is known, were also drapers, whilst in 1381 John de Santon, a draper who was recorded with eight servants, ranked jointly with a merchant as the leading employer of servants in York. Dyers too seem to have employed more servants than the average and 3 of the 43 employers in 1377 with more than one servant whose occupation is known were dyers, employing 8 servants between them.

The food trades with three cooks, a baker, a vintner, a taverner, and a spicer, among the 26 men with three or more servants whose occupation may be determined in 1377, were well represented among the employers of servants. No other significant concentrations, however, may be detected and the other taxpayers with three or more servants, exclusive of merchants, drapers, and dyers, pursued such diverse occupations as armourer, potter, girdler, skinner and cordwainer.

The impression derived from the Lay Poll Tax Returns of the increased importance of the merchants and the leading members of the cloth-making industry is confirmed at a slightly later date by an analysis of the sums of money bequeathed by testators from the portion of their movable goods reserved by custom of the

city for disposal according to their personal wishes. Hardly any wills of York citizens made before 1390 have survived, but copies of several hundred wills of York citizens proved between that date and the end of our period are extant in the District Probate Registry. An analysis of a sample of some 200 of these wills made between 1390 and 1500 by men in a variety of occupations, including 50 men who were mayors of York, reveals that only 16 made cash bequests of £50 or more, whilst the bequests of only 7 exceeded £200.

Amongst the men making large cash bequests, merchants engaged in international trade were clearly predominant. Nine of the 16 men who made cash bequests of £50 or more were merchants, including Robert Holme, a wool and cloth exporter who ranked as the wealthiest with cash bequests totalling £1,400, Nicholas Blackburn, senior, who bequeathed more than £500, and John Northeby and Richard Russell, two wool exporters of the early fifteenth century whose bequests exceeded £400.<sup>(1)</sup> Similarly merchants comprised 11 of the 14 men whose bequests ranged in value from £20 to £50, of whom 8 are known to have been engaged in foreign trade.

The other men whose cash bequests suggested that the value of their movable goods was well above average, included a

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(1) See their biographies in Appendix E.

butcher and a glover whose bequests amounted to £50 and £52 respectively, a pewterer who made bequests of £30, and a bowyer who left more than £20, including 26s. 8d. for the steeple of his parish church and 4 marks to pay for a pilgrim to visit Rome. (1) Of particular note before the middle of the fifteenth century were the leading members of the cloth-making industry. Four of the sixteen men whose bequests amounted to £50 or more were drapers and three of them made bequests which exceeded £200; whilst a dyer left £30 and a shearman who finished his career as a merchant and became mayor of York bequeathed £26. (2)

In the early sixteenth century some indication of the wealthier members of the industrial and commercial community in York may be obtained from the lay subsidy returns for the city in 1524. (3) An analysis of the returns immediately suggests that the wealthiest group of citizens was no longer composed so exclusively of merchants, and that hardly any wealthy citizens were concerned with the manufacture of cloth. Only 34 out of 350 taxpayers whose movable goods exceeded £2 in

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(1) John Towthorp, John Roger, William Riche, and John Scott. Y.P.R. II, fols. 167, 554; IV fol. 248; V, fol. 50.

(2) Henry Yarum, John de Santon, Thomas Carr, William Girlyngton, John Usburn and Thomas Esyngwald. Y.P.R. I, fols. 57, 71; II, fols. 79, 83, 531, 533.

(3) Y.A.J. IV, 170-190.

Value were assessed at more than £20 and 6 men at £50 or more. Of the 30 taxpayers assessed at more than £20 whose occupations are known Robert Petty, a tapiter, was the sole member of the cloth-making industry and only 11 were merchants, although John Chapman and John Thornton, who were assessed at £160 and £60 respectively, ranked as the third and fifth wealthiest taxpayers. The principal taxpayers, assessed at £200 each, were John Roger, a fishmonger, and George Lawson, a civil servant who served Henry VIII in various capacities in Berwick on Tweed and the North of England. (1) Other leading taxpayers followed a variety of pursuits including some of the minor York crafts which were represented by John Gatchet, a French printer, (2) and William Hubby, a horner, assessed at £40 who had been sheriff in 1506. (3) Among the larger occupational groups the leather workers with 3 tanners, a glover, and a cornwainer, and the food trades with a butcher, cook, vintner, and an innkeeper assessed at £40 were well represented.

The distribution of wealth in York was thus probably very unequal and it would seem that among the industrial and trading

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(1) See his biography in Appendix E.

(2) See pages 238-39 above.

(3) Register of Freemen MS. fol. 303v.

community a small group of men possessed wealth which set them far above other members of the community. In the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries when the international trade of York's merchants was flourishing the group was composed mainly of merchants, whilst a number of its members between 1350 and 1450, when the cloth-making industry was at its maximum prosperity, were drapers. Throughout our period the wealthiest class contained a number of outstanding individuals from other crafts and trades, and in the early fourteenth century and in the early sixteenth century the class was composed mainly of such men.

Our picture of the distribution of wealth in this community is necessarily incomplete for it is impossible to determine what proportion of a man's wealth was invested in land. Some traders and craftsmen probably derived a considerable income from this source, for in 1436, the sole occasion on which we possess a fairly comprehensive survey of the incomes of York men from land, the 60 lay men in York who derived an annual net income of £5 or more from land included 21 merchants, of whom John Bolton received £62 and John Lillyng and Thomas del Gare £26 each, and 2 drapers, 2 fletchers, a skinner, a spicer, a vintner, and a cordwainer. Yet there seems little reason to doubt that for most of

our period the leading merchants, together with a number of drapers in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were the principal members of York's industrial and commercial class. Compared with the leading citizens of London, who in 1461 laid down £1,000 in goods and good debts as the minimum property qualification for election to the office of alderman,<sup>(1)</sup> the principal citizens of York were relatively poor; but within their own city their wealth was outstanding. Several could individually have paid the £160 given annually by the city to the King for much of our period for the charters embodying the right of self government,<sup>(2)</sup> and the revenues raised by the city chamberlains which were in the fifteenth century in the region of £200 a year,<sup>(3)</sup> could have been provided from the pockets of more than one mayor during his term of office. Thus a tiny fraction of York's inhabitants attained by their enterprise and industry a wealth far greater than that of the average citizen who toiled much of his life in the city for a meagre reward,

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(1) Thrupp, p.127.

(2) See for example C.Ch.R. 1226-1257, p.379, C.Ch.R.1300-1326, p.185; C.P.R. 1476-85, p.409.

(3) Chamberlains' Account Rolls, passim.

## 2. Some Factors Limiting Inequality.

The unequal distribution of wealth was to some extent mitigated by the absence of a substantial class of rich men among the industrial and mercantile community whose wealth was the result of inheritance. The fortunes of leading merchants in particular were ephemeral creations, subject to the considerable risks of trade, and were dispersed on the death of their creators. The sons of rich men sometimes successfully continued the enterprises initiated by their fathers and in their turn became mayors of York. But these were exceptional cases; it was rare for one family to boast three generations of merchants, and the small group of men at the pinnacle of wealth was constantly changing its membership as one family disappeared from the height of power and another rose to wealth and fame.

The most important factor preventing the perpetuation of inequality was the frequency with which rich men lacked male heirs to carry on the family fortunes. Nearly half of the mayors of York whose wills have survived, thus providing details of their families, died without male heirs, and some of the wealthiest men in the city, who had been married two or three times, left no son to inherit their estate.<sup>(1)</sup> The goods of

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(1) Appendix E, passim; see also Table II overleaf.



John de Gisburne, a wealthy wool exporter, descended to his daughters Alice and Isabella, one of whom married Sir William Plompton, and the fortune of William Todd whose trading activities ranged from Bordeaux to Iceland and secured for him the mayoralty and the governorship of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, was inherited by his four daughters. Sometimes a married man died without any children to succeed to his fortunes. The children of Thomas Holme, a notable wool exporter who owned property in Calais and was twice married, were dead when he made his will, and John Hall and John Carr,

TABLE II

THE FAMILIES OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY MAYORS  
OF YORK, AS INDICATED BY THEIR WILLS

Number of Mayors	Number of Children surviving			Number whose wife also survived.	Percentage of movable goods inherited by each child if wife also survived.
	Sons	Daughters	Total		
15	-	-	-	8	-
6	2	4	6	5	33
9	7	11	18	7	17
8	16	8	24	5	11
3	4	8	12	3	8
3	8	7	15	2	6
2	7	5	12	2	5
1(1)	7	-	7	1	5
47	51	43	94	33	

(1) Richard York. Some of his daughters may also have been alive when he made his will. See Appendix E.

two later mayors of York, also died without direct descendants.<sup>(1)</sup>

Paradoxically, it was almost as embarrassing for the family fortunes if a rich testator was survived by several children as it was if he died without a male heir, for the custom of the city regarding the disposal of a man's movable goods at his death also tended towards the dispersal of large fortunes. The maximum share of a man's goods, exclusive of legacies which the testator sometimes made from the portion of goods reserved for disposal according to his own wishes, remaining in the hands of any one member of his family - when he was survived by only his wife or one child - was one half; if he left a wife and children then she received a third of his goods and the children divided the other third equally between them. The proportion of a rich testator's carefully accumulated wealth in the form of movable goods that descended to one of his sons was thus, as shown in Table II, sometimes less than ten per cent.

The reduction in the original size of a testator's fortune due to the custom of the city did not in itself effect a permanent removal of a rich man's sons from the pinnacle of wealth, for they still had considerable advantages over the sons of other citizens. A son with a ninth or even a fifteenth portion of his father's movable goods still possessed a useful

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(1) See their biographies in Appendix E.

legacy, his apprenticeship could be served with his father, the father's liquid capital might be employed in trade until the son wished to operate independently or his father died, and in addition some men bequeathed their more favoured sons sums of money which occasionally amounted to £100 or more,<sup>(1)</sup> from that portion of their goods reserved for their personal disposal, to supplement the portions already due to these sons by the custom of the city.

The sons of rich testators were therefore sometimes able by industry, enterprise, and good fortune, to increase their portion of the family fortune until it equalled or surpassed the wealth accumulated by their fathers. But the hazards of trade were such that this type of success was infrequent. The perils of international trade were especially great and individual merchants often suffered substantial losses in a single disaster. Robert and Thomas Holme on one occasion had 800 marks' worth of wool stolen by seamen of Gorkham in Holland;<sup>(2)</sup> a ship belonging to John de Sessay, laden with goods valued at 200 marks, sailing for Prussia, was seized by a citizen of Denmark who put the vessel to his own use and subsequently called at Hull with a cargo of goods;<sup>(3)</sup> and a

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(1) See for example the biographies of John Northeby, and John de Santon in Appendix E.

(2) C.C.R. 1377-81, pp. 314-15.

(3) C.C.R. 1392-96, pp. 200, 207.

ship of 40 tons belonging to Thomas Del Dam which had just undergone extensive repairs after a storm off the Humber, was promptly requisitioned for the King's use. (1) John Norman, a rich merchant who was twice governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, was stated by the collectors of the lay subsidy for York in 1524 to have lost goods valued at £50 during the past year, 'by chaunce of ye see', and Peter Jackson was credited with the loss of £20 in a similar manner. (2)

Disasters due to piracy or shipwreck involving large numbers of York merchants at once were also common. Two mayors of York and six other merchants in 1384 lost consignments of herring from Denmark when a ship ran aground at Rawcliffe on the banks of the Humber and was plundered by the local inhabitants, (3) and in the same year the goods of 14 York merchants worth nearly £1,000 were seized on their way to London by a ship of Dieppe. (4) The trade with Prussia, which was for more than a century of great importance to York, was at times especially dangerous in view of the strained relations between England and the Hanse. In 1385 more than thirty York men had their goods seized in

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(1) C.C.R. 1413-19, p. 383.

(2) Y.A.J. IV, 176, 179.

(3) C.P.R. 1381-85, p. 505.

(4) C.C.R. 1381-85, p. 366.

Prussia; <sup>(1)</sup> in 1440 over a dozen merchants of the city trading to Prussia submitted claims for damages inflicted by the Hanse amounting to nearly £1,200, <sup>(2)</sup> and in 1468 a ship carrying the goods of a score of York merchants was captured in the Sund at the entrance to the Baltic. <sup>(3)</sup>

The risks and uncertainties of trade are also reflected in the fate of men at the pinnacle of wealth in York who through negligence and ill-luck themselves witnessed the dispersal of their carefully accumulated fortunes. Thomas Gray, a goldsmith, who had been mayor in 1497 later resigned his aldermanic gown and was granted a pension of 4 marks, <sup>(4)</sup> John Hogeson, an ex-mayor and twice governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company who had to resign his gown because of poverty in 1548 thankfully accepted a similar grant, <sup>(5)</sup> and Robert Elwald, another merchant, was reduced to accepting a pension of £4 from the Corporation within ten years of holding the mayoralty. <sup>(6)</sup> Thus, the risks of a commercial career were substantial and the

(1) Recesse und Akten, III, 405-407, 412-414.

(2) H.R. 1431-76, II, 541-44.

(3) U.B. IX, 369-70.

(4) Skaife, p.80.

(5) Ibid. p.183.

(6) Ibid. p.189.

reduction in the size of a rich testator's movable goods by a third and then its division between his wife and children made it far from certain that his sons would in their turn be able to join the small circle of very wealthy men in the city.

The absence of a substantial class of rich men whose wealth was based on inheritance left the way open for the rise of ambitious and enterprising members of the industrial and mercantile community who had more modest means. The ascent of these men was in part assisted by the division and reduction of rich testators' fortunes. The religious and charitable bequests of wealthy men made for the good of their souls did little to help young men of ambition who hoped to rise to the peak of lay society. Testators left their money to religious houses, to the fabric of their parish churches and the Minster, to chaplains for the performance of divine service, and to the very poorest inhabitants who had been imprisoned or were sick, lame, leprous or aged. The healthy members of lay society gained little individual benefit from these bequests although one mayor left £40 for the relief of taxation in the city and several others bequeathed small sums for a variety of public works, which included the repair of the bridge over the Ouse and the restoration of the common staithe used by shipping. (1)

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(1) See the biographies of Nicholas Blackburn, senior, William Nelson, and John Norman in Appendix E.

Favoured servants of a rich man, however, might hope to receive individual legacies to assist them in their career. The majority of gifts to servants and employees were small and quite insufficient to provide capital for use in trade. Robert Colynson, a mayor whose goods had been arrested by men of Danzig in 1440 instructed his executors to give the dyers, fullers, shearmen, and weavers, working with him, a good breakfast and a shilling; Thomas Bracebrigg, a mayor who started his career as a weaver, left sums of 3s.4d and 6s.8d to two weavers; and John Kent, a Governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, whose wife Marion energetically continued his foreign trade for several years after his death, left each of his apprentices half a mark. (1) Two servants of John de Santon, a wealthy draper, received twenty shillings each, and Thomas de Middleham, and John de Mersk, apprentices of Robert Sauvage a prominent wool exporter, were given £2 each. (2) But servants who had rendered exceptional services might expect to receive larger amounts. John Northeby, a wool exporter who rose to be mayor, began his career in the service of William Vescy a wool merchant who left him £20 'for faithful service', and Thomas Dayvell servant of Thomas Nelson, a merchant of the Staple at Calais, was bequeathed the same

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(1) Appendix E, pp. 406, 404,; Y.P.R. IV, fol. 53.  
427.

(2) Y.P.R. I, fol. 71; Appendix E, p. 442.

sum. (1) Robert Holme, senior, as befitted his great wealth, was especially generous; Richard de Kingston, John Fenay, and William Fleming, his servants, received 40 marks, 20 marks and £10 respectively, and John de Derfeld, a former employee, was also given 40 marks. (2) Thus a few men of ambition received sufficiently large bequests from rich testators to assist them in their careers.

A more common method of advancement for a rising citizen who had achieved a certain measure of success in the accumulation of wealth, was that of marriage to the widow or daughter of a wealthy merchant. The daughters of a rich man and his widow if she re-married often took as their husbands men who had already won fame and fortune, and marriage was frequently the tie that united two notable York families. The marriage of Robert Wilde shortly after he had been sheriff to Isabella, the daughter of John Stockdale, a former mayor, probably did little to further his career, and the union of William Stockton some years after he had been mayor with the widow of Robert Colynson, an ex-mayor, can merely have increased an already large fortune. Similarly the alliance of John Bolton's son to Alice the daughter of Nicholas Blackburn,

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(1) Appendix E, pp. 434, 437.

(2) Cooke, A.A.S.R., XXVIII, part 11, 850.



senior, did not in itself assure his progress to the peak of wealth since his father was already a wealthy merchant and ex-mayor. (1)

In a number of cases, however, the careers of men who ultimately reached the pinnacle of wealth were materially assisted by an alliance with the widows and daughters of men who had already achieved wealth and fame as members of York's ruling class. Richard Wartre, twice mayor of York and merchant of the Staple at Calais who bequeathed £40 or more if necessary for providing the southern part of St. Saviour's Church with a leaden roof, had married Alice Moreton the daughter of an ex-mayor before he held even the humblest civic office; John Dogeson, another mayor, had taken as his wife a daughter of Thomas Scotton, who was governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company in 1483, before holding any civic post higher than that of chamberlain; John Metcalfe, one of the numerous merchants who traded in lead in the early sixteenth century, had made equally little progress towards the mayoral chair when he married the daughter of John Fereby, an ex-mayor; and William Harrington, hitherto a relatively unimportant grocer who had filled no civic office in his 27 years as a freeman, held the positions of sheriff and mayor in rapid

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(1) Appendix E, pp. 401, 448, 455.

succession after his marriage to Joan, the daughter of John Norman an ex-sheriff and widow of John Rasyn, a wealthy alderman. (1) Thus, a judicious marriage which secured the portion of a rich man's movable goods due to his widow or daughter often transformed a man of only average wealth into one of the city's most prosperous citizens.

Other recruits to the circle of very rich men in the city achieved their success without the assistance of bequests from rich employers or the aid of a large marriage dowry. Some men merely rose from relative poverty in York by a combination of luck, enterprise, and perseverance. (2) But an equal number of recruits to the wealthiest class began their careers as immigrants to the city who were always arriving, perhaps bringing with them a part of the family fortunes, from Yorkshire, the north of England and even the Continent. William Sauvage, who was mayor in 1368, came from Tynemouth; William Vesey, a wealthy wool exporter, was earlier in his life a parishioner at Whitby; John Fereby, a mayor who died in 1491, possessed property at his birth-place at Barton on Humber; and his contemporary Sir Richard York, who was governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company and mayor of the

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(1) Appendix E, pp. 409, 420, 433, 452.

(2) See for example the biography of Thomas Bracebrigg, a mayor who began his career as a weaver, in Appendix E.

Staple of Calais, was almost certainly born in Berwick-on-Tweed. (1)

A prominent Hanseatic merchant, Henry Wyman, settled in York, married the daughter of a former mayor and was himself three times mayor of the city, and Martin Soza, a goldsmith from Spain in the sixteenth century achieved wealth and fame which lead him to become sheriff. (2)

Thus the wealthiest members of the industrial and mercantile community were far from constituting a hereditary wealthy class. The rich families often sought to perpetuate their position by inter-marriage and the path to the summit of wealth for the young man of ambition who possessed little inherited fortune was perilous; but many men by judicious marriage, by accepting legacies from rich employers, by emigration to York with the family fortunes, or simply by sheer determination, managed to succeed and take their place at the pinnacle of wealth.

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(1) Shaw, p.87; Appendix E, pp.411, 442, 457.

(2) Appendix E, p.456 ; F.Harrison, The Painted Glass of York, p.148; Exchequer Lay Subsidies 217/108.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE GOVERNING CLASS OF YORK

#### 1. The Machinery of Government.

The concentration of wealth in the industrial and trading community in the hands of a small group of men whose wealth far exceeded that of their fellow citizens was reflected in the political power they wielded in the city. It is impossible to determine the precise details of York's governing body until the late fourteenth century because there exists no record of the decisions of the governing body or of the persons present at its meetings before that date, although we possess lists of bailiffs, chamberlains and mayors dating from the previous century. But it seems clear that, in common with other medieval English cities, the government of York throughout our period was conducted by an oligarchy,<sup>(1)</sup> and that the majority of citizens had only a very small share in the government of York, either directly by personal participation or indirectly through their elected representatives.

The government of York was conducted principally by a mayor and twelve aldermen, whose powers were conveniently summarised in the city customal drawn up towards the end of

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(1) See for example Mrs. J.R.Green, Town Life in the Fifteenth Century, II, chapters X-XVII passim.

the fourteenth century. (1) They approved the regulations governing the crafts of York, punished breaches of the King's Peace, and dealt with offences against the ordinances they had drawn up for the good governance of the city. They settled pleas of debt between citizens and all wills concerning land and houses had to be enrolled before them.

The powers of the mayor and aldermen were in part shared by a group of citizens known as the twenty-four and the three bailiffs of the city, who were replaced by two sheriffs after 1396 when York received county status. (2) The bailiffs or sheriffs and the twenty-four were often present when the aldermen arrived at their decisions, and the twenty-four, who assisted the aldermen in the annual election of the city chamberlains and the custodians of Ouse Bridge and Foss Bridge, had in common with the aldermen to pledge their counsel and assistance to the mayor in all his duties. (3)

The central figure in this oligarchy was the mayor, who exercised by virtue of his office authority over men who were otherwise his equals. The theoretical supremacy of

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(1) M.B. II, vii, 251-266.

(2) M.B. II, 259-60; C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 354-55, 358-59.

(3) M.B. II, 256-57.

the mayor over the other members of the governing body in York was reflected in the oaths they swore on taking office; the mayor promised that he would preserve the city for the King and faithfully maintain its franchises, laws, and customs, but the aldermen and twenty-four had merely to swear that they would support the mayor in his duties.<sup>(1)</sup> The distinction was however not merely one of theory, for an alderman who insulted the mayor in 1436 was discharged from office until he had humbly apologised,<sup>(2)</sup> and a sheriff who disobeyed the mayor in 1480 was sent to prison.<sup>(3)</sup>

The eminence of the mayor was also emphasized by a dignified ceremonial, and on public appearances he was invariably preceded by two servants bearing a mace, and a sword presented by Richard II to the city.<sup>(4)</sup> Occasionally a mayor died in office and was given an impressive funeral; the body of John Fereby who died in 1490 was carried by six aldermen, who were preceded by the bearers of the sword and mace,<sup>(5)</sup> and the same procedure was followed eighteen years

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(1) M.B. II, 256.

(2) M.B. II, 142-43.

(3) York Civic Records, I, 33-34.

(4) Davies, Extracts from the Municipal Records of York, pp. 16-17; C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 355, 360.

(5) York Civic Records, II, 67.

later on the death of John Petty.<sup>(1)</sup>

The mayor was thus the dominant member of the ruling oligarchy and the mayoral chair was the principal aspiration of a wealthy and ambitious citizen seeking power and prestige. The expenses attached to the office were onerous, although for most of our period the mayor was given an official salary, which had been fixed by the early fifteenth century at £50 a year.<sup>(2)</sup> John Newton in 1483 gave £20 towards a present given by the city to Richard III,<sup>(3)</sup> and later that year entertained four bishops, three barons, the Chief Justice of England, and diverse other judges, sergeants, knights, learned men, and esquires of the King's Council to two dinners, partly at his own expense.<sup>(4)</sup> The expenses of Thomas Drawswerde were almost as heavy and in 1524 his lands were assessed for tax at £22 less than in the previous year because of expenses he had incurred during his year of office.<sup>(5)</sup> But the financial burdens of office did not deter some of the wealthier and more ambitious citizens from

(1) York Civic Records, III, 25.

(2) Register of Freemen MS fols. 6-27. The earliest recorded payment of the mayor for his services was in 1364.

(3) York Civic Records, I, 80.

(4) Ibid. I, 83.

(5) Y.A.J. IV, 173.

strenuously seeking after the pomp and power attached to the mayoralty. In July 1381 the supporters of John de Gisburne and Simon de Quixlay, opposing candidates for the post of mayor, came to blows at Bootham Bar,<sup>(1)</sup> and later rivals for office, if less unruly, were equally determined. The King in 1471 found it necessary to extend William Holbeck's term of office for a further year because of disputes as to the choice of his successor,<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1482 Robert Aynas continued to act as mayor when his year of office ended until the rival claims of Richard York and Thomas Wrangwish had been decided.<sup>(3)</sup>

During the first sixty or seventy years of the fourteenth century, before the earliest records of meetings of the governing body commence, it would seem that the authority of the mayor was even greater and that he was then more than a primus inter pares advised by the other aldermen who had themselves been mayor or were destined soon to hold that office. In the final quarter of the century and for the remainder of our period it was rare for a man to be mayor on more than two occasions, yet during the

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(1) M.B. I, xiii; C.Oman, The Great Revolt of 1381, p.146.

(2) C.P.R. 1467-77, p.239.

(3) York Civic Records, I, 48-51.



first 60 years of the fourteenth century, although the chamberlains and sheriffs were appointed annually as at a later date, it was not unusual for a man to hold office as mayor for several years in succession. (1) Between 1301 and 1364 there were only fourteen different mayors and Nicholas de Langton, junior, was mayor sixteen times, whilst his son held the office for eleven years in succession. How far their lengthy stay in power reflected a more autocratic form of government and how far it was due merely to apathy on the part of other wealthy citizens cannot be determined. But it would appear that the rule of John de Langton was forcibly terminated by his fellow citizens in 1364 and that a further attempt to secure re-appointment seven years later led to such disorder that the King forbade him or his rival to hold the office that year, whilst it is significant that after his second bid for power the governing body made a rule that no mayor was to hold office for a further term within eight years of his previous appointment. (2)

Over the extensive powers wielded by the mayor and aldermen with the assistance of the sheriffs and the twenty-

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(1) Appendix E, passim.

(2) Drake, Eboracum, Appendix, pp. xxvi; C.P.R. 1364-67, p.208; C.C.R. 1369-74, p.275; M.B. I, ii, lxvii, 16.

four, the body of citizens had little control. In the fifteenth century this was especially true. An alderman once elected remained in office for life, unless he resigned his gown because of poverty or sickness or was expelled by his fellow aldermen for some offence, and vacancies occurring in the ranks of the aldermen were filled entirely by men of their own choice. (1) The mayor had to be chosen from among the aldermen, and the majority of citizens, even if all of them could have assembled simultaneously in the Gildhall on the day of the mayor's election, had little choice in his selection. From the end of the fourteenth century, when the method of selecting a mayor was first specified, until 1464, 'the commons' were supposed to assemble in the Gildhall to make the final appointment from two or three aldermen nominated by the retiring mayor; (2) in 1464 the method of election was altered by the King so that the mayor, aldermen, and twenty-four made the final choice from two aldermen nominated by the workers of all York's crafts assembled in the Gildhall; (3) in 1473 the workers of all the crafts in York assembled in the Gildhall

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(1) M.B. II, x, 258, 292-94.

(2) M.B. II, 255.

(3) C.P.R. 1461-67, p.366.

were given the sole right of choosing a mayor from among the aldermen, provided that he had not held the office within the last three years;<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1489 the method of choice was again altered so that the mayor, aldermen, and twenty-four made the appointment from the three aldermen nominated by the workers of all the crafts in the Gildhall.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the selection of the sheriffs and the twenty-four in the fifteenth century the citizens had no voice. The sheriffs were chosen annually by the aldermen and the twenty-four<sup>(3)</sup> and membership of the twenty-four was with few exceptions reserved for ex-sheriffs, who seem to have become members of that body soon after they had vacated office and to have continued in that capacity for an indefinite term which might end in their elevation to the aldermanic bench.<sup>(4)</sup>

The views of other citizens during the fifteenth century were however not entirely ignored by the governing body. Thus the meetings of the mayor, aldermen and twenty-four

(1) C.P.R. 1467-77, p.416.

(2) C.P.R. 1485-94, p.297

(3) See for example M.B. II, x, 52, 74-5; H.B.VI, fols.29v., 67, 102, VIII, fols. 11, 24v., 38.

(4) M.B. II, xi, 75; Appendix E, passim. For the names of the twenty-four at this period see M.B.II and H.B. I-VIII, passim.

were generally held in the Council Chamber on Ouse Bridge and sometimes, in a small chamber in the Gildhall; yet on occasions when business of great moment to everyone in York was being discussed, the meetings would be held in the open Gildhall where there was room for many other citizens to be present. The scale of charges to be applied for the use of the Common Crane of the city which had been re-erected in 1417 at great cost, provided the subject for one of these meetings,<sup>(1)</sup> and the decision to exclude aliens from holding any form of civic office was taken at another.<sup>(2)</sup> The extent to which the other citizens present in the Gildhall voiced their criticisms cannot be determined from the very formal wording of the Memorandum Book, and their presence is referred to in vague phrases such as coram communitate publicatum and unacum magna multitudine aliorum civium, which were merely in line with the legal fiction frequently employed in the Memorandum Book in connection with other meetings of the governing body, who were said to have passed legislation 'with the assent of the whole community'. But the practice of sometimes associating other citizens with the decisions of the governing body by meeting in the Gildhall

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(1) M.B. II, xii-xiii.

(2) M.B. II, xiii.

when the occasion seemed necessary was a quite deliberate process distinct from the deliberations held in the Council Chamber, for the two types of meeting are several times sharply distinguished. The distinction was recognised in 1418 when the smaller body temporarily retired from the larger meeting in the Gildhall to a nearby room to elect two sheriffs for the following year.<sup>(1)</sup> It also emerged a few years later when the mayor and aldermen, moved by the views expressed by Friar William Melton about the performance of the Mystery Plays and the Corpus Christi Festival, held an inconclusive meeting on the subject which was followed four days later by a large gathering in the Gildhall where it was decided that the Corpus Christi Festival and the Mystery Plays should be held on two separate days.<sup>(2)</sup>

On other occasions some citizens took the initiative in presenting their views to the governing body. It is impossible to determine the extent to which this occurred before the final quarter of the fifteenth century because of the formal nature of the Memorandum Book. But after that date it is evident from the fuller account of meetings of the governing body recorded in the House Books that petitions were occasionally

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(1) M.B., II, 74-5.

(2) M.B., II, xlvi.

presented to the mayor and aldermen by 'the Commons' of York and that the requests made were sometimes adopted, as for example in 1484 when various regulations were made concerning the official servants of the mayor. (1)

In the late fourteenth century and in the early sixteenth century the general body of citizens through its representatives seems to have participated more formally at meetings of the governing body. Little is known about the first of these periods because the Memorandum Book, which provides our earliest record of meetings of the governing body in York does not commence until 1376, although it embodies fragments of earlier legislation, and rarely indicates the names of persons present at meetings of the governing body before the early fifteenth century. But it seems clear that by 1380 a body of artificers attended meetings of the twenty-four and aldermen with sufficient regularity for them to be threatened with a fine of 4d each for unpunctual attendance. (2) and that by the end of the century when the method of governing York was set out in

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(1) York Civic Records, I, 112, 141, II, 3, 83, III, 24-5, 37-8.

(2) M.B., I, v, 39.

detail in the city custumal, this body no longer existed. <sup>(1)</sup>

It is impossible to determine the method of appointing the artificers or the extent to which they were responsible to the citizens in general. But if it is correct to identify the artificers with the 48 persons who attended a meeting of the aldermen and twenty-four in July 1379, it is evident as Miss Sellers suggested that the artificers were drawn from a wide variety of industrial crafts and were thus more representative of the general body of citizens than the aldermen and twenty-four who were recruited mainly from the merchants and tradesmen of the city. <sup>(2)</sup>

In the sixteenth century the aldermen and twenty-four were assisted by a Common Council, instituted by royal charter in 1517, which consisted of two elected representatives from each of thirteen crafts and trades and one elected representative each from a further fifteen crafts. <sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) M.B., II, 251-66. The editor has merely shown, on page viii, that the custumal was compiled some time before 1396. But it is unlikely that it was drawn up many years before this because it states that the mayor's salary was £50 a year, a sum which was first paid in 1386 (Register of Freeman MS. fols. 6-8v.) and refers to the election of the chamberlains and the custodians of Ouse and Foss Bridge in February, whereas we know that chamberlains were appointed in September until 1375 and that the custodians were appointed in that month until 1331. (M.B., I, lxviii, 16; Register of Freeman MS. fols. 318-319).

(2) M.B., I, v-ix, 33-6.

(3) F. Drake, Eboracum, p. 207.

The main function of the Council was to participate in the election of the mayor and new aldermen. The method of appointing the mayor remained substantially unchanged and the Council, with the help of the eldest searcher of each craft and trade from which the Council was drawn, merely took over the duties of the main body of York's craftsmen who had gathered each year in the Gildhall to submit the names of three aldermen from whom the mayor was chosen. But the aldermen, though still in office for life, were now limited to filling a vacancy in their ranks by choosing from three names submitted to them by the Council acting in conjunction with the eldest searcher from each of these crafts. The mode of electing the sheriffs too was changed so that the aldermen were restricted in their choice to four men nominated by the Council and the eldest searchers of the crafts. In other directions the work of the Council seems to have been very limited. Its members were seldom recorded at the meetings of the mayor, aldermen and twenty-four which decided the everyday affairs of the city and it would seem that the Council acted only occasionally when there was some issue which seemed of



special importance. Thus in 1532 and 1533 the Common Council suggested various ways of reducing civic expenditure, including a drastic reduction in the mayor's annual salary, because the city was 'in great debt and there is noon of the commoners of the city able to bere the chargs', whilst in 1547 members of the Council successfully petitioned the aldermen and twenty-four against the enclosure of common land adjoining the city. (1)

The oligarchy of a mayor, twelve aldermen and the twenty-four who ruled York thus could not entirely ignore the views of other citizens. The citizens were consulted on occasions in the fifteenth century and in the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries they had some form of representation on the governing body. Yet the body of citizens had in fact, and in theory, virtually no control over the aldermen and twenty-four save that of open rebellion.

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(1) York Civic Records, III, 143, 147-49; IV, 160-165, 180, 182.

## 2. The Composition of the Governing Class.

It is now pertinent to enquire what distinguished the mayor and aldermen from their fellow citizens and enabled them to rule over York. The first feature common to all the men who became aldermen and later mayors, was that of previous civic service.<sup>(1)</sup> The initial step in a mayor's career was normally a year's service as chamberlain, sharing responsibility with the other chamberlains for the city's finances, and more than three quarters of the men who became mayors of York between 1300 and 1550 held this office. The post of bailiff, or sheriff after 1396 when York was raised to county status by Richard II, was also usually held for a year by a future mayor, and only 18 of the 159 mayors in our period had not been responsible for paying the fee-farm of the city to the King. Sometimes a mayor had, in addition, served for a year as a custodian of the bridge over the Ouse or the Foss, a duty which involved the collection of rents from city property used principally to support these bridges, and the maintenance of this property in a state of repair.<sup>(2)</sup> The post of custodian was not established until the middle of the fourteenth century<sup>(3)</sup> and the names of the custodians can seldom be

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(1) See Appendix E.

(2) M.B. II, 257.

(3) Register of Freemen MS, fol. 318.

determined after 1520 when the list of custodians is discontinued on the Register of Freemen, but only 17 custodians of Ouse Bridge and 6 custodians of Foss Bridge between these dates subsequently became mayor, hence the post of custodian cannot have constituted an important step on the way to the mayoral chair. A future mayor might also have represented the city in Parliament, but this service was more often performed after a man had been mayor. (1)

These posts, though providing valuable experience, gave their holders only a temporary connection with the ruling class, and continuous participation in the government of York had to be obtained by membership of the twenty-four, which implied frequent attendance at meetings of the mayor and aldermen. Information about the number of mayors who were members of the twenty-four is not too plentiful, since there is no list of members comparable with the lists of chamberlains, bailiffs, sheriffs, and custodians of Ouse Bridge and Foss Bridge, which are recorded in the Register of Freemen. The names of the twenty-four are not available until the earliest records of meetings of the mayor and aldermen begin in the Memorandum Book in 1376, and the compilers of the Memorandum Book in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries

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(1) See Appendix E.

often did not specify the names of the twenty-four. Nevertheless, even the limited evidence available reveals that at least a third of York's mayors had been members of the twenty-four, and some, such as Thomas Scotton and Michael White, served in this capacity as long as eight years before they became aldermen. (1)

A man who became mayor of York during our period was therefore well versed in the art of government when he came to office. The length of this training varied considerably; Nicholas Blackburn, junior, and Thomas Crathorne became mayors scarcely five years after they had held office as chamberlain, and John de Langton and Henry de Belton who began their civic careers as bailiffs had an equally short preparation for the highest civic office. But such rapid promotion was rare and a man's progress to the mayoralty frequently occupied at least ten years from the date when he took his first step on the road to civic power as chamberlain. (2)

An adequate practical training in government was not as important a qualification as the possession of wealth. The mayor of York as in other medieval English towns was invariably one of the wealthiest citizens. No one could afford to hold

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(1) M.B. I, 170; M.B. II, 292-93.

