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THE YORK MERCERS
AND
MERCHANT ADVENTURERS
1356-1917.

Merchant adventurers of York
"

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At a Council Meeting of the SURTEES SOCIETY, held in Durham Castle, on Tuesday, 7th March, 1916, the Rev. Henry Gee, D.D., in the Chair,

It was resolved,

That the volume to be issued for the year 1917 be selections from the MSS. belonging to the Merchant Adventurers of York, under the editorship of Miss MAUD SELLERS, Litt.D.

P. J.

PREFACE.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Hamilton Thompson, who not only revised my proofs, but generously allowed me to draw on his unrivalled knowledge of ecclesiastical history. It is impossible for me to express adequately the gratitude I feel for the ceaseless care with which he supervised the passage of this volume through the press. To Canon Fowler I owe thanks for many interesting suggestions with regard to emendations of the text.

It is obviously impossible for a writer to deal successfully in a limited introduction with a period of more than five hundred years, and with matter inclusive of all branches of history, constitutional, industrial, economic, religious, and social. I have not attempted the impossible. In my introduction, however, I have tried to give such an analysis that I hope my readers will turn to the text, and study for themselves the documents on which my brief account is based.

To the governor of the Merchant Adventurers, Mr. H. Ernest Leetham, my most cordial thanks are due, for allowing me unrestricted access to all the documents under his charge, and for constant interest in my work.

I have not given a schedule of the sources from which the extracts are selected, as all the documents in possession of the company are now arranged chronologically, enclosed in cartels, and placed in the hall, where they may be consulted any week-day between the hours of 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.

M. S.

Merchants' Hall,
Fossgate, York.

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INTRODUCTION.

Had medieval politicians been in search of an ideal spot for the foundation of a capital for Great Britain, the choice would undoubtedly have fallen on the site of the present city of York. Under Constantine it was one of the imperial cities of the Roman empire; when the Saxon Eadwine held supreme authority over all the English kingdoms save Kent, the northern city on the Ouse was his capital. Had Cnut's dream of a great Scandinavian empire with England at its head been realised, the position of York as the imperial capital would have been secured beyond controversy. But the Norman conquest, which drew England from its natural association with Scandinavia to an artificial association with the south, robbed York of the advantages of its unique geographical position. The ruthlessness of William the Conqueror failed, however, to obliterate all signs of York's former supremacy. Domesday records "the king had in York three ways by land and a fourth by water."¹ These radiate through Aldborough to the north and Scotland; through Tadcaster to the south and London; and through Stamford Bridge to the east and the sea. The fertile vale of Pickering with its stretches of cornland was easily accessible, though the forest of Galtres impeded communication north of the city Teeswards. The wild Cleveland district, however, offered few attractions to the settler before Teesside cattle were famous, iron and coal supreme factors in industrial life. It is true that the old kingdom of Elmet, the present West Riding, raised a formidable barrier between York and the sea on the west; but a huge continent beyond the Irish sea had not yet entered into young men's visions or old men's dreams.²

¹ Domesday (Yorkshire), fo. 298.

² J. R. Green, *The Making of England*, p. 151. In spite of inaccuracies and a blind reliance on untrustworthy data, few historical workers of the eighties will forget the thrill they experienced as they read this fascinating account of the making of their native land.

“The fourth road by water” of the record is technically correct, but the bald description needs amplification. The Ouse, which connected York with Hull and ultimately the continent, was, in mediæval days, tidal eight miles above the city. A second outlet on the east, the Derwent, was reached by the royal road to Stamford Bridge. The most casual glance at the map shows a network of rivers in the surrounding district. In the days of scanty and ill-made roads and no mechanical transports, the water communication, secured by the Ouse, the Derwent, the Swale, the Ure, and the Wharfe, was an industrial asset of far-reaching importance.

In fact, by the middle of the fourteenth century, when the story of the merchant adventurers opens, the access of York to the sea by the Ouse and Humber had become a factor of greater importance to the welfare of the city than the strength of its military fortifications, or the multiplicity of its monastic buildings.

The history of the merchant adventurers is especially interesting in the present crisis, for it illustrates the curiously haphazard though practically efficient manner in which a small body of Englishmen, each trading with his own capital, his own factor, using his own individual methods of trade, managed not only to break the monopoly of the state-regulated English staple, but also to wear down a powerful organisation of foreign merchants, the Hanzards, who had seized the lion's share of England's foreign trade. Strenuous individual effort was apparently the simple but efficient weapon with which the battle was won.

The history of the company, from 1356 to the present day, can be divided into three strongly contrasted periods. The first phase, from 1356 to 1420, is marked by steady mercantile and industrial development, though the importance of the movement is obscured by the complicated religious and social machinery within which it worked.

Original conception and vigorous execution characterises the second and most important phase, from 1420 to 1580. By the end of the first decade of this period the mystery was sufficiently successful to throw overboard the *simulacrum* of

secrecy, bring the ecclesiastical element under its own domination, and boldly demand constitutional recognition; though the cloak of religion still appears in the demand for a charter, possibly both petitioners and grantor regarded it as a mere stage trapping. The same device appears as late as the Elizabethan charter of 1580.¹ The third period, from 1580 to the present day, is a dreary story of retrogression; the substitution of privilege for efficiency, state help for individualistic effort, restriction for expansion hastened the downfall of a society, that was out of touch with the spirit of a progressive age.

FIRST PHASE, 1356-1420.

Although the deed, which in 1356² conveyed a piece of land in Fosggate to John Freeboys, John Crome, and Robert Smeton, citizens and merchants of York, does not mark the inauguration of a new society of merchants, it undoubtedly emphasises a new and important phase in the existence of the fraternity from which the mystery sprang. To the medieval mind an organisation without a religious side would have been as alien a conception as a stock exchange with rules framed in the spirit of the sermon on the mount would be to a modern

¹ Text, pp. 244, 245.

² Sir William Percehay, knight, grants to John Freeboys, John Crome, and Robert Smeton, citizens and merchants, York, all that piece of ground with the buildings, etc., in Fosggate, lying in breadth between Trichour lane on one side and the river Foss on the other, and in length from Fosggate in front to the land of Henry Haxiholme at the back, the whole of which he lately acquired of Robert Lisle and Thomas Duffeld, co-executors of the will of Henry Belton, late merchant, York. Witnesses, John Langeton, mayor, John Scareby, Richard Wateby and John Ripon, bailiffs, Robert Skelton, William Burton, draper, John Haunsard, John Neuton, cook, John Staunton, clerk. Friday next after the feast of St. Lucy the Virgin, 30 Ed. III (16 Dec., 1356). *Translation of deed in possession of the company*. Possibly the William Percehay mentioned is the second son of Henry Percy, first lord Percy of Alnwick, and Eleanor, daughter of John Fitzalan, lord of Arundel. *Annals of the House of Percy*, vol. i, p. 70. I have searched many old leases of Fosggate property in the hopes of identifying the boundaries of the original estate of the merchants, but without success. I am, however, inclined on general grounds to think that the passage at the end of Lady Peckett's yard, having an entrance into Fosggate, immediately above and parallel to the entry into the courtyard of the hall, follows the line of Trichour lane. Skaife, who by his indefatigable industry had accumulated an extensive knowledge of medieval York, only states it is on the west side of Fosggate. R. H. Skaife. *Plan of Roman, Medieval, and Modern York* (1864).

mind. The conveyance, however, contains no allusion to any co-operate religious society in the background. But one of the merchants to whom the land is granted appears the following year as the master of the fraternity, another as one of the thirteen members to whom the licence which legalised the fraternity is granted; these two facts seem to prove beyond controversy that the grant of land was the preliminary step in the organisation of the fraternity, the next step being obviously the erection of a building where the members could hold their meetings. Fortunately the licence renders the story of the development of the institution perfectly clear. A body of successful York merchants, possibly with some latent idea of reviving the glories of the *gilda mercatoria* granted in 1200,¹ approached the king with a request for power to form themselves into a gild. Although the grant of land was made in 1356, the licence to incorporate was not granted until 1357: the merchants probably had been in touch with the king before they bought the land, and knew their incorporation was assured, though the chariot wheels of legal incorporation tarried long. Shorn of verbiage the licence is simple:² the merchants, representatives chiefly of the woollen industry, mercers, drapers, hosiers, dyers, were granted a licence to organise a gild for men and women, "in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Mary." They were empowered to choose a master, in whose hands the management of the gild property was to be vested. Chaplains were to be paid to celebrate service in the church of St. Crux, to pray for the royal family, and the brothers and sisters of the gild. On the surface this gild is simply a fortuitous grouping of men and women for purely religious and social purposes. The essential nature of the bond of association only becomes clear, when research has individualised the committee from whom the request for the licence came. Then the second side, the mystery, the practical organisation, emerges. The thirteen brethren appear as thirteen merchants, the sisters as their wives, sisters, or daughters. The spiritual bond of brotherhood

¹ Charter Rolls, p. 40. C. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, vol. i, p. 197; vol. ii, pp. 279, 280. C. Gross, *Gilds in Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xii, *passim*.

² Text, pp. 1-3.

weakens, the practical bond of similarity of worldly interest strengthens. Nor is the reason for this subterfuge far to seek.¹ The government was used to individuals forming religious groups, but looked with suspicion on association for other purposes. On the other hand the merchants themselves did not court publicity, they wished to accumulate wealth without the harassing fear of a rapacious government in the background. The words of the statute of Henry VII, framed at a time when the embryo mystery of the fourteenth century had developed into the great trading monopoly of the sixteenth century, throws light on the subject. After bitter complaints of the excessive fines levied by the merchant adventurers, the preamble to the statute states that the delinquents sheltered themselves under colour of the fraternity of Thomas Becket, bishop of Canterbury, and by colour of such feigned holiness² gained their covetous ends.

The conveyance of land and the licence of incorporation renders the early history of the fraternity clear; additional details are supplied by the accounts for the eight years from 1357 to 1364.³ These are found in an oblong, rough, tattered paper book, very badly written in grotesque Latin, interspersed with English and Norman French. They differ materially from the elaborate vellum rolls on which similar institutions inscribed their accounts; in fact, it is difficult to avoid suspecting that these are not the final accounts, but only the notes from which the rolls would be compiled. This surmise would explain the absence of much information that we should expect to find in them.

In the grant of land from Sir William Percy, reference is made to the buildings already on it, and these accounts read as if they represented repairs rather than an entirely new building. There is no certain indication that they refer to one single building, but even assuming they do, then the conclusion is forced on us that it was a timber building. The timber in

¹ York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, p. xxxi. Surtees Soc., cxxv.

² Statutes of the Realm, xii Hen. VII, c. 6.

³ Text, pp. 6-16. In printing this document I have not put (*sic*) after variations in spelling or mistakes in grammar, but have corrected silently where an obscurity of meaning would result from lack of alteration.

comparatively large quantities, joists, boards, laths, plaster, sand and tiles, and the fact that of the labour, the carpenters are the largest item, points to this conclusion; the items for the masons' labour are comparatively insignificant, and seem to contradict the idea that the timber building had a ground storey of stone. Nor does it seem likely that the accounts refer to a building that had been partly erected before the accounts begin, for the purchase and sawing of the timber would occur at a very early stage of the work.¹ But whatever view may be taken of the details of the work the fact is incontestable, that in the year 1356 the gild acquired land, and in the year 1357 the land was in the hands of workpeople. Nearly ninety pounds was expended on it that year; the expenditure fell in 1358, but rose in 1359 to £123 11s. 6d.² A voluminous vellum roll for the year 1368³ contains many interesting items. During the intervening four years the gild had evidently become so popular that it had attracted members from Newcastle, Whitby, and Hull.⁴ Butchers, spicers, potters figure among the members and benefactors. Building must have gone on rapidly during this period; a certain house within the "mansum" on the pavement pays a considerable rent; the entry points to some dwelling possibly on the site, where the shops still belonging to the company stand, on either side of the entrance to the courtyard.⁵ Bricks and plaster in increasing quantities are being delivered. There are three references to the erection of a great hall in a garden.⁶ The evidence with regard to the existence of a chapel is not absolutely conclusive⁷; the allusion may be to the chapel in the church of St. Crux, though against this theory there is the evidence of the licence, which proves

¹ This paragraph is founded on a report made by Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., of Hull. He very kindly went over the hall with me, then studied the account roll, and gave me the inestimable advantage of his expert opinion.

² Deferring to the judgment of better scholars than myself, I have not translated the money items into terms of modern money, but I may point out that approximately £90 in 1357 would be equivalent at the lowest calculation to £350 in modern times.

³ Text, pp. 16-26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17, 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 22, 25.

that the chapel had been an ancient ruin for years previous to 1411. A chaplain had been appointed and paid forty-six shillings. All the building operations were in charge of John Craneby, carpenter, and John Bolton, plasterer, who received salaries, the rest of the workpeople were paid by piece. The master carpenter received twelve pounds a year,¹ the master plasterer only a third of that sum. The gild had already availed itself of the right of acquiring property given by the incorporation deed of 1357; houses in Walmgate, Castlegate, Fishergate, and the parish of St. Denis are mentioned as being in its possession. Both the religious and social side of the members' aspirations had been satisfied; there was a hall for feasts, a church for devotion. The roll gives glimpses of a healthy rollicking people, who shared alike their joys and sorrows. Members entertain each other periodically; the brother and sisters living at Whitby are given a feast²; but the darker side of life also appears, side by side with payments for provisions for the junketings, fees to the priests who sing mass, to those who bid to funerals, are entered; money, too, is paid for candles to burn round the hearses of the dead brothers and sisters.³ The easy interdependence of the social and religious life forms an attractive picture.

Three years later the gild obtained from the king a second deed of incorporation, which enabled it to enlarge the scope of its work and found a hospital. John Rouclyffe was the principal mover in this new development,⁴ but in 1373 Archbishop Thoresby appears as the reorganiser of the whole scheme.⁵ The document which deals with the matter is long and verbose. The dual nature of the institution is proved by the fact that the deed is enrolled both in the archiepiscopal and municipal register.⁶ The main provisions are that a hospital should be

¹ In modern money this is equivalent to about £3 5s. 6d. weekly wage.

² Text, p. 23.

³ Text, pp. 21, 24, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30. Surtees Soc., vol. xci, p. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶ Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fo. 169. Munic. Rec. ^B/_V fos. 113, 114. Doubtless, however, both enrolments were made primarily from the point of view of an ecclesiastical benefice, the object being to safeguard the respective rights of the archbishop and corporation to presentation in case of lapse.

founded in Fossgate in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Mary, and endowed with houses, possessions, and goods, presumably the property of the gild. The government was to be in the hands of a chaplain; the presentation to be vested in the heirs of John Rouclyffe; in case of non-appointment the presentation to go after eight months first to the archbishop, then in case of neglect the vacancy was to be filled by the mayor and citizens of York. The spiritual and temporal welfare "of thirteen poor and feeble persons" was in charge of a master who was "continually and personally to dwell there." Two poor scholars were to be elected by the master and receive four pence a week.¹ The salary of the master was to be ten marks a year; as the funds increased additional chaplains were to be appointed, and more poor people admitted; each day the office of the dead was to be recited, and three times a week the seven penitential psalms with the litany for the king, John Rouclyffe, the mayor of York, the brothers, sisters, and benefactors of the gild. Any chaplain proved guilty of incontinency was to be removed at once. This document shows the ecclesiastical power over the gild at its climax. For the next twenty-five years little is known of the gild's or the hospital's history, for the terms have now become synonymous. The last years of the reign of Edward III and the reign of Richard II were too full of foreign wars and political intrigues to admit of any concentration on peaceful social development. But from an inquisition taken in 1396, it is clear that the hospital continued to grow. It was then under the management of two chaplains and five York citizens; four houses, nine cottages, seven shops, and thirty-two shillings of rent summed up its worldly possessions, in addition to the group of buildings on the Fossgate site.²

¹ A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 99, 283. Mr. Leach alludes to a chantry school in connection with Trinity Hospital; I have found no traces of this. Probably he founded his statement on the "ij poore scolars" in the 1546 certificate of the hospital. *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* (Surtees Soc.), i, p. 76. This certificate is peculiarly open to criticism. It is, however, possible that the two chaplains had at one time a school. In 1692 Mrs. Jane Stainton left a small yearly sum to pay a school mistress for teaching six girls to read, knit, and sew. *Text*, p. 289.

² *Text*, p. 26.

Fifteen years later it was fully organised. The master was then assisted by two chaplains and two clerks, the thirteen pensioners had increased to thirty.

The licence of 1411¹ clears up all difficulties with regard to the date of the chapel. It is evident that the little chapel referred to in the roll of 1368 had become much dilapidated, and been rebuilt by the pious generosity of the citizens of York on a much larger scale. The new altar would need consecration,² and this might have included a formal dedication of the enlarged building. The form of the licence, however, makes this improbable. It is a perpetual licence, without limit of time, and so explicitly worded that all necessities for divine service are included; had consecration taken place the licence would have been supererogatory. The hanging pyx, of which the classical example is the silver pelican which hung above the high altar at Durham, was the standard English custom. The unsightly wall that now divides chapel and hospital had not been built, and the eyes of the inmates could be fixed on "that most excellent sacrament of the body of our Lord," which was suspended "in a seemly vessel" before the altar of the chapel. Doubtless, in an age of unquestioned faith, this mystic Presence would console the dying, and even the living, while pursuing the routine of their transitory lives, would be strengthened by this reminder of the divine nearness.³ This document fitly closes the first phase of the gild's history—the phase of ecclesiastical predominance.

¹ Archiepis. Reg. Hen. Bowet, fo. 100.

² I am indebted to Mr. Hamilton Thompson for many suggestions with regard to this document. The legate Oddo, in 1237, laid down the principle that mass should be celebrated only in places dedicated to God, and decreed that all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches should be consecrated within two years of their completion or be subject to interdict until the act of consecration had been performed; but inferior chapels were expressly excluded from the decree, their consecration was left to the diocesan's judgment. In 1435 a licence for two chantry chaplains to celebrate at two side altars in Brampton-by-Dingley church, Northants, was issued before the consecration of the building. Lincoln Reg. Gray, fo. 180*d*. But the exclusion of churches not *matrices ecclesie* from the legatine decree makes it very probable that many lesser buildings never received formal consecration, but that a licence for the celebration of mass was considered sufficient.

³ Mr. Hamilton Thompson has drawn my attention to several references to the reservation of the Sacrament in a hanging pyx. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, ed. Hart and Frere, vol. iv, pp. 234-242. Major Heales' paper on

THE SECOND PHASE, 1420-1580.

The second and most interesting phase of the merchants' history begins in 1420; from that date to the present day a careful list of all the members of the fraternity and mystery has been kept. The inscription at the beginning of the register seems to point to one of those periodical attempts at reorganisation, which are characteristic of all healthy developments, having taken place at that date. The adoption of a new patron is alluded to¹; but as in 1396 the hospital is already called the Holy Trinity,² the explanation seems to be both names, "the gild of the Lord Jesus Christ" and "the gild of the Holy Trinity,"³ were used indiscriminately in the early days. Evidently in 1420 an attempt was being made towards a more systematic nomenclature. The hospital with the interdependent fraternity seems to have retained the older name; the mystery to have adopted the new designation. This view is strengthened by the fact that the hospital and mystery had different seals.³ The hospital seal with its impression of the

Adjuncts, etc., of the Altar in Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc., vol. i, pp. 156-158. J. N. Comper's *Practical Considerations on the Gothic or English Altar, ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 199-204. The modern Roman customs of exposition, benediction with the Sacrament, and visits to the Blessed Sacrament seem to have no analogy in medieval usage; it seems clear that the primary object of reservation was for the communion of the sick. An excellent instance of the medieval use of reservation is found in Litt. Jo. Peckham (Rolls Ser.), vol. i. Peckham, in his injunctions to Barking Abbey, condemns the practice of the nunnery chaplains in keeping the reserved Sacrament for the sick in their private apartments, because it was easier than going into church for it.

¹ "Anno adopcionis patronatus eiusdem hospitalis anno Domini millesimo cccc vicesimo."

² Text, p. 16. cf. *La Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, troisième série, tome 1 (1909), p. 676.*

³ The seal of the fraternity represents the coronation of the Virgin, and carries the legend "Sigillum commune hospitaliter fratrum et sororum beate Marie virginis, juxta pontē Fosse Ebor'." The British Museum catalogue has "juxta portē Fosse," but the *n* of *ponte* is quite clear, and the proximity of the hospital to Fossbridge renders it appropriate. The seal of the mystery, not bought until 1435, represents the Trinity between two merchant ships; on each side in the field is a branch of foliage, the dove does not appear, only a star in the horizon. The legend is "Sigillum communitatis mercatorum S. Trinitatis Eboraci." After having been lost for many centuries it was dug up in Shap Abbey and restored to the Company by Mrs. Clayton of the Chesters, Humshaugh, Northumberland. The windows put into the committee-room by Mr. George Crombie to commemorate his mastership contain reproductions of both seals.

coronation of the blessed Virgin, and its legend, "the seal of the brothers and sisters of the hospital of the blessed Mary the Virgin," seems to emphasise its connection with the original conception; whereas the seal of the mystery, with its impression of the Father in pity exhibiting His crucified Son, with the star in the horizon, and the legend, "the seal of the community of merchants of Holy Trinity, York," seems to refer to the new "*patronatus*" of 1420.¹ In the same way, Thomas Wrangwis, the master of the mystery, calls the fraternity of which he claims that he is also the master, "the fraternity of the Holy Trinity,"² but William Cleveland, the ecclesiastical head of the dual organisation, anxious to draw a distinction between hospital and mystery, calls himself master of "the hospital of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Mary the Virgin," even as late as 1497.³ The double name is not in itself unusual, but the differentiation in its application points to some practical reason behind it.

There is no connection between the gild of Holy Trinity, which was suppressed as adulterine in 1418, and the Fossgate institution. Still it is possible that the existence of this gild of a similar name may have prevented the general adoption of the same title by the Fossgate brothers and sisters; and its disappearance may have induced the merchants in 1420 to put on record their claim to the unappropriated designation. The fact, however, that there were in York two flourishing gilds of the same name at the same time, shows what an important part the organisation must have played in the economy of the city. Among the complexities of modern life, with its specialisations and differentiations, it is difficult for us to grasp the real power of an institution, which had flung over England a net,

¹ Mr. Hamilton Thompson has kindly drawn my attention to the following facts, which explain the double name. Dedications to our Lord were always equivalent to dedications to the Holy Trinity, probably in acknowledgment of His inseparability from the Triune Godhead. The churches of the Holy Trinity in York and Bristol were known popularly as Christ Church, and the priories of the Holy Trinity in London and Ipswich were generally called Christ Church. In Leicester the hospital of Christ and the Annunciation of the B.V.M., later the Newarke College, held its chief festival on Trinity Sunday, and became known as Trinity Hospital.

² Text, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

whose meshes included kings and princes, barons and knights, canons and rectors, lawyers, wealthy merchants, comfortable shop-keepers and poor journeymen, peasants, and even, according to Professor Unwin, football players.¹ Incidentally, another point of interest emerges from the details of this dispute. The thirty-seven brothers, whose refusal to obey the verdict of the majority to join the gild of St. Antony was the *casus belli*, still wished to keep their hands on the fraternity paraphernalia. As these disputed possessions were kept in the church of the friars' preachers, the prior of the monastery was drawn into the quarrel. The more belligerent members of the majority party broke into the church, and carried off the property. This outrage enlisted the sympathies of the prior on the side of the minority party, but all the disputants agreed to submit the case to the arbitration of the mayor of the city. This acknowledgment of the power of the civic authority is significant. The mayor's verdict gave some of the spoil to the prior, the rest to the municipal chapel of Saint William on Ousebridge. The money, still remaining in the coffers of the dissolved Trinity gild, was to be devoted to the building of a chapel on Fossbridge.² The whole story of this 1418 scandal seems to foreshadow the confiscation of gild property in 1547, with the mayor instead of the king as confiscator, the city instead of the council as receiver; for the bridges were municipal property, the chapels on them were regarded in a peculiar sense as under the city's aegis.³

But apart from any specialisation of name and function, there is a marked contrast between the documentary evidence for the two periods of the history of the institution. The data in the first period is taken from official, ecclesiastical, state, and municipal documents. It is difficult to breathe life into these dry bones. The account rolls (except the one for 1368) deal chiefly with timber, stone, plaster; the master of the gild, John Freboys, the master of the works, John Colwik, the

¹ G. Unwin, *The Guilds of London*, pp. 97, 98.

² J. Solloway, article in *British Association Handbook for York*, pp. 165-168.

³ York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 71, 72.

handmaiden Margareta, remain shadowy impersonalities. Except the very liberal allowances for drinks, there is little to bring home to us that we are dealing with men with like passions as modern men. But the atmosphere changes, and after 1420 the documents are full of personal details which bring before us a crude, reckless, possibly dishonest crowd; but men who unconscientiously were doing their part as pioneers of the empire. ~~X~~ A comparison of the list of members in 1368¹ and 1420,² at once strikes the keynote of the change. The miscellaneous tradesmen, and members from other towns of the earlier list, had been eliminated; there were no longer any representatives from Whitby, Newcastle, Hull; cooks, butchers, potters, bakers, spicers, bowers, tilers, cutlers, had disappeared; the mistery stands out as a specialised body of merchants and mercers of York.³ The middleman had stepped in between buyer and maker. A new class had emerged who, though they did not of necessity cease to be manufacturers, did tend to become more mercantile in their operations. A still more important development, however, had taken place; the mercers had captured the government of the city. The civic records show this conclusively⁴; but even without that evidence, a comparison of the two lists proves how interdependent were the offices of mayor of the city and master of the company.

The result of these changes culminated in the third decade of the fifteenth century in an entire change in the legal status of the mistery. There is no evidence to show by what authority the mercers had enforced their ordinances, for, unlike the other crafts, they had never been brought into the council chamber for ratification or revision. But in 1430, the mercers, probably anxious to differentiate their wealthy mistery from the crowd of small unimportant misteries, sought and obtained royal authorisation. Except the weavers, whose charter was

¹ Text, pp. 16-26.

² Book A.

³ The light thrown by the Freemen's roll on this question is of some interest. During the century from 1272 to 1372, 229 mercers, 17 merchants, and 66 mercators were enrolled. From 1373 to 1472, evidently the word merchant came into general use, for the roll contains the names of 311 mercers, 239 merchants, and 235 mercators.

⁴ York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, *passim*, vol. ii, pp. xxix-xxxii.

granted by Henry II, no York mystery had any higher authorisation than the mayor's court. A complete picture of the preliminaries, which lead to the granting of the boon, is furnished by several documents still preserved in the merchants' archives. The prime mover, John Lyllyng, was not, as we should have expected, a woollen merchant and a civic dignitary, in fact, his mercantile career was certainly chequered. But he was connected with the second great York medieval industry, the trade in lead. Probably the shrewd burghers thought that his lack of personal probity was counter-balanced by his familiarity with the ruling party, for his business had brought him into touch with the court, lead being constantly sent from Hull to London for the repair of the royal or other great houses. The story of his knavish dealings fills many pages of the city records. In 1422 he had been accused in the lord mayor's court of "foryng of fals osmundes of drosse and of landyren, and of utteryng of them in foule deceyte and ryght grete harme of the Kynges people and ryght gret sklaundre of the cite of York, and agayne the course of trewe merchaundise." The story is one of the most complete examples of the tricks of the medieval trader. He seems to have thought that confession was his safest course, "to thys he answered and sayd, that he perceyved wele that iren waxed skant and dere, and he had mykell with hym of drosse and landiren, and tharfore he gart forgeit in shappe of osmundes for utteryng of his iren so into Iseland."¹

Fortunately he had friends at court, the queen, the archbishop, and Lord Beaumont interfered on his behalf; though he had been sentenced to lose his franchise and pay a heavy fine, the punishment seems to have been remitted later. Whatever strictures may be passed on his morals, his management of the merchants' affairs was masterly. A scrap of paper on which is untidily written "the spences and costages made by John Lyllyng" was found inside one of the more elaborate vellum rolls. Most of the items are reasonable, but that "us

¹ York Memorandum Book, fos. 264b-266b, printed in vol. lxxxv, pp. 1-10 (Surtees Soc.). A treaty had been made in 1479 forbidding English ships visiting Iceland without licence. *The Cely Papers*, p. xxxv (Royal Hist. Soc., 3rd series, vol. i).

and our horse" only cost eightpence on the journey to London sounds improbable.¹ The total, £91 9s. 10d., is almost double the total of the separate items. Lord Cromwell, a prominent member of the council, was given £3 6s. 8d.; the clerk of "the councelhous," 20s.; the clerk of the rolls, 15s. 4d.; the clerk who copied the charter, 6s. 8d. On wine and dinners to "men of lawe and clerks," 40s. was spent. Lyllyng spent nearly seven weeks in London on three different occasions, but he only put his expenses at £11; had he been avaricious in former years, his bitter experience of 1422 had cured him. Thomas Haseley's letter throws additional light on the way in which the charter had been obtained. Gratitude was especially due, he wrote, to the archbishop, as he was chancellor his voice carried much weight in the council, and he assures the merchants that the easy terms were due to his influence; "as fore the small and easy fyn that he hath assessed in that cas, for by my trouthe I sahy never noon so litell in so grete a matter." Nor was this mere official flattery, for the payment for charter and seal was only £5,² the privy seal 6s. 8d., the silk lace 20d., the grene wax 1s. Haseley himself had already received £3 13s. 4d. for his services, but £2 was still owing; evidently

¹ Possibly this was his daily allowance, and this may account for difference between items and total. Mr. Hamilton Thompson tells me that there is a similar charge in the Kirby Muxloe Account Rolls MS. The master-mason, John Cooper of Tattershall, employed by lord Hastings at Kirby Muxloe Castle, near Leicester, in 1481, was allowed 8d. a day as journey money between Tattershall and Kirby. The fees of Richard Assheton, abbot of Peterborough, who went to Woodstock to do homage and get back his temporalities from Henry VI in 1439, were as follows: for the king's letters patent, 6s. 8d.; to the king's secretary, 1s. 8d.; to the notary who made out his instrument of fealty, 6s. 8d.; to the notary's clerk, 1s.; to master Richard Dyglyng, his advocate, 6s. 8d.; to Dyglyng's clerk, 1s.; to master Robert Parlyngton, notary, who had drawn up the instruments attesting his election, 13s. 4d.; to the duke of Gloucester, high chamberlain, £5; to the master of the rolls, £5; to the keeper of "le petybagge," £2 10s. 0d.; for the seal, £1; to the crier of chancery, 4d.; in addition to £40 paid to the clerk of the privy seal as a composition for the temporalities. Peterborough Reg. Assheton, fo. 4d. The following sums were paid by the London Company of Mercers for their charter in 1393-4: To the king for a fine, 100 marks, £66 13s. 4d.; to the queen for her dues, 10 marks, £6 13s. 4d.; for affixing the great seal, £8 10s. 0d. Legal consultations with Penrose Searle, &c., £5 12s. 0½d. Total, £87 8s. 8¼d., a very heavy payment when the total property of the company did not exceed £400, as Sir John Watney justly remarks, *op. cit.*, 39, 40.

² If the charter still in possession of the merchants is the original, it is a small piece of vellum, no silk lace is attached, and the seal has been removed though the vellum hanger still remains.

Lylyng had not impressed him so favourably as the second York representative "in witesse of Burneley," was obviously his reason for thinking the money would be paid. His compliments to Lylyng for his conduct of the affair were perfunctory, but he had a hearty admiration for his companion, "the which is a trewe and a diligent and a kunnyng pursuer, to whom the lordes gaf ryght gode favour." Haseley dismisses his own reward without thanks, "for I have deserved it." But the next sentence is cryptic; does it mean that Haseley is to be included among the benefactors to the gild and prayed for by name, or is the word "preied" a mistake for paid, and the whole sentence the repetition of a creditor wishful to bind a slippery debtor? The pious sentiments with which the letter ends seem, however, to support the idea that Haseley is really anxious to be a brother of the fellowship "with the grace of God that have you alle in his blessed kepyng and governaunce and send sadness and substance of lyflood to our new fraternitie."¹

The charter² is a document of about five hundred words. It is addressed, "Pro hominibus mistere mercerie civitatis Ebor'," which, omitting the adjectives, is probably best translated by the expression used by Haseley in the address of the letter quoted above, "to the worthy companye of the noble craft of mercers in the cite of York." It begins with the usual plea of the abject poverty of many of the members of the fellowship, and the king by the mouth of his councillors replies sympathetically; the demands of etiquette having been observed, the charter becomes businesslike. For £41 11s. the king grants that the mistery may be one perpetual community, that it may elect every year one governor and two wardens, who may purchase lands, tenements and rents, and other possession yearly to the extent of ten pounds. But these rents and possessions were only held in trust "in aid and relief of the poor and indigent of the community aforesaid, and the support of one chaplain to celebrate for ever divine things daily." A comparison of the licence granted to the fraternity,

¹ Text, pp. 33, 34.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

and the charter granted to the mercers affords many points of contrast. But one salient fact stands out, the mercers intend to retain their hold on the hospital, and attain their will by keeping in the hands of the governor and wardens the financial upkeep of the institution. The salary of the chaplain and the food of the hospitallers comes out of a purse, the strings of which are in the hands of the mystery's annually elected officers. There is abundant documentary evidence to show that the merchants were very jealous of ecclesiastical interference; it seems as if these fraternities, which honeycombed the whole of English social life, owed some of their popularity to the fact that they provided an outlet for the spiritual aspirations of their members without bringing them into too close contact with the ecclesiastical power. Were they not, in fact, an early pre-Reformation attempt to take what appealed to people as of practical importance from the teaching of the church, but to modify and adapt it according to their special needs? The complete severance between things secular and things spiritual, which is such a pronounced feature of the self-conscious twentieth century, is entirely absent from the fifteenth. The mysteries did not attempt to exclude religion from its place in their ceremonies, or to modify or change it; but in their fraternities they used it for their own ends. In fact, these fraternities form one of those characteristic attempts at the kind of compromise which is the idiosyncrasy of the English race.

Just as many of the chantry priests were servants of the municipality rather than of the church, so these fraternity priests were servants of the mysteries rather than of the church. The excessive care they bestowed on the burial of the dead is in startling contrast to the callous disregard of life, which characterises medieval times. Was this the sentimentality of a sensitive people? or was it the practicality of an industrial folk anxious to erect some sort of barrier against the rapacity of a church that they had learned to distrust? The fraternities of the mysteries seem to represent a real endeavour on the part of the industrial and mercantile classes, in fact, of the whole populace, for the professional and leisured classes were non-

existent, to effect an union between the practical and spiritual side of man's nature.

At the same time it must not be overlooked that the church also had a distinct function in these medieval cities. The overbearing feudal lord had disappeared, but were the people lordless, or had they only exchanged their masters? Landed feudalism was dead, but was civic feudalism not an even more subtle danger? It is difficult to imagine a position that offered greater opportunities for unbridled despotism than the office of mayor of a medieval city, if the holder happened to have a mind of tyrannical flexure. The church was his one formidable opponent. The mayor, as he walked through the city, was constantly reminded by the closed gates of the monasteries, by the reserved area of the liberties of St. Peter's and St. Mary's that his supremacy was not complete. Hundreds of men within his own city owed him no obedience; he neither supervised their trade activities nor knew their modes of life; in his fraternity the representatives of the ecclesiastical power, though in its least important form, were forced to come to heel. Human nature being the one unchangeable factor in life, can we doubt that the mayor preferred the fraternity to the minster service, that, paradoxical as it may seem, the ecclesiastical tyrant prevented the tyranny of the civic tyrant; that liberty was kept alive by the play of two inimical forces?

Incapable as the merchants were of visualising a world without a religion, no countrymen of Chaucer and Langland could remain ignorant of the attacks on the church. York, too, had been in 1425 the scene of a great revival. William Melton¹ had preached through the streets and in the market place sermons that had had a great effect on the morality of the city. Unfortunately, these sermons have not come down to us, but the sermons of St. Bernardine in the market place of Siena,² preached two years later, with the same object of quickening the spiritual life of the ordinary citizen, give some idea of the style of the fifteenth century revivalist. "For very many folks," says this keen though humorous observer

¹ York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 156-158, xlvii-xlix.

² G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Garner*, pp. 610, 618. St. Bernardino's sermons.

of life, "considering the wicked life of monks and friars and nuns and clergy, are shaken by this—nay oftentimes fail in faith—and believe in naught higher than the roof of their own house." But still more amusing are St. Bernardine's strictures on the bachelor in search of a wife—"How would'st thou have the wife," he asks in an imaginary dialogue, "I would have her tall, and thou art a mere willow wren; honest—thou art dishonest; temperate—and thou art never out of the tavern; active—thou art a sluggard; peaceful—and thou would'st storm at a straw"; a church that produces preachers of this kind could not have been surprised when the worldly-wise men accepted and discarded her teachings to suit rather their practical advancement than their spiritual development.

The keynote of the fifteenth century in York, if we can judge from the innumerable account rolls, letters, rentals, petitions to government, charters, records of business meetings still extant, was practicality. The merchants devoted themselves to amassing wealth with a wholehearted zeal unrivalled even by the frenzied efforts of the twentieth century gold-worshipper. The deck was cleared for action, for the church provided a refuge for all those mystics who shrank from what they regarded as an ignoble struggle. Within the gates of St. Mary's, St. Leonard's, and the numerous religious houses, these people gifted with a truer sense of the real value of life resided, but they were a small minority even there. Thus the only antagonistic influence to concentration on material development was not only temporarily withdrawn from contact with the life of the people, but sterilised for ever.

The extraordinary homogeneity of fifteenth century town life has probably never been surpassed. At the top of society the nobility were concentrated on futile dynastic wars; at the bottom the bondman had gradually ceased to be distinguishable. Between these two extremes lay the great middle class, all workers, the difference between them being one of degree, not kind, for the mayor's chain was attainable by any man of sufficient wealth, and the line of demarcation between merchanting and manufacturing was not very pronounced until the century was nearly over. But this similarity of position

was equalled by a similarity of aim, which was shared even by the ecclesiastical element in the city. The churchmen, however, were concentrated on consolidating or squandering wealth; the laymen on acquiring it. It is only when these facts are clearly realised that the full significance of the account rolls of the second city in the kingdom becomes apparent. In the one hundred and forty-three rolls, which cover the history of the company from 1432 to 1679, lie imbedded not merely the records of a trade combination, but a narrative of the men, who not only made their city famous, but who helped to make their country a power in Europe.

Most of these rolls are vellum, clearly written, sometimes in Latin of a barbaric type, sometimes in English. There are gaps, for the rolls are missing from 1453 to 1459, from 1461 to 1472, from 1482 to 1484, and occasionally the roll for a year, as in 1473, 1479, 1480, 1495, 1498; and in 1532 only a paper account is extant. Still the hundred and forty-three rolls form a goodly heritage in spite of these lacunæ. The early rolls call the master "magister communitatis mistere mercerorum civitatis Ebor',"¹ but in 1465 the designation is translated into English as "Master of the fellshipe of the crafte of mercers of the city of Yorke."² No rolls are forthcoming until 1472, when Thomas Wrangwis appears as "master of the gild or fraternity of the Holy Trinity."³ In 1475, however, Richard York figures as "Master of the mistery of merchants and of the gild and fraternity of the Holy Trinity."⁴ This assumption of dual responsibility would probably not have been allowed by the master of the hospital had the position of Richard York been assailable, but he was the uncrowned king of York. In 1497⁵ William Cleveland, as has been already seen, calls himself master or custodian "hospitalis domini nostri Jhesu Christi et beate Marie Virginis," but in 1499 William Nelson again claims his rights and figures as "Master of the company of merchants and mercers and of the gild of Holy

¹ Text, p. 37.

² Unprinted roll under date.

³ Text, p. 66.

⁴ Unprinted roll under date.

⁵ Text, p. 99.

Trinity." Still another change takes place in 1529, when Robert Whitefeld, alderman, is called "*Governor* of the fellowship and mystery of merchants and mercers of the city of York and keeper of the confraternity and gild of the Blessed Trinity."

The first account roll of the year 1432 recalls the fact that the royal charter is a new possession, for John Lyllyng and John Burnlay receive £1 6s. 8d. "for thaire gode labour and busynes that they did for the cumpany before tyme." The personnel had increased; the company employed a solicitor, a master of the hospital, and three chaplains. In addition to their salaries, the master is given a gown and hood, the chaplains hoods only. Sir William Otteley's gown was the subject of some controversy. Amongst a lot of torn and dirty papers, a scrap was found less defaced than the rest. At first illegible, it yielded its story after treatment by hydrogen bisulphide. Sir William Otteley had ordered from two York skimmers "a great gown furred with white." This "wurschipful suffrane," as the note calls him, had been occupied when the porters delivered the gown, and the sister of the house instead of discharging the debt, 3s. 4d., in full, only paid less than 2s. The porters were not allowed apparently to go to complain to Sir William in his chamber, but there is a sly hint that he knew what was taking place, as he was saying his matins at the glass window near which the altercation took place. The story gives a homely touch to the history of the hospital, the officious sister, the clamorous porters, who had imbibed an "alpenwerth of ale," the listening priest, all help us to visualise the scene. By his will Otteley left many books and vestments to the hospital, and a donation to the poor of both sexes, but only on condition that his executors are not harassed about repairs to the hospital or its property by his successor. The exacting demands of ecclesiastical commissioners were not unknown evidently in 1432.¹

The roll for the following year contains an interesting reference to the lord of Camfere, which incidentally shows how

¹ Text, pp. 40-42. The roll contains some interesting information about the repairs to Trinity Hall.

close was the connection between the mystery and the council of the city. It gives the first hint of the trade with the Low Countries, which was such an important factor in the city's prosperity in the next century. The entry, without the elucidation supplied by the Memorandum Book, would be a dry detail. "Item, paide to Master Roger Burton for a letter that went to the lorde of Camfer, vjs. viijd."¹ But the letter is given in full in the city's record, as it is written in the name of the mayor, it is not clear why the mystery should have paid the town clerk for writing it. It is a reply to a remonstrance from the lord of Veere, near Middelburg in Zealand, then a flourishing seaport. He had written to complain of the maltreatment of his sailors by the mariners from Hull and Newcastle. The York merchants replied that they had no jurisdiction over the delinquents. They promise, however, to urge the mayors of Hull and Newcastle without any delay to discover and punish the evildoers. They call God to witness, that if any cause of complaint should be given by any one under their control, they would pass sleepless nights until the evil should be redressed. Evidently the worthy burghers were anxious to be on good terms with the governor of Veere, where the Scots² had settled with the intention of keeping the trade to themselves. The letter is a marvel of flowery rhetoric, and if the mercers grudged Roger his fee, they were ungrateful.³

The complete interdependence of mystery and fraternity is clear from the earliest rolls, though it is not until 1501⁴ that the rentals appear on them. The payments for entrance into the company and fraternity fluctuate so much that apparently each case was judged on its merits. William Katrik pays 3s. 4d. to be received into the company, he enters by patrimony, but he gives the same fee 'to be a brother,' that is a member of the fraternity.⁵ "Maister Norhun of the order of frere

¹ Text, p. 40.

² The house, where the Scots merchants lived, still remains in the now deserted village of Veere to show by its noble proportions and decorated exterior how important the Scots' trade must have been, and how flourishing the port.

³ York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, pp. 87-89.

⁴ Unprinted roll under date.

⁵ Text, p. 44.

prehours of Yorke" pays 6s. 8*d.* to be a brother. John Russell, merchant, pays 15*s.* to be received into the company, and to be a brother and his wife a sister; but for the identical privileges William Cooper, pinner, pays 28*s.* 4*d.*, and John Makblyth, merchant, 25*s.*¹ Single payments differ in the same way. Thomas Bolton pays 13*s.* 4*d.* for what John Kirk pays 6*s.* 8*d.*, and Thomas Nelson 6*s.* 8*d.* for what Richard Kyrkham pays 15*s.*² With the progress of time these irregularities settle down to a uniform payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* as entrance fee for both company and fraternity. According to the ordinance of 1495, each brother had to pay a subsidy of 2*d.* a quarter, "ye sall pay 2*d.* ilka quarter, that is to say, 8*d.* in the yere."³ This seems to have included a fee for the wife of the brother, but the "sister sole" pays 4*d.*

The fee of 18*s.* 4*d.* paid by Janet Cuncliff represents an unusual case. She had made an arrangement in 1439 to rent a tenement in the hospital grounds, for which she paid 3*s.* 4*d.*, but in that rent was included a garden, a bed in the hospital, and a weekly pension of 4*d.* Obviously the hospital though nominally for the poor, was already beginning to differentiate its treatment of the inmates. The lady was to have separate living rooms for which she paid, though she was to sleep in the hospital itself.⁴ Another example of a similar provision for the reception of a sister is furnished by the will of Richard Saunderson,⁵ who was master of the hospital and died in 1439. He leaves all his possessions to the hospital on condition that his sister Isolda should be received as a sister, and be paid the same weekly dole as the other pensioners. The dangers inherent in such arrangements are clear to any student of the episcopal visitations, from which the hospital was of course exempt.

Intimately connected with the social side of the mercers' fraternity was the pageant play, which on Corpus Christi day

¹ Text, p. 46. Hanse Recesse, II Abtheilung, II Band, 457.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

was enacted in various parts of York.¹ Originally the mercers themselves took part in the representations, but their civic and social importance forbade such diversions in the fifteenth century, and professionals were introduced to take their place. The first reference to this annual merry-making in the merchants' records is in the account roll for 1437. The pageant, that is the movable stage similar to the Punch and Judy erection of modern times, needed a new curtain; whether the 6s. paid for the making included also the tapestry of which it is made is not clear. Seventeen shillings and eight pence is also paid for torches to be carried in the procession of Corpus Christi, possibly by the chaplains, for the procession was under the management of the clergy, the pageant of the trades of York. "Payd for the making of the awrres of the pagent hous, vjs. Item, payd to Margret Chaundler for making of vj torchys and the wax to them, xiiijs. Item, for vj castylls to them, iijs. viij*d*. Item, payd to David Paynter for xxiiij baners wyth canvas hangyng thereto, and peyntyng of vj castyls, xs."² But in 1453 the mercers concluded local talent was not sufficient to bring out the play. An agreement was made with Robert Hewyk, parish clerk of Leeds, Thomas Fitt, tapiter,³ and Henry Clayton,⁴ weaver, to bring out the pageant of "Domysday,"⁵ for which they were to receive a payment of ten pounds. Doubtless this covered all the expenses such as fees to players, expenses of representation, repairs and renewal of properties, otherwise the payment would seem excessive. The first definite list of the stage properties of the mercers belongs to the same period; "kakkeys and ale" cost 4½*d*. A cryptic entry, "v yerddes of now canways to j now pagand that was mayd for the sollys to ryse owt of,"⁶ seems

¹ York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, pp. 63, 64, 102-104, 123, 124, 156-159, 171, 188, xli-li.

² Text, p. 49. The making of processional and other candles was a domestic and principally a woman's industry. An attempt to drive them out of the trade in the seventeenth century was frustrated by the City Council. York Municipal Records, vol. xxxiii, fo. 77.

³ York Freeman, p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ Text, pp. 58, 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 71.

to mean that new canvas had to be bought for making clouds out of which the redeemed souls could rise to heaven, while the unredeemed were thrust into the lowest compartment, with the dramatic condemnation:

“ Ye cursed kaitiffis fro me ye flee,
 In helle to dwelle withouten ende,
 There ye shall nevere butt sorowe see
 And sitte by Satanas the feinde.”

Nails, laths, ropes, rushes, ironwork, sacks mending, angels' wings, chaplets, are all entered, but the largest item is fees to the players, “to the players thorow the tone *iiijd.* payd for playng, *xviijs. ijd.*” The entry, where the first appointment of pageant masters is mentioned, is of uncertain date.¹

There is, however, a complete list of pageant masters from 1526 to 1642,² four for each year, but their duties changed as catholicism waned, for puritanism turned a stern face on such frivolities. Whatever ambiguity there may be about the date of the episode, the fact that the mercers either in addition to their play of Doomsday or instead of it took over all the ornaments and produced the play of “Paternoster,”³ is clear. As in 1399 this play had belonged to a gild of more than one hundred members and their wives, and was so well known that its renown had reached Wycliffe's ears, it would be interesting to find out why it was suddenly appropriated by the mercers. It continued to be played at intervals; the final attempt at a revival in 1580 was unsuccessful owing to the opposition of the archbishop.⁴ There are no further allusions to the pageant until 1502, when Thomas Drawswerd⁵ was admitted into “the broderheid of the fraternite of the Holy Trinity” without

¹ Thomas Scawsby is apparently master, but a man of that name was master in 1443, 1451, 1452, 1462, 1464, 1465, and no constable of the name of Gavin appears in the list. The final clause is probably correct which fixes the date at 1488, the opening paragraph referring only to tentative efforts to appoint four pageant masters, which had been abortive or only temporary, in 1472. There were only three, but there is no conclusive evidence. Text, pp. 81, 82.

² Book A (unprinted), fos. 65–69b.

³ L. Toulmin Smith, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxix.

⁴ R. Davies, Municipal Records, pp. 265–272.

⁵ Text, pp. 104, 105.

paying a fee, on condition that he "shall mak the pagiant of the Dome belonging to the merchaunts of new substancialie in every thing thereunto belonging, having for the workmanship and stuff of the same, vij marces in money and his entrie fre, with also the old pagiant." The family of Drawswerd had for three generations been engaged in working alabaster and marble, as imagers in York. The new pageant probably had images of angels placed in the interior, otherwise it is difficult to understand why Drawswerd should have been asked or consented to undertake the work. For his workshops had more than local fame; he was requested to compete for the figures on the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster. It has been suggested that the figures on the quire screen at York were his work, or rather his design, carried out under his supervision in his workshops; for the days had passed when designer was executor.¹ He carved the screen at Newark about 1508.² In 1526³ another list of properties is given, but it does not leave the impression that the mercers were keenly interested in their pageant: "ij dewells cotte, ij devell hedde, j wesseren, j chartt, the cloud, ij grett angells wants j wing, ij trompets, hell dure, iiij angelli, pagand dure, iiij wendows, the iren set with iiij ropps, the wheels with j rope, the trenettie hus, ij lyttell angelles, the viij chyffs, ix nailes, the trenitte wants j chartt, iij wessezons, j rope, j angell. Wants j lyttel angell and ij nalls." This list certainly lends colour to the suggestion that the pageant made by Drawswerd was decorated with figures, whether of wood or alabaster it is impossible to say. It is a dreary picture of dilapidation, the great angels which want one wing is pathetic, the absence of one little angel heartrending. The cloud would probably be the painted representation of the clouds and great glory in which the Judge would sit, forming a background to the upper part of the pageant.

¹ E. S. Prior, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, pp. 92, 104, 414, 421. As early as the last quarter of the twelfth century York possessed a vigorous school of sculpture. The subject of Domesday being always popular. W. H. St. John Hope, *On the Early Working of Alabaster in England*, *Archæological Journal*, vol. lxi, pp. 221-240. John Bilson, F.S.A., *On a Sculptured Representation of Hell Cauldron*, *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. xix, part 76, pp. 435-445.

² W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 233.

³ Text, p. 128.

But a more serious matter than the dearth or disfigurement of stage properties occupied the attention of the mercers towards the end of the century. In 1482 William Cleveland¹ became a member of the gild and master of the hospital. He was the son of a prominent York citizen, and had been vicar of Tadcaster since 1469. For nearly a quarter-of-a-century his personality overshadowed the master of the mystery, and at one time he made a strenuous effort to rid himself of the supervision of the company, and treat the hospital as his private property. Some premonition of possible friction seems to have been in the mind of the company at his appointment, for whereas John Warthill,² a former master, was allowed alternately with the mercers to appoint pensioners, William Cleveland was bound by indenture first to obtain the consent of the master and constables of the fellowship. He was forbidden to enter the great hall of the hospital, or come within the hall door unless invited. He was ordered to furnish accounts in writing of the condition of the hospital, whenever they should be demanded. On their side the mystery officials bound themselves to be "helpand and councelland" to the master of the hospital. Cleveland seems to have treated the indenture with lofty indifference; the stages of the quarrel are involved, but in 1493, "the said maister Cleveland had made none accompte on to the master of the felewship by the space of viij yeres to fore past."³ Cleveland's aim seems to have been power not profit, as when the accounts were produced, it was found that the company were in his debt to a considerable amount; they at once agreed to pay by instalments, and no more is heard of the affair. The account rolls certainly prove that Cleveland was generous, for he helped to restore the altar and the glass window on the south side of the chapel. Though a man of a vigorous and strenuous personality might galvanise the ecclesiastical side of the mystery into a semblance of activity for a time, the pendulum swung in favour of the merchant against the cleric. A more subtle influence than mercantile jealousy

¹ Text, pp. 80, 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

of ecclesiastical power was in operation against these quasi monastic establishments.¹ So long as man saw in the mishaps of this world the hand of a wrathful God, the church, the visible means of averting catastrophe, was powerful; but the spirit of the renaissance was beginning to leaven the mass. The lesson of ultimate retribution for crime committed brought home by the mystery play, by the decoration of the churches, by the sermons of the clergy with their reiterated cry of terrible physical torture for the sinner, were beginning to lose their effect. The renaissance with its thinly veiled doctrine of

“ As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods,
They kill us for their sport,”

was undermining the position of the church.

But the mercantile side of the organisation shows none of the fluctuations which distinguish the social and religious side; steady progress was the keynote, especially in the overseas trade.

The incontrovertible proof of the prosperity of York in the fifteenth century remains in the numerous buildings still standing, which owe their existence or their extension to the architectural activity of that period. The salient feature of the previous century is the decay of country districts owing to the lack of labour consequent upon the Black Death; but wool could be produced with less labour than corn or cattle; cornfields fell out of cultivation; herds of cattle vanished; flocks of sheep appeared everywhere. By the opening of the fifteenth century wool was plentiful, towns connected with the woollen industry progressed, those unconnected with it retrogressed. Happily, York was inside the area of prosperity. Haukinus and William of Brabant, who settled in York by royal authorisation in 1336,² were followed by many others.

¹ A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 225.

² Mr. Johnson, in *The Company of the Drapers of London*, p. 68, writes: “It is no doubt a mistake to attribute this policy of Edward solely to a far-seeing desire to promote the cloth industry in England, and thus to make her a manufacturing country.” It is difficult at any time to find the clue to any particular policy, it is seldom that there is one sole motive. But after a very careful investigation of the conditions of the woollen industry in Yorkshire in the first half of the fourteenth century, it is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that a considerable immigration of textile workers from

They came by ones and twos, and invaded not only the textile but the metal-working industries. In the thirty years between 1336 and 1366, thirty foreigners settled in York alone¹; Henry Market and Peter van Uppestall obtained wealth and rose to civic importance.²

In the same way, the poll tax returns of Richard II show the peaceful penetration of Yorkshire, especially the West Riding, by foreigners with their wives, children, and servants, who settled down in the small villages and helped to bring about the industrial revolution, which changed England from a wool producing into a cloth making community. England now became the rival of Flanders, whose teeming population had for more than a century lived and thriven by weaving the wool spun for their use in countless English cottages.

But the English merchant had a second obstacle to overcome, before England reaped the harvest of her industry; native weavers could produce a saleable cloth, but the carrying of this cloth to continental markets was still largely done in foreign vessels by foreign merchants. In the fourteenth century all York shipments passed through Hull. The German or Hanse merchants, between the years 1362 and 1369, exported on an average half the cloth made in Yorkshire.³ It was clear that an entire reversal of the preferential treatment of the alien, wise as it was under Edward III, must be undertaken

Zealand and Brabant took place. That Edward and his councillors would have encouraged their coming, if diplomatic complications would have ensued, is improbable; that the policy of encouragement to aliens fluctuated with changes in foreign relations is undeniable; but that Edward did not realise the economic results of his policy is to attribute to him a stupidity, possible in his dotage, impossible in his prime. The whole question seems to me to be obscured by the lack of realisation that the idea of nationality was still in its infancy; the alien was hated as a money-maker not as a foreigner; the intruders from the neighbouring towns and districts were equally hated. The part, too, that the rich merchant played as an active agent in foreign as well as home policy before the age of ambassadors, has not yet been adequately investigated. *cf.* W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigration*, p. 107, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 292, 300, 636-649. M. Sellers, article on *Social and Economic History* in *Victoria History of Yorkshire*. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 954, 10 Ed. III [1336].

¹ York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-65.

² York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, pp. 50, 185, 186, xxvii.

³ D. Schäfer, *Die Hanse, passim*. D. E. Daenell, *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse*, i, 60, 61. K. Engel, *Die Organisation der deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute in England*, p. 453. E. Lipson, *Economic History*, p. 452, 453.

by his successors. To keep English trade in English hands was the problem that faced the politician of the fifteenth century. Banking had already passed from the Jews and Lombards to the wealthy English burghers, and foreign trade began to pass from the German merchant to the English merchant adventurer. Financial nervousness, dynastic struggles, political expediency, delayed the complete transference until the reign of Elizabeth, but from the fifteenth century this transference was, unless mercantile enterprise and vigour decayed, a foregone conclusion. A fifteenth century poet, moaning over England's decadence, quotes the taunt of her enemies, who bid her exchange the ship, proudly placed by Edward III on his new coin, for a sheep—but would the substitution of a sheep have been an act of degradation, as terrible as it appeared to his imagination? We forget as we watch Crecy and Agincourt through the mirage, which historians throw over them, that it was fear that the market of Flanders would be closed to our wool that caused the hundred years' war. The clash of arms drowns the whirl of the loom, but it is to keep the loom going, the furnace blazing, the shipyard noisy, that battles are lost and won.