(2) See Appendix E.

civic office unless he was a man of wealth and substance and all rich citizens were potentially candidates for office who might be chosen irrespective of their personal wishes. The majority of wealthy citizens acquiesced in the system, perhaps quietened by the prospects of power, but the reluctance of some of them to hold civic posts affords some measure of the financial burdens of office. Until the final quarter of the fifteenth century, perhaps because of the formal nature of the Memorandum Book or because York was fairly prosperous, there is little evidence of wealthy men trying to avoid civic office. But after that date the fuller details of the work of the governing body in the House Books provide ample evidence of the reluctance of wealthy citizens to shoulder the burdens of government at a time when the prosperity of the city was steadily declining. Robert Dawson was fined £10 in 1490 because he would not serve as chamberlain;<sup>(1)</sup> the governing body in 1502 decided that rich men eligible for election who absented themselves from the annual election of chamberlains were to be fined £5;<sup>(2)</sup> two citizens in 1532 were temporarily excused service as chamberlains on making loans of £10 and £20 to the city;<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1536 Richard Sydds who was elected a

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(1) H.B. VII, fol. 3.

(2) York Civic Records, II, 176.

(3) Ibid. III, 144.

chamberlain refused to take office and left the city to escape punishment for his refusal. (1) William Warde was excused from holding any civic post on payment of £10 in 1476; (2) William Todd and Thomas Scotton, two of his contemporaries who subsequently became mayor, were both threatened with fines of £40 when at one time they contemplated declining election as aldermen; (3) and George Lawson who was mayor some years later paid £20 in 1528 to avoid serving as sheriff. (4)

Poor and struggling citizens had no place in the government of York, even if they had given previous civic service. Brian Conyers, a rich merchant who became chamberlain two years after taking up his freedom in 1472, was in 1476 unanimously excused service as sheriff for eight years "olessen than he be the grace of God within the said eight yeres may growe in guds and ryches", (5) and John Hogeson who had been mayor in 1533 had subsequently to resign his aldermanic gown because of poverty. (6)

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(1) York Civic Records, IV, 16-17.

(2) *Ibid.* I, 12.

(3) *Ibid.* I, 37-38; H.B. VII, fol. 4.

(4) *Ibid.* III, 115.

(5) *Ibid.* I, 25.

(6) Skaife, p.183.

Wealth was thus the key to civic office. But of no less importance in establishing a homogenous ruling class than the possession of wealth was the fact that many of its members possessed common business interests. Thus very nearly half of the bailiffs and sheriffs of York from 1301 to 1550 whose occupations can be determined and at least two-thirds of the mayors of York were merchants, whilst it is known even from the incomplete data available that some 80 per cent of the merchants who occupied the mayoral chair engaged in foreign trade.

In the early years of the fourteenth century when York men played little part in the export of wool and were perhaps not very prominent in other branches of foreign trade, it would seem that relatively few members of the governing class of York were merchants. Only two of the eight mayors of York between 1301 and 1333 - Nicholas le Flemyng and Thomas de Redeness who exported wool from Hull in 1309-10 - have been traced as merchants, and it seems likely that the other holders of the office either pursued some craft or trade in York or derived their income from the ownership of property, as perhaps did John de Askham who in 1308 owed 80 marks to William de Ayremyn which was to be repaid if necessary from his lands in Yorkshire and Nicholas de Langton, junior,

who was lord of the manor of Heworth and owned considerable property in York. (1)

But as the foreign trade of York's merchants expanded during the fourteenth century the part played by merchants in the government of York steadily increased so that by the beginning of the fifteenth century the governing body was composed, as Miss Sellers noted, mainly of merchants and especially of men engaged in foreign trade. (2) Some 44 of the 92 bailiffs between 1351 and 1396, 60 of the 94 sheriffs between 1396 and 1450 and 48 of the 95 sheriffs between 1451 and 1500 whose occupations are known were merchants, whilst for the period as a whole at least 86 of the 102 men who held office as mayor were members of that occupation. Nearly all of these men were concerned with foreign trade and their common interests thus extended far beyond the Council Chamber and brought them into regular contact with other members of York's governing body in each of the foreign markets with which York traded.

Many of these merchants exported wool to Calais. Two men who subsequently held office as mayor were among the aldermen appointed by the English wool merchants to govern Calais in 1363

(1) See Appendix E.

(2) M.B. I, vii, viii; II, xxix-xxxii; York Mercers, p.xiii.



when it was established as the Staple for English wool exports;<sup>(1)</sup> no fewer than 27 of the 52 York merchants exporting wool from Hull in 1378-79 and 1391-92 were past or future bailiffs of York, of whom 9 served as mayor; and in the fifteenth century 3 mayors of York became mayor of the Staple at Calais, one of them holding office continuously from 1456 to 1473.<sup>(2)</sup>

Many members of the governing class imported wine from Gascony. Thus at least 25 of the York wine importers recorded in two particular Hull customs accounts for the final quarter of the fourteenth century held the post of bailiff or sheriff; and in 1471-72 when the wine imports of York merchants, like those of English merchants in general, had declined considerably as a result of the loss of Gascony, 5 of the 15 York men importing wine at Hull were past or future sheriffs of York, four of whom held office as mayor.

Trade with Prussia also brought many aldermen of York in the fifteenth century into frequent contact. In 1422 the goods of William Bedale and William Bowes, who both held office as mayor, were seized by Hanseatic merchants on a ship sailing from Danzig;<sup>(3)</sup> some eighteen years later three future mayors of York.

(1) John de Gisburne and Roger de Hovingham. Rymer, III, part 11, 691, 693.

(2) Richard Russell, John Thresk, Richard York. See their biographies in Appendix E.

(3) H.R. 1431-76, II, 64-5.

were among the men of the city who submitted claims for compensation for the seizure of their goods in Prussia;<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1468 when the Valentine of Newcastle was seized by the Hanse in the Sound on its way to Prussia the goods of no less than a dozen former and future mayors of York were on board.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the Low Countries still more members of the city's governing class must have been in regular commercial contact. Towards the end of the fourteenth century one out of every three or four ships carrying the goods of York merchants whose arrival at Hull is recorded in the particular customs accounts was laden with miscellaneous cargoes of madder, alum, soap (smigmates), mercery, paper, kettles, hats and garlic from the Low Countries, and a century later, when York merchants had turned to this market in increasing numbers in an attempt to compensate for their virtual exclusion from the Baltic and for the decline of their wine imports from Gascony, scarcely a merchant of York engaged in foreign trade was not trading with the Low Countries.<sup>(3)</sup>

In York itself a common bond united members of the governing class who were merchants, wherever they traded, in

(1) H.R. 1431-76, II, 541-44.

(2) U.B. IX, 369-70.

(3) See pages 126-27 above.

that many of them were members of the York Company of Merchant Adventurers. Soon after the middle of the fourteenth century a number of merchants were meeting together with men from other crafts and trades in a religious fraternity which had its headquarters in Fossgate, and by the early fifteenth century this fraternity had evolved into an organisation exclusive to the merchants of York which was recognised by royal charter in 1430. (1) In the hall of the Company in Fossgate the merchants of the city met regularly in pursuit of religion, business, and pleasure, and through the Company friendships were forged between men dealing in widely different markets. Members of the governing body had often held high office in the Company and during the fifteenth century 22 mayors of York were Governors of the Company, some of them serving for several years as did Thomas Kirke, who was governor from 1436 to 1441, and Thomas Scauceby who held the office on seven occasions between 1443 and 1465. (2)

Many of the merchants on the governing body in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries also had close business connections with fellow aldermen and members of the twenty-four

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(1) York Mercers, pp. 111-xvii, 35-36.

(2) Ibid., pp. 322-23. See also the extracts from the Account Rolls of the Company in the volume and the unpublished Account Rolls in the Company Archives.

who were leading figures in the cloth-making industry, supplying them with woad and madder and exporting their cloth to distant markets. In the century between 1351 and 1450 when the cloth-making industry, was at its maximum prosperity the members of the governing class who were not merchants were drawn mainly from this industry. Thus 30 of the 186 bailiffs and sheriffs during that period whose occupations are known were drapers or dyers, as compared with 20 members of the food trades and 10 men from crafts working leather or fur, whilst a fuller, a weaver and a shearman also served as sheriff. Four of the drapers and two of the dyers became mayor and the weaver and shearman also occupied that office. (1)

By the early sixteenth century the trade of York's merchants was declining and the importance of merchants on the governing body of York steadily decreased. Only a third of the men who were sheriffs between 1501 and 1550 were merchants and the mayoral chair was increasingly held by men from a variety of other crafts and trades. Three mayors of York were goldsmiths, another three were tailors, and two more tanners, whilst a fishmonger, an inn-keeper, a Chandler, a glover, a hosier, a carver, and a glazier also occupied the mayoral chair during this

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(1) John de Braithwayt, William Girlyngton, William de Helmesley, John de Santon; Adam del Bank, John Croser; Thomas Bracebrigg, Thomas Esyngwald. See Appendix E.

period. Yet despite the substantial decline in their fortunes the merchants remained the largest single occupational group among the governing class and of the 49 mayors of York during the half century 27 were merchants, 22 of whom were also Governors of the Merchant Adventurers' Company.

The links forged in the field of business and reflected in the Council Chamber were strengthened by the more intimate ties of kinship. As we have seen in the previous chapter the small circle of wealthy men among the industrial and trading community from whom the governing class was drawn, was far from being recruited on a hereditary basis, and the constantly changing membership of the wealthiest class is reflected in the fact that only 16 of the 159 mayors of York during our period were the sons of former mayors of the city. But the members of York's governing class were often related by marriage. Henry Wyman, a Hanseatic merchant who settled in York in the late fourteenth century and was three times mayor, became by his marriage to a daughter of John de Barden, who was mayor in 1378, the brother in law of John de Moreton who held that office in 1418; John Bolton, an alderman whose father had been mayor, married a daughter of Nicholas Blackburn, senior, a wealthy merchant who lent money to the King on the Eve of Agincourt and was himself a former mayor of York; and William Ormeshed, a

wool and cloth exporter who was mayor in 1425 and 1433, married Ellen Gare whose father held the office in 1420. At a later date the son of John Gilliot, junior, married the daughter of Peter Jackson who was mayor in 1525 and his daughters Margaret and Maude married John Hogeson and Peter Robinson who also became mayors, whilst John Norman, a merchant who was mayor in 1524, was the brother in law of his fellow aldermen John Rasyn and John Thornton. (1)

The oligarchy that governed York was thus knit together into a fairly homogenous body by the possession of wealth, by ties of marriage, and by common business interests of which the principal for most of our period was foreign trade. Within the governing class there was often friction. Business deals were not always friendly, near relatives often quarrelled and the aldermen were sometimes bitterly divided over the choice of a new mayor. But in general their common interests and outlook united them to opposition outside and enabled them to rule York for more than two centuries virtually unchallenged.

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(1) See their biographies in Appendix E.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE EXPANSION AND DECLINE OF YORK IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.

Throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries some of the major functions performed by York were almost unchanged. York remained the centre of a diocese, and was still an important administrative centre for the government of the counties north of the Trent, whilst the attractions of the city as a centre of social life for the gentry of Northern England were in no way diminished. York, too, still flourished as an industrial town which supplied the North of England with her manufactures and as a market town where men from a wide area sold their goods to York merchants and other visiting north countrymen for redistribution to customers many miles away. Hence York was always assured of a certain measure of prosperity and was able to maintain her position as one of the leading English cities. But the sectors of York's economy that were closely linked with Western Europe by the ties of trade experienced no such stability and it was the fortunes of the cloth-making industry and of her commerce which largely determined the major fluctuations in the prosperity and population of York during our period.

At the opening of the fourteenth century York was pre-occupied with the war against Scotland. The officials and records of the Exchequer were transferred from London and housed in York on five occasions for a combined period of fourteen years between May 1298 and September 1338; the King was frequently in the city; parliaments were summoned there; and knights, nobles and soldiers passed through York on their way to the Scottish border. (1) The catering trades and many other crafts perhaps did not regret the use of York as the English headquarters, which for a time brought extra consumers to the city. But despite this apparent prosperity it would seem that the cloth-making industry and the international commerce of York which helped to sustain a population of some 11,000 inhabitants in the final quarter of the fourteenth century were then of relatively little importance.

The flourishing urban English cloth-making industry of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries appears to have been in decay, and the York industry which had once supplied cloth for the Royal Wardrobe and export markets as distant as Genoa, was probably but a shadow of its former self. The weavers of the city had fallen into serious arrears in

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(1) D.M. Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations to York in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', Essays in Medieval History presented to T.F. Tout; G. Benson, Later Medieval York, pp. 25-36.



making their annual payments to the Exchequer by the third quarter of the thirteenth century and during the early years of the fourteenth century whilst they complained bitterly of competition from country cloth-makers their debt steadily mounted. An analysis of the enrolments of freemen in the main cloth-making crafts at that date, moreover, suggests that the poverty of the weavers was no fiction invented to deceive the Exchequer and that the cloth-making industry in York was in fact at a low ebb. Only 3 weavers, 3 shearmen, 5 dyers, a fuller and a chaloner were recorded on the Register of Freemen between 1311 and 1331, and their combined number represented barely 2 per cent of the new freemen whose occupation can be determined.

It also seems likely that York merchants then played relatively little part in foreign trade. Neither the value nor the volume of their foreign trade in wine, cloth or miscellaneous merchandise can be determined, but it is significant that in the export of wool, the one important branch of foreign trade in which we can determine the size of individual cargoes in the early fourteenth century, York merchants played little part - although wool was at the close of the century easily the most valuable commodity of international trade handled by York's merchants. Alien merchants

dominated the wool exports of Hull as of other English ports at the beginning of the century and native exporters accounted for only 18,000 of the 47,000 sacks of wool shipped from Hull between Michaelmas 1304 and Michaelmas 1311, when the relative quantities of wool exported by native and alien merchants may for a time be determined. But even among the English exporters York merchants were relatively unimportant; they exported less than 200 of the 1,300 sacks of wool exported from Hull by English merchants in 1324-25, whilst in marked contrast with their successors in the second half of the century only two mayors of York between 1301 and 1331 have been traced as wool exporters.

Some of the principal sources of York's prosperity at a later date were thus of little importance at the opening of the fourteenth century and it is possible that the population of York was then at its lowest point between 1300 and 1550. The number of persons enrolling as freemen was smaller than at any other time during our period and in the decades 1301-11 and 1311-21 the number of freemen enrolling averaged 35 and 46 a year respectively as compared with an annual average of more than 50 freemen in each decade for the remainder of our period.

During the second and third quarters of the century there were signs of an expansion in York's economy. The most

striking development occurred in the cloth-making industry and the York crafts making cloth shared in the growth of the English industry which virtually priced foreign cloth out of the English market and created a substantial demand for English cloth in the Baltic, Gascony, and Flanders. Between 1331 and 1361 there was a more than twelvefold increase in the number of weavers, fullers, shearmen, dyers, and tapiters, becoming freemen of York, and the percentage of new freemen in these cloth-making crafts rose from two to fifteen per cent. The drapers, who frequently performed a vital function in the manufacture of cloth by acting as intermediaries between the cloth producer and the merchant who exported cloth, also increased in numbers and 28 were recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1361-71 as compared with only 5 in 1321-31. The improving fortunes of the York weavers were reflected in the renewal of their original charter from the King in 1346 and the general prosperity of the industry was indicated by its ability to absorb a number of immigrants from the Low Countries when once the expansion had begun.

There are also signs that the international trade of York's merchants had begun to expand. The growth of their wool exports since the early years of the fourteenth century is very evident. It is significant that in 1363 when Calais became

the Continental Staple for English wool exports two York merchants were among the aldermen chosen by the Company of the Staple to rule Calais, and in 1378-79 when the wool exports of individual merchants from Hull can be determined after an interval of some 50 years, York men comprised the most important group of wool merchants there, shipping some 1,600 of the 2,700 sacks of wool exported that year as compared with a mere 200 sacks in 1324-25. In other branches of foreign trade a statistical comparison with the early fourteenth century is impossible, yet here too we may surmise that the trade of York's merchants had expanded. Thus there is little doubt that from the middle of the fourteenth century York merchants steadily increased their exports of cloth as in common with men of other English towns they sought new markets for the rapidly expanding English textile industry, and exports of cloth from Hull, which served as an outlet for the cloth made in York and the West Riding, rose from 1,000 cloths between 1347 and 1357 to 8,000 cloths between 1357 and 1367. The miscellaneous imports of York merchants too must surely have increased as a result of their search for new markets for cloth which took them for the first time to Prussia by the final quarter of the century.

The increase in the foreign trade of York's merchants and

the expansion of the cloth-making industry was accompanied by a general development of York's economy. Few occupations failed to benefit from the prosperity of the merchants and cloth-making crafts which created a much larger demand for consumer goods of every description. The number of new freemen enrolling in most crafts and trades in York increased steadily in each decade from 1331 to 1371 and the total number of new freemen rose from 660 in 1331-41 to 1050 in 1361-71.

The increase in the enrolments of new freemen, as Miss Sellers suggested, may have occurred partly because the heavy mortality caused by the Black Death and a further outbreak of Plague a dozen years later suddenly gave many ambitious young men the chance to become master craftsmen. But the marked rise in rents received by the Vicars Choral of York Minster from property in the city before the middle of the century and the spectacular revival of their fortunes after the Black Death suggests that the rise in the number of persons becoming freemen reflected a genuine increase in the population of York. The gross half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral from their property in York increased from £34 from 92 tenements in 1321 to £48 from 114 tenements in 1336 and although the rents of their tenements subsequently declined, probably as a result of the withdrawal of the officials of the Exchequer from York

in 1338 as Edward III directed the major English military effort towards France instead of Scotland, the upward movement of rents had been fully resumed before the outbreak of the Black Death. The mortality caused by this Plague, measured by its impact on the rents of the Vicars Choral was severe. Their half-yearly income from rents fell sharply from £43 in 1347 to £28 in 1352, although the number of tenements they owned remained the same, and 22 houses were described as vacant. Yet by 1359 the half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral from property in York had risen to £37 and by 1371 the low level of rents resulting from the Black Death had been easily surpassed. The average rent per tenement in 1371 was a shilling more than in 1347 and the half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral had risen to £61, whilst their confidence that the expansion would continue was reflected in the decision to increase their property by erecting new houses on the derelict site of the church of St. Benedict.

All the evidence examined therefore points to an expansion of York's economy during the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century and it seems likely that in 1377, when the lay population of York may be calculated for the first time during our period, York was a prosperous expanding city larger than any other English city except London. Moreover the growth of York's economy continued until the end of the century. The

cloth-making industry grew still more prosperous. The number of weavers, fullers, shearmen, tapiters, and dyers recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1361-71, when 152 were enrolled, was the maximum recorded in any decade during our period. But the number enrolled in each decade from 1371 to 1400 was greater than in either of the decades 1341-51 and 1351-61, whilst the proportion of new freemen entering these crafts never fell below 12 per cent. The continued expansion of the industry moreover was reflected in the growth of crafts allied to the industry. Cardmakers manufacturing the implements employed in carding the wool before it was spun appeared for the first time on the Register of Freemen, where eighteen members were recorded between 1351 and 1400; and the wiredrawers making the tiny metal hooks that fitted into the wool cards, in addition to their other manufactures, increased their numbers on the Register from four in the decades 1311-51 to sixteen in the second half of the century. The sharpening of the shears used to impart a fine finish to the cloth after it had been fulled also became a specialised occupation and sheargrinders began to be recorded as freemen of the city; the first made his appearance in 1346, and by the end of the century a further seven persons had been noted with that occupation or were described simply as grynder.

The foreign trade of York's merchants was probably still

expanding. Exports of cloth from Hull, of which York merchants normally exported no less than half, rose from 8,000 cloths between 1357 and 1367 to very nearly 38,000 cloths between 1387 and 1397, and it seems likely that their miscellaneous imports continued to increase as they opened up new markets for cloth on the Continent. Their imports of wine too probably increased, after the general contraction in English wine imports during the third quarter of the fourteenth century, to a level considerably greater than at the beginning of the century. The volume of wine imported at Hull, in contrast with English ports as a whole, was probably no smaller than at the beginning of the century, whilst English merchants accounted for more than 90 per cent of the wine imported there, as compared with only 50 per cent before the eve of the Hundred Years War, when English merchants in general displaced aliens from the import trade in wine. Hence, unless we assume that York merchants were much less enterprising than other English wine importers at Hull it seems reasonable to suppose that the volume of their wine imports was somewhat larger than before.

The results of the expansion in foreign trade and cloth-making were seen in a further growth of population. Over a hundred more persons enrolled as freemen between 1381 and 1391 than in the previous decade, although the total enrolments were



lower than they were between 1361 and 1371, and during the final decade of the fourteenth century nearly 1,200 persons became freemen. The mortality caused by the Plague at York in 1379 and in 1390-1391, in so far as it created sudden chances of promotion for scores of ambitious young men may partly explain the further rise in the enrolments of new freemen. But the continued prosperity of the Vicars Choral of the Minster suggests that some part of the increase was, in fact, due to an expanding population. The half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral from property in York increased steadily from £61 in 1371 to £85 in 1401, whilst the average rent per tenement rose from 6.7 to 7.1 shillings as the number of tenements owned increased from 183 to 238.

At the close of the fourteenth century York was therefore exceedingly prosperous with a population larger than in 1377 when she already ranked as the second city of England. Her merchants constituted by far the wealthiest group of men trading at Hull: They handled over half the wool and cloth exports of Hull and a third of her imports of wine and miscellaneous imports and exports, and the combined value of their trade in 1398-99, when all imports and exports at Hull were worth some £25,000, may be conservatively estimated at £10,400 - a figure which was almost certainly far in excess of the value of their

foreign trade at the beginning of the century, when their wool exports alone were probably worth less than £1,000 a year. The cloth-making industry was then at its height and during the last three decades of the fourteenth century more than 12 per cent of new freemen entered crafts engaged in the manufacture of cloth. The products of the industry were exported by the enterprise of her merchants to new markets on the Continent, and in Prussia, which was successfully penetrated on a large scale by English merchants in the late fourteenth century, York men were at one time more numerous than the merchants of any other English town. It is not therefore surprising that in June 1392 when Richard II moved his Court and the Exchequer from London for six months because of friction with the city, he chose York as his Headquarters, and in 1396 York received recognition of its importance by its elevation to the status of a county. (1)

Shortly after the beginning of the fifteenth century the international commerce of her merchants began to decline and the expansion in York's economy came to an end. Some measure of their fading fortunes can be seen by the middle of the fifteenth century in the downward trend of Hull's foreign trade, which was probably worth only £250,000 in the decade 1437-47 as compared with a figure of some £420,000 between 1407 and 1417.

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(1) Broome, op. cit.

Imports of wine at Hull amounted to only 10,000 tuns as compared with an import of 14,000 tuns between 1407 and 1417, and the value of goods paying poundage, in part reflecting the exclusion of English merchants from the Skania fisheries by the Hanse, was barely half the value of such goods in the decade 1407-17. The decline in the foreign trade of merchants shipping through Hull, however, mainly reflected the fall in their wool exports as the English cloth-making industry made a further striking advance towards the middle of the fifteenth century and still more English wool was diverted from foreign to English cloth-makers for export as cloth. The merchants trading through Hull, moreover, unlike English merchants as a whole, completely failed to compensate for the decline in their wool exports by increasing their exports of cloth. Exports of wool from Hull, which constituted approximately half the foreign trade of the port by value in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, declined from 35,000 sacks in 1407-17 to 19,000 sacks in 1437-47, whilst Hull's cloth exports shortly before the middle of the century, when English cloth exports surpassed all previous peaks, represented not even a return to the level of cloth exports achieved towards the end of the fourteenth century.

The sudden decrease in the foreign trade of York's merchants, who constituted some of the wealthiest men in the city, must in

turn have affected the prosperity of her other inhabitants, and it seems likely that the population of York had reached its peak by the beginning of the fifteenth century, was stationary for some 20 years and then began to decline. The number of new freemen recorded during the decades 1431-51 was 14 per cent lower than in the decades 1381-1401 and the rents of property in York owned by the Vicars Choral of the Minster and by the Common Chamber of the city to maintain the bridges over the Ouse and the Foss were falling. The income of the Vicars Choral from some 250 tenements in York declined from some £160 a year in 1426 to little more than £100 a year in 1456, and the property in the care of the custodians of Ouse Bridge which had yielded £129 in 1440, when the surviving series of rent rolls kept by the custodians in effect begins, produced only £105 in 1454, whilst the average income per tenement had decreased from 8.2 to 7.6 shillings.

During the second half of the fifteenth century the repression in York's economy became more pronounced. In part this was due to a further decline in the international trade of her merchants; the wool exports of merchants shipping through Hull shrank from 19,000 sacks in 1437-47 to 6,000 sacks in 1467-77 and then to 2,000 sacks in the decade 1487 to 1497, and all other branches of Hull's trade were affected by the general depression in English trade that resulted from

deteriorating relations with the Hanse and the loss of Gascony. The depths of the depression were reached in the decade 1457-67 when the total value of Hull's trade amounted to less than £100,000; but although there was a general revival in England's foreign trade by the final quarter of the century as English merchants embarked on a rapid expansion of trade with the Low Countries which more than compensated for their reduced imports of wine from Gascony and their virtual exclusion from the Baltic, the merchants shipping through Hull did not fully recover from the decay of their former trade connections. A subordinate role in English trade with the Low Countries, which was largely dominated by the merchants of London, proved a poor substitute for the leading position formerly occupied by York merchants in Prussia, and at the turn of the fifteenth century when memories of the depression were fading away the total value of Hull's foreign trade was still some 20 per cent less than it was between 1437 and 1447.

The waning prosperity of York was also intensified by the decline of her most important industry in the face of growing competition from the cloth-making industry of the West Riding and other rural districts of England where labour was cheap, taxation was light, and water power existed to work the fulling mill. The Abbey of Durham which had normally bought its cloth

from York drapers in the first half of the fifteenth century subsequently made purchases from men of Halifax and Leeds, and even York itself was invaded by cloth from the West Riding, where Leeds, Halifax, Bradford and Wakefield, were by the reign of Henry VII, on their way to becoming the prosperous clothing towns noted by Leland in his itinerary. The mayor and aldermen of York frequently had to consider regulations for the sale of country cloth in the city at their meetings; in 1502 one of the two Fairs instituted in the city after an expensive petition to the King made special provision for the sale of cloth from Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield and Halifax as also from Ripon, Knaresborough and Kendal; and the large and varied stock of West Riding cloth owned by a York tailor who died in 1485 suggests that the citizens of York had started to dress in country cloth. It is therefore not surprising that, although the number of new freemen recorded as tapiters, who specialised in the production of worsted cloth, remained constant, the number of weavers, fullers, shearmen and dyers declined from 430 between 1401 and 1451 to 331 in the second half of the century. The number of weavers enrolling as freemen in particular averaged only 25 a decade as compared with an average of more than 50 a decade between 1351 and 1401, and the fading prosperity of the Weavers' Gild was reflected in

the reduction of their annual fee farm by a half in 1478 because of poverty and its total remission eight years later.

The decline of the cloth-making industry and the international commerce of York's merchants were in turn connected with a curtailment of the distributive functions performed by her merchants in England. The distribution of cloth in the North of England tended to pass out of the hands of York merchants with the triumph of the West Riding industry and it seems likely that the merchants and clothiers of Wakefield and Halifax like their successors in the early sixteenth century sold their cloth to merchants in London, who could, by virtue of their supremacy among English traders in the Low Countries, provide an ample supply of imported dyestuffs and a ready market abroad for West Riding cloth. At the same time, as the foreign trade of York's merchants at Hull declined, London merchants invaded the North of England in increasing numbers in search of Yorkshire cloth and lead, supplying in return a large variety of imported goods hitherto obtained from York merchants, so that in 1486 when regulations were drawn up about the activities of men from other towns trading in York, her aldermen thought immediately of London merchants, the only group of visiting traders mentioned by name, and specifically forbade them to sell merchandise in the city save to freemen of York.

The setbacks suffered by the textile workers and merchants of the city were not offset by gains in other sectors of the economy. Thus although the pewterers increased in numbers, several other York crafts declined during the second half of the century. The skimmers were affected like the skimmers of London and other English towns, by a change in fashion which seems to have spread from the Court of the Dukes of Burgundy and by the increasing difficulty of obtaining furs from Russia, and the number of skimmers enrolling as freemen of York fell from 114 between 1401 and 1451 to 25 in the second half of the century. The bow making industry also declined, and the number of bowyers and fletchers enrolling as freemen fell from 85 in the first half of the century to 39 between 1451 and 1501, whilst the last bow-string maker to become a freeman was recorded in 1489.

The cumulative effect of these changes was a further fall in the population of York. The number of new freemen enrolling during the second half of the fifteenth century was nearly 30 per cent less than the number who enrolled between 1351 and 1401, and in the decade 1491-1501 fewer new freemen were recorded than in any decade since 1331. The revenue received by the Custodians of Ouse Bridge from tenements in York fell from £105 in 1454 to £74 in 1501, and the half-yearly income of the Vicars



Choral from their property in the city declined from some £50 in 1456 to £34 by the end of the century. The income of a number of private property owners in York during this period too probably declined, as did the income received by the Merchant Adventurers Company from property in various parts of York for the upkeep of their hospital.

In the early sixteenth century the decline continued. York merchants during the sixteenth century were still as enterprising as their predecessors; they shared in the expansion of English trade with Spain which had begun towards the end of the fifteenth century, and in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, in common with other English merchants, they once more traded with Prussia and the Baltic. But the revival of Hull's foreign trade, which had begun after the depression during the third quarter of the fifteenth century, reached its peak at the end of the century and thereafter as the predominance of London merchants in English trade with the Low Countries increased, the foreign trade of Hull, like that of Lynn and other provincial ports of Eastern England, steadily contracted. The cloth exports of Hull shrank from 25,000 cloths between 1497 and 1507 to 15,000 cloths in the following decade and then to 7,000 cloths in the years 1537 to 1547; wine imports after 1507 returned to the low level that had been

reached after the loss of Gascony in the middle of the fifteenth century; and the value of goods paying poundage declined from £68,000 in the decade 1497-1507 to less than £40,000 in 1537-1547. Hence the total foreign trade of all merchants at Hull by the middle of the sixteenth century was worth barely £75,000 a decade, as compared with nearly £400,000 a decade at the beginning of the fifteenth century. York merchants who had shipped goods worth more than £10,000 a year at the end of the fourteenth century had to be content with shipping goods valued at a quarter of that sum, and the ranks of the governing class in York were increasingly recruited from men who never engaged in foreign trade.

The York cloth-making industry too contracted further in the early years of the sixteenth century. The linen weavers, and above all the tapiters weaving worsted cloth, were now enrolling in greater numbers on the Register of Freemen than at the end of the fourteenth century, but their products were seldom intended for an international market and their prosperity only in part offset a further decline in the crafts making woollen cloth. Only 96 weavers, fullers, shearmen, and dyers, were enrolled as freemen between 1501 and 1551 as compared with 331 between 1451 and 1501, and the proportion of freemen enrolling in these crafts was less than 4 per cent as

compared with more than 12 per cent in the second half of the fourteenth century. The more highly skilled crafts of shearmen and dyers declined no less markedly than the crafts of weavers and fullers, and the groups of cloth finishers that flourished in Bristol, Exeter, Ipswich, and London, shearing before export cloth which had been woven and fulled in the country, had no parallel in York, where no more than seven dyers nor three shearmen became freemen in any decade of the early sixteenth century. Some cloth made in the country may still have been dyed in York as it had been at least a century earlier, but the West Riding as a whole dispatched most of its cloth for export direct to London and purchased its woad and madder from men of that city, thus largely avoiding the markets of York and Hull. All branches of the industry connected with the manufacture of woollen cloth therefore declined, as did the crafts allied to the industry manufacturing textile implements. The last shearsmith to become a freeman was recorded in 1481, and only ten wiredrawers and cardmakers were mentioned on the Register of Freemen during the first half of the sixteenth century.

The continued decline of the cloth-making industry and the foreign trade of York merchants was again followed by signs of a fall in population, although there is some evidence to suggest that by the middle of the sixteenth century the decline

in population had ceased. The number of persons enrolling as freemen fell in each decade between 1491 and 1531, from 580 in 1491-1501 to 517 in 1521-1531, and the enrolments for the first half of the sixteenth century as a whole were 20 per cent lower than in the second half of the fifteenth century. The half-yearly income of the Vicars Choral from their property in York fell from £39 in 1510 to £32 in 1521 and the income of the Custodians of Ouse Bridge from tenements in York which had amounted to £30 in 1503 had fallen to £59 by 1528. The decrease in population was now very evident and the disposal of vacant and derelict houses was a serious problem for the civic authorities. It had become necessary by 1529 to secure approval from the civic authorities before any house could be taken down and in 1532-33 the city instructed its members of Parliament to seek legislation that would vest in the city the possession of all vacant sites where houses had been demolished, unless the owner would rebuild on the site.

There were thus considerable fluctuations in the prosperity and population of York during our period. There was a rapid expansion in York's economy from the first quarter of the fourteenth century until the beginning of the fifteenth century, mainly as a result of the growth of the cloth-making industry and the foreign trade of York merchants, and thereafter, as

both these sources of prosperity faded, there was a steady decline until the population of York had returned at the end of our period to almost the same level as before. The more local pillars of York's economy remained and the city continued to function as a regional capital. But the important part that York had once played in the industrial and commercial life of the nation had largely vanished.

APPENDIX A.THE OCCUPATIONS OF YORK'S FREEMEN

Note: The few clergy, monastic and diocesan officials, and the more permanent civic officials such as sergeants who were enrolled as freemen have been omitted from the following Tables.

TABLE I.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF MEN ENROLLING ON THE  
REGISTER OF YORK FREEMEN 1311-41. (1)

<u>TEXTILES</u>	<u>Number</u>
Chaloner . . . . .	3
<u>Chapeller</u> (2) . . . . .	1
Cloth-seller ( <u>Clathesellar</u> , <u>clatseller</u> ) . . . . .	2
Draper ( <u>Draper</u> , <u>lyndraper</u> ) . . . . .	10
Dyer ( <u>Litester</u> , <u>litster</u> , <u>tainturer</u> , <u>taynturer</u> , <u>teinturer</u> , <u>tinctor</u> ) . . . . .	12
Fuller ( <u>Fullor</u> , <u>walker</u> ) . . . . .	3
Hat-maker ( <u>Hatter</u> ) . . . . .	8
Hosier ( <u>Hoser</u> , <u>hosier</u> ) . . . . .	10
<u>Parmenter</u> (3) . . . . .	1
Shearman ( <u>Toundour</u> ) . . . . .	8
Tailor ( <u>Cissor</u> , <u>taillior</u> , <u>taillour</u> , <u>taillur</u> , <u>taylliour</u> ) . . . . .	70
Weaver ( <u>Tistour</u> , <u>tixtor</u> , <u>webester</u> , <u>webster</u> ) . . . . .	12
Total	<u>140</u>

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- (1) Register of Freemen, I, pp.13-34. At this period the city chamberlains, who were responsible for the enrolment of new freemen, were probably appointed in February each year. See the introduction to Appendix E.
- (2) Probably a maker of hats or caps (O.E.D., Prompt. Parv., Cath. Ang.)
- (3) A tailor, one who provides vestments (O.E.D. See also Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis).

FOOD

Baker	( <u>Furner</u> , <u>pestor</u> , <u>pestour</u> )	. . . . .	60
Brewer	( <u>Breuster</u> )	. . . . .	1
Butcher	( <u>Bocher</u> , <u>bochier</u> , <u>carnifex</u> )	. . . . .	73
Cook	( <u>Cocus</u> )	. . . . .	35
Fisherman	( <u>Fischer</u> , <u>fisscher</u> , <u>peschour</u> , <u>piscarius</u> )	. . . . .	34
Fishmonger	( <u>Fisschemanger</u> , <u>piscator</u> )	. . . . .	21
Maltster		. . . . .	2
Miller	( <u>Molendinarius</u> , <u>mouner</u> )	. . . . .	4
Potager	(1)	. . . . .	1
Poulterer	( <u>Pulter</u> )	. . . . .	11
Salter		. . . . .	2
Saucemaker	( <u>Sauser</u> )	. . . . .	7
Spicer	( <u>Specer</u> )	. . . . .	24
Taverner		. . . . .	<u>44</u>
Total			<u>319</u>

TRADE

Chapman	. . . . .	18
Mercer	. . . . .	81
Merchant	( <u>Marchant</u> , <u>marchaunt</u> , <u>mercator</u> )	. . . . .
Total		<u>151</u>

(1) A person who makes soup or a dish consisting mainly of cooked vegetables. (O.E.D.)



LEATHER

Bottle-maker ( <u>Boteller</u> , <u>botoler</u> ) . . . . .	3
Cordwainer ( <u>Allutarius</u> , <u>cordwaner</u> , <u>sutor</u> ) . . . . .	93
Currier ( <u>Couraour</u> , <u>couraaur</u> ) . . . . .	4
Glover ( <u>Cirotecarius</u> , <u>gaunter</u> , <u>glover</u> ) . . . . .	13
<u>Maler</u> (1) . . . . .	1
Parchment-maker ( <u>Parcheminer</u> , <u>parchimener</u> , <u>parchminer</u> ) . . . . .	3
Purse-maker ( <u>Purser</u> ) . . . . .	2
Saddler ( <u>Sadeler</u> , <u>seler</u> , <u>seller</u> ) . . . . .	19
<u>Schether</u> . . . . .	3
Skinner ( <u>Pelliparius</u> , <u>pelter</u> ) . . . . .	47
Tanner ( <u>Barker</u> , <u>tannator</u> , <u>tannour</u> ) . . . . .	60
<u>Tewer</u> . . . . .	3
Total	<u>251</u>

BUILDING

Carpenter . . . . .	17
Glasier ( <u>Verroure</u> ) . . . . .	3
Mason ( <u>Cementarius</u> , <u>mason</u> ) . . . . .	7
Plasterer . . . . .	2
Plumber ( <u>Plummer</u> ) . . . . .	5
Tiler ( <u>Tughler</u> , <u>tygeler</u> ) . . . . .	2
Total	<u>36</u>

(1) A male was a form of leather bag (Cath. Ang.)

METAL

Armourer ( <u>Armoror</u> , <u>fourbur</u> , <u>furbour</u> , <u>furbur</u> )	21
Cutler ( <u>Cotoler</u> , <u>cotolor</u> )	43
Girdler ( <u>Centurer</u> , <u>ceynturer</u> , <u>girdeler</u> , <u>zonarius</u> )	31
Gold-beater ( <u>Orbator</u> , <u>orbatur</u> )	2
Goldsmith ( <u>Aurifaber</u> , <u>orfeuer</u> )	11
Ironmonger ( <u>Irenmanger</u> , <u>yrnmanger</u> )	10
<u>Latoner</u>	4
Locksmith ( <u>Lokesmyth</u> )	1
Lorimer	6
Marshal ( <u>Mareschall</u> )	10
Nail-maker ( <u>Nayler</u> )	2
Smith ( <u>Faber</u> , <u>fabour</u> , <u>ferroure</u> )	17
Spurrier ( <u>Sporier</u> , <u>spurier</u> )	3
Wire-drawer ( <u>Wyrdragher</u> )	3
Total	<u>164</u>

- (1) In this and the two following Tables potters have been listed under 'Miscellaneous Occupations' since some of the potters may have been working earthenware rather than metal.

MISCELLANEOUS

<u>Aguiler</u> , <u>aguiller</u> , <u>aguyller</u> . <sup>(1)</sup>	4
<u>Barber</u>	9
<u>Batur</u>	2
<u>Boller</u> (2)	3
<u>Bowyer</u> ( <u>Bougher</u> )	9
<u>Camber</u>	1
<u>Carder</u>	2
<u>Carter</u>	1
<u>Cartwright</u> ( <u>Cartwrith</u> )	2
<u>Chandler</u> ( <u>Candeler</u> , <u>chandler</u> , <u>chaundeler</u> )	5
<u>Cheser</u>	2
<u>Cooper</u> ( <u>Couper</u> )	6
<u>Copper</u>	4
<u>Cue</u>	1
<u>Doubour</u> , <u>dubber</u>	10
<u>Fletcher</u> ( <u>Flecher</u> )	1
<u>Fufster</u>	1
<u>Gardener</u> ( <u>Garthener</u> )	1
<u>Gourder</u>	1

Carried forward

65

(1) See Nedeler.(2) Probably a bowl-maker; a bolle was a bowl (O.E.D. See also M.E. I, 164).

<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u> (Continued)										Brought forward	65
Harper	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Heumer</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Horner	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
Horse-dealer	( <u>Corsour</u> , <u>cosour</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
<u>Lomenour</u>	(1)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Lyner</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Mariner	( <u>Mariner</u> , <u>maryner</u> , <u>nauta</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	52
<u>Medicus</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Messenger</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Mukdragher</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Nedeler</u>	(2)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Packer	( <u>Pakker</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Painter	( <u>Payntour</u> , <u>pictor</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
Porter	( <u>Porter</u> , <u>portour</u> , <u>portur</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
Potter	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13
Roper	( <u>Raper</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	<u>1</u>
Carried forward											161

(1) An illuminator of manuscripts (O.E.D.) Members of the occupation were also described as lumner, and lymner. See Table II.

(2) See aguiler.

<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u> (Continued)										Brought forward	161
Shipwright	( <u>Schipwrith</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Stationer	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Toller</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Trumper</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Turner	( <u>Turnour</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Tynkler</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
<u>Wayder</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
<u>Wodseller</u>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Wool-merchant	( <u>Mercator lanarum</u> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	<u>1</u>
										Total	<u>176</u>

TABLE IITHE OCCUPATIONS OF MEN ENROLLING ON THE  
REGISTER OF YORK FREEMEN 1411-41.(1)TEXTILES

Cap-knitter ( <u>Capknytter</u> ) .. .. .	1
Cap-maker .. .. .	4
Coverlet-weaver ( <u>Coverlitewever</u> , <u>coverlitwever</u> )	2
Draper ( <u>Draper</u> , <u>drapour</u> ) .. .. .	40
Dyer ( <u>Litster</u> , <u>littester</u> , <u>lytster</u> , <u>lyttestar</u> , <u>lyttester</u> )	62
Embroiderer ( <u>Broudester</u> , <u>broudster</u> , <u>browederer</u> )	3
Fuller ( <u>Walker</u> ) .. .. .	52
Hat-maker .. .. .	2
Hosier ( <u>Hosier</u> , <u>hosyer</u> ) .. .. .	3
Linen-weaver ( <u>Lynnnewever</u> , <u>lynwever</u> ) .. .. .	6
Shearman ( <u>Sherman</u> ) ... .. .	33
Tailor ( <u>Tailliour</u> , <u>taillour</u> , <u>tailour</u> , <u>tayllour</u> )	186
Tapiter ( <u>Tapitar</u> , <u>tapiter</u> , <u>tapyter</u> ) .. .. .	43
Vestment-maker ( <u>Vestementmaker</u> , <u>vestmentmaker</u> )	3
Weaver ( <u>Wever</u> ) .. .. .	112
Total	<u>552</u>

(1) Register of Freeman, I, 114-157. At this period the city chamberlains, who enrolled new freemen, were appointed in February each year. See the introduction to Appendix E.

FOOD

Baker	( <u>Baker</u> , <u>bakester</u> , <u>bakster</u> , <u>baxter</u> , <u>pistor</u> )	90
Brewer,	( <u>Berebrewer</u> , <u>brewer</u> , <u>brewster</u> )	18
Butcher	( <u>Bocher</u> , <u>boucher</u> , <u>bucher</u> )	86
Cook	( <u>Cocus</u> , <u>couk</u> , <u>cuke</u> )	37
Fisherman	( <u>Fissher</u> , <u>fyssher</u> , <u>piscarius</u> )	44
Fishmonger	( <u>Fishmanger</u> , <u>fiessmanger</u> , <u>fyshmanger</u> , <u>fysshemanger</u> , <u>fysshmanger</u> , <u>fysshmonger</u> )	38
Hosteler	( <u>Hosteler</u> , <u>hostiller</u> , <u>osteler</u> )	7
Miller	( <u>Millner</u> , <u>milner</u> , <u>mylner</u> )	22
Obletmaker,	<u>ubletmaker</u> , <sup>(1)</sup>	2
Poulterer	( <u>Pulter</u> )	8
Saucemaker	( <u>Salsemaker</u> , <u>saucer</u> , <u>sausemaker</u> , <u>sausmaker</u> , <u>sawcemaker</u> )	11
Spicer	( <u>Spicer</u> , <u>spycer</u> )	20
Taverner		1
Vintner	( <u>Vinetar</u> , <u>vynter</u> )	18
	Total	<u>402</u>

TRADE

Chapman		63
Mercer		130
Merchant	( <u>Marchaunt</u> , <u>mercator</u> , <u>merchand</u> , <u>merchaunt</u> )	210
	Total	<u>403</u>

(1) An oble or oblete was "a kind of wafer cake, often sweetened with honey, and generally made of the finest wheaten bread. The consecrated wafer distributed to communicants at Mass was so termed" (Halliwell).

LEATHER

Bottle-maker ( <u>Botelmaker</u> ) . . . . .	1
Cobbler ( <u>Cobiller</u> , <u>cobler</u> ) . . . . .	5
Cordwainer ( <u>Cordewaner</u> , <u>cordwaner</u> , <u>cordwyner</u> ) .	111
Currier ( <u>Coureur</u> , <u>courieur</u> , <u>coureur</u> , <u>curriour</u> , <u>curroure</u> , <u>curryour</u> )	20
<u>Freser</u> (1) . . . . .	2
Glover . . . . .	35
Parchment-maker ( <u>Parchemener</u> , <u>parchementmaker</u> , <u>parchemyner</u> )	7
Patten-maker (2) ( <u>Patener</u> , <u>patenemaker</u> , <u>patenmaker</u> , <u>patoner</u> , <u>patynmaker</u> )	6
Saddler ( <u>Saddeller</u> , <u>sadeler</u> , <u>sadler</u> ) . . . . .	23
<u>Shether</u> . . . . .	3
Skinner ( <u>Pelliparius</u> , <u>pelter</u> , <u>skynner</u> ) . . . . .	74
Tanner ( <u>Barkar</u> , <u>barker</u> , <u>tannour</u> ) . . . . .	78
Total	<u>365</u>

- (1) Fresyng was one of the functions normally performed by the curriers (M.B. I, 65). A definition of the process is given in the glossary of that volume.
- (2) Pattens were normally wooden shoes or clogs (Cath.Ang., Prompt. Parv.) The pattens made in York, however, may have contained a considerable proportion of leather, and joint regulations drawn up in 1471 governing the York patten-makers and two other leather working occupations, the bottle-makers and bowgemakers, suggest that the patten-makers were manufacturing bellows, quivers, trunks and pouches as well as pattens (M.B. II, 139).



BUILDING

Carpenter ( <u>Carpentarius</u> , <u>carpenter</u> ) . . . .	15
Carver ( <u>Carver</u> , <u>carvour</u> , <u>karvour</u> ) . . . .	13
Glazier ( <u>Glacier</u> , <u>glacyer</u> , <u>glasier</u> , <u>glasyer</u> ) . .	10
Joiner ( <u>Junour</u> , <u>juynour</u> ) . . . . .	8
Marbler <sup>(1)</sup> . . . . .	1
Mason . . . . .	35
Plasterer ( <u>Plasterer</u> , <u>plastrer</u> ) . . . . .	15 <sup>(2)</sup>
Plumber ( <u>Plumer</u> , <u>plummer</u> ) . . . . .	12
Rough mason ( <u>Rughmason</u> ) . . . . .	2
Sawyer ( <u>Sagher</u> , <u>sawer</u> ) . . . . .	25
Slater ( <u>Sclater</u> ) . . . . .	1
Tile-maker ( <u>Teelmaker</u> , <u>tyelmaker</u> , <u>tylemaker</u> ) .	9
Tiler ( <u>Telar</u> , <u>teler</u> , <u>tieler</u> , <u>tyeler</u> , <u>tyler</u> ) .	19
Wright ( <u>Wright</u> , <u>wryght</u> ) . . . . .	74
Total	<u>239</u>

(1) Carver of marble, sculptor (O.E.D. See also L.F.Salzman, Building in England down to 1540).

(2) In addition nine freemen were described as 'plasterer and tiler'.

METAL

Armourer ( <u>Armorer</u> , <u>armourer</u> , <u>armurer</u> )	16
Bell-founder ( <u>Belmaker</u> )	1
Bladesmith ( <u>Bladesmyth</u> , <u>bladsmyth</u> )	8
Brazier (1) ( <u>Brasyer</u> )	1
Cutler ( <u>Coteller</u> , <u>cuteller</u> , <u>cutler</u> , <u>cutteler</u> )	21
Founder ( <u>Founder</u> , <u>foundour</u> )	13
Girdler ( <u>Girdeler</u> , <u>girdiller</u> , <u>girdler</u> , <u>gurdiller</u> , <u>gyrdeler</u> , <u>gyrdiller</u> )	32
Goldsmith ( <u>Goldesmyth</u> , <u>goldsmyth</u> )	43
Ironmonger ( <u>Irenmanger</u> )	2
Locksmith ( <u>Loksmyth</u> )	6
Lorimer ( <u>Lorymer</u> )	5
Marshal ( <u>Marsshall</u> )	25
Pewterer ( <u>Peuderer</u> , <u>pewderer</u> , <u>pewederer</u> , <u>pewter</u> , <u>pewterer</u> )	16
Pinmaker ( <u>Pynner</u> )	20
Riveter ( <u>Revetour</u> )	1
Shear-grinder ( <u>Sheregrynder</u> )	1
Smith ( <u>Ferroure</u> , <u>smyth</u> )	31
Spurrier ( <u>Sporier</u> , <u>sporiour</u> , <u>sporyer</u> , <u>spuryar</u> , <u>spuryer</u> )	16
<u>Stethymaker</u> (2)	1
Wire-drawer ( <u>Wiredrawer</u> , <u>wyredrawer</u> )	3
Wire-smith ( <u>Wiresmyth</u> )	1
Total	263

(1) One who works in brass (O.E.D.)

(2) A stethy or stithy was an anvil (O.E.D., Cath. Ang.)



MISCELLANEOUS (Continued)	Brought forward	176
Jeweller ( <u>Jueller</u> , <u>juellour</u> ) . . . . .		2
Lawyer ( <u>Homo legalis</u> , <u>homo legis</u> , <u>legisperitus</u> ) .		5
Leach ( <u>Leche</u> ) . . . . .		1
<u>Leysmyth</u> . . . . .		1
<u>Lunner</u> , <u>lynnner</u> (1) . . . . .		6
<u>Lyman</u> . . . . .		1
<u>Maltgrynder</u> . . . . .		1
<u>Medicus</u> . . . . .		7
<u>Melemaker</u> . . . . .		3
Mariner ( <u>Mariner</u> , <u>maryner</u> , <u>shipman</u> , <u>shypman</u> ) . .		60
Minstrel ( <u>Mynstrall</u> ) . . . . .		1
<u>Monemaker</u> . . . . .		2
Organ-maker ( <u>Organemaker</u> ) . . . . .		1
<u>Outryder</u> . . . . .		1
Painter ( <u>Paynter</u> , <u>payntour</u> ) . . . . .		6
Pannier-maker ( <u>Panyermaker</u> , <u>panyerman</u> ) . . . .		3
Physician ( <u>Fisicus</u> , <u>phisicus</u> ) . . . . .		3
<u>Platemaker</u> . . . . .		1
Porter ( <u>Porter</u> , <u>portour</u> ) . . . . .		22
Potter . . . . .		16 <sup>(2)</sup>
	Carried forward	319

(1) An illuminator of manuscripts (O.E.D., Prompt. Parv.)  
Members of the occupation were also described as  
lomenour. See Table I.

(2) Includes two persons described as 'earth' potters.

<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u> (Continued)		Brought forward	319
Roper ( <u>Harester</u> , <u>hayrester</u> , <u>raper</u> , <u>rapour</u> )	. . . . .		8
<u>Sandeleder</u> , <u>sandleder</u>	. . . . .		2
Scrivener ( <u>Escryvener</u> , <u>scryvener</u> )	. . . . .		3
Shipwright ( <u>Shipwryght</u> , <u>shypwryght</u> )	. . . . .		7
<u>Sledman</u> (1)	. . . . .		13
Soap-maker ( <u>Sopemaker</u> )	. . . . .		1
Stainer ( <u>Steynor</u> , <u>steynour</u> , <u>steynyour</u> )	. . . . .		10
Surgeon ( <u>Surgen</u> , <u>surgener</u> )	. . . . .		3
<u>Synyar</u>	. . . . .		2
<u>Tincler</u> , <u>tyncler</u> , <u>tynkeler</u> , <u>tynkler</u>	. . . . .		5
<u>Treacler</u> , <u>triacer</u> (2)	. . . . .		4(3)
Turner ( <u>Turnour</u> )	. . . . .		2
<u>Wadman</u>	. . . . .		2
<u>Warderober</u>	. . . . .		1
Water-leader <sup>(4)</sup> ( <u>Waterleder</u> , <u>watirleder</u> )	. . . . .		7
Woolman ( <u>Wollman</u> , <u>wolman</u> )	. . . . .		17
Wool-packer ( <u>Wolpakker</u> )	. . . . .		<u>1</u>
		Total	<u>407</u>

(1) A sled was a drag used for the transport of heavy goods (O.E.D.)

(2) Treacle or triacle was originally a medicinal compound used as an antidote to poisons, venomous bites, and malignant disease (O.E.D., Prompt. Parv.)

(3) In addition one freeman was described as treacler et tuthdragher.

(4) One who carts water for sale. (O.E.D.)

TABLE IIITHE OCCUPATIONS OF MEN ENROLLING ON THE  
REGISTER OF YORK FREEMEN 1511-41. (1)TEXTILES

Cap-maker ( <u>Capper</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Clothier ( <u>Clothyer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Coverlet-weaver ( <u>Coverletweaver</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Draper ( <u>Draipour</u> , <u>draper</u> , <u>drapour</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Dyer ( <u>Dyer</u> , <u>litster</u> , <u>lyster</u> , <u>lytster</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Embroiderer ( <u>Broderer</u> , <u>brotherer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Fuller ( <u>Fuller</u> , <u>fullour</u> , <u>walker</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Hat-maker ( <u>Hatmaker</u> , <u>hatter</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Hosier ( <u>Hosier</u> , <u>hosyer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Linen-weaver ( <u>Lynnenweaver</u> , <u>lynweaver</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Shearman ( <u>Shereman</u> , <u>sherman</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Tailor ( <u>Taillor</u> , <u>taillour</u> , <u>tayllour</u> , <u>taylour</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	101
Tapiter ( <u>Tapitour</u> , <u>tapytour</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	66
Vestment-maker ( <u>Vestmenter</u> , <u>vestmentmaker</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Weaver ( <u>Wever</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Woollen-weaver ( <u>Wollenweaver</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Total							<u>298</u>

(1) Register of Freemen, I, 234-260. At this period the city chamberlains, who enrolled new freemen, were appointed in mid January. See the introduction to Appendix E.

FOOD

Baker	( <u>Baiker</u> , <u>baker</u> , <u>baxster</u> )	. . . . .	63
Brewer	( <u>Berbrewer</u> , <u>berebru</u> <u>er</u> , <u>brewer</u> , <u>bruer</u> )	. . . . .	9
Butcher	( <u>Bocher</u> , <u>boucher</u> )	. . . . .	50
Cook	( <u>Cocus</u> , <u>cook</u> , <u>cooke</u> , <u>couke</u> , <u>cowke</u> )	. . . . .	20
Fisherman	( <u>Fisher</u> , <u>fiss</u> <u>her</u> , <u>fyss</u> <u>her</u> )	. . . . .	68
Fishmonger	( <u>Fishemonger</u> , <u>fiss</u> <u>h</u> <u>monger</u> , <u>fyss</u> <u>h</u> <u>monger</u> )	. . . . .	23
Innkeeper	( <u>Inholder</u> )	. . . . .	20
Miller	( <u>Milner</u> , <u>mylner</u> )	. . . . .	46
Salter		. . . . .	1
Victualler	( <u>Viteler</u> , <u>viteller</u> , <u>vyteler</u> , <u>vyteller</u> , <u>vytteler</u> )		25
Vintner	( <u>Vintyner</u> , <u>vyntener</u> , <u>vynter</u> )	. . . . .	7
		Total	<u>332</u>

TRADE

Chapman	. . . . .	1
Mercer	. . . . .	12
Merchant	( <u>Mercator</u> , <u>merchaunt</u> )	. . . . .
		<u>132</u>
	Total	<u>145</u>

LEATHER

Bottle-maker	( <u>Boteller</u> , <u>botteler</u> , <u>bottelmaker</u> )	..	3
Cobbler	( <u>Cobler</u> )	.. .. .	4
Cordwainer	( <u>Cordwaner</u> , <u>cordwener</u> , <u>cordynar</u> , <u>shoemaker</u> )		73
Currier	( <u>Coureur</u> , <u>couriour</u> , <u>curyer</u> , <u>curryer</u> , <u>curyour</u> )		13
Glover	.. .. .		35
Parchment-maker	( <u>Parchementer</u> , <u>parchementmaker</u> , <u>parchemyner</u> , <u>parchmenter</u> )		13
Pouch-maker	( <u>Powchemaker</u> )	.. .. .	1
Saddler	( <u>Sadler</u> )	.. .. .	17
Skinner	( <u>Skynner</u> )	.. .. .	13
Tanner	( <u>Barker</u> , <u>tanner</u> , <u>tannour</u> )	.. .. .	61
Total			<u>233</u>

BUILDING

Carpenter	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38
Carver	( <u>Carver</u> , <u>carvour</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	
Glasier	( <u>Glazier</u> , <u>glasyer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	13		
Joiner	( <u>Joiner</u> , <u>joynour</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	4		
Mason	..	..	..	..	..	..	4		
Plumber	( <u>Plomer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	4		
Sawyer	( <u>Sawer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	4		
Tile-maker	( <u>Tilemaker</u> , <u>tylemaker</u> , <u>tyllemaker</u> , <u>tylmaker</u> )	5							
Tiler	( <u>Tiler</u> , <u>tyler</u> , <u>tyller</u> , <u>tylour</u> )	..	..	..	25				
Wright	( <u>Wright</u> , <u>wryght</u> )	..	..	..	..	3			
Total							124		



METAL

Armourer ( <u>Armorer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Bell-founder ( <u>Belmaker</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 <sup>(1)</sup>
Blacksmith ( <u>Blaksmyth</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Bladesmith ( <u>Bladesmyth</u> , <u>blaidsmith</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Brazier ( <u>Brasier</u> , <u>brasyer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Cutler	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Dagger-maker ( <u>Dagarmaker</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Founder ( <u>Foundour</u> , <u>fownederer</u> , <u>fownderer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Girdler ( <u>Girdeler</u> , <u>girdler</u> , <u>gyrdler</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Goldfyner	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goldsmith ( <u>Goldsmyth</u> , <u>gooldsmyth</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Ironmonger ( <u>Yrenmonger</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Locksmith ( <u>Loksmyth</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Marshal ( <u>Horsemarshall</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Pinmaker ( <u>Pynner</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Pewterer ( <u>Powderer</u> , <u>pewterer</u> , <u>pewtherer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
Smith ( <u>Smyth</u> , <u>smythe</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Spurrier ( <u>Sporier</u> , <u>sporiour</u> , <u>sporryer</u> , <u>sporyer</u> , <u>spurriour</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Wire-drawer ( <u>Wyerdrawer</u> )	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total								158

(1) In addition one freeman was described as 'belfounder and potter'.

MISCELLANEOUS

<u>Alblasterer</u>	. . . . .	1
Apothecary ( <u>Potecar</u> , <u>potycary</u> )	. . . . .	4
<u>Asshbrynner</u>	. . . . .	1
Barber ( <u>Barber</u> , <u>barbour</u> )	. . . . .	28 (1)
Barber-surgeon	. . . . .	2
Bookbinder ( <u>Bokebynder</u> , <u>bookbynder</u> )	. . . . .	2
Bowyer ( <u>Bower</u> , <u>bowyer</u> )	. . . . .	9
Card-maker ( <u>Cardemaker</u> , <u>cardmaker</u> )	. . . . .	3
Carrier ( <u>Caryer</u> )	. . . . .	3
Cartwright	. . . . .	7
Chandler ( <u>Waxchandler</u> , <u>waxhandler</u> , <u>wexhandler</u> , <u>wexchaundeler</u> , <u>wexchaundler</u> )		14
Cooper ( <u>Couper</u> , <u>cowper</u> )	. . . . .	11
Corn-merchant ( <u>Cornemerchaunt</u> , <u>cormmerchant</u> , <u>cormmerchaunt</u> )		24
Doctor ( <u>Doctor in medicinis</u> , <u>doctor medicinis</u> )		3
Fletcher	. . . . .	7
Grocer	. . . . .	4
Haberdasher ( <u>Habberdassher</u> , <u>haberdassher</u> )	. . . . .	6
Hardwareman ( <u>Hardwarman</u> )	. . . . .	1
Horner ( <u>Hornar</u> , <u>horner</u> )	. . . . .	4
Last-maker	. . . . .	1
Leash-maker ( <u>Lesshmaker</u> )	. . . . .	<u>1</u>
Carried forward		136

(1) In addition, four freemen were described as 'barber and chandler'.

<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u> (Continued)	Brought forward	136
Mariner ( <u>Marryner</u> , <u>maryner</u> , <u>shipman</u> , <u>shypman</u> ) . . . . .		20
<u>Mettelman</u> , <u>mettylman</u> . . . . .		2
Minstrel ( <u>Mynstrall</u> , <u>mynstrell</u> ) . . . . .		7
Neatherd ( <u>Nowthyrd</u> ) . . . . .		1
Notary Public . . . . .		1
Organ-maker ( <u>Organmaker</u> , <u>orgenmaker</u> ) . . . . .		2
Painter ( <u>Paintour</u> , <u>payneter</u> , <u>paynter</u> ) . . . . .		15
Pannier-maker ( <u>Panyerman</u> ) . . . . .		2
Porter . . . . .		15
Potter . . . . .		12
Printer ( <u>Prynter</u> ) . . . . .		1
Roper ( <u>Harewever</u> , <u>hayrster</u> , <u>raper</u> ) . . . . .		7
<u>Sandleder</u> . . . . .		1
Scrivener ( <u>Scryvener</u> , <u>skryvener</u> ) . . . . .		5
Shipwright ( <u>Shypwright</u> , <u>shypwryght</u> ) . . . . .		7
<u>Sledman</u> . . . . .		5
Stationer ( <u>Staconer</u> , <u>stacyner</u> , <u>stacyoner</u> ) . . . . .		3
Surgeon ( <u>Sur eon</u> , <u>surgyon</u> , <u>surion</u> , <u>suryon</u> ) . . . . .		4
Text-writer ( <u>Textwriter</u> ) . . . . .		1
Turner ( <u>Turnour</u> ) . . . . .		1
<u>Tynkler</u> . . . . .		2
<u>Waterman</u> . . . . .		3
Woolman ( <u>Wolman</u> ) . . . . .		1
	Total	<u>254</u>

## APPENDIX B

TRENDS IN THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF HULL.

The graphs illustrating Hull's foreign trade are based on the Exchequer L.T.R. Enrolled Customs Accounts. Many of the detailed figures from which the graphs were compiled are already in print. Details of Hull's wool exports from 1350 to 1377 have been obtained from A. Beardwood, Alien Merchants in England 1350-1377, Appendix C. Information about Hull's wine imports, wool and cloth exports, and the value of general imports and exports paying petty custom and poundage, for the period 1399-1432, has been extracted from Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, ed. E. Power and M. Postan, and similar information for the reign of Henry VIII was obtained from G. Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters. The task of constructing the graphs was further lightened by the kindness of Professor Carus-Wilson who provided me with the details of Hull's cloth exports for the period 1347-99, and Mr. Peter Ramsey who supplied the figures for Hull's foreign trade in wine, wool, and cloth and in general goods paying poundage and petty custom for the reign of Henry VII. The remaining data required, namely Hull's wool exports from 1377-99, and her

foreign trade in wool, wine, and cloth, and miscellaneous goods paying poundage and petty custom for the years 1432-85, was obtained from the Exchequer L.T.R. Enrolled Customs Accounts, rolls 14, 22, and 23.

The decadal totals shown on the graphs run from Michaelmas, the beginning of the Exchequer year, in the year commencing the decade to Michaelmas ten years later. In many cases the figures in the Enrolled Accounts do not cover an exact Exchequer year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. A number of adjustments have therefore been made, wherever the decadal totals could not be determined by simple addition, by taking a monthly average for the period of any account which did not end at Michaelmas and which ran from one decade into the next. When an account for Hull is missing, except at the end of the reign of Henry VIII, the decadal total has been estimated by assuming that the volume of Hull's foreign trade for each month of the missing account was equivalent to the average monthly volume of her foreign trade for the rest of the decade. For the last two years of Henry VIII's reign Schanz's estimates of the volume of Hull's foreign trade have been adopted. The percentage error in the totals given for Hull's foreign trade in most decades because of these adjustments is probably very small. In the decades

1347-1357, 1367-1377, 1477-1487, and 1537-1547 however, the totals given should be regarded with much less confidence. Thus figures for exports of wool from Hull between 1343 and 1350 and for exports of cloth for the years 1373-77 cannot be determined because the wool custom for all English ports was farmed during the first of these periods and the cloth custom during the second; whilst the accounts for the reign of Richard III are incomplete; and those for the last two years of the reign of Henry VIII are missing.

In consulting the graphs it should be borne in mind that the figures refer not merely to the foreign trade of Hull but also of its outports, such as Grimsby, Bridlington, and Scarborough. Usually details of the foreign trade of these outports are inseparably embedded in the Hull Accounts and where separate accounts are extant, as sometimes for Scarborough, the figures have been added to those of Hull in an attempt to achieve some degree of uniformity. The volume of foreign trade of the outports was however almost certainly very small and represented only a tiny proportion of the foreign trade of Hull.

The final graph in the Appendix is an attempt to estimate very approximately changes in the value of Hull's foreign trade between one period and another rather than

the absolute value of this trade at any particular point during our period. Wine has throughout been valued at £4 a tun for the reasons suggested in 'Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century', wool at £5 a sack - some what lower than the figure adopted in that volume - to make allowance for merchants exporting some of the poorer grades of Yorkshire wool<sup>(1)</sup> and broadcloths at 30s each, as explained in Chapter II, while for miscellaneous goods paying petty custom and poundage the valuations of the customs collectors have of necessity been adopted. The value of the foreign trade of Hanseatic merchants using Hull has been estimated by assuming that at all periods they accounted for two-thirds of the goods paying petty custom, as we know that they did from 1475 to 1482 and 1533 to 1545, when the value of their goods paying petty custom was recorded separately from that of other aliens. Exports of hides and worsted cloths, very minor items of Hull's foreign tradem have been omitted.

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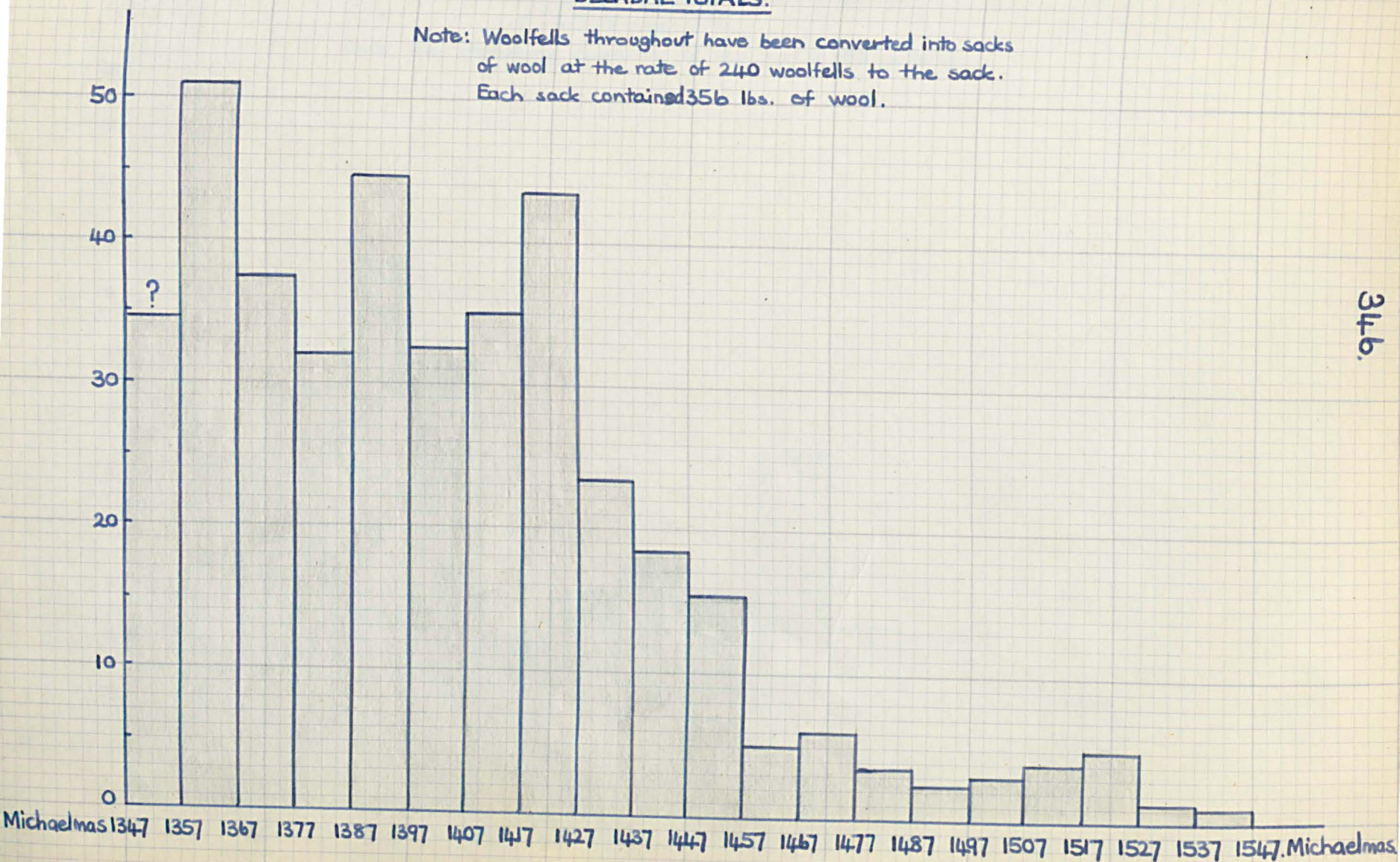
(1) See for example, Rotuli Parliamentorum, V, 274.



Thousands  
of Sacks.

TOTAL WOOL EXPORTS FROM HULL 1347 - 1547.  
DECADAL TOTALS.

Note: Woolfells throughout have been converted into sacks  
of wool at the rate of 240 woolfells to the sack.  
Each sack contained 356 lbs. of wool.



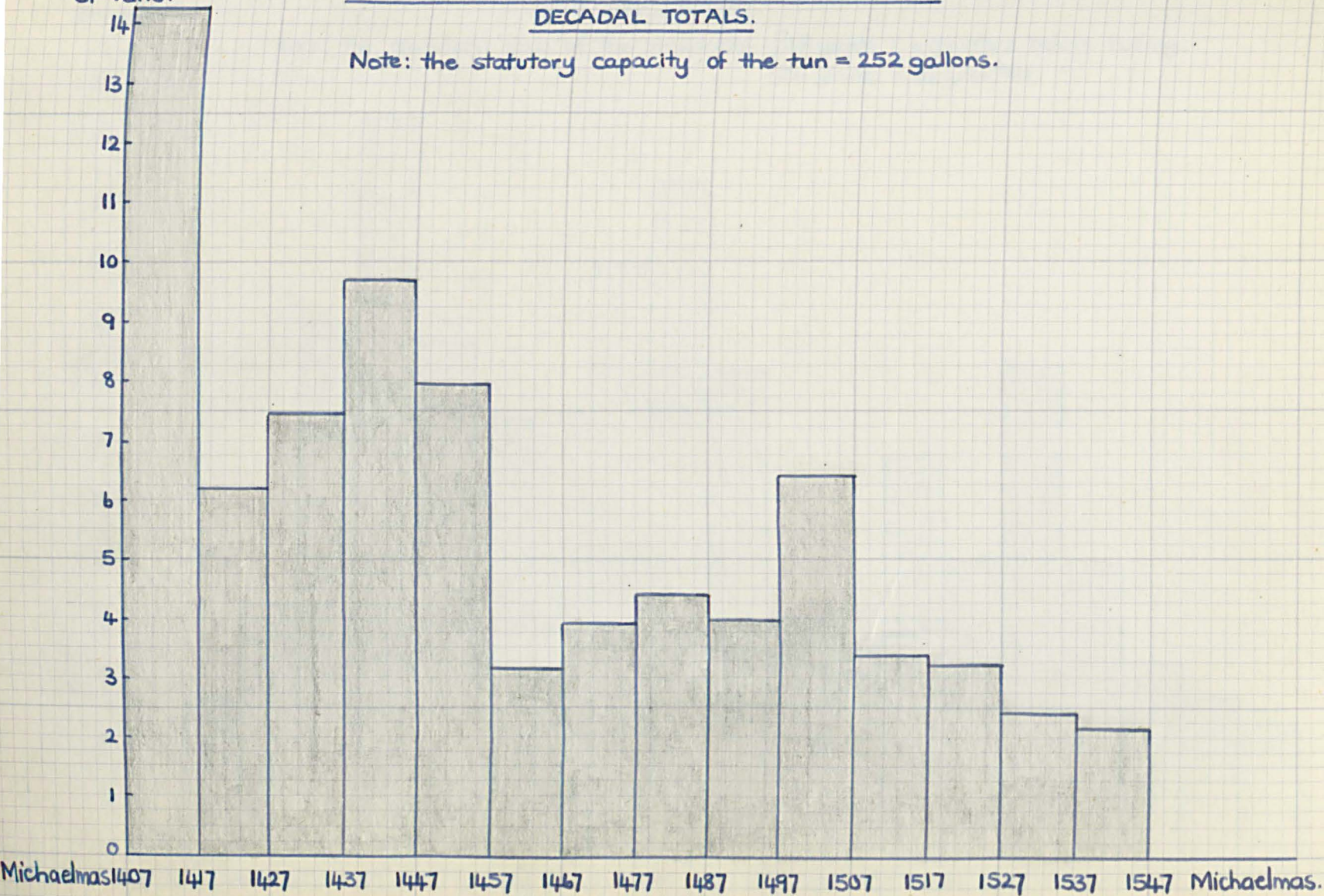


Thousands  
of Tuns.

TOTAL WINE IMPORTS AT HULL 1407-1547.

DECADAL TOTALS.

Note: the statutory capacity of the tun = 252 gallons.