The York men played their part in this great national effort, the women, too, for Mariona Kent was a member of the committee that settled the question as to whether merchants should be allowed to send their cloth in vessels belonging to owners not free of the company; at the end of the fourteenth century ninety-four women were paying taxes as weavers in York alone; in Wakefield in Emma Earle's weaving sheds one-fourth of the entire output of the town was made. Chaucer could have found many prototypes for "his wif of Bathe," who made a fortune in cloth, in that city.

From calculations based on gild membership, it seems that about one-fifteenth of the population were engaged in the woollen industry. The ulnagers' accounts¹ for the end of the fourteenth century show that York was still the centre of the weaving industry, for there were 800 weavers in the city who paid the tax, only 375 in the rest of the county. That exodus

¹ Exch. K. R. Accounts, Bdle. 345, Nos. 16, 18, 19, mm. 1-19 (1394-1396).

from York into the country districts, which by 1463¹ had already begun among the subsidiary branches of the trade, had not seriously affected the weaving industry; it was not until a century later that the city became the depot, where the cloth collected in the rest of the county was bought and sold, while it ceased to make any appreciable amount of the material itself.

Unfortunately, the rolls tell little of the ships employed in the cloth trade beyond their names: the Laurance, the Hylde, the litell Joorge of Hull, the Anna, the Juliana Pilkington, the Petrus, the Maria Stables, the Grace de Dieu, all belong to the early days of foreign commerce.² But the crew, the tonnage, the many particulars that would help us to visualise the vessels, which carried these pioneers of British industry across to Zealand, or through the Sound to Emden and Danzig, or even further still to Riga and Narva, are absent. Fortunately, the Cely papers give some scanty facts. The Margaret Cely, employed in the same trade at the same period, but sailing from the south-east coast, cost, exclusive of rigging and all fittings, twenty-eight pounds. The crew consisted of a master, boatswain, cook, and sixteen able-bodied seamen; her victuals were composed of salt beef and fish, bread, and beer. It has been conjectured that her tonnage was about 200 tons, but other vessels employed were not above a seventh of her size.³ The north-east coast boats were even smaller. The account book of the Katherine of Hull,⁴ for the year 1457, yields some illuminating details. Evidently the ship had met bad weather, and had had to sacrifice much of her cargo. Cloth white and "meld," lead, yarn, harness, calfskins, and "dyvars parsells," contents not given, were thrown overboard, and the owners had to be indemnified. The purser of the vessel had been dishonest, for an item appears, "Payd for costes made for sewyng of the pursowr, and for j man of lawe, xijs. xd." A pilot, too, must have been taken on board, "payd

¹ York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

² Text, pp. 64, 68, 72.

³ Cely Papers, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii.

⁴ Text, pp. 59-63.

for bryngyng of the schipe fro the barre Huke to Camfer, xs." Sailors are proverbially superstitious, the owners certainly paid large sums to gain heaven's protection for their ship and crew. "Item, payd Gyllys Hakson for pylgramage to the holly blude,¹ xxxijs. Item, payd to Thomas Robynson for pylgramage to our lady of Walsyngham, xijs. Item, for pylgramage to our lady of Donkasstyr, xijs." John Inse and Thomas Skawsby, two prominent York merchants, superintended the freighting of the vessel. The former did a large foreign trade, and was part owner of the Valentine of Newcastle, which, with its cargo, was valued at the enormous sum of £5,000. The unfortunate vessel had been attacked by 400 armed men from Danzig, Lübec, Rostock, Wismar and Stralsund, and much interesting information concerning the dangers of medieval sailors' lives can be gained from the sworn evidence given in 1468, when the claim for damages was brought against the Hanse merchants for this apparently unprovoked attack.² But the Valentine must have been a ship of unusual size; probably the average vessels were nearer akin to a Danzig ship, one-fourth of which was sold to John Denom of York and John Sexton of Beverley, in 1439, for twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence.³ A detailed study of the water bailiffs' accounts in Hull, similar accounts in Middelburg, and the toll books of Copenhagen,⁴ would yield more precise information of the size of seagoing vessels of earlier times; all that can be said is that the impression left by a cursory survey, vague as it may be, increases our admiration for the courageous crews that ventured in tiny vessels into seas full of unknown perils. Laws of the sea certainly existed before international

¹ From the context it seems probable that this pilgrimage was to Bruges, where several generations of York merchants had resided, but the relic at Hayles Abbey in Gloucestershire, was perhaps the best known place of pilgrimage. There was also a phial of the Holy Blood at Ashridge, in Bucks. Mr. Hamilton Thompson tells me that pilgrims went from Bourne in Lincolnshire to Hayles about 1440.

² Hansisches Urkundenbuch (W. Stein), vol. ix, pp. 368-370.

³ York Municipal Records, ^B/_V, fo. 84.

⁴ I had hoped to complete my investigations at Middelburg, Copenhagen, Danzig, and Riga before I edited these papers, but the war prevented the completion of my task.

law¹; "the laws of Oleron" is attributed to Richard I, but how far they were observed is doubtful. Roger de Hoveden gives the laws published by Richard I for those who went on his crusade. The punishment for theft on board ship is sufficiently drastic to deter any except the most hardened. "If any robber be convicted of theft let him be shorn like a champion, and boiling pitch be poured over his head, and let the feathers of a feather bed be shaken over his head that all men may know him, and at the first spot where the ship shall come to land, let him be cast forth."²

But discipline was not always maintained, probably the dangers from wreck and storm were less feared than the attacks from pirates, alien or otherwise. Walking the plank was in the fifteenth century no mere figment of the boys' novelists; it was a sober and dreaded reality. For sailors were a law defying horde; even Chaucer was obliged to qualify his assertion concerning the shipman, "certainly he was a good felawe," by confessing he was a robber and a pirate.

"Full many a draughte of wyn hadde he ydrawe
 "From Burdeux-ward, while that the chapman sleep,
 "Of nyce conscience took he no keep
 "If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond,
 "By water he sent hem hoom to every lond."

The account of an eyewitness of a journey from Riga to Tramünd in a Hanse vessel has fortunately been preserved. Though it belongs to the late sixteenth century, it described customs handed down from former centuries. It is interesting, too, as showing how the wealthy burgher from Lübec, Riga, Mittau, and Strassburg, carried his ideas of self-government even on his travels, but in the presence of possible disaster acknowledged an equality which he would have denied in his native city. The ship sailed from Riga, and after half-a-day at sea the skipper called the forty-seven men, crew and passengers, before him, and addressed them. "Seeing

¹ R. G. Marsden, *Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea* (Printed for the Navy Record Society).

² Roger de Hoveden, vol. iii, p. 35, printed in the *Medieval Garner*, pp. 154, 155.

that we are now at the mercy of God and the elements, each shall henceforth be held equal to his fellows, without respect of persons." He then entreated them as they were in jeopardy of sudden tempests, pirates, monsters of the deep, and other perils, to approach God steadfastly, that He might vouchsafe fair winds and a prosperous journey. He then proceeded, by popular consent, to appoint a judge, four assessors, two procurators, a watchman, a scribe, an executor, and a provost-marshal. The sea-laws from a written text, probably handed down from early times, were then read. "No man," runs one of the laws, "shall draw his sword in anger against another on board ship under penalty of sea-law: that is, let the weapon be struck through the offender's hand into the foremast, so that, if he will go free, he must himself draw the sword out of his hand." Half-a-day's sail before they expected to sight the port of Tramünd, the men were again assembled. The judge then resigned his office; he appealed to those upon whom he had pronounced judgment to swear an oath by salt and bread never to think bitterly of their enemies, and if they thought he had judged wrongly to speak out, and he would discuss his verdict. If he could not convince them, then they could take their case, before sundown on the day they arrived at Tramünd, before the portreeve there; "as hath been the custom from time immemorial unto this day." After this, the narrator adds, each man took forthwith salt and bread, in token of hearty forgiveness for all that might have befallen.¹

In the days before a foreign office with consuls and permanent ambassadors formed an integral part of the government, there was much more scope for the play of the individuality of the merchants in foreign parts. The elasticity of the bond, which united these groups of English traders, enhances the difficulty of giving an account of general application. Still, exclusive of London, the conditions under which the York mercer carried on his trade may be applied with fair accuracy to all the towns on the north-east and south-east coasts. Each merchant, in addition to the ordinary admission fee, paid to

¹ *Medieval Garner*, pp. 156-158.

the fellowship¹ a sum varying from one to sixteen shillings, according to the weight of goods exported. He was not allowed to ship his merchandise in any vessel he pleased; a heavy fine was imposed if he employed "of this syde see or on tother syde of the see" any boat belonging to anyone not a member of the fellowship.² It is not clear whether the two shillings paid by the merchant and the sixteen pence paid by the apprentice in any of the mart towns as Bruges, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, or Middelburg gave him a perpetual freedom of trade, or whether he had to renew his license periodically; it seems, too, that although levied in the local court, the governor in the mart town claimed the right to interfere with its imposition, or levy an additional one.

A graphic picture of the disadvantages under which the northern traders laboured, is given in a long and verbose document sent to the King in 1478.³ They claim that, "at all tymes it hath been accustomed and used oon gouverneur to be chosen for the citee of London, and another gouverneur for the citee of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scarburg, and all other from Trent northwards." The charter⁴ granted by Henry IV in 1406-7 to the English merchants in Holland, Zeeland, Brabant, and Flanders, which legalised the position of the merchant adventurers, certainly supports this claim of the north for an equal jurisdiction with the metropolitan city. There is no hint of a despotic committee from one city, under one head, dictating ordinances to a subservient body of merchants from many towns. The language is absolutely clear; all the merchants in the foreign mart could assemble and choose governors at their liking. "We, Heartily desiring to prevent the perils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the said merchants and others which shall travel out of our said realm and dominions into the parts aforesaid may justly and faithfully be ruled and entreated, Do will, and grant, by the tenor of these presents, to the said merchants,

¹ Text, pp. 52, 64, 68, 72, 73.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 87.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-79, 119.

⁴ Rymer's *Foedera*, viii, 464. A translation is printed in the appendix to Sir C. P. Lucas's *The Beginnings of English Overseas Enterprise*, pp. 184-187,

that they may freely and lawfully assemble and meet together, as often and whensoever they please, in some convenient and fitting place, where they shall think good, and that they may choose and elect among themselves certain sufficient and fit persons for their governors in those parts at their good liking."

The language of this charter is incompatible with the later pretensions of the London company; to its marvellous elasticity is probably due the extraordinary success of the early career of the adventurers. With the progress of time by their wealth and numerical superiority the London company overpowered the northern towns, but it is to the credit of the north that during the fifteenth century it fought such a plucky and successful battle, a battle which delayed though it did not prevent the final victory of its opponents. The complaints set forth in the document narrow themselves down to the deeds of one man, John Pickering, the governor, in charge of the colony abroad, but they represent chronic causes of friction between the metropolitan and the provincial merchants. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bristol,¹ Exeter, and Newcastle² stoutly resisted the London company, but in the earlier century York seems to have headed the malcontents. In defiance of their chartered rights, the remonstrants declare, John Pickering had seized all the contributions of the northern towns, which had formerly been devoted to the maintenance of a governor, elected by themselves, to safeguard northern interests. Thus, funds were no longer available for their representatives' maintenance, who "hath had no thyng towardes their costes and expences, and bycause theroff no person able ne honourable will take uppon hym to occupie for the parties of this northe countries as governour."³ The power, thus seized, was used with a shameless disregard of the welfare of the community as a whole; the trading fee both of northern master and apprentice was raised. The natural result followed, the north refused to enter a trade under such disadvantages,

¹ J. Latimer, *The History of the Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol*, *passim*.

² Boyle and Dendy, *Newcastle Merchant Adventurers* (Surtees Soc., 93, 101), *passim*.

³ Text, p. 79.

commercial enterprise diminished, and the king's taxes were lessened. Formerly the merchants could choose their houses and display their goods where they pleased, but John Pickering, with a sinister desire to destroy northern trade, had forced them to show their cloth in streets, near where the London men had their shops and stalls; an immediate fall of nearly fifty per cent. in prices followed. But the oppressor's cup of iniquity was not yet full; he had influenced the toll collectors in Brabant to exact a double tax from the unfortunate northern men, and even to distrain their goods until it was paid. He had met their reasonable complaints with "grete rebeukfull and ûnfyttyng language." The council seem to have satisfied themselves that the complainants had right on their side; a strong letter of remonstrance was addressed to the overbearing governor, he was ordered either to prove himself innocent or to reform, "as ye lust to do us singler plesor and would answer to us at your peryll."¹ But he was unpopular even with the London mercers, whose wardens he had attacked. He was called before their court and appeared "hawty and roiall"; at first he refused to stand bareheaded, but eventually was forced on his knees to acknowledge his offence and beseech forgiveness.² The account roll for 1477 shows that the victory cost the York mercers much trouble, and some money. The successful issue was probably due to the intervention of the Earl of Northumberland and the Duke of Gloucester.³

Before the merchant adventurers became as thoroughly organised as they were in the sixteenth century, the personality of the governor resident in the mart town would of necessity be a factor of the utmost importance to the wellbeing of the small colony of Englishmen, surrounded as they were by

¹ Text, pp. 79, 80.

² Sir J. Watney, F.S.A., *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

³ Text, p. 74. The Duke of Gloucester was constable and admiral of England at this time, "our ful tendre and especial gude lorde," as the York people generally addressed him, with whom he was a great favourite. R. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 91. John Pickering in this entry is spoken of as "master of the mercers," which seems to point to a closer connection between London mercers and merchant adventurers than their historian, Sir John Watney, considers the London documents prove conclusively. *The Mercers' Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

alien and often hostile traders. For though the civic government was always eager to attract the English, who brought increased trade and prosperity, their policy, in spite of its soundness, was not always popular with the community at large. Of course, the mercers' company of London, the richest and most numerous body in the settlement, could generally, when the court was held,¹ command a majority of the votes; but it was always possible that a governor, even though a London merchant himself, might be unpopular with some of his fellow-citizens, then, as his post was elective and only for a short period, he might suddenly find himself overthrown by a combination between his own colleagues and the discontented provincial traders. Probably Pickering was trying to gain from Edward IV, in 1478, a charter similar to that granted in April, 1462, to William O Bray; apparently that was revoked in the June of the same year, and to what extent it really was operative is difficult to say, especially as it is omitted from the list compiled in the reign of Charles II.²

The mart town was for many years Antwerp, that is, anyone in Europe wishing to buy English cloth must buy it in Antwerp, or smuggle it, or do without it. Any Englishman wishing to sell cloth must sell it there, or run the risk of being treated as an interloper, fined, and imprisoned. Four times a year in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, those non-resident masters, who left their cloth in charge of factors or apprentices, hurried over from London, York, Newcastle, Norwich, Lynn, or other sub-posts to supervise the sales that took place at these seasons. Their days would be full; as well as their bargainings, they had to attend the courts, where new ordinances were

¹ I have assumed, without giving proofs, that the court of the merchant adventurers for the greater part of its existence was held in the mart towns. Dr. Lingelbach's arguments in his article in the *Historical Soc. Transactions*, new series, vol. xvi, and in his *Merchant Adventurers of England*, seem entirely conclusive. Dr. te Lintum, *De Merchant Adventurers in de Nederlanden*, has based his arguments against this theory on a too exclusive study of the documents in Rotterdam, and overlooked the evidence of the Surtees Volumes 93, 101, edited by F. W. Dendy. S. van Brakel (Amsterdam), in an article in the *Vierteljahrschrift für Social und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Bd. v, drittes Heft, ss. 400-432, Die Entwicklung und Organisation der Merchant Adventurers, has given additional evidence of the strength of Dr. Lingelbach's contention.

² cf. W. E. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-228, who reprints this charter from Hakluyt.

promulgated, new officials elected, and the general policy of the company discussed; for though each member traded with his own capital, the joint stock idea had not yet invaded English commerce, the particular interests of his local fellowship might be threatened by the general rules, which benefited the whole body of English merchants trading abroad. These representative members were not in a wholly enviable position; it is clear from the York documents that before they left England a meeting of the mercers' company was held, and certain instructions given to them. The thought of possible strictures by their colleagues on their return must have stiffened the knees of many weak brethren to withstand legislation that might be detrimental to the individual interests of the provincial centre.

The knowledge of these impending days of reckoning must have robbed faithless factors of many nights' rest, and cast shadows over the pleasures snatched by the hunting, gaming, idle apprentice. The streets and market place of Antwerp, the "English House," where the most important merchants lived, and the lodgings of the less important, were filled with the cloth sellers; the buyers, too, came from far and near for these fairs. Many candles were offered in the church set aside for the English merchants' use, or in the magnificent collegiate church, which still overshadows the market place, thank-offerings for a favourable crossing or propitiatory offerings for a safe return. In spite, however, of the many representatives of the provincial towns that flocked to Flanders at these seasons, the predominance of London from the earliest times is undeniable. But combination against an unpopular governor was a weapon which the northern merchants, if they felt their interests were sufficiently imperilled, could always use, as the episode of John Pickering's downfall shows conclusively. Lack of unity and organisation among themselves weakened their cause, especially as time went on and the more wealthy provincial merchant had a dual position as member both of the London and local company.

It must not be overlooked that the cloth from Yorkshire was probably of inferior quality, and would naturally suffer

by comparison with the south country material. At least, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief Yorkshire export was a coarse kind of kersey, in great demand by Polish landowners for the clothing of their serfs.

The whole conception of the merchant adventurers' system is overshadowed by its interdependence with the national foreign policy. For political expediency rather than mercantile convenience often determined its procedure. A change in the extrinsic relations of Burgundy, France, Spain, England, the Empire might suddenly necessitate a hurried transference of the adventurers from one town to another.¹ Calais, Bruges, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Middelburg, Emden, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Hamburg, welcomed or execrated their foreign guests as their rulers' policy demanded love or hatred. England's position in Europe was, of course, the final determining factor; still the interests of London and provincial merchants were not always identical. That the resultant of these three antagonistic forces should be satisfactory, shows the English capacity for the administration of complicated, even conflicting rules, at its best.

After the great upheaval of 1478, the York merchants enjoyed a period of unusual tranquility, the difficulties of keeping factors and apprentices in order being apparently chronic. In 1495 they gathered and had rewritten into their register the various ordinances that from time to time had been passed at their meetings. As has already been pointed out, unless these ordinances were brought into the York Council chamber for ratification before 1376, they remained unratified. It seems probable, however, that the mercers, who slowly emerged from a manufacturing into a mercantile craft, would organise themselves later than those who made the things they sold, as coopers, cordwainers, founders, pinner, saucemakers, tapiters, until recent times. It was not until 1347 that the mercers of London drew up their ordinances, although their fraternity had been in existence before the close of the thirteenth century. The history of the sixty-seven misteries of York

¹ In the State Papers, Dom. Chas. II, 22, 6, a list of fifty foreign grants and privileges to the merchant adventurers between 1296 and 1655 is given. W. E. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, 237-240. E. Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

shows a general tendency to follow in the footsteps of the capital after an interval. By the time the mercers' ordinances were ready for endorsement, they had captured the city council, and ratification by themselves of their own ordinances would have been an act of supererogation out of keeping with the practical spirit of the age. The opening clause at once differentiates them from the lesser misteries. It was no mere local fellowship, neither York nor England bounded its activities. The term adventurer had not yet come into use, but the spirit of adventure breathes life and enterprise into the dull record. It is the master "occupyng" in Bruges, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Middelburg, who fills the stage. It is the factor or apprentice mismanaging his master's affairs "over the see" who is dealt with in special clauses.¹ The rubicon of narrow provincialism was crossed, the merchants' company was the bridge which connected England with wider continental interests; the spirit, which later was to found a colonial empire across thousands of miles of estranging sea, was already at work driving men across the hundreds of miles which separated Yorkshire and Flanders. But the adventurous youth found many obstacles in the way of the satisfaction of his craving. He was under dual supervision. The York mercers instituted an odious system of espionage, "at ilk tyme when men passes over the sea . . . ane honest persone or ij of the company"² were appointed to see that apprentices, factors, or servants did not mismanage their master's affairs; they had power to remonstrate with the delinquent, then, in absence of amendment, to seize the merchandise jeopardised by his negligence and send it to England. The rules drawn up in the mart towns by the resident governor and court of assistants left them but little scope for the commission of crime. Excessive "quauffinge" or provoking others to "quauff," playing "openly or covertly at Cardes tables dyce or any other games for above 6*d.* a game," being "oute of his lodginge after tenn a Clock in the summer and nyne a Clocke in the winter seasoene," were

¹ Text, pp. 87-96. The name Darley in the note on p. 87 should be Darby; he was a mercator and chamberlain in 1489.

² Text, p. 93.

punishable misdemeanours. Dogs might be kept if a licence from the governor was obtained; but if the owner lived in the house, which was often set aside for the English merchants by the civic authorities, he must board the dog elsewhere. As the keeping of dogs led to quarrelling, "It shall not bee lawfull to keep anie suche dogge or dogges within the Englishe house or to lett them Comme into the said house or into the Church." The rules with regard to intercourse with women were very stringent, immediate loss of all privileges followed "marriage with foreign borne wemen," dancing, mumming, walking abroad in the night "seasone at undue houres," the keeping of "lighte women," "excess in apparaille," are all sternly repressed.¹ Apart, however, from morals, there was a very distinct effort made to keep up the social prestige of the merchants' company.

In the reign of Edward IV an effort had been made to restrict the woollen industry to capitalists; no clothier was to be allowed to take any apprentice "but he whose father hath 40s. of freehold state of inheritance." Among the York crafts three only, the bowers, the tapiters and the mercers, insist that no apprentice or servant shall be taken if a serf. "And the same apprentice or servant sall come in propre person before the maistre, and constables, and other of the company, to the Trinite hall, there to be examyned and sworn on a buke, whether the apprentice or servant withaldyn in manner of apprentice be freborn, and of fre condition, or born bonde, or in thraldom, and if he be freborn, it sall be leful to his maistre to receyve hym and halde hym, and if he be funden bonde, he sall be utterly discharged of his service, he to go whether he list best, and noight to occupy no langer with his said maister."² It is to be hoped that the number of these rejected ones was small, for they had a dreary outlook, to go "whether he list best," has the curiously callous ring characteristic of the fifteenth century. Still attempts to brand a man as a serf were rarely successful. William Burton and William Wistowe, at the end of the fourteenth century,

¹ W. E. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 173, 177, 189-194. Printed from Br. Mus. Add. MS., 18913.

² Text, p. 94.

prominent wealthy York citizens, were claimed by the Archbishop, but both established their free condition, the one by an appeal in the Mayor's Court, the other by a patent from the King.¹

Intermingled with these ordinances about foreign trade are many of purely local application. No one, who has been through the York documents, can fail to see that the mercers were primarily connected with the various branches of the woollen industry. From the evidence of the roll of freemen it seems probable that while wool was still the chief export, and before the local retailer had been differentiated from the wholesale foreign dealer, mercer was indiscriminately applied to both sections. The merchant emerges as cloth took the place of wool, and as the exporter increased in industrial and social importance. The spicer, or grocer, or apothecary, who from the seventeenth century figures so largely in the history of the company, seldom appears in the early records. The demand for silk, spicery, and wine would be satisfied from Mediterranean sources, and though doubtless the Hull boats brought back, especially when Bergen-op-Zoom was the mart town, for the merchants a certain amount of these articles, "merchaundise of oreante," the chief cargoes of the vessels returning from Flanders and the Baltic would be of a more bulky nature, as timber, tar, tallow. The mystery of York silk mercers is of very late formation.²

Gower's well-known picture of the mercer's shop, with its stock of "beds, kerchiefs, and ostrich feathers, sandals, satins, and stuffs from overseas," was doubtless authentic, as he was a London merchant himself, but the demand for articles of this kind would be greater in London than York; cloth, iron, and lead are the only articles referred to in the early register. Chaucer, with one of his inimitable touches, in a pregnant

¹ York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 249, 250, lxi.

² Professor Unwin informs me that both London and Shrewsbury mercers dealt principally in woollen goods. Sir John Watney holds the same view, *The Mercers' Company*, pp. 1-3. Mr. A. H. Johnson writes: "curiously enough, a mercer, William Hauteyn, both buys wool and sells cloth at the fairs of St. Ives and St. Botolph and at Winchester" in the thirteenth century. *The Drapers of London*, vol. i, p. 77.

phrase gives the keynote to the whole social development of the fifteenth century; he says of the merchant:

“ For sothe he was a worthy man with-alle,
But sooth to say, I noot how man him calle.”

Gower, too, has no great respect for his fellow-traders:

“ He followeth straight after his own lucre,
And thinketh scorn of the common good.”

Langland, although he speaks bitterly of falseness being apparelled by the merchants to serve in their shops as an apprentice, and of the compassion they show to guile, gives them good advice, as if he thought their case was not hopeless. He owns that they do not observe the saints' days as holy church teaches, but advises them to buy boldly, sell again, and save their winnings, and with them build maisons Dieu, help those in misery, mend bad roads, repair bridges, endow maidens in order that they should marry, or endow nunneries in order to provide a home for them. The poets give us vivid pictures of the merchant's moral characteristics, his anomalous social status, but unfortunately no hint as to his stock-in-trade, the articles the sale of which brought him wealth. That the York mercer kept a shop, and even in the fifteenth century jealously guarded the mystery from being monopolised by the non-shopkeeping section, is clear from the ordinances of the mystery; but it is equally clear that his chief business was the exportation of cloth. One of their regulations reads as if an attempt had been made to seize the governorship for someone not intimately connected with the mercery trade, possibly a merchant who had larger dealings in lead than cloth. Under the heading “*eleccon off the maister,*” it is explicitly stated, “*sall none be chosen to occupy as Maister of the said company, but anely ane able persone, thatt occupyse in a shop in the mercery.*”¹

The financial affairs of the company were managed by master, constables, and searchers. But each year the master had to present his accounts, which were rigorously supervised by the whole fellowship. The common box in which the money was

¹ Text, p. 93.

kept could only be opened with the knowledge of all the three financially responsible officers. The master "sall have the comon box in keyng, that langts to the entre and qarterage of the bretherhede. The constables, that sall occupy for the yere, sall have a key of the same box in thaire keyng, and the sersours of the mercer craft sall have another key in thaire keyng, and that the common fe all be lokked in the seid box."¹

For twenty years the merchant adventurers dwelling "out of London" made intermittent efforts to frustrate the efforts of the London merchants to monopolise foreign trade, but without success. The increased power of the central authority under Henry VII enabled the parliament of 1497 to deal in a more decisive way with the difficulty than had been possible to Edward IV, whose tenure of kingship had always been insecure. The evil, too, was greater than when John Pickering had attempted to drive the northern traders from the field. The fine levied by the London company of mercers had risen from the original fee of "halfe a olde noble sterling"² to "cs. Flemmysh,"³ and "nowe it is soe that the seid feleship and Merchauntes of London take of every Englishman or yonge merchaunte beyng there att his first comming xxli. sterlinge for a fyne, to suffre him to bye and sell his owen propre goodes wares and merchaundiſes that he hath there." The picture given in the statute of the result of this conduct dictated by "uncharitable and inordinate covetise for their single profite and lucre," and "contrarie to all lawe reason charite right and conscience," is fantastically gloomy. "By reason wherof all the cities townes and burghs in this Realme in effecte be falle into great povertie ruyne and decaye, and as nowe in maner they be withoute hope of comforte or relief,

¹ Text, p. 95. The chest in the hall at the present time has two padlocks and one fixed lock; it seems too large for the purpose of a money-box, and is more probably the "evidence chest" to which allusion is often made. *cf.* A. H. Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 109. "In 1414 we hear of only one box, the box de Dieu or spiritual box. Subsequently a temporal box was also established. Into the spiritual box were paid the rents, the quarterage, and the fees for apprenticeship, into the temporal the fees for entry in the freedom and the livery, fines, and subscription."

² Value 6s. 8d. or 10s. See Glossary.

³ The Flemish shilling was worth less than the English shilling, but rates of exchange varied.

and the Kinges Customes and Subsidies and the Navie of the land greatly decreased and mynysshed, and daily they be like more and more to decaye, if due reformation be not had in this behalf."

The reformation was drastic. All Englishmen were by this statute allowed to resort to all the marts in the Low Countries and buy and sell freely on paying a fine of ten marks sterling.¹ This statute remained in force until the reign of Elizabeth.² There is no allusion to the power of any provincial company of mercers to impose fines on their fellow-citizens trading across the seas, that was a matter for local not central organisation.

The account roll for 1498, where allusion to this extremely important act would probably appear, is unfortunately missing. A new ordinance, which may have some connection with the decreased fine to be paid in the mart towns, was passed at the March meeting of that year. No brother of the fellowship was to export any goods to the Low Countries or Normandy unless the owner of the vessel paid to the "Trenitie gilde" six shillings and eight pence for each voyage. That the ordinance was regarded as being a leap in the dark by the conservative burghers is proved by its having a time limit "for the space of iij yeris." But the supervision of shipping was evidently becoming more difficult; three years later it was enacted that if a shipman was discovered taking on board goods belonging to a foreigner, to convey them from Hull to York or York to Hull, any brother of the fellowship, who employed the offender before the space of two years had elapsed after the offence, should be fined twenty shillings, and the informer was to have three shillings and fourpence for the information that should lead to the discovery of the delinquent. A new official, a brogger, i.e. a broker, is appointed; from his oath he seems to have acted as a middleman between buyer and seller; again the objectionable informer appears, who is to have the one-half of the forfeit in case he can find the official tripping.

¹ The mark was 13s. 4d.

² Statutes of the Realm, 12 Hen. VII, c. 6.

An interesting but bewildering document belongs to this period. The paper is dirty and torn, the writing illegible, the language uncouth, but as a contemporary account of north country feeling about the Hanse or German merchant it is valuable. It is not unusual to find among the merchants' papers a rough set of notes, compiled possibly at a meeting of the mercers, and a well-written intelligible copy, but unfortunately there is no duplicate of this tantalising petition. Nor is it clear to whom it is addressed, or by whom written. The subject matter, however, is quite clear; the Easterlings or Hanse merchants are depicted as visiting the North of England, selling goods for ready money, and returning with their illgotten gains to their own country without having spent a penny on "the comodytes growynge within the sayd northe partis."¹ The exasperated complainants want to know whether the aliens have the right to inundate the whole country with their wares, for English merchants are allowed very limited privileges in the "steyses" and in Danzig. "Alsoo the sayd Esterleyns² wold not sover your marchands off York to mayk no sall to no stranger but to the fre men of Dansk. . . . nor no stranger comeing to the port derst not by nor sell unto non off us Engles marchauntes." The rest of the document is very confused; apparently the writers are fifteenth century tariff reformers, and blame some council for delaying reforms, "you shall destroye all our shipyng (and) maroners to our pure porttes belongyng, for at thes dayes you (they ?) know all manner off men that byes and sells bytwixt Trent and

¹ In 1335 a statute passed at York allowed merchant strangers to trade freely throughout the realm, but in 1337 London was exempted from this by letters patent, the legislation under Richard II see-saws in an extraordinary way. In 1377 strangers could not sell to other foreigners or by retail; in 1378 strangers were given the right to sell by wholesale or retail; in 1383 their trade was restricted; in 1388 free trade was declared throughout the Kingdom; in 1404 strangers were ordered to expend the money they gained by sale on commodities of the realm. *cf.* A. H. Johnson, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 25, 31. G. Unwin, *The Gilds of London*, pp. 126-154.

² Grocelinus del Haghe, esterling, took up the freedom of the city of York in 1349. *Pat. R.*, 26 Edw. III, rt. iii, m. 18 (1352), Peterkyn Pouchemaker, de Estland, Freemen of York, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Mr. Hamilton Thompson has drawn my attention to an interesting memento of a foreign merchant in Lincolnshire. In the north aisle of Boston church there is a fine incised slab of black marble, originally in the Greyfriars church, with effigy of an Easterling, "Wisselus" (Wisselinus) de Smalenburg, 1340.

Skotland"; all this trade goes now to the Hanse merchants, who will take nothing but gold, "soo yff you may thus conteneu, you shall destroy us many ways, and be abyll conqwyer princes." Apparently the last two sentences of the document compare unfavourably the goods supplied by the Esterlings. The sweetness of the commodities provided by "the pure folkks" living in the north is acknowledged, but the Esterlings know too well how to deceive the unwary "with falsse pakkyng as fare withowt as ill within."

A glimpse of the master of the mystery taking the sworn evidence of Thomas Watts, a mariner of Brightlingsea in Essex, as to an alleged debt owing by Robert Cliff of York to Thomas Brytlysey, shows that the claims of the mercers' fellowship to settle disputes about debt in their own court was a reality, though in the fourteenth century and first decade of the fifteenth century, such cases were taken to the court of the mayor.¹

But all the documents show that this epoch marks the zenith of the power of the merchants as a self-governing community.

The church was now only worth propitiating when its representatives were members of the council. The abbots, whose magnificence had cast such a fascinating glamour over medieval life, had ceased to be objects of envy or veneration. A thirteenth century mercer lecturing a thirteenth century abbot cannot be visualised; but in 1502, the abbot of Fountains is severely reproved in a letter from the master for selling lead, "contrary to Gods lawes and mans, ye being a spiritual man and of religion." He is told, without ceremony, that unless he left off his evil ways a complaint would be lodged against him with the archbishop, and if he refused to act, the appeal would go to the King's grace.²

Omnipotent at home, abroad the York mercer was curbed in 1505 by a new charter given to the merchant adventurers

¹ York Memorandum Book, pp. 10, 14.

² Text, pp. 110, 111. The apostrophe before "s" in kings, lines 3 and 5, is, of course, an error in transcription. As Fountains was an exempt house, like all Cistercian abbeys, the archbishop was powerless. His only resource would have been to refuse to ordain on titles from the abbey. But the matter, being purely temporal, does not seem to touch the archbishop at all.

by Henry VII, who had apparently come to the conclusion that the act of 1497, which lowered the entrance fee, needed some corrective corollary to counteract the disorder consequent upon the increased number of merchants, who were attracted to the trade by the lowered fine. There is a crucial difference between the charter of Henry IV, which constituted all the English merchants in the mart town into a self-governing community, and the later charter which placed the legislation in the hands of a governor and four and twenty "of the most sad discreet and honest persons of diverse fellowships of the said merchant adventurers." Of course, the merchant, York being one of the "divers fellowships," if he were sufficiently sad, discreet, and honest, could be elected as an assistant, and several examples of York men holding office occur, but the natural tendency of this charter was to pave the way for Gresham's more systematic attempt to consolidate the power of the London merchants in Elizabeth's reign.¹

Although York and Hull showed a united front in face of a common foe, an undated document and two which belong to the year 1508 show that friction had arisen between the two places.² York complains that Hull extorts from their citizens twice as heavy impositions for lead as they get from strangers, that they lay vexatious restrictions as to the places where they deposit their cloth and lead, and interfere with their intercourse with other strangers in Hull. A satisfactory agreement was, however, entered into by the fellowship of merchants and the burgesses of Hull in 1532, by which the former agreed to pay the latter an annual sum of thirteen and fourpence in discharge of all gauging fees, though the disputes often crop up again.³ It is not always easy to get at a very clear idea of the amount of trade done in any particular industry, but a document, probably drawn up four years later, throws considerable light on the quantity of lead exported by the merchants of York and Hull. Eighteen ships, cargoes above four hundred fothers of lead, and a capital of three thousand eight hundred

¹ Sir C. Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72.

² Text, pp. 118-121.

³ Text, pp. 134, 135, 138, 139.

and nine pounds point to an extensive foreign trade for those days. The names of the vessels, the ports to which they belong, Newcastle, Hull, Emden,¹ and the ports for which they are destined, Antwerp, Bordeaux, Danzig,² are given. The freight from Hull to Antwerp is eight shillings a fother, and the merchants have to pay eight shillings a ton for the return cargo. The ship is only allowed fourteen days in port. The size of the ships for Bordeaux is noted—three hundred tons—the freight being thirty shillings a ton, payable “at their arryvall at home.” The freight to Danzig is naturally higher sixty-eight pounds for twenty-nine fother of lead, approximately two pounds six shillings and eightpence a fother.

The new charter granted by Henry VII to the merchant adventurers was not working smoothly. As authority strove to impose its will, complaints of tyranny arose. Norwich, in 1509, appealed to York, Hull, Beverley, and Newcastle to join in an appeal to parliament for redress of their grievances. These grievances are summed up in a bitter sentence: “Thus we suppose the marchants of the cytte of London wyll bynde alle marchants of England att there wyll and plesure from those marts, whereat the marts be holdyn, to the intent to wery us, that we should come no more to the marts.” Unfor-

¹ There is an excellent account of the trade of Emden in Dr. Hagedorn's *Ostfrieslands Handel and Schiffahrt im 16 Jahrhundert*. In the Record Office at Copenhagen the statistics of all vessels passing through the Sound from the end of the fifteenth century are kept. One volume of these invaluable records has already been published. *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport*, vol. i (Copenhagen, 1906). Frøken Kringelbach kindly transcribed the English vessels for the year 1579, the year after the incorporation of the Eastland merchants, for me. These statistics give the nature of the cargo, the port from which the ship sailed, the name of the skipper, and the amount of tax paid by all English vessels passing through the Sound from April 15th to November 17th, 1579. Sixty-two entries refer to London, forty-eight to Hull, twenty-five to Newcastle. If the names of the skippers can be taken as an index, probably about thirty Hull and eighteen Newcastle vessels were engaged in the Baltic trade during that year. From the volume published by Madame Nina Bang, I have taken the following: In the year 1503, Scotland had forty-three, England twenty-one vessels trading to the Baltic. In 1528, Newcastle had twenty-four, Hull twelve, London eleven. In 1536 and 1538, York had two vessels trading eastwards; these are the only separate entries for York; Hull was her port for exports. In 1588, Hull employed twenty-five vessels, London twenty-two, Newcastle fifteen. In 1591, London was again at the head with forty-six vessels, Hull thirty-five, and Newcastle twenty-seven.

² Text, pp. 135, 136.

tunately the reply of York is not forthcoming. This letter shows clearly that the Norwich men regarded the fraternity of Thomas à Becket and the merchant adventurers as synonymous, but as Dr. Lingelbach points out modern writers as Gross, Schantz, Green, are inclined to treat the claims of the merchant adventurers to have originated in this gild as invented. It is, however, clear that the London merchant adventurers originated in the mercers' company, the fraternity of which had as its patron St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹ Wheeler's statement,² the statute of Henry VII,³ and Stowe⁴ seems fairly conclusive evidence. But the words of the charter of Edward IV removes the subject beyond controversy. Certain fines are imposed in this charter, "the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be employed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our said subjects in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland."⁵ It has already been seen that the mercers' fraternity was under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Trinity, but that the mistery did not neglect the claims of the patron of the London company is clear from the long list of "ornamenta" belonging to his altar in Trinity chapel.⁶ A special priest was appointed to superintend this altar, "sir John Fox gave to the chawmer (*sic*) of Saynt Thomas of Canterbury prest, a burden bed of waynscott, and a bellus of waynscott over the bed."⁷

During the reign of Henry VIII materials for the history of the York company are scanty. In 1520 a new commercial agreement was made between England and the Low Countries,

¹ Sir John Watney, *St. Thomas of Acon*, pp. 11-14.

² Wheeler, *A Treatise on Commerce*, p. 10.

³ 12 Henry VII, c. 6.

⁴ Br. Mus. Stowe MS. 303, fos. 99-108. Printed by Dr. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-203. But as Sir Charles Lucas points out, "both Staplers and Merchant Adventurers claimed to be a Becket brotherhood," *op. cit.*, p. 24. This, of course, tends to confuse the question.

⁵ R. Hakluyt, *The English Voyages*, vol. i, p. 208 (Everyman Ed.). Dr. Lingelbach first drew attention to this piece of evidence, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 226, 227.

⁶ Text, p. 97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

which restored the favourable terms given by Philip the Good in 1446.¹ The Hanse merchants seem to have resented the new arrangements, but to have been on worse terms with the northern than the London merchants. Two interesting letters from the municipal records prove that York was still looked upon by the government as a great commercial and mercantile centre.² An account roll for the year 1548 shows how little the confiscation of gild property really affected the prosperity of the York company. The London mercers repurchased from the King the confiscated rents for £3,935 3s. 4d.,³ but York continued to pay the King's rents until comparatively recent times, exactly as they were paid in the year 1548.⁴ A letter from Robert Kendall to the governor, as late as 1562, shows that the question of the status of the hospital was not yet legally adjusted. A cryptic sentence seems to mean that the letter was written in reply to some complaint of lack of deference to the company, always very tenacious of its dignity, in some previous correspondence; "as for the processe that came downe, it was maide by a boye in thoffice, which did not regarde the respecte that was apou the hospitall, but ye shall take ne further harme by that skape."⁵

From 1549 until 1580, the York company were in constant correspondence with the merchant adventurers in the mart towns, and these letters throw considerable light on the relation of the provincial and the general courts at a period when the Newcastle records are very scanty. How far the organisation of the York merchant adventurers was typical of all the provincial associations, it is impossible to say, until more records are available.⁶ But the letters give a vivid picture of the

¹ By treaty of Intercourse between Henry VIII and the Lord Charles the Emperor, dated 11th August, 1520. By Intercourse between the same princes at the Treaty of Windsor, dated 19th June, 1522. R. O. State Papers, Dom., Chas. II, 22, 6. List printed in Dr. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-240.

² Text, pp. 127, 128.

³ Sir John Watney, *The Mercers' Company*, p. 19.

⁴ Text, p. 137.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶ The publication of the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers by the Surtees Society threw open a great amount of new information on the history of the merchant adventurers; from a very cursory inspection of the Records of the Bristol company, I do not think their publication would add materially to the material already made available by Latimer.

working of the system of the government of a great company, consisting of men from many different centres, by a court sitting in a foreign country with the preponderance of members drawn from London. The friction that arose was inherent in the plan of government; the mystery is not why the organisation collapsed eventually, but how it managed to survive so long as it did. Where there is much vitality friction is bound to be generated. The history of the merchant adventurers is a history of strife; when strife ceased and the company became stereotyped, decay began. In its early career it represented the desire of the English mercantile world to sever the bands of government organisation as represented by the staplers. In its mid career it represented the forces organised to deliver English foreign trade from German supremacy; later it turned the weapons sharpened in just causes against that very progress which it had inaugurated. When their power was consolidated, they developed, with the help of the state, a coercive system, similar to the one, opposition to which had called them into existence. As early as 1510 a Mr. John Gresham is mentioned by the York governor as one of the merchant adventurers of London, "which knowes our ryvare, and that the water is verrey skarse with us at that tyme of year"¹; in 1533 William Grasham was governor of the company at Antwerp, and in 1543 "young Thomas Gresham" was admitted as a member of the mercers' company of London. He was the moving spirit of the company, and the whole of his powerful influence was thrown into the scale against the northern merchants. The cardinal points of his policy were to raise the entrance fee, which had been lowered by the statute of 1496, and to strengthen the hands of the London merchants; probably the total exclusion of provincial merchants was not in his mind, but their exclusion from the government of the society was inevitable if his policy were followed to its logical conclusion. How far he was successful in his aims is made clear by the York correspondence.²

The superscription of the first letter in possession of the company is typical of most of the communications: "To the

¹ Text, p. 123.

² Sir C. Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79.

worshipfull Thomas Aplyarde, master of the feolashipe of merchants adventurers, resydent within the citie of Yorke." The heading of the reply is equally clear: "To the rightworshipfull Mr. John Fargeon, governor of the felliship of merchant adventurers resident at Andwarpe, this be delyvered, or to his deputy Mr. Emanuell Lucas, deputy in London."¹

The question at once arises were all the merchants belonging to the merchants' company of York also merchant adventurers of England? Apparently they were not, even at this date. But any doubt on the subject is set at rest by the Elizabethan charter,² which enacts that the governor of the York company must be free of the merchant adventurers' company of England,³ an unnecessary enactment if all the merchants of the York company were *ipso facto* merchant adventurers of the London company; for practically the London company and the merchant adventurers of England were synonymous. The next question that arises is what percentage of the York company were merchant adventurers of England? Unfortunately, the evidence here is not so clear. But a letter of 1560 throws some light on the subject. The financial difficulties of the first decade of the reign of Queen Elizabeth are well known; one device for meeting them was by forced loans from the adventurers, as, according to one authority, they sent cloths twice a year, at Christmas and Whitsuntide, into the Low Countries, "about 100,000 pieces of cloth annually, valued at £700,000 or £800,000,"⁴ these loans could not have been a great burden, especially as the interest given was ten per cent. Thirty thousand pounds had been lent to the Queen; the general court decided the amount to be raised by the various provincial societies—York was assessed at £450.⁵ It seems most probable that all

¹ Text, pp. 140-142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

³ By the charter of 1564, "the merchant adventurers were for the first time constituted a legal corporation, with perpetual succession and a common seal, under the title of 'The Governor Assistants and Fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers of England,' the national character of the company being proclaimed by the addition of the last words to the existing title of Merchant Adventurers." Sir C. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁴ Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. i, p. 188. But Wheeler gives 60,000 cloths yearly exported. Dr. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁵ Text, pp. 162, 163.

the merchants who belonged to the London company would contribute. If this supposition is correct, then there were in York only seven merchants, "Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Ranulph Hall, George Hall, Thomas Dawson, Gregory Pecocke, Christofer Herbert, and Mr. James Harington," who belonged to the metropolitan company. The amounts contributed differed considerably, probably in proportion to the amount of cloth sent abroad by the different members, for Christopher Herbert, whose wealth and importance is proved from other sources, only contributes £25, whereas the three brothers Robert, Ranulph, and George Hall lend £135.¹

The letters of 1549, to the superscription of which reference has already been made, contain two interesting points. If the letters can be taken at their face value the Antwerp court had so entirely lost touch with the York company, that they assess members many of whom "ar departyd to the marce of God and other of them also not in abydyng within this port, and also some other fallyn in rewyne and dekey."² The two collectors appointed are not officials of the city or company, and the complaint of York seems to be justifiable. But a curious feature of the exchange of correspondence is that two letters are extant, one written on the twelfth of November and signed by the governor, the second, less definite in tone, written in the name of the company, and dated the thirteenth of November.³ Did the governor, anxious to keep the management of the whole affair in his own hands, write the first letter and send it, but submit a different version to the meeting of "all the brethren of our said felowshype," mentioned in his own letter. If these devious tactics were adopted, they met with no success. The reply is most uncompromising. It shows the high-handed manner in which the general court treated provincial suggestions. Another meeting is to be called, the collectors appointed by Antwerp recognised, the money to be forwarded. "And for suche as be deade, or otherwise wyll

¹ The charter of 1564 refers specifically to "such conditions and distinctions and diversity in Freedom, as by them shall be thought from time to time most expedient and necessary," but charters often only stereotype practices in previous use.

² Text, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 142.

not, or cannot pay, we desyre you to certefye hyther their names in iij sortes; to wytt, they departed alone; they unable (yf any suche be) alone; and the obstynante that wyll not (yf you fynde any so unreasonable as our hope ys the contrary) by themselves, requyring you in all the promysse for to assyst the collectors to follow thys our order consydering the greate charge, which this tryumphe hath putt us unto." This letter has an unusual superscription, "*chefe* of the feolashipe of merchants adventurers within the cytie of Yorke," and is written by the deputy, apparently a man of a more autocratic temper than the governor. Another letter from him four years later shows that he held office under two different governors, Mr. John Fargeon and Mr. Dansitt. The second letter is even more irascible. It is written in reply to a letter from York, which had contained obviously serious complaints of the management of the society's affairs. "Alledginge in your said letter de kaye, and poverty of our brethren there with youe, and putting the dowte wheather the same hathe bene spent for the generall weall of the said feolyshippe or no" Their reasonable request to know how the money spent by the company was managed, roused Baskerfeld's indignation. "You doo not onelye pretende to correcte our proceedings, but allsoo in a manner threaten us, as thoughe wee did that which wee myghtt not abyde bye." The letter shows that the merchants of York were not in the year 1553 a very important factor, "and trulye wee mutche marveylle that you find yourselfes so agreved for the levyeng of this some (sixty-four pounds), seinge it is not unknowen unto sutche of your cittie as haunte higher, that some foure merchants of this feolyshippe doo paye more then wee have cessed your hoole cittie at." ¹

¹ The quarrel between Newcastle merchant adventurers and the general court is much more virulent, and turns on a different question. They claimed to derive their authority from the charter given to the Newcastle Gild Merchant by King John, and to regard the general court as an institution un-sanctioned by antiquity. They seem, however, to have compromised this claim by an agreement made in 1519 to pay £8 annually and collectively instead of the fine levied on each merchant trading to the mart town. But the quarrel did not reach an acute stage until the seventeenth century, possibly it smouldered through the sixteenth, unfortunately, Newcastle documents are rare for that century. F. W. Dendy, *op. cit.* (Surtees Soc., 93, 101, *passim*). W. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Modern Times, pp. 245-248.

The letter of the following year, 1554, gives additional proof of what has already been stated, that the differentiation of the merchants into grades had become a fixed feature of the organisation before the charter of 1564 legalised it.¹ There were no fewer than six classes: "the abyeste sorte to be cessed att *iiijli*. the pece, the seconde sorte at *iiijli*. the pece, the thyerde sorte at *xls*. the pece, the fourte sorte at *xxs*. the pece, and the fyfte sorte at *xs*. the pece, and the leaste to paye *vs*."² It is not clear from the documents in the York archives on what this differentiation was based. The number of years the freeman had traded decided his status; for instance, a fully qualified freeman in his first, second, and third year was only allowed to export four hundred cloths, but each year the quantity increased, until in his fifteenth year he could export a thousand cloths, which was the maximum amount allowed, "how longe tyme soever anie man of what estate or degree shalbe soever free of this fellowshippe."³ But obviously some other classification was followed in this case; probably the amount of capital a man possessed, if so, this arrangement contains the germ of the idea of a graduated income tax. But a new penalty for the punishment of a delinquent had been devised; not only was he to pay a heavy fine and be driven from the company, but "nor thayre chyldren nor apprentyse heereafter to be made fre in any wyse."⁴ There appears, too, in this letter, distinct proof that the London company was regarded as being on a different footing from the provincial societies, "every brethern of this fealyshipe, as well of the cyttye of London as of all other places of the sayd realme of Englande," "they of the countre," is also used of the non-metropolitan members. The two divisions paid their "cessments" on different days.⁵

A letter from the Marquess of Winchester, the lord treasurer, brings out the inherent weakness of the company's organisation. To the request of the merchants of Hull and York to be allowed to export their goods, he can only reply that although

¹ *Ante*, pp. xlix, liii.

² Text, p. 147.

³ Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 18913, fo. 52 (Printed by Dr. Lingelbach).

⁴ Text, p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*

anxious to help them, "for the gentylnes I found in you always," as other merchant adventurers were not ready for shipping, he could not grant the *tokens*, unless they would give sureties that their exports would only go to Spain, to places beyond the Straits, or to Danzig.¹

By 1560 Gresham's influence on the policy of the company was predominant. Most of the London merchant adventurers carried on a wholesale trade only, and if they could get a grant to exclude the retailer, they would practically concentrate the export trade in cloth in their own hands. The provincial traders were often retailers as well as exporters. The governor of the York merchant adventurers was in Antwerp, probably to attend the winter court,² and an urgent letter was dispatched from York requesting him to oppose the measure vigorously, though "onely for the fellowship in Yorke."³ The letter is signed by James Harrington, mayor, Robert Hall, Robert Peacock, William Watson, Thomas Appleyard, William Beckwith, all past or future governors, and as it expressly states that if "the act of retails shall taik place and effect according to his former estate, whereby we shalbe forced to shutt in our shoppes,"⁴ the inference is unavoidable, that the York merchants, even the most important, were shopkeepers. It is also obvious that they know the opposition would be strong, "we shall most instantly requyre you not onely to taik paynes and travaill therin, but also to make all the frendes ye can possyble."⁵ In spite, however, of all these exertions, the retailer was excluded by the charter granted by Elizabeth in 1564, when the sphere of their activities was extended to East Friesland, West Friesland, and Hamburg. It is doubtful whether this clause of the charter was ever enforced in the provincial towns,⁶

¹ Text, p. 161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ This policy "was modified in the interests of those of the Fellowship who resided in the smaller towns and ports of the kingdom, but in general the spirit of the rule governing the London members applied to all, and only merchant traders and superior shopkeepers belonged to the society." Dr. Lingelbach, *Merchant Adventurers of England* (Transactions of the R. Hist. Soc., vol. xvi, New Series, p. 35). Hull and York were certainly exempted. Text, pp. 230, 234.

and the ordinance, which forbids members of the fellowship "dwelling within the cittye of Londone" to sell by retail, is followed by another, "It shalbe lawfull for anie persone of this fellowshipe not dwelling within the Cittye of London, to sell anie his ware or merchandise at the porte where he shall aryve or within his owne house as well to Inhabitants of the place where he dwelleth as to others or to keep open shop or shew house, so that he haunt not nor Followe Fayres or retayle not by lesse measure then yard or ell, nor by lesse waight than a pound."¹

Again, in 1563, an important York merchant, Christopher Herbert, was in Antwerp. He held an official position, he was treasurer to the society. His position, though honourable, was irksome, for the York brethren had not paid their share of the money lent to the Queen, and the deputy (the governor was absent in England) and assistants refused to allow their ships to be cleared, "tyll the lone monye, wyche remannes at intryst, be paid by husse of York." According to his letter he had tried all possible arguments, and especially urged that, "We have dywers of our brethren, that is departed fensshewyshed, we could gyt nothing of," but the court was obdurate. Evidently Herbert was heartily tired of his office; "I tryst to God that all the breblyng be done." But the times were difficult. The Duchess of Parma, regent in the Low Countries, had forbidden the importation of English cloth, and the adventurers were forced to leave Antwerp.

Other towns, however, were anxious to have them. Emden in East Friesland sent three ambassadors, one a schoolmaster, to London to urge the advantages of their city as a mart for the English cloth. An excellent account of the first settlement in Emden is given by Dr. Hagedorn; it is compiled from the town records, and though marred by a strong bias against the English, is valuable as affording a vivid picture of the merchant adventurers' everyday life. The ambassadors had no reason to complain of their reception, the English handled them with their customary skill. They praised East Friesland on account of the purity of the religious opinions there, and inquired most

¹ Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 18913, fo. 83.

anxiously as to the ecclesiastical conditions, whether there was strife between the spiritual and temporal powers. They showed the scholastic member of the embassy the London schools, and asked whether there were equally good schools in Emden, where their children could in all piety be taught both Latin and German. They lied freely as to the reason for leaving Antwerp, as if it were on account of the prevailing immorality, and because they could not keep their servants and young people under good control. The result of the negotiations was that the English settled there early in 1564. They had a stately residence¹ assigned to them, where twenty of the most prominent English merchants lived. But in addition to these permanent inhabitants, each day about a hundred English had their meals in the house. The court of assistants met there also. In the upper room each morning divine service was held. But about four hundred more English traders were boarded in the different inns. Quantities of cloth were stored in the rooms of the Franciscan monastery. Close by they had rented many spacious and sumptuous houses. The Emden authorities had promised to build an exchange for the English; the governor, however, thought it not necessary. But a street was set aside as a sort of open-air exchange for the merchants.

Everything seemed propitious; the count of East Friesland was trying to influence the Emperor to grant them additional privileges. On May 23rd, 1564, the fleet of vessels laden with cloth lay in the harbour. There were more than forty merchant vessels and many ships of war under an admiral. According to English statistics fifty thousand white and blue cloths and twenty-five thousand kerseys were in the vessels. But, in spite of all these elaborate preparations, the English only remained in Emden until January, 1565; on the fifteenth of that month they invited the burgomaster and council to a farewell feast,² and the next letter to the York brethren is written from

¹ According to Wheeler, *A Treatise of Commerce*, p. 17, the merchant adventurers in Antwerp had a house assigned to them as early as 1446, and later, according to Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. i, p. 72, in 1558, a more spacious house, the Hôtel Van Lyere, the residence of a burgomaster, was their dwelling.

² Dr. Bernard Hagedorn, *op. cit.*, Band 1, pp. 173-195.

Antwerp, dated June 23rd, 1566. John Merthe¹ was governor during this transference, two letters, one from London, the other from Antwerp, are signed by him. He was governor when the new charter of 1564 was granted, but as Sir Thomas Gresham was then a member of the society, probably he directed its policy. And, as has already been seen, exclusion of retailers, increase of entrance fee, and concentration of power in the hands of London merchants, were the objects he had in view; the preferential treatment of the older and richer members of the society was also inimical to the development of the company on broad national lines. The return to the system in vogue before Henry the Seventh curtailed their power was a retrogressive step²; to attract ambitious young men with their superabundant energies, not to deter them, would have been a safer policy. Nor was the strengthening of the hereditary principle of membership an entire success; the sixteenth and seventeenth century young merchant adventurer had apparently developed a devotion for hunting and betting, which possibly a more competitive system might have discouraged. The interlopers would not have increased both in number and power so rapidly, if they had not held, both as an article of faith and a matter of self-interest, that an expanding trade must be met by an elastic policy. John Merthe's letter from London shows that though the city resented provincial interference, it courted provincial ratification when anxious to emphasise the national basis of its operations. But the negotiations at Bruges between Philip I and Elizabeth's representatives, to which Merthe refers, broke down in 1566, and though the merchants had then returned to Antwerp, they realised their sejour was only temporary.