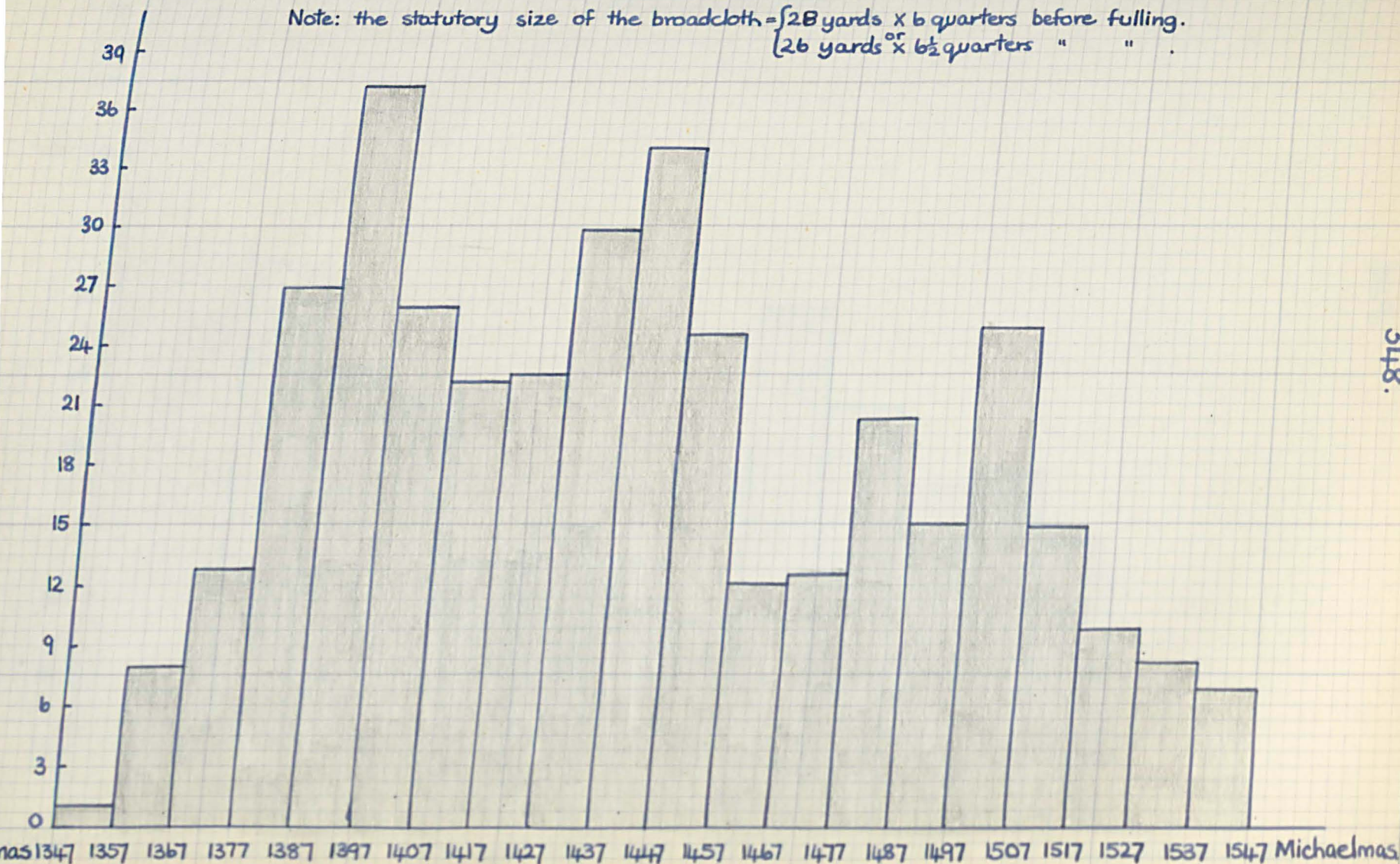
347.



Thousands  
of  
Broadcloths.

TOTAL EXPORTS OF WOOLLEN CLOTH FROM HULL 1347-1547.  
DECADAL TOTALS.

Note: the statutory size of the broadcloth =  $\begin{cases} 28 \text{ yards} \times 6 \text{ quarters} & \text{before fulling.} \\ 26 \text{ yards} \times 6\frac{1}{2} \text{ quarters} & \text{" " " "} \end{cases}$

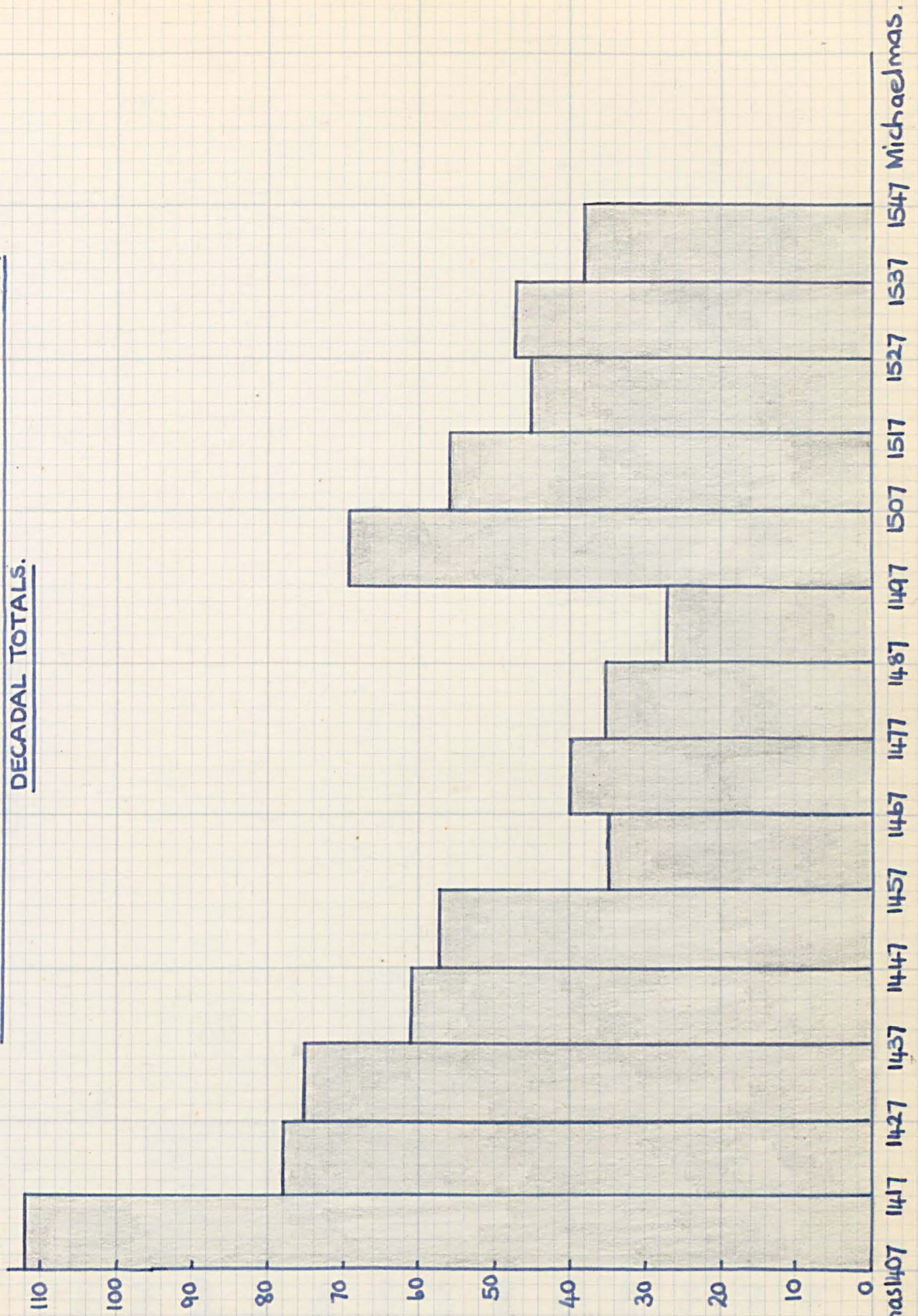




Thousands  
of £.

VALUE OF GOODS PAYING POUNDAGE AT HULL 1407-1547.

DECADAL TOTALS.

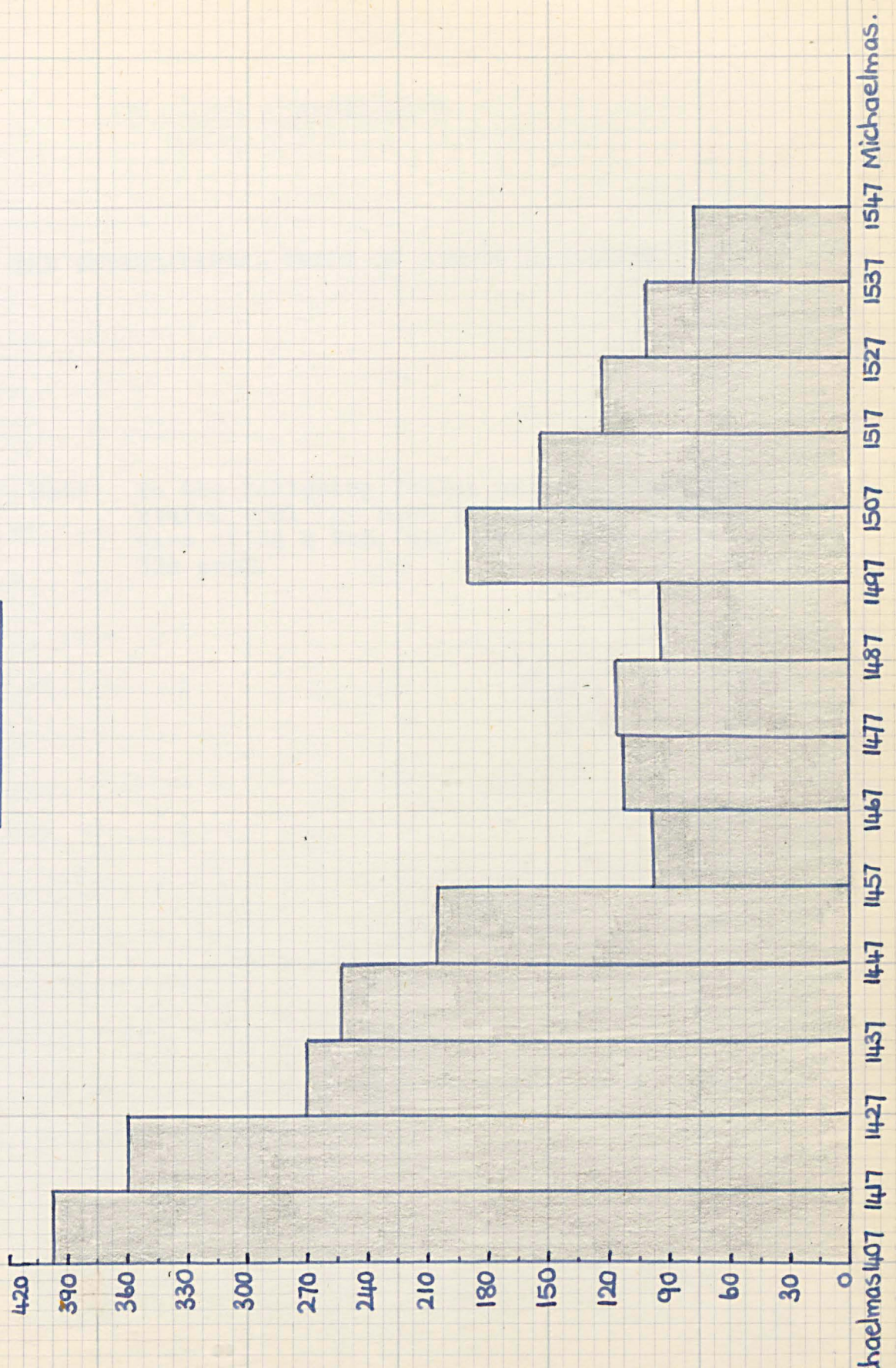


Michaelmas.



ESTIMATED VALUE OF HULL'S FOREIGN TRADE. 1407-1547.  
DECADAL TOTALS.

Thousands  
of £.



Michaelmas 1407 Michaelmas 1547

## APPENDIX C.

## THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF YORK'S MERCHANTS

Note: In the following Tables unless otherwise stated wool has been valued at £5 a sack, wine at £4 a tun, and broadcloths at 30s each.

TABLE I

YORK MERCHANTS EXPORTING WOOL FROM HULL  
Mich. 1324 - Mich. 1325 (1)

Name	Number of Sacks Exported	Estimated Value £
Alverton, Richard de	4	20
Belton, Henry de	49	245
Brikenale, Richard de	4	20
Broune, John	12	60
Cave, William de	13	65
Friston, William de	14	70
Gedeney, Gocelin de	5	25
Maneby, William de	30	150
Picard, John	9	45
Redenesse, William de	23	115
Richemond, William de	2	10
Savage, Ralph	3	15
Thornton, William de	19	95
Tokwyth, Thomas de	6	30
Watton, John de	4	20

(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 57/11

Holme, Thomas

Horneby, Ralph de

(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 57/2



TABLE II

YORK MERCHANTS EXPORTING WOOL FROM HULL  
Mich. 1378 - Mich. 1379 (1)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Sacks Exported</u>	<u>Estimated Value £</u>
Lower, Name	Number of Sacks Exported	Estimated Value £
Acastre, John de	42	210
Agland, William	50	250
Barton, John de	6	30
Belle, John	16	80
Birkhede, William de	2	10
Bower, John	19	95
Brunne, Thomas de	22	110
Carleton, William de	9	45
Corbrigge, Thomas de	29	145
Crull, William de	4	20
Daye, John	33	165
Gare, Robert del	79	395
Gare, William del	2	10
Gisburne, John de	205	1,025
Gra, Thomas	90	450
Harum, Robert	8	40
Holme, Robert	148	740
Holme, Thomas	105	525
Horneby, Ralph de	20	100

(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 59/2.

TABLE III  
SOME YORK MERCHANTS EXPORTING CLOTH FROM HULL  
Mich. 1378 - Mich. 1379 (1)

Name	Number of Sacks Exported	Estimated Value £
Lewer, Thomas	4	20
Lyndesay, John de	8	40
Moreton, Roger de	164	820
Quixlay, Simon de	116	580
Ripon, John de	71	355
Sandholme, Alan de	69	345
Sauvage, Robert	132	660
Selby, William de	8	40
Warde, Robert	137	685
Walmesley, John de	16	80
Holme, William de	28	42
Kirkby, Richard de	3	9
Moreton, Roger de	28	42
Smyth, Thomas	17	25
Talman, Robert	6	9
Threpland, John de	23	30
Wayt, Thomas	7	3
Wynan, Henry (2)	22	42

(1) E.R. Customs Accounts 54/1. Unfortunately portions of the account are illegible, hence only half the native cloth exports can be assigned to particular merchants.

(2) A Hansatic merchant living in York who was active in 1383; for his biography see Appendix 3.



TABLE III

SOME YORK MERCHANTS EXPORTING CLOTH FROM HULL  
Mich. 1378 - Mich. 1379 (1)

Name	Number of Broadcloths	Estimated Value £
Acastre, John de	10	15
Briddesale, John de	49	74
Burgh, William de	33	49
Burton, William de	2	3
Chace, Richard	20	30
Crome, Roger de	2	3
Duffield, Robert de	21	31
Gisburne, John de	28	42
Haytfeld, William de	19	29
Helmesley, John de	16	24
Holme, William de	28	42
Kirkby, Richard de	5	8
Moreton, Roger de	28	42
Smyth, Thomas	17	25
Talkan, Robert	6	9
Threpland, John de	20	30
Wayt, Thomas	2	3
Wyman, Henry <sup>(2)</sup>	28	42

(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 59/1. Considerable portions of the account are illegible, hence only half the native cloth exports can be assigned to particular merchants.

(2) A Hanseatic merchant living in York who was naturalised in 1388; for his biography see Appendix E.

TABLE IV

SOME YORK MERCHANTS IMPORTING WINE AT HULL  
21 June 1383 - 27 July 1384. (1)

Name	Number of Tuns	Estimated Value £
Agland, William	36 (2)	144
Alnwyk, Robert de	9	36
Appleton, John	3	12
Askham, John	12	48
Bray, John	2	8
Brunne, Thomas de	38	152
Burton, Adam de	1	4
Burton, Richard de	11	44
Chace, Richard	1	4
Cholman, John	5	20
Clyveland, John	20	80
Crome, John	1	4
Crome, Roger de	17	68
Gisburgh, John de	15	60
Hauneby, William de	6	24

(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 59/8; cloth and miscellaneous goods paying poundage were also recorded by the customs collectors. The correct date of the account was established by H.J. Smit who printed extracts from it concerned solely with Anglo-Dutch trade, Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, 1150-1485, I, No. 603. Some portions of the account are very faded so that details of the goods shipped by individual merchants, in particular their miscellaneous imports, are incomplete. But 17 ships which arrived at Hull between 10 December 1383 and 9 May 1384 laden almost entirely with some 1,500 tuns of wine, are recorded, and details of the cargoes of individual merchants in these ships are seldom illegible.

(2) Excludes 2 tuns of wine imported by a servant of his, whose surname is not stated.



Name	Number of Tuns	Estimated Value £
Hawande, John	23	92
Haytfeld, William	12	48
Holme, Robert	8	32
Horton, Adam de	10	40
Kirkeby, William de	6	24
Lakensnyther, Henry	28	112
Lovell, Laurence	29	116
Lyndesay, John de	15	60
Misterton, Adam de	1	4
Paterington, William de	6	24
Penreth, John de	4	16
Sauvage, Robert	7	28
Smyth, Thomas	30	120
Spaldyng, John	22	88
Talkan, Robert	43	172
Taunton, Richard de	11	44
Tikhill, William de	6	24
Warde, Robert	6	24
Wrenche, Robert	14	56
Wyrthorp, Thomas de	1	4

(1) Includes 7 tuns of wine estimated as his share of a cargo of 14 tuns of wine imported jointly with Thomas Swan of Hull.

TABLE VYORK MERCHANTS EXPORTING WOOL AND CLOTH FROM HULL8 Dec. 1391 - Mich. 1392 (1)

Name	Wool (sacks)	Estimated Value £	Broad- cloths	Estimated Value £ (2)	Estimated Total Value £
Appleton, John	21	105	13	20	125
Barker, John	-	-	11	16	16
Bedale, John	-	-	27	40	40
Bingley, John	1	5	2	3	8
Birkhede, William	12	60	-	-	60
Blaktoft, Henry	-	-	4	6	6
Blaktoft, John	-	-	21	32	32
Bolton, John	24	120	100	150	270
Bowes, John	46	230	-	-	230
Brigg, Adam del	-	-	88	132	132
Brompton, John	-	-	1	2	2
Broune, John	5	25	2	3	28
Broune, Richard	-	-	37	55	55
Bukland, John	52	260	19	29	289

(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 59/24; a controller's account of all wool and cloth exports and miscellaneous imports and exports paying petty custom. The customs collectors' account of the subsidy of tunnage and poundage for the same period (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/23) is in places faded and illegible.

(2) Based on the customs collectors' account for this period mentioned above, in which cloth was assessed for poundage and was given an average value of 30 shillings a broadcloth.



Name	Wool (sacks)	Estimated Value £	Broad- cloths	Estimated Value £	Estimated Total Value £
Burton, Roger de	40	200	12	18	218
Burton, William de	-	-	45	68	68
Chace, Richard	-	-	18	27	27
Chaundeler, John	-	-	20	30	30
Clerk, John	-	-	3	4	4
Collom, William	-	-	11	16	16
Dandeson, John	-	-	27	40	40
Denyas, William	-	-	32	48	48
Derfeld, John de	-	-	54	81	81
Doncastre, Thomas	-	-	60	90	90
Duffeld, John	-	-	10	15	15
Duffeld, Robert	-	-	51	76	76
Eseby, William de	-	-	3	4	4
Forster, John	-	-	25	38	38
Frost, William	34	170	-	-	170
Gare, John del	4	20	8	12	32
Gare, Robert del	32	160	-	-	160
Gare, Thomas del	66	330	81	121	451
Harpham, John	-	-	9	14	14
Hill, John del	1	5	17	25	30
Hill, William del	-	-	39	59	59
Hillom, William	-	-	16	24	24

Name	Wool (sacks)	Estimated Value £	Broad- cloths	Estimated Value £	Estimated Total Value £
Holme, Robert	394	1,970	61	91	2,061
Holme, Thomas	15	75	43	64	139
Houeden, John de	97	475	10	15	490
Hugate, William	-	-	30	45	45
Hull, John de	1	5	1	1	6
Kirkeby, Thomas de	-	-	4	6	6
Lakensnyther, Henry	-	-	2	3	3
Lenesham, William	-	-	41	61	61
Louthe, Robert	11	55	-	-	55
Melburn, William	-	-	7	11	11
Midelham, William de	1	5	89	134	139
Midelton, Robert de	19	95	6	9	1, 104
Monkton, William	-	-	24	36	36
Nuby, John	-	-	109	163	163
Osbaldwyke, John	31	155	-	-	155
Palmer, William	-	-	44	66	66
Pickering, John	6	30	-	-	30
Potter, John	-	-	2	3	3
Preston, Henry de	-	-	20	30	30
Quixlay, Simon de	56	280	-	-	280
Redehode, William	12	60	9	13	73
Saltmarshe, John	-	-	8	12	12



TABLE VI

Name	Wool (sacks)	Estimated Value £	Broad- cloths	Estimated Value £	Estimated Total Value £
Sauvage, Robert	142	710	10	15	725
Sessay, John	17	85	47	70	155
Soureby, Richard	-	-	30	45	45
Spaldyng, John	-	-	21	32	32
Spendluff, Hugo	-	-	37	56	56
Squer, Robert	-	-	19	28	28
Tikell, William	-	-	31	46	46
Thornton, John de	-	-	3	4	4
Topcliff, John	38	190	6	9	199
Uppestall Godfrey van	10	50	-	-	50
Vesey, William	78	390	-	-	390
Waghen, William	-	-	9	13	13
Warde, Robert	194	970	119	178	1,148
Wharrom, John	-	-	25	37	37
Whitgift, John	-	-	8	12	12
Wilton, William	-	-	20	30	30
Witton, William de	-	-	30	45	45
Wranby, John	5	25	45	68	93
Wyman, Henry	-	-	90	135	135

(1) A native of Brabant who became a freeman of York in 1377 and was naturalised in 1393 (Register of Freemen, I, 75;

(2) C.P.R. 1391-96, p.285). and miscellaneous exports of a merchant were valued as a whole. But broadcloths often comprised the only export cargo of a merchant in a particular ship and were then valued at an average of 23 shillings each. This figure has been adopted throughout in estimating the value of the cloth and miscellaneous exports which were not separately valued.

TABLE VI

YORK MERCHANTS IMPORTING AND EXPORTING WINE, CLOTH,  
AND GOODS PAYING POUNDAGE AT HULL  
Mich. 1398 - Mich. 1399 (1)

Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £ (2)
	Broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £ (2)	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Acastre, Richard	26	-	-	-	36
Ake, William	1	-	-	-	1
Alnewyk, William	1	-	-	-	1
Appilton, John	30	30	2	45	125
Bakster, Henry	-	-	1	-	4
Barker, John	-	-	4	11	27
Barnby, John	1	-	1	-	5
Barnby, Walter	6	-	-	-	9
Bedale, John	-	-	-	24	24
Benetson, John	-	-	1	-	4

(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 159/11. The heading of the account is completely illegible and the typewritten index to the customs accounts merely assigns the roll to the reign of Richard II. It is however clear from the names of the York merchants recorded that the account belongs to the final years of the reign and reference to the Enrolled Customs Accounts establishes the year Mich. 1398 - Mich. 1399 as the period during which the 1,800 cloths and the 1,500 tuns of wine noted in the particular customs account paid customs duty at Hull. Other portions of the account are also partly faded but the value of cargoes that can no longer be determined represents only a small proportion of the total value of the goods imported and exported by York merchants.

(2) In each ship the cloth and miscellaneous exports of a merchant were valued as a whole. But broadcloths often comprised the only export cargo of a merchant in a particular ship and were then valued at an average of 28 shillings each. This figure has been adopted throughout in estimating the value of the cloth and miscellaneous exports which were not separately valued.



Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimate Total Value £
	Broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Beverlay, John	-	-	1	-	4
Beverlay, Thomas	3	-	-	-	3
Blaktoft, John	-	-	-	5	5
Bollesour, John	5	-	-	-	7
Bolton, John	10	-	17	39	120
Bowland, Thomas	-	-	6	-	24
Brabant, John	-	1	-	-	1
Brigg, Adam	-	-	18	10	82
Brigg, William	28	-	-	-	31
Brompton, John	-	-	-	7	7
Brompton, Thomas	-	-	1	-	4
Broune, John	-	-	7	-	28
Broune, Thomas	18	-	-	-	22
Bukland, John	31	-	-	-	37
Burton, John	1	-	-	10	11
Burton, Richard	-	-	1	-	4
Carter, John	-	-	3	33	45
Chace, John	-	-	2	-	8
Chace, Richard	31	-	12	-	92
Clerk, John	4	-	5	3	27
Clerk, Thomas	-	-	-	16	16
Clerk, William	59	-	-	-	78

Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Coke, John	-	-	1	-	4
Coke, William	1	-	-	-	1
Cotyngham, John	-	-	-	2	2
Dandeson, John	12	3	-	-	19
Denby, John	10	-	12 <sup>(1)</sup>	-	61
Diconson, John	2	-	-	-	3
Dighton, William	24	-	-	-	32
Doncastre, Thomas	-	-	-	11	11
Duffeld, John	-	-	-	10	10
Duffeld, William	-	-	3	-	12
Duresme, William	14	-	-	-	19
Eseby, William de	17	-	-	14	38
Esyngwold, Richard	-	-	11	-	44
Fang, Thomas	-	-	11	1	45
Farnedale, John	-	-	5	-	20
Fayte, William	-	-	-	22	22
Fox, John	-	-	5	-	20
Freman, Robert	-	-	2	-	8
Friston, Thomas	3	-	-	-	4
Frost, John	-	17	11	-	61
Gare, Thomas del	-	-	2	10	18

(1) The estimated amount of his share of a cargo of 23 tuns of wine imported jointly with another merchant.

Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Gare, William del	-	-	-	2	2
Gascoigne, Thomas	10	-	-	6	20
Gisburgh, John	-	-	1	-	4
Graye, Robert	-	-	-	3	3
Grene, Robert del	-	-	1	-	4
Grymeston, John	29	-	-	-	39
Hamerton, Alan	-	-	-	4	4
Hauneby, William	-	-	11	7	51
Haye, Henry	-	-	-	2	2
Helperby, Adam	8	-	-	-	10
Hesill, Thomas	-	-	-	19	19
Hewik, John	-	-	-	13	13
Hill, John del	-	-	1	3	7
Hill, William del	18	-	-	-	23
Holme, John	20	2	2	-	36
Holme, Robert	-	-	-	92	92
Holme, Thomas	-	-	-	18	18
Holme, William	-	-	-	11	11
Hornse, John	-	-	10	-	40
Johnson, William	-	-	10	1	41
Kaye, John	-	1	-	-	1
Kirkby, John	-	-	-	6	6

Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Kirkby, Roger	-	-	2	-	8
Kirkham, John	12	-	-	-	14
Lakensnyther, Henry	-	-	-	21	21
Lenesham, William	-	-	-	2	2
Lofthouse, John	10	-	-	-	15
Lokton, Robert	-	-	12	5	53
Lonesdale, Thomas	10	-	3	-	26
Louthe, Robert	28	1	-	37	66
Lovell, Laurence	-	-	10	-	40
Lyonn, William	16	-	7	-	52
Malton, William	-	5	-	-	5
Marche, John	15	-	-	15	36
Marshall, Thomas	-	-	-	8	8
Marshall, Richard	13	-	21	4	112
Marshall, William	7	-	24	-	105
Melburn, William	-	1	-	37	38
Merston, Robert	16	-	20	-	104
Midelham, Thomas	-	-	-	1	1
Milner, John	5	13	-	-	20
Neuland, Thomas	6	3	-	10	23
Norham, Thomas	10	-	-	-	16
Norton, William	-	11	-	-	11

Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Osboldwyke, John	-	-	2	-	8
Page, John	-	1	-	9	10
Palmer, William	-	-	4	8	24
Percy, William	-	-	1	-	4
Persay, John	20	-	-	35	62
Petyclerk, John	-	3	4	-	19
Pickering, Robert	10	3	-	4	24
Rillyngton, Thomas	12	-	15	-	76
Roderham, Thomas	30	-	7	-	73
Roucliff, John	7	-	3	-	22
Russell, Thomas	-	-	7	-	28
Russell, Richard	-	-	6	-	24
Sandholme, Alan	-	-	7	-	28
Saunderson, John	-	-	6	-	24
Scorby, Thomas	20	-	-	-	27
Selander, William	-	7	-	12	19
Semer, John	3	-	-	2	6
Sessay, John	34	-	-	17	63
Sheffield, John	2	-	-	2	4
Shirburn, Richard	24	-	-	10	46
Smyth, Thomas	-	-	17	-	68
Spenser, William	20	-	3	6	48

Name	EXPORTS		IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Broad- cloths	Estimated value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Sperowe, John	13	-	6	-	41
Stillington, John	-	-	-	14	14
Sutton, Robert	5	3	-	6	16
Talkan, Robert de	-	-	32	-	128
Terry, Richard	11	-	-	-	7
Thoresby, Richard	14	-	16	10	91
Thornhill, Roger	20	-	21	-	112
Threpland, John	-	-	7	6	34
Topcliff, John	-	-	15	39	99
Uppestall, Godfrey van	-	-	-	31	31
Waghen, John	18	-	-	-	24
Wakefeld, Henry	-	6	-	15	21
Walkyngton, John	-	-	-	32	32
Warde, Robert	29	-	1	75	113
Wenseley, John	-	-	3	-	12
Whitik, Thomas	-	-	-	4	4
Wilton, William	8	-	3	-	22
Willymot, John	3	-	2	-	13
Wombwell, John	-	-	3	2	14
Wranby, John	16	-	-	9	26
Wyman, Henry	21	1	19	32	141

TABLE VII

YORK MERCHANTS EXPORTING CLOTH AND GOODS PAYING  
POUNDAGE FROM HULL  
Mich. 1430 - Mich. 1431 (1)

Name	Number of Broadcloths Exported		Value other Exports £	Estimated Total Value (2) £
	White.	'Without Grain'		
Aberford, William	-	5	-	7
Aldestanmore, John	-	39	-	52
Aldwod, John	10	-	-	10
Blackburn, Nicholas	-	98	4	131
Blauwfront, William	19	-	-	19
Bowes, William	-	40	-	53
Brerton, Robert	-	30	-	40
Brerton, Thomas	-	72	-	96
Brounflete, Thomas	-	34	-	45
Brytby, William	-	11	1	16
Bukden, Richard	-	53	-	71
Bulder, John	-	2	3	6
Burell, Thomas	-	48	-	64
Burgh, William	-	2	3	6
Burn, Robert	-	41	1	55

(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 61/32.

(2) The customs collectors at first valued each white broadcloth at £1 and every other broadcloth 'without grain' at 26s 8d. These values have been adopted here although the valuation of cloths was soon discontinued.

Name	Number of Broadcloths Exported		Value other Exports £	Estimated Total Value £
	White	'Without Grain'		
Byrton, John	-	37	6	55
Cave, John	-	33	3	47
Chace, William	-	7	-	9
Chapman, Robert	-	17	8	31
Cheswyk, Thomas	5	-	2	7
Clerk, Roger	-	-	1	1
Clyff, William	-	102	13	149
Coupland, Richard	-	20	-	27
Crathorne, Thomas	-	92	2	125
Crosby, John	-	20	-	27
Curtes, Thomas	8	-	-	8
Dale, Thomas	-	11	1	16
Danby, Thomas	-	2	3	6
Deyne, John	-	10	-	13
Fauconer, Robert	-	70	7	93
Fenton, Robert	14	21	1	43
Freman, William	3	-	12	15
Gare, Thomas del	8	68	19	118
Gaunte, William	-	23	-	31
Gilyott, William	-	-	4	4
Holbeck, William	-	-	8	8



Name	Number of Broadcloths Exported		Value other Exports £	Estimated Total Value £
	White.	'Without Grain'		
Holme, William	-	16	1	23
Holtby, Robert	10	-	11	21
Hyll, Alan	-	-	1	1
Hyll, Thomas	-	5	1	8
Kelyngbek, Richard	-	-	2	2
Kirke, Thomas	10	-	9	19
Kirke, William	7	-	-	7
Kirkeby, Robert	-	-	4	4
Kirkham, Thomas	-	2	-	3
Langthorn, John	-	20	7	33
Lillyng, John	-	13	1	18
Lofthouse, John	-	29	-	39
Lofthouse, Robert	-	20	30	57
Makeblyth, John	-	25	2	35
Marshall, Thomas	-	-	34	34
Moreton, John de	-	57	8	84
Northeby, William	-	10	-	13
Norton, John	7	8	-	18
Ormeshed, William	-	10	-	13
Preston, Thomas	10	10	-	23
Ridley, Thomas	-	14	-	19
Roston, John	-	-	1	1
Russell, Richard	-	10	-	13

Name	Number of Broadcloths Exported		Value other Exports £	Estimated Total Value £
	White.	'Without Grain'		
Skoles, Richard	-	-	1	1
Skotton, Richard	-	48	7	71
Skyrmer, Roger	-	20	-	27
Slypwith, Thomas	11	-	3	14
Smyth, John	-	4	5	10
Spencer, William	-	13	4	22
Stockton, William	-	9	-	12
Thorpe, John	-	-	4	4
Warde, John	-	104	2	140
Wigans, John	-	8	-	11
Williamson, John	-	3	3	7
Wispyngton, Nicholas	-	20	-	27
Wrawby, William	-	11	-	15
Wright, Robert	-	-	1	1
Wodde, John	-	20	-	27
Yarum, Robert	7	-	-	7
Yarum, William	10	-	2	12

TABLE VIII

YORK MERCHANTS IMPORTING AND EXPORTING WINE, CLOTH,  
WOOL, AND GOODS PAYING POUNDAGE AT HULL.  
Mich.1466 - Mich.1467 (1)

NAME	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Aldefeld, John	-	-	-	-	3	3
Amyas, Robert	-	7	-	-	-	11
Ayrton, William	-	7	-	-	-	11
Beseby, John	-	-	-	-	27	27
Beverley, Thomas	29	6	-	-	206	360
Birdsall, John	-	-	-	7	-	28
Brand, John	-	-	-	3	-	12
Brounflete, William	-	8	-	-	-	12
Butler, William	-	-	-	-	11	11
Chester, John	-	8	-	-	-	12
Cokerell, Richard	-	8	-	-	-	12
Dalhouse, Thomas	13	-	-	-	-	65
Fereby, John	-	-	10	-	38	48
Gaunte, John	-	5	-	-	4	11
Gaunte, Thomas	-	15	-	-	4	27

(1) K.R. Customs Accounts 62/9. This has been checked with the controller's account for the year (Ibid. 62/10).

NAME	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Gilliot, John	-	-	-	-	32	32
Holgate, Nicholas	-	-	-	-	3	3
Ince, John	-	-	-	-	15	15
Jackson, John	-	-	-	-	4	4
Jackson, Robert	-	-	-	-	3	3
Johnson, Richard	18	-	-	-	-	90
Kendale, Thomas	-	-	-	1	-	4
Kent, John	-	15	-	-	162	185
Lancastre, John	-	18	-	-	15	42
Lematon, Walter	-	9	-	13	-	66
Lokton, Thomas	45	-	-	-	-	225
Marshall, John	64	-	-	-	155	475
Middleton, John	72	-	-	-	6	366
Mitchell, John	-	24	-	-	-	36
Nelson, Thomas	24	-	-	-	124	244
Rushworth, Nicholas	5	11	-	11	12	97
Scotton, Thomas	-	-	-	-	17	17
Skelton, John	-	-	-	-	1	1
Stubbys. John	-	4	-	1	1	11
Taylor, Robert	-	-	-	-	12	12

NAME	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Tele, William	-	5	-	-	6	14
Thomlinson, John	-	-	-	-	2	2
Thorp, John	-	-	-	1	-	4
Thorp, William	-	5	-	-	-	8
Thresk, John	61	-	-	1	23	337
Todd, William	-	8	58	-	90	160
Tonge, John	-	-	-	-	44	44
Walker, Robert	-	-	-	14	3	59
Warter, John	-	-	-	-	9	9
Waterhouse, John	16	-	-	-	-	80
Welles, Thomas	-	7	-	-	-	11
Welles, William	-	8	-	-	-	12
Weston, John	-	-	-	1	-	4
White, William	-	-	18	-	21	39
Williamson, Henry	-	13	-	17	9	96
Williamson, John	34	-	-	-	-	170
Wilson, John	-	-	-	2	-	8
Wrangwish, Thomas	-	-	-	-	4	4
York, Richard	41	25	2	12	94	386

TABLE IX

YORK MERCHANTS IMPORTING AND EXPORTING WINE, CLOTH,  
WOOL, AND GOODS PAYING POUNDAGE AT HULL  
Mich. 1471 - Mich. 1472 (1)

Name	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Abbott, Richard	-	15	3	-	17	42
Ayrton, William	-	14	-	3	-	33
Beseby, John	-	13	12	-	-	32
Beverley, Thomas	22	8	90	4	175	403
Birdsall, John	-	29	-	75	-	343
Byssett, Thomas	7	-	-	-	2	37
Cokerell, Richard	-	8	-	-	1	13
Conyers, Brian	-	-	-	-	20	20
Dalhouse, Thomas	6	-	-	-	-	30
Elwald, Robert	-	-	-	-	10	10
English, Giles	-	-	-	-	20	20
Fereby, John	-	-	70	-	130	200
Fisher, William	-	4	-	15	-	66
Gaunte, John, junior <sup>(2)</sup>	-	32	11	48	77	328
Gaunte, John, senior	-	7	-	-	-	11
Gaunte, Thomas	-	4	-	1	8	18

(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 62/17.