The meeting has, however, a certain historic interest, as indirectly it probably caused the compilation of the earliest copy of the laws of the merchant adventurers yet discovered. These ordinances and privileges occupy the first eighty-eight pages of the manuscript; they differ from those contained in

¹ The signature of John Merthe is very difficult to decipher. Probably, however, the charter of 1564, which has John Marth, is correct, and the hieroglyphic after the aitch in the York document only a flourish, but I have copied as it appeared to me. The spelling of proper names is not uniform.

² *Ante*, pp. 45, 46.

the British Museum manuscript in some points, and naturally, having been collected at a much earlier date, are not nearly so complete, for Wheeler's compilation is dated 1608. The second part, written in an entirely different hand, contains the complaints of the Dutch merchants of the extensive and increasing privileges of the English adventurers; it is, in fact, a report drawn up by Jan oem Jansz, who, accompanied by Cornelis van Aelckmade, attended the Bruges conference of 1565, as representatives of the States of Holland.¹ Probably these complaints would be brought forward to counterbalance the complaints compiled by English merchants at the request of the governor in answer to the eighteen questions sent to the York merchants.²

At a general court held on March 6th, 1567, an account of which was sent to York, it was decided to send four ships laden with cloth to Hamburg, so that in case any sudden political crisis made Antwerp unsafe, the adventurers should have a haven of refuge. Evidently Hamburg was ready to welcome them, and had "graunted dyvers goodly privileges. . . . and prepared a howse for us."³ It was not until the 26th of April, 1569, that the transference of the mart from Antwerp to Hamburg⁴ or Emden was officially ratified. The reason for the change is stated clearly: "Whereas by meanes of sondrye unquiett

¹ Space does not allow me to make more than a passing allusion to this most interesting manuscript, which is inscribed "*dit boeck hoert toe die stede van Aemstelredam*," but I hope to give more details when peace shall once more have opened the continent to us, and enabled me to correct my transcripts by comparison with the original. Mr. Van Brakel, *Vierteljahrschrift für Social und Wirtschaftsgeschichte v. Band, Drittes Heft, 401-432, Die Entwicklung und Organisation d. Merchant-Adventurers*, and Dr. C. Te Lintum, *De Merchant Adventurers in de Nederlanden*, pp. 225-233, have given some account of this invaluable document, though with the deductions which the last-named author draws from it, I am not in agreement.

² Text, pp. 174-177.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 180. According to the *Hamburgh Complaints*, H. of C. Paper 181, 20 April, 1835, p. 9, quoted by Sir C. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 87, "The Senate of Hamburgh, in the year 1567, . . . granted to English merchants . . . extensive premises in the centre of the town, afterwards called 'The English House.'" But Dr. Lingelbach puts the transaction three years later. *American Hist. Review*, vol. ix, 1903-4. The explanation seems to be that Hamburg offered the house, as is clear from the letter to York, in 1567, but did not actually hand it over to the English until 1570, though the English were domiciled in Hamburg by the end of 1569.

⁴ For the comparative advantages of Emden, Antwerp, and Hamburg as an English settlement, see Br. Mus. Sloan. 93, b 1. Emden was not suffi-

arrests and other ungratefull occasions this fellyshippe arre inforced to discontynue their trafique in the base countries of Hollande, Sealande, Brabante, and Flaunders, and to frequent and haunte the towne of Hamboroughe or of Embden," the act was passed at a court sitting in London. The letter written from Hamburg the following February was of local, not national interest. But it shows clearly that the deputy was not so engrossed with the intricacies of continental politics that he could not take a paternal interest in the young men of the English colony. Unfortunately, it does not show the woman trader in an amiable light, but possibly it is an *ex parte* statement. Thomas Hewetson, apprentice to John Hewson, had, on the death of his master, continued to serve the widow. Either from carelessness or malice, she had failed to give him the necessary certificate; in spite of the fact that his accounts had been examined and approved by four merchants of York. Richard Clough, the deputy, desired the York governor to interview the four referees, and "further to learne of others as much as yor worshipp can (yf she allege unto you any thing in preiudyce or against the said yong man) whether all the same be trew, or by her onelye uttered of evell wyll."¹ As Thomas Hewetson, merchant, became a freeman the same year, the widow must have given the certificate. It was quite a usual custom to send an apprentice over to the mart town for the last years of his apprenticeship, and if the letter of Antony Pullay can be taken as typical,² he had almost complete control of the business there. His condescending tone to his master is amusing; he assures him that the bill for £50 would not have been taken, "onlye upon my worde." And adds, "boutte neverthesse at my requisite he hath tacken so mouche pane as to tacke it upe at dobell usance, whearefore I trouste you will se it dyscharged."

ciently powerful to protect the merchants against "the malice of the Hanses"; Antwerp might corrupt the young members with the Popish religion; Hamburg, "their preachers inveighe against us and our religion by the name of sacramentaries, sectaries, and the like; and herebye doe all that in them lyeth to stirre up, and increase the people against us and make us odious unto them." f. 30.

¹ Text, pp. 185, 186, 243, 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170. cf. Newcastle Merchant Adventurers, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 11.

An extremely acrimonious letter from Christopher Herbert was sent to the deputy in London: "Yours of the iij of February, we have resyved by chans but not by the derecsyon"; it was directed to Mr. Ralph Hall not an inhabitant of York, and still worse, "to a young man, beyng a servant, whose name is Thomas Mosley, remaynyng at Hambroughe." As Christopher Herbert had been governor for the last two years, and it was fourteen years since Ralph Hall had held the post, the sarcastic tone of the letter is excusable. The reply is not among the York manuscripts.

The ten years' contract which the company had made with Hamburg, came to an end in 1577; they then returned to Emden, which remained their headquarters until 1587. They were far from being popular in the little town on the Ems, as a scene on a wild December day, when the English ship, ready to sail, was driven on to an ice float and in danger, shows. The Germans on the harbour side refused to lend any help, and shouted to the unfortunate sailors, "Now we can see how Englishmen can dive." When, at length, they were persuaded to send a rope, four thalers were demanded for the boat that carried it, although, as the chronicler says with obvious glee, the ship lay so near the sea wall that the rope could almost have been thrown on to the deck of the unfortunate ship.¹ It was during the residence of the company in Emden, and later in Stade, that William Hart, a York man, whose portrait still hangs in the Fossgate hall, was chaplain to the society. He seems to have amassed a large fortune there, and on his death in 1622, left a considerable sum of money to the adventurers for philanthropic purposes.²

A letter from Antwerp in 1579 enumerates the reasons why the company had decided to leave Hamburg. But the fellowship's affairs were in an unsettled state; the vacillating policy created loopholes of which the interlopers readily availed themselves. The deputy grows almost eloquent as he writes of the harm done to the company by "dyvers dysordered bretheren respecting more their private lucre and gayne then

¹ Dr. B. Hagedorn, *op. cit.*, Band ii, pp. 34-59.

² Text, pp. 285, 288.

the contynuanee or mayntennance of the generall estate in prosperitie and welfare."¹

But home affairs were engaging the attention of the York members of the society during the years 1578, 1579, 1580. Unlike Newcastle, York had never tried to get any special licence from the general society legalising their position.² Their difficulty in dealing with interlopers, however, made them ask for a new charter from the Queen. An undated document, with the head line, "suggestions for a new charter," gives succinctly the general lines on which the very verbose Elizabethan charter was drawn up. Until this time the company, in spite of the large amount of foreign trade it had done, had kept the simple name given by the charter of 1430, "the Mistery of Mercers." They now desired to be incorporated under the more grandiloquent title of "Governor, assistants, and socetye of merchants adventurers of the citie of York."³ They desire to take into the society all merchants of ten years' standing, who had served an apprenticeship of seven years, no manual worker was to be admitted, and only such retailers as the court thought good to receive. No inhabitant of York unless free of the company, should "sell, shewe, or put to sale, either in shopes or their houses, any wares, marchandizes growinge or broughte from beyonde the seas (salte and fyshe onelye excepted), in payne of forfeiture of the same to the societie, but onelye such as ar free of the said societye in the cytye of York." A charter incorporating all their wishes was granted in 1580, "in Consideration of the good faithful and acceptable Service to us by the same Merchants abundantly performed on our accession to the Crown."⁴ A complete account of all the payments made before the charter was obtained, the important personages whose help was invoked, the endless tips to their servants, the journeys to London made by the various members of the com-

¹ After 1566 the letters to York from the continent are generally signed by the deputy not the governor. Text, p. 207.

² Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 18913. *Orders concerning the Brethren of Newcastle*, ff. 88, 89.

³ Text, pp. 199, 200.

⁴ The reference is to the £30,000 lent by the Merchant Adventurers in 1560 to which the York merchants contributed £450. Text, pp. 162, 163.

pany, are given in many letters, account rolls, and memoranda.¹ John Stanhope, especially, seems to have made considerable sums in return for his having "undertaken to be humble sutor to hir majestie for the enlarginge of the privileges of there corporation."² Although until 1827 no one could sell in York any merchandise "brought across the seas" unless a member of the society, the importance of the company as a factor in national enterprise gradually diminished after the charter was obtained. The newly-founded Eastland company had an important bearing on the position of the merchant adventurers; from the date of its inauguration it became necessary for all York merchants, who wished to trade up the Baltic and in the North seas, to belong to both companies. The multiplication of trading companies in the seventeenth century tended to undermine the influence of the older organisation.

But the York merchants were not allowed to forget the dual nature of their association; the charter fortified their position in York, but the metropolitan adventurers in Emden were urging them to pass a self-denying ordinance by which none of them should trade to Spain, and the Eastlands. Eleven articles were sent from Antwerp, but evidently drawn up at a court held in Emden.³ York and Hull unite in pouring scorn on these suggestions; they declare that the articles must have been devised to benefit the new corporations, "for that they cannot be a more benyfyciall acte devysyd for them, nor one more hurtfull to us," "flat agaynst ourselves,"⁴ "frivolous artycles,"⁵ "we will not in any wyse agree to make ourselves bondmen,"⁶ are a few of the sentences in which they vent their anger. An old grievance appears again, they bitterly

¹ Text, pp. 195, 198, 199, 201, 205, 224.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 224, 239.

³ While the mart was at Emden the adventurers seem still to have had some representatives at Antwerp. "We have mayd sewte unto the companye at London, at Antwarpe and at Embden," the Hull merchants write, as if they were not sure where the court was really held, but after an act passed at Emden the 19th of June, 1579, a clause is inserted that nothing in the act should frustrate the act made at Londone "the 7th of May last & confirmed at Antwerp." Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 18913, f. 88. Text, pp. 216-221.

⁴ Text, p. 229.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

remark, "But if you will stynt yourselves in shyping to the mart townes, we shall not be against it."¹ Hull replies to the observation that "no man can serve two masters," quite pertinently, "althouge he cannot serve ij maysters, yet he may be free of ij companyes, and use a good consyence to them bothe, as he dayle experience we have had of long tyme good proffe, for ther be dyvers of us that be bothe merchants adventurers and staplers."² A comparison of the three documents certainly leaves the impression that the northern merchants had right and reason on their side; possibly the adventurers in Emden were also members themselves of the new Spanish, Eastland, and Russia companies, and were not anxious for too many competitors in the trade. However, a letter from Christopher Hoddesdone the governor announces that all merchant adventurers can, on the payment of a fee of ten pounds, belong to the Eastland company. Of this privilege the York merchants availed themselves freely, and in the seventeenth century the deputy of the Eastland company was, with few exceptions, also governor of the merchant adventurers.³ The grant of the charter of 1580 marks the culminating point of the history of the York merchant adventurers. The defeat of the Armada gave England mastery of the seas. In 1597, when the adventurers were at Stade, the Emperor Rudolph prohibited English merchants to trade in Germany. Of course, it was the Hanse merchants who procured the decree. The adventurers were ordered to leave the country within three months. The words of the mandate were offensive to the last degree, and for once Elizabeth did not dally long before she retaliated; in 1598 the Germans were told to quit England within fourteen days. The London steelyard,⁴ the centre of their trade for centuries, the home of many of them for years,

¹ Text, p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

³ For the relations between the Merchant Adventurers and Eastland Merchants, see *The Eastland Company* (R. Hist. Soc., 3rd series, vol. x, pp. xxxi-xxxvi).

⁴ H. Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, p. 351. Sir C. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 91. The Steelyard was situated in Thames Street, near Dowgate, the only city gate that commanded the river. At one time the whole street was given over to their houses, warehouses, offices, and wharves.

was taken possession of by the lord-mayor and sheriffs. The expelled merchants followed their chief from the building in a solemn procession; "Sad in our souls, and the gate was closed behind us; nor should we have cared to have remained another night within the walls. God be pitiful," is their own description of the final scene; it is not without pathos.

No one, who has followed the history of the York company from its beginning in a group of men and women of various trades united to perform religious and social duties early in the fourteenth century to the thrilling moment when, as a factor in a great national undertaking, they succeeded in forcing Elizabeth, as a retaliatory measure, to drive the Hanse merchants from London, can resist the desire to ring down the curtain and put out the lights on that auspicious point of a great career. But the company lived on spasmodically active in the early seventeenth century, consistent upholders of the parliamentary party in the Civil Wars, though the information during that period is scanty.

The documents relating to the Restoration and Georgian periods afford sorry reading. Petty squabbles among the members as to the number of apprentices each might take fill pages and pages of the minute book. A mean effort to rob the ten poor widows, living in the hospital on the ground floor of the hall, of part of the meagre doles, which were all that remained of the great fifteenth century charitable institution, in order that their own feasts might be more sumptuous, was only frustrated by the generosity of Michael Barstow, one of the company. They remorselessly tracked down any trader discovered selling overseas goods without a licence; unfortunately for the dignity of these descendants of the great traders who had worked so ceaselessly to capture the continental cloth trade for England, and by fostering settlements abroad prepared the way for the great colonial expansion of the nineteenth century, the interlopers they attacked were generally small traders, even sometimes desolate widows and defenceless spinsters. Still, in this eighteenth century, it would be ungrateful to overlook the fact that before consuls and ambassadors were part of organised official life, these merchants

were undoubtedly the pioneers of English commercial development. If in the ebb and flow of industrial life York should ever again become an important factor of Yorkshire's trade activities, the Merchants' Hall would possibly again become the meeting place of important commercial and industrial committees. Shorn as it is of its ancient grandeur, the hall has still an attraction of its own for all those lovers of the past, who have sufficient imagination to people its great rooms with a busy throng of Elizabethan merchants concentrated on making money, but not wholly regardless of the part they were playing in the great international drama.

Denuded as the chapel is of its five altars, its stained glass, its glittering gold images, its marble reredos, its beautifully worked altar cloths, it still has an attractive simplicity. The gloomy basement, the hospital so popular in medieval times that people paid to be allowed to live there, was sufficiently romantic to draw Dickens to pay repeated visits to its damp and airless rooms, where the great timber supports still give evidence of its former grandeur.

NOTE to pp. 81, 82, 84-98, 104-107.

The MS. from which these extracts were taken has been lost for several years. I worked from my own copy of a transcription made some time ago. When I first undertook to edit the MSS. of the Merchant Adventurers, I spent much time and energy on a futile search for the original. Assisted by Sir Henry Bemrose, I traced it to the library at Oakes-in-Norton. But in spite of a diligent search it could not be found. It was, however, discovered a few weeks ago; it had escaped detection because it had been returned to the library wrapped in brown paper, and the parcel not opened. Mr. and Mrs. Isherwood Bagshawe brought it to the Merchants' Hall, and most courteously have allowed me to collate my copy with the original.

In the following notes I draw attention to any points which seem to me to be of importance. Slight discrepancies in spelling I have left unnoticed. It is unfortunate that the MS. did not turn up before my volume was in print, but the differences between transcription and MS. are not serious.

The extract concerning William Cleveland on page 84 of the printed text has *vacat* written on the margin of the MS., and *mccc* on page 85, line 8, has been inserted by the transcriber. On page 86, line 3, the word *and* should be *sied*, and the paragraph beginning on line 7 is of an earlier date than the paragraph which it follows. In the next extract, page 86, lines 23, 24, the word *quarters* ought to be *parts*. *Et dimidium* is written *et di*, and would have been better unexpanded. On page 89 the word *payne* should be inserted before *ordande* in line 12. Opposite line 8, on page 90, *pro fraternitate* is inserted in the left margin; this clears up any doubt there might remain as to the duality of mystery and fraternity. *Vacat* appears opposite the ordinance beginning on page 91, line 7. On page 93, line 6, *Holand* should be inserted before *and Seland*. In the final line of the first ordinance on page 95, the word *commit* should read *convict*. On the following page, line 22, the word *aplis*, MS. *aptis*, should be printed *apostolis*. On page 97, line 33, *j* should be placed before *amictu*, which reads *amictatui*. On page 98, the second paragraph, the words *the hall* and *alt* should be deleted, and *the* substituted for *v*.

In the extract which chronicles the meeting of the mystery, on page 104, the fourth name should read *Felnetby*, and on page 105 the ordinances were not passed at the same meeting, but at one held later in the year 1503. The word *hird* should be *proved*. On page 107, line 9, the word *pott* ought, I think, to be *holl*, i.e. whole, unbroken, and the word *then*, three lines below, should be *therein*. In the next line the word *offer* should probably be *ottere*, i.e. utter, though this is not entirely clear. The word *hall* on line 23 should be *half*.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 3, lines 24, 25. *For faciende, retornande, read haciendas, retornandas.*
- „ 11, line 21. *For Margarete read Margareta.*
- „ 14, „ 32. *Insert (sic) after conveno.*
- „ 17, „ 5. *For Ade read Ada.*
- „ 20, „ 25. „ „
- „ 22, „ 22. *For datus read data.*
- „ 25, „ 31. *For scriptione read scripcione.*

YORK MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

De licencia faciendi quandam gildam in civitate Ebor'.

Rex, omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Supplicarunt nobis dilecti nobis Johannes Freboys¹ de Ebor', Johannes Crome, Radulphus de Romundby, Ricardus de Thoresby, Robertus de Pathorn, Johannes de Claydon, Johannes Redheved, Willelmus de Tikhill, Johannes de Morby, Willelmus de Everyngham, Johannes de Selby, Gerardus de Brummeby, et Johannes Best de Ebor', ut eis licenciam, quod ipsi quandam fraternitatem inire, et unam gildam de se ipsis et aliis, tam viris quam mulieribus, qui de dicta fraternitate esse voluerint, in civitate nostra Ebor', in honore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et beatissime Marie virginis, perpetuo duraturi, de novo facere et ordinare; et unum de fratribus illis, qui magister illius gilde nuncupetur, et qui regimen gilde predictae, ac custodiam omnium terrarum, tenementorum, possessionum, bonorum et catallorum, que eidem gilde temporibus futuris adquiri, dari, et assignari, sive ad eam pertinere contigerit, habeat, et pro gilda illa ac omnibus terris, tenementis, possessionibus, bonis et catallis predictis placitare et implacitari possit et debeat, quolibet anno eligere et successive constituere; dictoque magistro, et fratribus, et sororibus ejusdem gilde, quod ipsi alios in fratres et sorores, cum sibi

¹Johannes Freboys; *post* p. 4. Johannes Crome, mercer, became a freeman of York, 1348. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Radulphus de Romundby, mercer, 1341; *ibid.*, p. 36. Ricardus de Thoresby, hosier, 1348; *ibid.*, p. 41. Robertus de Pathorn, draper, freeman in 1349, chamberlain in 1359; *ibid.*, pp. 42, 53. Johannes de Clayton, hosier, freeman in 1348, chamberlain in 1359; *ibid.*, pp. 41, 54. Johannes Redheved does not appear in the roll of freemen until 1370; *ibid.*, p. 68. Willelmus de Tikhill, first appears in the roll as chamberlain in 1376; *ibid.*, p. 74. Johannes de Morby, potter, was chamberlain in 1333, another in 1357; *ibid.*, pp. 28, 52. Willelmus de Everyngham, litister, free in 1342; *ibid.*, p. 37. Johannes de Selby, a freeman of that name, a spicer, free in 1314, another, a verrouer, in 1359; *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 54. Gerardus de Brummeby, free in 1351, chamberlain in 1377 (?); *ibid.*, pp. 47, 75. Johannes Best, tanner, free in 1325; *ibid.*, p. 23.

placuerit, eligere et in fraternitatem suam assumere; terrasque et redditus cum pertinentiis, in civitate predicta, ad valorem decem librarum per annum, juxta verum valorem eorundem, que de nobis tenentur in burgagium, sibi et successoribus suis magistris, fratribus, et sororibus gilde predicte, imperpetuum habendas; ad inveniendum inde certos capellanos, divina singulis diebus, in ecclesia parochiali Sancte Crucis, Ebor', vel alibi infra civitatem predictam, pro animabus progenitorum nostrorum, quondam regum Anglie, salubri statu nostro, Philippe, regine Anglie, consortis nostre carissime, et Edwardi, principis Wallie, primogeniti nostri, ac aliorum liberorum nostrorum, necnon predictorum Johannis, Johannis, Radulphi, Ricardi, Roberti, Johannis, Johannis, Willelmi, Johannis, Willelmi, Johannis, Gerardi, et Johannis, ceterorumque fratrum et sororum, benefactorum gilde predicte, dum vixerimus, et pro anima nostra et animabus omnium aliorum supernominatorum, cum ab hac luce migraverimus, juxta ordinacionem magistri, fratrum, et sororum predictorum, imperpetuum celebraturos; necnon ad quedam alia pietatis opera sustentanda acquirere, et prefato magistro, quod ipse, temporibus oportunis, congregacionem de fratribus et sororibus suis antedictis, ad ordinandum pro statu et commodo dicte gilde, facere, et ibidem, de assensu eorundem fratrum et sororum, pro meliori regimine gilde illius, prout expedire viderit, ordinare possint; velimus concedere graciose.

Nos, ad pium et salubre propositum predictorum Johannis, Johannis, Radulphi, Ricardi, Roberti, Johannis, Johannis, Willelmi, Johannis, Willelmi et Johannis, Gerardi, et Johannis, in ea parte, consideracionem habentes ac volentes eo pretextu, necnon ut cum eis tanti operis participes effici valeamus, libencius et benignius supplicacioni sue annuere supradicte, de gracia nostra speciali, concessimus et licenciam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eisdem Johanni, Johanni, Radulpho, Ricardo, Roberto, Johanni, Johanni, Willelmo, Johanni, Willelmo, Johanni, Gerardo, et Johanni, quod ipsi quandam fraternitatem inire, et unam gildam de se ipsis et aliis, tam viris quam mulieribus, qui de dicta fraternitate esse voluerint, in dicta civitate nostra Ebor',

in honore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et beatissime Marie virginis, perpetuo duraturi, de novo facere et ordinare; et unum de fratribus illis, qui magister gilde illius nuncupetur, et qui regimen dicte gilde, ac custodiam omnium terrarum, et tenementorum, possessionum, bonorum et catallorum, que eidem gilde temporibus futuris adquiri, dari, et assignari, sive ad eam pertinere contigerit, habeat, et pro gilda illa ac omnibus terris et tenementis, possessionibus, bonis et catallis predictis, placitare et implacitari, possit et debeat, quolibet anno eligere et successive constituere; et tam prefatis magistro, fratribus, et sororibus, quod ipsi alios in fratres et sorores, cum sibi placuerit, eligere et in fraternitatem suam assumere; terrasque et redditus cum pertinenciis in civitate predicta, ad valentiam decem librarum per annum, juxta verum valorem eorundem, que de nobis tenentur in burgagium, sibi et successoribus suis magistris, fratribus, et sororibus gilde predicte imperpetuum habendos; ad inveniendum inde certos capellanos, divina in ecclesia predicta, in forma predicta, vel alibi infra civitatem predictam, imperpetuum celebraturos, necnon ad quedam alia pietatis opera sustentanda, statuto, de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, seu eo quod terre et redditus predicti de nobis, ut permittitur, tenentur, non obstante; dum tamen per legales inquisitiones inde faciende, et in cancellariam nostram et heredum nostrorum rite retornande, compertum fuerit, quod id fieri poterit, absque dampno seu prejudicio nostri et alterius cujuscumque, acquirere; quam prefato magistro, quod ipse, temporibus oportunitis, congregacionem de fratribus et sororibus suis antedictis, ad ordinandum pro statu et commodo dicte gilde, facere, et ibidem, de assensu eorundem fratrum et sororum, pro meliori regimine gilde illius prout expedire viderit, ordinare valeant, ut predictum est. Salvis semper nobis, et heredibus nostris, et aliis, serviciis de terris et redditibus predictis debitis et consuetis. In cujus etc. Teste rege, apud Westmonasterium xx die Marcii.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

P.R.O., Pat. R., 31 Ed. III, pt. 1, m. 18 (1357).¹

¹ cf. P.R.O., Pat. R., 45 Ed. III, pt. 1, m. 31; 20 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 21.

Account rolls of the fraternity of the blessed Mary, fo. 1a.

Faite a remembrer des espenses faite . . . les reparacouns des mesouns en Fossgate par J[ohan] Freboyse,¹ mestre du fraternite de nostre dame, lan du regne le roi E., tierz puis le conquist, xxxj (1357).

Item, en primes in iij homes aloues per x jours par mestre Johan le Keu,² viijs. jd. Item, en j sharette alowe en grosse, vs. jd. Item, paye a le eschetour pur son travaill, iijs. iiijd. *Summa* xvjs. vjd., paiez par J[ohan] Freboyse et J[ohan] de Neuton.³ Faite a remembrer des espenses faite entoure nos overours en le simaine procheyn devant le pentecost, lan avantdit (21 May–28 May). Item, en primes paye a une *clerk*, xxijd. pur les festes Wiłm (*sic*) de Hunetyngton,⁴ et de Johan de Neuton. Item, done as carpunters (*sic*) en meme lan et simaine, iiijs. Item, done pur le panage fere, iiijs. Item, en iiij overoures par le dit simaine, et une feme, vs. jd. Item, paye pur cariage par le dit simaine, vijs. vjd. *Summa* xxijs. vd., payez par J[ohan] Freboyse et J[ohan] de Neuton. Item, ballivis civitatis Ebor' pro suis angil', xs., solutum per Johannem Freboyse. Item, payez au berige au carpintere (*sic*), iiijd., par mestre John de Neuton. Item, solvit pictori pro labore suo, ex convencione, xvd. Item, in septimana sequenti in v operariis conductis in grosso, ijs. vijd. *Summa* xiiijs. ijd.

Item, uxori Hugonis de Erheris,⁵ xxvjs. viijd. *Summa* patet. Item, coopertori cum iij garsconibus suis per iij dies, ijs. vijd. Item, cuidam mulieri per ij dies, vd. Item, v

¹ Johannes de Frebois, mercer, made free of the city in 1338, chamberlain 1351, bailiff 1352, died 1361–2. He was Master of the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary in 1357 and 1358. He left a tenement and croft in Monkgate to his brother William with remainder to his own wife, and then "in puram et perpetuam elemosinam magistro fratribus, et sororibus gilde beate Marie in Fossegate, Ebor'." York Municipal Records, ^B fo. 116. *cf.* Register of S. Mary's, Castlegate, York (Yorks. Arch. Journal, vol. xv, pp. 142–198).

² "Willelmus le Keu of Stayngat," who took his freedom in 1283, is the only freeman of that name in the roll. York Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

³ Johan de Neuton; *cf.* Margaret Deanesly, The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle, pp. 64, 65. Register of the Corpus Christi Guild, Surtees Soc., vol. lvii, pp. 4, 14. Test. Ebor., vol. i, p. 364.

⁴ Willelmus de Hunetyngton, spicer, made a freeman in 1333, chamberlain in 1344. York Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 38.

⁵ Freeman of York, *op. cit.*, Hugo de Erghes, mercer, p. 41.

operariis per iij dies, vs. vij*d.* ob. Item, carpentario per j diem, vij*d.* Item, in cariagio per ij dies, ijs. v*d.* Et in potum datum per dictos iij dies, i*d.* Item, j scutil, i*d.* ob. Item, Mⁱ pinnes, iij*d.* Item, C.C. centz lattes, ijs. ix*d.* Item, in cariagio dictorum lattes, i*d.* Summa xv*s.* iij*d.* Item, solvit Johanni Best pro meremio ab eo empto, iij*li.* xiiij*s.* Summa patet. Memorandum quod Johannes Freboyse solvit vs. plus quod recepit.

Die Veneris proximo post festum Corporis Christi (9 June). Item, in vj hominibus laborantibus circa meremium apud Sayn Lenerd lendyng, ijs. Item, in ij carectariis conductis per iiij vices eodem die, xi*d.* Item, datum ad potum hominibus laborantibus eodem die, iij*d.* Item, in d[i]e Sabbati sequentis (10 June) in diversis cariagiis eodem die, ijs. x*d.* Item, j carpentario per iij dies, xvij*d.* Item, in portours pro meremo (*sic*) asportato et traccione de aqua de Ouse ad Sayn Lenard lendyng, ijs., et ad potum pro eisdem eodem die, i*d.* Item, vj hominibus laborantibus eodem die, ijs. x*d.* ob., et in potum pro eisdem eodem die, v*d.* Item, solvit Johanni Best pro meremio empto, xxijs. iij*d.* Summa xxx*vs.* i*d.* ob.

Item, in die Lune sequentis (12 June) in diversis expensis eodem die, iij*s.* i*d.* Item, in cariagio per ij dies pro ij carectariis, vs. Item, solvit Roberto Couper¹ pro meremo (*sic*) ab eo empto, xiiij*d.* Item, j bussel iij scutels empt', xiiij*d.* Item, j schvill empt', iij*d.* ob. Item, in sabulo empto, xvij*d.* Item, bragges empt', iij*d.* Item, diebus Marci, Mercurii, Veneris et Sabbati sequentibus (13, 14, 16, 17 June), videlicet, Johanni de Colwyk pro septimana sequenti, iij*s.* Et iij hominibus suis carpuntariis (*sic*), viij*s.* v*d.* In grosso conduct'. Item, a le saghers in partem sol' j rod', ijs. ix*d.* Item, Johanni Tehler et famulo suo per septimanam predictam, iij*s.* viij*d.* Item, in xv laborantibus per septimanam sequentem, xvijs. Item, in cariagio pro septimana sequenti, viij*s.* v*d.* Item, in stramine empto, i*d.* Summa l*vs.* xiiij*d.* ob.

Memorandum quod in compotis in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptiste (23 June), Johannes Freboys et magister Johannes

¹ Robertus Couper, cementarius. Yorks. Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser., Wills in York Registry, p. 45.

de Neuton dederunt carpentariis, xijs. Item, pro j *post et cariagio ejusdem*, ixs. xd. Item, tegulario et famulo suo, iijs. Item, in viij operariis, xjs. ix. Item, carectario pro cariagio, vs. viijd. Item, in potu eorundem, iijs. iiijd. Item, pro portagio de x mele de *lim*, xx. Item, pro cariagio de sabilon (*sic*) per ij dies, xijd. Item, pro vj trauis straminis, xijd. Item, pro *plaster empt'* et factura, xvijd. *Summa* ls. viijd.¹

Anno xxxj.

Item, priori de Marton² pro firma domorum, ix. de termino Pentecostes anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu xxxj (28 May, 1357). Item, in septimana sequente solverunt Johanni de Stoke, xljs., pro brevi de Ad Quod Dampnum. Item, solverunt Wythebrowe,³ xljs. iiijd., pro *plastre* ab eo empto cum cariagio. Item, solverunt Johanni de Colwyk,⁴ iijs., et iiij famulis suis, vjs., per septimanam predictam. Item, tectori et famulo suo, ijs. viijd. Item, pro *flekes empt'*, iiijs. ijd. Item, in cariagio per septimanam predictam, vjs. xjd. Et in alio cariagio, vijd. Item, in diversis hominibus laborantibus per septimanam predictam, ix. viijd. Item, in potu, per totam septimanam predictam, dato hominibus laborantibus, iijs. ijd. Item, pro j serura empta, iiijd. *Summa* vjli. xs.

Item, in septimana sequente⁵ in cariagio, iijs. vd., et in prandio suo, vjd. Item, in diversis operariis per septimanam predictam, ix. Item, in j muliere conducta per septimanam predictam, xijd. Item, carpentario per septimanam predictam, xs. vjd. Item, in potu per idem tempus, ijs. vijd. Item, in portacione *limis*, jd. ob. Item, tectori et famulo suo, iijs.

¹ *Summa* lvs. viijd. *Summa* xlvijs. viijd. inserted after xvij, but crossed through.

² Prior de Marton, Marton, on the River Foss, five miles south-east of Easingwold. The priory was founded by Bertram de Bulmer, in the reign of Stephen or Henry II, as a house for Augustinian canons and nuns. The nuns removed before 1167 to Moxby in the same neighbourhood. Johannes de Thresk was prior from 1349 to 1357. Victoria Hist. Yorks., vol. iii, pp. 223-226, 239.

³ Willelmus Whitebrow, plasterer, received the freedom of the city in 1333. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴ Johannes de Colwyk, carpenter, free in 1345; *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵ viijs. viijd. is inserted above sequente.

Item, pictori, xiiij*d.* Item in j *picoyse* empt', xiiij*d.* Item, stramine empto.¹ Item, pro teghillis (*sic*) emptis, vijs. *Summa xxxixs. vjd. ob.*²

Item, in septimana sequente, datum Johanni Colwyk et famulis suis, carpentariis, xjs. Item, in *saghers*, iijs. ijd. *ob.* Item, in tectoribus, iijs. iiiij*d.* Item, in ij laborantibus per eandem septimanam, xx*d.* Item, in j cariagio conducto, ix*d.* Item, in j muliere conducta, xjd. *ob.* Item, in lime empt' in eadem septimana, vijs. jd. Item, in potu per septimanam predictam, ijs. iiiij*d.* Item, in *cornertighil* empt' cum portacione, vjd. *ob.* Item, in vj *regald'* et vj *waynscotes*, vjs. iiiij*d.* *Summa xxxvjs. xjd.*

Item, in septimana sequente, solutum pro j trunco, iijs. iiiij*d.* Item, Johanni Winter solutum pro cariagio ij dierum, xij*d.* Item, pro mundacione domi, vjd. Item, pro *flekez* solutz', xiiij*d.* *ob.* Item, solverunt carpentario (*sic*) in septimana sequente, xiijs. vjd. Item, a les *mathoumes* pur les *grundes faire*, vjs. Et William Wynter a les dites *matthoums*, ijs. Item, a les *saghers*, vs. xd. Item, iij operariis per septimanam (*sic*) predictam, iiijs. iiiij*d.* Item, in ij mel' emptis, vd. Item, in v arboribus emptis, xjs. vij*d.* Item, in *cole* empt', iiiij*d.* Item, in potu empto per septimanam predictam, ijs. vjd. *Summa lijs. jd. ob.*

Item, in septimana sequente, pro *latez* de Doncaster emptis, iiij mill', cum portagio, xxijs. vjd. Item, pro viij c. *lattez* emptis, cum portagio, iiijs. viij*d.* Item, in portagio de x mele de *lim*, xxjd. Recept' de Johanne de Selby, per manus Petri Irenmanger, pro cariagio unius caracte (*sic*), per j diem et dimidiam, ijs. vjd. Item, Willelmo Market³ pro cariagio, xd. *ob.* Item, Willelmo Winter pro cariagio, ij dierum vjd. Item, in j sa empt', xd. Item, in j *masoun*, ijs. vjd. Item, in vj carpon-

¹ No price given.

² *Summa xxxijs.* with vij above ijs. xjd. *ob.* is inserted above xxxixs. vjd. *ob.* but crossed through.

³ Willelmus Market does not appear in the freemen's list; but in 1411 Henry Market, merchant, takes up his freedom, and in 1436 becomes chamberlain. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 151. If he were any relation to Willelmus Market, the family must have gone to Germany, for in 1430 Henry Market was naturalised as an Englishman, "Henricus Market infra partes Almannie oriundus." York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 185, 186.

tariis (*sic*), xiijs. vjd. Item, in v operariis per eandem septimanam, vs. Item, in potacione per eandem septimanam, ijs. *Summa* lvjs. viijd.

Item, liberatum abbati de Wytheby¹ pro arreragiis tene-mentoribus in *Fosgate*, xijs. Item, solutum carpentariis per septimanam sequentem, xjs. vjd. Item, iij operariis, ijs. ix*d.* ob. Item, in j carecta conducta, iijd. Item, in potu per septimanam predictam, xvjd. ob. *Summa* xxvijs. xjd.

Item, in septimana sequente in carpentariis, xjs. vjd. Item, in ij operariis cum j muliere, iijs. ijd. Item, in diversis expensis circa carpentarios et alios operarios, in prandium, ijs. vij*d.* Item, in die Martis et Mercurii, in cibo, xiiij*d.* circa *candlemas*. Item, in diebus Veneris et Sabbati, in cibo, ijs. *Summa* xxs. vd.

Item, in septimana sequente in carpentariis, xiiijs. Item, in iij operariis per eandem, iiijs. ijd. Et datum in diversis expensis, xd. Memorandum de expensis factis per Thomam de Calton et Willelmum de Duresme,² collectores debitorum, anno Domini m^lccc^olvij, videlicet, die Lune proxima post festum Assumpcionis beate Marie (21 August) per septimanam sequentem, Johanni de Colwik, iijs. Willelmo de Sutton,³ ijs. vjd., Ricardo de Barneby, ijs. vjd. Item, in carpentariis per septimanam, vjs. Item, Johanni Mason per j septimanam, ijs. iiijd. Item, in operariis per ij dies et dimidiam, xxi*d.*, in potu, ijd. Item, Margaretis, xd. Item, in potu operariorum, xv*d.* Item, pro cerotecis operariorum datis, ijs. *Summa* xxijs. vjd.

Septimana sequente serratoribus, xjd. Item, pro cariagio eorundem, xxjd. Item, Johanni de Colwik, iijs. Item, in carpentariis, vjs., in potu carpentariorum, xiiij*d.* Item, serratoribus pro iij diebus et dimidia, iiijs. viij*d.* Item, ij

¹ Willelmus de Burton succeeded Thomas de Hawkesgarth in 1355. Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fo. 73*a*. The Abbot of Whitby was a spiritual Baron, and had the use of the mitre and other pontifical insignia. Vic. Hist. Yorks., vol. iii, p. 104.

² Willelmus de Duresme had a tenement on Fossbridge, for which he paid xxiijs. a year, in 1376. York Memorandum Book, vol. i, p. 11, Surtees Soc., vol. 120.

³ Willelmus de Sutton, pelter, free of the city in 1325, chamberlain in 1336. York Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 50.

operariis, ijs. jd. ob., in potu, iijd. Item, pro cariagio per j diem et dimidiam, ijs. iiijd., pro sabulo. Item, pro cariagio meren ii Johannis Albon,¹ xiiiijd., et eodem die in potu, vjd. Item, pro *wire* de ferro, vd. *Summa* xxiiijs. ijd.

Memorandum quod Willemus de Ulston² dedit gilde, unam magnam tabulam, que vocatur *meetebord*. Memorandum quod Johannes Freboys accomodavit Willelmo de Huntington, *spicer*, iij mele *lym*, et Johanni de Erkerig iij mele *lym*, et Johanni de Erkerig iij mele *lym*. Memorandum quod nos dileveravimus (*sic*) magestro Johanni de Neuton, xxs. Item, xld. pro *bordes deuel hyng* Thomas Calto[n]. Memorandum quod de septimana proxima ante festum Nativitatis beate Marie (1-7 September) in primis, Johanni de Colwik, carpentario, iijs. Item, iij carpentariis, vjs. Item, Johanni Abbott et socio, iijs. Item, pro cariagio ij carectarum per ij dies, ijs. ix*d.* Item, pro *lym*, xxij mele, xxijs. iijd. Item, pro portagio *lym*, iiijs. Item, ij serratoribus, iiijs. vjd. Item, pro ij mill' pinnis pro tegulis, vjd. Item, Margarete, xijd. Item, pro potu omnium operariorum, ijs. iijd. ob. In congregacione fratrum in Dominica sequente, pro potu, vjd. Item, in festo Nativitatis beate Marie (8 Sept.) pro potu fratrum congregatorum, iiijd. ob. *Summa* ljs. ix*d.* ob.

Septimana sequente, Johanni de Colwik, iijs. Item, Willelmo de Sutton, carpentario, ijs. vjd. Item, Roberto, carpentario, ijs. vjd. Item, in carpentariis, vjs. Item, Johanni Abbott et socio suo, iijs. Item, ij serratoribus, iiijs. vjd. Item, j carectario per iij dies et dimidiam, vjs. ix*d.*, in potu, iiijd. Item, solutum Johanni Lacell pro meremio, xls. iiijd. Item, Margarete, xijd. Item, pro potu illa septimana, ijs. iijd. *Summa* iij*li.* xijs. ijd.

... Item, septimana sequente Thome de Lineland,³ pro meremio empto, vs. iiijd. Item, pro cariagio unius carecte, per ij dies

¹ Johannes Albon, payntour, was made a freeman in 1332, and became chamberlain in 1355; *ibid.*, pp. 27, 50.

² Willemus de Ulveston? was made free of the city in 1330; he was a chapman; *ibid.*, p. 26.

³ Tho. de Linelandes, cordwaner, made a freeman in 1348; *ibid.*, p. 41. The village of Lineland, now Lyland, in the parish of Allerton Mauleverer. cf. York Mem. Book, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 6.

cariantis *clay*, ijs. vij*d.* Item pro *husgabello*,¹ iiij*d.* Johanni de Colewek pro salario suo, iijs. Willelmo de Sutton, ijs. v*d.* Item, Waltero Dunnok, carpentario, ijs. i*d.* Item, Roberto carpentario, pro j die et dimidia, ix*d.* Item, iij carpentariis, vjs. Item, Johanni Abbott et socio suo, iijs. Item, ancille Margarete, xi*d.* Item, Johanni, filio Gregorii, per j diem et dimidiam, vij*d.* Item, Johanni de Malton die Sabbati, i*d.* Item, Johanni de Hamelsay per j diem et dimidiam, v*d.* Item, in potu omnium operariorum septimana, xxi*d.* *Summa* xxixs. viij*d.*

Memorandum quod magister Johannes de Neuton habuit pro j granario, iijs. iiij*d.* Item, idem Johannes accomodavit de Willelmo de Dorem, iiij*s.* Item, Thomas de Salveton de arreragiis, viij*d.* *Summa* viijs.

Item, septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik, iijs. Item, Roberto de Byrn, ijs. v*d.* Willelmo de Sutton, ijs. v*d.* Item, iij carpentariis, vjs. Item, Waltero Dunnok, carpentario, ijs. vij*d.*, Willelmo Wytebrowe, vjs. viij*d.* Item, Johanni Gregori, ijs. i*d.* Item, ij operariis, ijs. j*d.* Item, j operario, xv*d.* Item, Johanni Abbott et socio suo, iijs. iiij*d.* Item, ij serratoribus, iiij*s.* Item, ancille Margarete, x*d.* ob. Item, carectariis, ijs. v*d.* Item, in potu pro omnibus operariis, iijs. v*d.* *Summa* xlijs. viij*d.*

Item, septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik, iijs. Item, Willelmo de Sutton et Roberto Byrn, iiij*s.* x*d.* Item, Waltero Dunnok,² xv*d.* Willelmo de Wartre,³ ijs. iiij*d.* Item, iij carpentariis, vjs. Item, Johanni Gregori, xv*d.* Item, Johanni Abbott et socio, iijs. v*d.* Item, ij operariis, xv*d.* Item, operariis, xvii*d.* Item, Margarete, xiiij*d.* Item, caractariis (*sic*) per iiij dies et dimidiam, vs. vij*d.* ob. Item, in potu et gantaculis, vs. *Summa* xxxvjs. x*d.*

Item, septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik, iijs. Item, Willelmo de Sutton, ijs. v*d.* Item, Waltero Dunnok, ijs. i*d.*

¹ Husgabello, house rent. F. W. Maitland, Township and Borough, pp. 48, 70, 74, 84, 143, 180.

² There is no Walterus Dunnok in the list of freemen, but Hugo Dunnok, mercer, took his freedom in 1356, and the will of John Dunnok, from Dansk, is given in Test. Ebor., vol. i, fo. 2.

³ Willelmus de Wartre, a member of the tapiters' mistery. York Mem. Book, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Item, Willelmo de Warter, ijs. iiijd. Item, Roberto de Byrn, ijs. iiijd. Item, iij carpentariis, vjs. Item, Johanni Abbott et socio suo, iijs. Item, iij operariis per septimanam, vs. iiijd. Item, Willelmo Wodehewer, xvjd. Item, ancille Margarete, xijd. Item, Ricardo Wytebrowe, xs. Item, Johanni Gregori, ijs. Item, j carectario per j diem et dimidiam, xxiyd. ob. Item, Johanni Catour pro j trunco empto, ijs. Item, Willelmo Winter pro *spicez*, iijd. Item, pro pinnis tegularum, vjd. Item, pro j *fanne*, viijd. Item, in gantaculis operariorum, xviijd. Item, in potu operariorum, iiijs. ijd. *Summa* lijs. vjd. ob.

Septimana sequente Johannes de Colwyk, iijs. Willelmo de Sutton, ijs. vjd. Waltero Dunnok, ijs. ijd. Robertus de Byrn, ijs. vjd. Willelmus de Warter, ijs. iiijd. Item, carpentarii, vs. xd. Johannes filius Gregorii et socius ejus, vjs. Johannes Abbot et socius ejus, ijs. viijd. Item, iij operarii per septimanam, iijs. vjd. Johannes, famulus Johannis de Westmerland, ijs.¹ Willelmus Lordson, iiijd. Item, pro portagio *lymi*, viijd. Uxor (*sic*) Ricardi Potter pro meremio, ijs. viijd. Item, in potu omnium operariorum per septimanam, iiijs. ijd. Margarete ancilla, xijd. *Summa* xls. xjd.

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwyk, iijs. Waltero Dunnok, ijs. ijd. Roberto de Byrn, carpentario, ijs. ijd. Item, ij carpentariis, iijs. xd. Item, pro cariagio unius carecte per ij dies et j quarteriam, iijs. iiijd. Item, iij operarii per septimanam, vs. Item, Gilberto Doull, xvd. Item, ij operarii colligentes tegulas, xviijd. Item, j cementario per septimanam, iijs. iiijd. Item, Johanni Gregori et socio suo, iiijs. Item, serratoribus, xijd. Item, Margarete, xijd. Item, in potu operariorum per septimanam, iijs. vd. Item, pro v *sperris* emptis, ijs. vjd. *Summa* xxxvijs. vjd.

Expense facte apud Scardeburgh, circa seisynam domorum Willelmi de Carnetby per donum Ricardi de Tadcaster² et Willelmi de Duresme, viijs. ijd. ob.

¹ A Johannis de Westmerland. mason, was made free of the city in 1364. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

² Ricardus de Tadcaster; the name Tadcaster occurs six times in the first volume of the York Freemen's List, but none of the six bear the name of Richard. Among the wills in the York Registry (1389-1514) it occurs once, vol. vi, p. 163.

Septimana sequente in carpentariis, vijs. vijd. Item, serratoribus, iiijs. Item, Johanni Gregory et socio (*sic*), viijs. viijd. Item, cementario, xiijd. *ob.* Item, Ricardo Wytebrowe, xs. Item, iij operariis, ijs. ix*d.* Item, Margarete, vijd. Item, pro portagio *lyme*, xv*d.* Item, pro tabulis de Kendal, iijs. ijd. Roberto de Byrn, carpentario, ijs. jd. Item, pro portagio *lym*, xx*d.* Item, in potu, ijs. iiijd. *ob.* *Summa* xlvjs. iiijd. *ob.*

Septimana proxima post festum Omnium Sanctorum (Wednesday, November 1), pro xv melle de *lym*, xvs. Item, pro portagio, iiijs. Item, in carpentariis eadem septimana, xjs. Item, in serratoribus, iijs. Item, in tribus operariis, iiijs. x*d.* Item, Ricardo Wytebrowe, vjs. viijd. Item, pro ix quarteriis *sablon'*, et pro portagio, iijs. Item, Ade, fabro sagittarum, pro ceris et ligaminibus ferreis, iijs. v*d.* Item, pro ligamine unius *saa*, ijd. Item, in potu omnium operariorum, ijs. jd. *Summa* liijs. jd.

Septimana sequente in carpentariis, vjs. Item, in iij operariis et una ancilla, iiijs. ix*d.* Item, Johanni de Westmerland et servo suo, iiijs. Item, serratoribus, iijs. Item, Ricardo Wytebrowe, vjs. viijd. Item, in candela, ijd. *ob.* Item, in potu omnium operariorum, xx*d.* *Summa* xxvjs. iijd. *ob.*

Septimana sequente in carpentariis, vs. vjd. Item, serratoribus, iijs. Item, in iij operariis, iijs. viijd. Item, pro firma Abbati de Wyteby, ijs. Item, in potu omnium operariorum, ijs. ijd. *Summa* xvjs. iiijd.

Septimana sequente in carpentariis, iiijs. x*d.* Ricardo Wytebrowe, vjs. viijd. Item, in potu, vjd. Item, Johanni Abbot, xx*d.* Item, Johanni de Hemelsay,¹ iiijd. Ricardo de Topclyff,² viijd. Item, ancille Margarete, xijd. Item, in potu, ijd. *Summa* xvs. x*d.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo suo, iiijs. x*d.* Item, Ricardo de Topclyff pro j die, iijd. *ob.* Item, Willelmo clerico pro j hostio, viijd. *Summa* vs. ix*d.* *ob.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo suo, iiijs. vjd. Septimana proxima post festum Circumcisionis

¹ Johannes de Hemelsay, spicer, free in 1370. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

² Ricardus de Topclyff, draper, free in 1375; *ibid.*, p. 74.

Domini (1 January), Johanni de Colwik, iiijs. vjd. Item, ij operariis per ij dies, xiiijd. Item, solutum escaetori domini regis, xs. *Summa xvs. xd.*

Septimana proxima post festum Epiphanie Domini (6 January), Johanni de Colwik, iiijs. vjd. Item, pro cariagio tegularum coopertorum, xijd. Item, J[ohanni] de Hemelsay per iij dies, xd. ob. Item, Ricardo de Topclyff per ij dies, vijd. Item, pro cariagio lapidum, iiijd. *Summa vijs. iijd. ob.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik, iiijs. vjd. Item, pro ligamine j capse, ijs. Item, pro cariagio tegularum pro parietibus, viijd. *Summa vijs. ijd.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo, iiijs. vjd. Item, pro potu, iiijd. ob. *Summa iiijs. xd. ob.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo suo, iiijs. vjd. Item, pro *sabloun*, xd. Item, pro clavis, iijs. vjd. Item, serratoribus, xixd. Item, pro clavis, iijd. ob. Item, pro pinnis tegularum, vjd. *Summa xjs. ijd.*

Septimanis tribus sequentibus Johanni de Colwyk et servo suo solutum est, per manus Willelmi de Dorem, xiijs.

Septimana proxima post festum Sancti Petri in cathedra (22 February), solutum Johanni de Colwyk, iiijs. vjd. Johanni de Hemelsay pro ij diebus, vijd. Item, pro cariagio meremii, iiijd. Item, serratoribus, ijs. Item, solutum *plastr'*, xjd. *Summa viijs. iiijd.*

Septimana sequente Johanni Colwik et famulo suo, iiijs. vjd. Item, *platters* pro potu, et j *pec de plaster*, vjd. Item, Johanni de Hemelsay, xvijd. ob. Item, in expensis apud Bolton Persi, vd. ob. *Summa vjs. xjd.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik, iiijs. vjd. Item, pro potu inter fratres, iiijd. Item, fabro cuidam pro diversis operibus, xixd. Item, pro victu operariorum circa meremium, xiijd. *Summa, vijs. vjd.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo suo, iiijs. vjd. Johanni de Hemelsay, xixd. Item, serratoribus, iiijs. Item, solutum pro viij arboribus emptis apud Bolton Percy, iijli. Item, in cariagio eorundem, xjs. jd. Item, ij *pylers* lapidarum (*sic*), xs. iiijd. *Summa iijli. xjs. xjd.*

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo suo,

iiijs. vjd. Item, j operario, xixd. Item, serratoribus, iijs. Item, pro lx arboribus emptis apud Bolton Percy, xxvijs. vjd. Item, pro cariagio eorundem lx arborum, vs. vjd. Item, pro octo arboribus longis, iijli.¹ Item, pro cariagio eorundem, xjs. jd.² Item, pro *plantures* iij rod', xxijs. Item, cariagio eorundem, vs. vjd. Item, pro *gistez et soles*, xxs., pro cariagio, vs. Item, Johanni de Gisburgh³ pro *waynscot*, j marc.

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik, iiijs. vjd. Item, operariis, xixd. Item, serratoribus, iijs. ix d. Escaetori domini regis solutum per manus Johannis Freboys, xxs., et ballivorum Ebor', dim. marc, quos recepit de Johan Bertollie, pro carta domini regis, xxiiijs. vjd., et pro dorcione, dim. marc. Item, in expensis magistri Johannis de Neuton apud London, xls. De septimana proxima post festum Pasche et synodo eodem, Johanni de Colwik et famulo suo (2-9 April, 1358), vs. Item, serratoribus, ijs. vjd. Item, operariis, ij hominibus, ijs. Item, *plastres*, xxd. *Summa* xjs. ijd.

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et famulo suo, vs. Item, ij operariis conductis, iijs. iiijd. Item, pro j dieta uni operario, iijd. Item, in potu pro operariis, per septimanam, xvd. Item, pro v mele *lym*, vjs. viij d. Item, pro portagio *lym*, xvd. *Summa* xvij s. ix d.

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et famulo, vs. Item, j carpentario operanti cum eisdem, ijs. Item, Johanni Gregori et famulo suo, iijs. Item, serratoribus operantibus, iijs. vjd. Item, operariis operantibus, iijs. jd. Item, in potu omnium operariorum, vjd., in clavis et *lattez*, xixd. Item, pro j carecta per iij dies et dimidiam, vjs. viij d.

Septimana sequente proxima post festum Sancti Marci Ewangeliste, Johannes de Colwik et servus suus, vijs. Johannes filius Gregorii, iiijs. vjd. Item, in serratoribus, xijd. Item, in iij operariis, vs. vjd. Item, in covenio Roberto de Ampelforth, viij d. Item, pro portagio tegularum, vjd. Item, in potu omnium operariorum, xxd.

Septimana sequente Johanni de Colwik et servo suo, iiijs. ijd.

¹ Crossed through in MS.

² *Ibid.*

³ Johannis de Gisburgh, mariner, free of the city in 1356. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

Item, j carpentario, *xxd.* Item, Johannes filius Gregorii et socius ejus, *xxd.*, et in potu, *iijd.* Item, in *doubers*, *iiijs. vijd.* Item, in potu, *vs.* Item, in pinnis pro tegulis, *vjd.*

Memorandum quod empeio lapidum softitit (*sic*) primo empt' de Willelmo Kyng de Ebor', *xli. vijs. vjd.* Item, in cariagio unius nave, pro quatuor, *iijs. jd.* Item, in cariagio alterius nave, *iijs. jd.* Item, in operarios portantes lapides apud Clyfton et Castelm[ills ?], laborantes per ij dies, *iiijs. ijd.* Item, serratoribus, *xiii jd.* Item, pro *brod* clavis, pro lapidibus, *ij mill'*, *vs.* Item, pro *strabroddis* j mill', *xvjd.* Item, viij *dore lattez*, *vjs. viijd.* Item, pro j mill' de *strabroddis*, *xxd.* Item, pro servicia empta de uxore Gerardi de Brunby, *xijd.* Item, in stramine pro *doubers*, *iijs.* Item, pro *blatlattis*, *iiij c. ijs.* *Summa xijli. xviijs. ijd.*

Item, in septimana sequente Johanni Colwyk cum ij serventibus suis, *vijs.* Item, Johanni Gregson, *iijs. ix d.* Item, seratoribus in grosso conductis, *xd.* Item, *ij doubers*, *iiijs. xd.* Item, in pinnis pro tegulis, videlicet, *ij m^l, ix d.* Item, in *iiij* hominibus conductis circa lapides, per *iiij* dies, *vs. iijd.* Item, Roberto Teghilled pro *ij m^l* et dimidio cariag', *ijs. vjd.* Item, in potu, die Veneris et Sabati, inter consortes, *vjd.* Item, Roberto de Ampilforth pro *viij lattis* et clavis, *xijs. ijd.* Item, fratribus Carmel' pro *xx* mille de *Walteghill*, *vjli.*, et pro cariagio ejusdem, *xs. viijd.* Et in potu per totam septimanam, circa omnes operarios, *vijd.* Et in niger' *lattis* emptis *C* et dim', *ix d.* *Summa viijli. ix s. viijd.*

Item, die Dominica proxima post festum Assencionis Domini (10 May) Johannes Freboyse solvit Roberto Coke, pro cariagio tegulis (*sic*) et sabulis (*sic*), *ijs.* Item, die Sabbati in vigilia Pentecostes (19 May). Item (*sic*) Johanni Colwyk cum duobus famulis suis, per septimanam predictam, *vijs.* Item, in die Dominica proxima post Pentecostes (27 May) in convocacione fratrum, in pane et cervisia, *ijs.* Item, in *counters* empt' de Johanne Freboyse, *xd.* Item, in cariagio *ij mill'* et dim' et sabulo, *ijs. vjd.* Item, Radulpho de Romundby¹ pro potu, *iiijd.* Item, *iiij* operariis cariantibus

¹ Radulphus de Romundby, mercer, made a freeman in 1341, chamberlain in 1359. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 53.

petras per iij dies, iijs. ix*d.* Et in potu per idem tempus, v*d.* Item, in j alio operario, per iij dies, x*d.*¹ Stephano de Cnapton,² iij*d.* ob. Item, in ij operariis, per septimanam predictam, iijs. Item, Johanni Gregson cum famulo suo, per septimanam predictam, iijs. v*d.* Item, Ade Arousmyth per seruram emptam et emendandam, iijs. iii*d.* Item, Willelmo de Hoton, *douber*, xxii*d.* Item, Johanni Homelsay per eandem septimanam, xxii*d.* Item, in stramine empto de Johanne Caporon³ seniore, et iiiij trauis emptis per Johannem Colwyk, xv*d.* Et in potu per totam septimanam circa omnes operarios, xv*d.* Item, in *loveres* emptis de Johanni Sampole,⁴ vs. Item, in cirpis emptis, i*d.* *Summa* xls. viij*d.*

Compotus Johannis de Esheton, magistri gilde beate Marie, in Fossegate in Ebor', a die Assumpcionis beate Marie, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum xl^{mo} (15 August, 1366), usque idem festum anno revoluto, et Hugonis Jonck, et Ade de Oxonia, et Thome Lynelandes, camerariorum ejusdem gilde, de omnibus receptis, misis et expensis tangentibus dictam gildam.

De Thoma de Kelpyne, mercer, vjs. viij*d.* De Willelmo Couper, mercer, vjs. viij*d.* De Johanne de Derlyngton, mercer, vjs. viij*d.* De Johanne Beverlaco, draper, vjs. viij*d.* De Adam de Dovere, coco, iijs. iii*d.* De Rogero de Morton, xxs. De Johanne de Heuyk, v*d.* De Philippo de Heskrik, xxd. De Elena de Lynne, vidua, iii*d.* De Adam de Seteryngton, draper, vjs. viij*d.* De Johanne Bakester, x*d.* De Willelmo de Feriby, ijs. De Johanne de Wysome, bakester, vjs. viij*d.* De Johanne de Skelton, carnifice, Willelmo de Tikhill et Johanne Spicer, de Novo Castro super Tynam, per manus Ricardi de Thoresby, xxxiijs. iii*d.* De Thoma de Thuayt, iijs. iii*d.* De Simone de Setryngton, mercer, vjs. viij*d.* De Johanne de Kirkeham, potter, iijs. De Johanne de

¹ After x*d.*, iij*d.* ob. is inserted but crossed through.

² Stephanus de Cnapton, toundour, free of the city in 1349; *ibid.*, p. 43.

³ Johannes Caporon, mercer, free in 1315; he came from Scotton; *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ Johannes Sampole, tighler, free of the city in 1350; *ibid.*, p. 45.

Wysome, bakere, vjs. viijd. De Johanne Fabro, de Stayne-gate, iijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Thornton, spicer, xijd. De uxore Simonis Gouke, vjs. viijd. De uxore Willelmi Couper, iijs. iiijd. De Matilde de Neuby, xxd., et unam ollam eneam. De Johanne Gaudyn, et Petro Irenmangher, et Ade de Oxonia, xviijd. De Rogero de Morton, mercatore, xijd. De Willelmo de Bronby, capellano, ex accomodato, xxs. De Johanne de Scardburgh, pictore, xs. De testamento Bartholomei de Whiteby, iijli. De Johanne Barker de Whiteby, vjs. viijd. De uxore Johannis de Crosseby, ijs. De Johanne de Wysome, vjs. viijd. De legato testamenti Beatricis de Ampleford, defuncte, xs. De Radolpho de Romondby, de firma sua premanibus soluta, a festo pentecostes proximo sequente (6 June, 1367) dat' istius compoti, ij annorum tunc prox' sequencium, pro quadam domo infra mansum dicte gilde super pavementum situata, xls. De redditibus et firmis de diversis tenementis receptis de termino Martini,¹ ut patet per rentale hoc anno, ixli. iijs. ijd. De Ricardo de Thoresby, iijs. iiijd. De magistro Johanne, coco, xxd. De Eva de Crome, vidua, xld. De Johanne de Clayton, *draper*, xxd. De Johanne de Scardburgh, pictore, vjs. viijd. De Johanne de Derlyngton, vjs. viijd. De Radolpho de Romandby, xxs. De Thoma de Kelypne, xvd. De Johanne de Beverlaco, iijs. iiijd. De Waltero de Ryse, iijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Thornton, *spicer*, recept', in crastino Epiphanie Domini (7 January) hoc anno, xxs. De Eva de Crome, vidua, vjs. viijd. De Vicario de Popilton, xxd. De Johanne de Dunylton, de Kyngeston super Hull, xiijs. iiijd. De Ricardo del Lidez hate,² iijs. iiijd. De Thoma de Sutton, *mercer*, iijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Scheffeld, *skinner*, iijs. iiijd. De Ricardo de Aske, iijs. iiijd. De magistro Johanne Cok de Neuton (*sic*), iiijd. De Johanne de Kirkeby, serviente domini de Percy, iijs. iiijd. De Thoma de Sutton, *mercer*, iijs. iiijd. De Ricardo del Lideyatte,³ iijs. De Willelmo Cooper, *mercer*, xs. De Johanne de Thornton,

¹ "Hoc anno" is written after Martini but crossed through.

² The Freeman's Roll does not throw light on the identity of Ricardus del Lidez hate, Lideyatte. Robertus del Lydeyate, taillour, was made a freeman in 1328, and Ricardus atte Lydyate in 1345.

³ *Ibid.*

spicer, Johanne de Thornton, *spicer (sic)*, vjs. viijd. De Rogero de Morton, *mercer*, ijs. iiijd. De Johanne Derlyngton, *mercer*, ijs. iiijd. De Eva de Crome, vidua, vjs. viijd. De Stephano de Kapton, *xxd.* De Ricardo de Thoresby, *draper*, ijs. De Radulpho ¹de Romonby, *xxs.* De Johanne de Beverlay, *draper*, *xxd.* De capellano de Howke, *xxxviijs. iiijd.* De Johanne de Laycles, de Escrike, *xs.* De Johanne de Kyrkham, *potter*, vjs. viijd. De Philippo de Essekrrike, ijs. iiijd. De Roberto de Boynton, *bower*, vjs. viijd. De Hugone de Donoke, *mercer*, xvjs. viijd. De Thoma de Metecome, *xijd.* De Thoma, serviente Eve de Crome, pro Willelmo de Dawlton, *mercer*, xiijs. iiijd. De Petro de Thorppe, *xxd.* De Alicia de Baugke, *xs.*² De Johanna uxore Roberti de Dall, *xs.* De uxore Thome de Malton, vjs. viijd. De Nonia de Roderham, vjs. viijd. De Johanne de Claydon, *xxd.* De Willelmo de Wynter, *xxd.* De Johanne de Neuton, *coke*, vjs. viijd. De uxore Johannis de Crosseby, ijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Gaudyn, vjs. viijd. De Eve de Crome, xiijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Thorneton, *spicer*, xiijs. iiijd. De domino Ade de Heddelay, vjs. viijd. De Rogero de Morton, vjs. viijd. De Willelmo de Durem, vjs. viijd. De Willelmo de Everyng-ham, vjs. viijd. *Summa xxjli. xxd.*

De Johanne de Crosseby, vjs. viijd. De Johanne de Beverlaco, ijs. iiijd. De Thoma de Rypyn, ijs. iiijd. De uxore Johannis de Crosseby, ijs. iiijd. De Ricardo de Waddeby, pro lapidibus venditis, *vijli. vjs. viijd.* De Celia Barbor, *xijd.* De Stephano de Kapton, *schereman*, *xxd.* De Radulpho de Romunby, ex accomodato, *xls.* De Petro de Thorppe, ijs. iiijd. De Johanna uxore Roberti de Dall, *xxs.* De Willelmo de Brone, *ijs.* De Johanne Saucer, *thighler*, ijs. iiijd. De Johanne Berkelay, *cissor*, *xijd.* De Johanne de Derlyngton, *ijs. iiijd.* De Johanne de Wysom, *xld.* De Hugone Donnet, *ijs.* De Ade Setryngton, ³*draper*, vjs. viijd. De Agnete de Kylfeld, ijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Beverlay, *draper*, ijs. iiijd. De

¹ The second skin, which is stitched to the first, begins here.

² Alicia de Baugke, Bagke, possibly Bagby. York Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 17, 26, 27.

³ The third skin begins here

Johanne de Thorneton, *spicer*, ex accomodato, xiijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Crosseby, ex accomodato, xxs. De Ade de Boynton, *mercer*, vjs. viijd. De domino Willelmo, capellano de Howke, xxxiijs. iiijd. De Alicia de Baugke, vjs. viijd. De Willelmo Coper, ex accomodato, xs. De firma premanibus recepta de Willelmo Shereman, xxs.¹ De Willelmo Coper, *mercer*, ex accomodato, xxs. De Johanne de Thornton, *spicer*, ex accomodato, vjs. viijd. De domino Johanne Brizerton, pro vadiis, iijli. xiijs. iiijd. De Ricardo de Thoresby, pro firma, xxs. De Johanne de Claydon (*sic*), pro firma, xxs. De Petro de Thorppe, pro firma, xs. De Johanne de Scareburgh, *pictor*, vjs. viijd. De Willelmo de Everyngham, pro firma, vjs. viijd. De Johanne de Neuton, *coke*, xxs. De Margareta Tufhane, morante in ista domo, xvs. iiijd. De Matilde de Neuby, ex accomodato, xxs. De reditu nostro, xjs. viijd. De Stephano de Kapton, xxd. De Willelmo de Wynter, xxd. De Ade Bokebinder, Oxinforth, iijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Hewyt, xviijd. De Thoma de Twatte, iijs. iiijd. De Ade Dover, iijd. De Willelmo de Feriby, iijs. iiijd. De Alicia de Bagke, iijs. iiijd. De Johanne de Thornton, *spicer*, ex accomodato, xx.² De Johanne de Wysom,³ vjs. viijd. De Symone de Setrington, vjs. viijd. De Eva de Crome, vidua, per manus Willelmi de Brunby,⁴ xiijs. iiijd. De Edwardo Fancurt de Bruneby,⁵ vjs. viijd. De Willelmo Laycester, xs. De Hemota de Wahter, xxs. De Agnete de Thaxton, xs. *Summa xvli. vjs. viijd.* ⁶*mutuato (sic) de Willelmo Everyngham de j ciphio argenteo, ij iiij^{cc}.* Et de domino Johanne de Rudeby, iijli. *Summa totalis receptorum, iiij^{xxli}. xjs. iiijd.*⁶ Item, Willelmo Hunderlyghe, ijs. Item, Johanni Hembelsay, pro labore suo, ijs. Item, Johanni de Bolton, pro labore

¹ A line beginning with "de predicti nostro," followed by an erasure of the line which follows, and with xs. *xd.*, is inserted here. *Summa xixli. xvs. vjd.* is put in the margin.

² There is an omission after xx, probably s.

³ Johannes de Wysom, pestour, was made free of the city in 1340. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁴ Brunby. The letter before y resembles a d. .

⁵ Bruneby; the initial letter is doubtful.

⁶ This passage is much faded; "recet. ad conput'" is written in the margin; the first syllable of *mutuato* is doubtful.

suo, vijs. *xd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby, pro labore suo, *xxxs.* Item, in una cera empta, *ijjd.* Item, in cervicia empta per vices, et in spic', *vjd.* Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro labore suo, *xvijs.* Item, Johanni de Kexeby, tegulario, pro labore suo, *vs.* Item, Johanni de Hembelsay pro labore suo, *xxijd.* Item, Willelmo Hunderlyng pro labore suo, *xxiiijd.* Item, in caretagio pro *iiij cartefolde plaster*, *vijs. jd.* Item, Waltero Venditori, de *plaster* ab eo empto, *xjs. vjd.* Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro labore suo, *xxijd.* Item, Johanni de Hemelsay pro labore suo, *xxijd.* Item, Willelmo Hunderlyng pro labore suo, *xxijd.* Item, in cervicia empta ad omnes, et in solutaribus meis, *xijd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby, omnibus computatis computandis, die Pasche, *ixs.* Item, eidem Johanni de Craneby, in primam partem solucionis sue, pro reparacionibus aule ponende super pavimentum, *xijs.* Item, Johanni de Hemelsay et Willelmo Hunderlyng, *ijs. xd.* Thome de Beverley pro una domo vendita, *iiijli.* Item, Johanni de Cottyngwyt, carpentario, pro meremio ab eo empto, *xs.* Item, in seheres pro labore eorum, *viijd.* Item, in servicia empta ad omnes laborarios, *vd.* Item, Johanni de Hembelsay pro labore suo, *xijd.* Item, alii homini laboranti, *vjd.* Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro labore suo, *vjs. viijd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby, carpentario, *xijs.* Item, Johanni de Craneby pro labore suo, et aliis, *xxs. ijd.* Item, Johanni de Cottyngwyt pro meremio empto, *ijs.* Item, Ade de Newsom pro una arbore ab eo empta, *ijs. vjd.* Item, Johanni de Hemelsay pro labore suo, *xxijd.* Item, in *carttagio* meremiorum et luti, *xxd.* Item, in servicia empta, *ijjd.* Item, in portacione *j mele et dim' de lyma*, *vjd.* Item, in carectariis in *plaster*, *iiijd.* Item, in vino apud *cromes*, *iiij.* Item, Johanni de Esseton pro debito, *xjd.* Item, homini facienti areas, *vijd.* Item, in servicia ad omnes operarios et carpentarios, *vjd.* Item, in saheres, *ijs.* Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, *ijjd.* Item, Johanni de Hembelsay pro labore suo, *xxijd.* Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro labore suo, *iiijd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby pro cerotecis, *xxd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby in partem solucionis sue, *viijd.* Item, in servicia per vices, *xvd.* Item, in *carttagio* luti, *vjd.* *Summa xiiijli. xvjs.*

Item, Johanni de Craneby¹ in partem solucionis sue secunde, xiijs. iiijd. Item, omnibus operariis laborantibus ad domos in Walmegate, iijs. vjd. Item, Waltero Venditori, *plasterer*, pro *plastere*, vjd. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, vjd. Item, Johanni de Fereby pro cooperacione domorum, iiijd. Item, Willelmo Hunderlyng, xijd. Item, in *carttagiis* iiij *cartefol* de *plasterer*, vs. iiijd. Item, omnibus operariis in Walmegate, iijs. vjd. Item, in servicia emptā per vices, ijd. Item, Willelmo Hunderlyng pro labore suo, xvd. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, iiijs. Item, Johanni de Kexeby, pro cooperacione domorum, xviijd. Item, omnibus operariis pro labore eorum, iiijs. Item, Johanni de Craneby in partem solucionis sue, iijs. viijd. Item, in servicia ad omnes operarios, iiijd. Item, Johanni de Kexeby, tegulario, pro cooperacione domorum in Walmegate, iijs. Item, omnibus operariis [pro] labore suorum, iiijs. Item, Willelmo Hunderlyng pro labore suo, ijs. Item, servicia emptā per vices, ijd. Item, Johanni de Craneby in partem solucionis sue, vjs. viijd. Item, in pergameno et clerico scribenti j laxacionem, iiijd. Item, in omnibus operariis, iijs. vjd. Item, in *caratagia* lignorum Johannis de Claydon (*sic*), j caractario, ijs. iiiijd. Item, Thome, laborario, pro labore suo, Johannis de Claydoun (*sic*), viijd. Item, in servicia per vices, ijd. Item, Willelmo Hunderlyng facienti fundamentum, xxd. Item, Johanni de Kexeby, tegulario, pro cooperacione domorum in Walmegate, xviijd. Item, omnibus operariis pro labore suorum, iiijs. Item, Johanni de Craneby in partem solucionis sue, xiijs. iiijd. Item, Johanni Barker pro labore suo, ijd. Item, in *carttagita* iiiij lignorum ultra pontes Fosse, ijd. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, vjs. viijd. Item, Johanni de Craneby pro labore suo in partem solucionis sue, xs. Item, Johanni de Kexeby pro labore suo, iiijs. iiijd. Item, omnibus operariis pro labore suorum, iijs. iiijd. Item, in congregacione fratrum et sororum facta, in die Annunciacionis beate Marie (25 March), xlvijs. vjd. Item, Thome de Beverlaco pro una domo emptā ab eo, vij*li*. xiijs. iiijd. Item, Willelmo de Hunderlyng, ijs. Item, homini invitanti fratres et sorores in die Annunciacionis beate Marie et ad

¹ The reverse of the fourth skin begins here.

exequias Helene Wynter, *iiijd.* Item, in *carttagio* lignorum a pavimento ulro ponte Fosse, *ijjd.* Item, in portacione v mele de *lyma*, *xxd.* Item, in servicia Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, et sociis suis, *ijs.* Item, Petro Ironmagger pro debito suo vetere, *xs.* Item, omnibus operariis laborantibus circa domos in Walmegatte, *vjs. vjd.* Item, in *cartagio* *iiij carteful of plastere*, *vjs.* Item, in servicia empta ad operarios, *ijjd.* Item in brodes et lates (*sic*) et clavis, *xxs.* *Summa xvijli. vjs. vijd.*

Expensis de receptis in vercere(?) lib . . .¹ eorundem . . . De Johanne de Kraneby, carpentario, in grosso aulo . . . ab eo empta pro edificatiis (*sic*) domorum super pavimentum, *xxd.* Item, Thome de Thurkhill, pro salario, *xxs.* In servisia empta pro expensis computantis . . . , *iiijd.* Item, Godefrido de Gedney per solucionem, *xvijd.* Item, Johannes de Craneby pro salario suo in partem . . . , *xiijs. iiijd.* Item, Willelmo Market, *swepher*, stipendio suo, laboranti . . . placeam super pavimento, *xvijd.* Item, Johannes de Craneby, carpentarius, pro meremio ab eo empto, pro edificiis domorum predictorum . . . Item, uni homini laboranti ibidem pro v diebus, *xxd.* Item, uni homini laboranti j die ibidem, ex convento, *iiijd.* Item, datus carpentariis levantibus domos ibidem, de curialitate, in servicia bis, *vijd.* Item, datus fratribus et sororibus simil' cancientibus(?) in servisia, *ijjd.* Willelmo Underlonte facienti fundamenta ibidem, *ijjd.* Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plastrer*, pro factura parietum in partem, *xiijs. xd.* Item, Waltero de Askham, attornato, pro salario suo et brevibus, *xs. ijd.* Item, Willelmo Hunderling, pro factura fundamentorum in grosso, *iijs. vjd.* Item, in expensis factis per magistrum de Johanne Craneby in vino, *vijjd.* Item, eidem Johanni de Craneby pro salario suo, in partem, *iijs. iiijd.* Item, in j novo saculo empto pro libro custodiens (*sic*), *iiijd.* Item, in j jantaculo facto fratribus et sororibus, Eve de Crome, Rogero de Marton, et aliis, *vjs. vijjd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby, pro stipendio

¹ From "expensis de" to "fundamenta ibidem *ijjd.*," the roll is much faded. Owing to the generous help of Mr Brown, I have, however, been able to decipher the greater part. There is a blank of a few lines before "De Johanne de Kraneby," and "Hospital of Trinity" is written across the entry. There is also a note in the margin, *summa totalis vijli. xjs. vjd.*

suo, xxiijs. iiijd. Willelmo Hunderling, pro factura fundamentorum ibidem, et Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, iijs. iiijd. Item, servisia pro computato bis facto, iiijd. Item, j homini laboranti pro portagio lapidum, viijd. Item, in j jantaculo facto die Jovis, proximo ante festum Omnium Sanctorum (27 October), Rogero de Marton, Eve de Crome, et aliis fratribus, ix. vjd. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterere*, in partem solucionis, xxd. Item uni clerico pro factura indenture inter Magistrum et Johannem de Cranby, carpentarium, vjd. Item, Johanni de Plastere pro coopertura cujusdam domus, in partem, vjd. Item, in cariagio ij mil' de tegulis muralibus, ijs. vjd. Item, Johanni Sauser pro j mille tegularum emptarum pro coopertura, xs. Item, Johanni de Bilton (*sic*), *plastrere*, in partem solutum, xjs. Item, in expensis domini Willelmi de Bronby simul cum equo conducto pro eodem eunti usque Scorbrugh et Hull pro proficuis domus faciendis, iijs. iiijd. Item, in pane empto, die Assumpeionis per manus Johannis Gaudyn, Ricardi de Lidyhatt, item (*sic*), vijs. Item, Ricardo de Lidyhate, pro expensis factis per manus eidem Ricardi, uxori Willelmi de Nessefeld, parte magistri, xijd. Item, in cariagio vij mele calcis empte, xxiijd. Item, in quadam cista facta pro denariis caritativis solutis receptis, xxd. Item, in servisia empta pro carpentario, et *loverstrenges* emptis, vjd. Item, in v *overes* emptis pro novis domibus super pavementum, iiijs. iijd. Item, in quodam jactaculo (*sic*) fratribus et sororibus ville de Whiteby, gilde nostre, vjs. viijd. Item, Johanni de Craneby, pro factura domorum novarum, super pavementum, xxvjs. viijd. Item, Johanni de vico Sancti Egidii, ex curialitate, iiijd. Item, in carigia ij mil' de tegublis muralibus, ijs. vjd. Item, Johanni de Esheton, magistro nostro, pro *waltyel* ab eo empta, xxvjs. Idem Johannes dedit communitati gilde, j miliarium tegularum, parte. Item, eidem Johanni pro expensis per ipsum factis, per vias, iiijs. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro stipendio in partem, vjs. Item, in cariagio ij mil' tegularum, ijs. iiijd. Item, Johanni de Kraneby, pro salario suo, viijs. vjd. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterere*, in partem solucionis, xs. Et eidem Johanni de Craneby, hoc anno, xxs. Item, Johanni

Coco, pro debito Godefridi de Gedney, salariis, *xxs.* Item, Radolpho de Romondby pro eodem, *xxs.* Item, Petro de Thorp pro eodem, *xxs.* Item, domino Willelmo, capellano nostro, pro salaria sua in partem, *xlvijs. viiijd.* Item, in oleo empto pro j lampade ardente in capella, *vjs. viiijd.* Item, in pane, cera et vino empto pro celebracione divinorum, *xviijd.* *Summa xxijli. xvs. vjd.*

Item, in salario trium clericorum psallencium ad missam beate Marie, *viijs.* Item, in reparacione muris (*sic*) luto, *iiijd.* Item, in cariagio dicti luti, *vjd.* Item, in quodam ligno empto pro reparacione ad domus in cimentario de Castlegate, *vjs.* Item, in reparacione domorum in Fishergate, *xd.* Item, in *broddes* et *lattes* emptis, *iiijd.* Item, in quodam carpentario conducto pro diversis redditibus emendandis, *iiijd.* Item, in *ij bandes* de ferro emptis pro hostiis, *xd.* Item, *ij* hominibus portantibus vetus meremium de pavimento, *viiijd.* Item, in servisia empta per vices, *ijd.* Item, diversis hominibus laborantibus per vices, *xviijd.* Item, in expensis factis in aula in giardino super pavimentum, *viiijd.* Item, in servisia empta, *jd.* Item, Willelmo Hunderlings pro factura fundamentorum, *xxijd.* In cariagio tegule, *xijd.* Item, hominibus portantibus terram de cimenterio Sancte Crucis usque pavimentum, *viiijd.* Item, solutis Johanni de Craneby et Rodolpho de Romondby, *xjd.* Item, pro j *carteful of plasteri*, *iijs. ix.* Item, Willelmo Underling facienti latrinam super pavimentum, *xviiijd.* Item, cuidam clerico facto indentur', *vjd.* Item, in cariagio *iiij mele* de *lyme*, *viiijd.* Item, clerico escaetoris, *vjd.* Item, in quadam serura empta, *ij slottes* de ferro emptis, *xxd. ob.* Item, in *ij carectis* de *plastere* emptis, *vijjs. viiijd.* Item, in *lyme* empta, *xs.* Item, omnibus operariis laborantibus, *iijs. iiijd.* Item, in diversis expensis factis, *iiijd.* Item, cuidam clerico scribenti negocia ,gilde apud W[illelmum] de Nesfeld, *vjd.* Item, j homini invitanti fratres et sorores ad exequias Rogero (*sic*) de Ampelford, *ijd.* Item, Johanni de Craneby, carpentario, pro domibus in parochia Sancti Dionisii, *vjs. viiijd.* Item, in *ij dryvelles* de ferro emptis, *xd.* Item, omnibus operariis laborantibus in domibus predictis, tercio die mensis Decembris, *iijs. vjd.* Item, diversis operariis laborantibus in diversis

domibus, vigilia . . . , iijs. xd. Item, predictis operariis, prima die sabbati mensis Januariis, vijd. Item, in servisia data eisdem operariis et aliis, iijd. Item, in cariagio ccc tegularum muralium, iijd. Item, in quodam jantaculo facto magistro Johanni Disford, fratribus et sororibus, in crastino Epiphanie Domini, ixs. iiijd. *Summa vijli. ijs. vd.*

¹Item, hominibus laborantibus, iijs. ijd. Item, in cereis conductis de Johanne Gaudyn, ardentibus circa corpus Johanne de Bouthame et Beatrici de Ampelford, ijs. ijd. Item, hominibus laborantibus circa domos predictas in Walmegate, iijs. iijd. Item, hominibus laborantibus certas domos, viijs. iijd. *ob.* Item, uni clerico pro j copia cujusdam carte scripte, et pro scriptura j *relese*, viijd. Item, Ricardo de Monkgate pro sabulo et cariagio, iijs. iiijd. Item, j *pikke* de ferro empto, ijs. Item, in servisia empta, ijd. Item, hominibus laborantibus circa predictos (*sic*) domos in Walmegate, iijs. iijd. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro reparacione murorum aule nostre, xvjd. Item, in cariagio de vij melis calcis, xvijd. Item, in quodam jantaculo facto Symoni Gouke, Johanne de Ulveston, et Eve de Crome, et aliis viduis pluribus, vjs. viijd. Item, diversis hominibus laborantibus circa domos in parochia Sancti Dionisii, iijs. iiijd. Et Johanni de Craneby pro labore suo in partem pro domibus super pavementum, vjs. viijd. Et Thome de Beverlaco de *godesylver* et cuidam tectori, ijd. Et uni clerico pro factura ij relaxacionum Johanne de Ulveston, vjd. Item, in cera empta pro sigillo, jd. Item, in expensis datis cuidam clerico in Conystrete, vjd. Item, in saheres pro labore eorum, iiijd. Item, in omnibus operariis laborantibus in Walmegate, iijs. iiijd. Item, cuidam clerico scribenti copiam c[arte] domini regis, vjd. Item, Johanni de Disforht, clerico, pro scriptione citacionis, xjd. Item, cuidam clerico pro instrumento facto iiijd. Item, omnibus operariis laborantibus ad domos in Walmegate, ijs. viijd. Item, Johanni de Kexeby, tegulario, pro cooperacione domorum in Walmegate, ijs. Item, Johanni de Bolton, *plasterer*, pro factura murorum in Walmegate, ijs. Item, in omnibus operariis, ijs. xd. Item, in xv mele de *lima* empta, xvs. Item, in

¹ The reverse of the third skin begins here.

portacione iij mele de *lima*, xijd. Item, Magistro Johanni de Disforht, notario, pro labore suo, vjs. viijd. Item, magistro Johanni de Stanton, pro labore suo, xxd. Item, pro magistro Rogero de Donnestall in confirm . . . e, js. Item, Willelmo facienti fundamenta domorum in Walmegate, xijd. Item, in summa carpentariis, iijd. Item, in clavibus emptis ad predictos domos in Walmegate, iijjd. Item, Johanni de Heres annio' in spic', xvijjd. Item, Johanni de Ledyat et Rogero de Donnestall, notario nostro, diversis expensis, vjs. viijd. Item, Johanni Disfordht in pergameno et cera viridi pro sigillo, vijs. Item, in expensis factis apud Howke, xvd. Item, Hugoni de Donok, mercer pro *bordes*, pro ostiis, et fenestris ad pavementum, xijd. Item, omnibus operariis in Walmegate, iijs. iijjd. *Summa vijli. xs.*

¹*Inquisicio ad Quod Damnum.*

Inquisicio capta apud Ebor', die Lune, proximo post festum conversionis Sancti Pauli (31 January), 20 Ric. II (1396-97), coram Willelmo Frost, majore civitatis Ebor', et escaetore domini regis, in eadem civitate, virtute cujusdem brevis domini regis eidem escaetori inde directe, per sacramentum, etc. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum, quod non est ad dampnum neque prejudicium domini regis, nec aliorum, licet idem dominus rex concedat Willelmo de Otteley, capellano, Willelmo de Touthorp, capellano, Johanni de Dernyngton, civi Ebor', Ricardo de Alne, civi Ebor', Johanni de Quixlay, civi Ebor', Johanni de Stokewith, civi Ebor', et Waltero Celer, civi Ebor', quod ipsi quinque messuagia, novem costagia, septem shopas, et triginta et duas solidatas redditus cum pertinenciis in Ebor', et in suburbiis ejusdem civitatis, dare possint et assignare magistro, et fratribus, ac sororibus hospitalis sancte Trinitatis et beate Marie, Ebor', habenda et tenenda sibi et successoribus suis, in auxilium sustentacionis sue imperpetuum. Item, dicunt quod unum messuagium de predictis v messuagiis est in Bouthom, in suburbio dicte civi-

¹ The P.R.O. copy of this document is double the length of the contemporary copy in possession of the Merchants Company, but it adds nothing material. cf. P.R.O., 20 Ric. II, No. 124, 13 January, 1396.

tatis, et valet per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem ejusdem, xvjs.; et aliud messuagium de dictis v messuagiis, et tres *shope* de predictis vij *shoppis* sunt super le pament, in Ebor', et valent per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem eorundem, xls.; et tertium messuagium de predictis v messuagiis, et iij *shope* de predictis vij *shopis* sunt in Fossegate, in Ebor', et valent per annum simili modo, xxvjs. viijd.; et duo cotagia de predictis novem cotagiis sunt in Bakenars, Walmgate, in civitate predicta, et valent per annum eodem modo, ijs.; et quinque cotagia de predictis ix cotagiis sunt in Walmgate, extra Barram, in suburbio dicte civitatis, et valent simili modo per annum, xs.; et duo cotagia de dictis ix cotagiis sunt in Fishergate, in suburbio ejusdem civitatis, et valent per annum simili modo, xld.; et quartum messuagium de predictis v messuagiis est in Jubregate, in dicta civitate, et valet per annum eodem modo, ij marcas; et quintum messuagium de eisdem v messuagiis est in Mikilgate, in civitate predicta, et valet per annum eodem modo, xs. Item, dicunt quod predicta xxx et duo solidate redditus sunt exeuntes de uno tenemento in Skeldergate, tribus *shopis* in Petirgate, et uno tenemento in Fossegate, in civitate Ebor' predicta. Item, dicunt quod predicta v messuagia, ix cotagia, septem *shope*, et redditus necnon dicta tenementa unde predicta triginta et duo solidate redditus sunt exeuntes, tanquam parcelle civitatis Ebor', tenentur de domini rege in capite in liberum burgagium prout tota civitas tenetur, etc.

De licencia fundandi Hospitale.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Supplicarunt nobis Johannes de Rouclyf,¹ et ceteri fratres fraternitatis gilde, in honore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et beate Marie virginis, in civitate nostra Ebor', de licencia nostra nuper fundate, ut cum ipsi ad majorem devocionem, et cultus divini augmenta-

¹ Apparently this Johannes de Rouclyf does not appear in the freemen's roll. But in the Memorandum Book, where the boundaries of the city are given for the year 1374-5, a mill in Burton Lane owned by Johannes de Rouclyff is mentioned. He figures again as the leader of a successful attempt to frustrate the Abbot of Saint Mary's, who had tried to prevent free access to the River Ouse by Marygate. York Mem. Book, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 21, 27.

cionem, ac operum caritatis perfeccionem, quoddam hospitale infra civitatem predictam, aut alibi prout eis placuerit, de gilda predicta, mediante licencia nostra super hoc optinenda, et interveniencibus auctoritate et assensu loci diocesani, et aliorum quorum assensus in hujus modi casu requirendus existit, de novo facere et ordinare disposuerint; et quod unus capellanus in eodem preficiatur, qui per ipsum Johannem ad idem hospitale loci diocesano presentetur, et quod in singulis vacacionibus ejusdem unus capellanus ad idem per prefatum Johannem et heredes similiter presentetur, qui admissus ad illud perpetuus custos instituatur, et inducatur in eodem, ac curam et custodiam gerat, et custos nominetur ejusdem. Velimus translacioni sive transmutacioni predictae licenciam regiam impertiri, et ulterius eis concedere quod ipsi sexdecim solidatas, et octo denariatas redditus cum pertinenciis in Ebor' eidem gilde jam adquisitas, pretextu licencie nostre eisdem fratribus et sororibus de decem libratis terre et redditus cum pertinenciis per annum in Ebor', que de nobis tenentur, in burgagio acquirendis concessit, et eciam residuas novem libratas, tres solidatas, et quatuor denariatas terre et redditus cum pertinenciis cum adquisite fuerint, dare possint et assignare custodi hospitalis predicti sic constituendo, ac fratribus et sororibus ejusdem. Habenda et tenenda sibi et successoribus suis, pro sustentacione sua, et aliorum capellanorum divina in hospitali predicto, pro salubri statu nostro, et fratrum et sororum hospitalis predicti dum vixerimus, et animabus nostris cum ab hoc luce migraverimus, ac anima Philippe, nuper regine Anglie, consortis nostre, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum celebratorum, et aliorum pauperum et infirmorum in eodem hospitali degencium imperpetuum; et quod dictus custos, qui pro tempore fuerit, accessores pro

cf. Reg. Test. Ebor., i, 53. In the Patent Roll there is a note in the margin: "Memorandum quod undecimo die Februarii, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xx, iidem custos, fratres, et sorores, virtute istius licencie adquisiverunt sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum terras, et tenementa, in plenam satisfacionem summe predictae. Et immo iste litere vacant et dampnantur dumtaxat quoad licenciam predictam acquirendi eisdem literis, quoad alia infrascripta in suo robore nichilominus duratur." *cf.* P.R.O., Pat. R., 20 Ric. ii, pt. 2, m. 21. The hospital was organised according to a deed of 4 August, 1373, by Archbishop Thoresby. Archiepis. Reg. Johannes Thoresby, fo. 169. *cf.* Municipal Records $\frac{p}{y}$ fol. 113, 114.

bonis, et catallis, et rebus, ac terris, tenementis, et possessionibus, que eidem hospitali dari contingerit vel adquiri, habeat et pro eisdem placitare possit. Nos, ad laudem Dei, cui per ministros hospitalis predicti potius quam per gildam illam vigilantius et devocius verisimiliter in divinis deserviri (*sic*), et pro eo quod dicti fratres et sorores gilde predictae litteras nostras de licencia eis in hac parte primitus factas in cancellaria nostra restituerunt cancellandas, supplicacioni predictae favorabiliter annuentes, de gracia nostra speciali, et pretextu quadraginta solidorum quas nobis solverunt, concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eisdem fratribus et sororibus quod ipsi gildam predictam in quoddam hospitale transmutare, et hospitale illud infra civitatem predictam vel alibi prout eis placuerit de gilda predicta de novo facere, ordinare, erigere, et construere, et quod dictas sexdecim solidatas et octo denariatas redditus cum pertinentiis eidem gilde de licencia nostra jam adquisitas, et etiam residuas novem libratas, tres solidatas, et quatuor denariatas terre et redditus in dictis primis literis nostris specificatas, cum adquisite fuerint, dare possint et assignare custodi, fratribus, et sororibus dicti hospitalis sic erigendi et construendi; habenda et tenenda, sibi et successoribus suis, pro sustentacione sua ac capellanorum divina infra hospitale predictum, pro salubri statu nostro, ac fratrum et sororum hospitalis predicti, dum vixerimus, et animabus nostris cum ab luce migraverimus, necnon animabus Philippe, nuper regine Anglie, et omnium fidelium defunctorum celebraturorum, et aliorum pauperum et infirmorum in eodem hospitali degencium imperpetuum, statuto, de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam nonponendis edito, non obstante. Dum tamen per inquisitiones inde in forma debita faciendas, et in cancellariam nostram vel heredum nostrorum rite retornandas, compertum sit, quod dicti terre et redditus ad huc acquirendi absque dampno seu prejudicio nostro, vel heredum nostrorum, aut aliorum quorumcumque eidem hospitali dari poterunt et adquiri. Ita semper quod custos hospitalis predicti, qui pro tempore fuerit, in singulis vacacionibus ejusdem per ipsum Johannem et heredes suos, loci diocesano, ad idem hospitale

presentetur, qui admissus ad illud solitam curam inde gerat; et accessores pro terris, et tenementis, et possessionibus, ac bonis, et catallis, eidem hospitali acquirendis, habeat, et pro eisdem placitare possit. Et eidem custodi, ac fratribus et sororibus hospitalis predicti sic constituendi, quod ipsi dictas decem libratas terre, et redditus cum pertinentiis, a prefato Johanne et ceteris fratribus et sororibus gilde predictae recipere possint et tenere sibi et successoribus suis predictis, pro sustentacione sua, et capellanorum predictorum divina infra hospitale predictum, ac pauperum et infirmorum ibidem degencium celebratorum, ut predictum est, imperpetuum; tenore presencium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem. Dictam vero gildam tenore presencium adnullamus penitus et cassamus. Nolentes quod dicti fratres et sorores gilde predictae aut prefati custos, fratres et sorores ejusdem hospitalis, vel eorum successores ratione premissorum aut statuti predicti, seu eo quod dicte terre et tenementis de nobis in burgagio tenentur, ut predictum est, per nos, vel heredes nostros, justiciarios, escaetores, vicecomites, ballivos, seu ministros nostros quoscumque occasionentur, molestentur in aliquo, seu graventur. Salvis tamen nobis, et aliis capitalibus dominis, de terris et redditu predictis serviciis inde debitis et consuetis. In cujus rei, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xij die Februarii (12 Feb., 1371).

P.R.O., Pat. R., 45 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 31.

Licencia magistro hospitalis Sancte Trinitatis in Fossegate, Ebor', quod possit celebrare in capella infra dictum hospitale erecta.

Henricus, etc., dilectis in Cristo filiis, magistro sive custodi ac fratribus et sororibus hospitalis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beate Marie virginis in Fossegate, civitatis nostre Eboracensis, salutem. Sane vestra nuper nobis exhibita petiio continebat quod, cum dudum hospitale vestrum cum capella infra ipsum ad divinorum celebracionem per magistrum et capellanos ejusdem ibidem faciendam bone memorie Johannis, quondam Eboracensis archiepiscopi, predecessoris nostri, auctoritate, et consensu erectum fuerit et fundatum, dote

ad prefatorum magistri ac duorum capellanorum, duorum clericorum, ac triginta pauperum ac debilium sustentacionem atque recreacionem pia civium ejusdem civitatis largicione de bonis sibi a Deo collatis liberaliter assignata; quodque dicta capella, transcurso annorum ruinis gravibus deformata, jam civium modernorum civitatis ejusdem sumptuosis expensis, erecta in dicta capella altari, de novo ad laudem Dei et divini cultus augmentum decenciori amplitudine insignius fabricatur. Unde nobis humiliter cum instantia supplicastis ut dictorum capelle et altaris ereccionem et construcionem ratas habentes, magistro et capellanis hospitalis in capella ejusdem missas divinaque alia celebrare, ipsisque ac clericis et pauperibus et debilibus ibidem degentibus ipsa eciam audire, corpus dominicum, ob veneracionem ejusdem per dictos pauperes continue augendam' desuper altare pendere, panem et aquam benedictos pauperibus hospitalis predicti licite ministrare, licenciam graciosae concedere dignemur. Vestrum, igitur, pium propositum in hiis in Domino plurimum commendantes, et predictae capelle et altaris ereccionem et construcionem ratas habentes, prefato magistro et capellanis tamquam futuris missas et alia divina in dicta capella devocius celebrandi, ipsis et clericis et pauperibus et debilibus prefati hospitalis eorumque successoribus ipsa eciam audiendi, excellentissimum corporis dominici sacramentum, quod ipse de nobiliori et potenciori hujusmodi mundi alimento pro anime refeccione pia disposicione providit, ob populi ad dictum hospitale confluentis et pauperum ibidem degencium devocionem excitandam, eo quod frequencius aspicitur hujusmodi memoria districcius retinetur, desuper altare ejusdem capelle in vase mundo pendendi, panem et aquam ibidem diebus dominicis benedicendos, ipsosque benedictos pauperibus, debilibus et infirmis dicti hospitalis tantum modo ministrandos perpetuis temporibus, quantum in nobis est sine viri alicuias prejudicio, licenciam et auctoritatem concedimus per presentes, jure, jurisdictione, dignitate, privilegio, et honore nostris et successorum nostrorum, et ecclesie nostre cathedralis Eboracensis in omnibus semper saluis. Datum in castro nostro Cawode, septimo die mensis Augusti, anno Domini m^occcc^{mo} undecimo, et nostre translacionis quarto (7 August, 1411).

Indenture between John Warthill and the mercers.

This endenture made betwene John Warthill, clerk, of the ton partie, and Robert Jarom, Thomas Aton, William Bedale and Richard Louth, mercers of York, in the name of all the mercers of York of the thother partie, beres wittines that the forsaid mercers be assent of all the said mercers grauntes unto the said Maister John that what bed of the poure foulk that voides next after the firste voidance wythin the hospitall of the Trinite, in Fossegate, in York, whedir it be of man or of woman, and (*sic*) the said John Warthell sall gyfe that bed for that tyme to a pouere man or a pouere woman, after the cas falles, withowtyn lettyng of the said mercers or any other person. And that pouer man or that pouer woman sall be receyved to that bed, taking almus and all other esement als tho that occupied that bed was wont for to take. And in the same degre, what bed that fro that tym forward voides wythin the said hospitall, next save one avoydaunce, the said John Warthall sall gyfe that bed till a pouere man or pouere woman whare hym lykes, in the fourme befor-said. And in the same degre, what bed that fro that tyme forward voides, next save a [one] voidance, the forsaid John Warthill sall gyfe that bed, till a pouere man or a pouer woman in the fourme befor-said; so that the said John Warthill sall have the gyft of the first secund voidance, and the first fourth voidance, and the first sext voidance of what bed of pouere folk that voides wythin the said hospitall. And efter the descesse of the said John his executours nor his heires sall gyfe no bed wythin the said hospitall. Unto the whilk covenauents lely and trewly to be halden and keped of the said mercers behalve, the said iiij mercers byndes thaim and their successours be this endentour. In witnes of whilk thyng the said John Warthell and the said iiij mercers be the assent and in the name of all the mercers of the said citee to the parties of this endentour have sett to ther seales. Made at York the xxj day of Aprell, in the yere of Kyng Henry Sext efter the conquest of Ingelond, viij^{te} (1430).

¹Memorandum of spences and costage made by John Lylling.² In the first, paid to the lord Cromwell,³ *iiijl. vjs. viijd.* Item, to Stanlay his man, *vjs. viijd.* Item, to Thomas Aslay, *iiijl. xiijs. iiijd.* Item, awyng to the same Thomas, *xls.* Item, to William Gudyng, *vjs. viijd.* Item, for wrytyng of dyvers bills of dyvers parcels, *xijs. iiijd.* Item, to Sturgeon, *xxs.* Item, to James his clerk, *iijs. iiijd.* Item, to maister Robert Pacok, *xxs.* Item, to John Thwaytes, *vjs. viijd.* Item, to a clerk of the councelhou, *xxs.* Item, to the clerk of the rolls, *xvjs. iiijd.* Item, to Wymbys, *iijs. iiijd.* To his clerk for wrytting of the chartyr, *vjs. viijd.* Item, for a silke lace, *xxd.* Item, in Wyne, *xvjd.* Item, for the pryvay seale, *vjs. viijd.* Item, to William Bedale *ij plaites umpill* [?] *precium vijs. vd.* Item, awyng to Chesshire, *vjs. viijd.* Awyng till a person, *iijs. iiijd.* Item, in spence at the soper, *xviijd.* Item, to Sturgeon and to his felowes for wyn and cakes, *xd.* Item, for horshoing, *iijs.* Item, in spence to London of us and our hors, *viijd. (sic).* Item, at London in hors mete and for kepyng and watyng, *xxiijs. iiijd.* Item, for spences of hors fro London to York, *viijs. viijd.* Foroure theire spences at London for *xxiiij* days, *xlvijs.* Item, in spences to men of lawe and clerkes, in wyne and dyners, *xls.* Item, in spences to Sernby [?] *iiij* days, *ixs. iiijd.* Item, in grene wax, *xijd.* Item, paide foroure chartre and the seale, *vli.* Item, in a hors that was hyred at Grantham, *iiijjs. vijd.* Item, paide for a hors that was left at Grantham, *vijs.* Item, in a hors that I bought when myn awn was lost, *xxs. jd.* Item, in monye that I laide done at London and to and fro in the cumpany of Nicholas Louth and

¹ Though undated, this document obviously refers to the grant of the charter in the year 1430. As John Kemp was both Chancellor and Archbishop of York at this time probably the charter was obtained by his influence. W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii, p. 107.

² John Lylling, Nicholas Louth and John Raghton were all brethren of mercers and merchants of Yorke, sometymes called the gyld of the holy Trynytyes, in 1420. John Lylling was deprived of "the counsell of the chambre and of hys fredom of franchise of the cite" in 1422 for dishonest trading; York Mem. Bk., fos. 264b, 266b, printed in *English Miscellany*, Surtees Soc., vol. 85, pp. 1-10; but restored in 1426. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 139; *post*, p. 37.

³ Lord Cromwell was member of the council in 1422. and Lord Chamberlain until 1432. W. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

John Raghton, liijs. Item, that I laide done and paide as othire men dyd, vij nobles. Item, spendid at London to and fro at your bidding for nedes of the mercers, iij tymes, a tyme xvij days, another tyme xxiiij days and the third tyme xx dais, althyng accompted xjli. *Summa* iiij^{xx}xjli. ix. xd. Item, John Burnlay hors yt was lost, iiij noblys.

To my ryght worshipfull frendes and brethern the maysters and wardeyns and to the worthy companye of the noble craft of mercers in the cite of York.

Ryght worshipfull sirs and frendes, after alle humble recomendacion, please it to you and alle my masters and felawes of oure felawshipp of mercers of youre cittee ryght especialy to thanke my lord the chancellor at his comyng to youre citee for the ryghte gode and graciouse lordshipp, that he atte myn instaunce and speciale preiere hath shewed to you, and to me, as well in the diligent pursuite fore our foundation and capacite of our craft amonges the lordes of the conseil, as fore the small and easy fyn that he hath assessed in that cas, for be my trowthe, I sayh never noon so litell in so grete a matter. Wherefore God thanke hym. And, moreover, I certified you faithfully that oure felawes Lyllyng and Burneley have don trewely hire diligence in this matter, and namely Burneley, the which is a trewe and a diligent and a kunnyng pursuer, to whom the lordes gaf ryght gode favour. And faithfully I sayh never so grete a matter ledde to the ende with so litell cost, and hem thought to do mykell maire. I am behynde of my reward in parcell, but Lillyng hath promeceed to me of faith to pay me the remenaunt, in witesse of Burneley, for I have deserved it, and permetted to me that I shulde be preied for ¹be name,¹ and in memory foreever to be had in wryting, where to I truste; and so I preie you that I may fynde so, whenne I come to York; the whiche shall be withinne short tyme. With the grace of God that have you alle in his blessed keypyng and governaunce and send sadnesse and sub-

¹⁻¹ Interlined.

stance of lyflode to oure newe fraternitie. Written atte London on Sainte James even (24 July), in grete haste, youre brother and frend, Thomas Haseley, squire and clerck of the Kynges coroune.

Pro hominibus mistere mercerie civitatis Ebor'.

Henricus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum quamplures homines mistere mercerie civitatis nostre Ebor', [h]abundantes pro tempore, et multum locupletes tam in mercibus quam in aliis rebus secularibus, postmodum, per maris infortunium aliosque casus fortuitos, ad tantam devenerint miseriam et inopiam, quod parum aut nichil habuerunt, unde vivere aut se ipsos possent sustinere, nisi elemosina, ope, et relevamine Christi fidelium et Deo devotorum. Unde diverse valide et potentes persone mistere predictae ejusdem civitatis, zelo caritatis fervide et accense, id pie intuentes, et ab egestate et miseria hominum predictorum sua viscera non claudentes, terras, tenementa, et redditus infra civitatem predictam et suburbia ejusdem, seu alibi infra regnum Anglie, ad honorem Dei et in auxilium et relevamen pauperum et indigencium mistere predictae, necnon sustentacionem unius capellani divina singulis diebus celebraturi, licentia nostra mediante, acquirere proponant, ut accepimus. Nos laudabile propositum piamque intencionem personarum predictarum in hac parte merito commendantes, et ut tanti tamquam salubris et meritorii operis subsequenter, quod nedum in amorem Dei et proximi, verum eciam in divini cultus augmentum, liquido se extendit, immunes nos reddamur; nos, de gracia nostra speciali ac de avisamento et assensu consilii nostri, et pro quadraginta et una libris et undecim solidis nobis solutis in hanaperio nostro, concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, gentibus mistere predictae, quod ipsi decetero sint una communitas et perpetua, et quod eadem communitas eligere possit die annunciacionis Beate Marie quolibet anno de se ipsis unum gubernatorem et duos custodes, ad supervidendum, regendum et gubernandum misteram et

communitatem predictas; et quod ipsi sic electi gubernator et custodes communitatis mercatorum civitatis nostre Ebor' decetero nuncupentur. Et quod iidem gubernator et custodes et successores sui sint persone habiles et capaces ad perquirendum terras, tenementa et redditus, ac alias possessiones quas-cumque, habendas et possidendas sibi et successoribus suis, gubernatori et custodibus mistere predictæ, imperpetuum; et quod ipsi gubernator et custodes implacitare possint et ab aliis implacitari coram quibuscumque iudicibus, tam secularibus quam ecclesiasticis, per nomina gubernatoris et custodum communitatis mercerorum civitatis nostre Ebor'; et quod habeant commune sigillum pro negotiis communitatis predictæ deserviturum. Et ulterius, de uberiori gratia nostra, concessimus eisdem gubernatori et custodibus et successoribus suis, quod ipsi terras, tenementa et redditus infra civitatem nostram Ebor', et suburbia ejusdem, que de nobis seu de aliis in liberum burgagium tenentur, ad valorem decem librarum per annum acquirere possint, habenda et tenenda sibi et successoribus suis in auxilium et relevamen pauperum et indigentium communitatis predictæ, ac sustentacionem unius capellani divina singulis diebus pro salubri statu nostro, dum agimus in humanis, et pro anima nostra, cum ab hac luce migraverimus, ac pro anima carissimi domini et patris nostri, necnon pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, juxta ordinacionem ipsorum gubernatoris, custodum et communitatis et successorum suorum in hac parte faciendam celebraturi imperpetuum; statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, seu eo quod terre, tenementa, et redditus sic acquirenda de nobis teneantur in liberum burgagium sicut tota civitas Ebor', non obstante. Dum tamen per inquisitionem inde capiendam et in cancellariam nostram vel heredum nostrorum rite retornandam compertum sit, quod dicta adquisicio terrarum, tenementorum et reddituum predictorum fieri poterit absque dampno et prejudicio nostri et heredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Humfrido, Duce Gloucestr', custode Anglie, apud Westmonasterium, duodecimo die Julii, anno regni nostri octavo (1430).

Compotus Willelmi Bedale,¹ *magistri communitatis mistere mercerorum civitatis Ebor'*, *Thome Kirke*² *et Willelmi Stokton*,³ *constabulariorum communitatis, a festo Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis, anno regni regis Henrici sexti, post conquestum Anglie decimo, usque ad festum Annunciacionis beate Marie, anno regni predicti regis undecimo (25 March, 1432-25 March, 1433).*

Recepta cum arreragiis.—First, ye forsaide maister et constables hafe resayved vs. vjd. in mone talde of Robert of Jarom,⁴ master, John Esyngwald⁵ and Nicholas of Louth,⁶ constables, in the yere before past. Item, vjs. viijd. of John Tanfeld of arrerage of vli. xvjs. viijd., that was behynde and noght payde of diverse persones, that were afferyd in the time of Robert of Yarom, than maister, and before, and hafe noght payde thaire afferaunce, the whilke, vli. xvjs. viijd. was geven to vayse (*sic*) to the master, William Bedale and his constables, and so ther lefes of the same arrerage nought raysed, vli. xs., of the whilke some at Trinitie halle, was relesid, be the comone assent of the cumpany, xvjs. viijd. to John Lylllyng,⁷ and xs. to John Burnlay, for thaire gode labour and busynes, that thay did for the cumpany before tyme; and so ther lefes yitte to raise of the saide arrerage, iiijli. iijs. iiijd., as it profes be certayne names, that er comprehendid in a bille. Item, resayved vjs. viijd. of arrerage of xiijs. iiijd. of quarterage be the same tyme of diverse persones that wer behynde so, vjs. viijd. is yitte in arrerage to be raysed of them, as thaire names makes mention in a bille. Item, resayved xlijs. viijd. of xxxij persones for thaire quartrage by this hole yere, that is to say of ilke persone, xvjd., and yitte ther is behynde v persones in arrerage for

¹ Mayor in 1436, a mercer, had goods in a ship attacked by the men of Danzig in 1422. Hanse Recesse, 2 Abth., Band ii, No. 76.

² Mayor in 1440, probably a tailor.

³ Mayor in 1445, probably a goldsmith.

⁴ Mercer, free in 1402. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁵ Mercer, chamberlain in 1421.

⁶ Mercer, son of Robert Louth, mercer. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁷ Chamberlain in 1417, deprived of freedom on account of dishonest trading in 1422. York Memorandum Book, fo. 264-267, printed in English Miscellany, Surtees Soc., vol. 85, pp. 1-10.

thaire quarterage, vjs. viijd., to be raysed afterward, as it profes be thaire names in a bille wretyn. Item, ijs. for quartrage of iij persones resayved within the tyme of this accompt for iij quartrages, of ilke persone, xijd. Item, ijs. for quartrage for iij persones resayved in the same tyme, of ilke persone, viijd. for thair quartrages. *Summa quartragii*, xlvjs. viijd.

Item, resayved of xv persones payde for entre of thaire bretherhede, within the tyme of this accompt of ilke person, xld. Item, resayved vijli. vjs. viijd. of the same xv persones, in parte of payment of xvli. for thaire entre into the cumpany, and so ther leves in arrerage to be raysed afterward, vijli. xiijs. iiijd. Item, vjs. viijd. resayved of Thomas Kyrke for shipping. Item, Thomas Aton is in arrerage, vjs. viijd. for shipping, noght payde. Item, resayved xxd. of diverse persones of the cumpany, for thay appered noght before the maister, and the cumpany, atte x of belle at Trinite halle, in the court day. *Summa totalis omnium recepcionum*, xiiiili. xjs. vjd. *Summa arreragiorum*, xijli. xvjs. viijd. Totalis, xxvjli. viijs. ijd. Addicio, ijs. more in arrerage of quarterage abovn noght wretyn, of Thomas Preston and John of Forth.

Feoda.—Of the whilke xiiijli. xjs. vjd., the forsayde maister and constables asks to be allowed for certayne fees payde to diverse persones. First, to Guy Fairefax¹ for his fe, xiijs. iiijd. Item, to maister Thomas Cleveland for his fe, xs. Item, to Thomas Warde for his fe, xiijs. iiijd. Item, to William Stelyngton for his fe, ijs. iiijd. Item, to William Graundon for his fe, xiijs. iiijd. Item, to William Danby for his fe, xs. *Summa*, lxiijs. iiijd.

Reparaciones.—Item, mccc thaktyle boght for reparacon of the Trinite halle with the cariage, xvs. ix d. Item, for a wayne lade of lyme, ijs. vijd. Item, vj lades sande, vjd. Item, to a tyler and his man workyng be v dayes and a halfe, iijs. vijd. Item, c lattes *et demi*, xvd. Item, v^cvj broddes, xd. Item, for makyng of the rerdose in the kechyn in the Trinite halle, v lade clay, vd. Item, ccc *dimidium* walle tyle

¹ Guy Fairfax, sergeant-at-law. cf. York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 231, 236, 237, 293.

with the cariage, ijs. viiij*d.* Item, to iij wurkemen be a day and a halfe, xviiij*d.* Item, to ij pavers pavyng the entre to the halle warde, ij rode and j quarter, vs. iiij*d.* Item, for stanes and wase boght, xd. Item, for a hyng lokke, iiiij*d.* *Summa*, xxxvijs. v*d.*

Expense forinsece.—Item, paide for wyne to oure counsell on Seint Lawrence even (9 August) and diverse tymes, ijs. i*d.* Item, payde to Rose Glasyer for glasyng, vijs. Item, to William Hasley, clerke, for the chartre and a writte, viijs. iiiij*d.* Item, in clothe boght for hodes and gefen to maister John Warthill and maister Thomas Cleveland, to Thomas Warde and iij prestes, xxiiijs. xd. Item, payde to John of Calton, Henre Market,¹ Richard Kelyngbek, and William Blaufront, stewardes on Trinite Sunday at Trinitee hall, xls. Item, to Robert Mason for his wrytyng of alde tyme, iiijs. xd. Item, ij spare boxes boght, ijs. v*d.* Item, for a skep of charcole boght, x*d.* Item, in parchemyn and paper, v*d.* Item, in besoms, j*d.* *Summa*, iiiij*li.* xjs. i*d.* *Summa totalis* of all the expenses befor wretyn and paymentes made, ix*li.* xijs. And so ther lefes clerly in mone undespendid to the comonalte of the cumpany, as it profes be the resayte aboven, lxxixs. v*d.* And in arrerages to rayes, xij*li.* xvjs. viiij*d.* *Summa* xvj*li.* xvjs. i*d.* And over the said lxxixs. v*d.* is resayved iijs. iiiij*d.* of Master Thomas Cleveland for his hode clothe. And so there is now clerly to the cumpany, iiiij*li.* ijs. xd.