(2) The two men of the name are not always distinguished in the account; the entries relating simply to 'John Gaunte' have been accredited to John Gaunte, junior.

Name	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Gilliot, John	-	3	77	-	212	293
Hagg, John	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hall, Thomas	16	-	-	-	-	80
Harper, John	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hewson, William	-	-	3	-	-	3
Hodgson, John	-	-	-	1	11	15
Hopkinson, John	17	-	-	-	-	85
Jackson, John	-	-	-	-	20	20
Johnson, Richard	8	-	-	-	-	40
Johnson, Robert	-	13	-	-	17	37
Kent, Marion	-	15	28	-	56	106
Lamb, William	-	14	-	-	-	22
Lancastre, John	14	-	-	-	-	70
Marshall, Christopher	-	-	-	-	14	14
Marshall, John	34	-	-	-	83	253
Marshall, Thomas	22	-	-	-	-	110
Middleton, John	73	8	-	-	30	407
Mitchell, John	-	87	17	30	-	267
Nelson, Thomas	-	-	-	-	8	8
Polyngton, Richard	-	-	-	1	5	9
Porter, John	-	8	-	-	-	12
Robinson, John	-	-	16	-	-	16

Name	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Rushworth, Nicholas	-	-	-	-	6	6
Scotton, Thomas	-	13	-	-	-	20
Skelton, John	-	-	18	-	21	39
Smith, Henry	-	26	-	-	19	58
Spicer, John	11	-	-	-	-	55
Stokes, John	-	23	-	-	-	42
Stubbys, John	-	-	-	13	-	52
Sympson, Richard	-	14	-	-	2	23
Taylor, Robert	-	18	-	1	34	65
Thomlinson, John	-	6	-	-	6	15
Todd, Thomas	-	-	-	-	3	3
Todd, William	-	21	31	48	99	354
Tonge, John	-	-	-	-	35	35
Warter, John	-	-	-	-	1	1
Waterhouse, John	14	-	-	-	1	71
Welles, William	-	16	-	36	57	225
Williamson, Henry	-	29	6	36	6	199
Wood, John	2	-	-	-	-	10
Wrangwish, Thomas	-	5	-	-	44	51
Wright, William	-	-	-	-	16	16
York, Richard	-	15	5	20	-	108



TABLE X

YORK MERCHANTS IMPORTING AND EXPORTING WINE, CLOTH,  
WOOL, AND GOODS PAYING POUNDAGE AT HULL  
Mich. 1525 - Mich. 1526 (1)

Name	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks) (2)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Abney, Thomas	4	-	-	-	6	26
Allan, Antony	7	-	-	-	11	48 <sup>(3)</sup>
Burton, Thomas	-	-	-	-	18	18
Chapman, John	-	-	10	6	-	34
Conyers, Christopher	1	-	27	3	17	65 <sup>(4)</sup>
Copyndale, Edmund	-	-	6	-	-	6
Dawson, Thomas	14	-	10	-	27	108 <sup>(5)</sup>
Dogeson, William	-	-	3	-(6)	8	15
Edwyn, John	-	-	-	-	2	2
Foster, John	-	13	-	8	39	91
Gilliot, Peter	-	-	-	-	1	1
Gilmyn, William	14	12	-	-(7)	23	118 <sup>(8)</sup>

(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 202/5.

(2) Shorlings and morlings, inferior grades of wool which were subject to poundage and hence valued by the customs collectors, have been omitted. The value of such exports has however been included in the final column.

(3) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £2.

(4) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £4.

(5) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £1.

(6) Also imported a butt of rumney.

(7) Also imported a butt of malmsey.

(8) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £3.

Name	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Hogeson, John	2	10	41	5 (2)	141	231 <sup>(1)</sup>
Huchenson, Thomas	1	-	-	1	14	27 <sup>(3)</sup>
Jackson, Peter	8	30	53	3	127	281 <sup>(4)</sup>
Langley, Ralph	8	-	-	1	8	53
Lorde, Brian	1	-	17	2	20	50
Lound, John	-	12	2	9	2	58
Man, Robert	-	-	7	2	25	40
Man, William	9	-	23	4	16	100
Mason, William	3	-	-	-	3	18
Metcalfe, John	-	-	9	- (5)	6	19
Nawton, William	1	-	-	-	4	10 <sup>(6)</sup>
Norman, John	-	-	22	-	70	92
Rasyng, John	5	-	72 <sup>(7)</sup>	1 <sup>(8)</sup>	97	210 <sup>(9)</sup>
Robinson, Peter	2	-	-	-	6	18 <sup>(10)</sup>

- (1) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £4.  
 (2) Also imported a butt of rumney.  
 (3) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £4.  
 (4) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £1.  
 (5) Also imported a butt of rumney.  
 (6) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £1.  
 (7) Includes £11 estimated as his share of a cargo of lead valued at £22 exported jointly with John Thornton.  
 (8) Also imported a pipe of bastard, a butt of rumney and a butt of malmsey.  
 (9) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £3.  
 (10) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £2.

Name	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Shadlock, John	1	4	-	-	5	18 <sup>(1)</sup>
Shaw, John	-	8	20	-	47	79
Shaw, Leonard	1	-	1	-	34	40
Shipton, James	2	-	-	-	-	10
Smith, John	-	4	-	4	-	22
Taylour, Richard	1	-	-	-	-	5
Thornton, John	4	-	64 <sup>(2)</sup>	- <sup>(3)</sup>	97	193
Thornton, Thomas	2	4	-	-	14	30
Walker, Robert	-	-	8 <sup>(4)</sup>	1	31	43
Wharton, Gilbert	-	-	-	2	-	8
Whitfield, Robert	22	-	12	2	73	218 <sup>(5)</sup>
Wilde, Robert	-	3	6	-	-	10
Williamson, Thomas	-	1	-	2	6	16
Woode, Henry	2	-	25	-	20	55
Yong, Antony	1	-	9	-	2	17 <sup>(6)</sup>

(1) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £2.

(2) Includes £11 estimated as his share of a cargo of lead valued at £22 exported jointly with John Rasyng.

(3) Also imported two butts of rumney and a butt of malmsey.

(4) The estimated value of his share of a cargo of lead, valued at £16, exported jointly with Henry Dyneley, a merchant of Hull.

(5) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £15.

(6) Includes shorlings and morlings valued at £1.

TABLE XI

YORK\* MERCHANTS IMPORTING AND EXPORTING WINE, CLOTH,  
WOOL, AND GOODS PAYING POUNDAGE AT HULL  
Mich. 1540 - Mich. 1541 (1)

NAME	EXPORTS			IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths	Value of other goods £	Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Appleyard, Thomas	-	14	10	-	36	67
Bekwith, William	-	-	58	7	123	209
Coke, Milo	-	-	41	-	36	77
Cowper, William	-	9	-	-	5	19
Colingwoode, William	-	-	-	-	2	2
Colson, John	-	-	-	-	5	5
Dickenson, Henry	-	33	-	-	49	98
Eden, Antony	-	14	-	-	15	36
Hall, Ralph	-	7	-	-	11	21
Hall, Robert	-	16	198	19	128	426
Harrington, James	-	6	22	-	19	50
Harrison, Arthur	-	3	-	-	13	18
Hewson, John	-	-	8	-	7	15
Hogeson, John	-	9	10	-	12	35
Jackson, Peter	-	-	-	-	19	19

(1) K.R.Customs Accounts 64/15.

NAME	EXPORTS		Value of other goods £	IMPORTS		Estimated Total Value £
	Wool (sacks)	Broad- cloths		Non- sweet wine (tuns)	Value of other goods £	
Jackson, William	-	-	15	6	18	57
Johnson, William	-	8	15	30	26	173
Lampton, George	-	18	30	-	11	68
Man, Robert	-	-	28	-	11	39
North, Richard	-	3	25	-	45	74
Paycock, Robert	-	-	-	29	12	128
Pinnyngton, William	-	-	12	-	44	80 (1)
Plaskett, Richard	-	3	-	-	7	12
Robinson, Peter	-	-	15	-	104	119
Shadlock, John	-	-	11	11	1	56
Simpson, John	-	22	-	-	19	52
Smith, Robert	-	25	-	12	37	122
Thornton, Thomas	-	29	37	-	44	124
Watson, William	-	-	58	4	79	177 (1)
Watthe, John	-	23	-	-	32	67
Wilson, John	-	-	1	-	-	1

(1) Includes £24, estimated as his share of a cargo of lead, coverlets, and 5 cloths, exported jointly by William Pinnyngton and William Watson.

APPENDIX DYORK LANDOWNERS IN 1436

Information as to York owners of lands and rents  
assessed in 1436 at the annual value of £5 and over (1)

Name	Location of Property	Assessment in Pounds Sterling
Acclom, Margaret	Yorkshire	10
Acclom, William	City of York and Yorkshire	20
Alne, William	City of York	13
Appleby, Thomas, clerk	City of York and Yorkshire	10
Bedale, William	City of York and Yorkshire	13
Beleby, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	5
Belford, Katherine	City of York and Yorkshire	9
Bempton, William, chaplain	City of York	8
Beverlay, Robert, chaplain	City of York	5
Blackburn, Lady Joan	City of York	9
Blackburn, Nicholas	City of York and Yorkshire	15
Bolton, John	City of York and Yorkshire	62
Bote, Laurence, chaplain	City of York	5
Bowes, William, Sr.	City of York	18
Bowes, William, Jr.	City of York and Yorkshire	9
Bradley, Roger	City of York	5
Brameley, William, chaplain	City of York	8
Bramethwayte, John, chaplain	City of York	5

(1) Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42

Name	Location of Property	Assessmen in Pounds Sterling
Bridlyngton, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Brigg, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Brigg, William, chaplain	City of York	5
Bubwith, Roger, chaplain	City of York	6
Burton, Roger, clerk	An annuity in the city of York	5
Cattall, Henry, chaplain	City of York	5
Chalker, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Cheswyk, Robert, chaplain	City of York	8
Clerk, Alice	Yorkshire	6
Conell, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	5
Coupeland, Thomas	City of York	10
Craven, Elizabeth	Yorkshire	5
Craven, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Craven, William	City of York	20
Crokelyn, Richard	City of York	5
Dillynghan, Richard, esquire	Westmorland	66
Dodyngton, John	City of York and Yorkshire	16
Drax, Richard, chaplain	City of York	5
Elvyngton, John	City of York and Yorkshire	6
Esyngwald, John	City of York	5
Fairefax, Eustacia	City of York and Yorkshire	66
Fairefax, William, esquire	Yorkshire	10
Feriby, Agnes, widow of Robert Feriby	City of York	5

Name	Location of Property	Assessment in Pounds Sterling
Forester, John	Lands, rents, and offices in the city of York	6
Fox, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Gare, Thomas del	City of York and Yorkshire	26
Gayteshoned, Margaret	City of York and Yorkshire	7
Gramory, William	Yorkshire	23
Grene, Richard, chaplain	City of London	8
Hawk, William, clerk	Annuities in the city of York	12
Helmesley, George, chaplain	City of York	5
Heryng, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Hesill, John	City of York	5
Holme, Thomas, son of Robert Holme	City of York and Yorkshire	12
Holme, William	City of York	5
Holtby, Robert	City of York	5
Homefeld, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Horneby, William, chaplain	City of York	5
Hovyngham, Joan	City of York	9
Inglys, Hugo	Yorkshire	6
Kirkham, Thomas	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Kyghley, Richard, chaplain	City of York	5
Ledes, Agnes	City of York	11
Lillyng, John	City of York and Yorkshire	26
Lillyng, William, chaplain	City of York	6



Name	Location of Property	Assessment in Pounds Sterling
Lyverton, Thomas	City of York	5
Mallory, William	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Maltster, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Marshall, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	5
Melton, Henry	Yorkshire	7
Midelton, Robert	City of York and Yorkshire	8
Monketon, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	5
Murton, Henry	City of York and Yorkshire	12
Murton, John, son of John Murton	City of York and Yorkshire	26
Neuton, William, chaplain	City of York	5
Nevell, Alexander, esquire	City of York and Yorkshire	100
Ormeshed, William	City of York and Yorkshire	18
Plomton, George, clerk	City of York	5
Pole, Edward	City of York, Yorkshire and Derbyshire	19
Preston, Thomas	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Radclyff, John	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Ragenhull, Walter, chaplain	City of York	5
Rawdon, John	An annuity in Yorkshire	6
Rawdon, Thomas	City of York	5
Richeman, William, chaplain	City of York	5
Richemond, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Rideley, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Roderham, Robert	City of York	6

Name	Location of Property	Assessment in Pounds Sterling
Rukeby, John	City of York and Westmorland	8
Russell, Richard, vintner	A corrody in Yorkshire	6
St.Andrew's, York, prior of	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Savage, Geoffrey	City of York	5
Scoreby, William	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Shirwod, John	City of York	10
Shirwod, John	City of York	6
Shirwod, Richard	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Skelton, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	6
Skypwith, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	5
Skyrwith, William	City of York and Yorkshire	10
Snawsell, John	City of York and Yorkshire	6
Staynburn, John	City of York	5
Stelyngton, John, summoner	Lands, rents, and offices in the city of York and Yorkshire	14
Stockton, William	City of York and Yorkshire	6
Swanland, William, chaplain	City of York	5
Swerde, William, chaplain	City of York	6
Taverner, Nicholas	City of York	7
Thorp, Stephen, esquire	Lincolnshire	20
Thresk, John	City of York	5
Trusbut, Peter, chaplain	City of York	9
Vicars Choral of the Minster, custodian of	City of York	40

Name	Location of Property	Assessment in Pounds Sterling
Walthowe, William, chaplain	City of York	5
Walton, William	Yorkshire	13
Wandesford, Robert	Yorkshire	5
Warthell, John, clerk	City of York and Yorkshire	16
Wartre, Richard	City of York	5
Watson, Richard	City of York and Yorkshire	5
Watton, John, chaplain	City of York	5
Wispyngton, Nicholas	City of York	12
Wodehop, Richard, chaplain	City of York	5
Wodehous, Thomas, chaplain	City of York	5
Yong, Elias, chaplain	City of York	5
York, the Commonalty of	City of York	30

APPENDIX E.SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF YORK'S MAYORS, 1300-1550.

The biographies in the Appendix are intended merely as brief summaries of the careers of York's mayors. The information they contain has been selected to give some indication of a man's wealth and occupation, his birth-place and parentage, his connections by marriage, the number of his children, and of the civic posts he held before he was mayor.

In consulting a biography to determine the dates on which a man held the post of chamberlain, bailiff, sheriff, mayor, or custodian of Ouse or Foss Bridge, it should be borne in mind that the year cited is the one in which he commenced office and that his period of office seldom coincided with the calendar year. The mayor was probably appointed in February each year from the beginning of the fourteenth century until 1471 when the King decreed that the mayor's term of office should commence on the 1st April. In 1474 the month of commencing office reverted again to February and the mayor continued to take up his official duties in that month for the remainder of our period,

although his actual appointment after 1439 took place in mid-January. (1) The month in which the chamberlains were appointed is not stated until 1346, when the month was September; in 1375 the month was altered from September to February; and from 1491 to the end of our period the chamberlains were appointed in mid-January. Before 1346 they may have been appointed in February at the same time as the mayor, since each year the names of the chamberlains recorded on the Register of Freemen at the head of the names of new freemen enrolled that year are preceded by the name of only one mayor, whereas when the mayor and chamberlains took office in different months, as we know they did between 1346 and 1375, the names of two mayors appear in the heading, unless a mayor held office for more than 12 months in succession. (2) The bailiffs and the

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(1) Register of Freemen MS. fols. 5-27; M.B. I, lxviii, 16, M.B. II, 255; C.P.R. 1467-77, pp. 238, 416, C.P.R. 1485-94, p. 297; F. Drake, Eboracum, p. 207.

The month in which the mayor was appointed is first recorded on the Register of Freemen in 1343; before that date only the regnal year of his appointment is given. But a comparison of the regnal year in which some mayors were appointed early in the century with the actual dates on which these men were described as mayors in sources such as the Calendars of the Patent Rolls strongly suggests that York's mayors were appointed in February from the beginning of our period.

(2) M.B. I, lxviii, 16, M.B. II, 256; Chamberlains Account Rolls passim; H.B. VII, fols. 22v., 53, IX, fols. 10v., 21, 29, 44, 52v., 56v., 65v., 74v; York Civic Records, IV, 17.

sheriffs who replaced them when the city was given county status in 1396 appear to have been appointed in September throughout our period. (1) The custodians of Ouse Bridge and Foss Bridge were appointed in September from the middle of the fourteenth century, when their names are first recorded on the Register of Freeman, until 1331; from 1331 until 1491 they were appointed in February each year; and from then until the end of our period they were appointed in the middle of January. (2) The date given for a man's enfranchisement is the year in which the chamberlains who enrolled him as a freeman took office, since the precise date of a man's enrolment cannot be determined.

In compiling the biographies much information on the civic service of York's mayors and their family connections has been obtained from the three manuscript volumes by R.H.Skaife in the York Public Library and a single volume of his in the Civic Archives. These have seldom been cited in the individual biographies because his statements about the civic posts men held have been checked by

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(1) M.B. I, lxviii, 16, M.B. II, 259-60; Register of Freeman MS. fols. 295v.-310.

(2) Register of Freeman MS. fols. 318-20, 322-29.

reference to the actual sources whilst the bulk of the information relating to men's family connections has appeared in more accessible form in footnotes to the Register of the Corpus Christi Guild which he edited for the Surtees Society in 1871.

## Acastre, John.de.

Bailiff 1357 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 292).  
 Custodian of Fosse Bridge 1362 (Ibid. fol. 318).  
 M.P. 1366, 1368, 1369, 1378 (Park, pp. 44-5).  
 Mayor 1364, 1379; died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 57, 76).  
 Exported 42 sacks of wool and at least 10 cloths s.g. from Hull  
 in 1378-79 (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/2, 59/1, respectively).

## Aldestanmore (Austynmore) John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1412 (Register of Freeman, I, 115).  
 Chamberlain 1418 (Ibid. I, 126).  
 Sheriff 1421 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295v).  
 Mayor 1427 (Register of Freeman, I, 139).  
 M.P. 1425, 1429 (Park, p.47).  
 Will proved 17 Feb.1434 (Y.P.R.III, fol. 406; A.A.S.R. XXXIII,  
 part ii, 474-80).  
 Exported 39 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R.Customs  
 Accounts 61/32).  
 His goods and chattels which included 58 sarplers of wool, were  
 at his death valued at £1,600 (E.C.P. 10/296).  
 His bequests included £40 each to brother Thomas and his son  
 John, 100 marks to John Holbeck, son of his daughter Agnes,  
 and £93 to two chaplains to celebrate divine service for  
 10 years for the good of his soul.  
 Survived by daughter Agnes; married before 1430 William Holbeck  
 mayor in 1449, 1458, 1470, 1471, 1472 (Skaife, p.29).

## Alne, William.

Younger son of Richard de Alne, chamberlain in 1365 and  
 bailiff in 1379 (Skaife, p.233).  
 Chamberlain 1394 (Register of Freeman, I, 93).  
 Bailiff, described as merchant, 1396; continued in office as  
 sheriff when Richard II gave York county status (Register of  
 Freeman MS. fol. 294v).  
 Mayor 1415 (Register of Freeman, I, 122).  
 M.P. 1413 (Park, p.46) and 1415 (Skaife, p.238).  
 Possessed property in the city in 1436 which yielded an annual  
 net income of £13 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).



Anyas, Robert.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1463 (Register of Freeman, I, 183).  
 Chamberlain 1468 (Ibid. I, 187).  
 Sheriff 1469 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 23 Feb, 1476 (H.B. I, fol. 1).  
 Mayor 1481 (Register of Freeman, I, 202).  
 M.P. 1478 (Wedgwood II, 720).  
 Will proved 8 April, 1486 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 279).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off Denmark  
 in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 Survived by wife Katherine, to whom he bequeathed the residue of  
 his goods.

Askham, John de.

Bailiff 1297 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 289).  
 Chamberlain 1301 (Register of Freeman, I, 8).  
 Mayor 1307, 1308 (Ibid. I, 11).  
 M.P. 1300, 1306, 1307 (Park, p. 40).  
 Owed 80 marks to William de Ayremyn, clerk; the sum to be  
 levied in default of payment from John de Askham's lands in  
 Yorkshire. (C.C.R. 1307-13, p. 54).

Bank, Adam del.

Freeman, described as dyer, 1371 (Register of Freeman, I, 68).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1379 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 319).  
 Chamberlain 1384 (Register of Freeman, I, 80).  
 Bailiff 1387 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294).  
 Mayor 1405 (Register of Freeman, I, 108).

Bankhouse, Thomas.

Freeman, described as tailor, 1476 (Register of Freeman, I, 196).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1492 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 327).  
 Chamberlain 1494 (Register of Freeman, I, 218).  
 Sheriff 1500 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 13 Oct, 1501 (H.B. VIII, fol. 119).  
 Mayor 1521, died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 242).  
 Will proved 18 Oct, 1521 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 195).  
 Goods, chattels, woollen cloth, ready money and other merchandise  
 at death valued at more than £300 (E.C.P. 749/41).  
 Married in 1518, Margaret Cowper of York (Skaife, p. 163).  
 Son Thomas, chaplain, freeman 1505 (Register of Freeman, I, 229).  
 Survived by wife and sons Thomas and George; Thomas, a  
 merchant, became a freeman in 1539 (Ibid. I, 295).

Barden, John de.

Chamberlain 1368 (Register of Freeman, I, 65).

Bailiff 1372 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).

Mayor 1378 (Register of Freeman, I, 75).

M.P. 1379, 1381 (Park, p. 45).

Will proved 17 Jan. 1396 (Y.P.R. I, fols. 95, 100).

Commission set up to enquire into complaint that malefactors had broken into his close at Burton Leonard, near Ripon, burned his houses there and carried away 24 oxen, 16 cows, and 400 sheep, valued at £100. (C.P.R. 1381-85, p.136).

Possessed extensive property in York, Earswick, Huntington, Towthorpe, Shadwell, Aberford, Seacroft, and Ledwoodhouse, from which he bequeathed annuities of 5 marks to daughter Ellen, 13s 4d to his servant Robert Hurtsky, and 6s 8d to Walter Sargeant of Burton Leonard.

Survived by wife Alice, and daughters Ellen, Agnes, wife of Henry Wyman, mayor 1407-09, and Margaret, wife of John de Moreton, mayor 1418. Ellen married Sir John Dawnay of Escrick.  
(Skaife, p. 239).

Barker, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1501 (Register of Freeman, I, 225).

Sheriff 1516 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 305).

Mayor 1525, 1531 (Register of Freeman, I, 246, 251).

Administration of his estate granted 9 Aug. 1538 (Y.P.R. City of York Administration Act Book 1538-42, fol. 4).

Goods assessed at £30 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524.  
(Y.A.J. IV, 190).

Son John, merchant, freeman 1530 (Register of Freeman, I, 250).

Son Simon, merchant, freeman 1541 (Ibid. I, 261).

Barton, Thomas

Son of William Barton, skinner; freeman, described as spicer, 1426 (Register of Freeman, I, 138).

Chamberlain 1439 (Ibid. I, 153).

Sheriff 1442 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).

Mayor 1450 (Register of Freeman, I, 169).

M.P. 1449 (Wedgwood II, 720).

Will proved 7 Sept. 1461 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 451).

His bequests included £5 to servant Robert Hancock, mentioned later, and 20s towards the cost of constructing the new civic hall.

Survived by wife Matilda, and daughter Katherine. The daughter married Alan Wilberfoss of York, sheriff in 1475.  
(Skaife, p.42).

Bean, John.

Son of Thomas Bean, capper; freeman, described as inholder, 1523  
(Register of Freeman, I, 244).  
Chamberlain 1535 (Ibid. I, 253).  
Sheriff 1538 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 307v).  
Member of the twenty-four by 24 Feb, 1540. (H.B. XIV, fol.1).  
Mayor 1545, 1565 (Register of Freeman, I, 264; II, 6).  
M.P. 1554 (Skaife, p. 206; York Civic Records, V, 102).  
Daughter Mary married Antony Wharton, esquire, of Regell Grange,  
Westmorland (Skaife, p.66).

Bedale, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1386 (Register of Freeman, I, 84).  
Chamberlain 1401 (Ibid. I, 104).  
Sheriff 1405 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).  
Mayor 1419 (Register of Freeman, I, 127).  
Exported 27 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1391-92 (K.R.Customs  
Accounts 59/24).  
Paid ulnage on 25 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich.1395.  
(Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
Imported miscellaneous goods valued at £24 at Hull in 1398-99  
(K.R.Customs Accounts 159/11).

Bedale, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1403 (Register of Freeman, I, 107).  
Chamberlain 1415 (Ibid. I, 122).  
Sheriff 1423 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295v).  
Member of the twenty-four by 5 Jan, 1425 (H.B. II, 159).  
Mayor 1437 (Register of Freeman, I, 151).  
M.P. 1435 (Park, p. 48).  
Will proved 17 Sept. 1438 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 123, completed III,  
fol. 540; A.A.S.R. XXXV, part 1, 70-72).  
Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Co. 1432, 1434 (York Mercers, 322).  
Discovered exporting uncustomed cloth from Hull (C.P.R. 1413-16, p.19).  
Goods of his on board a ship sailing from Danzig seized by  
Hanseatic merchants in 1422 (H.R. 1431-76, II, 65).  
Owed £2 by a carrier of Carnforth, Lanes. (C.P.R. 1429-36, p.167).  
Possessed property in the city in 1436 which yielded an annual  
net income of £18. (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
Survived by daughter Joan and sons Nicholas and John, mentioned  
in the codicil to his will; the original will also mentions  
daughter Agnes to whom he bequeathed £20. John, merchant,  
became a freeman in 1437 (Register of Freeman, I, 152).  
Nicholas, merchant, became a freeman in 1443 (Ibid. I, 161).

Belton, Henry de.

Bailiff 1328 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 290v).

Mayor 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337 (Register of Freeman, I, 28-31).

M.P. 1326 (Park, p.41).

Dead by 12 Feb.1341 (C.C.R. 1341-43, p. 105).

Goods assessed at £20 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1327

(Y.A.S. Record Series, LXXIV, 161).

Owed £34 by Robert le Conestable, knight, Lord of Flamborough,  
and £40 by John de Hamby in 1332 (C.C.R.1330-33, pp. 611, 616,  
respectively).

Owed £400 to Henry de Percy the elder in 1335 (C.C.R.1333-37, p. 526).

Exported 49 sacks of wool from Hull in 1324-25 (K.R.Customs  
Accounts 57/11).

A member of the Syndicate of merchants who contracted in 1337  
to purchase 30,000 sacks of wool in this country and export  
it to the Continent to finance the early stages of the  
Hundred Years' War (C.C.R. 1337-39, p.148). On the seizure  
of the Syndicate's wool by the King at Dordrecht in May 1338  
before the operation was completed, he received permission to  
export wool at a reduced rate of customs duty from Hull until  
he had received £1,668 compensation for the value of the wool  
taken from him at Dordrecht (*Ibid.* p. 430).

Beverley, Thomas.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1440 (Register of Freeman, I, 155).

Chamberlain 1447 (*Ibid.* I, 165).

Sheriff 1450 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 298).

Member of the twenty-four by 10 Sept.1455 (M.B. II, 198).

Mayor 1460 (Register of Freeman, I, 179).

M.P. 1459 (Wedgwood II, 720).

Will proved 19 Aug.1480 (Y.P.R. V, fol.184).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1461 (York Mercers, p.322).

Exported 22 sacks of wool, 8 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods  
valued at £90 from Hull and imported there 4 tuns wine and  
miscellaneous goods valued at £175 in 1471-72 (K.R.Customs  
Accounts 62/17).

Married Alice, daughter of Henry Markett, sheriff in 1442  
(*Skaife*, p. 52).

Survived by wife, daughters Isabel and Joan, and sons Nicholas,  
John, William, and Richard. John, merchant, became a freeman  
in 1478 (Register of Freeman, I, 200); married Ann, daughter  
of John Fereby, mayor in 1478, 1491 (T.E. III, 196n). Nicholas,  
merchant, became a freeman in 1478 (Register of Freeman, I, 200).  
Another son, Thomas, merchant, became a freemen in 1471  
(Register of Freeman, I, 191); will proved 23 Feb.1472  
(T.E. III, 196).

## Birkhead, John.

Son of Thomas Birkhead; freeman, described as merchant, 1480.  
(Register of Freeman, I, 202).

Chamberlain 1492 (Ibid. I, 216).

Sheriff 1498 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.302).

Member of the twenty-four by 18 Dec.1499 (H.B. VIII, fol.53v).

Mayor 1507 (Register of Freeman, I, 230).

Will proved 3 Oct.1508 (Y.P.R. VII, fol.57).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1504.

(York Mercers, p.323).

Son, Nicholas, freeman 1507 (Register of Freeman, I, 231).

Survived by wife Katherine, to whom he bequeathed the residue of his goods. The son is not mentioned in the will.

## Blackburn, Nicholas, senior.

Mayor 1412 (Register of Freeman, I, 115).

Will proved 10 April.1432, described as merchant.

(Y.P.R. II, fol. 605; Shaw, p.90).

Lent £100 to the King in 1415 on the eve of Agincourt

(Exchequer, Receipt Roll, 667; Easter Term 3 Henry V), and

£46. 13s. 4d. in 1417 (Exchequer, Receipt Roll, 678; Easter Term 5 Henry V). \*

His cash bequests, which amounted to more than £500, included a contribution of £40 towards the sum due to the King in tax from the city that Easter.

Buried in All Saints, North Street, where a panel in the east window depicts him kneeling with his wife in prayer.

Survived by wife Margaret; daughter Alice, wife of John Bolton, junior, mayor in 1431; daughter Isabel, wife of Brian Sandford, esquire; and sons Nicholas and William. William became a freeman in 1431 (Register of Freeman, I, 144). The career of Nicholas is given below.

\* I am indebted for this information to R.L.Storey, B.A. (Oxon).



NICHOLAS BLACKBURN, SENIOR, AND HIS WIFE  
(EAST WINDOW, ALL SAINTS, NORTH STREET, YORK)

# Blackburn, Nicholas, junior.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1422 (Register of Freemen, I, 131).  
Chamberlain 1424 (Ibid. I, 134).

Sheriff 1427 (Register of Freemen MS. fol. 296).

Mayor 1429 (Register of Freemen, I, 141).

Will proved 8 March. 1447 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 168;

A.A.S.R. XXXIII, part 11, 491-2).  
Exported 98 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £4  
from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).

Possessed property in the city and county in 1436 which yielded  
an annual net income of £15 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
Twenty-four sarplers of wool sold on his behalf at Calais for  
£54 by Thomas Burrell, Attorney of William Marshall, merchant  
of York, in 1433. Thomas was sued for refusing to hand over  
the proceeds of the sale (E.C.P. 44/277).

Joint owner of a keel valued at £10 (E.C.P. 7/186).

Survived by wife Margaret; requested burial next to his  
children in All Saints, North Street, where he and his wife  
are depicted in a panel of the east window.

# Bolton, John, senior.

Chamberlain 1384 (Register of Freemen, I, 80).

Mayor 1410 (Ibid. I, 113).

M.P. 1399, 1407 (Park, p. 46).

Paid ulnage on 20 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395  
(Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).

Son, John, mentioned below.

# Bolton, John, junior.

Son of John Bolton mentioned above; freeman, described as  
mercier, 1410 (Register of Freemen, I, 114).

Chamberlain 1417 (Ibid. I, 124).

Sheriff 1419 (Register of Freemen MS. fol. 295v).

Member of the twenty-four by 5 Jan. 1425 (M.B. II, 159).

Mayor 1431 (Register of Freemen, I, 144).

M.P. 1427, 1429 (Park, p. 47).

Will proved 16 Aug. 1445 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 107;

A.A.S.R. XXXIV, part 1, 211-12).  
Possessed property in the city and county in 1436 which yielded  
an annual net income of £62 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
Married Alice, daughter of Nicholas Blackburn, senior, mayor  
in 1412 (Skaife, p. 30).

Son, Robert, merchant, freeman 1428 (Register of Freemen, I, 141).

Daughter, Margaret, married Henry Gascoigne, gentleman, a

younger son of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe (Skaife, p. 38).

Survived by wife and various children unspecified.





NICHOLAS BLACKBURN, JUNIOR, AND HIS WIFE  
(EAST WINDOW, ALL SAINTS', NORTH STREET, YORK)



# Bolyngbrok, Andrew de

Bailiff 1303 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 289v).  
 Mayor 1305, 1308 (Register of Freeman, I, 10, 12).  
 M.P. 1300, 1314 (Park, pp. 40-41).  
 Will made 29 Aug. 1315 (Register B/Y, fol. 4).  
 Bequeathed tenements in Brettgate to his two children.  
 Survived by wife Agnes, son Roger, and daughter Elizabeth.

# Bowes, William, senior.

Chamberlain 1399 (Register of Freeman, I, 102).  
 Sheriff 1402 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294v).  
 Mayor 1417, 1428 (Register of Freeman, I, 124, 140).  
 M.P. 1421, 1422, 1425, 1430 (Park, p. 47).  
 Will proved 6 Aug. 1439, described as merchant (Y.P.R.III, fol.580; A.A.S.R. XXXIII, part 11, 484-90).  
 Possessed property in the city in 1436 which yielded an annual net income of £18 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
 His bequests included £20 for the fabric of St. Cuthbert's church, £5 each to the three children of daughter Katherine, and £5 each to the six children of his son, William.  
 Survived by daughter Joan, wife of John, son of Nicholas Blackburn, senior, who was mayor in 1412; daughter Katherine, wife of Robert Louthe, merchant; and son William mentioned below.

# Bowes, William, junior.

Son of William Bowes, mentioned above.  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1417 (Register of Freeman, I, 126).  
 Chamberlain 1425 (Ibid. I, 135).  
 Sheriff 1431 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).  
 Mayor 1443 (Register of Freeman, I, 160).  
 M.P. 1436 (Park, p. 48).  
 Possessed property in the city and county in 1436 which yielded an annual net income of £9 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
 Required to pay £254 to Bawdewyn Sahenny, a merchant of Epinal, France, by the arbitrators appointed to settle disputes arising between the two parties in England and overseas (C.C.R. 1441-47, pp. 444-5).  
 Married Agnes, daughter of Robert Kirkby, sheriff in 1406 (Skaife, p.28).

### Bracebrigg, Thomas.

Freeman, described as weaver, 1393 (Register of Freeman, I, 93).  
 Custodian of Fosse Bridge 1400 (Register of Freeman MS.fol.320).  
 Chamberlain 1412 (Register of Freeman, I, 115).  
 Sheriff 1416 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 7 June 1417 (M.B. II, 62).  
 Mayor 1424 (Register of Freeman, I, 134).  
 Will proved 10 May 1437, described as merchant (Y.P.R. III, fol. 487; A.A.S.R. XXXIII, part 1, 167-77).  
 Paid ulnage on 38 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept.1394 - Mich.1395 (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 His bequests included 10 marks to his son John, an Augustine friar; 25 to his son Thomas, a canon of Guisborough; and 50s. for the purchase of coal for the poor and needy in York. He also left 20s. to the weavers' gild; 6s. 8d. to William Lemyng, weaver; 3s.4d. to William Alne, weaver; and 6s.8d. to his godson Nicholas, son of John Tiryngton, weaver. Survived by third wife Ivetta, daughters Margaret, and Alice, widow of Thomas Dod, merchant, and sons William, John, and Thomas. William, merchant, became a freeman in 1449 (Register of Freeman, I, 169). Another son John, merchant, became a freeman in 1424 (Register of Freeman, I, 135); dead when father made his will.

### Braithwayt, John de.

Freeman, described as draper, 1361 (Register of Freeman, I, 55).  
 Chamberlain 1373 (Ibid, I, 70).  
 Bailiff 1374 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 22 Feb. 1378 (M.B. I, 30).  
 Mayor 1393 (Register of Freeman, I, 92).  
 Paid ulnage on 139 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept.1394 - Mich.1395. (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 Daughter, Alice, married John de Raghton, bailiff in 1394. (Skaife, p. 23); second husband was Edmund de la Pole, esquire, younger son of Sir John de la Pole of Newborough, knight (Skaife, p. 27).

### Bukey, Peter.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1392 (Register of Freeman, I, 91).  
 Chamberlain 1408 (Ibid, I, 110).  
 Sheriff 1411 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 21 Sept. 1416 (M.B. II, 52).  
 Mayor 1426 (Register of Freeman, I, 137).  
 M.P. 1423 (Park, p. 47).  
 Administration of his estate granted 26 June.1432(Y.P.R.II, fol.612).  
 Son, William, merchant, freeman 1420 (Register of Freeman, I, 129).  
 Son, John, merchant, freeman 1430 (Ibid. I, 143).