*Account Roll of Richard Louth,*² *master, and Nicholas Usflete*³ *and William Yarom,*⁴ *constables, 1433.*

Recepciones cum arreragiis.—First, the saide maister and constables hafe resayved in mone tolde, iiiij*li.* ijs. xd., as it profes be the fote of accounte of the yere past. Item, resaived of John Birskowe for his entre into the company, xvjs. viiij*d.* Item, of Christopher Bothe for his entre, xvjs. viiij*d.*, of

¹ A German naturalised by Henry VI, 1429-30, "per petitionem in parlamento," "concessimus Henrico Market infra partes Alimannie oriundo, etc." York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, pp. 185, 186.

² *Ante*, p. 37.

³ Mercer, mayor in 1437.

⁴ Mercer, son of Robert Yarom. York Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 117. *Ante*, p. 37.

arrerage of William Bedale tyme and befor of xij*li.* xvjs. viij*d.*, as it profes be a litill rolle made in his tyme of arrerages, and so ther lefes yitte to raise of the same arrerage, xj*li.* iijs. iiij*d.* Item, resaived of diverse persones for thaire quartrage within the tyme of this accompte, ls. iiij*d.*, and yitte ther is behinde to raise for quartarage of this same yere, as it profes be the names wretyn in a bille, xxijs. viij*d.* Item, resaived of diverse persones for thaire entre into the cumpany in this yere, ij*li.* xvijjs. iiij*d.*, and yet ther is behinde in arrerage to be raisid of the saide persones, as the names makes mension wretyn in a bille, ls. Item, resaived of William Jarom and John Calton for thaire shipping, xs., of Henry Market for his shipping, iijs. iiij*d.* (*i.e.*) xiijs. iiij*d.* Item, resaived of diverse persones for thay apperid nocht at Trinite halle at x of belle, before the maister and company, xij*d.* *Summa recepcionum*, xij*li.* xixs. ij*d.* *Summa arreragiorum*, xiiij*li.* xvjs. *Summa totalis*, xxvij*li.* xvs. ij*d.*

Feoda.—Of this saide xij*li.* xixs. ij*d.*, the forsaide maister and constables askes to be allowed for certayne fees paide to diverse persones. First, to Gy Fairefax, xiijs. iiij*d.*, Maister Thomas Cleveland, xs., Thomas Warde, xiijs. iiij*d.*, William Stelyngton, iijs. iiij*d.*, William Graundon, xiijs. iiij*d.*, William Danby, xs. *Summa*, lxiijs. iiij*d.* Quos solvit et equo. *Expense forinsece.* Item, payde to Nicholas Louth and John Burnlay for a soper made on Trinite Sunday at even, xxs. Item, payde to Sir William Ottlay¹ for his goune clothe, in the yere past, vjs. viij*d.* Item, for mending of a goter hede, iiij*d.* Item, for paper and parchemyn spendid within the tyme of this accompt, xd. Item, paide to master Roger Burton² for a letter, that went to the lorde of Camfere,³

¹ Instituted 3 May, 1394.

² Clericus communis of York, he was made a freeman in 1397. As he was town clerk for twenty-one years, a great part of the York Memorandum Book was compiled under his supervision. The most important entries bear his name or initials, and are apparently in his own handwriting, which is beautifully clear and artistic, in striking contrast to the illiterate, often grotesque, writing of many of the pages.

³ This allusion to the town of Veere or Campvere, 3½ miles from Middelburg, lends colour to the claim that it was an important medieval port. Mary, sister of James II of Scotland, married a son of the Lord of Camfer, in 1444; tradition claims that it became a Scottish staple from that date. But the recent

vjs. viijd. Item, paide to Robert Chapman and his felowes for a hode to master John Warthill, iiijs. iiijd. *ob.* Item, to Sir William Ottlay and to ij other prestes for thare hodes, xjs. ijd. Item, to William Danby, iijs. iiijd. *Summa liijs. iiijd. ob. Summa totalis omnium expensarum et solucionum ut supra, vli. xvjs. viijd. ob., et sic remanet nunc de claro in pecunia innumerata, vijli. ijs. vd. ob., quos solvit et equo.*

*Sir William Ottley's Gown.*¹

Memorandum unto Johannes Stoks, parchment maker, [Thomas de] Whenby [parchment maker]. That ye sall delyver unto me a strudell, and ye whilk Richard broght it unto you be the tokyn that Whenby and Richard drank a alpenwerth of ale insteks. All gretyng in God be unto my wurschifful suffrane sir William Ottlay, mayster of Trynytes, in Fosgate. William de Ottley. Joenson, Adamson, he prais you to send bysides a great gown furred with white by the tokyn that he come in the morning to your chamber dore, he might not come into your chamber. And laid it with a sister of the house, and also by the tokyn that I hask yow xl pens thereon, and is lent me not two scheleynges befor the glas wyndow, as ye said your matyns.

Will of Sir William Otteley.

(17 June, 1432.)

Sir William de Otteley, *chaplain*, *custos hospitalis domini nostri Jesu Cristi et beate Marie virginis in Fossegate, Ebor'*, *sep. in ecclesia parochiali Sancte Crucis, in Fossegate.*

researches of Dr. Davidson and Mr. Gray have failed to discover proof of this tradition. The Scottish Staple at Veere, p. 136. *cf.* York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 188, 189. Newcastle Merchant Adventurers, Surtees Soc., 93, 101, vol. i, p. 62.

¹ The ordinances of the parchment makers are given in the York Memorandum Book, vol. i, p. 67; vol. ii, pp. 128, 129, 237, 238. There is no indication there that they worked in furs; the peltires were a mystery of considerable importance. York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, pp. 60, 61, 63-66. But the connection between parchment makers and skinners is obvious. There is no Johannes Stoks, parchment maker, in the Freemen's Roll, but Thomas Stokes, parchment maker, was made a freeman in 1386, Thomas de Whenby, parchment maker, in 1389, William Johanneson, portour, in 1390, Thomas Adamson, porter, in 1376. The earliest possible date of this document is 1394, when Sir William Ottley was instituted; the latest, 1435, when he died. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 84, 88, 89.

Item, lego cuilibet pauperi utriusque sexus hospitalis domini nostri Jesu [Cristi] et beate Marie in Fossegate, Ebor', *iiijd.* Item, lego hospitali domini nostri Jesu Cristi et beate Marie virginis, cum condicione sequenti, unum portiforium magnum notatum, j psalterium cum manuali in eodem, j psalterium parvum cum placebo et direge in eodem, j collectorium cum secretis et post co[m]munione], et canone misse in eodem. Item, lego eidem hospitali j vestimentum de blodio bucasynne embrodatum cum stellis, videlicet, j capam, j casulam, j tunicellam, j albam, j stolam cum manupulo (*sic*) ejusdem secte. Item, lego eidem hospitali unum vestimentum album de panno lineo, videlicet, ij capas, j casulam, j tuniculam, j albam, j stolam cum manipulo ejusdem secte. Item, lego eidem hospitali j casulam nigram, de panno serico aur' cum apparatu sacerdotali. Item, j vestimentum *stenyd* de *applies*. Item, j vestimentum de bord Alexandre, cum stola et manupulo, et paruris sine alba. Item, duos pannos de serico veteri, et j baudekyn de velueto blodio imbrotatum cum stellis, sub ista condicione quod executores mei non inquietentur neque vexentur per successorem meum, qui pro tempore erit neque per aliquem alium nomine suo pro reparacionibus faciendis in dicto hospitali, vel in tenementis eidem pertinentibus, aliter non.

R. Test. Ebor', vol. iii, fo. 442.

Account roll of William Bedale, master, and Nicholas Louth and William Jarom, constables, 1434.

Recepciones cum arreragiis.—Firste, the saide master and constables have resayved in mone tolde, as it profes be the fote of accounte of the yere past, *vijli. ijs. vd. ob.* Item, resayved of diverse persones for thaire quarterage, of ilke persone, *xijd. (i.e.) xxxvs.* Item, in arrerage of xvijj persones, that hafe noght paide thaire arrerage, as it profes be thaire names in the boke of quarterage, *xvijjs.* Item, in arrerage of William Bedale tyme and before, as it profes in accounte of the yere nexte befor past and be a litill rolle, *xjli. iijs. iiijd.* Item, in arrerage of Richard Louth tyme of diverse persones for thaire entre in to the cumpany, as it profes be ye saide rolle, *ls.* Item, resayved of diverse persones for thaire

quarterage, payde of thaire arrerage of Richard Louth tyme, as it profes be the names in the same rolle, iijs. viijd., also in arrerage of quarterage of Richard of Louth tyme of diverse persones, that hafe noght payde, as it profes be thaire names in the saide rolle, xixs. *Summa recepcionum*, ixli. xiiij. ob. *Summa arreragiorum*, xvli. xs. iiiij. *Summa totalis*, xxiiiijli. xjs. vd. ob.

Feoda.—Of the whilke ixli. xiiij. ob. payde to master Thomas Cleveland for his fee, xiijs. iiiij. Item, paide to Thomas Warde, xiijs. iiiij. Item, to William Stillyngton, iijs. iiiij. Item, to William Graundon, xiijs. iiiij. Item, to Robert Dodmore, xiijs. iiiij. *Summa* lvjs. viij.

Expense forinsece.—Item, paide to Thomas Kirke for a presente made to oure lorde Archbissop of fyssh, xv. Item, for iij meles lyme, iijs. jd. Item, to Thomas Scauseby,¹ mercer, to have a copy of a prife sele at Hull, xxd. Item, allowed to the forsaide master and constables for plonket clothe gefen to master Thomas Cleveland and to Thomas Warde to thaire hodes, xvjd. Item, to Nicholas Louth for diverse victalles boght be hym and John Burnlay, xs. Item, in parchemyn and paper boght within the tyme of this accounte, vjs. Item, paide to diverse persones at Hull for a pryfe sele, xxvjs. viij. Item, paide to sir William Ottlay for clothe to a goune, vjs. viij. Item, for clothe to a hode to William Graundon, iijs. ijd. Item, paide to John Dene for beryng of a letter to London directe to the maire of London, iijs. iiiij. Item, in wyne gefen to Thomas Warde and other (*sic*), viij. ob. *Summa* iijli. xijs. jd. ob. *Summa totalis omnium expensarum ut supra*, vjli. viijs. ix. ob. Et sic remanet nunc de clato (*sic*), lijs. iiiij. quos solvit constabulariis subscriptis, et equo.

*Account Roll of John Raghton,*² *master, and Robert Chapman and John Calton,*³ *constables, 1435.*

Recepciones.—Firste, the saide maister and constables hafe resayved in mone tolde, as it profes be the fote of accompte of the yere next before paste, lijs. iiiij. Item, resayved for

¹ Mayor in 1462.

² Draper, chamberlain in 1423. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 134.

³ Mercer, made a freeman in 1423; *ibid.*, p. 134.

quartrage of diverse persones, that wher in arrerage of William Bedale tyme, of ilke persone, *xijd.* (*i.e.*) *vijs.* Item, resayved of xxxv persones, for thaire quartrage of the hole year of John Raghton tyme, as it profes be thaire names, of ilke persone, *xijd.* (*i.e.*) *xxxvs.* Item, resayved of William Katryk for his entre into the cumpany, as the son of Thomas Katryk, *ijs.* *iiijd.* Item, resayved of the same William to be a brother, *ijs.* *iiijd.* Item, Richard Scotton is afferid to be of the cumpany to *xvs.*, therof *xxd.* is payde in hande. And the same Richard to pay atte festes of Seint Migell and Sole (29 Sept., 2 Nov.) coming, by even porcons, the whilke is gefen up in arrerage to be rayed at the same festes, *xiijs.* *iiijd.* Item, resayved of the same Richard for hym and hys wyfe to be brother and sister, *vs.* Item, resayved of the executors of Richard Knight, chaundler, for his quartrage of *ij* yere, ilke yere, *xvjd.* (*i.e.*) *ijs.* *viijd.* Item, resayved of the same executors for quartrage of *ij* yere and a half being behinde, ilke yere, *xijd.*, noght accounted in non arrerage befor past, *ijs.* *vjd.* Item, resayved of Robert Chapman for shipping this yere, *ijs.* *iiijd.* Item, resayved of William Gaunt for freghtyng of a shippe of Berwyk, *vjs.* Item, resayved of the same William for freghtyng of another shippe, *ijs.* *iiijd.* Item, resayved of John Denom¹ for freghtyng of a shippe, *ijs.* *iiijd.* *Summa receptionum,* *vjli.* *viijs.* *xd.* *Arreragia ut supra,* *xiijs.* *iiijd.* *Summa totalis,* *vijli.* *ijs.* *ijd.* Of the whilke *vjli.* *viijs.* *xd.* the saide maister and constables askes to be allowed of diverse payments payde, as it profes be the parcell underwretyn.

Feoda.—First, payde to maister Thomas Cleveland for his fe, *xiijs.* *iiijd.* Item, to Thomas Warde for his fee, *xiijs.* *iiijd.* Item, to William Stillyngton, *ijs.* *iiijd.* Item, to William Graundson, *xiijs.* *iiijd.* Item, to Robert Dodmore, *xiijs.* *iiijd.* *Summa lvjs.* *viijd.*

Expense forinsece.—Item, payde for a grate sele, that is to say the comone sele of the cumpany, *ijs.*² Item, in diverse costages and expenses made to diverse persones at Trinite halle for inquisition made with prestes, and in other places,

¹ Mercer, made free in 1432. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

² See introduction.

iijs. vd. Item, in diverse costages and expenses made be diverse tymes to diverse wurthy men of lawe and others assembled at diverse tymes to hafe thaire wyse counsaile and information, of diverse matters touching the cumpany for thaire most profit and availe, iijli. xjs. viijd. Item, a present was gefen to the vicar generall be assente of the cumpany, that is to say of mayn brede, wyne, and diverse manner of fyssh, that cost vjs. viijd. Item, payde for writyng to diverse clerkes for dedes touching the right of the company, wretyn in right grete hast, with costage of parchemyn and paper boght within the tyme of this accompt, vs. iijd. *Summa* iijli. xs. *Summa totalis omnium solucionum et expensarum ut supra*, vijli. vj̄s. viijd. And so ther is spendid more than is resayved by xvijjs. xd.

Charters and deeds belonging to the Company.

The Friday, in ye secunde weke of Pasc, at Trinite hall, John Raghton, maister, has reseyved of William Jarum this parcell undrewretyn. First the Kynges chartre, and a written boke, a copy of the chartre endented; a dede of the avouson of the hospitall; an endenture made betwene John Warthill and Robert Jarom, Thomas Aton and others; another endenture made betwene sir William Ottlay, Thomas Aton and others; a dede of William Wastelyn and Annes his wyfe; an endenture that sir William Ottlay has leten to ferme to John Tanfeld a messuage in Petergate; a dede that Nicholas Warthill gefes to John Warthill all landes and tenementes; and an endenture wretyn of grete ragge unseled; an obligacon that John Bryan and Alan of Hill is bunden to Robert Jarom and others, in xlii.; another obligacon that William Holbek, Thomas Holbek er bunden to Robert Jarom and others in, xlii.; a bille of paper of parcells. This personalles er resayved be Thomas Kyrke, maister, Thomas Crathorn¹ and Robert Holtby,² constables (1436).

¹ Merchant, free in 1421, mayor in 1444. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 163.

² Mercer, son of John Holtby, girdler, free in 1415; *ibid.*, p. 123.

Account roll of Thomas Kirke, master, and Robert Holteby and Thomas Crathorne, constables, 1436.

The said master and constables answers here of no mone resayved of the yere nexte befor, for ther was spendid and payde in the same yere more than was resayved, as it profes be the fote of accompt of the same yere be, xvij^s. xd.

Receptio denariorum.—Item, in primis, resaived of Robert Chapman gefen in almus to the reparacion of the Trinite halle, lxs. Item, resayved of William Whallesgrafe, glover, gefen to almus to the same reparacion, xxv^s. viij^d. Item, resaived of the executors of Thomas Catryk, gefen in almus to the same reparacion, xxs. Item, resaived of the executors of Richard Knyght, chaundler, gefen in almus in the same maner, xii^s. iiij^d. Item, resaived of John Radcliff in almus, v^d. Item, resaived of William Freeman in almus, v^d. Item, resaived of John Catryk, v^d. *Summa xviiij^d.*

Item, resaived of William Cooper, pynner, to be resayved into the company, and to be a brother of the same and his wyfe a sister, xxvii^s. iiij^d. Item, John Russell, marchaunt, to be resayved into the company, and to be a brother and his wife a sister, xv^s. Thereof resayved in hand, viij^s. iiij^d., and v^s. viij^d. to be payde at Mighelmas nexte comyng, Item, Simond Swan, marchaunt, to be resayved into the cumpany, and to be a brother and his wife a sister, xv^s. Thereof resayved in hande, viij^s. iiij^d., to pay v^s. viij^d. at Mighelmasse nexte comyng. John Makblyth,¹ marchaunt, to be resayved into the cumpany, and to be a brother and his wyfe a sister, xxv^s. Thereof resayved in hand, xv^s., xs. to be payde at fest of Seint Martin in wynter nexte comyng (11 Nov.). Item, resaived in hand of maister Norhun of the order of frere prechours of Yorke, to be a brother, v^s. viij^d. Item, resaived of John Godale, merser, for his asseraunce, beyng behinde in arrerages of Robert of Jarom tyme, xii^s. iiij^d. Item, resaived of Thomas Scauseby, merser, for his afferaunce, beyng behinde

¹ Mercator, free in 1401. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 106. "Johannes Makeblithe conqueritur contra eosdem, quod predicto anno detinuerunt bona sua ad dampnum ipsius 30 lib. ster." Gravamina et querele mercatorum Eborracensium contra eosdem de Prusia. Hanse Recesse, 2 Abth. Band ii, p. 457, No. 539.

in arrerages of Robert Yarom tyme, vjs. viiij*d.* Item, resaived of William Blaufront, merchaunt, for his afferaunce, being behinde in arrerage of Robert Jarom tyme, iijs. iiij*d.* Item, resaived of Thomas Kirke, merser, for his afferaunce, being in arrerage of Robert Jarom tyme, vjs. viiij*d.* Item, resaived of the executors of Thomas Aton for his shipping, being behinde in arrerage of William Bedale tyme, vjs. viiij*d.* Item, resayved of Thomas Cliff for his afferaunce, being in arrerage of Richard Louth tyme, vs. Item, resayved of John Lofthouse in parte of payment of xiijs. iiij*d.*, for his afferaunce, being in arrerage of Richard Louth time, iijs. iiij*d.* Item, resayved of William Fremen and Thomas Curtan for his shipping, vs. Item, resaived of xxxj persounes for thaire quartrage of the hole yere, in Thomas Kyrke tyme, xxxjs. Item, resayved of ij persounes for thaire quartrage, being in arrerage of John of Raghton tyme, ijs. Item, resayved of master Thomas Cleveland gefen in almus to the hospital of his fee, iijs. iiij*d.* Item, resaived of ij persounes for thaire quartrage, being in arrerage of William Bedale tyme, ijs. *Summa recepcionum*, xiiij*li.* xviiij*d.* *Summa arreragiorum ut supra*, xlvjs. (*sic*). Of the whilke xiiij*li.* xviiij*d.*, the saide master and constables askes to be allowed of diverse paymentes payde for fee and other as it profes beneth.

Feoda.—First, to master Thomas Cleveland for his fe, xiijs. iiij*d.* Item, to Thomas Warde for his fe, xiijs. iiij*d.* Item, to William Stelyngton, iijs. iiij*d.* Item, to William Graundon, xiijs. iiij*d.* Item, to Robert Dodmore, xiijs. iiij*d.* *Summa* lvjs. viiij*d.*

Expense forinsece.—Item, paide for diverse reparacions made upon Trinite halle, as it profes be the parcelles, vi*li.* xiiijjs. xd. Item, a kyste bunden with iren,¹ vjs. viiij*d.* Item, payde for lynnyn clothe boght to be stenyd for auter clothes in the chapell of the hospital, vjs. viiij*d.* Item, paide to William Blaufront of alte dette, xvjd. Item, paide to Robert Chapman, ijs. vjd. of xvijs. xd. the (*sic*) was in super

¹ Possibly the chest now in the Committee room, formerly the kitchen of the Merchants' Hall. Experts say it is of early Norman date, and suggest that if this entry refers to it, it must have been bought as an antique in 1436!

plusage of the yere past, as it profes be the fote of accompt of the same yere. Item, payde for parchemyn and paper spendid within this yere, viijd. *Summa* vjli. xijs. viijd. And so ther lefes clerly to the company in mone tolde, iiijli. xijs. ijd. Quos solvit et equo.

Account roll of Thomas Kyrk, master, Thomas Crathorn and John Catryk, constables, 1437.

Fyrst, recevyd of the yere before past in amending of the company, as hyt profes be the fote of the acowntye in the same yere, iiijli. xijs. ijd. Item, recevyd of Thomas Kyrkeham, aldyrman, in almve (*sic*), vjs. viijd. Item, Thomas Bolton to be recevyd into the company and to be a brodyr, xiijs. iiijd. therof recevyd in hand, xs. Item, recevyd of John Kyrk to be one of the company and a brodyr, vjs. viijd. Item, John Ince to be of the company and a brodyr, vjs. viijd., resevyd xld., and iijs. and iiijd. to be payd at Mychalmes next commyng. Item, recevyd of Richard Kyrkham to be of the company and a brodyr, and Annes his wyf a syster, xvs. Item, recevyd of Wilyam Pawlyn to be of the company and a brodyr, xs. Item, John Denom is recevyd to be of the company and a brodyr, xs., resevyd therof in hand, iijs. iiijd., and vjs. viijd. to be payd at Mychelmas next. Item, recevyd of Wyllyam Crathorn to be a brodyr and of the company, vjs. viijd. Item, recevyd of John Tanfeld for ald arerege of Robert Jarom tyme, xiijs. iiijd. Item, recevyd of Thomas Nelson to be of the company and a brodyr, and Kateryn his wyf a syster, vjs. viijd. Item, recevyd of Rychard of Skotton for ald errerage of hys ferance in John Raghton tyme, xiijs. iiijd. Item, recyvd of John Catryk for hys wyf to be a systyr, xxd. *Summa* ixli. ijs. ijd. (*sic*).

Item, recevyd of John Mallom for quartrage in John Raghton tyme, xijd. Item, recevyd of John Godale for quartrage in the fyrst yere of Thomas Kyrk tyme, xijd. Item, recevyd of twa systyrs, twa yere, ijd. Item, recevyd of xxxvj personyes for the quartrage of this yere, xxxvjs. *Summa recepcionum*, xjli. viijs. xd. Of the qwhyk Thomas Kyrk, the sayd maystyr and constables askys to be alowd of dyverce

peymentys payd for fe and odthr, as hyt profes undyr wrytyn. Fyrst, payd to Thomas Warde for hys fee, vjs. viijd. Item, Wyllyam Stilyngton, iijs. iiijd. Item, Wyllyam Grawndon, xiijs. iiijd. Item, Robert Dodmore, xiijs. iiijd. *Summa xxxiijs. iiijd. (sic).*

Item, payd John Lylling¹ for ald dette award, xls. Item, to John Bwrnlay of ald dette award to hym, and grawntyd be the company, xxvjs. viijd. Item, payd for the making of the awrres of the pagent hous, vjs. Item, payd to Margret Chaundeler for making of vj torchys and the wax to tham, xiiijs. Item, for vj castyle to tham, iijs. viijd. Item, payd to David Paynter for xxiiij baners peyntyng wyth canvas langyng thereto, and peyntyng of vj castyls, xs. Item, for the making of xj beddes after the fourme of Robert Dodmore bed, xlvs. viijd. Item, payd for the beryng of vj torchys on Corpus Christi day (12 June), ijs. *Summa totalis expensarum* and *(sic)* soluta, ixli. vs. viijd. And so it levys clerly to the company, xliijs. ijd.

Account roll of Thomas Kyrk, master, Thomas Crathorn and John Catryk, constables, 1438.

Item, that we laft *(sic)* in arrerage of last yere, xliijs. ijd. Item, resavyd of Hew Hwrlok for hys entre, xiijs. iiijd. Item, resavyd in almue of John Cutbag and hys wyf, xiijs. iiijd. Item, resavyd of Thomas Cutbag, vjs. viijd. Item, resavyd of John Bedale for his entre, vjs. viijd. Item, resevyd of Willyam Bedale in almwe, xxs. Item, resavyed of Thomas Klynce to be of the company, and to be a brodyr, *Summa xxvjs. viijd.*, resavyd vjs. viijd. Item, resavyd of John Roclif to be a brodyr and of the company, *Summa xxxs.* Item, resavyd of bredyr and systyrs of this yere, xlijs. Item, resavyd of Thomas Kyrk in almwe, vs. xd. Item, resavyd of arrerage of the last yere, iijs. iiijd. *Summa viijli. xijd. (sic).*

Item, payde for making of mens beddys last yere, ixs. vijd. Item, payd for curtens to beddys, xxxs. iiijd. Item, payd for women beddys, xlvs. viijd. Item, payd for tymbyr and mendyng of the halle, viijs. iijd. Item, payd for plasteryng and wallyng of beddys, iijs. Item, payd for the wryting of the prayer

¹ *Ante*, p. 33.

boke, xijd. Item, payd for twa keys to a kyst and to a doyre, vjd. Item, payd to Wylliam Stylling for hys fe, iijs. iiijd. Item, payd to Robert Dodmore for his fee of the yere, xiijs. iiijd. Item, payd for the swte of pondage at London, xxs. Item, payd for the making of ij acowntye for ij yere, xvjd. *Summa* vjli. xvijjs. iiijd. And so it lewys clarly to the company, xxiijs. viijd.

Account roll of Thomas Kirk, master, Thomas Crathorn and John Cateryk, constables, 1439.

First, receyved of the yere before past in amendinge of the company, as it proves be the fute of the account in the same yere, xxiijs. viijd. Item, receyved of arrerages of Thomas Clynt entre, xxd. Item, receyved of arrerages of John Inch of his quarterage, xijs. Item, receyved of the quarterage of xxxviiij persones this yere, xxxviijs. *Summa* iiijli. ijs. viijd. This is the payment of the some before writen. In primis, paide for a hude to Master John Warthill, ix. Item, paid to Thomas Scausby by John Gudeale and John Burnlay, that they were behynde of a dener, xxiijs. vjd. Item, paid to William Stillington for his fee this yere, iijs. iiijd. Item, to Robert Dodmore for his fee this yere, xiijs. iiijd. Item, for beringe of vj torches on Corpus Christi day, ijs. *Summa* ljs. ijd. And so the receytes exceedez the expenses xxxjs. vjd.

Will of Richard Saunderson, master of the hospital.

(29 Jan., 1438-9.)

Dominus Ricardus Saunderson, capellanus, magister hospitalis Sancte Trinitatis, in Fossegate. Sep. in ecclesia mea parochiali Sancte Crucis, in Fossegate, in Eboraco. Cuilibet capellano dicte ecclesie parochialis et hospitalis predicti ad exequias et missam meas interessenti, vjd. Ad empcionem vestimenti in ecclesia parochiali de Kyrkeby Malleserde deserviendi, vjs. viijd. Et ad empcionem novi apparatus ad altare B.M.V. in dicta ecclesia de Kyrkeby, vjs. viijd. Pauperibus existentibus in hospitali predicto inter eos dividendos, vjs. viijd. Hospitali Sancte Trinitatis predicte j porteforium et sex marcas sterlingorum si executores

mei dictas vj marcas¹ detinentibus meis racione salarii mei acquirere poterunt, sub hac condicione quod magister dicti hospitalis qui pro tempore fuerit et magistri fraternitatis dicti hospitalis recipiant Isoldam sororem meam in dictum hospitale caritative modo et forma sicut pauperes in eodem hospitali recipiuntur; et quod dicta Isolda habeat septimanatim solutos per magistrum pro tempore existentem et successores durante tota vita dicte Isolde, iiijd. argenti ad sustentacionem suam.

R. Test. Ebor', vol. iii, fo. 560.

- *This indenture witnesseth* that John Fox, master of the hospital of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Mary the Virgin, in Fossgate, York, with the common consent and assent of the master and constables of the gild of mercers of the city of York, hath granted and let unto Joan Cantcliffe of York, widow, one tenement within the hospital aforesaid, which Abraham Colton lately caused to be built, and one garden to the same annexed, with an entry leading to the river Foss, and one bed in the said hospital, and four pence in silver, To have and to hold the aforesaid tenement and garden with the entrance and four pence in silver, to be paid to her weekly or her assigns for her whole life. And moreover the aforesaid Joan shall not sell or alienate the aforesaid bed nor fourpence weekly to be paid to her or her assigns, but the said bed and fourpence shall maintain and take to her own proper use. Yielding to the aforesaid John, master and his successors being masters three shillings and four pence, at the terms of, etc. And the aforesaid master and his successors shall repair and sustain the aforesaid tenement at their own proper costs and expences during the whole life of the said Joan. [Clause against waste by the said Joan.] In testimony whereof to one part of this indenture in the possession of the said Joan, the said John, master of the hospital, hath put the common seal of the said hospital, and the master, of the gild of mercers aforesaid, hath put the common seal of the said gild of mercers, and to the other part remaining with the said John, the master, the said Joan hath put her seal, dated the twelfth day of August, 1439.

¹ This sum was paid, *post*, p. 55.

*Account roll of
Thomas Kirk, master, Thomas Crathorn and John Catryk,
constables, 1440.*

First, receyvd of the yere before past in amendinge of the company, as it proves in the fute of account of the same yere, xxxjs. vjd. Item, receyvd of Janett Cunclyff to be a sister, xviijs. iiijd. Item, receyved of William Brereton to be a brother and his wife a sister, xs. Item, receyved of William Kyam to be a brother and his wife a sister, xjs. viijd. Item, receyved of John Bedale for his wife to be a sister, xxd. Item, receyved of William Catrik for his wife to be a sister, xxd. Item, receyved of John Asby to be a brother, xvjs. viijd. Robert Dalton to be a brother and his wife a sister, viijs. iiijd. To pay in hand xld. and vs. at Jole next comynge. Item, Nicholas Holgate to be [a] brother and his wife a sister, to pay at Jole next comynge, xs. Item, receyvd of Simond Tankardson shipp, vjs. viijd. Item, receyvd of Claus Blumer shipp, ijs. iiijd. Item, receyvd of Thomas Curteys . . . for shipp freight, xjs. viijd. Item, receyvd of the brethren and sisters for thair quarterage of this yere, xxxiijs. vjd. Item, receyvd of Thomas Cutbagg for his wife to be a sister, xxd. Item, receyvd of arrerages of Richard Kirkham of his quarterage, and for Radclyff, ijs. *Summa vijli. xvjs. iiijd.* This is the payments of the said summe, in primis, to William Stillington for his fee this yere, ijs. iiijd. Item, to Robert Dodmore for his fee this yere, xiijs. iiijd. Item, for beringe of vj torches on Corpus Christi day, xxd. Item, to the clerk for makinge of this account, xijd. Item, for ij trese to ij postes, ijs. iiijd. Item, for ij stones for ij postes, xvjd. *Summa xxiijs.* And so the receytes exceeds the expenses *vjli. xijs. iiijd.* Item, receyved of arrerages, ijs. Item, receyved of William Barlay for his wife Alison to be a sister, xxd. *Summa vijli. xvijs.*

*Account roll of
Thomas Kyrke, master, Thomas Crathorn and John Catryke,
constables, 1441.*

First, ye sayd master and constables hafe resayved in mone told, as itt profes be the fete of accompte of the yere next

before past, *vjli.* *xvijs.* Item, resayved for quarterage of dyverse persones, that were in arrerage of the yere afore past, *viijs.* Item, resayvd off *xxxvj* and *iij* dosine (*sic*) persons, for their quarterage off this yere, *xxxvijs.* *vjd.* [*Summa*] *ixli.* *ijs.* *6d.* Off the wilke *ixli.* *ijs.* *vjd.* the sayd master and constables asked to be allowed of dyvers paments, as it profes under wretyn. In primo, to William Stelyngton for his fe, *ijs.* *iiijd.* Item, to Robert Dodmore for his fe, *xiijs.* *iiijd.* Item, for berynge of torcheyes, *xxd.* [*Summa*] *xviijs.* *iiijd.* And so ther lefes clerly to the company in mone tald—*viiijli.* *iiijs.* *ijd.*

Account roll of

John Catryke, master, Thomas Scawysby and Robert Collynson, constables, 1442.

Item, ye sayd master and constables hafe resavyd in mone told, as itt profes be ye fote of accompte of the yere next before past, *viiijli.* *iiijs.* *ijd.* Item, resavyd of John Gyllyot for to be a brother, *xxxs.* Item, resavyd of Robert Lyllynge to be a brother, *vjs.* *viiijd.* Item, resavyd of Jaymes Coppyn to be a brother, *vjs.* *viiijd.* Item, resavyd of Richard Bugden to be a brother and Janet, his wife, to be a syster, *vjs.* *viiijd.* Item, resavyd of John Felle to be a brother, *vjs.* *viiijd.* Item, resavyd of John Whitbe to be a brother and his wife a syster, *vjs.* *viiijd.* Item, resavyd of John Weldryke to be a brother and his wife a syster, *viijs.* *iiijd.*, and therof is payd in hand, *viijs.* *iiijd.* Item, resavyd of John Latwner to be a brother, *vjs.* *viiijd.*, it is awaude (*sic*). Item, resavyd of John Bullstampe schype, *vjs.* *viiijd.* Item, resavyd of Richard Kyrkeham for syr John Fox, *xs.* Item, resavyd of John Darrelle to be a brother and Margaret his wife to be a syster, *iiijli.* *vjs.* *viiijd.* And therof is paid in hand, *xls.* and syr John Fox plege for the remland. Item, resavyd of Richard Penrith and Janet his wife to be brother and syster, *vjli.* *viijs.*, to pay at Trenite Sunday next comes (16 June). Item, resavyd of Robert Byrke to be a brother, *vjs.* *viiijd.*, to pay next yere.

Rotulus quartus tempore predicti domini Johannis Fox, magistri hujus hospitalis, de terminis Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in Yeme, anno Domini Millesimo cccc quadragesimo secundo, de omnibus terris, et tenementis redditibusque eidem hospitale pertinentibus, ut patet in rotulo secundi et tercii annorum precedencium et summatim breviter hic transumptis (1442).¹

In primis, tenementa extra Walmegate barre in parochiis Sanctorum Nicholai, Edwardi et Laurencii, cum Fysshergate reddunt per annum ad summam, *iiijli. xixs. vjd.* Item, tenementa infra Walmegate barre et parochia Sancti Dionisii ad summam, *iiijli. xld.* Item, tenementa in Fossegate reddunt per annum ad summam, *viiijli. xixs. iiijd.* Item, tenementa super Pavimentum et Ousegate ad summam, *ixli. xxd.* Item, tenementa in Skeldergate, Mikilgate, et Toftes ad summam, *xxxiiijli.* Item, tenementa in Peter lane littell et Newgate ad summam, *viiijli. viijs.* Item, tenementa in Petergate, Gotheromgate and Monkgate ad summam, *vli. vijs. iiijd.* Item, tenementa in Bouthom and Gilygate ad summam, *iiijli. xvs.* Idem supradictus magister respondit de xvij marcis receptis anno isto de Johanne Darrell et Margareta uxore ejus pro quodam tenemento, *viijd.*, in pecunia in qualibet septimana, quod eisdem Johanne et Margarete concesserunt ad terminum vite ipsorum Johannis et Margarete et unius eorum diucius viventis, ut patet in quadam carta inde facta. *Summa xjli. vjs. viijd.* *Summa totalis* summarum supradictarum, *lvjli. xiiijli. xd.*, de quibus solutis, in primis, solutum in resolutionem firmarum, ut patet in rotulis diversis per annum, *vjli. xs.*, et magistro dicti hospitalis per annum, *vjli. xiijs. iiijd.* Et domino Johanni Bolron, capellano ibidem, per annum, *vli.*, et domino Johanni Dalby, capellano ibidem, vij marcas, et in elemosinis pauperibus in dicto hospitali, ut patet, etc., *xjli. vijs. viijd.* Et in pane et vino pro missis et cera per annum, *vs. iiijd.*, et in oleo in dicto hospitali hoc anno, *xxd.*, et pro locione vestimentorum alborum et aliorum pannorum, *xijd.* Et in reparacione tenementorum predictorum,

¹ This is the earliest rental in the possession of the Company, but they possess 293 leases and charters concerning their property; the earliest is dated 1281. Johannes Fox was instituted 3 Feb., 1438-9. Archiepis. R. Kemp, fol. 396 (b).

ut patet per parcellos in quodam libro, xijli. xxiiij*d.* Et in decasu tenementorum hoc anno, ut patet, liiij*s.* v*d.* Et solutum executoribus domini Ricardi Saunderson illo anno, xiijs. iiij*d.* Et solutum magistro et constabulariorum gilde mercatorum civitatis de moneta que recepta fuit de Johanne Darell et Margareta uxore ejus supra dictis, v marcas. *Summa totalis* resolucionum solutorum elemosinis, reparacionibus et expensis ut patet supra, liijli. viijs. ix*d.*, quibus deductis et allocatis de summa totali receptorum supra dictorum que est lvjli. xiiij*s.* x*d.*, remanet clare iiijli. v*s.* j*d.*

Congregati fuerunt in curia sua in vigilia Apostoli Petri et Pauli, anno Henrici sexti, post conquestum Anglie vicesimo primo.
(28 June, 1443).¹

Et eorum assensu ordinaverunt quod de cetero teneantur singulis annis iiij curie capitales, videlicet, die Veneris proximo post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste; die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Michaelis; die Veneris proximo post festum Epiphane; et in festo Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis; et si quis fratrum, artem predictam exercens, absens fuit ab aliqua curia predicta absque causa rationabili, amerietur ad xij*d.*, quos fideliter persolvat communitati dicte fraternitatis sine mitigacione aliqua.

Comptus domini Johannis Fox, magistri hospitale sancte Trinitatis et beate Marie fundate in Fossegate, in Ebor', anno Domini millimo cccc quinquagesimo primo (1451).

In primis, dictus magister respondet de tenementis extra Walmgate barr, in parochiis Sancti Edwardi, Sancti Lawrencii, et Fishergate, et de uno tenemento in tenura Agnetis Hast. *Summa* omnium predictorum tenementorum, per annum, levantur domino Johanni Dalby pro salario suo, hoc anno, iiijli. xiijs. iiij*d.*

Walmgate.—Item, respondet de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Forster, quod reddit per annum, xv*s.* v*d.* Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Bolton, *saddler*, xiijs. iiij*d.* Et

¹ From the Bemrose transcript, p. 106. See introduction.

de uno tenemento in tenura Matilde Warde, quod reddit per annum, iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Ricardi Hadlowe, *litister*, iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Alicie Dykonson, iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Alexandri Carr, iijs. Et de una parva domo ibidem que reddit per annum, xvjd. Et de Willelmo Wade pro uno gardino ibidem, ix*d.* *Summa* lvjs. xjd.

Fossgate.—Et de uno tenemento Agnetis Junour, quod reddit per annum, xiijs. iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Topclyff, xiijs. Et de Johanne Topcliff, iijs. iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Margarete Leke, xviijd. Et de Cecilia Web pro quodam tenemento, xiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Apilton, per annum, iijs. iiijd. Et de Henrico Haxby pro uno tenemento ibidem, per annum, vjs. viijd. Et de Elena Bayn pro uno tenemento, vs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Chambre, per annum, xvjs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Brawath, quod reddit per annum, vjs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Johannis Hesylwod, xxs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Jacobi Taylor, et reddit per annum, xvs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Plomer, quod reddit per annum, xxxiijs. iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Wery, quod reddit per annum, xxviijs. iiijd. *Summa* vij*li.* vijs.

Pamento (sic).—Item, de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Raghton, quod reddit per annum, xxs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Bowes, et reddit per annum, xxs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Chelo (Chillowe), quod reddit per annum, xiijs. iiijd. Et de eodem Johanne pro una parva domo ibidem, iijs. iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Lonsdale, et reddit per annum, vjs. viijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Rogeri Wryght, et reddit per annum, xiijs. iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Plommer, xiijs. iiijd. Et de eodem Thoma pro una parva domo, et reddit per annum, vjs. viijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Christofer Plommer, et reddit per annum, vjs. viijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Ince, et reddit per annum, xls. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Rumby, et reddit per annum, xxs. *Summa* vij*li.* iijs. iiijd.

Ousegate, Skeldergate, Mekilgate, et Toftes.—Item, de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Crofte, et reddit per annum, xs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Nunhuse, iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Harman Horn, reddit per annum, iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Forluff, et reddit per annum, xxs. Et de Willelmo Clerke per annum, ix. *Summa* xlvijs.

Peterlayn litill.—Item, respondet de uno tenemento Johannis Consburgh, et reddit per annum, xxxiijs. iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Catrike, et reddit per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Thome Mosse, et reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Cristine Clerk, et reddit per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Isabelle Atkynson, et reddit per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Agnetis Wryght, et reddit per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Alicie Syngilton, et reddit per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Thome Westhrope, et reddit per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Willelmi Whyte, et reddit per annum, ijs. *Summa* lvijs. iiijd.

Newgate.—Item, dictus magister respondet de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Northeby, xiiijs. Et de Agnete Rypon per annum, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Agnetis Pepercorn, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. *Vac.* et de uno tenemento ibidem, vjs. *Vac.* et de uno tenemento ibidem, vjs. *Vac.* et de uno tenemento juxta in tenura, xs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Kelke, et reddit per annum, xs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Kyrkby, sherman, et reddit per annum, xs. *Summa* iijli. iiijs.

Petergat, Gothromgate, and Monkgate.—Item, respondet de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Kyng, et reddit per annum, xs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Notbrown, quod reddit per annum, xxs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Johannis, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johanne Auston, et reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Danby, tunc maioris civitatis, xxs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Presten, et reddit per annum, vjs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Aller, et reddit per annum, vjs. *Summa* iijli. xijs.

Jeligate et Bowthom.—Item, respondet de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Nicholson, et reddit per annum, xlvjs. viijd. Et de Thoma Gyrsope pro uno tenemento, vijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Ricardi Thomson, quod reddit per annum, xijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johanne Dykson, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de alio tenemento ibidem, quod reddit per annum, iiijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Coke, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de Willelmo Thomson pro uno tenemento hoc anno, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johanne Gylote, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Flecher, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. Et de uno tenemento ibidem per annum, ijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Haxby, quod reddit per annum, iiijs. *Summa iiijli. xvs. viijd.*

Summa totalis omnium firmarum terrarum, tenementorum et reddituum supradictorum, xlii. xvjs. vijd.

De quibus col' ut patet postea, etc. Inde solvit in resolutionem firmarum, terrarum, et tenementorum, vjli. xs. Et magister dicti hospitalis pro feodo suo hoc anno, vjli. xiijs. iiijd. Et domino Johanni Dalby pro salario suo hoc anno, iiijli. xiijs. iiijd. Et domino Willelmo Blysse hoc anno, iiijli. vjs. viijd. Et pro sustentacione lampadum ecclesia Sancte Crucis, xiijs. Et in decasu hoc anno, vjs. Et dictus magister petit allocacionem hoc anno, pro tenemento in quo Johannes Ince inhabitat, xls. Et in elemosina data pauperibus hoc anno, xjli. ijd. Et in reparacione omnium tenementorum hoc anno, vjli. xs. *Summa totalis* resolutionum et solucionum omnimodo, ut patet supra, xlijli. xijs. vjd. Et sic summa solucionum excedit summam receptorum hoc anno, xxxvs. xjd.

The Pageant of Doomsday.

Noverint universi, per presentes, nos Robertum Hewyk de Ledes, in comitatu Ebor', *parisshe clerke*, Thomam Fitt de Ebor', *tapiter*, et Henricum Clayton de Ebor', textorem, teneri et firmiter obligari gubernatori, et custodibus, communitatis [mercerorum] civitatis Ebor', in decem libris sterlingorum solvendis eisdem gubernatori, et custodibus, vel successoribus suis, seu eorum attornato, ad festum Corporis Christi proxime

futurum post datam presencium, sine dilacione longiori. Ad quam quidem solucionem dicte pecunie ut premittitur faciendam obligamus nos, heredes et executores nostros, ac omnia bona nostra, et quemlibet nostrum per se pro toto et in solido per presentes. Sigillis signatis. Datum, vicesimo septimo die Februarii, 32 Hen. VI (27 Feb., 1453-4).

Conditio istius obligacionis talis est, quod si prescripti Robertus, Thomas, et Henricus teneant et perimpleant ex parte sua, omnes et singulas convenciones et condiciones contentas in quibusdam indenturis, inter supradictum gubernatorem et custodes, ex una parte, et prefatos Robertum, Thomam, et Henricum, ex parte altera, confectis de et super educione ludi Corporis Christi, videlicet vocati *Domysday*, secundum formam et effectum indenturarum predictarum, quod extunc ista obligacio pro nullo habeatur, alioquin in suis robore remaneat et virtute. Shirwod.

*The reknyng of the Kattryn of Hull, anno Domini
j ml. iiij c. lvij (1457).¹*

Jhesu.

Thes ar the person that hase payd thar jettson in the Kattryn off Hull, in anno Domini mⁱiiij^clvij. Robert Tayllour,² vijli. xiiijs. vijd. Thomas Cortas,³ xlvijs. xd. Wyllam Wyese, xixs. Gyllys Hewson, off Werseyrstow, xiiijs. John Bull, xxxiiijs. vd. Christoffyr Arkla, liiij. vd. Thomas Armorer,⁴ iiijli. vs. xd. Wylliam Paton,⁵ xliiij. xjd. Thomas Tutchage, iiijli. iijs. jd. ob. Rycherd Scotton,⁶ lixs. viijd. William Attkynson, xxxiiijs. ix. Necholes Mellynhowse, xjli. vijs. vjd. Rycherd Kulton, xxviijs. iiij. John Owsstorpe, xxxs. jd. Christoffyr Elston,⁷ iiijli. viijs. jd. Thomas Darllyngton,⁸

¹ cf. Frost's Notices of Hull, pp. 11, 12.

² Free in 1455, merchant. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 175. cf. Hans. Ur., *op. cit.*, ix, 369.

³ Free in 1419, mercer, chamberlain 1443. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 161.

⁴ Free in 1436, mercer; *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ Free in 1446, ironmonger; *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶ Free in 1426, merchant, chamberlain in 1448; *ibid.*, pp. 139, 168.

⁷ Free in 1455, merchant; *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁸ Free in 1428, draper; *ibid.*, p. 141.

xxxiijs. John Sebaldall, xxs. xd. ob. Thomas Butler, xviijs. iijd. Wylliam Lorremar, xxijs. ijd. Wylliam Lamme, iiijli. vijs. vjd. Jacobe Denat, xjs. viijd. *Summa off this syd*, lxli.¹

Jhesu.

Thomas Dalhowse, iijli. vs. iijjd. John Clyffe, iijli. xiijd. Thomas Kūke, xxiijs. vjd. John Porter, iijli. xijs. ijd. Thomas Nandyke, xxvijs. ijd. Thomas Gabut, xliiijjs. Robert Alkoke, xxviijs. ijd. Robert Edname, ls. Lowrans Porter, iijli. vijs. iijd. Rychard Wyntrynham, vjli. xijd. Thomas Skelton, xxvs. iijjd. ob. Robert of the hall, xxxviijs. vjd. Thomas Bevyrley, iiijli. xvjs. vd. Thomas Smythe, ixli. iijs. xd. ob. Wylliam Warde, xlixs. Wylliam Killyngbeke, vli. viijs. iijjd. ob. John Gyle, lvs. ijd. Wylliam Tele, iiijli. xjs. viijd. Herre Willmson, viijli. vjs. viijd. Kollyn Landas, xxxvs. John Medylton, xxxiiijs. viijd. John Redysdall, viijs. Rychard Symson, vjli. xs. xjd. Wylliam Barker, vjli. xjs. William Brownsfeld, xxvjs. Herre Krabe, xiijs. John Rukeby, ix. s. xd. Thomas Robynson, iiijs. viijd. Robert Jarman, xiijs. ob. William Basstyllfurthe, iiijs. vd. ob. *Sum off this syd*, iiij^{xxvli}. vjs. iijjd. *Summa totalis* of the receyts, etc., j c. lli. vjs. iijjd.

Jhesu.

These ar the parson that hase resseved thar jettosome, for the gudes that was kasstyn owtt off the Kattryn off Hull, in the yere of our Lord God j ml. iij c. lviij^{ti}. John Porter, for xvj clothes whyttis, xixli. iiijs. Kattryn Ratclyffe, for xx clothis et dimidium, whytts, xxvijli. xiiijd. John Inse and Kattryn Raclyffe, for ij pese small lede, vijs. ijd. Wylliam Attkynson, for xv clothyjs whyttis, and vj dossen Kalfe skyns, and j harnes with dyvars parsells therein, *summa* xxli. xjs. ijd. John Medylton, for xxij clothis whyttes, and xj yerdes meld, xxvijli. xijs. Robert off Thehall, for v clothis wesstron whyttis, iijli. xijs. Thomas Kuke, for xv clothis and dimidium, clothe narrow whytts, xjli. viijs. Wylliam Barker, for ij clothis whyttis, ls. iijjd. ob. Rychard Skotton, j clothe whytts, xxiiijs. Gyllys Hawson, off Wessyrstow, for xvij quarters whett, iijli. viijs. Herre Wylliamson and Christofyr Ratclyffe,

¹ The sum of the items does not agree with the totals given.

for iiij quarters and dimidium whet, xviijs. Thomas Dallhowse, for xxx*li*. garne, ix*s*. iiij*d*. Wylliam Warde, for j kest, iiij*s*. Rychard Symson, for j kest and j prymer, vs. Wylliam Paton, for j kest, iiij*s*. Lowrans Porter, for j kest and ij pawtne yryns, vs. *vd*. Thomas Allhowse, for j kest, iiij*s*. Wylliam Kellyngbeke, for j kest, iiij*s*. Thomas Nandyke, for j kest, iiij*s*. Thomas Gabut, for j kest, iiij*s*. Thomas Skotton, for j harnes, xiiij*d*. John Bull, for j harnes, xiiij*d*. Rychard Skotton, for j kest, iiij*s*. John Readyseall, for j harnes and j kitt of male and j sallece, viijs. Robert Alloke, for j harnes, xiiij*d*. John Porter, for j kest, iiij*s*. Thomas Smythe, for j kest, iiij*s*. Thomas Darlyngton, vij stone thtoms (?) and vij ston garne. *Summa* xxxiijs. *Summa of thys syd*, j c. xxiiij*li*. *jd. ob.*

Wylliam Doncasstyr, dyvars parsells, that he hade kasstyn, lijs. v*jd*. Thomas Croffte, for dyvars parsellys, that he had kasstyn, xxxijs. viij*d*. John Bukeby, for dyvars parsellys, that he had kastyn, xxvijs. iiij*d*. Lowrans Baxsster, for j quarter pese, that he had kasstyn, ijs. Thomas Robynson, for iij clothes whytts, that he had kasstyn, iiij*li*. xijs. Thomas Boyteswyne, for dyvars parsellys, that he had kasstyn, viijs. Wylliam Kastyllfurthe, for j harnes, xiiij*d*. Wylliam Pykeman and hys sellrys, for whyte, that thay had kasstyn, viijs. Addam (*sic*), for j harnes barrel, that he had kasstyn, xiiij*d*. John Weldon, for dyvars parsellys, that he had kasstyn, xvijs. i*d*. John Bake, for dyvars parsells, that he had kasstyn, xxix*s*. John Hunt, for j kest, that he had kasstyn, iiij*s*. iiij*d*. Rychard Kendell, for dyvars parsells, that he had kasstyn, xv*s*. Robert Edname, for j harnes, that he had kasstyn, xx*s*. John Champyon, for iij halfe clothes wesson whytts, xxvijs. x*d*. Robert Burton, for j harnes, that he had kystyn, xiiij*d*. *Summa* of this dyscharged is j c. xlix*li*. xv*s*. *vd. ob.*

Jhesu.

Item, payd Gyllys Hakson for pylgramage to the holly blude,¹ xxxijs. Item, payd to Thomas Robynson for pyl-

¹ Possibly to the *chapelle du Saint-Sang* in Bruges — a two-storied church of the twelfth and fifteenth century. Some drops of the blood of Christ are said to have been brought from Palestine in 1149 by Theodoric of Alsace, Count of Flanders, and given to the city.

gramage to our lady of Walsyngham,¹ xijs. Item, paid to Rychard Symson for lod monane into Selland, iij*li*. xs. ix*d*. Item, payd to Thomas Armorar for the prevaysele, xxxiijs. iii*d*. Item, payd for bryngyng of the schipe fro the barre Huke to Camfer,² xs. Item, payd to the klarke and to the kountroller for talyng owt of the kokett at Hull, xjs. vii*d*. Item, payd for costes made for sewyng of the pursowr, and for j man of lawe, xijs. x*d*. Item, payd for dyvars costs for setlyng of the jettsson at our meteyng, xjs. Item, Wylliam Paton payd to Robert Pawllyn, in parte of pament of Christofer Ratelyfe, sollme that he schuld have of hys jessom, xxs.

Jhesu.

These ar the parsons that hase not payd thar jettssome in the Kattryn off Hull, anno Domini j m. iij c. lvii^{ti}. Thomas Gabut, xvjs. x*d*. *ob*. Item, Thomas Purson for the schyp and the takyll, viij*li*. iijs. iii*d*. Item, Thomas Pursall for iij halfe clothis whytts, xx*d*. Item, Thomas Kardwell ij clothis whyttis, ijs. iii*d*. Item, Christoffyr Ratelyffe, xixs. v*d*. Item, that Wylliam Skawsby reseved of John Redesdall, ijs. j*d*. Item, that he resseyved of Thomas Darlyngton, iijs. v*d*. *ob*. Item, that Thomas Armorar aw of hys jettssome, ix*d*. *Summa xli*. xs.

These ar the parson that ar payd for the jettssom and costes off the Kattryn, anno Domini, m. iij c. lvij. Item, to the pursower and to Herre Grange, and to Thomas Kardwell for vij qwaters and dimidium whett, that wase casstyn, xxxs. Item, to Christoffyr Ratelyfe for ij clotthis off drabue Kollowes, and j clothe whyt, lijs. Item, for pylgramage to our lady of Donkasstyr, xijs. Item, to Saynt Trynayn (*sic*) att Hull, xijs. Item, to John Inse and to Robert Tayllyow, . . . Item, thay payd to the cosstomars and to the clarkes at Hull, . . . *Summa xlvs*. stirlyng.

Item, John Inse and to Thomas Scawsby for thar costes

¹ An eleventh century Augustinian priory, which contained a famous image of our lady of Walsingham, and a phial of her milk. The road to the site of this pilgrimage was known as the "Palmer's Way." H. D. Traill. *Social England*, vol. ii, p. 374. Erasmus in his *Peregrinatio Religionis* describes his own visit.

² *Ante*, p. 40.

to Hull, for fryghtyng of the Kattryn. *Summa xvjs. viijd.*

Item, to Herre Wylliamson for rydyng to Hull, xijs. starllyng. Item, to Wylliam Paton for inke, and pawper, and wrytyng of owr reknyng, *xxd.* *Summa xvli. iijs. ijd.*

Thes are the costes payd aboute the paigand (1467).¹

Item, primis payd to Wylliam Clark and his players for rehersyng, *xd.* Item, to John Lyster for goyng with us, *ijd.* Item, payd *ijd.* pykes and gret nayles for the axeltre, and burdes, and nales, and warkmanship to the grete pajand, *xxd.* Item, payd for and ij Englishe burdes, and duple spykyngs and ship the lyes, *xiijd.* Item, for mendyng of an angell cote, . . . Item, payd to Wylliam Clarkson, for a pare gloves and half a yerd lynen. Item, payd for sope and gr[ease] for the pajand wheles, . . . Item, for weshyng of . . . Item, payd to Wylliam playng of the play, . . . Item, paid to Wylliam Clarke and John Lyster for setting of and takyng downe that langes, . . . Item, of puttyng home of the pajand, . . . Item, putyng the pajand aboute on the morn, *vjd.* Item, spend at ale at dyvers tymes on William Clark, and John Lyster, and Malum, *vjd.* Item, that we have spend at dyvers tymes abowte the tollne, and our drynkyng, and our soper on Corpus Christi day at evyn, *iijs. vjd.* Sum of the costes, *xxxiijs. ob.*, and in the master hand, *xiijd.* This is the money that we John Byrdsall, Rych. Symson, Gorge Byrtbek, and John Skelton have ressayved of dyvers persones here aftyr wretyn, anno *lxvij.*

Item, the fyrst oure mastyr the mayre, *vjd.* Item, my master Thyrsk, *vjd.* Item, Wylliam Holbek, *ijd.* Item, Wylliam Stokton, *vjd.* Item, Nicholas Holgate, *vjd.* Item, Thomas Beverlay, *vjd.* Item, Thomas Seauceby, *vjd.* Item, John Gyliot, *vjd.* Item, William Kent, *vjd.*, etc.²

¹ This document is of paper, not parchment. A circular piece has been either torn or cut out or nibbled away from the left side, hence the numerous omissions. *cf.* L. Toulmin-Smith. *York Mystery Plays.* p. xxxv.