## Bukden, Richard.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1415 (Register of Freeman, I, 122).  
 Custodian of Fosse Bridge 1426 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 322v).  
 Chamberlain 1430 (Register of Freeman, I, 143).  
 Sheriff 1435 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 20 Dec. 1436 (M.B. II, 139).  
 Mayor 1444 (Register of Freeman, I, 161).  
 M.P. 1445 (Wedgwood II, 720).  
 Will proved 1 June 1450 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 209).  
 Exported 53 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).  
 Survived by wife and daughter, Joan; the daughter married John Marshall, mayor 1467, 1480 (Skaife, p. 76).

## Burton, Thomas.

Chamberlain, described as merchant, 1517 (Register of Freeman, I, 239).  
 Mayor 1522, on death of Paul Gillour (Ibid. I, 243).  
 M.P. 1523 (Park, p. 48; York Civic Records. III, 86).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1519, 1520.  
     (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Imported miscellaneous goods valued at £18 at Hull in 1525-26  
     (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Goods assessed at £30 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
     (Y.A.J. IV, 179).  
 Son, Antony, inholder, freeman 1547 (Register of Freeman, I, 267).

## Carr, John.

Son of Thomas Carr, draper, sheriff in 1427 (Skaife, p. 23).  
 Freeman 1434 (Register of Freeman, I, 148).  
 Chamberlain 1438 (Ibid. I, 152).  
 Mayor 1448, 1456 (Ibid. I, 167, 175).  
 M.P. 1449 (Wedgwood II, 720).  
 Merchant of the Staple at Calais (C.P.R. 1446-52, p. 316).  
 Will proved 20 April 1483 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 327; T.E. IV, 26).  
 His bequests included £26 for the marriage of 13 poor maidens;  
     £33 for the provision of beds complete with sheets, blankets,  
     and coverlets, for 50 poor men and women; £20 for poor  
     married couples; and 10 marks, a piece of silver, and pardon  
     of a debt of £9 to John Bekyllis, formerly his servant.  
 Will mentions no children; requested burial next to Janet his  
 late wife.

### Cateryk, John.

Son of Thomas Cateryk, mercer; freeman, described as mercer, 1425 (Register of Freeman, I, 137).  
 Chamberlain 1440 (Ibid. I, 155).  
 Sheriff 1443 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).  
 Mayor 1453 (Register of Freeman, I, 172).  
 M.P. 1449 (Wedgwood II, 720).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company in 1442, 1449, 1450 (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Complained that in 1440 the men of Danzig had arrested goods of his valued at £7 (H.R. 1431-76 II, 542).

### Chimney, William.

Freeman, described as draper, 1455 (Register of Freeman, I, 174).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1465 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 325).  
 Chamberlain 1470 (Register of Freeman, I, 189).  
 Sheriff 1474 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 17 May 1476 (H.B. I, fol. 18).  
 Mayor 1486 (Register of Freeman, I, 210).  
 M.P. 1491 (Wedgwood II, 210; Harley MS. 2252, fol. 29v).  
 Will proved 30 Jan. 1503 (Y.P.R. VIII, fol. 3).  
 Son, Richard, freeman 1487 (Register of Freeman, I, 212).  
 Requested burial next to Christine his late wife.

### Colynson, Robert.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1426 (Register of Freeman, I, 137).  
 Chamberlain 1442 (Ibid. I, 159).  
 Sheriff 1445 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).  
 Mayor 1457 (Register of Freeman, I, 176).  
 Will proved 3 Oct. 1458 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 378; Shaw, p. 97).  
 Complained that in 1440 the men of Danzig had arrested goods of his valued at £5 (H.R. 1431-76, II, 542).  
 Bequeathed money to religious houses at Carlisle, Bolton in Craven, Penrith, Richmond, Appleby in Westmorland, Wedderdale in Cumberland, Northallerton and Pontefract; he also left legacies for the fabric of Ripon Minster and the repair of Catterick bridge.  
 He instructed his executors to distribute five russet cloths to provide clothing for the poor and to give the dyers, fullers, shearmen and weavers working with him a good breakfast and the sum of a shilling.  
 Survived by wife, Isabella.

## Crathorne, Thomas.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1422 (Register of Freeman, I, 131).  
 Chamberlain 1440 (Ibid. I, 155).

Sheriff 1441 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).

Mayor 1445 (Register of Freeman, I, 163).

M.P. 1447 (Wedgwood, II, 720).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1447

(York Mercers, p. 322).

Exported 92 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £2 from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).

One of the English merchants accused of robbery and violence in Iceland between 1420 and 1425 by the Danish governor Hannes Pálsson (Dipl. Island. IV, No. 331).

## Craven, John.

Chamberlain 1390 (Register of Freeman, I, 88).

Bailiff 1392 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294).

Mayor 1411 (Register of Freeman, I, 114).

Will made 6 Jan. 1415, described as merchant (Y.P.R. III, fol. 606;  
A.A.S.R. XXXII, part 1, 308-12).

Paid ulnage on 23 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395  
 (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).

Bequeathed his son William various tenements in York on condition that he paid 3s. 4d. a week to 13 poor persons living in his maison dieu at Layerthorpe Bridge; he also left £35 for a chaplain to celebrate divine service for 7 years for the good of his soul.

Survived by wife Katherine, and son William. William became sheriff in 1422 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295v).

## Croser, John.

- Freeman, described as dyer, 1423 (Register of Freeman, I, 141).

Chamberlain 1437 (Ibid. I, 151).

Sheriff 1438 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).

Mayor 1447 (Register of Freeman, I, 165).

# Danby, Thomas.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1424 (Register of Freeman, I, 134).  
 Chamberlain 1438 (Ibid. I, 152).  
 Sheriff 1439 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).  
 Mayor 1452 (Register of Freeman, I, 171).  
 M.P. 1453 (Wedgwood II, 720).  
 Will proved 20 May 1458 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 364).  
 Exported 2 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £3  
 from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).  
 Shipped uncustomed goods valued at £67 to Iceland in 1436  
 (C.P.R. 1436-41, p. 294).  
 Bequeathed a silver spoon de Yseland to William Holbeck,  
 mayor 1449, 1458, 1470, 1471, 1472.  
 Survived by wife Matilda, and daughter, Margaret Salvan.

# Dawson, Bertram.

Born at Warmeden in the parish of Bamburgh, Northumberland  
 (T.E. V, 61n).  
 Freeman, described as tailor, 1476 (Register of Freeman, I, 196).  
 Custodian of Fosse Bridge 1486 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 326v).  
 Chamberlain 1491 (Register of Freeman, I, 215).  
 Sheriff 1496 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 20 Dec. 1497 (H.B.VIII, fol. 28).  
 Mayor 1511 (Register of Freeman, I, 234).  
 Will proved 20 Nov. 1516 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 39; T.E. V, 61).  
 Survived by wife, Janet, to whom he left 3 tenements in York,  
 and son, Thomas. Thomas, a merchant, was made a freeman in  
 1503 and became sheriff in 1517 (Skaife, p. 163).

# Dayson, Henry.

Freeman, described as dyer, 1504 (Register of Freeman, I, 228).  
 Chamberlain 1522 (Ibid. I, 243).  
 Sheriff 1524 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 306v).  
 Mayor 1531 (Register of Freeman, I, 250).  
 Will proved 22 Sept. 1540 (Y.P.R. XI, fol. 429).  
 Married Alice, widow of Robert Petty, alderman, who died in  
 1528 (Skaife, p. 161).  
 Survived by wife, and married daughters Agnes and Janet.

## Dogeson, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1482 (Register of Freeman, I, 203).  
Chamberlain 1490 (Ibid. I, 214).

Sheriff 1497 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302v).

Mayor 1508, when John Petty died in office, and 1517 by  
command of the King who annulled the election of  
William Nelson, then a prisoner in London (Register of  
Freemen, I, 231n, 239; Skaife, p. 114n)

Will proved 22 May 1531 (Y.P.R. X, fol. 47).

Goods assessed at £10 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
(Y.A.J. IV, 187).

Married by 1490, Jane, daughter of Thomas Scotton, mayor in  
1492 (Skaife, p. 127).

Survived by son Christopher, and daughters Elizabeth, Agnes,  
and Barbara.

## Dogeson, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1515 (Register of Freeman, I, 237).  
Chamberlain 1526 (Ibid. I, 246).

Sheriff 1532 (Register of Freeman, I, 259).

Member of the twenty-four by 1 Jan. 1535 (H.B. XIII, fol. 10).

Mayor 1540 (Register of Freeman, I, 259).

Will proved 10 Dec. 1548 (Y.P.R. XIII, fol. 444).

Goods assessed at £10 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
(Y.A.J. IV, 179).

Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £3 from Hull and  
imported there a butt of rumney and miscellaneous goods  
valued at £8 in 1525-26. (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).

Survived by wife Elizabeth, and two daughters, the wives of  
John Fishe and John Peghan.

## Drawswerde, Thomas.

Freeman, described as carver, 1496 (Register of Freeman, I, 220).  
Chamberlain 1501 (Ibid. I, 225).

Sheriff 1505 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 303v).

Member of the twenty-four by 16 Aug. 1507 (H.B. IX, fol. 37).

Mayor 1515, 1523 (Register of Freeman, I, 237, 244).

M.P. 1512 (Skaife, p. 151).

Will proved 30 July 1529 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 448; T.E. V, 267).

Submitted an estimate for the construction of the tomb of  
Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, although the contract was  
ultimately given to Torrigiano (F.H. Crossley, English  
Church Monuments 1150-1550, p. 106; Letters and Papers, I,  
no. 775). He also carved a choir screen at Newark  
(York Mercers, p. xxvi).

Lands assessed at £18 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
(Y.A.J. IV, 173).

At the time of his death possessed 3 houses in the parish of  
St. Martin, 2 tenements in Jubbergate, a house in Bootham,  
another house in Stonegate and a third in St. Andrewgate.  
Survived by wife Maude, son George, and daughter Maude.

## Elwald, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1471 (Register of Freeman, I, 191)  
Chamberlain 1486 (Ibid. I, 210).

Sheriff 1490 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 301v).

Member of the twenty-four by 19 Dec. 1491 (H.B. VII, fol. 50v).

Mayor 1499 (Register of Freeman, I, 223).

Will proved 16 May 1505 (D. & C. Library, Registers of Wills, V,  
fol. 239).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1492

(York Mercers, p. 323).

Sued by Edmund Wotton and Richard Rokeby of London, mercer,  
for a debt of £37 incurred by the purchase of 'diverse  
mercery wares' (E.C.P. 181/50).

## Elwald, Robert.

Son of John Elwald mentioned above (Skaife, p. 189).

Freeman, described as merchant, 1506 (Register of Freeman, I, 230)

Chamberlain 1530 (Ibid. I, 250).

Sheriff 1532 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 209v).

Mayor 1539 (Register of Freeman, I, 258).

Resigned his aldermanic gown in 1549 and was granted an  
annuity of £4 (Skaife, p. 189).

## Essex, George.

Freeman, described as apothecary, 1474 (Register of Freeman, I, 194)  
Chamberlain 1494 (Ibid. I, 218).

Sheriff 1500 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 303).

Member of the twenty-four by 13 Oct. 1501 (H.B. VIII, fol. 119).

Mayor 1509 (Register of Freeman, I, 232).

Will proved 8 Aug. 1510 (Y.P.R. VIII, fol. 51; T.E. V, 24).

Bequeathed to his daughter Matilda, wife of John Chapman,  
sheriff in 1512, a silver spoon that had once belonged to  
William Todd, mayor in 1487.

Survived by wife Ann, daughter just mentioned, and other  
children unspecified.



Esyngwald, Thomas.

Emigrated from Easingwold, N.Yorks; bequeathed 40s. to his brother living there and 13s.4d. to the convent of Molesby for tithes forgotten (A.A.S.R. XXXIII, part i, 163-66).  
 Freeman, described as shearman, 1384 (Register of Freeman, I, 80).  
 Custodian of Foss Bridge 1401 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 320).  
 Chamberlain 1407 (Register of Freeman, I, 110).  
 Sheriff 1411 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 21 Sept. 1416 (M.B. II, 52).  
 Mayor 1423 (Register of Freeman, I, 132).  
 Will proved 16 May 1428; described as merchant (Y.P.R. II, fol. 531; A.A.S.R. XXXIII, part i, 163-66).  
 Paid adnage on 2 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395 (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 His bequests included £20 for four chaplains to celebrate divine service for one year for the good of his soul, 10s. to Richard Lesset, and 6s. 8d. to John Colom, two shearmen of York; two York drapers, Thomas Carr and Robert Gray, appointed as executors to his will, received gifts of girdles. Survived by wife Alice.

Fereby, John.

Born at Barton on Humber where his parents were buried; he bequeathed a tenement there to his daughter Ellen (T.E. III, 179n).  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1447 (Register of Freeman, I, 166).  
 Chamberlain 1462 (Ibid. I, 181).  
 Sheriff 1471 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299v).  
 Mayor 1478, 1491; died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 199, 215).  
 Chosen M.P. 1485, but Richard York went instead (York Civic Records, I, 127, 131).  
 Will proved 6 June 1491 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 417).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1466, 1474 (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £70 from Hull and imported there miscellaneous goods valued at £130 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Survived by daughters Ellen and Ann. Ellen married John Metcalfe, mayor in 1498; Ann married John, son of Thomas Beverley, mayor in 1460.

# Flemyng, Nicholas le.

Son of James le Flemyng who was mayor in 1298 (C.P.R. 1307-13, p.440; Skaife, Survey, pp. 378-79; Register of Freeman, I, 7). Mayor 1311-1316 (Register of Freeman, I, 13-16). He held the office again in 1319 and was killed that year at the battle of Myton (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 4v).

Exported 36 sacks of wool from Hull in 1309-10 (K.R. Customs Accounts 56/11.)

In 1312 when he was granted permission to give 6 marks rent for the foundation of a chantry in the church of St. Wilfrid it was stated that he received another 20 marks a year in rents from property in York (C.P.R. 1307-13, p. 440; Chancery Inquisitions Ad Quod Dampnum, 86/13).

Survived by wife Ellen, who took a vow of chastity before the Archbishop of York on 21 Oct. 1319 (Skaife, Survey, pp. 378-79).

# Foukes, Nicholas.

Bailiff 1323 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 290v).

Mayor 1342 (Register of Freeman, I, 35).

Goods assessed at £10 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1328.

(Y.A.S. Record Series, LXXIV, 168).

Owed £200 by William de Kyme, knight (C.C.R. 1327-30, p.216).

Owed £100 by Gregory Burdon of Clifford in the parish of Bramham (C.C.R. 1333-37, p.483).

At the beginning of the Hundred Years' War 25 sacks of his wool, valued at 225 marks, were appropriated on behalf of the King to finance the War (C.P.R. 1338-40, p.297).

One of the York merchants accused in 1361 of having used illegal weights when purchasing wool in the North Riding during the previous 9 years (Yorkshire Sessions of the Peace, 1361-64, ed. B.H. Putnam, p.84).

Frost, William.

Mayor 1396, 1397, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404 (Register of Freeman, I, 96, 98, 103-107). York was taken into the hands of the King on 3 June 1405 because of the part played by the citizens in the rebellion of Archbishop Scrope (C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.310) and on 25 Aug. that year William Frost was appointed custodian of the city (C.P.R. 1405-08, p.40). In June 1406 when the liberties of York were restored William Frost held the office of mayor for a further year (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 10v; C.P.R. 1405-08, p.155).

M.P. 1399 (Park, p.46).

Exported 34 sacks of wool from Hull in 1391-92 (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/24).

Married Isabella, daughter of John de Gisburne, mayor in 1371, 1372, and 1380 (A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 832).

Gare, Thomas del, senior.

Son of William del Gare, freeman described as mercer 1385 (Register of Freeman, I, 81).

Bailiff 1395 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294v).

Member of the 24 by 21 Sept.1416 (M.B. II, 52).

Mayor 1420 (Register of Freeman, I, 128).

M.P. 1419, 1421 (Park, p.47).

Administration of his estate granted 26 Apl.1439 (Y.P.R. III, fol.570).

Exported 66 sacks of wool and 81 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1391-92 (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/24).

Imported 2 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued at £10 at Hull in 1398-99 (K.R.Customs Accounts 159/11).

Paid aulnage on 111 cloths s.g. in York 6 Sept.1394 - Mich.1395. (Yorks Woollen Trade, pp.47-95).

In August 1425 gave 100 marks to the Augustine Friars of York to be spent on the plumbing of their new dormitory

(Skaife, p.11).  
Daughter Ellen married William Ormeshed, mayor in 1425 and 1433. (A.A.S.R. XXXV, part i, 62).

Son, John, M.P. 1421 (Skaife, p.11).

Son, Thomas, mentioned overleaf.

Gare, Thomas del, junior.

Son of Thomas del Gare mentioned above; freeman, described as merchant, 1418 (Register of Freeman, I, 127).

Chamberlain 1427 (Ibid. I, 139).

Sheriff 1428 (Register of Freeman MS, fol. 296).

Mayor 1434 (Register of Freeman, I, 148).

M.P. 1432 (Park, p.47).

Will proved 1 Oct.1445 (Y.P.R. II, fol.110; A.A.S.R. XXXV, part 1, 62-66).

Bequeathed 100 marks each to his two daughters for their marriage, to be raised from the rents of his lands in the city, Yorkshire, and Calais, at the rate of £10 a year.

Married Helen, daughter of John Bedford, a wealthy merchant of Hull (A.A.S.R. XXXV, part 1, 62).

Survived by wife, daughters Elizabeth and Ann, and sons Thomas and John.

Gayle, George.

Son of Oliver Gayle of Thirntoft, Yorks. (Skaife, p.174).

Freeman, described as goldsmith, 1514 (Register of Freeman, I, 236).

Sheriff 1530 (Skaife, p.174).

Mayor 1534, 1549 (Register of Freeman, I, 253, 263).

M.P. 1529, 1536, 1542 (York Civic Records, III, 145-6; IV, 3, 72).

Will proved 27 Aug.1556 (Y.P.R. XV, part 1, fol. 62).

Goods assessed at 20 marks in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524 (Y.A.J. IV, 170).

Instructed his wife to distribute £4 yearly from his property after his death to the poor of York.

Married Mary, daughter of Robert Lord of Kendal (Skaife, p.174).

Survived by wife, sons Francis and Thomas, and married daughters Anne Pacock and Isabel Hall.

Gilliot, John, senior.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1439 (Register of Freeman, I, 153).  
 Chamberlain 1451 (Ibid. I, 170).  
 Sheriff 1452 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 298).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 10 Sept. 1455 (M.B. II, 198).  
 Mayor 1464, 1474 (Register of Freeman I, 183, 194).  
 Will proved 27 Sept. 1484 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 237).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1459, 1460, 1476  
     (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Exported 3 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £77  
 from Hull and imported miscellaneous goods there valued at  
 £212 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off  
 Denmark in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 Bequeathed 46s.8d. or more if his executors thought this  
 necessary, to the tower of All Saints, Pavement.  
 Married Joan, daughter of John Lancaster, sister of  
 Nicholas Lancaster, mayor in 1485, 1493 (T.E. V, 12).  
 Survived by wife, daughter Agnes, and son John, mentioned  
 below.

Gilliot, John, junior.

Son of John Gilliot, mentioned above.  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1481 (Register of Freeman, I, 203).  
 Chamberlain 1482 (Ibid. I, 203).  
 Sheriff 1484 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 300v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 25 Oct. 1485 (H.B. II, fol. 178).  
 Mayor 1490, 1503 (Register of Freeman, I, 214, 227).  
 M.P. 1487, 1489 (Wedgwood, II, 720; York Civic Records, II, 31).  
 Created Knight of the Bath 1501 (Skaife, p. 109).  
 Will proved 4 March 1509 (Y.P.R. VIII, fol. 32; T.E. V, 12).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1485, 1486, 1500, 1501  
     (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Bequeathed £400, or more if necessary, for his executors to  
 purchase an annuity of £6 from an abbey or to buy land  
 yielding £6 a year to give to the abbey to secure the  
 performance of divine service for his soul; if both these  
 schemes proved impossible, a chantry was to be founded with  
 the money in the church of St. Saviour.  
 Second wife, Maud, daughter of Sir Henry Vavasour of Haslewood.  
     (T.E. V, 12).  
 Survived by wife, daughters Margaret and Maud, and sons  
 Laurence, William, and Peter. Peter, merchant, became a  
 freeman in 1522 (Register of Freeman, I, 244); married  
 Alice, daughter of Peter Jackson, mayor in 1526 (T.E. V, 15n).  
 The daughters married John Hogeson, mayor in 1533, and  
 Peter Robinson, mayor in 1544 (Ibid.).

Gillour, (Gillow) Paul.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1495 (Register of Freeman, I, 219).  
Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1508 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 328v).  
Chamberlain 1509 (Register of Freeman, I, 232).  
Sheriff 1514 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 305).  
Member of the twenty-four by 15 Jan. 1516 (H.B. IX, fol. 83).  
Mayor 1522; died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 243).  
Will proved 28 Nov. 1522 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 283; T.E. V, 150)  
Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1517, 1518  
(York Mercers, p. 323).

Girlyngton, William.

Freeman, described as tailor, 1405 (Register of Freeman, I, 108).  
Chamberlain 1421 (Ibid. I, 130).  
Sheriff 1426 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).  
Member of the twenty-four by 2 July 1428 (M.B. II, 174).  
Mayor 1440 (Register of Freeman, I, 155).  
M.P. 1442 (Wedgwood, II, 720).  
Will proved 7 June 1444 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 83; T.E. II, 93).  
Two whole cloths of his dyed a 'mixed blue colour' were  
arrested in York in 1430 on the grounds that he had set his  
own seal on the cloths without the permission of the  
official ulnager (K.R. Memoranda Rolls, Record, 10 Hen. VI,  
Hilary, rot. 10); three years later 1½ cloths that had not  
been ulnaged were seized in his shop in Fesegale.  
(Ibid. Record, 13 Hen. VI, Trinity, rot. 16).  
His bequests included £8 to be divided amongst the four orders  
of friars in York, £6 for the repair of the bridge at  
Catterick and £4 for the repair of the bridge at Kirkham.  
He also left 100 coverlets, 100 pairs of linen sheets and  
100 pairs of blankets worth 65 marks in all, to furnish  
beds of poor persons in the city.  
Survived by wife Joan.

Gisburne, John de.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1347 (Register of Freeman, I, 39). Mayor 1371, 1372, 1380 (Ibid. I, 67-9). His re-election in 1372 in opposition to a former mayor, John de Langton, was preceded by public disorder (C.C.R. 1369-74, p.275), and his third term of office was temporarily suspended in November 1380 when a group of citizens installed Simon de Quixlay in his stead (C.P.R. 1377-81, p.580; Rotuli Parliamentorum III, 96-7; (C.C.R. 1377-81, pp.420-21). The animosity between Quixlay and Gisburne came to a head in July 1381 when their armed followers exchanged blows at Bootham Bar (C.Oman, The Great Revolt of 1381, p.146). M.P. 1360, 1373 (Park, pp. 44-5).

Will proved 22 Dec.1390 (Y.P.R. I, fol.15; A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 828-33).

One of the English merchants governing Calais as an alderman in 1363 (Rymer, III, part ii, 691, 693).

Exported 205 sacks of wool and at least 28 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1378-79 (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/2, 59/1 respectively).

Granted a protection and safe conduct in 1358 to buy wool, hides and other merchandise in Scotland and convey them to England (C.P.R. 1358-61, p.87).

Safe conduct granted to him and two other merchants to buy 200 loads of lead in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and convey them to Oxford via London, for the roofing of houses built by the Bishop of Winchester at his newly founded college in Oxford (C.P.R. 1381-85, p.50).

His cash bequests, which amounted to nearly £400, included £80 to the four orders of friars in York, £20 to the fabric of the Minster, and £40 to the poor on the day of his burial; he left money to religious houses at Beverley, Hull, Doncaster, Arden, Synningthwaite, Keldholme, Basedale, Molesby, Hampole, Carlisle, Gisburne, Jervaux, Kirkham, Selby, Bolton, and Bridlington; and bequeathed sums of £5 for the repair of a road across Hessay Moor, and £2 each for the repair of bridges at Stamford and Thornton, near Helperby.

Survived by daughters Alice and Isabella; Alice married Sir William Plompton, knight, nephew of Archbishop Scrope who was beheaded for treason in 1405; Isabella married William Frost, mentioned earlier (A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 832).

Goldbeter, Henry.

Bailiff 1332 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 290v).

Mayor 1346 (Register of Freeman, I, 38).

M.P. 1336, 1340, 1341 (Park, p.43).

Goods of his valued at £323 arrested at Bruges and Lescluse in Flanders (C.C.R. 1337-39, p. 74).

One of the English merchants whose wool was seized by the King at Dordrecht in May 1338 to finance the early stages of the Hundred Years' War. He and John de Loterington, another English merchant whose wool was appropriated, were given permission to export wool at a reduced rate of customs duty from Hull until they had jointly received £400 compensation for the value of the wool taken from them (Ibid. p.430).

## Gra, Thomas.

Son of William Gra, mentioned below (A.A.S.R. XXXII, part 1, 298).  
 Mayor 1375, 1398 (Register of Freeman, I, 72, 99).  
 M.P. 1376, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1383, 1385, 1386, 1392, 1394, 1396 (Park, pp. 45-6).  
 Will proved 8 July 1405 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 235; A.A.S.R. XXXII, part 1, 298-302).  
 Exported 90 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79 (K.R. Customs Accounts 59/2).  
 Owed £2 by Robert de Stepyng of Kelsey in Lindsey (C.P.R. 1385-89, p. 417).  
 One of the three ambassadors despatched by Richard II to negotiate a commercial treaty with Prussia in 1388 (Ibid. p. 453).  
 Survived by wife Alice, and sons Thomas and Robert.

## Gra, William.

Bailiff 1345 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 291v).  
 Mayor 1367 (Register of Freeman, I, 63).  
 M.P. 1343, 1347, 1348, 1353, 1355, 1356, 1360, 1363, 1364, 1366, 1368, 1369, 1371, 1372 (Park, pp. 43-45).  
 Owed £40 by Thomas Gra of Skelton, near York, and £20 by Alice, late wife of James de Bosevill (C.C.R. 1333-37, pp. 90, 725, respectively).  
 Granted permission in 1344 to export wool from Hull at a reduced rate of customs duty until he had recovered the £54 owed him by the executors of Jordan Savage of York. The debt had arisen in connection with wool supplied to Jordan Savage to whom the King had acknowledged his indebtedness for wool seized at Dordrecht in 1338 to finance the early stages of the Hundred Years' War (C.C.R. 1343-46, p. 401).  
 Son, Thomas, mentioned above.

## Gray, Thomas

Freeman, described as goldsmith, 1469 (Register of Freeman, I, 188).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1480 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 326).  
 Chamberlain 1482 (Register of Freeman, I, 203).  
 Sheriff 1488 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 301).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 3 Feb. 1490 (H.B. VI, fol. 166v).  
 Mayor 1497 (Register of Freeman, I, 221).  
 M.P. 1495 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 In 1506 because of poverty he was given the duty of supervising 'the common work and artillery' of the city for an annual salary of 20 marks, and allowed to retain his aldermancy; he finally resigned his gown in 1514 because of great poverty and was granted an annuity of 4 marks (Skaife, p. 80).



## Hall, John.

Freeman, described as tanner, 1481 (Register of Freemen, I, 202).  
 Chamberlain 1501 (*Ibid.* I, 225).  
 Sheriff 1504 (Register of Freemen MS. fol. 303v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 15 Jan. 1506 (H.B. IX, fol. 29).  
 Mayor 1516 (Register of Freemen, I, 238).  
 Will proved 6 June 1527 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 369; T.E. VI, 13).  
 Goods assessed at £10 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 189).  
 Will mentions no children; requested burial next to Agnes  
 his late wife.

## Hall, Robert.

Apprentice of Paul Gillour, mayor in 1522; freeman, described  
 as merchant, 1517 (Register of Freemen, I, 239).  
 Chamberlain 1532 (*Ibid.* I, 251).  
 Sheriff 1533 (Register of Freemen MS. fol. 209v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 10 Jan. 1535 (H.B. XIII, fol. 13).  
 Mayor 1541 (Register of Freemen, I, 260).  
 M.P. 1545, 1553, (York Civic Records, IV, 123; V, 92).  
 Will proved 8 Oct. 1565 (Y.P.R. XVII, fol. 477).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1536, 1537, 1538  
 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Exported 16 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £198  
 from Hull and imported there 19 tuns of wine and miscellaneous  
 goods valued at £128 in 1540-41 (K.R. Customs Accounts 64/15).  
 His bequests included £1 each towards the repair of the highway  
 outside Walmgate and Micklegate Bars, and £3 6s. 8d. towards the  
 repair of roads beyond Monk Bridge.  
 Married Jane, daughter of William Harrington, mayor in 1536  
 (Skaife, p. 192).  
 Survived by wife, sons Robert, Leonard, and John, and married  
 daughters Elizabeth Harrison, Mary and Ann Southeby, and  
 Katherine Hall. The sons became freemen in 1558, 1565, and  
 1567 respectively (Register of Freemen, I, 278; II, 7, 8,).  
 Robert was chamberlain in 1566 (*Ibid.* II, 7).

## Hancock, Robert.

Servant of Thomas Barton, mayor in 1450 (Skaife, p. 63).  
 Freeman, described as grocer 1462 (Register of Freemen, I, 181).  
 Chamberlain 1471 (*Ibid.* I, 190).  
 Sheriff 1477 (Register of Freemen MS. fol. 300).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 12 April 1490 (H.B. II, fol. 4v).  
 Mayor 1488 (Register of Freemen, I, 213).  
 M.P. 1483, 1485 (Wedgwood, II, 721; York Civic Records, I, 131).  
 Will proved 15 Feb. 1495 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 473).  
 His bequests included 40s. to his mother.  
 Survived by wife, Matilda.

## Harper, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1471 (Register of Freeman, I, 191).  
 Chamberlain 1478 (Ibid, I, 199).  
 Sheriff 1481 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 300v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 9 Dec. 1482 (H.B. II, fol. 71).  
 Mayor 1489 (Register of Freeman, I, 213).  
 Will proved 15 April, 1496 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 478).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers Company 1482 (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Imported miscellaneous goods valued at £1 at Hull in 1471-72  
 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off  
 Denmark in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 Married Joan, daughter of Thomas Brounflete, sheriff in 1457  
 (Skaife, p. 90).  
 Survived by wife; will mentions no children. His wife  
 re-married a year later William Ratcliffe, esquire, of  
 Rilston-in-Craven (Skaife, p. 91).

## Harrington, William.

Freeman, described as grocer, 1500 (Register of Freeman, I, 224).  
 Sheriff 1531 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 209v).  
 Mayor 1536 (Register of Freeman, I, 255).  
 Will proved 18 Feb. 1541 (Y.P.R. XI, fol. 497).  
 In 1512 he was excused holding any municipal office for six  
 years and this exemption was extended in 1517 when he was  
 elected bailiff of the Liberty of St. Peter (Skaife, p. 168).  
 Married in 1500 Katherine Johnson, widow; his second wife,  
 married in 1528, was Joan, daughter of John Norman, sheriff  
 in 1490 and widow of John Rasyn, alderman; and his third  
 wife, Emmot, was daughter of Richard Thornton, mayor in  
 1502 and widow of John Tyndale of Overton (Skaife, p. 168).  
 Survived by third wife, sons James and Robert, who was a minor,  
 and daughter Jane, wife of Robert Hall, mayor in 1541.  
 James, merchant, freeman 1533, became mayor in 1560  
 (Skaife, p. 220).

# Hekkilton, Robert.

Son of Gilbert Hekkilton; freeman, described as fishmonger  
 1509 (Register of Freeman, I, 233).  
 Chamberlain 1533 (Ibid. I, 252).  
 Sheriff 1535 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 307).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 6 Nov. 1536 (H.B. XIII, fol. 77v).  
 Mayor 1543 (Register of Freeman, I, 262).  
 Will proved 29 Nov. 1568 (Y.P.R. XVIII, fol. 33).  
 Second wife, Alice, widow of William Harper, sheriff in 1541  
 (Skaife, p. 216).  
 Survived by second wife, married daughter, Anne Shereburne,  
 and son Sir Richard Hekkilton, who became a freeman in 1554  
 (Register of Freeman, I, 274). Another son Gilbert,  
 merchant, became a freeman in 1545 (Ibid. I, 265).

# Helmeslay, William de.

Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1371 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 318v).  
 Chamberlain 1373 (Register of Freeman, I, 70).  
 Bailiff 1375 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 22 Feb. 1378 (M.B. I, 30).  
 Mayor 1394 (Register of Freeman, I, 93).  
 M.P. 1392 (Park, p. 46).  
 Will made 5 Aug. 1404, described as draper (Y.P.R. III, fol. 215;  
A.A.S.R. XXXII, part i, 294-97).  
 Survived by son John.

# Hogeson, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1517 (Register of Freeman, I, 239).  
 Chamberlain 1524 (Ibid. I, 245).  
 Mayor 1533 (Ibid. I, 252).  
 M.P. 1542, (York Civic Records, IV, 72).  
 Goods assessed at £20 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 176).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1531, 1532  
 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Exported 2 sacks of wool, shorlings and morlings valued at £4,  
 10 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £41 from Hull  
 and imported there 5 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued  
 at £141 in 1525-26 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Exported 9 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £10  
 from Hull and imported there miscellaneous goods valued at  
 £12 in 1540-41 (Ibid. 64/15).  
 Resigned his gown in 1548 because of great poverty and was  
 granted an annuity of 4 marks (Skaife, p. 183).  
 Married a daughter of John Gilliot, junior, mayor in 1490, 1503  
 (T.E. V, 15n).  
 Son, John, merchant, freeman 1539 (Register of Freeman, I, 259).

## Holbeck, William.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1425 (Register of Freeman, I, 135).  
 Chamberlain 1437 (Ibid. I, 151).  
 Sheriff 1439 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).  
 Mayor 1449, 1458, 1470, 1471, 1472 (Register of Freeman, I, 168, 177, 189-91). He was appointed in 1471 by the King because of dissensions between citizens over the choice of his successor (C.P.R. 1467-77, p.239).  
 M.P. 1450 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Will proved 29 Oct. 1477 (Y.P.R. V, fol.22).  
 Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £8 from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).  
 Owed 20 marks to Simon Eyre, alderman of London, in 1454 (C.P.R. 1452-61, p.132).  
 Appointed Thomas Henrison of London, gentleman, as one of his executors.  
 Married by 1430, Agnes, daughter of John Aldestanmore, mayor in 1427 (Skaife, p.29).  
 Survived by second wife Margaret, and son William.

## Holgate, Nicholas.

Son of John Holgate, merchant; freeman, described as merchant 1430 (Register of Freeman, I, 143).  
 Chamberlain 1445 (Ibid. I, 163).  
 Sheriff 1448 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.298).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 10 Sept. 1455 (M.B. II, 198).  
 Mayor 1459 (Register of Freeman, I, 178).  
 M.P. 1460 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off Denmark in 1468. (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 Married Agnes Radcliffe of York; his second wife was Alice, daughter of Roger Burton, Town Clerk (Skaife, p.47).  
 Son, Thomas, merchant, freeman 1492 (Register of Freeman I, 217).

Holme, Robert, senior.

Born at Holme on the Wolds (A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 838-61).  
 Freeman, described as mercer, 1347 (Register of Freeman, I, 40).  
 Bailiff 1353 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 291v).  
 Chamberlain 1352 (Register of Freeman, I, 46).  
 Mayor 1368 (Ibid. I, 64).  
 M.P. 1364, 1372 (Park, pp. 44-45).  
 Will proved 30 Sept. 1396 (Y.P.R. I, fol.100; A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 838-61).  
 Exported 148 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79 (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/2).  
 Exported 394 sacks of wool and 61 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1391-92 (Ibid. 59/24).  
 Owed £6 by Henry Lytster of Helmsley (C.P.R. 1388-92, p.66).  
 His cash bequests, which amounted to £1,400, included £20 to the fabric of the Minster, £20 to the poor on the day of his burial, £20 each to the convents of Kirkham and Malton, £5 to the fabric of Beverley Minster, 100 marks for the fathers of poor families, especially those from whom his servants had purchased wool, and £400 for his executors to found a chantry to his memory in the Minster if the Dean and Chapter would agree. He made legacies to three dyers, one of them living in Pontefract, and three other persons with the surname Litster. Six male servants and two men formerly in his service received legacies which in two cases amounted to 40 marks.  
 Buried in the chapel of St. James, Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, where he founded a chantry. The stone shields at either side of the chapel arch are said to bear his coat of arms and his merchant-mark (A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 840; G.Benson, Later Medieval York, p.102).  
 Survived by illegitimate son Robert, mentioned below.

Holme, Robert, junior.