² The names of sixty-seven subscribers follow, they give sums varying from *ijd.* to *vjd.*, but the majority gave *vjd.* Some are anonymous, as a semstere, *ijd.*; a Ducheman, sum not given; a hatmaker in Coney Strete, *xijd.*; a hatmaker in Owsgate.

*A Meeting of the Mistry.*¹

Item, it is ordained and agreed by the master, constables, and all the commanaltie, that the iiij day of Octobre, ²that no man, ²in the yere of Kyng Edward the furte, the xiiij (1474-5), that (*sic*) no man of this fellyship doo freyght no shippes, ³no shippin goades³ this voyage, but these that are freghted with fellysshyppe, that is to say the Laurance, the Hylde, and litill Joorge of Hull, newther of thissyde see or on tother syde of the see, till tyme that the said shippes be resonably laden, uppon pane of forffetur of xxli. sterlyng, to be paid to the said commonaltie.

John Feryby,⁴ meister, John Gyliot, maire,⁵ Thomas Beverlay, Richerd Yorke, John Ince, William Lane, Henry Williamson, William Tod, John Norman, John Harper, John Kyrke, Robert Spyea, John Beseby, John Shawe, Mariona Kent,⁶ John Hagg, Thomas Welles.

Nicholas Lancaster and Richard Cokryll, constables.⁷ In the absence of meistre Richerd Yorke, John Fryby to be luffetenand; William Todd and Thomas Gaunt, constables,⁸ Robert Kirkeby and William Braunfilde to the reparacion of the chapel. To be feffers in the lyfelade, Thomas Beverlay, John Gyliot, John Tonge, John Feryby, William Tod, Thomas Sutton, ⁹John Tonge (*sic*), Thomas Beverlay (*sic*), John Gyliott, Thomas Wrangwis, William Lane, John Feriby, William Tod, Thomas Sutton, Richard Cokerell, John Harper,⁹ John Feriby, magister, Richard Loncastre, Richard Cockerell, *constabularii*. William Vesey, Thomas Gaunt, scrutatores.

¹ This document is confused in arrangement, has many repetitions, and in parts is almost illegible. Apparently the memoranda for two meetings have been taken on the same paper, and arranged side by side; they overlap, and there are several interpolations. It is clear, however, that all the ordinances fall between 1472, when Christopher Marshall was mayor, and 1475, when Richard York was master.

^{2-2, 3-3} Crossed out in MS.

⁴ Master in 1474.

⁵ Mayor in 1473-4.

⁶ The only woman who figures on the committee.

⁷ Constables in 1474.

⁸ Constables in 1475.

⁹⁻⁹ There is no reason given why this list of names, most of which have already appeared in the first part of the document, should be reinserted.

Item, it was ordered and agreed by the said master, constables and fellyshippe on that oon parte, and between Christopher Marshall than beinge maire of the city of Yorke with consent of his brethren on the other part, item for ulnage of cloth.

Item, for hansyng at mart as apprentice, *vjd.* Item, it is agreayd by the maister, constables and all the fellysshipp that no brother of the said fellyship shall bye no clothe of Yorke makyng that is called pak ware, but if it hald in lenght xxviiij yerdes, and in bred two yerdes, and also and it be wett clothe it shall halde in laught, xxiiij yerdes, and in bred, ij yerdes, and ¹who some ever dose contrarie to this ordynances he shall pay to the felysshipp as oftynes as he dose contrary to this ordynance.¹ Also it is enacted by the masteres, constables, and all the fellyship that everie brother of the said fellyship occupying as maistre in Flanders, and Braband, and Seland shall pay at his hansyng at Bruges, Andwarpe, Barow, and Midilburg, *ijs.* at everie place aforesaid, and no more. And everie apprentice of the said fellyship shall pay at his hansyng in Bruges, Andwarpe, Barowe, and Middilburg, *xvjd.*, at everie place aforesaid, and no more. And who so labours² to a contrarye to the seid ordynance shall pay everie tyme to the seid fellysship, *vjs. viiijd.* Item, it is ordaned and agreed by the said master, constables, and all the fellyship, that in case be that the maistre, and constables of the said felysship, beyng for tyme (*sic*), be negligent in resyng of penalties of any brether of the said fellyship, or any other occupying the said mistrerie of mercers, in the said citie of Yorke founden by the hole felysship, that than the master and constables of the said felysship so founden by the said felysship defectyve in rasyng of the said penalties, shall pay to the said felysship the said penaltie or penalties therefor withoutyen pardon that they have forfet to the said fellyship.

¹⁻¹ A sentence is written above this, "of cloth thayre to be satisfied of a . . . much money over the cloths wantys of this mesure."

² "Labours" crossed through in MS.

Comptus Thome Wrangwis, magistri gilde sive fraternitatis Sancte Trinitatis in Fossegate, in civitate Ebor', ac Willelmi Tod constabularii dicte gilde, a festo annunciacionis Domine anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} septuagesimo secundo, usque ad idem festum per unum annum integrum (1472).¹

Pro introitu in fraternitatem.—In primis, computant dicti magister et constabularius pro introitu in dictam fraternitatem, videlicet, de vjs. viijd. receptis de Roberto Amyas pro introitu in fraternitatem. Et de iijs. iiijd. receptis de Roberto Spence in plenam solucionem. Et de iijs. iiijd. de Johanne Gyle in plenam solucionem. Et de iijs. iiijd. de Johanne Norman in plenam solucionem. Et de iijs. iiijd. de Thoma Fynche in plenam solucionem. Et de Johanne Pylkyngton,² milite, et domina Johanna uxore sua, et de Thoma Smyth, *pursor* navis vocate Juliana de Hull, pro introitu suo, xvjs. vjd. Et de Briano Conyers pro introitu recepto ad jentaculum (*sic*) unum damum. Et de xxd. receptis de Johanne Rumby in partem solucionis, vjs. viijd. Et recept' de Roberto Goldsmyth, in plenam solucionem pro introitu suo, iijs. iiijd. Et de xijd. receptis de Alexandro Danson in plenam solucionem. *Summa* xlijs. vjd.

Item, computant de subsidiis fratrem et sororum de hoc anno, videlicet, de Johanne Gilyot et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Lightlopp et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Margareta Birtbek, iiijd. Et de Alexandro Danson et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Gyle et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Willelmo Lame et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Thryske, iiijd. Et de Willelmo Thorpe et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Ince et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Glasyn, iiijd. Et de Willelmo Welles et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Willelmo Skynner, iiijd. Et de Roberto Walkar et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Lokwod et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Midilburgh, iiijd. Et de Nicholo Kirke, iiijd. Et de Thoma Wrangwis et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Herman Ducheman, viijd. Et de Willelmo Tod et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Henrico Williamson et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Ricardo Cokerell et uxore sua, viijd. Et de

¹ See introduction.

² Not mentioned in York Freemen; Robertus Pylkyngton, armiger, free in 1495.

Willelmo Scauceby et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Thoma Wynton
 et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Thoma Tubbac et uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Rowlando Kirkeby cum uxore sua, viijd. Et de et de (*sic*)
 Johanne Skelton cum uxore sua, viijd. Et de Thoma Scotton
 et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Buntynge cum uxore sua,
 viijd. Et de Willelmo Brownflet et uxore sua, viijd. Et de
 Johanna Croft, iiijd. Et de Willelmo Brownfilde cum uxore
 sua, viijd. Et de Thoma Gaunt cum uxore sua, viijd. Et de
 Roberto Tailior et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Speraa
 et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Willelmo Hewet cum uxore sua,
 viijd. Et de Isabella Stokton, iiijd. Et de Thoma Beverlay
 cum uxore sua, viijd. Et de Willelmo Snawsell cum uxore sua,
 viijd. Et de Cristofero Marshall, majore, cum uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Johanne Tonge cum uxore sua, viijd. Et de Matilda
 Barton, iiijd. Et de Mariona Kent, iiijd. Et de Agnete
 Medelay, iiijd. Et de Johanne Brereton et uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Thoma Calton et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne
 Fereby, iiijd. Et de Willelmo Knolles et uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Johanna Gilyot, iiijd. Et de Elizabeth Barker, iiijd.
 Et de Margareta Kirke, iiijd. Et de Johanne Bere et uxore
 sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Richerdson et uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Willelmo Areton, iiijd. Et de Ricardo Symson, iiijd.
 Et de Johanne Birdsawll et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne
 Oslow, iiijd. Et de Thoma Welles, iiijd. Et de Edmundo
 Goldesmyth, iiijd. Et de Willelmo Jakson et uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Roberto Johnson et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Nicholo
 Lancastre et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Rumby et
 uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne Norman, iiijd. Et de
 Johanne Beseby, iiijd. Et de Willelmo Clyk et uxore sua,
 viijd. Et de Thoma Neleson, iiijd. Et de Johanne Shirwood
 et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Dompna Garton, iijd. Et de
 Willelmo Stillyngton et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Willelmo
 Vesey, iiijd. Et de Thoma Maryot et uxore sua, viijd.
 Et de Ricardo Sawe et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne
 Gaunt, junior, iiijd. Et de Ricardo Polyngton et uxore sua,
 viijd. Et de Johanne Cowper et uxore sua, viijd. Et de
 Thoma Bene et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Thoma Feryby, iiijd.
 Et de Briano Conyers et uxore sua, viijd. Et de Johanne

Marton, *iiijd.* Et de Johanne Kar, *iiijd.* Et de Alicia Bothe, *iiijd.* Et de Johanne Whitby, *iiijd.* Et de Johanne Caldbec, *iiijd.* *Summa xliiij. s. iiijd.*

Item, computant de viijs. receptis de Willelmo Tod, pro una *tontight* in nave vocata Anna, a Selandia usque Hullam. Et de viijs. receptis de Willelmo Tod pro una *toight* (*sic*) in nave vocata *Hilda* de *Whitby*, pro una *tontight* a Selandia. Et de vijs. receptis de Willelmo Tod de nave vocata *George* a Selandia, pro una *tontight*. Et de xiijs. receptis de Willelmo Tod pro diversis navibus caractis a *Hull* usque *Ebor'*. Et de *vs.* receptis de Thome Wrangwis, receptis pro una *tontight* in nave vocata Anna, a *Hulla* usque Selandia. Et de *vs.* receptis pro una *tyntight* in nave vocata *Hilda* de *Whitby*, a *Hulla* usque Selandia. Et receptis de magistro et fraternitate Corporis Christi occupantibus aulam nostram per annum, *ijs. iiijd.* Et receptis de Elizabeth Newton ad sustentacionem gilde, *xiijs. iiijd.* Et receptis de Thoma Wrangwis et Ricardo Cokrell in partibus transmarinis, *xxxijs. pro organis. Summa iiijli. xiiij. s. viijd.*

Legata.—Et receperunt de legato Willelmi Blysse, capellani, nuper capellanus dicte hospitalis, *xiijs. iiijd.* *Summa totalis recepcionum, ixli. xiiij. s. xd.*

Item, dictus magister et constabularius computant de convivio facto in gilda dicte fraternitatis omnibus fratribus et sororibus dicte gilde, duodecimo die Julii, anno Domini millesimo cccc septuagesimo secundo.

Expense pro jantaculo in pane et vino.—In primis, solverunt Willelmo Tod pro una *hogeshede* vini empta, *xxxiijs. iiijd.* Et solverunt Thome Tavernar pro *xxj* lagenis vini, *xiiij. s.* Et solverunt pro cervisia empta, *ixs. iiijd.* Et solverunt pro pane et azimis emptis, *xiiij. s. ix.* Et solverunt pro diversis speciebus emptis, *xvs. vjd.* Et solverunt pro viij porcellis emptis, *iiij. s.* Et solverunt pro xiiij caponibus emptis, *viij. s.* Et solverunt pro xxxvj pullis gallinarum, *iijs. ix.* Et solverunt pro tribus petris *buteri*, *ijs.* Et solverunt pro carbonibus extinctis, *xd.* Et solverunt pro quinentis ovis, *ijs. vjd.* Et solverunt pro lacte, medulla, et pro pedibus vitulorum, *ijs. ix.* Et solverunt Ricardo Wryght, pro carnibus emptis, *iiij. s.* Et solverunt pro

Kyddes et bakynng, *xd*. Et solverunt hominibus verentibus, et *swillers* pro labore suorum, *xiiijd*. Et solverunt pro vino acri, sinapi, et *veriese*, *vjd*. Et solverunt Johanni Sike pro labore suo, *vjs. viijd*. Et solverunt pro conduccione vasorum electrorum, *xvjd*. Et solverunt pro locione mensalium et aliorum, *vjd*. *Summa vjli. vs. xd*.

Expense pro venacione.—Item, computant pro diversis expensis factis pro venacione damorum et dimedio (*sic*) cervi et un' *fawne*, videlicet, solverunt Roberto Walkar pro expensis factis pro uno damo, *vjs. viijd*. Et solverunt Willelmo Tod pro expensis factis pro uno damo, *vjs. viijd*. Et solverunt Roberto Amyas pro expensis suis pro un' *fawne*, *ijs. iiijd*. Et solverunt Rolando Kirkeby pro dimedio (*sic*) unius dami, *xld*. Et solverunt Roberto Tailior pro expensis factis pro uno damo, *vs*. Et solverunt Thome Wrangbis pro regardo dato servienti domini le Scrope de Upstall, pro dimedio (*sic*) cervi, *ijs. iiijd*. *Summa xxvijs. iiijd*. *Summa totalis jantaculi, vijli. xiijs. ijd*.

Et idem magister et constabularius receperunt de fratribus et sororibus ibidem existentibus ad dictum jantaculum, ut per billam, *iijli. vjs. viijd*. Et receperunt de Johanne Lonsedale pro vino ex dono suo, *xxvjs. viijd*. *Summa iijli. xiijs. iiijd*. Et sic debetur ex dicto jantaculo dicto magistro et constabulario, *iijli. xd*.

Reparacio pro le pageant house.¹—Item, computant pro reparacionibus factis pro reparacione super *le pageant house* super *le toftes*, videlicet, solverunt carpentariis ibidem operantibus per tres dies, *ijs*. Et solverunt pro *ijbus* lignis pro *selynges* et *barres* pro hostiis, *xiiijd*. Et solverunt pro *burdes* pro hostiis, *xijd*. Et pro una petra et dimidia ferri cum operacione ejusdem, pro *bandes* et *crokes*, *ijs. iiijd*. Et pro uno parvo hostio cum *crokes*, *viijd*. Et pro una cera cum clave, precio *iiijd*. Et solverunt pro *cc dobill and syngill*

¹ The house, where the pageants were lodged, was on Toft Green, an open space near the monastery of the friars preachers; it still retains the name, though at one time it was known as "Pageant Green." R. Davis, Walks through York, p. 130. The house was city property, and paid an annual rent of *ijs*. "De uno tenemento in quo tres pagine Corporis Christi ponuntur, per annum *ijs*." York Memorandum Book, vol. i, p. 10. "Et solverunt custodes ponti Use pro firma le pagent housse, *xijd*." Roll, 1487.

spykyngis, vij*d.* Et solverunt pro mundacione domus, ij*d.* Summa ix*s.* ij*d.* (*sic*).

Feoda.—Item, dictus magister et constabularius petunt allocacionem, videlicet, solverunt Johanni Mallom pro feodo suo, pro hoc anno, xxv*js.* viij*d.* Et solverunt hominibus portantibus torcheas in processione Corporis Christi, i*js.* Summa xxvii*js.* viij*d.*

Item, solverunt pro uno *pare* organorum emptorum in *le Barow*¹ *marte*, ls. Summa vij*li.* vii*js.* ix*d.* Summa totalis *receptium*, hoc anno, ix*li.* xiii*js.* xd. De quibus solutis in expensis ut supra, vij*li.* vii*js.* ix*d.* Et sic remanent in manibus dicti magistri et constabularii, xlv*js.* jd. Item, ordinatum est per Johannem Tonge, magistrum dicte fraternitatis, et Willelmum Tod, constabularium, et omnes confrates dicte fraternitatis existentes in aula dicta, dicte fraternitatis, anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} lxxii*j.* quod si predicti Thomas Wrangwis et Ricardus Cokerell, senior, seu eorum servientes perturbati vel vexati fuerint, in partibus transmarinis, pro xxxi*js.* supra specificatis datis pro empicione organorum, quod ex tunc magister et confratres confirment dictam indemnitatem, ex bonis dicte fraternitatis.

*Thys is the expens mayde be John Leghtlop,*² *William Thelle*³ *and Richard Sawar*⁴ *in ther yer beyng pagandmassters.*

Forst, qwene we went Ibotte for pagand sylvere, iii*jd.* Item, at the first rehers in Kakkys and alle, iii*jd.* *ob.* Item,

¹ Bergen-op-Zoom, twenty-one miles from Antwerp. The merchant adventurers made it their headquarters several times between 1467–1567. Dr. B. Hagedown, Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt, *passim*. Bod. Lib. Rawl. MS. c. 394, f. 105. Cal. S. P. dom., xlix, 30. 19 Jan., 1569. Acts of Privy Council, 10 Nov., 1542, 27 Feb., 1547, vol. ii. Stoppelaar, Inventaris van het oud archiet der stad Middelburg, No. 727, 1496.

² This document is undated, but it probably belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century. John Lyghtlop became a brother of the mystery and gild in 1459, and a man named John Lyghtloupe a freeman of York in 1462. It is difficult to reconcile this late admission to the freedom with the rule that members of mysteries had to qualify as freemen of the city before admission. But the only freeman of that name in the roll in addition to the mercer of 1462 is a barker in 1447. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 183.

³ William Teele, merchant, became a freeman of the city in 1455; *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴ Richard Sawyer, clericus, made free of the city in 1445, of the mystery in 1462, was chamberlain in 1469; *ibid.*, pp. 165, 189.

in v yerddes of now canways to j now pagand that was mayd for the sollys to ryse owt of, xv*d.* Item, in naylles boght to the same, xii*d.* Item, in viij sparres of fyre, ijs. Item, for lattes, ii*d.* Item, payd to j wrecht for makyng therof, v*d.* Item, for ij roppys, j*d.* ob. Item, for pakthrede, j*d.* Item, for j pottyng stang, j*d.* Item, in hayng home of the paganddes, ii*d.* Item, in resches, j*d.* Item, payd to Garnett Smeght for irne warke that he mayd, xi*d.* Item, payd on Corpos Cresty day in all to the playars thorow the tone, iii*d.* Item, for ij sarkkes mendeng, i*d.* Item, for angell wengys, iii*d.* Item, for tow chapettes, iii*d.* Item, for the ferme of the pagand hus, xi*d.* Item, payd for playng, xviijs. i*d.* Item, for pantyng of the . . . to pantur, xi*d.*

Pageant Silver.

Memorandum that this is the rakynyng of our pagyant sylver reseyyed be the handes of Thomas Wrangwyshe, Thomas Maryott and John Lokwod, in the yere Thomas Neylson beyng mayor (1472).

In primis, Thomas Scawsby, v*d.* Willelmus Stokton, v*d.* Nicholus Holgate, v*d.* Thomas Beverley, v*d.* Johannes Gyllyott, v*d.* Johannes Kent, v*d.* Johannes Ince, v*d.* Johannes Glassyn, v*d.* Willelmus Thorp, v*d.* Johannes Feryby, v*d.* Willelmus Brunnflett, v*d.* Willelmus Tode, v*d.* Johannes Tong, v*d.* Johannes Chollow, v*d.* Robertus Tailyor, v*d.* Willelmus Crofte, iii*d.* Willelmus Brunfeld, v*d.* Johannes Cowper, v*d.* Johannes Patonn, v*d.* Thomas Lucas, v*d.* Johannes Brerton, iii*d.* Ricardus Wyntryngham, v*d.* Henricus Williamson, iii*d.* Willelmus Lame, v*d.* Johannes Bunttyng, iii*d.* Willelmus Teyll, v*d.* Johannes Bene, v*d.* Johannes Dryng, v*d.* Johannes Gaunte, younger, v*d.* Johannes Gaunte, elder, v*d.* Willelmus Birtby, v*d.* Ricardus Yorke, v*d.* Willelmus Girdirswyke, v*d.* Johannes Skelton, v*d.* (sic). Nicholus Risthforth, v*d.* Johannes Birdsall, v*d.* Thomas Scotton, v*d.* Richard Sawer, v*d.* Georgius Birtbeke, v*d.* Willelmus Gylliott, v*d.* Thomas Wynton, v*d.* Thomas Catone, v*d.* Rowland Kyrkby, v*d.* Robertus Walker, v*d.* Willelmus Scawsbe, v*d.* Johannes

Lightlop, *vjd.* John Spenser, *vjd.* Willelmus Hardwarman, *vjd.* Ricardus Glewe, *iiijd.* Willelmus Schaw, *vjd.* Willelmus Welles, *vjd.* Willelmus Wesse, *vjd.* Watkyn Graysloke, *vjd.* Johannes Waterhows, *iiijd.* Richardus Symson, *iiijd.* Johannes Skipwith, *vjd.* Ricardus Rabe, *iiijd.* Item, of *ijj* felthatmakers, *ijs. vjd.* Johannes Boswell, *ijd.* Ricardus Twaytes, *ijd.* Thomas Spycer, *ijd.* Item reseyved of the semstiers, *ijs.* Christofer Buythe, *vijd.* *Summa xxxjs. viijd.*

Memorandum that this is the costes made of our paygant. In primis, paid to our players, *xviijs. jd.* Item, to the said players and his felows for the super, *xd.* Item, to the said players for a pair glovys and payntyng of serkes, and half a yerd cloth, *vjd.* Item, for byndyng of a paire whelys, *js.* Item, for sope to the whelys, *ijd.* Item, for a wod axiltre, *xd.* Item, for nayls to both paygants, and for a sparr and burdes, *viijd.* Item, for borowyng out of 6 iryn pyns, *ijd.* Item, for v yerdes and dimidium of spannall to *ij* serkes, and makyng of the sam, *xxd.* Item, for a rope to the angels, *ijd.* Item, for bryngyng forth of the paygantes into the strette, *ijd.* Item, for our dynner and drynke to the players on Corpus Christi day, *xvjd.* Item for havyng of both paygantes agayn to the paygant hows, *vijd.* *Summa xxxs. jd.* Rest in our hands, *xxjd.* (*sic*).

Excerpts from the Roll of Richard York,¹ master, 1475.

Forisfacture et pro navibus.—Item, dicti magister et constabularius computant, videlicet, de arreragiis Corporis Christi pro occupatione magne aule per annum, *vjs. viijd.* Et receptis pro forisfacturis factis in aula pro diversis *absentiris* et aliis, *xjs. jd.* Et receptis pro una navi de Willelmo Tod vocata *Grace de Dieu*, a Hulla usque Celandia (*sic*), et a Celandia usque Hullam, *xijs. vjd.* Et de eodem Willelmo pro una navi vocata *Juliana Pilkynghon*, *ijs. vjd.* Et receptis de Johanne Feryby pro una navi vocata Petrus, a Hulla usque Celandia (*sic*), et a Celandia usque ad Hullam, *xvjs.* Et de eodem Johanne pro

¹ *cf.* York Memorandum Books, *passim*; his daughter Margaret married the son of John Frobyser, of York; their son was Sir Martin Frobisher, the navigator. Register of Corp. Christi Guild, Surtees Soc., vol. 57, p. 191.

una navi vocata *Maria Stables*, a Hulla usque Celandia (*sic*), vjs. Et receptis de Willelmo Tod pro una navi vocata *Kele* Willelmi Jonkyn, xijd. Et receptis de Johanne Feryby pro una *Kele* Willelmi Gleson, *cogg* de Selby, xijd. Et receptis de una *Kegg* Willelmi Wright de Ebor', xijd. Et de una *Kele* vocata *Starille*, xijd. Et de Willelmo Parkyn pro una *kele*, xijd. Et de Thoma Neleson *kele*, xijd. Et de una *kele* Alexandri Bennyng, xijd. Et de una *kele* Johannis Hall, xijd. Et de *kelk kele*, xijd. Et de Snaw *kele*, xijd. Et de una *kele* uxore Thome Bolter, xijd. Et de Thoma Gaunt pro una *kele*, vjd. *Summa* lxijs. iijd.

Feoda clerici et bedelli.—Item, dicti magister et constabularii petunt allocacionem solvendi feodi dicte fraternitatis, videlicet, solverunt Thome Tubbac pro feodo hoc anno, xs. Et solverunt Johanni Mallom, bedello dicte fraternitatis, hoc anno, xxvjs. viijd. *Summa* xxvjs. viijd. *Summa* xxxvjs. viijd.

Pro tectura capelle.—Item, solverunt pro tectura capelle, videlicet, Rowlando Kirkby pro *burdes* pro *saikyng* capelle, xxvjs. viijd. Et solverunt pro plumbo, viijli. Et debent Johanne Dalby, capellano, ijs., ad perimplendum salarium suum usque ad summam quatuor librarum per concessum cure. Et solverunt pro *sleddyng* plumbi, vjd. Et solverunt pro emendacione Fosse domini regis, xd. Et solverunt pro ijbis quarteriis calcis, xvjd. *Summa* ixli. xjs. iiijd.

Excerpts from the Roll of William Tod, master, 1477.

Reparacio aule et feoda.—Item, dicti magister et constabularii petunt allocacionem et solucionem reparacionum aule et pro feodo, videlicet, solverunt pro faccione fenestrarum vitrearum in magna aula, vjs. viijd. Et solverunt pro octo libris de *sawder* operat' in *le gutters* dicte aule, ad operacionem ejusdem, iijs. iiijd. Et solverunt Thome Tubbac pro feodo suo, xiijs. iiijd. Et solverunt Johanne Peton, bedello dicte fraternitatis, pro hoc anno, xxvjs. viijd. Et solverunt pro portacione torcheorum crastino Corporis Christi, ijs. *Summa* lijs.

Item, petunt allocacionem pro reparacionibus factis super *le pageant house* hoc anno, videlicet, solverunt pro vij^{tem} postes et . . . vs. Et pro xxiiij *sparres* et *staunchons*, iijs. iiijd. Et

pro xl *English bordes*, vs. Et solverunt pro uno ligno Johanni Skelton, ijs. Et pro *sharplynges*, xjd. Et pro vj^c *dubble spykyngs*, ijs. Et pro brod, iijd. Et solverunt pro iii^c *middil spykyngs*, ijd. Et pro dimidio c ferri pro *crukes* et *barres*, ijs. vjd. Et pro operacione ejusdem ferri, xxd. Et pro caragio de lyminibus (?), vd. Et solverunt ij^{bus} carpentariis et duobus servientibus tegulantibus ibidem per tres decim dies, per diem, xxd. *Summa* xxjs. viijd. Et una *loke* cum clava, precio, iijd. Et solverunt pro sarracione, ijs. [*Summa* xxxs. vjd.]

Tabula in Capella.—Item, petunt allocacionem pro faccione unius tabule de *marbell* ad summum altare, in capella hospitalis Sancte Trinitatis, iiijl. vjs. viijd.

Pro expensis factis erga Johannis Pykryng.—Item, petunt allocacionem pro diversis expensis factis pro concilio diversis temporibus faciendo *articles* pro petentibus nostris ostendendis domino regi Edwardo, et concilio suo, erga Johannem Pykryng, magistrum mercerorum London', pro privilegiis nostris habendis in partibus Brabantie, Celandie, et Flandrie, vjs. viijd. Et solverunt pro *paupire*, jd. Et solverunt pro expensis Johannis Peton equitantis ad Lekyngton ad communicandum cum domino Henrico comito Northumbrie, et apud Hullam ad communicandum cum mercatoribus de *Hull* et Beverlaco, vs. Et solverunt pro ij^{bus} literis scriptis domino duci Gloucestr' et comito Northumbrie, pro eadem materia, ijs. Et solverunt pro uno equo, pro Johanne Peton equitanti versus London ad parliamentum, pro eadem materia, xxs. Et datum eodem Johanni eodem tempore in pecunia, xiijs. iijd. Et solverunt Roberto Amyas pro scriptura copie unius carte in cancellaria domini regis Edwardi, xs. *Summa* lvijs. jd.

From the roll of John Gyliot, master, 1476.

Reparacione Aule.—Item, solverunt Rowlando Kyrkby pro tectura capelle que deberet di (*sic*) de anno preterito, iijs. iijd. Et solverunt Johanni (*sic*) Midilton, plommer, pro castyng de ij *webbs* plumbi, ponderis xxxv petrarum, precio le petra, jd. (*Summa*) ijs. ijd. (*sic*). Et solverunt pro portacione torcheorum in crastino Corporis Christi, ijs. Et solverunt pro firma de

la pageant house custodibus poncium use, xijd. Et solverunt Willelmo Byrkyn pro ccc et dimidio tegularum ad reparacionem aule gilde, iijs. ijd. ob. Et solverunt pro calce ibidem, xijd. Et solverunt Willelmo Voyce, tegulatori, et servienti suo ibidem operanti super dictam aulam, pro quinque dies earum, per diem, xd. Summa iiijs. ijd. Et solverunt Thome Barlye pro jc tegulis, xjd. Summa solucionem ut patet supra, lvs. ijd. ob.

These following been the articles of complaynt to be shewed to the Kynges goude grace by the mercers of the citie of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scareburgh and all other of the north parties (1478).¹

In prime, it is to be remembered, that it hath been accustomed and used by thauktoritee of letters patents graunted by the Kyng our souverain lords noble progenitours, and by his noble grace confermed, that it sall be leeful to all his trewe liege men of this realme of England and Ireland occupyng and repayring the feit of merchaundise in the lands of Braband, Holland, Seeland, and Flanders, they to elect, within any of the same landes, governours of the same realm of England ij, iij, iiij, or more or less, of the moste able and discrete persons to governe and guyde the remanant for thenceassyng of the comonwelle of the realme, and for enhaunsyng and preferment of the same to the grete honor, worship, and profett accordyng to the forsaid graunts; that hath been owote of the terme of mynde laudable used, that governeres hath been fro tyme to tyme indifferently elect, the which governours full welle and indifferently hath occupied their said auctorites, by the which gretely it hath incresed the said occupiers in their feit of marchandise; and so exalted the realme to grette honor and worshipp. And at all tymes it hath been accustomed and used oon gouverneur to be chosen for the citee of London

¹ This document has two lines crossing it diagonally, this gives the effect of having been discarded. Possibly it was, on mature consideration, thought to be too long to submit to the council. Another account in abbreviated form is found in the Bemrose transcript, *post* p. 81, which may be the one actually sent to London. *cf.* Stow's Survey of London, p. 285. Sir John Watney, Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, pp. 12-14, *Ante*, p. 55.

and another gouverneur for the citee of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scarburgh and all other frome Trent northwards; And it is soe that now late John Pykryng, mercer, of London hath dyvers tyme been elect as oon gouverneur in the said parties for the cite of London, and the same John^soe elect hath nott souffered the foresaid graunts, of the Kyngs noble progenytors graunted, to be executed nor used as afforetyme they have been, but oonly takyng to his syngulie preferment such imposicions as of the said merchauntes then hath been leved, and under the same eleccion as oon gouverneur hath rewled withoute any mor gouverneures chosen; whereas afore tyme hath been accustomed oon gouverneur to be elect for the north partes of England, and for the citee of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scareburgh, Whitby, and all other fro Trent northwards; the said gouverneur, at such tymes as were requisit and lehewfull for the comonwelle of this Realme of the said northen men, sett and leved such imposicions as wer necessarye and be lewfull to be had, for the honor and comon well indifferently of every person accordyng to the substance and value of such goodes as at that tyme or seson they aventured equally rated, pounce pound lyke; soo that noon of such aventurer were at no tyme over charged; and the imposicions indifferently fered (?) and soo leved and paid. And of the somes of monye, by the said gouverneures fro tyme to tyme by theym recevid, to yeld to all the hole fellowship a trew accompt, when they wer ther too requyred. Also it hath been accustomed by the said gouverneures, that at such tyme as any imposicions shuld be aleved for the honor of the nacion in these parties, the said imposicions to be reredy leved eqally pound pound lyke; and the said John Pykryng hath latly perverted the said indifferent leve of imposicions, and hath sett the said imposicions opon everie particuler person of the said north coutree, so that agayn right and goude conscience, som man not havyng in value of gooods to *xli*. paieth as muche as other that hath *cli*. in value. Also, the said mercers and others repayrng unto the said parties at all tymes hath had their liberties to tak their places, houses to ferme, at thair libertie, and free elecaons, in such stretes as to theym weere thoght moste profitable, by the which the

seid mercers and other solde the merchandyse to their profet and encrease, whereas now thai have latly [been] restryned, and putt from the said liberties, and assigned by the said John Pykryng to theym places inconvenyent and not profitable. By the which they been gretely hurted and in grete damage in utterance and sellynge of their marchaundise, as evidently it may be proved, that where the northern adventures at such tyme, as long as they were at the liberties to chose their places for the utterance of such marchaundise, as they occupied, then they sold a pak of clothe of colours for xxx*li.*, xxvj*li.*, xxiii*li.* the pakke, and a pak of whites for xx*li.*, xix*li.*, xviii*li.*, whereas now by the restrent made by John Pykryng, thai ar compelled to have the places for the utterance of the clothe in stretes joynyng nyghe the marchandise of London, to thentent that the clothe of the north parties sall apere wers, and their clothe to apere the better. And soe for that cause the northren clothe is selled now a pak colours for xv*li.*, the best, and whites for x to ix*li.*, viii*li.* the packe, to the utter undoyng and distruction of the north parties.

Also, whereas the seid mercers, and other of the north parties, dyvers tymes hath compleynd theyme to the said John Pykrynge, as gouvernour, of their grefes and desoired to have such liberties and frauncheses to be mynystred unto theym, as att all tyme afore they have had and been accustumed, utterly the said John Pykrynge hath at all tymes refused to souffre theym any suche to have, bot constrenyd thame at all tymes to pay suche costes and charges as hym thoght goude to his synguler pleseur with grete rebeukfull and unfittyng language. And the said John Pykryng hath caused the tellers, in the said contree of Braband, to take of the said northren merceres and others double toll, and some tyme caused the seid tellers to restreyn their goodes to such tyme, as he was paid of such somes of monye as he demaunded of theym, by the which restreyn the forseid northren men hath left the viage to their utter undoyng and confusion of many of theyme.

Also, it hath been accustummed and had afore the terme of mynde in the parties of Braband, Holand, Seeland and

Flaunders that all men of the nacion of this realme of England there repayrynge, hauntyng, and occupyng the feit of marchaundise to be admitted to the forseid franchises and liberties then graunted as fellowes, there to occupie in their feyt of marchaundise, every thoon of theyme to pay for their admyttinge at their entre, *iiij*l., flemyssh monye, and no more; whereas nowe of late tyme the said John Pykryng hath made contrarie ordynaunces, that is to witt, of everie servaunt beyng aprentyse to a marchaunt of the said fellyship, if he be made there a fellow within the terme of his apprentisship, sall pay *iiijs.* for his entrens; and iffe soe be that he bee out of his apprenteshed, he sall pay *xxiijs.*; and iff soe bee that any persons theare repayryng, hauntyng the seid feit of marchaundise, that never was aprentyse to the seid occupacion of marchaundise, sall pay *ls.* for his admission and entrens. The¹ which excessyff and outrageous contrebucyons, soo taken by the said John Pykryng, hath caused and yett dayly causes many persons of this realme of England to forbere the occupacion and encreaese of merchaundise, by the which the king, our soveragne lorde, dewties is gretely myneshed as in his customes and subsidies; and also his liege people heurted as in the utterance of the commodities yerely renewyng within the said realme of England.

Also it hath been accustomed and used in the seid parties of Braband, Holand, Seeland, and Flanders that the governours their chosen to occupie, ither of theym shuld have for their costes and expenses for the tyme of their occupacione as gouernours their attendyng, upon the same resonable wages and allowaunce for the costes; the which costes and charges hath been leved and borne by the contries by whome their governours were elect and chosen, indifferently sett and rated upon ordynances goodes and that tyme occupyng their pounce pounce lyke. And it [is] soe now, that the said John Pykryng hath sithen he first occupied as governour there singular[l]y to hymself hath takyn all the forseid contribussens leved and had generally of all the holle nacon

¹ The word "by" is inserted before the, but is unnecessary and obscures the meaning.

of this realme of England, soo that at no tyme non other person, elect in the said parties as governour, hath had no thyng towardes their costes and expences, and bycause theroff no person able ne honourable will take uppou hym to occupie for the parties of this northe countries as governour or governours in the seid parties of Braband', Holland', Seeland', and Flanders. Also, it is evidently knowen that the adventures made furth of the north contree is not lyke in value, ne substance of riches, as been the adventures made forthe of the southe countree into the seid landes of Braband, Holland, Seeland, and Flaunders; yett right many adventures theer been as the parties of the north contree, and by the meane of the same aventure the kyng oure soverain lorde navie is supported and mayntened als longe as the adventures may be had, and iff no adventures be made the navie may nott endure of the northland; and iff the adventures be oppressed by outrageous, excessiff takyng of imposicyons in the seid parties of Braband, Holand, Seeland, and Flaunders, they may not langtyme endure and conteneue in their feit of marchaundise, the which shuld cause a utter distruction of the kyngs navie, and also enproveriche all the partes of this north countree, soe comodities growyng and renewyng in the same, as uttered by the said adventures as cloth, lede, lede (*sic*), and all other marchaundices. Wherefor it ples the kyng, our soveraine lord, of his most habundant grace graciously to consider the said premisses, and by his moste prudent counsell that provision may be had theroff.

The King's Proclamation (1478).

To John Pykkeryng oon of our courtmasters of this oure realme hauntyng the parties off Flaunders.

Trusty and well beloved, we grete you well, lettyng you wytte that nowe late we have receved a grevouse complaynt, shewed unto us on the behalve of our well beloved subjects, the mercers of our cite of York, townes of Hull, and Beverley, and Scardeburgh, and other places of the north parties of this our realme, contenyng emoungs other thyngs that ye, contrarye to the auncent custumes of olde tyme, use, entrete,

and demeane thaym, comyng into thos parties of Flaunders for fete of merchaundise, unto their gret losse, hurt, and prejudice, as all at large is expressed in the said complaynt, whereof we send you a cople, enclosed within these our letters. Wherefore, we woull and also straitly charge you, that from hensfurth ye demeane and entrete the said mercers in thos parts beyonde the see, with all favour and honestee, according to the said auncient custumes, so and in suche wyse as thaye have no cause to complayne eftsones. And unto the tyme that ye have shewed or make to be shewed before us, and our said counsell, sufficiently the cause why they aught not so to be entreted, not faillyng heryn as ye lust to do us singler pleasor, and would answer to us at your peryll. Given undre our privy seale, at our palays of Westminster, the xiiijth daye of Novembre, (1478).

This indenture made betwene William Cleveland, master of the hospitall of the holy Trynyte and our lady Seynt Marie, in Fossegate, in York, on the ton partie, and John Harper, now master of the company of mercers of the citie of York, Thomas Barker, John Elwald, constables of the said company, on the thother partie, witnesseth :—

That the said meistre William Cleveland¹ fro now forward shall make no gyftes of no maner of thyng that now pertenes or shall pertene to the said hospitall, nor no person to brother or sister to reseve into the said hospitall, without will and assent of the said John Harper, Thomas Barker and John Elwald and other that sall occupie in their stede as master and constables in tyme to come. And the seid meister William sall make trew knowlege and rekernyng to the seid meister and constables, that now do, and to other that sall occupie afterwarde in ther stede, and to theym accompte yelde by scriptor, at what tyme that the said Meister William sall be

¹ William Cleveland, senior, a draper, was made a freeman in 1424, and was chamberlain in 1452. William Cleveland, clericus, son of William Cleveland, drapour, was made free in 1470, and became a member of the gild of the Holy Trinity and blessed Virgin in 1482. York Freemen, pp. 136, 172, 191. He was instituted to the vicarage of Tadcaster on 12 June, 1469, which he held till his death in 1504.

resonable requyred, of all the lande, rentes, and arrerages, goodes meuable and unmeuable, that now pertenes or sall pertene to the said hospitall, so that they may have full knowlege in whate estate and what degre the said hospitall standes. And the said Meistre William sall noght resign his benefice, that is to say, the meister of the hospitall, at nootyme, to any persoune withouten will and assent of the seid meister and constables, that now occupies, and the fellisship, and thar successours that sall occupie in ther stede in tyme to come. And the said meister, and constables, and their successours sall be support and helpand and councelland to the said meister William in all thynges, that may be encresyng, fortheryng or relefe to the sustentacion and upholdyng of the said hospitall, so that newther the seid meister William, nor the said maister, and constables sall mak no giftes, nor no reule sett of no maner of goodes, that pertenes to the said hospitall, but be thair assent as oone person and be the most partie of the company. And furthermore the seid meister William, nor none other person, shall have fro now furthe entree or isshew into the grete hall of the said hospitall, ne into none other place, that is within the hall dure, withoute will and assente of the seid meister and constables that nowe do, and thaire successoures, that shall occupie here afterwarde. In wisse hereoff to the parte of this endentours aneste the seid John Harper, Thomas Barker, and John Elwalde, and ther successours abydyng, the seid meister William hase put to his sele, to the tother part of this indentures aneynste the seid meister William abydyng, the forseid John Harper, Thomas Barker and John Elwald have putten ther seles. Gyven at York, the xvij day of July, the yere of the regne of Kyng Edward foure, after the conquest of England, two and twenty (1482).

Pageant Masters.

It is ordained and acorded by the assent of the hole feloship in the Trinity hall, on the election daye [of] Thomas Scawsby,¹

¹ As Thomas Scawsby was master in 1462, this entry merely reiterates an ordinance passed but seldom or never acted upon. The rolls are missing from 1462-1472. The Memorandum Book, unfortunately, has few entries during those years. From the Bemrose transcript.

being master, Willi Bluefront and William Gairy constables, that they with the assent off the felship sall chuse iiij pageant masters, on the Friday next after Midsomday, of the merces and merchaunts of the city; and they iiij shall bring forth the paternoster play and recyve all the ornements that belang thereto, by indentor and so deliver over to thaym that shall com after, and they sall be countable to the maister, constables, and felship of thair receyts and expences resonable. And the iiij pagant maisters being shall bring forth the pagants and have them in againe within iiij days next after Corpus Christi day; which of them. that doth contrary, shall pay vjs. viiij*d.* to the felship without any forgiveness. . . . Pagiant masters for first time, *tempore Johannis Shawe, magistri gilde Sancte Trinitatis* (1488). William Russell, Robert Thorn, John Thomson, William Middyton.

From the roll of George Kirk, master, 1490.

. Et dicti computantes computant de xiijs. iiiij*d.* receptis de Johanne Gilliott, *alderman*, datis ad reparacionem et facturam diversarum fenestrarum de vitro factarum in dicta capella. Et de vjs. viiij*d.* receptis de Petro Cuke de consimili, pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Et eciam receptis, iijs. iiiij*d.* de Willelmo Jakson, *marcatori*, de consimili. *Summa* xxiijs. iiiij*d.*

Firma de Pagand house.—Et iidem computantes computant de firme *le pagent housse* receperunt de artificibus *les bowers* et *le flecheres*, hoc anno xiij*d.* Et dictus computans petit allocacionem pro diversis reparacionibus factis circa dictum altare, per ipsum et per magistrum Willelmum Cleveland factis, videlicet, *in les barrs ferri* pro fenestra de vitro et pro *le masonwark* ex opposito dicte altaris ad valorem xiijs. iiiij*d.*; ad quam reparacionem supradictam Georgius Kyrk, magister, sibi concessit in pecunia, iijs. iiiij*d.*, et residuum tunc vocatum *xs.* predictus magister Willelmus Cleveland, ex sua devocione, concessit sponte ad dictam capellam Et idem magister petit allocacionem pro *le tenterhukes*, pro *le hangyngs*, et pro *le candeles*, in dominica Sancte Trinitatis (6 June) in dictam capellam, iiiij*d.* Et eciam solvit pro cippis

eodem die, ex consuetudine, *iiijd.* Et in expensis factis pro cuidam homine equitante versus *Hull* pro *le freghtyng* unam navem vocatam *Anteni*¹ et una nave vocata *Trenite* . . .² et in rediendo, *ijs. iiijd.* Et in consimilibus expensis per ipsum computantem factis super vicarium ecclesie beate Petri, *Ebor'*, pro missa celebrata in die Sancte Trinitatis ex consuetudine, *xxd.* Et in expensis factis per dictum computantem circa colleccionem subsidiarum et circa compotum, *xijd.* Et solverunt pro portacione torcheorum circa processionem in die Veneris proxima post festum Corpus Christi, ex consuetudine, *xviijd.* Et allocatum est pro feodo Ricardi Makblith,³ clerici gilde, hoc anno, *xs.* Et allocatum eidem magistro pro feodo Johannis Beall, hoc anno, *xxvjs. viijd.* Et solutum pro pergameno, paupiro, et et (*sic*) encausto, per totum annum, *vjs. Summa totalis receptionum* hoc anno, *vjli. viijs.* unde dicti computans et constabularii petunt allocacionem pro reparacione facta et aliis expensis necessariis ex consuetudine facta, ut apparet supra, *xlvijs. viijd.* Et sic remanent clare *iijli. xixs. iiijd.*, de quibus dictus magister liberavit magistro Willelmo Cleveland pro magna fenestra de vitro facto et finito ad altare altum in capella Sancte Trinitatis, in Fossegate, videlicet, de septem *les paynes*, *iijli. xiijs. iiijd.* Et sic ad huc remanet clare, *vjs.* in manibus dicti Georgii Kyrke. Et sic quietus recessit.

From the roll of John Elwalde, master, 1492.

Allocaciones.—Et dicti computans et constabularii petunt allocacionem de diversis parcellis subsequentibus, videlicet, solverunt cippis pro capella in festo Sancte Trinitatis usitatis, ex consuetudine, *iiijd.* Item, solverunt pro *les tenterhukes* et pro candelis ad dictam capellam, *iiijd.* Item, solverunt pro portacione torcheorum cum processione in festo Corporis Christi, ex consuetudine, *xviijd.* Et in consimilibus expensis factis de vicario ecclesie beati Petri, et de Johanne Bolton, et Ricardo Purves cum choristis pro missa celebratura, in

¹ Space left in MS.

² *Ibid.*

³ Clerk, free in 1481. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

festo Sancte Trinitatis, ex consuetudine, ijs. Et in expensis factis circa colleccionem subsidiorum pro civitatem, xijd. Et solverunt pro diversis vasis de *pewter*, videlicet, *dublers*, and *dishis*, et *salceres*, que Johannes Byall ponebat ad pleggagium diversis hominibus, ut patet per billam unde factam, xvs. viijd. ob. Et allocatum eidem computanti pro feodo Ricardo Makblith, clerico hujus gilde, hoc anno, xs. Et in feodo Ricardo Russell,¹ bedello hujus gilde, in dicto anno, xxvjs. viijd. Item, pro pergamento, paupiro, et encaustio per totum annum, vjd.

From the roll of Thomas Darbe, master, 1494.

. . . .—Et ultimo dictus computans petit allocari ut de xls. per ipsum ex assensu thesaurariorum et magistri dicte gilde solutum pro uno tenemento,² cum uno selione, empto de Johanne Gilliott de Ebor', aldermano, ad opus dicte gilde, jacente extra Walmegatebarre, ut plenius patet in diversis scriptis, etc. Et similiter idem computans petit allocari ut de xls. solutis magistro Willelmo Cleveland parcell' de major', ut patet in registro gilde, ex assensu magistri gilde. Et in reparacionibus factis super capellam Sancte Trinitatis, videlicet, pro ij *lib. soldr'* super plumbo, viijd.

*Extract from the register book of the hospital*³ (1493).

For so moche as maister William Cleveland beyng maister of the hospital of the holy Trenities, in Fossgate, and haveyng the rewlle and gydyng of all the holle lyvelod apertening unto the same, and the said maister Cleveland had made none accompte onto the maister of the felewship by the space of viij yeiresse to fore past. It was agreed by John Stokdale, the said yeire, being maister, and all the holle company aperteynyng unto the same, that the said John, beyng maister, George Kyrk, alderman, John Shaw and Thomas Folneby to be auditurs and to understand the said accompte, and then

¹ Probably the Ricardus Russell, escryvener, 1480, of the York Freemen. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

² In another part of the roll " viij cotagii " are also mentioned as being part of this purchase.

³ Taken from the Bemrose transcript, pp. 71, 72.

all thyngs cleirly accompted and ageinst the same alowed fyndyng by the said, and its dew owyng unto the said maister William Cleveland, xiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d.*, which saome of money it is agreed by all the maisters and felawship, thair being present, as aperith heirafter, that the said maister Cleveland shalbe content and payed in forme herafter followyng which is to wit: At the feist of the Annunciation of our Lady next comyng anno mccccxxxv, xls., and at the said feist of the said lady than next folewyng other xls., and so forth to be paid yeir by yeir at the said feist, xls. unto the sowme of xiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d.* be fully content and payed, whiche payment shalbe be paid yeirly by the maister of the felowship for tyme beyng of suche money as the maister doth levy in his yeir. And that the seid maister William Cleveland make a trew accompte yeirly of all his resaitts, and his expenses, made upon the same unto the maister of felowship for tyme beyng and his cunstable, and the maister that was in the yeir tofore, afore the feist of our Lady above said.

Nicholas Palmer hath promysed ij c freght of fish from Iceland¹ for his entre[n]se. John Byall and Agnes *uxor ejus* and he everie yere to allow to the maister for tyme beyng for his entren[s]e to be the bedell of the seid fellowship, xiijs. iiij*d.* of xxvjs. vij*d.* of his yerely fee to the terme of vj yeres to the *summa* to be content of iiij*li*. fro the feste of Annunciation of oure Lady anno domini mccccxxix.²

Gifts to the Chapel.

Thomas Fynch haith gyfen in his yer unto the alter of Saint Katern a fruntell of streipt satane frenget with white, red, grene sylk, a scheild of sylver in the mydst. And the seid Thomas haith gyfen the felow of the same unto Saint Nicoles and Saint Thomas alter. Alsoe the same Thomas Fynch, master William Cleveland, and the wyffe lait of John Ince hath

¹ John Lylling also traded with Iceland, "and to this he answerd and sayd that he perceyved wele that iren waxed skant and dire and he had mykyll within hym of drosse and landeren and tharfore he gart forge it in shappe of osmundes for utteryng of his iren so into Iseland." York Memorandum Book, f. 265 (a) and (b).

² Taken from the Bemrose transcript, p. 63.

made a glasse wyndow nexte unto the alter of the soweth sied of thare owne costis. Also the executor of maister Carre hath maide a glasse wyndow next of the same, and as it aperith. Also John Gilliott, alderman, paid for glassyng the wyndow of the north seid, next unto the hye alter. Also the seid Thomas Fynch hath gyfen the cover of sylke in the knepie of the sacrament box. Item, the forseid John Gylliott hath gyfne unto the halter in the chapell of the holy Trinite in Fossgate, one alter cloth with the frontell of russett sattyn, with iij sheilds of white sylver and powdered with xxxvj letters of gold of Venysse, and two kyettys of russat sairsnet pertenyng to the same. [Anno] cccclxxxvj [p. 65]. Item, the seid John haith gyfne unto the seid alter a corpal with the case of blake welwett with one ymegge of the Trinite of golde. Item, the seid John haith made a glasse wyndow at the altar of Saint Kateryn with two ymages of Saint John and Saint Thomas.

This er the parcells here after folowyng that belongith unto the howse of Trinites in Fossgate in the tyme of Thomas Fynch anno mcccclxxxvij [p. 67].

In primis, xj chargures. Item, iiij doss and iiij dublars. Item, v doss and vj dishys. Item, iij doss and viij salcers. Item, a tabyllcloith of vij yerdes in (*sic*) iij quarters. Item, a tabyel cloith of vij yerds in iij (*sic*) quarters. Item, a tabyll cloith of xiiij yerds *et dimidium*. Item, a tabyll cloith of ix yerds and *dimidium*. Item, a tabyll cloith of v yerdes and *dimidium*. Item, a tabyll cloith of v yerdys. Item, a towell of ix yerds [p. 68]. Item, a towell of x yerds *et dimidium*. Item, a towell of vij yerds. Item, a towell of x yerds. Item, a towell of xiiij yerds. Item, a narrow towell of xiiij yerds. Item, a narrow towell of vij yerds *et dimidium*. Item, a narrow towell of viij yerds. Item, a narrow towell of x yerds. Item, a narrow towell of iij yerds. Item, a narrow towell of iiij yerds. Item, a towell of ij yerds *et dimidium*. Item, a towell of vij yerds *et dimidium*. Item, a towell of iiij yerds. Item, a towell of ij yerds *et dimidium*. Item, a towell of ij yerds. And all this parcells abowe writyn lyeng in a greit arke in the hall.

Kechyn.—In primis, ij greit brasse potts. Item, a lang brandrith with vj feit. Item, a greit stane mortar. Item, a long kyst of wayneskott standyng in the parlur. Memorandum a presse of waynskott, wiche was gyfen by Elizabeth Newton. And a hallyng of pykture belongyng to the hy deyesse. Memorandum that master Steffallay changed all the wessells before wrettyn in his tyme att meelems [Michaelmas ?] puderen and maid iij garnis off new vessells and lyvered thaim to maister Jameson quen he was maister.

*Ordinances of the Merchants Mistery.*¹

It is ordaned and fully agreed by the Master and the felisship, that what person or persones of the felisship or any of ther attorneys of any of the said felisship freght any ship outhur in England or beyond the see to the beofe of the felisship sall answeere to the said felisship of a tontght, lyk as the ship is freght, or els to the valour of a tontight in money, o payn of forfatour of ij tontght als often tymes to be raised of the person or persones that dose contrary to this ordinaunces, withoute any forgyfnes. Item, it is ordand and fully agreed by the maister, constables, and the fellship, that evere brother of the said felisship occupying as meistre in Flaunders, Braband, and Celand shal pay at his hansing at Brugges, Anttwarpe, Barowe, and Midillburg ijs., at everie place aforesaid, and no more; and everie apprentice² of the said felisship shall pay at his hansyng in Brugges, Andwarpe, Barow, and Middilburg xvjd. at everie place, and no more, and whoso labores to doo the contrarie to this seid ordynaunce shall pay at everie tyme to the seid felisship, vjs. viijd. Item, it is ordand by the maister and felisship that in case that the maistre and constables, beyng for tyme, be negligent in raysyng of the said penalties of any brother of the seid felisship, or any other occupying the said misterie of the merceres, in this cite of York, foundyn defectyfe by the said fellisship that than the

¹ According to a note of Mr. Kerry's in the Bemrose transcript, these regulations are inserted after the minutes of the second year of Thomas Darley's mastership, 1495. They occupy five folios, f. 11 to f. 15, of the original MS.

² *Ante*, p. 65.

meistre and constables for tyme beyng fonden by the seid felisshipp negligent, and defectyffe, in rasyng of the seid penalties, that they shall pay to the seid felisshipp the said penaltie or penalties withowtyn any pardone, that thai or any of the brether hath forfett to the seid felisshipp agayns this seid ordynaunce.

It is ordand and accorded be the maister and the fellisshipp, that what tyme the said maistr and constables send the bedell to warne the felisshipp to come to the hall, for such matters as is nedefull for the comond profett and wele of the said felisshipp, that what man of the felisshipp that is warned wunsted, that comes noght hymselfe, or sends a resonable excusacon, byfore the houre of ten, that the court bee sett, shall pay *ijd.* to the felisshipp, and if he come noght, or efter the court be don, shall pay to the said felisshipp *iiijd.*, withoute any forgifnes.

It is ordand and accorded by the maister, constables, and the felisshipp that no man of the felisshipp, nor no mans attorney of the said felisshipp shall minister no mans gude, that is noght of the felisshipp, under no maner of colour, except son or apprentice of a brodr of the fellisshipp, be the whilk the said maistr or any of the fellisshipp myght have any hynderaunce by outhir, in bying or sellyng beyond the see, upon the payn of *cs.*, to be paid to the hole felisshipp, withowten any forgyfnes, for to be raysed upon hym, that is funden in defaute; and whoso, first presentes to the maistr and constables, for tyme beyng any such defaute agaynes this ordynaunce, shall have to his reward and labor in this behalfe, *xxs.*

Item, it is ordand and agreed by the said felisshipp that all our ordinaunces, and statutes aforetyme made, and now at makyng of this ordinance confirmed, sall dewly be kept and halden in the said felisshipp; and yf there be any man that will disobey tham or any part of tham sall fall in the payn that is sett thereopon, withowten any forgyfnes, and theis ordinances wer made in the tyme of Thomas Scauceby, maister of the said felisshipp.¹

Sacramentum magistri.—Sir, ye sall swere that ye sall be lele and trewe to our lige lorde the kyng, and his hares. And all

¹ Thomas Scauceby was master of the mistery in 1451, 1452, 1462, 1464, 1465; mayor in 1462-3.

the fredoms and libertes graunted and to be graunted by our lige lorde unto the comonialte of the craft of merchaund and mercery of York, ye sall kepe and mayntene at your power. And ye sall be trewe to the said comonialte; all maner of ordinances and rules lawfully made and to be made by the same comonalte, ye sall kepe in your awne persone well and trewely; and ye sall gife ryghtways judgement by advyse of yor constables of all matters that is and sall be putte unto you betwixt party and party als ferfurth as God gifes you power and connyng. Ye sall justify and punnysh all thos persones that brekes any ordenaunce or rules made by the said comialtie, or to be made, and the ordande therfore ye shall gar be raysed, als wele [of] the grete as of the smale, and for nothyng lette. And ye sall gar calle the saide comonialte togeder, als oft tyme as it is nedefull, for the availe of the saide crafte. Ye sall nothyng do withowtyn avyse of the constables that touches the saide comonalte, butte all maner of thynges that may be profite and worshipp to the said comonaltie, ye sall do, and gar be done right wisely and truly. And all this, as is aboven saide, ye sall at your power and connyng fulfill, so helpe you God, and holydom.

Sacramentum constabulariorum.—Sirs, ye sall swere that ye sall be obeyand to the maister and come to hym at all tymes resonable, when he sends for you but if ye have resonable excusacion; ye sall be true to hym of counsell and to the comialte in all maner of maters that comes before you; ye sall trewly help and mayntene all the fredomes and all other ordenances and rules resonable made and to be made by the said maister and comonialte, and nocht lette for frendship or affinite, for luf nor drede. And ye sall so governe trewly all thinges that langes to the saide comonialte, and trew accounte make, and for nothyng lette but that ye sall so doo. So helpe you God and holidom.

Sacramentum fratrum.—Sir, ye swere that ye sall be trewe to our lige lorde ye kyng, and his heires and to obey the maister and constables, that nowe occupyes, and all thair successoris, of the comonaltie of the craft of the mercery of this cite. And all ordenaunces and governaunce made and to be made

resonable by the same comonaltie, or by the moste partie, ye sall kepe and maintene with your bodyes and your godes; als oft tymes als it nedes ye sall come and noight absent you in no wyse what tyme ye er warned to come to the maister, constables, and the comonalte with outyn resonable cause. And all councelles and privites that langes to the said comonalte, ye sall trewly layne and kepe. So helpe you God, and holidom. Ye sall be lele and trewe brother into the hospitale of the holy Trinite, of our Lady Seint Mary and xii apostelles, in Fossegate, in the cite of York, and favorable and frendeley to all brether and sisters langing thereto. And rules and ordenances and rights therof to mayntene at your myght, and gudely power, and truly pay and afferme and fulfill, as lele and trewe brother sulde do, be your faith, ye sall ask this hospitall for charite, ye sall worship iij solempe festes, that is to say, the feste of the Trinite, Assumpcionis, and Annunciacionis of our Lady. Ye sall pay ij*d.* ilka quarter, that is to say viij*d.* in the yere, and ilka day say v pater noster, v aves and a credo, and if ye faile of this to gyf half a pond wax to the saide hospitall¹ and be quitt.¹

Item, it is ordand that no man of the company sall mote another man of the company within this cite nor withoutyn at any lawe, before tyme that he that fynds hym greved have shewed his grevence to the maister and constables of the company, thay to purvey and ordeyn remedy in that matter; and if he, that fynds hym greved, have no remedy of the maister and constables within xiiij days next after the grevence to the maister and constables declared, than it sall be lefull to the party, that is greved, to pursue in his best maner and his moste availe agaynes the party, that has done the grevence, by any processe of lawe, where hym thynks best, and whoso dose the contrary sall pay *cs.* to the company, as oft tymes as he is convicte.

Councill discovered.—Item, it is ordand that if ony maister of the compayny or servant discover or tell any counsell of any maister of the company or servant to the custumer, or any

¹⁻¹ Added in a later hand; it is obviously the oath of the brother as distinct from the member of the company.

other officer yere or beyonde the see, or in eny other place, wherthurgh any maister of the company or servaunt may be greved or harmed, so that it may be resonably proved, he, that is funden in defaut and guilty in brekyng of this ordinance, sall pay to the company, xls., and woso discouers it, he sall haf for his labor, xxs.

Item, it is ordand, that no man of the company shall halde no shop opyn on Sondays or on vigiles thurgh the yere, excepte the feste of Seint Thomas Appostell, and also sillyng of vitayle and lentynstore betwix the fest Purificacion of our Laudy, and Pasc next after, yerely betwix thir two festes, it shall be lefull to hald opyn shop ilk day, if hym lik. And who so dose the contrary he sall pay iijs. iiijd. to the company at the first tyme, and vjs. viijd. at the secound tyme and so forth, ilk tyme that he dose the contrary, vjs. viijd.

New setters up shopp.—Item, it is ordand that no man of the mercer craft, that has bene apprentice or servant withalden to serve in manner of apprentice within this cite, sall sett uppe no shop of mercery, nor warhouse, before tyme that he accorded with the maister and constable of the company to pay to the company a resonable payment by the maister, and the constables to be demed. And that his maister com to the Trinite hall before the maister and constables to present and recorde his pryntice or servaunt able to be resayved for to occupy as maister in the same craft.

Entery money off a broder son setting up.—Item, it is ordand that if any man son that is (*sic*) sall be fraunchesed of mercer craft, and his fader be of the company, it sall be lefull to the same son, and he be of good governmente and able persone to sett upp a shopp of mercery paying to the company, iijs. iiijd.

Takyng a tenant shop over his heyd.—It is ordand that no maner of man of the company sall take noo mannes shop over his hede, to gyf more firme than he dose, that occupise the shop, ne thatt no man entre the same shop to dwell in it, but if it be thurgh lefe and assent of hym, that dwelt in next before, o payn of xls. to be payed to the company.

Settyng up shop nott aggyrd nor admyte.—Item, it is ordand that no manner of man, of what craft that ever he be, sall set

upp no shop of mercery or merchaundise within the cite of York, before the tyme that he be receyved and admitted by the maister and constables, and pay to the said maister and constables resonably demed after the discrecion of the maister and constables of payn of xli. to the company.

Hawkers franchest and fre.—Item, it is ordand that no man of the company, nor none other persone to his profet go abowte within this cite or suburbes with any merchandise to sell it, as by way of hawkyng, but if it be that he be sent fore by any lorde or knyght, or any other worthie man, or woman liggig in childe bed, oppayn to pay vjs. viij*d.*, as oft tymes as he dose the contrary, and quoso telys it, sall haf the half of that which is forfeit.

Hawkars strangears.—Item, it is ordand that no straungers shall com within the cite or the suburbes to go aboute in manner of hawking for to sell eny mercery in any mans howse, anely for to go to the commune market on the market dayes, and in none other place and ther to sell his chaffer o payn of xls. to be payde to the company.

Serchyng.—Item, it is ordand that the serchours of the craft of mercery sall serche thurgh all the craft of mercere within the cite of York all yerdwands, and weghtes, and messors, whetyer thay be sufficiant or noght, and who that holds any yerde wands, or weghte fautif or noght able, att the first tyme, he sall be warned to amend it, and if his yerdwand, or weght be funden fautif, and noght able, att the secund tyme, he sall pay to the company, vjs. viij*d.*

Debate off any of the company.—Item, it is ordand that if ony man of the company fall at debate with any man of his feliship in the maister presence, constables beyng in the Trinite hall, or call hyme fals, or lye hym in violence, he that so dose sall pay to the company, vjs. viij*d.*, at ilk tyme that he dose.

Reviwlyng.—Item, it is ordand that if any man of the company fer any old wreth or newe hanging betwen hym and another of the company, callyng hym fals, or lye hym, and fall at debate with hym in the mercery, or in eny other place of the cite, that than he, that is funden in default by the

maister and the constables, sall pay to the company, vjs. viijd., and ilk servant in the same manner xld.

Item, it is ordand that the maister and the constables sall lymet and name ane honest persone or ij of the company, at ilk tyme when men passes over the see, that is to say, to Flaunders, Braban, and Seland, to have ful power of the maister and constables that if any attorney, or any servant langyng to any man of the company be mys-govrned, that than the foresaide persones sall warn this same attorney of his defawtes in honest manner, he to amende it for the first tyme, and if he amend nocht his mys-governance afterwards, than the said persones sall take governance of all the godes, and merchaundise, that the attorney or the servant had in governance before, and those godes send home into England to hym that is owner of the merchandise; havyng a resonable rewarde for his travell.

Wrang wrytyng off a contracte.—Item, it is ordand that if any man of the company passe ouer the see into Flaunders, Braban, Holand, or Seland, to any other place and ther byes any merchaundise of oreante, of any merchand of the said lands, and therof makes any bill in any other wyse than he and his merchaunt er accorded of, or passes out of the land, wher the merchandise is boght, before tyme that his merchaunt be fully agreed, and who somever dose the contrary sall be put oute of the company and out of the shippyng and lose his hance, unto the tyme that he have fully agrede his merchants, and also accorded with the company.

Eleccon off the maister.—Item, it is ordand and provide by the comen assent of the maister, constables, and all the company, that evere eleccion day of the said maister, sall none be chosen to occupy as maister of the said company, but anely ane able persone, thatt occupyse in a shop in the mercery, and what man of the company that procures or dose the contrary, he sall pay to the use and profite of the company xxs.

A prentace for no lesse than vij yere.—Item, it is ordand, that no man of the company fro nowe furth sall take any apprentice, or servant, in manner of apprentice by lesse termes than vij yeres; and the same apprentice or servant sall come

in propre persone before the maistre, and constables, and other of the company, to the Trinite hall, there to be examyned and sworn on a buke, whether the apprentice or servant withaldyn in manner of apprentice be freborn, and of fre condicon, or born bonde, or in thraldom, and if he be freborn, it sall be leful to his maistre to receyve hym and halde hym, and if he be funden bonde, he sall be utterly discharged of his service, he to go whether he list best, and noight to occupy no langer with his said maister. And what man of the company that disobeyes this ordenance, and dose contrary, he sall pay to the company xxs.

Item, it is ordand that ilk man of the company, that sall hafe any apprentice, that his maister and he sall appere before the maister, constables, and other of the company, att Trinite hall, and ther the same apprentice sall be sworn uppon a bouke, that he sall be gode and trewe to his maister, and hym truly to serve to the ende of his tyme.

Item, it is ordand that no maister of the said company, or servant recett, ne coile any manne apprentice or servant withalden as apprentice by indenture unlawfully, ne to receyve or occupy any merchandyse, ne bying, ne sillyng, of any apprentice or servant withaldyn, as is before writen, to merchaundise, to the apprentice or servant profite, under colour of his awne mark, or his awne merchaundise, uppon the payn of cs., to be payed to the use and profite of the company, as oft tymes the contrary is done.

Item, it is ordand that no manner apprentice, or servant, of the said company, fro now sall noight bynde hymselfe for any man on this side the see, ne beyond, but ownly for his awne maister and his profite, but if his maister gife him lefe, upon the payn to pay cs., to the said company.

Item, it is ordand thatt no apprentice or servant withaldyn with any man of the company sall by or sill no manner of merchaundise, within the terme betwene his maister and hym accorded, with his awne propre good, ne with none other mans gode, but it be by will and assent of his maister, uppain to pay cs., to the use and profite of the company as oft tymes as he dose the contrary.

Item, it is ordand that no man, whether he be maister of the company, apprentice, or servant, sall by no gode beyond the see, or at London, to the use and profite of any manner of man, but onely to the use and profite of a maister, that is fraunchest of the marchaunts, or mercer craft, and sworn to the same craft, uppon the payn of *cs.*, to pay to the company as of tyme as he is commit of it.

Common box.—Item, it is ordand and fully assented by the company at Trinite hall, that the common box sall be well keyyd and governed in this manner; first, that the maister, that sall occupy as maister for the yere, sall have the comon box in keypyng, that langes to the entre and qarterage of the bretherhede. The constables, that sall occupy for the yere, sall have a key of the same box in thaire keypyng, and the sersoures of the mercer craft sall have another key in thaire keypyng, and ¹that the common fe all be lokked in the seid box.¹

Item, it is ordand by the same company that the comon box, that langes to the company, in whilk sall be putt all manner of revenuse, commodities, and profitis langing to the said company sall be kept in manner and fourme, as is before wryten.

Item, it is ordand by the comon assent of the company, that the maister and constables, that has occupide for the hole yere past, sall gyfe thaire accompt on the ellection day next enseuyng to the maister and constables, that sall occupy in their stede for the yere next after, and to all the company ther present, uppon payn of the maister *xxs.*, and ayther constable, *xxs.* The whilk sall be raised be the company and payde to the use and profite of the same company withowtyn any forgifnes, within viij days efter the said election day, as best may fall.

²Item, it is ordand by the common assent of the companye, that the maister beyng for tyme, that all the dewtes that shalbe paid for the wel of the said company or the hospitall, when it [is] necessary and behovell to lyg down, and to pay the toon halfe; and the two constables to lyg down and pay the

¹⁻¹ In a later hand.

² "This ordinance is added in a later hand on the bottom of f. 15 in the original MS."—Note by Mr. Kerry.

thother halfe, and so the meistre and constables folowyng thame to content and pay thame in suche forme aforsaid all dewtes to thame owyng.

*Ornamenta omnium altarium Sancte Trinitatis in Fossgate in Ebor.*¹

In primis, respondit custos de j calice cum patena argentea deaurata, ponderante xvij uncias et dimidiam, cum ymagine Sancte Trinitatis in patena ejusdem calicis. Et de quinque corporalibus cum quinque casis pro eisdem. Et de j vestimento albo cum rosis et coronis, cum pertinenciis, pro tempore quadragesimali. Et de alio vestimento de panno lineo, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis *le pouderd* cum fleurdeyce, cum ij capis, et duabus tuniculis cum suis pertinenciis de eodem. Et de j vestimento de *bourd alexandre le rayed* cum ijbus tuniculis ejusdem, et omnibus suis pertinenciis. Et de j vestimento de *blew buksesyn le pouderd* cum stellis auri, cum j capa, et ij tuniculis, et pertinenciis suis. Et de altero vestimento de rubro *burd alexandr* cum pertinenciis. Et de uno vestimento de nigro serico *le pudero* cum volucris auri. Et de j vetere missali. Et de j salterio cum j manuali cum commemoracionibus beate Marie Virginis. Et de j vestimento depicto cum xij *aplis*. Et de j portiphorio notato. Et de uno collectario. Et de j psalterio cum placebo et direge. Et de j vetere ordinali. Et de j vetere libro de lege. Et de j vetere superpellicio. Et de ijbus veteribus *pyllowes* de panno lineo *le broudered* cum *le croles*. Et de alia *pillow* cum *le sample wark*. Et de ij *pillowes* de viridi serico. Et de ij *alter clothes* cum duabus *curtinis* de passione, pro tempore quadragesime. Et de ij *alter clothes* cum ijbus *curtinis* depictis cum rubro *damask wark* diversis ymaginibus. Et de ij *alter clothes* cum ij *curtinis* depictis cum ymagine Sancte Trinitatis. Et de j baldkyn de *blew velwytt* et *bukesyn* cum stellis auri. Et de ij veteribus *curtinis* de servicio *le rayed*. Et de ij baldkyns de glauco pro cooperimento altaris. Et de j super altare. Et de

¹ These lists are undated, they occupy f. 148 (b) to f. 157 (b) of the original MS. They may possibly be of the same date as the entry which precedes them, 30 Nov., 1554, but of course they refer to the goods accumulated by the gild from an early date.

ij candelabris de auricalco. Et de j altar cloth de twill cum una frontell de Ave Maria. Et de altera alter cloth de twill cum j frontell. Et de iij alter clothes de twill, et j alter cloth de panno plano. Et de ij pax brede. Et de j ymagine Sancti Petri cum j tabernaculo. Et de j ymagine beate Marie in uno tabernaculo. Et de j canape cum tribus coronis de auricalco cum j pixide de eodem metallo, pro corpore Christi, cum j flameolo vocato un' plesaunce cum iij knoppes argenti et deaurat'. Et de j haly watter fatt de eun'. Et de j par sensoures de auricalco, et de ij cruets de peudr. Et de j novo portiphorio notato cum le claspes argenti. Et de altero portiphorio notato. Et de j vetere legenda. Et de j martiologio. Et de magno almariolo. Et de j ymagine Sancte Trinitatis in uno tabernaculo. Et de j ymagine beate Marie. Et de j ymagine Sancti Georgii. Et de tabula de Sancto Erasmo. Et de j cista pro libris. Et de j ambone. Et de j lampade cum casa.

Ornamenta altaris Sancti Thome Martyris ibidem.—In primis, unum missale. Item, calix argenti cum patena argenti et deaurata ponderante xij uncias et j quart'. Item, j vestimentum de bourd alexandr chekered de albo, cum altero et pertinenciis suis. Item, j vestimentum de albo fustian cum omnibus pertinenciis. Et de alio veteri vestimento de panno deaurato cum omnibus et singulis pertinenciis suis. Et de alio vestimento de rubro sago cum suis pertinenciis. Et de alio vestimento de rubro bourd de alexandr cum le horfray de veridi bourd alexander et pertinenciis suis. Et de iij corporalibus cum tribus casis veteris. Et de iij alter clothes de twyll cum duobus frontellis de bourd alexandr et j altar cloth de panno plano. Et de iij twells veteribus de tebill et j manutergio de panno plano. Et de j caruicale de bukesyn. Et ij veteribus pannis depictis cum j ridell de eodem pendentibus super dicto altere. Et de ij cruets de peudr et duo tintinibulis. Et de amictu de panno auri blodii coloris. Et de j pax de peudr. Et de alio de ligno depicto. Et de j panno depicto cum ymagine beate Anne. Et de j pixide ligneo pro pane conservando ordinato.

Ornamenta altaris Sancti Johannis Baptiste ibidem.—Et custos altaris Sancti Johannis Baptiste respondet de j calice

argenti et deaurata cum patena nova deaurata ponderantibus xv uncias et dimidiam. Et de j vestimento de viridi *bourde alexandr* cum pertinenciis. Et de alio vestimento cum pertinenciis de *yalow satten*. Et de j vetere vestimento de panno auri cum pertinenciis. Et de altero vestimento de albo *bustian*. Et de iij corporalibus cum tribus casis. Et de j vetere missale. Et de j *alter cloth* de *twyll* cum j *frontell* de *bourd alexandr*. Et de altero *alter cloth* de *twyll* cum j *frontell* de *bourd alexandr*. Et de altero *alter cloth* de *twyll* cum j *frontell* de panno aureo. Et de altero *alter cloth* de *twyll* cum j *frontell* de *chekered*. Et de ij *alter cloth* de panno plano. Et de iij veteribus *pylowes*. Et de ij *pax bredes*. Et de j tabula de coronatione. Et de alia tabula de ymagine beate Marie. Et de ij *curtinis* de *blod bukesyn*. Et de j tyntenabulo. Et de j cista pro vestimentis.

The Hall.—In the first, ij bourdes and v trestles for the dece (alt.). Item, iij fourmes doble for the bourdes before the high dece (alt.). Item, v mete bourdes for the south side of the hall with trestelles and vij fourmes. Item, iij mete bourdes of the north side the hall and v par trestles with v fourmes afore v said bourdes. Item, a copbourde in the hall.¹ In the buttre 1 grete kyst of waynscott with ij almases. Item, ij tonntres for standyng of ale. Item, in the tresour house j irynbound kist of Pruce makyng. Item, j nother kyst bow[nd] with iryn for evydence. Item, vj torches with vj castells and xxij banners to them.

The Chapel.—Item, gyfen by Elizabeth Newton ij alter clothes steyned with two curtyns of the same to the high alter with our Lorde syttyng on the rayne bowe, and the coronacon of oure Lady, the grounde of blewe. Item, *ad altare Sancti Thome Martyris unum novum missale*. Item, the chapell was thekyd iij quarters of lede in Richard York tyme, beyng meistre. Item, the table of alabaster at heghe alter in the chapell was made in William Tod tyme, beyng meistre (1477-8). Item, sir John Fox gave to the chawmer of Saynt Thomas of Canterbury prest, a burden bed of waynscott, and a bellus of waynscott over the bed. Item, he bequitt to the high altar a vestment with grene birdes, a messebuke, and

¹ The inventory of pewter dishes already given follows here, see p. 86.

alter cloth, with a white frontell, 1 par crewettis, and ij laton candellstyks.

Compotus Magistri Willelmi Cleveland, Magistri sive custodis hospitalis domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et beate Marie Virginis, in Fossgate, Ebor', ordinati et fundati, de omnibus firmis et redditibus dicto hospitali pertinentibus, a festo Pentecostes, anno Domini millesimo cccc nonagesimo septio,¹ usque ad idem festum, anno revoluto (1497).

Fysshergate.—In primis, computat de iibus tenementis in Fysshergate, xvjs.

Walmegate extra portam et infra portam.—Et de quinque selionibus in tenura Roberti Burtun, vjs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Rolandi Bryse cum j *lez cloyse*, xiiijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Rawlynson, viijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Ricardi Northe, vjs. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Willelmi Twhyngge, vjs. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Roberti Hoghson, vjs. Et de uno tenemento in Bakenars, Walmegate, iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Alexandri Lameman, vjs. viijd. Et de quatuor tenementis, xs. *Summa iijli. vs. viijd.*

Fossegate.—Et de uno tenemento in tenura Briani Litster, xxvjs. viijd. Et de alio tenemento nuper in tenura Briani Litster, xvjs. viijd. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Smythe, xs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Hyvee, xs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Eli Chapman, xxvjs. Et de iibus tenementis in tenura Johannis Rust, viijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Glayser, iijjs. Et de alio tenemento ibidem, viijs. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Ricardi Russell, xijs. Et de alio tenemento quondam in tenura Willelmi, [vijs.]. Et de iibus tenementis in tenura Willelmi Plumber, xvjs. Receptum pro j camera, iijs. Et de alio tenemento quondam in tenura Willelmi Mirfyn, vs. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Johannis Atkynson, xijs. Et de iibus tenementis in tenura Willelmi Sclatter, xls. *Summa ixli. xiiijs. iiijd.*

¹ Crossed through in MS., "sexto" substituted.

Payment.—Et de iijbus tenementis cum iijbus gardinis in tenura Thome Darbe, iij*li*. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Johanne Bromefeyld, xxiijs. iiij*d*. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Bromefayld, xviijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Johannis Doghson, vijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura predicti Johannis Doghson, vs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura predicti Johannis Doghson, ijs. v*d*. Et de uno tenemento in tenura predicti Johannis Doghson, iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Otwell Portyngton, vjs. vii*d*. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Otwell Portyngton, iijs. iiij*d*. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Henrici Marshall, ijs. iiij*d*. *Summa vj*li*. xijs. i*d*.*

Ussgate, Skeldergate, Mekylgate, Toftes, et extra portam de Mekillythe.—Et uno tenemento in tenura Thome Hawstelynge, xxs. Et de . . . farmes de diversis tenementis in *Skydergate* (*sic*), iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Soderne, xvjs. Et de uno tenemento apud Toftes, vjs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Thome Bishope extra Mekylythbare, vijs. *Summa liijs.*

Peterlayne.—Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Barmynghame, xxs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Johannis Graye, iijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura domini Willelmi Beylbi, iijs. Et de uno tenemento Johannis Bower, ijs. Et de iijbus aliis tenementis, ix*s*. *Summa xxxviijs.*

Newgate.—Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Wryght, xiijs. iiij*d*. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Johannis Bakehouse, iijs. Et de alio tenemento, iijs. Et de alio tenemento in tenura Willelmi Wryght, vjs. vii*d*. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Henrici Botorell, vjs. vii*d*. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Willelmi Grundon, vjs. vii*d*. *Summa xljs. iiij*d*.*

Petergate and Gudirumgate.—Et de uno tenemento nuper in tenura Johannis Kyng cum iijbus aliis parvis tenementis, xxxiijs. Et de Johanne Birkehede pro libera firma, vijs. Et de uno tenemento in tenura Roberti Walker, vijs. v*d*. *Summa xlvijs. v*d*.*

Bowthome et Giligate.—Et de omnibus tenementis in Bowthome, et Giligate, in tenura Roberti Bayn, iiij markes, iijs. iiij*d*. *Summa omnium firmarum et reddicum, xxxii*li*. xjs. vii*d*.*

In decasus.—Idem computans petit allocari pro tenementis in Fysshergate, vjs. viijd. Et in uno tenemento extra Walme-gate bare in tenura Willelmi Twhyngge, iijs. Et in iiijor tene-mentis in venella de Walme-gate, xs. Et in uno tenemento in Fossegate nuper in tenura Briani Litster, xvjs. viijd. Et de alio tenemento nuper in tenura domini Ricardi Gernett, viijs. Et de uno tenemento nuper in tenura Willelmi Plumber, xiijs. Et de uno tenemento quondam in tenura Ricardi Chapman, iijs. Et de uno tenemento apud Payment in tenura Johanne Bromefeyld, xjs. viijd. Et de tenemento Willelmi Jakeson, iiijs. Et de diversis tenementis apud Skyldergate, iiijs. Et de diversis tenementis apud Petirlayne letyll, ix. Et de uno tenemento apud Toftes, vjs. Et de iijbus tene-mentis apud Newgate, xijs. viijd. Et de uno tenemento apud Petirgate, xxxiijs. Et de uno tenemento apud Gudirumgate, vjs. vjd. Et de uno tenemento apud Monkegate, vjs. Et de tenementis in Bowthome et Geligate, xxvjs. viijd. *Summa in decasus, ixli. xviijd. (sic).*

Soluciones et expense facte per predictum Magistrum Willelmum Cleveland de hoc anno et primo in siccis firmis exeuntibus de tenementis predictis. *Summa firmarum.*¹

In primis, solutum pro sustentacione unius lampadis in ecclesia Sancte Crucis, xijs. Item, solutum capelle cantarie Willelmi Selbi in Belferay, xx. Item, solutum custodibus pontis de Fosse, xv. iiijd. Item, solutum Priorisse de Clementhorpe, ijs. Item, archiepiscopo, ijs. Item, vice-comitibus pro hosgabaldo, xd. Item, solutum prebendario de Tangefeyld, xiiijd. Item, Jacobo Danbi, militi, xvjd. Item, Willelmo Mulbray, xxijd. Item, solutum capellano et pauperibus pro domino Johanne Gryndon, vjs. viijd. *Summa iijli. iijs. ijd.*

Solutum Capillanis dicte hospitalis.—In primis, solutum Magistro Willelmo Cleveland, vjli. xiijs. iiijd. Item, solutum domino Johanni Rust, iijli. vjs. viijd. Item, solutum domino Johanni Jakeson, iijli. xiijs. iiijd. *Summa aliarum solucionum, xvli. xiijs. iiijd.*

Item, solutum Ricardo Russell, xxvjs. Item, solutum in

¹ No entry.

pane et vino, vs. iiij*d.* Item, solutum pro vij libris cere in magnis et in parvis candelis, vjs. iiij*d.* *Summa* [xxx]vijs. viij*d.* *Summa omnium solucionum et resolutionum*, xxli. xiijs. i*d.*

Soluciones in reparacione domorum, tenementorum, infra tempus compoti. In primis, apud Payment in domo Thome Bromfeyld. Solutum Henrico Botarall tegulatori pro dimidio diei, iij*d.* Item, solutum pro dimidio c *thaketeyll*, vd. Et in *boordes*, i*d.* Item, ad domum uxoris Bromfeyld solutum pro j quarterio platri, ijs. Item, solutum Roberto Baynnes pro iibus servientibus pro ij diebus, ijs. v*d.* Item ix *stanciones*, xvij*d.* Item, solutum magistro Schawe pro c *harthlattes*, xiiij*d.* Item, ccc *thaketes* in iijs. iiij*d.* Et in ccc *dobill pikeyng*, et c *syngyll pikeynges*, pro cccc *Stonebrode*, xv*d.* Item, solutum Henrico Boterell pro suo serviente pro vj diebus et dimidio, vs. vd. Item, solutum pro *ledynge x load lyme et sande*, vij*d.* Item, pro j *lovor*, xd. Item, pro *bordis* pro *pantes*, ijs. *Summa* xxjs. vd.

Item, apud Fossegate in the Kynges dike, solutum Roberto Laborer pro uno die, iiij*d.*, et in *planchores et bordes* v*d.* Item, solutum Nicholo Pulane et suo servienti ad domum Roberti Smyth pro uno die et dimidio, xv*d.* Item, c et dimidio *thaketeyll*, xv*d.*, pro cc *stonebrode*, i*d.* ob. Item, dimidium c *harthlattes*, iij*d.* Item, ad domum Johannis Rust et Glasieres solutum Henrico Boterell pro v diebus, iijs. i*d.* Item, pro j *lover*, xd. Item, pro c *lattes*, v*d.* Et pro c et dimidio *thakatayll*, xv*d.* Item, pro dimidio *thousand stonebrode*, vij*d.* Item, in *dobill* et in *syngyll spikeynge*, vd. Et in *estyngbordes*, xij*d.* Item, ad domum Scletter pro viij *thaketeyll* solutum pro ccc ejusdem, ijs. v*d.*, et cariagio ejusdem, xd. Et pro ccc et dimidio *harthlattes*, ijs. iiij*d.* Et pro j *thousand* et ccc *stonebrade*, cc *dobill spikeyng*, et cc *syngyll spikeyng*, ijs. Item, solutum Nicholo Pulane pro suo serviente pro vj diebus, vijs. Et pro j *doreband*, iiij*d.* Item, ad domum Johanne Hypee pro uno plancione, iij*d.* Item, ad domum Briani solutum Willelmo Wryght pro vij diebus, iijs. v*d.* Et solutum Johanni de Wisbe, carpentario, pro iibus diebus, xij*d.* Item, pro v*c* *lattes*, ijs. v*d.* Item, pro j *thousand* et dimidio *stonebrode*, ccc *dobill spikeynges*, et c*j* *syngyll spikeynge* et *bragys*, ijs. xd.

Et solutum Nicholo Pulane et suo servienti pro duobus diebus et dimidio diei, ijs. jd. Et pro *sooyll posttes, sparres, esyng bordes, staytheys, et boordes, pro benkes, iijs. vjd.* Et pro *waystones, et grounde walles, et stones, vjd.* Et pro iij lood *harth, viijd.* Item, solutum pro j *dore, et bandes, xd.* Item, Robertó Laborer et suo socio pro iibus diebus, xvjd. *Summa xlvjs. vd. ob.*

Item, apud Petirlayne ad dominum Bermyngham solutum pro j quarterio et dimidio quarterii *lez plaster, iijs.* Et pro *cc walle teyll, xijd.* Et pro viij *peces le^s tymber, xviijd.* Item, solutum Willelmo Wryght pro iij^{or} diebus, ijs. Et solutum Robynson pro *sande et lyme, xijd.* Et pro *ladynge of sledfull of tymber, ijd.* Item, solutum Henrico Boterell et suo servienti pro xvj diebus, xiijs. iijjd. Et pro , xijd. Et *thousand stonebrode et dobill spikeynge et cc syngyll spikeynge, ijs.* Item, *cc hertlattes, xijd.* Et *ix thaketeyll et solutum pro c et dimidio ejusdem, xvd.* *Summa xxvijs. iijjd.*

Item, apud Fysshergate ad domum Willelmi Clerke solutum Willelmo Wryght pro duobus diebus, xijd. Item, in *boordes, et in stancions, et in sneckes, et in dorebandes, xijd.* Et in *cc dobill spikeynge, et in syngyll spikeynge, xjd.* *Summa ijs. xjd.*

Item, ex ponte Fosse ad domum Willelmi Lameman ij *plaster, vd.* Et solutum Henrico Boterell et suo servienti pro dimidio diei, vd. Item, ad domum Biwell et ad dominum Hypee solutum pro xij *bordes, pro j lez pantes, xiiijd.* Et *cc dobill spikeynge et c syngyll spikeynge, ixjd.* Et pro iij *stancions, iijjd.* Item, solutum Willelmo Wryght pro j die, vjd. *Summa iijs. vjd.*

Item, solutum iij lood *lyme, xijs.* Item, solutum pro vj *cart loode sande, xviijd.* *Summa xiijs. vjd.* *Summa omnia reparacionium, vjli. xvs. ob.* *Summa totalis resolucionum et expensarum, [xxxvli. xs. viijjd. ob.]*

Et sic expense excedunt recepta, xxxixs. ob. Et sic remanent in debito per tres annos elapsos, vjli. vijs. xjd. ob.

Memorandum the xxiiij day of Marche anno Domini millesimo cccc nonogesimo octavo was assembled in the Trenite hall in Fosgate within the cite of York, John Stokdil, maister of the feleshipp of maisceirs, John Lyncoln and John Custance, cunstabilis, Nicholas Lancaster, John Gilliot, George Kyrke, William Neylson, aldermen, and M' William Cleveland maister of the hospital.

Henry Willinson, Thomas Fynche, John Shaw, Thomas Felnobly, Richard Abbott, John Peghan, Richard Charlsby, Henry Marshall, Robert Lewesham, William Midleham, Thomas Darby, Richard Thornton, John Birkhede, Thomas Bubwith, Edward Delamer [?], Robert Clyffe, Pall Gylling, John Thomson, Robert Wheatly, Richard Newton, John Awkbarrow, Alane Stavley, Richard Williamson, Thomas Davell, Robert Persson, William Stavely, Nicholas Maband, Nicholas Regent, William Russell, John Awis.

The day and yere aforewreten, be the holl assent and concent of the aforesaid presens, it is ordant and agreid that no man, ne servaunt of the felewship of merchaunds and merceirs freight no shippe ne shippis of no manys, ne ly in hir or thayme no manner of merchaundiz, fro the porte of Hull to Flaunders, Brabant, Hol' and Seland or Normandy, for the space of iij yeris, excepte the owneyrs or their attorneys of the said shipe or shippis pay vjs. viijd. to the Trenite gilde in Fosgaite aforesaid, allse ofte as thai er freghtyd or er lodyn over see, uppon payn of xli., to be employed to the comon weel of the aforesaid Trenete gylde. And what person or persons that presents any such fawtes shall have at every tyme xls. for his lawbor of the master and cunstables for tyme beyng. And what maister and cunstables at wynot levay the forsaid fawte evyde[n]tly prevyd shall pay xls. to the feleship allse ofte as they ar funde fawte thairin. [Fo. 155 of MS., p. 75 of transcript.]

Memorandum that Thomas Drawswerd¹ this present yere (1502-3) is admit into the broderheid of the fraternite of the

¹ Thomas Drawswerd, carvour, was made a freeman in 1495; he was twice lord mayor. York Freeman, pp. 220, 225, 237, 244. See also Canon Raine, York, p. 94. This and the following entry are on fo. 155 of the MS., p. 75 in Mr. Kerry's transcript.

Holy Trinite, in Fossegate, by the saide maister, by thassent and consent of Richard Thornton, maior of the cite of Yorke, George Kirke, John Elwald, William Neleson, John Stokdale, alderman, Thomas Fynch, John Shawe, Thomas Felneby, and many other merchunts brethern of the said fraternite under condicion following, that is to say, that the said Thomas shall mak the pagiant of the Dome belonging to the merchaunts of newe substancialie in every thing thereunto belonging, havynge for the workemanship and stuff of the same, vij marces in money and his entrie fre, with also the old pagiant.

An ordinance passed at the same meeting.—It is ordaned, enacted, and aggreid that if ony maryner or shipman lede or cary in his ship or vessell ony merchaundise of any foregner, which is not made free of the feliship of merchaunts of the cite of York, fro York to Hull, or fro Hull to York that then no merchaunt nor mercer of the seid feliship shall put in that ship, or vessell, noon of ther merchaundise by the space of two yeres, after that knawn, uppon payn of forfaitour to the seid feliship, xxs. at everie tyme that it may be hird of hym, and the presenter thereof to have for is (*sic*) labour and presentment, x*l*d. Item, it is ordand and aggreid by the seid feliship that ilk man of the company that shall have apprentice, that his maister and he shall appere within x*l* days, next after his entrez, afore the maister and constablen and other of the company, at the Trinity hall, and there to show the endentoures of apprentis[h]ed; and that the same apprentice to be sworne uppon a buke, that he shall be trew to his maister, and hym dew s[er]ve to the ende of his times, and that uppon payn of forfatur to the seid feliship, xxs., as oft as it may be proved, that ony of the seid feliship holds ony apprentice unpresented within the forseid tyme, and the presenter thereof to have for his labure, x*ij*d. of every oon so presented. And for the entryng of the seid indenture the apprentice shall paie to the clerk *l*d., and to the beddell, a penye. Item, it is ordand and aggreid by the holl consent and assent of the seid feliship that noo man of the seid feliship, fro now furth, shall hold nor kepe opyn, no shope on Sundays, nor other halidays, or vigils through the yere, except thei sall fall oon marketdays, as Tews-

day, Thursday, and Saturday, and oither vigils, that shall fall in ony fare tyme ordand by the kings ordinances, and statutes; and if ony such haliday or vigill shall fall in ony of the seid market days, or fare tyme, that then it shalbe lefull to everie of the seid feliship to hold and kepe opyn his shop, fro parish messe be don at his parish church, unto the time that thei ryng all in to evyngsong at his seid parish church, the same day and noo longer, uppon payn of forfatour to the seid feliship for the first tyme, x*l*d. and so for the secunde tyme, and so ever aftir, as oft als he shalbe found defectyfe, and doth contrary to this ordinance, v*js*. viii*d*., and the presenter therof shall have for his labur, x*ij*d. It is ordaned that no merchaunt nor mercer beyng a venterer, nor no attorney for them fro now forth shall by no merchaundise on this side see ne beynd, but if the awner therof sett his own mark therof and no nouthers mans mark, and the attorney to see the awners mark thereof for whome he is attorney, thatt is to say, if it be as a pipe to sett the mark on the pipes hede, and as a barrell on the barrelis hede, and in all oither merchandise as madder, alame, beere with such like merchaundise to set the mark at both ends, and whoso doth the contrary shall forfate to the company *cs.*, as oft tymes as they doo the contrary. And the presenter thereof shall have for his labour and presentinge, xx*d*.

It was ordaned that no merchaunt, nor mercer fro now furth shall not receve, take, nor kepe, within his ferme, hold, or in ony other place, the merchaundise or ware of ony merchaunt or mercer by the space of iij houres without knolege or license of hym, which is owner thereof, uppon payn to forfeit to the seid company, *cs.*, for everie tyme that thei doo the contrary, and the presenter therof shall have v*js*. viii*d*. Item, it is ordand that no pursure shall not delyver out of his ship eny merchaundise to noo attorney, or servant, of ony merchaunt, mercer, but if he mak a bill indented of such merchandise as he delivereth to them, and he to kepe the oon parte of the bill and the attorney and servants to kepe the other for both the discharges; and likewise that no awner nor persur delyver ony merchandise to ony shipman or pache-man whatsoeuer thei be, but if their indentor with them is

likewise, uppon pane of forfeiture to the seid companye, xls., as oft as thei dothe contrarye, and ye presenter shall have vjs. viij*d.*

An othe for the brouggar.—Ye shall swere, that ye shall be lele and true to the maister, constabils, and all the holl feliship of merchands, and mercers, and truly execut and occupy, betwix party and party, the office of a brogger, and betwix such persons as shall shewe you their waires and merchaundises, as silver, plate, broken silver, or pott gold, or ony manner lands, gods, cattell corn, woll, wax, lede, or ony oither waires whatsoever, thei be that shalbe offerd you to sell, and thatt ye shall do your best then well and truly without ony disceite or colour. And that ye shall not offer, nor shewe no suche waire nor merchaundise to no persons, strangers nor oither craftemen, so long as ony of the seid feliship will haue such waire or merchaundise; and also that ye shall kepe and truly layn all secrete and conceale betwix party and party to you shewid, so help you God, and halydom, and by his buke, and thatt ye thus doo, uppon payn of forfatur to the seid felishipe, fer the first tyme, x*l.*d., and fer the secund tyme, vjs. viij*d.*, and the third tyme ye shall lese the office of broggyng, if it may be provid uppon you by iij persons of the seid company, and the presenter therof shall have for his labur the oon hall of the ferfate, and also ye shall have of every seller i*j.*d. at the j*li.*,¹ and noo more for your labour.

The Easterlings.

Jhesu.—Schewynge to your unyversytes that the Eysterings [Easterlings] graytly resortynge to this ²northe² partes of Englande bryngynge with thaim greytt substance of merchandis taykyng redy mone for the seyd merchandis, nott employnge

¹ cf. York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, p. 175: "Et broggatores lanarum ordinati et jurati, Johannes Sylton, Johannes Marche, et Robertus Appilby, et quod capiant pro labore suo duos denarios de sacco de emptore, et quod universi tenentes sint contributorii ad paginam broggatorum singulis annis in ludo Corporis Christi." The play of the broggours was "The travellers to Emmaus meet Jesus," in the register given to the sledmen. Lucy Toulmin-Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, pp. xxvj, 427.

²⁻² Interlined. This document is undated, but the handwriting and spelling point to the late fifteenth century.

the sayd mone of and open the comodites growynge within the sayd northe partis and so carrynge the sayd mone owtt of the sayd northe partes. Alsoo schewynge to yowe that it is gude to knowe the secreytts off their prevylege, how many places they owght to resortt too, and qwhatt places thay be within the realme of Englande. Alsoo to know qwhatt merchandis thay shuld brynge into this realme, and what comodites of this realme they schulde carye with thame. Alsoo to knowe qwhatt prevelege the merchands of this realme schulde hayff with thaym, for the merchands of Englande saythe that the sayd Esterlynges wyll nott sufferyre thaym to by and sell with any merchands strangers within the steyses, but with the freemen of the sayd steyses. Alsoo¹ the sayd Eysterlyngs wyll nott suffyr the merchands of England to retayll ther merchaundis in the steyses as the seyd Eysterlyngs doythe all manner of merchandis within Inglande and abowff thayr comodites. Alsoo the sayd Esterlyngs wold not sover your marchands off York to mayk no sall to no stranger but to the fre men of Danysk to seych tyme as a fre mart called the Donnernet for the same, nor no stranger comeing to the port derst not by nor sell unto non off us Engles marchauntes. Wherefor and you occupy with us so long tymys in our tyngs as you have doan, you shall destroye all our shipyng [and] maroners to our pure porttes belongyng, for at thes days you know all manner off men that byes and sells bytwixt Trent and Skotland as bucherys, taylors, cordyners and parich clarkes with us so that citis, burrows where you were wont to be furnyssyd of all such merchaundes, now you bryng to the Esterlyngs handes, nonother thyng bet gold, soo yff you may thus conteneue, you shall destrew us many ways, and be abyll conqwyer princes, for by the artifuseyers they have all the knowlage off everie market towns and villages from Newarke to Carlell, and ²so off your wares you gyff but *ixd.* to costum.² You keep courttes *iiij^o* tymes or *iiij^o* in evere weyk so that you will buy noyn off our cloythyng. Why [where will] you fynde sich sweytnes, and pure folkks to

¹ This is obviously part of the same document, but it is on different paper and in a different hand.

² Crossed through in MS.

wyrke the comodites as ther lyve, which kepes not the wyght off Wushull costum. And they knawyn dayly with falss pakkyng as fare withowt as ill within.

From the roll of John Gylliot, 1501.

Receptio denariorum.—Et dictus computans respondet de *vjli. xiijs. iiijd.* receptis de Willelmo Cort, capellano, ipso dato reparacionibus ornamentorum et fenestrarum vitrearum in capella dicte Trinitatis in Fossegate, per ipsum factum, ut ibidem patet.

Expense forinsece.—Et eciam dicti computantes petunt allocaciones ut pro tot denariis solutis in expensis Thome Davyson et Briani servientis Johannis Gylliot, militis, magistri fraternitatis sive gilde Sacre Trinitatis fundate in Fossegate, in Ebor', equitancium de Ebor' usque London et Eltham, tam excellentissimo domino nostro Henrico, regi Anglie, quam Henrico, duci Ebor', et aliis dominis et magnatibus Anglie, cum diversis litteris sigillatis sub sigillo officii dicte gilde pro reformacione custumarum apud Kingeston super Hull de novo facto ultra consuetudinem custumarum ab antiquis usitatam pro solutis et super mercatoribus ibidem positis unacum *xiijs. iiijd.* datis Thome Davyson in parte regardi sui pro suo diligenti labore circa premissis eundo, morando, et redeundo, pro *xxvij* diebus ut particulatim patet per billam super hunc compotum visam et examinatam et cum dicto Johanne Gylliot, milite, remanentem, *iiijli. xxd.* Et similiter solutum in expensis Thome Folneby et Alano Staveley, mercatoribus, equitantibus de Ebor' usque Kingston super Hull custumariis custumarum domini regis ibidem, et alia causa predicta, *xiijs. iiijd.*

Pro faccione fenestre vitrie.—Et petit allocacionem ut pro tot denariis solutis pro faccione unius fenestre vitrie in capella Sancte Trinitatis fundata in Fossegate de altari Sancte Thome, martyris, ut ibidem patet, *xxs.*

Memorandum the xviiij day of the moneth of Apryle, the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and two.

Thomas Wattes of Bretlylsey, maryner, upon his ooth exsamyned and sworne afore Alayn Staveley, than master of

the mystery of mercers, John Alkbarow oon of the constables, and John Geysby with other dyvers persons than beyng att Trynte hall, saith that Robert Clyff¹ merchaunt of York had noone aventure in the ship of Thomas of Brytlysey out of Howldyn, that ever he had knowlege of or wyttyng. And further he uppon his seid oth examyned seith the seid Robert awght nott to the seid Thomas Byrthlysey to the valoure of one peny or half peny for ony maner of thyng of the seyde Thomas of Brylthlysey boggt or bargained.

*Roll of Alan Stavelay, master, 1502.*²

Expense forensice.—Et eciam dicti computantes petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis solutis in expensis pro magistro et constabulariis diversis magistris, et Johanne Clark existentibus in aula Sancte Trinitatis Ebor' per duos dies scrutantibus evidenciis dicte gilde, similiter in cibis, pocionibus, et vino, ijs. viijd. Et solvimus pro scriptura unius supplicacionis, reverendo in Christo domino Thome Ebor' archiepiscopo, dimisse, et pro vino, xx*d.* Et solvimus in expensis versus Cawood pro magistro et domum rediente, xv*jd.* Et in expensis factis ad tavernam de magistro Danby et aliis, pro consiliis suis, xv*d.* Et solvimus Johanne Clerk pro consilio suo habendo, hoc anno, vjs. viijd. *Summa* xiiijs. vijd.

*Letter to the Abbot of Fountains.*³

To the reverend fader in God, thabbot of Fontayns. Reverend fader in God, we comend us to you where it is so that we understand that you occupy beyng and sellyng lede and other marchandise as a fre marchaunt, contrary to Godds lawis and mans, ye being a spiritual man and of religion, and so your occupyng is grett damage and hurte to us merchaunds in thies parties. Wherefore we will desire you to sursece and

¹ Made a freeman 1486. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

² Probably this and the following entry refer to the same subject. The letter to the abbot is entered on fo. 277 (b) of the MS., Mr. Kerry adds a note to his transcript: "Evidently transcribed by the same person, who wrote the memorandum in the year 1502-3, during the mastership of Alayn Stavely."

³ "Marmaduke Huby was made abbot in 1494, occurs 1516; William Thirsk occurs 1526, hanged 1537." Yorkshire County History, vol. iii, p. 138, referring to York Archiepis. Reg., Rotherham, i, fo. 83.

leve such byeing and sellyng of merchaundise, so that we have noo forder causes to complayn us, or els we be disposed to complayn to my lorde tharchbisshop and other of the King's counsell in theis parties for remedy than to be hadd, or els we porpois to complayn to the King's grace, which so to do we wold be right sory, that ye shuld gif us such causes of complaynt. Desiryng you therefore to sursece and leve such byeng and sellyng, as ye will have our loves and services, and that we may have answer by the brynger herof by wrytyng, and *Dominus Jhesu* preserve you. Writtyn at York first day of June, [1502]. By your own coy [?] littil powers, maister and feliship of merchaunds of the city of Yorke.

Lease of a Messuage in Hornpot Lane.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum indentatum pervenerit Johannes Byrkhede, magister sive custos fraternitatis sive Gilde hospitalis Sancte Trinitatis, in honore domini nostri Jhesu Christi et beate Marie Virginis, in Fosse-gate, in civitate Ebor' fundate, et tota societas ejusdem, salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos prefatos magistrum et totam societatem unanimi assensu et consensu nostris pro nobis et successoribus nostris dedisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro indentato confirmasse Johanni Waike,¹ priori domus sive prioratus monasterii beate Marie de Marton, in comitatu Ebor', et ejusdem loci conventui, et successoribus suis, quendam annum redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum legalis monete Anglie exeuntem de uno messuagio cum suis pertinenciis jacenti in *Hornepotlane*, in civitate Ebor' predicta, quod quondam fuit Willelmi Huntyngton, nuper civis et apothecarii Ebor', Habendum et percipiendum predictum annum redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum prefatis priori et conventui et successoribus suis annuatim, ad duos anni terminos, videlicet, ad festa Pentecostes, et Sancti Martini episcopi in yeme, per

¹ *Ante*, p. 6. The Victoria County History does not mention this prior. Henry Rayne, confirmed 1443, and Christopher Latoner, confirmed 1506, are mentioned, so this gift must have taken place shortly before the resignation or death of Johannes Waike. Victoria County History, vol. iii, p. 226. His successor was present at the election feast of the drapers of London. Rev. A. H. Johnson, *History of the Drapers' Company*, p. 4.

equales porciones imperpetuum. Et si contingat predictum annum redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum a retro fore in parte vel in toto per quadraginta dies post aliquod festum festorum predictorum quo solvi debeat non solutum, tunc bene licebit prefatis priori et conventui et successoribus, tam in toto predicto messuagio cum suis pertinenciis, quam in omnibus aliis terris et tenementis, que habemus in civitate Ebor' predicta, intrare et distinguere. Districcionesque ibidem invente capere, fugare, asportare, abducere et penes se retinere, quousque eis de predicto annuo redditu et ejus arreragiis, sique fuerint, plenarie fuerit satisfactum et contentum. In cujus rei testimonium utrique parti hujus scripturi indentati sigillum nostrum commune apposimus. Et pro majori securitate in hac parte habenda nos prefati magister et tota societas predicta, priori et conventui et successoribus suis unum denarium argenti attornavimus, tradidimus, et liberavimus, nomine possessionis annui redditus predicti. Datum apud aulam dicti hospitalis, in Fossegate, octavo die mensis Januarii, anno regni regis Henrici septimi post conquestum Anglie, vicesimo (1504-5).

From the roll of Johannes Byrkhede, master, 1504.

Receptio denariorum.—In primis, respondent de xjs. ijd. de Willelmo Russell pro apprenticio suo. Et de Johanne Rasyn *a pece of bowte cloth*, iijs. iiijd. Et de Johanne Thomson, *vj pare of cardes*, [iiiijd]. Et de Edwardo Kirkeby, *a Ketyll*. Et de Edwardo Taillour, *ijd*. Et de Egidio Clarvaux, *m^c pyns*, iiijd. Et de Johanne Norman *a litell pan*, iiijd. Et de Johanne Peghan, iiijd. Et de Thoma Staveley *for a plege of lynen*, vjs. viijd. Et de Roberto Roger *for a gown and a Kirtyll*, viijs. Et de Bronberd *wif pro a par of beddes*, xvijjd. Et similiter receptum de Christofero Yoryk *to the reparacion of the butt in Bowthom*, vjs. viijd. Et *divers plegges*, xiijs. iiijd. *Summa* iijli. ijs. vjd.¹

Et similiter dicti computantes respondent de denariis per ipsos receptis de diversis viaggiis hoc anno, videlicet, de Johanne

¹The total only amounts to £2 11s. 10d., but no price is given for the "vj pare cardes" and the "ketyll."

Gylliot, juniore, pro uno viagio, vjs. viijd. Et de eodem Johanne pro uno viagio, vjs. viijd. Et de Thoma Jakeson de Fulford pro tribus viagiis hoc anno, xxs. Et de Willelmo Huby pro uno viagio, iijs. iiijd. Et de Roberto Frankysh pro uno viagio hoc anno, iijs. iiijd. Et de Roberto Dyconson pro uno viage usque Ronis (*sic*), ijs. Et de Johanne Lynocln (*sic*) pro uno viagio, iijs. iiijd. *Summa* xlvs. iiijd.

Salaria capellanorum.—Et eciam petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis solutis capellanis dicte gilde pro salariis suis infra tempus hujus compoti, videlicet, Willelmo Cleveland, clerico, pro salario suo pro ¹tribus quarteriis dim¹ hujus anni, iiij¹⁴. ²Et solutum Roberto Wilberfors, clerico, pro uno quarterio hujus anni, xxxijs. iiijd.² Et solutum Willelmo Cort, capellano, pro consimili hoc anno, iiij^{li}. vjs. viijd. Et solutum Johanni Jakeson, capellano, pro salario suo, hoc anno, iiij^{li}. xiijs. iiijd. xj^{li}. xiijs. iiijd.

Summa xiiij^{li}. xiijs. iiijd.³

. . .—Et solutum cuidam Tyler et servienti suo operantibus super magnam aulam super *both siddes* per xiiij dies, xs. xd. Et solutum *to a plommer* pro *castyng of the lede gutters to the same hall* et pro *odd lede*, xjs. Et solutum uno carpentario pro emendacione *the briggis of the said gutteris* et *thre plankes to the same*, ix^d. Et solutum pro iij^c *duble spykyngis*, ix^d. Et solutum pro ij^c *lattis*, xijd. Et solutum uno tegulatori et servienti suo operantibus super *storehous* et *slater hous*, per quatuor dies, iijs. iiijd. Et solutum pro iij^c *stoynbrod*, iiijd. Et pro j^c *hertlatt*, vjd. Et solutum pro *pavyng at Trynite hall afor and slater [hous] door, and in Walmegate for thre rode et dim'*, vijs. Et solutum pro *cobles, wathes, et ledyng to the sam*, iiij^s. vjd. Et solutum *for mendyng the walles of the chapell . . . stones*, iijs. vjd. Et solutum *for makyng of a new steth at Fossyd, pyllys, and mens labour, with beryng of the ramellis*, iiij^s. xjd. . . . Et solutum pro *coveryng of a salter buke in the chapell and a bell stryng in the same chapell*, xijd.

¹⁻¹ Has been crossed through in MS. and "liijs. iiijd." written above iiij^{li}.

²⁻² All crossed through.

³ Even if the upper line is taken the total is incorrect unless iiij^{li} is substituted for the iiij^{li}, the salary of Johannes Jakeson.

Expense forinsece.—Et similiter petunt allocari de expensis forinsecis factis per tempus hujus compoti. In primis, solum feminibus pauperibus in elemosina, xviiij*d.* Et solum pro expensis factis per diversas vices infra tempus hujus compoti, scilicet, *at the metyng of Cristofer Danby and one counsell that is to say doctor York and John Clerk in ale and wyn* pro gilda nostra, iijs. iiiij*d.* Et solum pro expensis *about makyng of brether of the sam as in wyn and mayn brede to the prior of Merton and other and in riddyng to Merton at dyvers tymes for the well of our gild and for makyng of evydences*, vjs. viiiij*d.* Et solum Henrico Marshall *for dyvers stuff for payntyng of the pageant*, xijs. vjd. Et solum collectoribus *pro the Kynges ayde of dyvers tenementes pertenyng to the gild*, iiijs. Summa xxviijs.

Item in manibus Roberti Levesham de pluribus defaultis, iijs. iiiij*d.* Item, vj *pares de carddes* Johannis Thomson, iiiij*d.* . . . Unum pannum Henrici Marshall, iiiij*d.* Unum pannum Johannis Kent, iiiij*d.* Item, unum plegium Johannis Bentham, iijs. iiiij*d.* Item, unum *pare de tenturres* in Mon[k]gate, xvjs. Item, in *lym, plaster, tyMBER, and tyellis in the storehouse*, vs. iiiij*d.* Item, unum *bout cloth* Thome Fysshher pro subsidio et defaulta, xij*d.* Item, *a pare of gassettes of mayll* Thome Taillour pro subsidio et defaulta, xij*d.* In manibus xvij *shipmen names apperes in a bill*, xvij*s.*

From the roll of John Stokdale, magister, 1505.

Custagium luminum.—Et similiter computantes petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis solutis pro cera, viz. ix*li.* in magnis cereis factis et stantibus coram imagine sancte Trinitatis et beate Marie Virginis cum parvis candelis cereis pro celebracione missarum infra capellam sancte Trinitatis, vs. vd. Et solum pro pane et vino capellanis pro celebracione missarum in dicta capella, iiijs. Summa ix*s.* vd.

Expense forinsece.—Et eciam dicti computantes petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis solutis in expensis per magistrum et constabularios factis de diversis temporibus pro bono gilde sancte Trinitatis, ijs. Et solum domine Danby pro arreragiis et expensis *sirca (sic) sut*, xiijs. iiiij*d.* Et solum servienti

doctoris Yorke¹ pro inquisitione in diversis *curtes* in Londoniis *for sut*, vjs. viijd. Et solutum pro scribenda una litera, iiijd. Et solutum pro scribend', ijd. Et solutum Johanni Clarke pro consilio suo erga dominam Danby, xijd. Et solutum pro *sertan reystes*, vjd. Et solutum servienti magistri Jamisson pro equitante ad dominam Danby, ijs. Et solutum Nicholao Byrkhede pro equitante *into northe contre* ad magistrum Danby, iijs. iiijd. Et solutum Henrico Jakson pro scribendo istius compoti, xld. Et solutum duo *le daysmen to drynke*, iiijd. Et solutum pro diversis expensis necessariis, xvjd. *Summa xxxiijs. iiijd.*²

From the roll of Thomas Jameson, master (1506-7).