Son of Robert Holme mentioned above; freeman 1395 (Register of Freeman, I, 95).  
 Sheriff 1399 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294v).  
 Mayor 1413 (Register of Freeman, I, 117).  
 M.P. 1414 (Park, p.46).  
 Will proved 21 Oct. 1433 (Y.P.R. III, fol.365).  
 His cash bequests included £5 to the fabric of the church of St. Maurice, £10 for a funeral feast for friends and neighbours, 10s to each of his servants, and £30 to his daughter. He bequeathed tenements in Monkgate, Davygate, Ousegate, Coppergate, Jubbergate, and Peter Lane Little, to his wife and two children.  
 Survived by wife, Margaret, son Thomas, and daughter Katherine.



ST. JAMES' CHAPEL, HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE, YORK:  
BURIAL PLACE OF ROBERT HOLME, SENIOR.

## Holme, Thomas.

Brother of Robert Holme, senior, mentioned above; freeman,  
 described as mercer, 1354 (Register of Freeman, I, 49).  
 Bailiff 1366 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 292v).  
 Mayor 1374 (Register of Freeman, I, 71).  
 M.P. 1385, 1387 (Park, p. 45).  
 Will proved 8 Nov. 1406 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 254; A.A.S.R. XXVIII  
 part ii, 862-71).  
 Exported 105 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79  
 (K.R. Customs Accounts 59/2).  
 Exported 15 sacks of wool and 43 cloths s.g. from Hull in  
 1391-92 (Ibid. 59/24).  
 Imported 6 tuns of woad valued at £18 at Hull in 1398-99  
 (Ibid. 159/11).  
 Paid ulnage on 70 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395  
 (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 Owed £2 by Robert Litster of Knaresborough (CP.R. 1388-92, p. 396).  
 Sued Thomas de Barowe of Kingston on Thames, dyer, for debt  
 (C.C.R. 1377-81, p. 523).  
 His bequests included 30s to the poor in his maison dieu on  
 Castle Hill, 10s. to the poor in the maison dieu of his  
 brother Robert, and 20s. for the purchase of shoes for the  
 poor in York.  
 Possessed property in York, Newark, Featherstone, and Pontefract,  
 and a quarry at Stapleton; tenements in Calais jointly owned  
 with his brother Robert (A.A.S.R. XXVIII, part ii, 862-71).  
 Will mentions no children; survived by wife Katherine,  
 daughter of Walter Frost.

## Holme, William.

Son of Reginald Holme, fuller; freeman, described as  
 waxhandler, 1521 (Register of Freeman, I, 243).  
 Chamberlain 1529 (Ibid. I, 249).  
 Sheriff 1535 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 307).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 6 Nov. 1536 (H.B. XIII, fol. 77v).  
 Mayor 1546 (Register of Freeman, I, 265).  
 M.P. 1547, 1553-55, 1558 (York Civic Records, IV, 164; V, 87, 109, 135,  
 Will proved 5 Dec. 1558 (Y.P.R. XV, part iii, fol. 229). 189).  
 Survived by wife, Margaret, sons Robert, Peter, and Reginald,  
 unmarried daughters Elizabeth and Ellen, and married  
 daughters Alice Gatshall and Cecily Colleges. Robert, merchant,  
 became a freeman in 1547 (Register of Freeman, I, 267).  
 Reginald, capper, became a freeman in 1559 (Ibid. I, 279).

## Horneby, Ralph de.

Freeman, described as draper, 1351 (Register of Freeman, I, 44).  
 Chamberlain 1356 (Ibid. I, 50).  
 Bailiff 1359 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 292).  
 Mayor 1376 (Register of Freeman, I, 73).  
 Exported 20 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79 (K.R. Customs  
 Accounts 59/2)

Houeden, John de.

Bailiff 1374 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 22 Feb. 1378 (M.B. I, 30).  
 Mayor 1386 (Register of Freeman, I, 83).  
 M.P. 1384, 1387, 1388, 1391 (Park, p.45).  
 Paid ulnage on 8 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395  
     (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 Exported 10 cloths s.g. and 97 sacks of wool from Hull in  
 1391-92 (K.R. Customs Accounts 59/24).  
 A ship laden at Skania in Denmark with a cargo of herrings  
 belonging to him and other York merchants was wrecked at  
 Rawcliffe, Yorks. on its way to Hull (C.P.R. 1381-85, p.505).

Hovyngham, Roger de.

Mayor 1366 (Register of Freeman, I, 62).  
 M.P. 1356, 1357, 1360 (Park, p.44).  
 One of the English merchants governing Calais as an alderman  
 in 1363 (Rymer, III, part ii, 691, 693).

Jackson, Peter.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1510 (Register of Freeman, I, 233).  
 Custodian of Cuse Bridge 1512 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 328v).  
 Chamberlain 1517 (Register of Freeman, I, 239).  
 Sheriff 1520 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 305v).  
 Mayor 1526 (Register of Freeman, I, 246).  
 M.P. 1529 (Park, p.49; York Civic Records, III, 135).  
 Will proved 20 Jan. 1531 (Y.P.R. XI, fol. 1. The will is torn and  
     almost illegible).  
 Goods assessed at £20 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
     (Y.A.J. IV, 179).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1523, 1524, 1525  
     (York Mercers, p.323).  
 Exported 8 sacks of wool, shorlings and morlings valued at £4,  
 30 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £53 from  
 Hull, and imported there 3 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods  
 valued at £127 in 1525-26 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Possessed money, goods, and chattels, at his death which were  
 stated to be worth 1,000 marks (E.C.P. 660/34).  
 Son, James, merchant, freeman 1538 (Register of Freeman, I, 258).  
 Daughter, Alice, married Peter, son of John Gilliot, mayor in  
 1490 and 1503 (T.E. V, 15n).



## Jameson, Thomas.

Son of William Jameson; freeman 1486 (Register of Freeman, I, 211)  
 Chamberlain 1492 (Ibid. I, 216).  
 Sheriff 1497 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 22 Oct. 1498 (H.B. VIII, fol. 29).  
 Mayor 1504 (Register of Freeman, I, 228).  
 Will proved 27 April 1508 (Y.P.R. VII, fol. 26).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1506 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Arranged to purchase 4 fothers of lead from John Metcalfe,  
 mayor in 1497, for £14 (E.C.P. 148/2).  
 Survived by wife Isabel, sons Thomas, John, William and  
 Michael, and daughters Matilda and Margaret. The four sons,  
 merchants, became freemen in 1508, 1515, 1521 and 1522  
 respectively (Register of Freeman, I, 232, 237, 243, 244).  
 Thomas became chamberlain in 1519 (Ibid. I, 240).

## Johnson, Robert.

Freeman, described as spicer, 1465 (Register of Freeman, I, 185).  
 Chamberlain 1484 (Ibid. I, 207).  
 Sheriff 1487 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 301).  
 Member of the twenty-four by Jan. 1489 (H.B. II, fol. 198v).  
 Mayor 1496 (Register of Freeman, I, 220).  
 Will proved 14 March 1497 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 510; T.E. IV, 120).  
 Exported 13 cloths s.g. from Hull and imported there  
 miscellaneous goods valued at £17 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs  
 Accounts 62/17).  
 Married Ellen, widow of William Hancock, apothecary, who died  
 in 1485; she subsequently married John Stockdale, mayor in  
 1501 (Skaife, p. 69).  
 Survived by wife, and daughters Maude and Janet.

## Kent, John.

Apprentice of Thomas Kirkham, mayor in 1435 (A.A.S.R. XXXV,  
 part i, 66-9).  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1438 (Register of Freeman, I, 153).  
 Chamberlain 1456 (Ibid. I, 175).  
 Sheriff 1460 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 298v).  
 Mayor 1466 (Register of Freeman, I, 185).  
 Will proved 17 June 1468 (Y.P.R. IV, fol. 53).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1463 (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Survived by wife Marion and various unspecified children.  
 Son, Henry, merchant, became a freeman in 1470 (Register of  
 Freeman, I, 190).

## Kirke, George.

Son of William Atte Kirke, esquire of Barnoldby Lincs.

(Skaife, p.113).

Freeman, described as merchant, 1475 (Register of Freeman, I, 195)

Chamberlain 1485 (Ibid. I, 208).

Sheriff 1487 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 301).

Member of the twenty-four by 24 Feb. 1489 (H.B. VI, fol. 144).

Mayor 1495, 1512 (Register of Freeman, I, 219, 235).

M.P. 1497 (Wedgwood, II, 721; York Civic Records, II, 128).

Will proved 6 Feb. 1514 (Y.P.R. VIII, fol. 117).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1490, 1491

(York Mercers, p. 323).

Survived by wife Maude, and sons William, Antony, and George.

William, merchant, became a freeman in 1515 (Register of Freeman, I, 237). The other two sons were enfranchised as merchants in 1527 (Ibid. I, 248); Antony was made chamberlain in 1540 (Ibid. I, 259).

## Kirke, Thomas.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1411 (Register of Freeman, I, 115).

Chamberlain 1430 (Ibid. I, 143).

Sheriff 1432 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).

Mayor 1441 (Register of Freeman, I, 157).

Will proved 10 April 1442 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 34).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1436-41

(York Mercers, p. 322).

Exported 10 white cloths and miscellaneous goods valued at £9 from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).

Survived by wife Alice, and sons John, Robert, and Nicholas;

John, mercer, became a freeman in 1430 (Register of Freeman, I, 144); Nicholas and Robert were enfranchised as mercers in 1441 (Ibid. I, 159).

## Kirkham, Thomas.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1402 (Register of Freeman, I, 106)  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1411 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 320v)  
 Chamberlain 1421 (Register of Freeman, I, 130).  
 Sheriff 1422 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 13 April 1424 (M.B. II, 110).  
 Mayor 1435 (Register of Freeman, I, 149).  
 Will proved 6 May 1437 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 486; A.A.S.R. XXXV, part 1, 66-9).  
 Exported 2 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).  
 Possessed property in the city and county in 1436 which yielded an annual net income of £5 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
 His bequests included £20 each to his five children, £20 for the marriage of poor maids and virgins in the city, and 6 marks to John Kent, his apprentice, who became mayor in 1466.  
 Appointed as an executor to his will Thomas Crathorne, mayor in 1445.  
 Survived by sons Richard and Thomas, and daughters Alice, Joan, and Katherine; Richard, merchant, became a freeman in 1431 (Register of Freeman, I, 144).

## Lamb, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1442 (Register of Freeman, I, 160).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1461 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 324v).  
 Chamberlain 1464 (Register of Freeman, I, 183).  
 Sheriff 1468 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299).  
 Mayor 1475 (Register of Freeman, I, 195).  
 Will proved 2 July 1484 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 229).  
 Exported 14 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off Denmark in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 His bequests included 5s. to the fabric of Ripley church.  
 Survived by wife Katherine, daughter Agnes, and son Thomas.  
 The son, merchant, became a freeman in 1487 (Register of Freeman, I, 212).

# Lancaster, Nicholas.

Son of John Lancaster, merchant; freeman, described as clerk and merchant, 1472 (Register of Freeman, I, 192).

Elected town clerk in 1477 and resigned in 1480 (T.E. IV, 205n).

Mayor 1485, 1493 (Register of Freeman, I, 208, 217).

M.P. 1487, 1489 (Wedgwood, II, 721; York Civic Records, II, 31).

# Langton, John de.

Son of Nicholas de Langton, junior, mentioned below (Skaife, Survey, p.419).

Bailiff 1346 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 291v).

Mayor 1352-63 (Register of Freeman, I, 45-57). His long term of office appears to have been forcibly terminated by the citizens (C.P.R. 1364-67, p.208; M.B. I, 16). An attempt to secure re-election in 1372 in opposition to John de Gisburne led to such disorder that the King forbade either candidate to hold the office that year, although Gisburne did in fact become mayor (C.C.R. 1369-74, p.275; Register of Freeman MS. fol. 7).

Dead by 5 Nov. 1373 when the Archbishop of York granted the wardship and marriage of his son John to the rector of Holy Cross and William Gra of York (Skaife, Survey, p.273).

In January 1343 he did homage to the Archbishop of York for lands in Huddleston, and he also held lands from the Archbishop in Fenton and elsewhere (Ibid. pp.273, 419. See also his biography in the Skaife MSS).

# Langton, Nicholas de, senior.

Bailiff 1286 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 288v).

Mayor 1297, 1298, 1306 (Register of Freeman, I, 6, 7, 10).

Held 12 bovates of land in West Lutton (Skaife, Survey, p.273).

Son, Nicholas, mentioned below.

# Langton, Nicholas de, junior.

Son of Nicholas de Langton mentioned above (Chancery Inquisitions Ad Quod Dampnum, 194/4; Skaife, Survey, p.273).

Mayor 1322-33, 1339-41 (Register of Freeman MS. fols. 4, 5).

Lord of the Manor of Heworth near York (Skaife, Survey, pp. 273, 325).

In 1327 when an inquiry was held to determine whether he should be given permission to grant 6 marks rent to support a chantry chaplain in Holy Trinity in Curia Regis it was stated that he received another 100 shillings a year in rents from property in York (Chancery, Inquisitions Ad Quod Dampnum, 194/4).

Lawson, George.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1527 (Register of Freeman, I, 248)  
 Elected an alderman in Dec. 1527 (Skaife, p.187n).  
 Excused serving as sheriff in Sept. 1528 on payment of £20 to  
 the city chamberlains (York Civic Records, III, 115).  
 Mayor 1530 (Register of Freeman, I, 250).  
 M.P. 1529, 1536 (York Civic Records, III, 174; IV, 3).  
 Dead by 24 May, 1543 (State Papers, Henry VIII, V, 297).  
 Goods assessed at £200 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 172).

Knighted in 1530 (Skaife, p.187n).  
 Served Henry VIII in various capacities in the North of England.  
 Master mason at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1515. (Letters and  
 Papers, II, part i, Nos. 450, 973). Made treasurer of the  
 town in 1517 (Letters and Papers, II, part ii, No. 3273) and  
 continued to hold the office until his death. (Letters and  
 Papers, V-VIII, XI-XVIII, passim). He was also for a time  
Cofferer of the Duke of Richmond's Household (Reid, p.103n.  
 State Papers; Henry VIII, IV, 455n.)  
 Son, Thomas, mayor in 1562; married Christiana, daughter of  
 Hugh Atkinson of Castleford (Skaife, p.210).

Lematon, Richard.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1440 (Register of Freeman, I, 156).  
 Chamberlain 1446 (Ibid. I, 164).  
 Sheriff 1447 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.298).  
 Mayor 1455 (Register of Freeman, I, 174).  
 M.P. 1459 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 His imports at Hull between 6 April and Michaelmas 1453  
 included 2½ tuns of wood valued at £13 (K.R. Customs  
 Accounts 61/71).  
 Merchant of the Staple at Calais (C.P.R. 1446-52, p.316).

Lewes, John.

Freeman, described as tailor, 1517 (Register of Freeman, I, 239).  
 Chamberlain 1532 (Ibid. I, 251).  
 Sheriff 1537 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.307).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 5 Nov. 1538 (H.B. XIII A, fol.8).  
 Mayor 1550 (Register of Freeman, I, 269).  
 Will proved 11 Sept. 1553 (Y.P.R. XIII, fol.1005).  
 Married Ann, daughter of John Appleyard of Heslington,  
 gentleman, and sister of Thomas Appleyard, mayor in 1551.  
 (Skaife, p.197).  
 Survived by wife, son John, unmarried daughter Jane, and  
 married daughters Margaret Shillitoo, and Anne Thykpenny.

Marshall, Christopher.

Freeman, described as gentleman, 1452 (Register of Freeman, I, 172).  
Chamberlain 1460 (Ibid. I, 179).  
Sheriff 1461 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 298v).  
Member of the twenty-four by 2 Oct. 1464 (M.B. II, 208).  
Mayor 1473 (Register of Freeman, I, 192).  
Administration of his estate granted 27 July 1481  
(Y.P.R. V, fol. 109).  
Imported miscellaneous goods valued at £14 at Hull in 1471-72  
(K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
Son, William, freeman 1478 (Register of Freeman, I, 200).  
Son, Richard, grocer, freeman 1492 (Ibid. I, 217).

Marshall, John.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1445 (Register of Freeman, I, 163).  
Chamberlain 1455 (Ibid. I, 174).  
Sheriff 1457 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 298v).  
Mayor 1467, 1480 (Register of Freeman, I, 186, 201).  
M.P. 1467 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
Will proved 28 June 1487 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 311).  
Exported 34 sacks of wool from Hull and imported miscellaneous  
goods there valued at £83 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
Merchant of the Staple at Calais (C.P.R. 1446-52, p. 323).  
Married Joan, daughter of Richard Bukden, mayor in 1444  
(Skaife, p. 76).  
Son, Roger, goldsmith, freeman 1482 (Register of Freeman, I, 204).  
Son, William, merchant of the Staple at Calais, freeman 1490  
(Ibid. I, 215); will proved 11 Jan. 1492 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 424).

Mason, Thomas.

Son of William Mason, chamberlain 1493 (T.E. V, 269).  
Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1510 (Register of Freeman MS.fol.328v).  
Chamberlain 1514 (Register of Freeman, I, 236).  
Sheriff 1518 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.305v).  
Mayor 1528 (Register of Freeman, I, 248).  
Will proved 9 April 1529 (Y.P.R. IX, fol.435; T.E. V, 269).  
Bequeathed a windmill to Agnes, his wife.  
Survived by wife, and son John.

Meke, Robert le.

Bailiff 1299 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 289).

Mayor 1310 (Register of Freeman, I, 12). He held the office again in 1319, after the death of Nicholas le Flemyng at the battle of Myton, 1320, and 1321 (C.C.R. 1318-23, p.214; Register of Freeman MS. fol. 4v).

Owed £100 by John de Merkyngfeld, canon of the Minster (C.P.R. 1318-23, p.669).

Metcalf, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1481 (Register of Freeman, I, 204).  
Chamberlain 1491 (Ibid. I, 215).

Sheriff 1494 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302).

Member of the twenty-four by 15 Jan. 1496 (H.B.VII, fol. 142v).

Mayor 1498 (Register of Freeman, I, 222).

M.P. 1497 (Wedgwood, II, 721; York Civic Records, II, 128).

Dead by 2 Dec. 1502, when Alan Staveley elected an alderman in place of John Metcalf deceased (York Civic Records, II, 179).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1497 (York Mercers, p.323).

Sued chaplain of Lord Scrope of Bolton, for non-delivery of 4 fothers of lead at York in settlement of debt of £14 owing to him. He had arranged to supply this amount of lead to

Thomas Jameson, mayor in 1504, for the sum of £14, and

Thomas Jameson was distressed at its non-delivery (E.C.P. 148/2).

Married by 1491, Ellen, daughter of John Fereby, mayor in 1478 and 1491 (T.E. III, 179).

Moreton, John de.

Possibly son of Roger de Moreton, the mayor mentioned above. (A.A.S.R. XXXII, part 11, 592; Skaife, p. 248).

Sheriff 1408 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).

Mayor 1418 (Register of Freeman, I, 126).

M.P. 1421 (Park, p. 47).

Will proved 16 Dec. 1434 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 400; A.A.S.R. XXXII, part 11, 592-3).

Married Margaret, daughter of John de Barden, mayor in 1378 (Y.P.R. I, fols. 95, 100).

Exported 57 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £8 from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).

Survived by daughter Ellen, and son John; he bequeathed Ellen 100 marks for her marriage to be raised in annual instalments of £10 from his lands and tenements in York and elsewhere. Another daughter, Alice, married Richard Wartre, mayor in 1436 and 1451 (Skaife, p.23).

Moreton, Roger de.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1362 (Register of Freeman, I, 56).  
Bailiff 1367 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.292v).

Mayor 1372 (Register of Freeman, I, 69).

Was living in the parish of St. Saviour in 1381 (York Poll Tax Returns, p.65).

Died on 5 June 1382, and was buried under a blue marble slab in the chancel of his parish church (Torr, p.36).

N.B. Another mercer of this name became a freeman in 1351 (Register of Freeman, I, 44), held office as bailiff in 1365 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.292v), and was living in the parish of St. Martin in Coney Street in 1381 (York Poll Tax Returns, p.40). His will was proved 2 Dec.1390 (Y.P.R. I, fol. 14; T.E. I, 133).

Nelson, Thomas.

Freeman 1433 (Register of Freeman, I, 147).

Chamberlain 1442 (Ibid. I, 159).

Sheriff 1447 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 298).

Mayor 1454, 1465 (Register of Freeman, I, 173, 185).

M.P. 1453 (Wedgwood, II, 721).

Will proved 22 March 1483 (Y.P.R. V, fol.212).

Imported miscellaneous goods valued at £8 at Hull in 1471-72 (K.R.Customs Accounts 62/17).

His imports at Hull between 6 April and Michaelmas 1453 included

4 tuns of woad and other goods valued at £66 (Ibid. 61/71).

Merchant of the Staple at Calais (Wedgwood, I, 625).

Complained that in 1440 the men of Danzig had arrested goods of his valued at £20 (H.R. 1431-76, II, 542).

Owed £3 by William Dylcock of Snaith, Yorks. (C.P.R. 1452-61, p.384)

Owed £2 by Richard Wynton of Bolton-on-Dearne, Yorks. chaplain, and

£9 by John Sharpe of Hedon, draper (C.P.R. 1467-77, pp. 9, 431)

Owed £60 in 1481 by a gentleman of Waterhay in the parish of Rothwell, four husbandmen of Tollerton, and a husbandman of Alne (M.B. II, 274).

Bequeathed 100 marks each to his two sons, William and Thomas.

Thomas in addition was to receive tenements in Hull, Cottingham,

Doncaster, Halifax, Bolton-on-Dearne, Fenton, East and West

Hutton, and tenements in Thursday Market and Finkle Street,

York. William was to be given tenements in Riccall,

Poppleton and Sherburn, and all tenements in York not

bequeathed to Thomas above. In the event of one brother dying before he became of age, his share reverted to the other.

His other bequests included £20 for the marriage of poor maidens, and £20 to his servant Thomas Dayvell for good and faithful service.

Survived by married daughter Agnes Wastnes, and sons Thomas, and William mentioned below.



# Nelson, William.

Second son of Thomas Nelson mentioned above.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1493 (Register of Freeman, I, 213).  
Chamberlain 1499 (*Ibid.* I, 213).

Sheriff 1495 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302).

Member of the twenty-four by 14 Dec. 1496 (H.B. VIII, fol. 13).

Mayor 1500 (Register of Freeman, I, 224). He was chosen mayor again in 1517, whilst a prisoner in London; the election was annulled by the King who appointed John Dogeson mayor in his place (Skaife, p. 114n).

M.P. 1504, 1510, 1512, 1515 (Wedgwood, II, 721).

Will proved 12 April 1525 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 203; T.E. V, 198).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1499 (York Mercers, p. 323).

Goods assessed at 40 marks in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524 (Y.A.J. IV, 188).

His bequests included 20s. for the repair of Ouse Bridge, and 40s. for the marriage of poor maidens; bequeathed tenements in Grimston, Riccall, Welhouse, Kelfeld, and Acaster, to his wife.

Married Janet, daughter of John Norton, esquire, of Bilbrough near York (Skaife, p. 114).

Survived by wife, daughters Katherine, Janet, and Margaret, and sons Christopher, William, and Thomas. Katherine married William Gascoigne (Skaife, p. 169). Janet married Richard Langton (*Ibid.* p. 185). Margaret married John Aire (*Ibid.* p. 184). Christopher married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton and Gilling (*Ibid.* p. 168).

# Newton, John.

Freeman, described as dyer, 1469 (Register of Freeman, I, 189).  
Chamberlain 1473 (*Ibid.* I, 192).

Sheriff 1474 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299v).

Member of the twenty-four by 1 Sept. 1477 (H.B. I, fol. 65).

Mayor 1483 (Register of Freeman, I, 205).

Resigned his gown in 1492 because of severe illness (Skaife, p. 72).

## Norman, John.

Son of John Norman, merchant, sheriff in 1490 (T.E. V, 213).  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1503 (Register of Freeman, I, 227).  
 Chamberlain, 1512 (Ibid. I, 235).  
 Sheriff 1514 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 305).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 15 Jan. 1516 (H.B. IX, fol. 83).  
 Mayor 1524 (Register of Freeman, I, 245).  
 M.P. 1523 (York Civic Records, III, 86).  
 Will proved 1 Dec. 1525 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 327; T.E. V, 213).  
 Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £22 from Hull and  
 imported there miscellaneous goods valued at £70 in 1525-26  
 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1515, 1516,  
 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Goods assessed at £40 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 176).  
 His bequests included £100 and property in York, Ripon, and  
 Tadcaster, to his son Antony; 40 marks for his executors to  
 purchase an annuity of £2 or lands yielding £2 a year towards  
 the support of a chantry at the church of All Saints Pavement;  
 £2 to the city for the repair of the common staith, and £2  
 for the repair of the road near St. Nicholas Church outside  
 Walmgate Bar.  
 Third wife, Ann Birley of Gateforth (Skaife, p. 176).  
 One of his sisters married John Thornton, mayor in 1514 and  
 another married John Rasyn, alderman (T.E. V, 215).  
 Survived by sons Antony and George and daughters Ann and Joan;  
 George and Ann were minors. Joan married Richard Thornton,  
 son of John Thornton, mayor in 1514 (E.C.P. 908/18, 20, 21).  
 George, merchant, became a freeman in 1528 (Register of  
 Freeman, I, 249); married Alice, daughter of Roger Legh,  
 esquire, of Middleton near Leeds (Skaife, p. 201).

## North, John.

Son of Richard North, sheriff in 1513 (Skaife, p. 300).  
 Freeman, described as tanner, 1515 (Register of Freeman, I, 237).  
 Chamberlain 1527 (Ibid, I, 247).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 1 Jan. 1531 (H.B. XI, fol. 103).  
 Mayor 1538 on the death of John Shaw, and 1554 (Register of  
 Freeman, I, 257, 274).  
 M.P. 1545, 1553, (York Civic Records, IV, 123; V, 92).  
 Will proved 23 Aug. 1558 (Y.P.R. XV, part ii, fol. 289).  
 Goods assessed at 40 marks in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 182).  
 Bequeathed his wife property valued at £7 12s. a year.  
 Married Agnes, daughter of John Roger, sheriff in 1524  
 (Skaife, p. 300).  
 Survived by wife and son Richard, merchant, who became a  
 freeman in 1540 (Register of Freeman, I, 260).

# Northeby, John.

Servant of William Vesey, mercer, who bequeathed him £20 for faithful service (Shaw, p.87).

Freeman, described as merchant, 1402 (Register of Freeman, I, 106)  
Chamberlain 1408 (Ibid. I, 110).

Sheriff 1409 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295)

Mayor 1416 (Register of Freeman, I, 123).

M.P. 1414, 1419, 1423 (Park, pp. 46-7).

Will proved 14 Oct. 1432 (Y.P.R. II, fol. 619; A.A.S.R. XXXII, part ii, 582-91).

Received licence to export 34 sacks of wool free of customs duty from Hull (C.P.R. 1422-29, pp. 348, 385).

His bequests included £200 each to his two sons, £40 to Emma de Kirkeby, his servant, 100 marks to his daughter Margaret if his goods were sufficient, and £1 each to the churches of Bubwith and Hemingbrough.

Married widow of Hugh Hanby of Hull (C.C.R. 1413-19, p.107).

Survived by wife, sons William and John, who were both under 16 years of age, and daughter Margaret. Another daughter Matilda, not mentioned in his will, married Nicholas Usflete, mayor in 1438 (Skaife, p.32).

# Ormeshed, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1404 (Register of Freeman, I, 107).  
Chamberlain 1411 (Ibid. I, 114).

Sheriff 1415 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).

Member of the twenty-four by 7 June 1417 (M.B. II, 62).

Mayor 1425, 1433 (Register of Freeman, I, 135, 146).

M.P. 1421, 1425, 1430 (Park, p. 47).

Will proved 28 Sept. 1437 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 503; A.A.S.R. XXXIV, part i, 212-17).

Possessed property in the city and county in 1436 which yielded an annual net income of £18 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42)

Exported 10 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R. Customs Accounts 61/32).

Received licence to export 11 sacks of wool free of customs duty from Hull (C.P.R. 1422-29, p. 385).

His bequests included £5 to his servant John Fell, 53s.4d. to Thomas Beleyby another servant, £60 to four chaplains to celebrate divine service for three years for the good of his soul, and £20 for vestments in his parish church.

Married Ellen, daughter of Thomas del Gare, senior, mayor in 1420.

Survived by wife, and daughters Joan and Isabel.

## Parkour, Thomas.

Freeman, described as tailor, 1487 (Register of Freeman, I, 212).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1498 (Register of Freeman MS.fol.327v).  
 Chamberlain 1500 (Register of Freeman, I, 224).  
 Sheriff 1502 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.303).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 15 Oct.1503 (H.B. IX, fol. 9).  
 Mayor 1520 (Register of Freeman, I, 241).  
 Administration of his estate granted 6 Nov.1528 (Y.P.R. IX, fol.430).  
 Goods assessed at £18 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 173).

## Paycock, Robert.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1533 (Register of Freeman, I, 252)  
 Chamberlain 1537 (Ibid. I, 255).  
 Sheriff 1540 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 308).  
 Mayor 1543, 1567 (Register of Freeman, I, 267; II, 8).  
 M.P. 1558 (York Civic Records V, 189).  
 Will proved 20 June 1578 (Y.P.R. XIX, fol. 113).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1542, 1543, 1563,  
 1564, 1565 (York Mercers, pp. 323-4).  
 Imported 29 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued at £12 at  
 Hull in 1540-41 (K.R. Customs Accounts 64/15).  
 Survived by wife Anne, sons James, Christopher, and Richard,  
 and daughters Agnes and Dorothy. James, merchant, became a  
 freeman in 1570 (Register of Freeman, II, 11). Two other  
 sons, William and Robert, became freemen in 1561 and 1570  
 respectively (Ibid. II, 3, 11).

## Petty, John.

Freeman, described as glasier, 1471 (Register of Freeman, I, 191).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge, 1485 (Register of Freeman MS.fol.326v).  
 Chamberlain 1488 (Register of Freeman, I, 213).  
 Sheriff 1494 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 13 Jan.1496 (H.B. VII, fol.142).  
 Mayor 1503; died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 231).  
 Will proved 13 Dec.1508 (D. & C. Library, Registers of Wills, II,  
 fol. 76; T.E. IV, 333).  
 His bequests included 6 tables of white Normandy glass and  
 10 sheets of Rhenish glass to the Minster, 10 sheets of  
 Rhenish glass to St. Mary's Abbey, and a cradle of Normandy  
 glass with his tools, to his brother Robert.  
 Brother, Robert, tapiter, elected an alderman in 1527 and died  
 a year later (T.E. IV, 333n).  
 Survived by wife and daughter, Ann.

Preston, Henry de.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1381 (Register of Freeman, I, 78).  
 Chamberlain 1400 (Ibid. I, 103).  
 Sheriff 1404 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 21 Sept. 1416 (M.B. II, 52).  
 Mayor 1422 (Register of Freeman, I, 131).  
 M.P. 1420 (Park, p. 47).  
 Administration of his estate granted 8 Apl. 1434 (Y.P.R. III. fol. 377).  
 Exported 20 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1391-92 (K.R. Customs Accounts 59/24).  
 Paid ulnage on 24 cloths s.g. in York 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395  
 (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 Son, Thomas, mercer, freeman 1422 (Register of Freeman, I, 132).  
 Son, Robert, mercer, freeman 1433 (Ibid. I, 146).

Pulley, Ralph.

Freeman, described as goldsmith, 1502 (Register of Freeman, I, 226).  
 Chamberlain 1521 (Ibid. I, 242).  
 Sheriff 1526 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 306v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 5 Feb. 1528 (H.B. XI, fol. 30).  
 Mayor 1537 (Register of Freeman, I, 255).  
 Will proved 5 March 1540 (Y.P.R. XI, fol. 529).  
 Goods assessed at £18 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 171).  
 Jointly purchased in France with a man of London and Gerard Freez,  
 an alien printer resident in York, books valued at £87. The  
 books were stored at York by Freez in a chamber to which  
 Pulley had the key and on the death of Freez, Pulley seized  
 the printer's share, claiming that this was done in repayment  
 of money advanced to Freez to assist his business (R. Davies,  
 A Memoir of the York Press, pp. 12-14).  
 Survived by son, Antony, a merchant, who became freeman in 1544  
 (Register of Freeman, I, 264) and daughter Ann, wife of  
 Richard Syddas, a tapiter of York.

Quixley, Simon de.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1366 (Register of Freeman, I, 63).  
 Bailiff 1375 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).  
 Mayor 1381, 1382, 1383 (Register of Freeman, I, 78-80).  
 Previously held the office in Nov. 1380 when a group of citizens  
 temporarily displaced the sitting mayor John de Gisburne, who  
 was reinstated by royal command (C.P.R. 1377-81, p. 580;  
Rotuli Parliamentorum III, 96-7; C.C.R. 1377-81, pp. 420-21).  
 The animosity between the two men came to a head in July 1381  
 when their armed followers exchanged blows at Bootham Bar.  
 (C. Oman, The Great Revolt of 1381, p. 146).  
 M.P. 1384 (Park, p. 45).  
 Exported 116 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79 (K.R. Customs  
 Accounts 59/2).  
 Exported 56 sacks of wool from Hull in 1391-92 (Ibid, 59/24).

Redeness, Thomas de.

Bailiff 1309 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.289v).  
 Mayor 1318 (Register of Freeman, I, 17).  
 M.P. 1312, 1322, 1323, 1327 (Park, pp. 41-2).  
 Goods assessed at £8 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1327  
 (Y.A.S. Record Series, LXXIV, 164).  
 Exported 6 sacks of wool from Hull in 1309-10 (K.R.Customs  
 Accounts 56/11).

Ridley, Thomas.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1424 (Register of Freeman, I, 134)  
 Chamberlain 1432 (Ibid. I, 145).  
 Sheriff 1434 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).  
 Mayor 1439 (Register of Freeman, I, 153).  
 M.P. 1442 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Administration of his estate granted 17 Aug.1456 (Y.P.R.II, fol.334)  
 Exported 14 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R.Customs  
 Accounts 61/32).  
 Married Eustachia, widow of Richard Fairfax of Walton  
 (Wedgwood, I, 716).

Robinson, Peter.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1520 (Register of Freeman, I, 241).  
 Chamberlain 1533 (Ibid. I, 252).  
 Sheriff 1538 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.307v).  
 Mayor 1544 (Register of Freeman, I, 263).  
 Will proved 13 Jan.1549 (Y.P.R. XIII, fol. 604).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1544, 1545, 1546  
 (York Mercers, p.323).  
 Exported 2 sacks of wool and shorlings and morlings valued at  
 £2 from Hull and imported there miscellaneous goods valued at  
 £6 in 1525-26 (K.R.Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £15 from Hull and  
 imported there miscellaneous goods valued at £104 in 1540-41  
 (Ibid. 64/15).  
 Goods assessed at £5 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 180).  
 Bequeathed his wife all his lands and tenements in York, which  
 yielded an income of £8 a year.  
 He named John North, William Holme, and William Watson,  
 aldermen, as supervisors of his will.  
 Married a daughter of John Gilliot, junior, mayor in 1490, 1503  
 (T.E. V, 15n). His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of  
 Robert Whitfield, mayor in 1529 (Skaffe, p.191).  
 Survived by wife, unmarried daughter Barbara, and married  
 daughters Elizabeth Savage and Isabel Wille.

Russell, Richard.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1396 (Register of Freeman, I, 97).  
 Chamberlain 1409 (Ibid. I, 112).  
 Sheriff 1412 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 295).  
 Mayor 1421, 1430 (Register of Freeman, I, 130, 143).  
 M.P. 1422, 1425 (Park, p. 47).  
 Will proved 10 Dec. 1435 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 439; A.A.S.R. XXXIV, part 1, 201-09).  
 Imported 6 tuns wine at Hull in 1398-99 (K.R. Customs Accounts 159/11).  
 Exported 10 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1430-31 (Ibid. 61/32).  
 Mayor of the Staple of Calais in 1425 (M.B. II, 159).  
 Left money for the completion of the Bell Tower of St. John the Baptist in Hungate, the glazing of three windows there and the provision of two wooden altars in the church; he also left £8 towards the cost of a new window over the vestibule in York Minster.  
 His other cash bequests which amounted to nearly £400 included £40 to the daughter of his brother Henry; £30 to Robert, son of his brother John, for sending him to Oxford University; £20 to the farmers of the Yorkshire Wolds from whom he bought wool, and £10 to the farmers of Lindsey for the same purpose.  
 Will mentions no children; requested burial next to Petronilla, his late wife.

Santon, John de.

Freeman, described as draper, 1344 (Register of Freeman, I, 37).  
 Chamberlain 1359 (Ibid. I, 53).  
 Bailiff 1361 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 292).  
 Mayor 1377 (Register of Freeman, I, 74).  
 Will proved 17 Aug. 1394 (Y.P.R. I, fol. 71).  
 Owed £100 to the Abbot of St. Mary's York (C.C.R. 1333-37, 499).  
 Bequeathed £100 each to his two sons.  
 Survived by wife Agnes and sons Richard, and Thomas mentioned below.

Santon, Thomas.

Son of John de Santon above (Y.P.R. I, fol. 71).  
 Chamberlain 1399 (Register of Freeman, I, 102).  
 Sheriff 1403 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294v).  
 Mayor 1414 (Register of Freeman, I, 119).  
 M.P. 1413, 1417 (Park, p. 46).  
 Son, John, merchant, freeman 1437 (Register of Freeman, I, 152);  
 will proved 22 Aug. 1438 (Y.P.R. III, fol. 536).

## Sauvage, Robert.

Son of William Sauvage mentioned below (A.A.S.R.XXXI, part i, 332).  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1364 (Register of Freeman, I, 59).  
 Chamberlain 1370 (Ibid. I, 67).

Member of the twenty-four by 22 Feb.1378 (M.B. II, 30).

Mayor 1384, 1391, 1392 (Register of Freeman I, 80, 89, 90).

M.P. 1382, 1386 (Park, p.45).

Will proved 21 March 1398 (Y.P.R. III, fol.17; A.A.S.R. XXXI, part i, 332-39).

Exported 132 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79 (X.R.Customs Accounts 59/2).

Exported 10 cloths s.g.and 142 sacks of wool from Hull in 1391-92 (Ibid. 59/24).

His bequests included £40 each to sons John and William, 20 marks to son Thomas to pay for his education 'at the University'; £2 each to apprentices Thomas de Middleham and John de Mersk, and £1 to his apprentice John Yonge.

Possessed property in Tynemouth, mentioned in the codicil to his will.

Second wife Emma, widow of Hugh de Huby (A.A.S.R.XXXI, part i, 335).

Survived by wife, son Thomas, daughter Constance, and sons William and John who were minors.

## Sauvage, William.

Freeman, described as merchant de Tynmouth, 1336 (Register of Freeman, I, 31).

Bailiff 1355 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.292).

Mayor 1368; died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 65).

Son, Robert, mentioned above.

## Seauceby, Thomas.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1429 (Register of Freeman, I, 141).  
 Chamberlain 1442 (Ibid. I, 160).

Sheriff 1446 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296v).

Member of the twenty-four by 10 Sept.1455 (M.B. II, 193).

Mayor 1463 (Register of Freeman, I, 182).

M.P. 1461 (Wedgwood, II, 721).

Will proved 4 Dec.1471 (Y.P.R. IV, fol. 169).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1443, 1451, 1452, 1458, 1462, 1464, 1465 (York Mercers, p. 322).

Owed £2 by Thomas Selby, chapman, late of Yarm, Yorkshire (C.P.R. 1452-61, p.447).

Owed £2 by Henry Edmondson, chapman of Thorner, Yorkshire, and £2 by Thomas Heynde of Doncaster, yeoman (C.P.R. 1461-67, pp. 315, 410).

Survived by wife Isota, and sons William and Thomas. William, merchant, was enfranchised in 1463; became chamberlain in 1473 (Register of Freeman, I, 183, 192, respectively).



Scotton, Thomas.

Son of John Scotton of Scotton, near Knaresborough (Skaife, p.60).  
bequeathed the chapel of Scotton a vestment of ruby damask  
and left lands and tenements there to his son-in-law,  
John Dogeson.

Freeman, described as merchant 1458 (Register of Freeman, I, 178).  
Chamberlain 1472 (Ibid. I, 191).

Sheriff 1475 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 300).

Member of the twenty-four by 3 Feb. 1477 (H.B. I, fol. 44).

Mayor 1492 (Register of Freeman, I, 216).

Will proved 1 May 1503 (Y.P.R. VI, fol. 60)

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1483 (York Mercers,  
p. 322).

Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off  
Denmark in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).

Exported 13 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs  
Accounts 62/17).

Married Margaret, daughter of John Ince, alderman (Skaife, p. 60).

Wives Margaret and Isabel, and sons Thomas and John, whom he  
instructed the friars of York to remember in their prayers,  
were dead when he made his will.

Daughter, Jane, married John Dogeson, mayor in 1508 and 1517.  
(Skaife, p. 60).

Selby, Roger de.

Bailiff 1358 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 292).

Mayor 1369 (Register of Freeman, I, 66).

M.P. 1362 (Park, p. 44).

Received licence in 1364 to take £50 in currency from Dover  
to Gascony for the purchase of wine (C.P.R. 1364-67, p. 16).

Selby, William de.

Bailiff 1373 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 22 Feb.1378 (M.B. I, 30).  
 Mayor 1385, 1387, 1388 (Register of Freeman, I, 81, 84, 85).  
 M.P. 1383, 1391, 1394, 1396 (Park, pp. 45-46).  
 Will proved 18 Aug.1427 (Y.P.R. II, fol.513; A.A.S.R. XXXI, part 1, 320-27).  
 Exported 8 sacks of wool from Hull in 1378-79 (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/2).  
 Bequeathed his wife various tenements in York with an annual yield of more than £4; and left her brother, George Mowbray, 6 tenements of unspecified value in addition to other property in the city yielding 4ls. 6d. a year.  
 Married Hawisia Mowbray, daughter of the notable family of Mowbray who lived at Easby in Cleveland (Skaife, p.19).  
 Survived by wife and daughter Laurentia. The daughter married Warimbald van Harlem, a York goldsmith who was born in Holland and naturalised in 1403 (T.E. III 50n; C.P.R. 1401-05, p.204).

Shadlock, John.

Freeman, described as merchant,1525 (Register of Freeman,I,246)  
 Chamberlain 1531 (Ibid. I, 250).  
 Sheriff 1534 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 307).  
 Mayor 1542 (Register of Freeman, I, 261).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1539, 1540, 1541 (York Mercers, p.323).  
 Exported one sack of wool, shorlings and morlings valued at £2 and 4 cloths s.g. from Hull and imported there miscellaneous goods valued at £5 in 1525-26 (K.R.Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £11 from Hull and imported there 11 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued at £1 in 1540-41 (Ibid. 64/15).  
 Married Jane, daughter of John Rasyn, alderman; in 1574, because of her age and poverty, the Corporation granted her an annuity of 26s. 8d. (Skaife, p. 194).

Shaw, John.

Freeman, described as merchant,1469 (Register of Freeman I,189).  
 Custodian of Fosse Bridge 1473 (Register of Freeman MS.fol.326).  
 Chamberlain 1482 (Register of Freeman, I, 205).  
 Sheriff 1486 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 301).  
 Member of the twenty-four by Jan.1489 (H.B. II, fol.198v).  
 Mayor 1510 (Register of Freeman, I, 233).  
 Will proved 30 Jan.1515 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 26).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1489, 1509, 1510, 1511 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Survived by second wife Maude, and son Thomas.

Shaw, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1524 (Register of Freeman, I, 245).  
Chamberlain 1525 (Ibid. I, 246).

Sheriff 1528 (Skaife, p.195).

Mayor 1533; died in office (Register of Freeman, I, 257).

Will proved 13 Feb.1538 (Y.P.R. XI, fol 276).

Goods assessed at £10 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
(Y.A.J. IV, 180).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1533, 1534, 1535  
(York Mercers, p. 323).

Exported 8 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £20  
from Hull and imported there miscellaneous goods valued at  
£47 in 1525-26 (K.R.Customs Accounts 202/5).

His bequests included various sums to sister Agnes and brothers  
Peter and William, £2 for the repair of the road near the  
church of St. Nicholas outside Walmgate Bar, and £2 for the  
repair of Laverthorpe Bridge. Ralph Harbottle was excused  
certain outstanding debts on condition that he paid the £5  
owing to John Preste of London for which sum John Shaw stood  
surety.

Survived by wife Agnes.

Shirburn, John de.

Bailiff 1335 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 291).

Mayor 1343, 1344, 1345 (Register of Freeman, I, 36-8).

M.P. 1346 (Park, p.43).

Skorby, Henry de.

Bailiff 1331 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 290v).

Mayor 1347-51 (Register of Freeman, I, 39-45).

Goods assessed at 26 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1327  
(Y.A.S. Record Series, LXXIV, 171).

One of the English merchants whose wool was seized by the King  
at Dordrecht in May 1338 to finance the early stages of the  
Hundred Years' War. He was given permission to export wool  
at a reduced rate of customs duty from Hull until he had  
received £592 compensation for the value of the wool taken  
from him. (C.C.R. 1337-39, p. 430).

## Snyth, Thomas.

Chamberlain 1372 (Register of Freeman, I, 69).  
 Bailiff 1373 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.293).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 1379 (M.B. I, 32).  
 Mayor 1389, 1390 (Register of Freeman, I, 86, 88).  
 Will proved 22 Oct.1399; described as merchant (Y.P.R. III,  
     fol. 27; A.A.S.R. XXXI, part 1, 328-33).  
 Paid ulnage on 37 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept.1394 - Mich.1395  
     (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 Exported at least 17 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1378-79  
     (K.R.Customs Accounts 59/1).  
 Imported 17 tuns wine at Hull in 1398-99 (Ibid. 159/11).  
 Survived by wife Custance, married daughter Katherine, and  
     son Thomas, a minor, to whom he bequeathed £40.

## Snaudon, Thomas

Freeman, described as pewterer, 1396 (Register of Freeman, I, 97).  
 Chamberlain 1414 (Ibid. I, 119).  
 Sheriff 1416 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.295v).  
 Mayor 1432 (Register of Freeman, I, 145).  
 M.P. 1427 (Park, p.47).  
 Will proved 12 June 1438 (D. & C. Library, Registers of Wills, I,  
     fol. 245).  
 Son, William, freeman 1429 (Register of Freeman, I, 142).  
 Survived by wife Agnes.

## Snaweshill, William.

Son of William Snaweshill, goldsmith; freeman described as  
 goldsmith, 1437 (Register of Freeman, I, 152).  
 Chamberlain 1459 (Ibid. I, 178).  
 Sheriff 1464 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.299).  
 Mayor 1468 (Register of Freeman I, 187).  
 Son, Seth, gentleman, freeman 1488 (Register of Freeman, I, 213);  
     married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Davell,  
     esquire, of Bilton, near York (Skaife, p.91).

## Specer, John le.

Mayor 1301, 1302, 1303 (Register of Freeman, I, 8, 9).  
 M.P. 1298 (Park, p.40).

# Staveley, Alan.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1489 (Register of Freeman, I, 214).  
Chamberlain 1494 (Ibid. I, 218).

Sheriff 1499 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 302v).

Member of the twenty-four by 30 Sept. 1500 (H.B. VIII, fol. 97).

Mayor 1506, 1519 (Register of Freeman, I, 229, 240).

Dead by 21 June 1522, when Robert Wilde was elected an  
alderman in place of Alan Staveley, late alderman, whom it  
had 'pleasyd Almighty God to calle to his mercy' (York  
Civic Records, III, 84); administration of his estate  
granted 28 April 1525 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 316).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1502, 1503, 1508  
(York Mercers, p. 323).

Purchased 10 butts of romney for £30 in partnership with  
Henry Blodour of York, from John Banastre of London. The  
wine was shipped from London to Hull and thence to York,  
where it was sold (E.C.P. 191/34).

Exported a dozen coverlets valued at £1 from Hull, Michaelmas  
1517 - Michaelmas 1518 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/4).

# Staynlay, Thomas de.

Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1368 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 318v).

Chamberlain 1369 (Register of Freeman, I, 66).

Bailiff 1376 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 293).

Member of the twenty-four by 1379 (M.B. I, 32).

Mayor 1395 (Register of Freeman, I, 95).

# Stockdale, John.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1476 (Register of Freeman, I, 196).  
Chamberlain 1487 (Ibid. I, 211).

Sheriff 1490 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 301v).

Member of the twenty-four by 13 Dec. 1492 (H.B. VII, fol. 89).

Mayor 1501 (Register of Freeman, I, 225).

Will made 25 Feb. 1506 (Y.P.R. VI, fol. 185; T.E. IV, 256).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1493, 1498, 1505  
(York Mercers, p. 323).

His bequests included 20s. to William, son of his brother  
George at London, and 20s. to John, son of his brother James  
at Eton College.

Appointed as an executor to his will, brother Geoffrey, Abbot  
of Kirkstall.

Second wife, Ellen, widow of William Hancock whose brother  
was mayor in 1483, and of Robert Johnson, mayor in 1496  
(T.E. IV, 256n).

Survived by wife, Ellen, married daughter Isabel, illegitimate  
son John, and an illegitimate daughter living at Hessle.  
Isabel who had married Robert Diconson, merchant of York,  
remarried in 1521 Robert Wilde, mayor in 1527 (Ibid.).

Stockton, William.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1420 (Register of Freeman, I, 129);  
Chamberlain 1434 (Ibid. I, 148).

Mayor 1446, 1461 (Ibid. I, 164, 180).

M.P. 1447 (Wedgwood, II, 721).

Administration of his estate granted 20 Nov.1471

(Y.P.R. IV, fol.173).

Possessed property in the city and county in 1436 which yielded an annual net income of £6 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).

Member of a commission appointed to arrange a commercial treaty with Flanders in 1449 (Wedgwood, I, 811).

Merchant of the Staple at Calais (Ibid.)

Exported 9 cloths s.g.from Hull in 1430-31 (K.R.Customs  
Accounts 61/32).

His imports at Hull between 6 April and Mich.1453 included

9 tons of wood and other goods valued at £81 (Ibid. 61/71).

Owed £61 to Geoffrey Feldyng, late alderman of London and £16

to John Croke of London, gentleman (C.P.R. 1461-67, p.502).

Had married by 1433 Alice, widow of Roger de Selby, spicer,

brother of William de Selby, mayor 1385, 1387, 1388 (Skiffe, p.32).

Second wife, Isabella, widow of Robert Colynson, mayor in 1457  
(Ibid. p.29)

## Thornton, John.

Son of Richard Thornton, mentioned below; freeman, described as merchant, 1504 (Register of Freeman, I, 228).  
 Chamberlain 1505 (Ibid. I, 228).  
 Sheriff 1508 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 304).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 4 June 1510 (H.B. IX, fol. 53).  
 Mayor 1514 (Register of Freeman, I, 236).  
 Will proved 9 July 1530 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 464).  
 Goods assessed at £60 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524 (Y.A.J. IV, 190).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1528 (York Mercers, p.323).  
 Exported 4 sacks of wool and miscellaneous goods valued at £64 from Hull and imported there 2 butts of rumney, a butt of malmsey, and miscellaneous goods valued at £97 in 1525-26 (K.R.Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Resigned his gown in 1517 (Skaife, p.183).  
 His bequests included 40s. to brother Thomas. Stipulated that his wife was to pay son Richard an annuity of £6 13s. 4d. from the lands bequeathed her; the sum was to be increased by 5 marks a year in the event of her remarriage.  
 Survived by wife Agnes, sons Richard and John, and daughter Katherine. Richard, merchant, freeman 1527 (Register of Freeman, I, 248); married Joan, daughter of John Norman, mayor in 1524, and died off the coast of Brittany on a return voyage from Spain (E.C.P. 908/18, 21). John, clerk, freeman 1531 (Register of Freeman, I, 251); became vicar of Leeds T.E. IV, 252n). The daughter married Bartholomew, grandson of Richard York, mayor in 1469 and 1482 (Ibid.).

## Thornton, Richard.

Son of Nicholas Thornton; freeman, described as spicer, 1481 (Register of Freeman, I, 203).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1486 (Register of Freeman MS.fol.326v).  
 Chamberlain 1492 (Register of Freeman, I, 216).  
 Sheriff 1495 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.302).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 16 Dec.1496 (H.B. VIII, fol.13v).  
 Mayor 1502 (Register of Freeman, I, 226).  
 M.P. 1504 (Wedgwood, II, 721; York Civic Records, II, 191).  
 Will proved 4 Jan. 1506 (Y.P.R. VI, fol.170; T.E. IV, 252).  
 Bequeathed a tenement in North Street to the guardians of his parish church on condition that a peal of bells be rung in his memory on the Feast of St. Wilfrid each year.  
 Married Emmot, sister of William Taylour, vicar of Otley (T.E. IV, 252n).  
 Survived by wife, sons Richard, John, and Thomas, and daughter Joan, wife of John White, grocer. Thomas, merchant, was made a freeman in 1509 (Register of Freeman, I, 233). The career of John is given above.

Thresk, John.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1427 (Register of Freeman, I, 139).  
 Chamberlain 1433 (*Ibid.* I, 146).  
 Sheriff 1435 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 20 Dec. 1436 (H.B. II, 139).  
 Mayor 1442, 1462 (Register of Freeman, I, 159, 181).  
 M.P. 1445, 1449, 1450, 1467 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Dead by October 1473 (*Ibid.* I, 846).  
 Possessed property in the city in 1436 which yielded an annual net income of £5 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
 Mayor of the Staple at Calais 1456-73 (Wedgwood, I, 845).  
 Member of a commission appointed to negotiate a commercial treaty with Flanders in 1449; lent money for the defence of Calais in 1450; was sent on an embassy to Burgundy in May, 1458 (*Ibid.* I, 846).

Todd, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1462 (Register of Freeman, I, 181).  
 Chamberlain 1471 (*Ibid.* I, 190).  
 Sheriff 1476 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 300).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 8 Oct. 1477 (H.B. I, fol. 67).  
 Mayor 1487 (Register of Freeman, I, 211).  
 M.P. 1489 (Wedgwood, II, 721; York Civic Records, II, 33).  
 Will proved 20 April 1503 (Y.P.R. VI, fol. 59; T.E. IV, 212).  
 Exported 21 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £31 from Hull and imported there 48 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued at £99 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off Denmark in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1477, 1478 (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Knighted on 31 July 1437 (T.E. IV, 213n).  
 His servant Richard Polyngton sold 900 stockfish in Iceland to William Bank, who was acting on behalf of Sir Richard York, mayor in 1469 and 1483 (E.C.P. 64/709).  
 Owed £2 by William Nandyk of Scarborough, chapman (C.P.R. 1467-77, p. 381).  
 Bequeathed his wife, Elizabeth, land in Stillington, a house in Fulford, a house and 4 acres of land in Naburn, his lands in Ripon and 'one salt howse' in Whitby.  
 During his mayoralty repaired a portion of the city walls adjoining Fishergate Bar (Torr, p. 64).  
 Second wife, Margaret, widow of Thomas Eckilsell of Scarborough, who died in 1483; third wife, whom he married in 1485, was Elizabeth Eland of Hull (T.E. IV, 213n).  
 Survived by wife and daughters Isabel, Matilda, Marion, and Jane.



## Tonge, John.

Son of Richard Tonge, fuller; freeman, described as merchant,  
1456 (Register of Freeman, I, 176).

Chamberlain 1462 (Ibid. I, 181).

Sheriff 1468 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299).

Mayor 1477 (Register of Freeman, I, 197).

M.P. 1483 (Wedgwood, II, 721).

Will proved 29 July 1491 (Y.P.R. V, fol. 398).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1473 (York Mercers, p.322).

Imported miscellaneous goods valued at £35 at Hull in 1471-72  
(K.R.Customs Accounts 62/17).

Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off  
Denmark in 1468 (U.B.-IX, 369-70).

Married Alice, daughter of Richard Thornton, sheriff in 1446,  
and widow of Thomas Brounfilete, who was sheriff in 1457 and  
died the following year (Skaife, p.23).

Survived by wife Alice, son John, a minor, and married daughter  
Agnes Catur.

## Usfilete, Nicholas.

Freeman, described as mercer, 1412 (Register of Freeman, I, 116).

Chamberlain 1427 (Ibid. I, 139).

Sheriff 1433 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).

Mayor 1433 (Register of Freeman I, 152).

Will proved 2 May 1443 (Y.P.R. II, fol.58; A.A.S.R. XXXV, part 1, 72-4).

Bequeathed £1 each to the monastery and abbot of Rievaulx on  
condition that they paid his executors the debt owing to him;  
instructed his executors to sell his land and tenements at  
Dringhouses and use the proceeds for the celebration of masses.

Owed 73s. 5d. by Richard London of Lancaster, spicer

(C.P.R. 1436-41, p. 458).

Married Matilda, daughter of John Northeby, mayor in 1416  
(Skaife, p.32).

Will mentions no children; requested burial next to his late  
wife.

## Vycars, Simon.

Freeman, described as chapman and haberdasher, 1500  
 (Register of Freeman, I, 224).  
 Chamberlain 1511 (Ibid, I, 234).  
 Sheriff 1513 (Register of Freeman MS. fol.304v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 10 Jan.1515 (H.B. IX, fol.78).  
 Mayor 1521 in place of Thomas Bankhouse who died in office  
 (Register of Freeman, I, 242).  
 Will proved 12 Jan.1534 (Y.P.R. XI, fol.118); buried at  
 East Witton in Wensleydale (T.E. III, 122).  
 Goods assessed at £20 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 176).  
 Survived by daughter Anne, and sons Simon, to whom he  
 bequeathed lands in Scarborough, Hessay, York, and Ripon, and  
 Thomas.

## Wartre, Richard.

Freeman, described as goldsmith, 1416 (Register of Freeman, I, 124).  
 Chamberlain 1426 (Ibid. I, 137).  
 Sheriff 1429 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 296).  
 Mayor 1436, 1451 (Register of Freeman, I, 150, 170).  
 M.P. 1435 (Park, p.48).  
 Will proved March 1465 (Y.P.R.IV, fol.115; T.E. II, 273).  
 Merchant of the Staple at Calais (C.P.R. 1452-61, p. 211).  
 Possessed property in the city in 1436 which yielded an annual  
 net income of £5 (Exchequer, Lay Subsidies 217/42).  
 Bequeathed £40, or more if necessary, for providing the southern  
 part of the church of St. Saviour with a leaden roof.  
 Married Alice Lokton who died in 1421; second wife, married by  
 1424, was Alice, daughter of John de Moreton, mayor in 1418  
 (Skaife, p.23).  
 Will mentions no children; requested burial next to his second  
 wife.

## Wateby, Richard de.

Chamberlain 1352 (Register of Freeman, I, 45).  
 Bailiff 1356 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 292).  
 Mayor 1365 (Register of Freeman, I, 59).  
 Dead by 1379, when a chaplain appointed to a chantry founded in  
 his memory in the church of St. John at Ouse Bridge (M.B.I, 37).  
 Imported 100 cloths at Boston shortly before 1359. Fifteen of  
 the cloths were arrested in his shop in York by the ulnager  
 for Yorkshire and declared forfeit as unuynaged cloth, but an  
 enquiry showed that ulnage and customs duty had been paid on  
 the cloths at Boston, and the cloths were released  
 (C.P.R. 1358-61, p. 166).  
 Daughter Joan married John Chaumond, esquire, of Colton in the  
 Ainsty, and later Sir Richard de Hebden, knight (Skaife, p.20).

## Watson, William.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1533 (Register of Freeman, I, 252).  
 Chamberlain 1536 (*Ibid.* I, 255).  
 Sheriff 1541 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 308).  
 Mayor 1547, 1566 (Register of Freeman, I, 266; II, 7).  
 M.P. 1553 (York Civic Records, V, 87).  
 Will proved 20 Dec. 1568 (Y.P.R. XVIII, fol. 88).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1547, 1548, 1566, 1567 (York Mercers, pp. 323-24).  
 Exported miscellaneous goods valued at £73 from Hull and imported there 4 tuns of wine and miscellaneous goods valued at £79 in 1540-41; he also exported in partnership with William Pinnyngton that year 5 cloths s.g. and lead and coverlets valued at £42 (K.R. Customs Accounts 64/15).  
 Will mentions no children; made his brother-in-law, Gregory Paycock, his sole executor.

## Welles, William.

Freeman, described as vintner, 1453 (Register of Freeman, I, 173).  
 Chamberlain 1461 (*Ibid.* I, 130).  
 Sheriff 1467 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299).  
 Mayor 1479 (Register of Freeman, I, 200).  
 M.P. 1483 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Exported 16 cloths s.g. from Hull and imported 36 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods there valued at £57 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Murdered in 1437 by John Robson, miller of York (York Civic Records, II, 14); administration of his estate granted that year to widow, Alice (D. & C. Library, Register of Wills, I, fol. 369).  
 Son, William, chaplain, freeman 1479 (Register of Freeman, I, 201).

## White, Michael.

Freeman, described as dyer, 1467 (Register of Freeman, I, 187).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1477 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 326).  
 Chamberlain 1479 (Register of Freeman, I, 200).  
 Sheriff 1480 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 300v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 7 March 1482 (H.B. II, fol. 52).  
 Elected an alderman 17 Nov. 1490 (M.B. II, 293).  
 Mayor 1494, and 1505 on death of William White (Register of Freeman, I, 218, 228).  
 Will proved 23 Dec. 1510 (Y.P.R. VIII, fol. 61).  
 Survived by wife, Ann, and daughters Margaret and Jane; Ann, his second wife, was daughter of William Stockton, mayor in 1446, 1461 (Skaife, p. 72).

## White, William.

Freeman, described as dyer, 1472 (Register of Freeman, I, 192).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1478 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 326).  
 Chamberlain 1480 (Register of Freeman, I, 201).  
 Sheriff 1481 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 300v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 18 Nov. 1482 (H.B. II, fol. 70v).  
 Mayor 1491, on death of John Fereby, and 1505; died in office  
 (Register of Freeman, I, 215, 228).  
 M.P. 1495 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Will proved 27 Feb. 1505 (Y.P.R. VI, fol. 127).  
 Owed £57 by William Goodwyn, citizen of London, which was still  
 unpaid when William White died (E.C.P. 138/57).  
 Held stake money for a horse race between John Martyn and  
 Miles Bysney of London, which took place near York  
 (E.C.P. 67/49).  
 Second wife, Agnes, whom he married in 1503, was daughter of  
 Richard Hardsong, sheriff in 1483, and widow of William Barker,  
 sheriff in 1489 (Skaife, p. 94n); she later married  
 Edward Fox, a merchant of York, and subsequently Thomas Tonge  
 (E.C.P. 139/57).  
 Survived by wife, and sons John, William, and Robert, who was  
 a minor.

## Whitfield, Robert.

Probably the grandson of John Whitfield, mayor of Hull in 1472;  
 was living in Hull in 1509 (Skaife, p. 198).  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1512 (Register of Freeman, I, 235).  
 Sheriff 1519 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 305v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 27 March 1521 (H.B. X, fol. 12v).  
 Mayor 1529 (Register of Freeman, I, 249).  
 Administration of his estate granted 29 May 1534 (Y.P.R. XI,  
 fol. 106).  
 Goods assessed at £20 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 190).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1529, 1530  
 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Exported 22 sacks of wool, shorlings and morlings valued at  
 £15, and miscellaneous goods valued at £12 from Hull, and  
 imported there 2 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued at  
 £73 in 1525-26 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Daughter, Elizabeth, in 1528, married Peter Robinson, mayor in  
 1544 (Skaife, p. 191).

Wilde, Robert.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1501 (Register of Freeman, I, 225).  
 Chamberlain 1514 (*Ibid.* I, 236).  
 Sheriff 1520 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 305v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 8 Jan. 1522 (H.B. X, fol. 26).  
 Mayor 1527 (Register of Freeman, I, 247).  
 Will proved 16 May 1533 (D. & C. Library, Registers of Wills, II, fol. 165).  
 Goods assessed at 45 marks in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
 (Y.A.J. IV, 170).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1526, 1527 (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Exported 3 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £6 from  
 Hull in 1525-26 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/5).  
 Supplied wine, wax, and oil, valued at £10 to the monastery of  
 Newborough, Yorks. (E.C.P. 341/57).  
 Married in 1521 Isabella, daughter of John Stockdale, mayor in  
 1501 and widow of Robert Diconson of Scarborough (Skaife, p. 130).  
 Survived by wife and daughter Elizabeth.

Wilson, William.

Son of John Wilson, cordwainer; freeman, described as  
 goldsmith, 1491 (Register of Freeman, I, 216).  
 Custodian of Ouse Bridge 1503 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 328).  
 Chamberlain 1504 (Register of Freeman, I, 228).  
 Sheriff 1505 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 303v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 16 Aug. 1507 (H.B. IX, fol. 37).  
 Mayor 1513 (Register of Freeman, I, 235).  
 Will proved 25 Sept. 1517 (Y.P.R. IX, fol. 52).  
 Married Alice, daughter of Robert Denton of York; second wife,  
 Elizabeth, daughter of William White, mayor in 1491 and 1505  
 (Skaife, p. 135).  
 Survived by second wife, son William, and other children  
 unspecified, all of whom were minors.

Wrangwish, Thomas.

Freeman, described as merchant, 1458 (Register of Freeman, I, 178).  
 Chamberlain 1463 (*Ibid.* I, 182).  
 Sheriff 1466 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299).  
 Mayor 1476, 1484 (Register of Freeman, I, 196, 207).  
 M.P. 1472, 1483, 1484 (Wedgwood, II, 721).  
 Dead by 20 Jan. 1491 (M.B. II, 292).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company, 1471, 1472 (York Mercers, p. 322).  
 Exported 5 cloths s.g. from Hull and imported there miscellaneous  
 goods valued at £44 in 1471-72 (K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).  
 Goods of his in transit to Prussia seized in the Sound off Denmark  
 in 1468 (U.B. IX, 369-70).  
 Son, William, freeman 1484 (Register of Freeman, I, 208).  
 Son, Richard, merchant, freeman 1495 (*Ibid.* I, 220).

Wright, William.

Chamberlain 1509 (Register of Freeman, I, 232).  
 Sheriff 1511 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 304v).  
 Member of the twenty-four by 18 Nov. 1512 (H.B. IX, fol. 65).  
 Mayor 1518, 1535 (Register of Freeman, I, 240, 253).  
 Will proved 19 June 1543 (Y.P.R. XI, fol. 680).  
 Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company. 1512, 1513, 1514  
     (York Mercers, p. 323).  
 Exported lead valued at £135 from Hull and imported there  
     7 tuns wine and miscellaneous goods valued at £26  
 Mich. 1517 - Mich. 1518 (K.R. Customs Accounts 202/4).  
 Goods assessed at £16 in the Lay Subsidy Returns of 1524  
     (Y.A.J. IV, 170).  
 Married, in 1518, Ursula Joyce of Riccall (Skaife, p. 159).  
 Survived by wife and various children unspecified; son John  
 enfranchised as a merchant in 1559 (Register of Freeman, I, 279).

Wyman, Henry.

Born in Germany; was naturalised in 1338 after living several  
 years in York (C.P.R. 1385-89, pp. 463, 518).  
 Freeman, described as merchant, 1387 (Register of Freeman, I, 85).  
 Bailiff 1388 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 294).  
 Mayor 1407, 1408, 1409 (Register of Freeman, I, 110, 112).  
 Died 5 Aug. 1411 (Skaife, p. 239).  
 Paid ulnage on 24 cloths s.g. in York, 6 Sept. 1394 - Mich. 1395  
     (Yorks. Woollen Trade, pp. 47-95).  
 Exported at least 28 cloths s.g. from Hull as a Hanseatic  
 merchant in 1378-79 (K.R. Customs Accounts 59/1).  
 Exported 90 cloths s.g. from Hull in 1391-92 (Ibid. 59/24).  
 Exported 21 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £1  
 from Hull, and imported there 19 tuns wine and miscellaneous  
 goods valued at £32 in 1398-99 (Ibid. 159/11).  
 Married Agnes, daughter of John de Barden, mayor in 1378  
     (Y.P.R. I, fols. 95, 100).  
 Daughter Joan married Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe,  
 eldest son of the Lord Chief Justice (Skaife, p. 239).

York, Richard.

Probably born at Berwick-on-Tweed; he bequeathed a vestment to the church of Holy Trinity there and instructed his son to construct a memorial for himself and his ancestors in the church. (T.E. IV, 136-7).

Freeman, described as merchant, 1457 (Register of Freeman, I, 177).  
Chamberlain 1460 (Ibid. I, 179).

Sheriff 1465 (Register of Freeman MS. fol. 299).

Mayor 1469, 1482 (Register of Freeman, I, 188, 203).

M.P. 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1489  
(Wedgwood, II, 721).

Will proved 17 July, 1498 (P.C.C., 36 Horne, fol. 5).

Exported 15 cloths s.g. and miscellaneous goods valued at £5  
from Hull and imported there 20 tuns wine in 1471-72  
(K.R. Customs Accounts 62/17).

Stockfish purchased on his behalf in Iceland from the servant  
of William Todd, mayor in 1487 (E.C.P. 64/709).

Governor of Merchant Adventurers' Company 1475 (York Mercers,  
p. 322).

Mayor of the Staple at Calais 1466 (T.E. IV, 134n).

One of the ambassadors sent to treat with the Hanse 20 April, 1491  
(Wedgwood, I, 979).

Knighted at York in 1487 (T.E. IV, 134n).

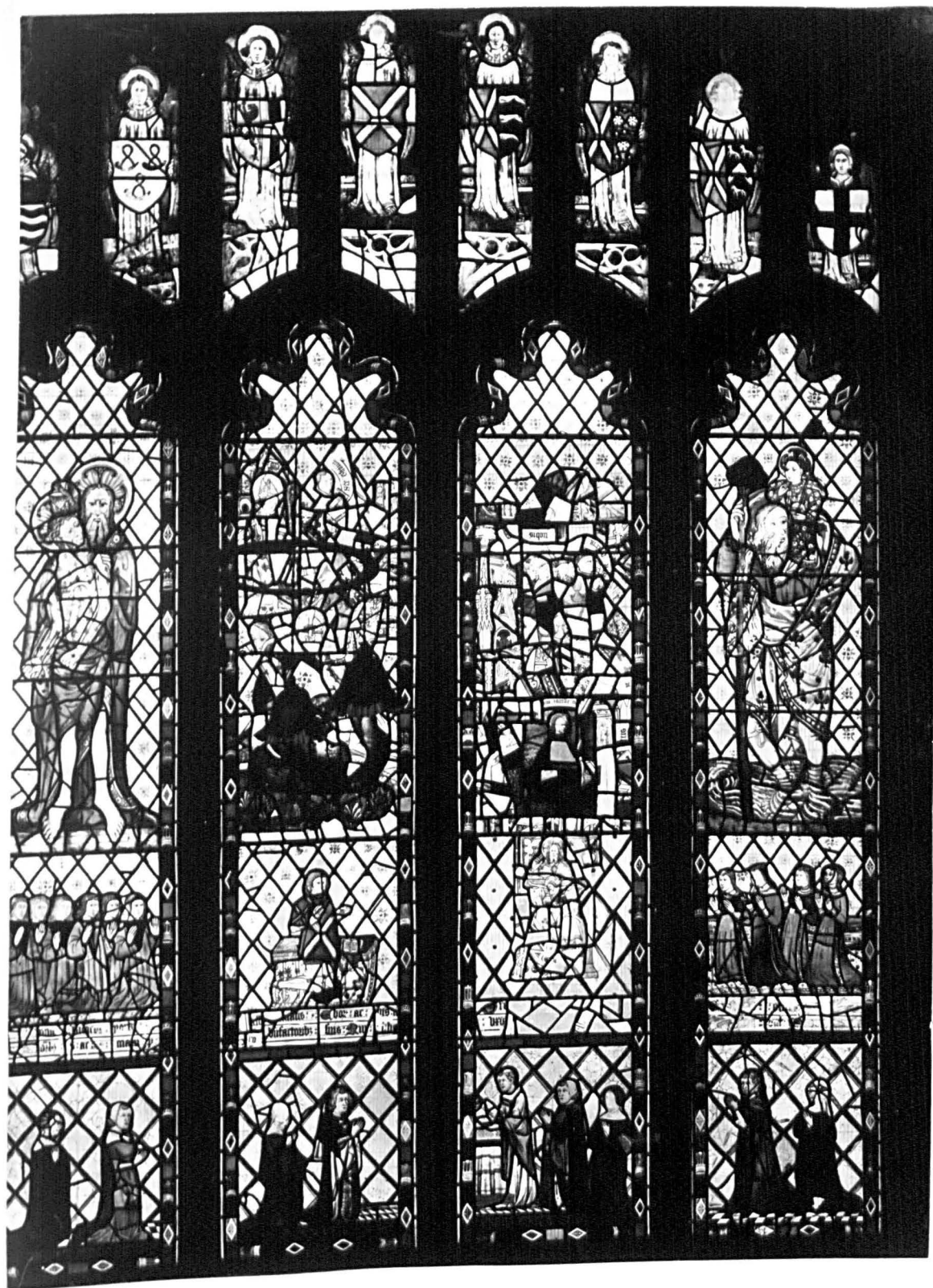
Owned £40 by George Gray, late of Barton in Rydale, Yorks.  
(C.P.R. 1485-94, p. 329).

Married Joan, daughter of John Whitfield, mayor of Hull in 1472  
(Skaife, p. 198).

Buried in the church of St. John the Evangelist in Micklegate,  
where he was commemorated in the east window of the north  
aisle (F. Harrison, The Painted Glass of York, pp. 187-8).

The photograph, taken during the War, shows his six sons,  
Sir Richard York himself, and his four daughters, kneeling  
in prayer in the first, second, and fourth lights  
respectively of the second row of panels in the window. The  
church is now in disuse and the glass has been transferred to  
St. Michael's Chapel in the north transept of York Minster.

Survived by wife, sons Richard, Thomas, William, John, George,  
Giles, and Christopher, who was rector of Riby in  
Lincolnshire. George and Giles, who were illegitimate,  
were enfranchised as merchants in 1502 (Register of  
Freemen, I, 226). Thomas and William became freemen in  
1498 and 1508 respectively (Ibid. I, 222, 232). The  
daughters depicted in the window are not mentioned in the  
will.



RICHARD YORK AND HIS CHILDREN.

(EAST WINDOW, NORTH AISLE, ST. JOHN THE  
EVANGELIST, MICKLEGATE. THE WINDOW HAS  
SINCE BEEN REMOVED TO ST. MICHAEL'S CHAPEL,  
IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF YORK MINSTER).



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE REGIONAL TRADE OF YORK  
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