Et dicti computantes respondent de xxxiijs. iiijd. receptis de Johanne Weston, capellano, pro libero introitu ad cantariam Sancte Katerine in *Fossegate*. Et dicti computantes respondent de xxvjs. viijd. receptis de magistro Wilberfosse, clerico. Et de iijs. iiijd. receptis de Johanne Tomson, pro quadam forisfactura. *Summa iijli. iijs. iiijd.*

Receptio firmarum.—Parochia Sancte Crucis in *Fossegate* et Trinite hall, ibidem. . . . Et de iiijs. de firma unius tenementi in tenura domini Willelmi Corte [capellani]. . . . Et de vjs. viijd. de firma unius tenementi nuper in tenura Willelmi Cleveland,³ clerici. Et de xxd. de firma unius tenementi, nuper in tenura Willelmi Cleveland, clerici. Et de iiijs. de firma unius tenementi nuper in tenura Johannis Ruste, capellani. *Summa xvjs. iiijd.*⁴

Salaria capellanorum (sic).—Et eciam petunt allocari de xls. Solutis Laurencio Herryson, vicario in choro beati Petri,

¹ Son of Sir Richard Yorke. York Memorandum Book, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

² The receipts for this year amounted to £42 17s. 4d. The payments to £42 6s. 1d. "*Et sic remanet clare in manibus computancium, xjs. vijd.*"

³ By his will dated 11 December, 1504, and proved 16 December, 1504, William Cleveland left several bequests to the hospital in Fossgate: "Item, lego cuilibet capellano pertinenti hospicio Sancte Trinitatis in Fossegate, Ebor', xxd. Item, lego *le bedell* pertinenti dicto hospicio, xxd. Item, lego fraternitati Sancte Trinitatis fundate in Fosegat predicto, iijs. iiijd." Reg. Test., vi, 113.

⁴ The total rental for the merchants' property in St. Crux parish was viijli. xvjs. iiijd.

Ebor', pro tegulis captis et emptis de predicto Laurencio, tempore Alani Staveley, aldermanni et magistri ejusdem gilde. *Summa* xls.

From the roll of John Lyncoln, master, 1507.

. . . *Goderumgate*.—Et de xxs. de firma unius tenementi modo in tenura Christoferi York, legum doctoris, sic dimissi ex consensu communitatis mercatorum per indenturam inde inter eos factam, pro termino viginti unius annorum, ut sit de consilio dicte gilde cum requisitus fuerit.

Salaria capellanorum.—Et eciam petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis solutis capellanis dicte gilde, pro salariis suis infra tempus hujus (*sic*) computancium, videlicet, Roberto Wilberfosse, clerico, hoc anno pro salario suo, *vli. vjs. viijd.* Et solverunt Willelmo Corte, capellano, pro consimili hoc anno, *iiijli. vjs. viijd.* Et solverunt Johanni Weston, capellano, hoc anno, *iiijli. vjs. viijd.* *Summa* *xiiiijli.*

Et eciam petunt allocari de xls. solutis Thome Drawsword, *kerver*, pro pagina de Domesday. *Summa* xls.¹

From the roll of Alan Staveley, master, 1508.

Expense forinsece.—Et eciam dicti computantes petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis solutis in expensis per magistrum et constabularios factis de diversis legisperitis pro consilio habendo apud *London*, *xxiijs. viijd.* Et solverunt Willelmo Fairfax [servienti] ad legem, *xs.* Et solverunt pro una laguncula de *Malmesey*, data maiori ville de *Kyngeston* super *Hull*', *viijd.* Et solverunt pro una lagena et una quarta vini data Willelmo Fairfax et aliis, *xd.* *Summa* *xxxvs. ijd.*

Et solverunt pro prandio facto Johanni Giliot, militi, Willelmo Fairfax, servienti ad legem, Georgio Kyrk, aldermanno, Willelmo Neleson, aldermanno, Johanni Dogeson, aldermanno. *Summa* *ijs.*²

¹ The receipts for this year were £43 10s.; the payments £44 11s. 0½d. The company was in debt, £1 1s. 0½d.

² The receipts for this year were £41 2s. 6d.; the payments £40 1s. 6d. The company had, therefore, 21s. in hand.

From the roll of John Shaw, master, 1511.

Receptio denariorum pro viaggiis et fraghtis in diversis navibus.

—Item, dicti computantes respondent de denariis per ipsos receptis de diversis viaggiis hoc anno, videlicet, de Johanne Thornton, aldermanno, pro uno viaggio et dimidio, xs. Et de Johanne Norman, *merchaunt*, pro consimilibus, xs. Et de Willelmo Huby, pro uno viaggio, vjs. viijd. Et de Johanne Rasyn pro uno viaggio, vjs. viijd. De Antonio Middleton pro duabus navibus ad *le cald mart*, videlicet, in *le Mawdelen* et *le George of Hull*. *Summa xxxiijs. iiijd.*

Allocaciones ex consuetudine cum feodo bedelli et clerici hujus compoti.—Idem computantes petunt allocari ut per tot denariis solutis per diversas vices ut patet in subscriptis. In primis, solverunt pro cirpis struendis in capella, iiijd. Item, pro portacione torchiarum dicte gilde die Veneris in crastino Corporis Christi, xiiijd. Item, solverunt in expensis factis super magistrum et capellanos hospitalis Sancte Trinitatis predicte et alios, ex consuetudine, in die Trinitatis, ijs. Et solverunt in expensis circa colleccionem reddicionum et subsidiorum et aliorum areragiorum pro civitate Ebor', diversis vicibus, xijd. Et solverunt Willelmo Covell, bedello hujus gilde, pro feodo suo hoc anno, liijs. iiijd. Et solverunt pro paupiro, pergameno, et encausto, pro scripcione horum et aliorum librorum et litterarum, xijd. Et solverunt pro oblacione apud fratres minores pro hoc anno, viijd. Et solverunt pro feodo clerici hoc anno, xiijs. iiijd. *Summa iijli. xijs. xd.*

Redditus resoluti.—Et eciam petunt allocari ut de sicca firma, infra tempus hujus compoti, ad sustentacionem unius lampadis, existentis in ecclesia Sancte Crucis, Ebor', viijs. Et solverunt capellano cujusdam cantarie fundate per Willelmum Selby in ecclesia Sancti Michaelis *le belfray*, hoc anno, xxs. Et solverunt custodibus pontis Fosse pro libera firma existente de duobus tenementis, xvs. iiijd. Et domino archiepiscopo Ebor' hoc anno, ex consuetudine, ijs. Et solverunt prioresse de Clementhorp, ijs. Et solverunt vicecomitibus civitatis Ebor', pro husgablo, xd. Et solverunt capellanis dicte hospitalis cum pauperibus in eodem, pro obitu Willelmi Grondon, hoc anno, vjs. viijd. Et solverunt domino prebendario de

Tangefeld,¹ ijs. vjd. Et solverunt heredibus Jacobi Danby, militis, xvjd. Et solverunt heredibus Willelmi Mowbray, xxijd. *Summa iijli. vjd.*²

Memoranda c. 1490.

Jesu.—³We complens Hull that they of Hull . . . xxij yeres tolls that all manner strangers pays att the crane att Hull bott vjd., and we off citte off Yorke pays xijjd.³ Memorandum, that the governor and custodes⁴ comaltie of the merchaunts and mercers of York hadde graunted a certane chartour by the soverayne holy Kyng Henry the sext, progenitor of our mooste redoubted soverayne lord King Henry the vij, to electe a governor and ij custodes to govern the said comaltie, privileges to theym graunted in the said chartour, as by the same chartour more playnly it doeth appere. Please it his said grace to graunt, to enlarge, and augment to the said governor and custodes and comonaltie that thaye maye peseably enjoye all all (*sic*) manner of merchaundise ⁵comynge to the said citie of York⁵ to theme sellfe, without vexacion, trouble, or lette of any artificers inhabitynge within the said cetie exceptye that the said artificers woall compound with the governor, custodes and comonaltie of the same, and that the said governour and custodes with the said comonalte maye make actes for the wele of the said merchaunts and mercers. Memorandum, to remember master

¹ Tang lies between Layerthorp and Heworth. Tanghall is south-west of Heworth Church, to the right of the road from Heworth to Heslington. Tangfeld formed part of the prebend of Fridaythorpe, the prebends being formed out of the scattered property of the dean and chapter throughout Yorkshire. The property was collectively the liberty of St. Peter, and certain manors were appropriated to the common fund, while others were appropriated to separate stalls, which became known by the name of the place, where the chief part of the prebend lay. Cal. of Patent Rolls (1272-1281), p. 398; Reg. Romeyn, ii, 12. In the account roll of 1571 the entry is, "payd to the Mayor and chamberleyns for a frerent of the prebend of Frydaythorpe, for the mannor of Tanghall, ijs. iiijd."

² The receipts this year were £41 16s. 8½d.; the expenditure £36 9s. 0½d. The company had, therefore, in hand, £5 7s. 8d.

³⁻³ The opening sentence was probably meant to be crossed through, and the instructions to begin at "Memorandum."

⁴ "Custodes" crossed through.

⁵⁻⁵ Interlined.

Fairfax,¹ that it wolde please hym to move the kyngs grace to consider the poverte of his poure cetie of Yorke, the decay of the same, that a remedye myght be provided therefor, as can be thought by learned councell. Also, whereas the comaltie of the merchaunts of the cetie of Yorke, Hull, Beverley, and Scardeburgh in ancient tyme was accustomed for to elect[t]e and chose a governor and ij custodes, in the parties of Brabant, Holand, Zeland and Flaunders. Memorandum, to remember to spek with the companye, and to knowe of theym how many pece of lede was weyed at the wolle house in Hull there, and that to knowe of theym, what money that youe woull geve of every pece of lede to mayntene suyt agenst theym of Hull. Also to remember the companye to apoynt an honest person to wayte upon the maister to London to the intent that, the said person maye laye downe suche money, as shal be there paid for supplicacions to be made to the kings grace, and his councell, and for other lerned councell in that behalve.

Mccccvij complens be the cettie off York.—Were[as] we the cettie off York off ald costome pays payd (*sic*) grett liberttes as burgers off Hull fyrst rellylly boathe (*sic*). The first, we were fre to by with all manner strangers, second, we were wontt to ly our cloth att shermens att our lowgings, and to sell to strangers and others. Therd, we were wontt to breng our led to burgers fre off Hull, and iff we sold itt, it was mad lyke as is yett ordered in London. Forth, that we off the cettie off Yorke payd (*sic*) mccccvij payd more to Hull than vijd., as ther bels planlyly dows sertefy.²

York's Complaint of Hull.

Jhesu.—Anno domini millemo quingentesimo octavo (1508). Memorandum that these be the grevys that the governor and felishop of the misterye of merchaunts and mercers of York lyeth ageynst the towne of Hull, contrary to the auncent

¹ William Fairfax was elected recorder of the city in 1490. York Memorandum Book, vol. ii, pp. 293, 294.

² The greater part of this document is extremely difficult to decipher, probably it was rough notes taken at a meeting of the York Mistery, either in 1507 or 1508. The next document shows these same notes in a more practicable form.

customes ¹(betwex)¹ be them used afore tymes. Firste, where thaye ²(want)² were wonte to by of all merchands and straungeres all manner of merchaundice, comyng to the porte of Hull, at owre free libertie without any lettyng of theym of Hull, and where nowe of late yeres the maior with his burgesses of Hull wolde ³(let)³ not suffre us have noe intrest with theym, neyther to by noo gouds of merchaunts straungeres there. Also, where we were wount of olde tymes to laye our clothe at our pleasor within the towne of Hull, at the shermans and at our lodgyngs, as well as at our sellars, nowe of late the said maier and burgesses of the same, by an acte made amongs theym, hath us to our gret hurt and damage . . .⁴ our clothe to the haull, and have taken grevous impositcions upon us, contrarye to the auncent usage aforetymes used. And where we were wounte to bryng our lede to the burgesses staythes of Hull to wynde, weye, and stryke, and to have of borde to any ship at our pleasor, now the forsaid maior with his burgesses hath compelled us to bryng our lede to the wolle house, and theropon compelleth hus to paye for every foder to the catche (*sic*) hyer *ijd.*, and for every foder ther lyeng wekely *jd.*, and besids that, where all other foreyn straungers payeth bot onely for a foder of lede, when it is weighed *vijd.*, thaye compelle hus to paye of every fudre so weyed, *xiiijd.* Also, that where the commonalte of the merchaunts and mercers of the cetie of York ⁵hadde⁵ have a certane chartor granted by the soverayn holy kyng Henry vj, progenitor of our mooste redoubted soverayn lord kyng Henry vij, for certen privileges to theym graunted in the said charter, as well as to electe a governor and ij custodes to governe the said commonalte, as by the sayd charter more playnly doeth appere, please it his said grace to graunt, enlarge, and augment to the said gouvernour, custodes, and commonalte, that thaie maye peaseably enjoie all maner of merchaundise comyng to the said citie of York to theymselffis without vexacion, troble, or lette of any inhabitants or artificers dwellyng within the said citie, except

^{1-1, 2-2, 3-3} All crossed through in MS.

⁴ Paper torn off here, room for one word.

⁵⁻⁵ Crossed through in MS.

that the said inhabitaunts or artificers compound with [the] gouvernor, custodes, and commaltie of the same, and that the said governor, and custodes, with the comaltie make actes for the well of the said comaltie. Memorandum, to remember anemst the custome of Hull in the exchequer, and to bryng a raton uppon, and to remember to have a co[mmunica]tion with the mercers of Hull.

*A letter from Norwich (1509) about the grevances don by the merchants of the fraternity of St. Thomas A Beckett or merchants adventurers.*¹

Jhesu.—M^lveix, the xvij day of Janyry, in Norwiche. Worshipful masters dew recomendacyons to be hadde in oure best manner. We recomend us unto you, etc. The special cause off oure wrytyng at this tyme that is soo that we, off the cytte off Norwyche that been free of the felowship, the whiche is callyd the fraternyte of saynt Thomas byyonde the see, in the archedukys londys, fynde ouresylfs sore agrevyd, and nott consent to soche actys, and constytucyons as there been made by the marchants of London, in cortys ther holdyn, for att all tymes bothe you and wee, whan we have beyn ther present, have borne no mayne to contrary sotche actes as they have made in tymes past, the wyche have ben long here before to oure great hurts and hyndrance; and of a grett lyklyhede in day they wolde bynde us to more unconvenyens, than we have ben in tymes past. For now att this cold marte last past, holdyn at Barow in Brabond, London flette cam into Selond, the xvj off December, and incontynenty the next day the governor dyd sett a corte, and they inactyd, that no man shulde selle no ware within marte tyll Seynt Thomas day next folowyng were past; soo there were serten marchaunts off Norwyche, and off Suffolke were present in the seyde corte, and spake thare agaynt to the uttermosts off there powre, but that stud to non effecte, yett notwithstanding this, whan

¹ When at the Muniment Room in Norwich I was unable to find any account of this matter, but the Norwich Mercers' Book, under 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, refers to William Blomefeld as a member of the fellowship of merchant adventurers beyond the seas, callyd the old Hance.

Seynt Thomas day was paste, there goods of London were nott all come to the marte, than the governor dyd sett a new corte and inactyd, that no man shuld selle no ware in the marte tyll new yere day were past, and thus putt alle those marchaunts there beyng to grett losse and hyndrance. More over, they have inacted at the seyde colde marte,¹ that there shall no man of Englund shippe, nor convey noo clothis nor worsteds to the pase marte, next comyng uppon the payne of, xs. for any pece clothe, or pece worsted, leed and all other maner marchaundys after the same rate, in lyke payne, exepte vytelles. Thus we suppose the marchants of the cytte of London wyll bynde alle marchants of Englend att there wyll and plesure, from those partyes whereat the marts beholdyn, to the intent to wery us, that we shuld come no more to the marts. Werfore yff ytt please you for your parte to seke remedy for the reformation of the same, now at this parliament lyke ytt yow to sende us worde of yowre myndys, how ye wyll doo in this causys, we shall, ymmedyatly after the knowlege thareoff, applye oure myndys to yours in the best we can. And also it shall please you to send knowlege to other places abowte you as to Hulle, Beverlay, Newcastyll, with other places wher as ye thynke moste convenyent, for we geve no knowlege to no place in your parts, but oonly to you, that knowyth. God, who have you in his keypyng now and ever, Amen.

By us merchants adventurers off Norwyche, off the same fraternyte.

Yorke, Hull, Newcastle, Beverlay, and other places to keepe 2 martes in the Netherlands onely (1510).

Ryght worshpfull sir and sirs, in our right humble manner we recomend us unto you, and where we wrote to you atte last colde marte, that we shoulde certefie you by our writyng or by some other persons auctorised by us to have enter communicacon with you, as concernyng the shyping of the

¹ The four marts: the cold, the pase, the synxon, the balms, were held in winter, spring, summer, and autumn respectively. *cf.* "The ancient Celtic fairs . . . were a widespread, primitive institution, and appear to have been fixed for dates marked by the change of seasons." W. Cunningham, *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xiii, No. 50, p. 168.

comodites of our countrye at twoo martes. We now therefore certifie yow by this our wrytyng, that we thynk and suppose that the synkson marte, and the colde marte ar moost mete and convenyent for us to kepe and have, in case that we shalbe barred from the other two marts. And so that all other as Hull, New Castell, Beverlay, and all other places usyng and shippingg the same comodetes may and shalbe compelled to use and kepe the same two marts afore named oonlie. And as to the next colde marte, we shalbe redy by Godds grace with our shippingg thereto, that is to say, the best shippingg thereof to be redy before Seynt Thomas Evyn, the Apostle, next comyng (20 December). And as concernyng the next synkson marte, what day of shippingg shalbe moost mete and expedient for us to kepe, as yet we cannot certifie you thereof, but att next colde marte we shall certifie to you the verrey tyme of shippingg moost mete and convenyent for us. Which tyme muste be longer for dyvers considerations, as is not unknowne to dyverse merchunts advenurers of London, as Mr John Gressam and others, which knowes our ryvare, and that the water is verrey skarse with us at that tyme of the yere. And thus the holie Trynyte preserve yowe. Written atte the citie of York, the first day of July, By yors, John Shawe, Governor, and the felyshipe of the merchaunts of the citie of York.

[*Letter*] to the right worshipfull John Shawe, alderman of York (1510-11).

Worshipfull sirs, we commend us unto you, and whereas we, for the advancement and preservation of the commodities of the realme of England in honor and reputaton, by mutuall consent of us all, have made diverse and many laudable acts, ordenaunces, and estatutes, amongest which oone is, that every brother of the felyshipp, intending to shipp any of the same commodities to the cold martes, shall have the same goods at the water syde redy to be taken in aborde by the fyrst day of Novembér. And for those parties shipping to the synxson martes to be lyke wyse at the watersyde redy to be shipped by the xiiij day after Whitsonsonday, upon great

penalties to be forfeited by the violators and brekers of the same; contrary thereunto divers of you, lytell regardyng the generall welthe of the realme and the said ordenaunces, but your pryvat and singler welthes, have, sithen the xiiij day after Whitsonsonday, made sondry shippyngs into those parties, and in suche abundanncce and quantiti of the comodities there espeycalle leade, that the same is now here of litell reputation and valwe. And whereas this present marte by the synyster imformaton and labor of divers of your company there, we have lycensed and set you at libertie to shipp your commodities to the balmes marte next coming. Nevertheles in consideraton of the premisses, and for the advoidyng of the great falle in the prises of the said comoditie of leade, that is likely to ensue, we thinke it good, meate, and necessarye, that upon the recepte of those our letters, ye lovingly, amicably, and frendly assemble and consult together, and if ye shall thinke good amongst yourselfs, as it is requysite in dede, discretly to withdraw, and with holde your hands from shippynge to the said balmes marte. Whereby you shall not only be reputed and taken for wyse, circumspecte, and discrete men, but also ondoubtedly shall greatly thereby advaunce the comenwelth and proffyt of you all, as our Lord knowith, who preserve you. Wryten at Andwarp, the xvij day of August [1510-11], by the governor and feliship of merchaunts adventurers.

Letter shewing the manner of taking on shippes for the martes by the merchants resident in York (1510-11).

Ryght worshypfull¹ sir and sirs, in our right humble manner we recommend us unto you, certefeyng you that we have res[s][er]vd yor letter; whereby we² do presome that upon good consyderacon and advancement off our comodytes off the realme off England, [you] have appoynted the last day of ³shippynge³ to be redy at the watter syde with syche goods as

¹ Interlined after "worshypfull." "First and our fortefyng you that" is crossed through.

² "I" crossed through, "we" substituted.

³⁻³ Crossed through in MS.

ye off the worshypfull citie off London intends to shyppe to the cold marte, and in lykewyse to the synxson marte, acordyng to yor auld, ancient, lawdabyll ordynances and statutes. Forther, wher ye thynke by reson off dyvers persons off the sayd north contrye felyschyppe, beyng off the northe party, haythe contrarye to syche ordynaunces dyvers tymes schyppyd over lede, which lede ys our most principall commoditie, whereby ye thynke it is broght and like ferther to be broght to over small a valow to the grett losse and hurt of the kynges trysyre thereoff grett fall lyke to in sew. Therapon after the effect off yor sayd letter, we have ¹assemblyld ourselves in our place accustmyd¹ ²all the breder² within the cyte off Yorke, wylling thame after the effect off yor sayd letter to appaynt in lyke wyse a day off schyppying to the cowld marte and in lykewyse to the synxson marte, at siche days as emong hus cowthe be moste expedie[n]tt for hus³ to kepe, so that apon our conclusion we might sertefye you agayn by our wrytting. And in the premysses after many resons had for this cowld marte, we have apoyntyd, that ther shall no shyppe come to the sayd, bott yt schall have att ther ladyng to be redy to take off Sancte Thomas Evyn for Christmas nexte, or afor a payment the ordinance therfor mayd. And also we have anounced, that ther shall no ship come to the synxson marte, but it shall have all the ladyng and be redy of Seynt Christofer in September next, or before, with all syche lede, cloth, and other marchaundyse as shall be shydded ⁴synxson marte which next enseweth,⁴ to the cold mart nott as a thing holye determynate to schew, stand and contignew bot for this two marte oonlie. And further it is thought by us at this next synxson mart or afor, ye shall have some ferder wrytyng, or else some dyscrette persons that schall come over attorysed by us to entercommon and tayke syche orders, as by yor dyscresyon and charg may be moyst expedyete to hus, and to the advancement of the sayd comodyte. And thus the holie Trynyte preserve your master-

¹⁻¹ Interlined.

²⁻² Crossed through in MS.

³ "Us" crossed through, "hus" substituted.

⁴⁻⁴ Crossed through in MS.

shipe. At our cite of York, the xxvth day of October. By the governor and felyship of merchants in the cite of York.

From the roll of John-Norman, master, 1515.

Viagii de navibus.—Item, predicti computantes respondent de diversis denariis per ipsos hoc anno receptis partim de viagiis, videlicet, Johannes Norman, Thomas Burton de nave vocata *Mary Jakson* ij viagiis, xiijs. iiijd. Johannes Norman de *Mary Huby* pro viagiis, vjs. viijd. Johannes Norman de *Gabriell*, ij viagiis, xiijs. iiijd. Master Thornton et Johannis Norman de *Barberey* pro ij viagiis, xiijs. iiijd. Petrus Jakson, Antonius Middleton de *le Edward* pro j viagio, vjs. viijd. Robertus Whitfeld de *le Michael*, iijs. iiijd. Ricardus Harbottell de *le Barberay Ureby* uno viagio, xxd. Petrus Jakson de *le Jamys* pro j viagio, vjs. viijd. Antonius Middleton de *le George* pro j viagio, vjs. viijd. Johannes Rasyng de *le Margaret* pro j viagio, iijs. iiijd. Thoma Dawson de *Barthilmew of Blaktoft* ij viagiis, iijs. iiijd. *Summa lxxvijs. iiijd.*

Fynes et amercii forensici.—Et de Johanne Ellys, ijd., de Paulo Gillowe, ijd., de Johanne Thomson, ijd., de Johanne Marshall, ijd., de Nicholao Malande, ijd., de Roberto Elwood, ijd. pro *finis* suis forinsecis pro eo quod non comparerent ad curiam, licet legitime premuniti. *Summa xiiijd.*

Expense necessarie, et ulterius, iidem computantes petunt allocari ut pro tot denariis per ipsos solutos circa necessaria et indigencia de gilde, videlicet, in primis, petunt allocari pro expensis suis factis ad comptum *master* Willelmi Wright ulterioris magistri hujus comitatus, factum auditum et fun[c]tum (*sic*) in aula dicta comitatus ut in pane, iiijd., servicia, xjd., porcello, vjd., carne bovinale (*sic*), vd., sale pro duobus *capons*, xvijd., duodena columbarum, vd., in fasciculis, jd., in *powder ob.*, in casea, ijd. *ob.* Et solverunt Johanni Pullen legiperito pro consilio suo, iijs. iiijd. circa terram in traversa inter nos et parochiam ecclesie Sancte Crucis Ebor', et pro . . .¹ eodem tempore, vijd. expense circa eandem materiam, et expense facte de [Kynngston] villa regia, super Hull' obviantes pro materia traversia inter nos et ipsos motos ut in . . .² et

^{1, 2} An illegible word.

una pike, vs. xd. Et expendunt per duas vices equitantes apud Kyngston super Hull', et solverunt pro persecucione novarum litterarum patencium domini regis, pro eadem utilitate comitatus predicti.

*The Hanse merchants and the adventurers.*¹

Trusty and wellbeloved, we grete you well, and wheras now of late there was a dyet holden at Bruges, in the parties of Flanders, betwene our commissioners and the comonaltie of Esterlings called Hanza for thappeasyng of all contraversies, variaunces, and debats dependyng betwyn theym and us, or any subjects of oures, and any members of the said hanza; which dyett for sundry causes colde not at that tyme take effect, but was prorogued unto the first day of May, now next insuyng, . . .² and being informed that there be certan things in variaunce betwene the Esterlings and you, thought right expedient tadvertise you thereof, signifyng unto you that our pleasour is, ye shall with all diligence send up unto us and our counsall one or two substantiall persons, sufficiently autorised and instructed of almaner matters of variaunces had, moved, or in any wise depending betwene the said Esterlings and you, for any attempted damage, or injuries doon by theym to you, or you to theym or any of theym, growen by spoyle, robbery, debt, trespasse or any other unlawfull means wherof you have, or by any diligent inquiry and inserche may have knowlege; and that such persones, by you so to be sent, do personally appere before us, and our said counsall, within 17 dayes after the resecept of these our lettres, not failing this to do, as ye tender our plesour, and woll answer unto us at your futher well. Given under our signet, at our manor of Grenewiche, the 13 day of Feb. [1522]. Thomas More, Willyam Knight.

To the Maier.—Worshipful sir and dred, I hertely comend me unto you, and wheras I understond a certen boke of complaynts as alleged and presented to the lords of the Kyngs most honour-

¹ cf. P.R.O. State Papers, Dom., Chas. II, 22, 6. W. E. Lingelbach, *The Merchant Adventurers of England, Original Sources of European History*, second series, vol. ii, pp. 237-240.

² An illegible word.

able councill by the felyshippe of the steelyard of the cite of London, beyng of the est parties, agenst you and all other merchants of the north parties of the realme; and for as much worshipful sirs, as thys matters is weighty and touches the comonwelth and prosperite of the whoell realme, and that many thyngs be there amongst you knowen, wich shall well advance and preferre the matter beyng agenst them attempted at thes present tyme, it shall pleas you to elect, name, and appointe amongst you such of your towne as be worshypful, wyse, and ancyent, havynge good experience, and sufficiently instructed in the [matter to ?] repaire hither, according to the Kyngs lettres to you addressed in this behalf; and then worshipful sirs, our Lord have you in his keynyng. Wryten at London, the xx day of Feb. 1522. Yors John Jonston, governor of the feleship of merchant adventurers.

York Municipal MSS., vol. x, fo. 21, fo. 30.

List of properties for the mystery play.¹

Jhesu.—Ress' off pagand masters, maister Wyld, presnt yerre Jorge Norman, Henre Wood, pagand masters. Bartholomew Yorke, Necollus Cure thes parsells. ij dewells cotte, ij dewell hedde, j wesseren, j chartt, the cloud, ij grett angells wants j wing, ij trommpys, hell dure, iiij angelli, pagand dure, iiij wendows, the iren sett with iiij ropps, the weels with j rope, the trenettie hus, ij lyttell angelles, the viij chyffs, ix nalles, the trenette wants j chartt, iij wessezons, j rope, j angell. Wants j lyttell angell and ij nalls.

From the roll of Robert Wylde, master, 1526.

. . . *Amerciamenta et vendicio calicis et plumbi.*—Idem predicti computantes respondent de denariis, per ipsos hoc anno receptis, ut pro finibus, et amerciamentis forinsecis, per fratres hujus societatis, videlicet, receperunt de Martino Bowes² pro uno calice fracto argenteo et deaurato ponderante xiiij un-

¹ Though this document is undated, it belongs to the year 1526, when Robert Wylde was master and George Norman and Henry Wood, pageant masters.

² Born in the parish of St. Cuthbert, became Lord Mayor of London.

cias, xlvs. vjd. Et receperunt de eodem Martino pro j pattena dicti calicis argentei ponderante ij uncias, vjs. vjd. Item, receperunt de priore fratrum Carmelitarum Ebor' pro ix petris plumbi sibi venditis per *master*, iijs. iiijd. *Summa* lvs. iiijd.

The accompte of Robert Whitefield,¹ alderman governor of the feliship and misterie of the marchaunts, and mercers of the city of York, and keeper of the confraternity and gilde of the blessed Trinite foundett in Fossegate, within the said citie, by the merchaunts of the said city, and of Robert Etwalde and Robert Hall, merchaunts, constables of the said felliship and gilde, of all their receytes, charges, payments, and discharges belonging the same, from the feist of the annunciation of our blessed Ladie Seynt Marie, the yere of our lorde Godd M. V. xxix, unto the same feist of thannuncyacion then next folowyng, by the space of a whole year (1529).

Money in store.—In primis, the foresaid accomptantes answers of money in store this yere remanyng and by thame receyved in fourme folowyng.

New Brethren.—Item, the said accomptantes answers of money by thame this yere receyved for entre of new brethren into the feliship and gilde, that is to say, of Richard Fox for the whole payment vjs. viijd., and of Herry Shawe for the hole vjs. viijd.

Arerages.—The said accountants answers of money by thame this yere receyved for arrerages of brethern, as made of this gilde, that is to say, of Myles Middleton for his second payment, xxd. Thomas Thornton yonger in like wyse, xxd. Edward Otway in like manner, xxd. Myles Couk in like manner, xxd. William Bekwith for his thirde payment, xxd.

Shipping.—Item, the said accomptantes answeere of money by thame receyved this said viages in shippis, that is to say of, [no entry.]

¹ This is the first account roll entirely in English; it is not quite complete as many items have no money entries. It is possible that under the heading "decas of land," where no decay is written or money entered, no decay had taken place, and the other omissions were to be supplied after the auditors had passed the accounts. The early rolls were in English, except the head-lines, the intervening ones almost entirely in Latin.

Subsidies.—Item, the said accomptantes answers of money by thame this yere receyved for the subsidye of brethern and susters of this gilde, that is to say, of Robert Whitefelde, alderman, governor of this feliship and gilde, George Lawson, mair of the cite of York, John Dogeson, alderman, William Wright, alderman, William Barker, alderman, Peter Jakson, alderman, Robert Wilde, alderman, John Hogson, alderman, John Shawe, alderman, John Beysby, William Huby, Thomas Dawson, John Chapman, William Haryngton, Myles Newton, William Man, Robert Elwalde, chamberlayne, Ralf Langley, Thomas Abney, Leonarde Shawe, William Dogeson, John Ellys, Thomas Thornton, Peter Robynson, Robert Hall, Robert Man, William Gylmyn, Richard Tailor, William Mason, Thomas Kytchyn, Thomas Hutchonson, John Johnson, James Thorn, Robert Sharpe, John Wath, William Wakefelde, Cristofer Conyers, Antony Allan, Thomas Appulyerd, Richard Thornton, Bartholomew York, John Metcalf, Nycholas Cure, Antony Atkyrk, George Atkyrk, Ralf Harbottell, Antony Young, John Bewyn, syr Robert Jackson, maister of the hospital, Thomas Flemyng, Malde Shawe, Agnes Norman, Janet Spark, Agnes Petty, John Shadlock, William Hay.

Amercymentes.—Item, the said accomptantes answers of money by yame this yere receyved for fynes and amercymentes of divers brethren of the feliship that is to say, [*no entry*].
Summa totall of all before [*no entry*].

Saint Nicholas without Walmgatebarr.—Item, the said accomptants answer of money by thame this yere recyved for rents and farmes of the lands and tenements pertenyng to this gilde, that is to say, of ij lees of lande in the holdyng of John Grene, xvjs., and a close late in the holding of John Copstake, iiijs.

Seynt Edwarde.—Item, two tenements late in the holdyng of John Bywell, xs. A close late in the holdyng of Robert Wheteley, xiijs. iiijd. And a tenement in the holding of Richardson, iiijs.

Seynt Laurence.—Item, two tenements in the holding of John Langton, xijs. And a tenement in the holdyng of John North, tanner, ijs.

Peter in le Willyous.—Item, a garthyng late in the holdyng of John Flowre, vs. Item, for an ovyn stade to M^r Rasyn house in Saynt Sampson parish, iiijd.

Seynt Dionesius.—Item, a tenement in the holding of John Symson, cardemaker, viijd. And a tenement in the holdyng of Alexander Lamyman, vjs. viijd.

Crouce Parish.—Item, a tenement in the holding of Thomas Michelson, xxs. A tenement in the holding of William Hepe, xiijs. iiijd. A tenement in the holdyng of John Yong, xxiijs. A tenement in the holdyng of sir William Corte, iijs. A tenement in the holding of Denesse Smyth, xs. A tenement in the holding of John Butterfelde, xls. A tenement in the holding of Bean wyff, ix. A tenement in the holdyng of sir Christofero Bosall, vjs. viijd. A tenement in the holdyng of Gilstrop, iijs. iiijd. A tenement in the holdyng of Pepper, xvjs. Two tenements in the holdyng of sir John Rust, vs. A tenement bequethed to this gilde by John Butterfelde, xxijs. Two shoppes dymysed to farme to this gilde by William Boynton, esqur, for terme of yeres.

The Payment.—Item, vij tenements late in the holdyng of Thomas Derby, lijs. Two tenements in the holdyng of John Hew, plomber, xxijs. Two tenements in the holdyng of Thomas Ashton, xxijs. viijd. A tenement in the holdyng of John Dogeson, vjs. A tenement in the holdyng of James Kyrk, iijs. A tenement in the holdyng of William Walker, iijs. iiijd. A tenement in the holdyng of Thomas York, ijs. viijd.

Peter lane littell, Newgate, and Seynt Sampsons.—Item, vij tenements in the holdyng of Barnyngham and other tenants, xxjs. Two tenements in the holdyng of Richard Walker, xxijs. A tenement in the holdyng of Robert Marshall, harper, xiijs. iiijd. A tenement in the holdyng of Staynhous, iijs. iiijd. A tenement in the holdyng of Glower, iiijd. A tenement in the holdyng of John Taillor, vjs. viijd. Two tenements in the holding of John Herryson, xjs.

Bowthome and Jeligate.—Item, a tenement in the holdyng of Bellamy wyff, xiijs. iiijd. vij tenements in the holdyng of Thomas Tankerfeld, xxxvs. iiijd. A tenement of a wydue, iijs. viijd.

Fisshergate.—Item, a tenement in the holdyng of Mitchell wyff, vs. A tenement in the holdyng of John Craggs, walker, viij*d.*

Monkgate.—Item, a tenement in the holdyng of a wydue, xviijs. A tenement in the holdyng of John Gibson, iijs. A tenement in the holdyng of William Londe, ijs. iii*d.*

Gotheromgate.—A tenement in the holdyng of William Man, merchaunt, xxvjs. viij*d.*

Without Mikkillith Barr.—Item, a tenement with a lee of lande in the holdyng of sir Thomas Swaledale, prest, vs.

Mekylgate.—Item, a tenement in the holdyng of Ralf Shipperdson, xijs. And a tenement in the holdyng of Richard Slater, tyler, viijs.

Skeldergate.—Item, a free farm going forth of a tenement of John White, late alderman, iijs.

Ousegate.—Item, a tenement in the holdyng of William Wylson, fissher, xxs. And a free farm goyng forth of a chantre that sir Thomas Gribthorp occupies [*no entry*].

Petergate.—Item, three tenements in the holdyng of John Kyng, girdeler, xxxiiijs. And a free farme goyng furth of a tenement lette in holdyng of Richard Plompton. *Summa* [*no entry*]. *Summa totalis* of the hole receyte is [*no entry*] whereof

Allowances accustomed.—The saide accomptantes assen to be allowed for such money as thes have paied this yere, as hath been accustomed, that is to sey for risshis, birk, and gales strewed in the chappell of Trynyte Sondag, and other tymes, xij*d.* And for beryng of torches the morro after Corpus Christi, xij*d.* And for expenses made of the maister and preistes of the hospitall and custome upon Trinity Sondag, ijs. And for expenses made about the gaderyng of farmes, substedes, and arrerages of this gilde, [xij*d.*]. And paide to Robert Luff, bedell of this gilde for his fee, xls. Also for pauper, parchement, and ink for wrytyng this accompt and other boikes, x*d.* And frankynsens, j*d.* And for offerandes at the grey freers in York, viij*d.* And paied to Thomas Clerk, clerk to this gilde, for his fee, xiijs. iiiij*d.* *Summa* [*no entry*].¹

¹ The account rolls from 1530 to 1535 are incomplete; the roll for 1536 is almost identical with this. In that roll the total for "the rentes resolute" is iiij*li.* ix*d.*

Rentes resolute.—Item, the seid accomptantes assen to be allowed as for a drie farme paied for the fyndyng of a lampe burnyng in Crouce Churche in York, xs. And paidd to the chaunterie preist, founded by William Selby in Belfrey churche in York, [xvs.], and paied to ye brigmasters of Fossebrig of York for fre farme, [xvs. iiijd.]¹ of two tenements their, and paied to the archbishop of York, ijs. And to the prioresse of Clementhorp,² ijs. And to the Shirreffes of the citie of York for husgable, xd. And to the prestes and pore folkes in the hospital at Gryndon obite, vjs. viijd. And paied to the prebendary of Tengfelde, ijs. iiijd.³ And to Cristofere Danby esquire, xvjd. And to the heires of Mowbray, xxijd. And to the Prioresse of Nonmonkton for a garthyn in Goderomgate, xijd. And to master Boynton for two shoppes in Fossegate, vs. And to the churche wardens of Crouce kirk in York, for the obete of John Butterfelde at midsomer.⁴ *Summa* [no entry].

Wax brent.—The said accomptantes assen allowance for money by theme paied for wax this yere, that is to say for vjli. wax, iijs. ijd. made into great serges before the images of the holie Trynyte and of the blessed Ladie, in the chappell of this gilde, also paied for syngyng brede and wyne to the prestes, iijs. iiijd. *Summa* [no entry].

Prestes.—Item, the said accomptantes assen allowance for money paied by thame this yere to the prestes of the sad hospitle for the salaries, that is to say, to sir Robert Jakson maister of the said hospitale, for his hole yere salary, vjli. xiijs. iiijd., and to sir John Wylson, preist, for his first half yere salary, xxs. And also to sir William Hardy, preist, for his second half yers salary, xvs. *Summa* [no entry].

¹ xvs. iiijd. is twice inserted and crossed through; vjs. viijd. is the usual payment.

² The priory of St. Clement was founded about 1130, a prioress, Alice occurs in 1192. In 1529 Isabel Ward, the last prioress, was in charge. She surrendered in 1536, and received a pension of £6 13s. 4d. She lived until 1569 in Trinity Lane, and is buried in Holy Trinity. Her house became a public house, "Jacob's Well," which was converted into a parish room in 1905. J. Solloway, *Alien Benedictines*, pp. 299, 300.

³ *Ante*, p. 118.

⁴ The payment for the obit of John Butterfield was, according to other account rolls, vs. "Item, I will that the church wardens do masse and direge with iiij preests and the clerke, of midsomer even, for the said land for me and my wyfe imperpetum" (*sic*). 6 February, 1520. (From a copy of the will in the possession of the Merchants' Company.)

Decas of landes and tenementes.—Item, the said accomptantes assen to be allowed for such landes and tenementes of the seid gilde that be decayed this yer in the farmes as hereafter foloweth, that is to sey, landes and tenements in Seynt Edwardes parishe decaied this yere. Item, landes in Seynt Lawrence pariche. Item, landes in Seynt Peter in le Willius decaied. Item, landes in Seynt Denys pariche decaed. Item, landes in Crouce pariche. Item, land uppon the Payment. Item, landes in Peter lane littell, Newgate, and Seynt Sampsons decaied. Item, landes in Bowthom and Jelygate. Item, landes in Fisshergate. Lands in Monkgate. Item, landes in Goderomgate. Item, landes without Mekkillith. Item, landes in Mikelgate. Item, landes in Skeldergate, iijs. Item, landes in Ousegate decaied, vijs. Item, landes in Petergate decaied, xxxiiij*d*. *Summa* [no entry].

Reparacions.—Item, the seid accomptantes assen to be allowed for all such reparacions as thee have caused to be made this yere uppon the landes and tenements of this gilde; all which reparacions, stuffes, and costes thereto particulerlie doth appere in a boke thereof made, remanyng in the costedie of the said accomptantes, and redie to be shewed to the audetors assigned to here and determyne this accompt, at the audit thereof to be hadd unto the som in all of.

Aboute gauge money from Hull (1532).

This indenture made the xxv day of Marche, the xxiiij yere of the regn of our soveraigne lorde king Henry the viij, betwix Thomas Thomson, maier of Kingston-uppon-Hull, the aldermen and comons of the same, of the oone partie, and John Hogeson, governor of the feliship of merchaunts of the citie of York, and the feloship of the same, of the other partie, witnessith: thatt it is accorded, covenanted, and by these presents fully agreed betwixt the said parties, for gawgyng money to be paied in manner and forme folowyng, that is to say, the seide governor and feliship, covenants, promyses, graunts and by thies presents bynds theme and ther successors for to content and pay or cause to be contented and paied unto the saide maier, aldermen, and comanaltie, and to their successors, xiijs. iiij*d*.

of lawfull English money yerely, evere yere, at feist of . . .¹ for gawying money of the merchaundises of the seid governor and feliship at Kyngeston uppon Hull aforeseid, for the which, xiijs. iiij*d.* to be paied yerely as is aforeseid, the seide maier, aldermen, and comonaltie covenants, promyses, graunts and by thies presents bynds theym and there successors for to acquyte and clerely discharge the said governor, and feliship, and ther successors, ageinst all manner of and for any gawgyng or gawgyng money of or for the merchaundizes of the seid governor and feliship at Kyngeston-uppon-Hull aforeseid, hereafter to be taken or paied. In witesse hereof the parties aforeseid to theis indentures interchangeably have putte ther common seales, the day and yere abovesaid. 25 March, xxxiiij K[ing] Hen[ry] viij.

*Petition to the King about an imbargo of leade : and the list of ships and loading.*²

To the Kings Majestie mooste honorable privie counsaill.

Theis are the shippes that were loden at Hull with leade³ and appoynted for Flanders by the merchaunts of Yorke and Hull, before the kings maiesties letters of restraynt cam to Hull. Firste, the Marrie Gallande of Newcastell, the John of Newcastell, the Peter of Hulle, the Marie James of Hull, the John Baptyste of Hull, the John of Hulle, theis vj shippes hath lede, iij^c and vij fother of leade. The loders of the saide shippes be as hereafter followethe, firste, Robert Halle of Yorke, xxvj fother; William Watson, xvij fother; Thomas Appleyarde, xij fother; Rauf Hall, George Hall, and Thomas Hewet, lxix fother; Oswalde Hedwyn, xx fother; Adam Byncks, x fother; Christofer Harbarte, iij fother; Thomas Dalton, Robert Dalton, xliij fother; Laurens Warton, xxxvij fother; James Clarkeson, xxiiij fother; William Bentley, Robert Calton,

¹ Space left in MS.

² Undated, but probable date 1536, when Robert Hall was master.

³ Lead mining is one of the oldest Yorkshire industries; probably it was carried on before the Roman occupation. Edward III had twenty fother of lead brought from Nidderdale to Hull to be shipped for Windsor, where he was carrying on extensive works. C. H. Vellacott, *Early Lead Mining*, *Vic. Hist. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 353.

William Cey, xxxix fother; James Stockedaile, Leonarde Browne, vij fother; And the saide William Watson, Lawrens Warton, George Hall, James Clarkeson and Oswalde Hedwen saie, that their leade rated one with an other with charges in Englande standethe them in *ixli. xs.* everie fother. And also they ar bounde to pay for the fraight of the saide leade, viijs. a fother. And the saide merchaunts are bounde to lode the same shippes from Andwerpe within fourtene daies after there arryvinge, and to paye to everie tonne home, viijs. to their full portage over. And besides the saide merchaunts ar bounde to agree with the mareners for their charges, for the tyme of this restraynte, whereof thei ar uncertayne. Theis ar the shippes appoynted for Burdeaux: the George of Newcastle, the Swallow of Newcastle, the Mawdelen of Hull, theis three shippes hath loden *lxv* fother of leade. Whereof is furste for Robert Hall and William Beckewithe of Yorke, xxxv fother; John Thacker and William Johnson of Hull, xx fother; Robert Pecoke of Yorke, x fother. And the saide three shippes are of the portage or burden of *iiijc* touns, for the which the saide merchaunts stonde bounde to paie for everie toun fraighte, xxxs., at their arryvall at home. This one shippe hereafter named is appoynted for Dansike, the Angell of Emdon, in Easte Freeslande, and hathe loden in her for William Watson and Thomas Appleyarde of York, xxix fothers of leade, for the whiche shippe the said marchaunts stande bounde to paie for the fraighte to Dansike and to Hull agayne, *lxviiijli.* Sum totals of all and singuler the fothers of led in the x shippes aforenamed is nere or thereuppon, *iiijc* and j fother. Accomptinge after the rate of *ixli. xs.* a fother with the whole charge in Englande amountethe to, *iiijm. viijc. ixli. xs.*

From the account roll of William Watson, 1548.

Some of the holle receytes this yere, *xlii. ijs. xd.*

Allowances accustomed, *lixs.*

Rentes resolute.—Item, the sayde accomptantes assen to be allowed this yere as for dry farme, that is to say of a tenement

aforesaide in the holdinge of . . .¹ paide to Robert Man of the cytie of Yorke, marchaunde, collector and gatherer of all the rentes and farmes of laite belonginge to the chaunteries, gildes, and fraternities within the cytie of Yorke, suburbes and countie of the same, to the use of our soveraigne lorde the kinge, for the preeste salary of the saide fellishipe, *vjli. xiiijs. iiijd.* Paide to the saide Robert for a lampe sometyme burninge in Chruche church, *ixs. ixd.* Paide to the saide Robart, sometyme to the chauntry preeste fownded by William Selby in Belfray church in York, *xxs.* Paide to the saide Robart to the usse of owre saide soveraigne lorde the kinge, sometyme to the church wardens of Cruche parishe for Butterfelde obbett, *vs.* Paide to the brigmaisters of Fosse bridge for fre farmes of two tenementes ther, *vjs. viijd.* And paide to the Archebushhope of Yorke, *ijs.* And paide to the kinge our soveraigne lorde, sometime to the prioresse of Clementhorpe,² *ijs.* And to the sherrefes of the citie of Yorke, *xd.* for howssegablle. And to the prebende of Tengefelde, *ijs. iiijd.* And to Sir Christofer Danby, knighte, *xvjd.* And to the heires of Mowbrey, *xxijd.* And to the King owre soveraigne lorde, sometyme to the prioresse of Monkton,³ for a gardinge in Godramegate, *xijd.* And to Mr Boynton for fre farme of two shoppes in Fossegate, *vs.*, and to sir Lennard Bekwithe, knighte, *vjs. viijd.*, for a parcell of grownde in a closse, lait in the holdyng of Rolland Conny. *Summa ixli. xvjs. iiijd. (sic).*

Reparaconnes with other pamentes.—*xvli. viijs. vd.* Item, paide to Mr Newton, *xxs.* Item, paiede to Mr Northe, *xxxs.* And to Mr Shadlocke, *iiijd.* And to Mr Holme, *vs.* More to Mr Northe and Mr Newton for our sute above as aperethe by thir billis, . . . *Summa xviiijli. iijs. ixd.* *Some totalis of the saide allowances, xxxli. xixs. jd.*

And so the sayde accomptauntes have good in there handes upon this accompt, *xiiijli. iijs. ixd.*

¹ Space left in MS.

² *Ante*, p. 133.

³ A priory of Benedictine nuns founded in the reign of Stephen by William de Arches, whose daughter Maud was the first prioress. The last mention of a prioress, Alice, occurs in 1535. Nunmonkton is eight miles from York.

*Hillary terme in the second yere of the reyne of our soveregne lord,
Kynge Edward the sext (1548).*

Expensys in avoidyng of suche new exacons as the kings maiestie customers of Hull wold wrongfully exact and charge the merchaunts adventurers of the city of Yorke, in paying of ther custumes for leyd to the kyngs use, otherwyse then they and there predecessors hath usyd to pay in tymes past. First, disbursyd therefore in gold by M^r North, alderman, xxxs., and to hym paid by M^r Watson, beyng master and governor of the felyshyp of the seid merchaunts, within the seid city of Yorke. Item, paid by Myles Newton to M^r Kemp for his paynes of makyng of serche, if any commissyons or commandment had procedyd frome the kyngs grace moste honourable counsaill to the kyngs custumers of London, or to the seid custumours of Hull, and for makyng of wrytyngs by the commandment of the lord cheyf baron his master, vs. And as touchyng the paynes or any other expenses mayd abowte the prymses by the seid M^r North and Myles Newton at dyverse tymes; they refer it unto the discessyons of the seid master and phelyshyp, as it shall please theym to consyder, cxxs.

From the court about customes at Hull of lead.

Cossyn Aldred,¹ I understande that the merchant men of the cytie of Yorke fynd themselves gryved, for that theye ar exacted to paye mor for the costom of ther lead, wythin the port of Hull than heretofore hath beyne by the costomers there requyred of them; wherefore beringe mye good will toward the sayd cytie thought good to desier you that theye maye have no les frendshype at youre handes, then ye may lawfullye shewe them; thus with mye hartye commendacons, I wysshe you helthe, from the court, the xij of Februarye, 1548. Your lovinge frend, Mychaell Stanhope.²

¹ Mr. Aldred was one of the "customers" at Hull, *post*, p. 139.

² Sir Michael Stanhope, a keen partisan of the protector Somerset, who married his stepsister, closely connected with the life of Hull, of which town he was Governor in 1547; he lost all his appointments on the fall of the Protector, but was re-appointed as Governor of Hull in 1550. He was always on bad terms with the townfolk. The execution of Somerset was followed

London about customs of lead. To his very loving friends M^r Alrede and M^r Crokkey, customers at Hull, geve this [1548 ?].

After my very hartie comandacones to you, had being enformed that you do demande of the pore merchants of York a greter sum for ther shipping of leade than hath ben heretofor used and acustomed, where uppon I did make serche with the customers of London to knowe, if they had any comandment from the kings maiestie, or from the counsell so for to do. And they ded certyfy me, that they did receyve no more than they have allwaies used hitherto, wherefore, I shall desire you as my frends that you will use them gentelly, as they haue ben before this tyme, consideryng that the cytye of York is but a pore cytye, and the merchant venterers arre the greatest maynteners of the same. And maybe so doying you shall encorag them to occupie, otherwise it shalbe to ther impoverisshing, and an occastyon to make them to geve uppe ther occupyeng, which shalbe hindrans to the kings maiestie, and allso to the cytie of Yorke. Thus hertely fare you well, from London, the xvij off February.

Yor loving assured frend,
Roger Cholmeley.¹

To the welbeloved Myles Newton, gent., at Belsavage, or in his absence, to M^r Hall or M^r Holmes, aldermen, geve this.

Right welbelovyd, after our hartie comendacons unto you, this shalbe to certifie you, that whereas they of Hull and wee were at treaverse for that they wold not receyve of us xvjs. a yere for gawgyng money, as we have customably of long tyme payd them, and that M^r Stanhope of his goodnes dyd

by the trial and execution of Stanhope, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, 26 February, 1552. From a letter in the York Records it seems probable that he held the Recordership of York, and farmed it to another. D.N.B., vol. liv, pp. 21, 22. J. Tickell, *History of Hull*, pp. 186, 214. York Mun. MSS., vol. xix, xxij Marche, 1547-8.

¹ Sir Roger Cholmeley, natural son of Sir Richard Cholmley, lieutenant of the Tower, who left him a considerable fortune. One of the commissioners to execute the act for the confiscation of gild property, he became Chief Justice in 1552, but he was imprisoned on the accession of Mary for witnessing the will of Edward VI; later he was taken into the Queen's favour, and died in 1565.

wryte unto them to be content, and use hus, as we have beyn in tymes past; truth is, I have beyn with them and offryd them all the arrerays which they coulede demand after the rate of xvjs. by yere, and for the last yere by past. And so hensefurth they wilnot receyve and use hus as wee have beyn heretofore, but will have according to the statute. Wherefore this shalbe to desier you to take paynes herein either to gytt us some lease therof, or some other conveyent stay, for rather than oure wyne shuld be constreynd to hang in the slyngs to such tyme it were gaugyd, wee shulde not onely be in damage of losyng the wyne, but also to long tarryeng of tyme, so that we shuld freght no shipp, that wold lie so long in dischargyng, and so we shalbe forced to leif occupieng of any wyne (whiche I thynke be there entent). And what costs and paynes ye take herein, ye shalbe honestly recompensyd at yor home comyng. From the citie of York, the xxvj of February, 1548.

Your loving frynds William Watson, governor, and the felliship of merchaunts adventurers within the said citie. We trust that Mr Northe, Mr Hall, and Mr Holme will, at this all our desires, take pane to helpe you herein.

To the worshipfull Thomas Aplyarde, master of the feolashipe of merchants adventurers, resydent within the citie of Yorke, this be delyvered.

After my moste heartie comendations, this shall sygnifie unto you at a corte here holden, the xj of July laste paste, after good delyberaton therein taken, it was ordeyned that as welle for the bearyng of suche charge as shulde be spente at the entry of the prynce of Spayne¹ into thys towne of Andwarpe, as of dyvers other for the meynenance and observyng of our prevylege, a generall cessement should be leavied upon all the bretherne of this feolashype, whereunto were appoynted dyvers dyscrete and indyfferent men of all townes within the realme, where any brethern of this feolashipe dwell, who dyd accordyng to their consyence reasonably cesse all the

¹ Philip, son of the Emperour Charles V, afterwards husband of Mary. He began a triumphant tour through his father's dominions on 1 October, 1548, and entered Brussels on 1 April, 1549. M. A. S. Hume, Philip II of Spain, pp. 24-26.

said brethren. And those of yor cite of Yorke are cessed accordyng as by the tenor of thys byll herein cloyd ys specyfyed; for the gathering whereof we have appoynted ij suffycent persones, to wytte, John Hewson and Hewghe Graves, to whome we have also wrytten our letters for the same, requyryng you to call together all the brethern of our said feoloshipe resydent within the said cytie of Yorke, and publysshed unto them the premysses, which by the copie of thacte at the said corte passyd hereyn cloyd, you shall perceyve at large. And the said collectors having leavied the said somes of money to render the same with their accompts to M^r Emanuiell Lukas, deputie in London, and receyve and dyscharge of hym for the same. And thus desyryng you to advertyse us of yor prosedyngs in the premysses, I beseche the Lorde presarve you. From Antwarpe, the xviiij of Septembre, anno 1549. John Fargeon [?], governour.

The right worshipfull M^r John Fargeon, governor of the felliship of merchant adventurers resident at Andwarpe, this be delyvered, or to his deputy M^r Emanuell Lucas, deputy in London (1549).

Worshipfull sir, my dewte done, this shalbe to syrtyefye unto your worshipp that I have resayvd your letter daytyd at Andwarpe, the xviiij of September, anno 1549. And accordyng to the tenor thereof have callyd together all the brethren of our sayd feloshype, resydent within the sayd cite of York, and publysshyd unto them the premysses accordyngly. And so it is worshipfull sir, that of the sayd persons by you ther sesseyd to the sayd John Hewson and Henry¹ Graves here appoynted to get mone of, many of them ar departyd to the marce of God, and other of them also not in abydyng within this port, and also some other fallyn in rewyne and dekey, so that the sayd some, ne the gret parte therof, can[not] be heer leveyd. Myght it therfor ples your good worshyps, with my good masters our brethren ther, to appoynt

¹ The name is Hewghe in the letter from Antwerp, and is probably correct for a Hugo Graves, merchant, was made a freeman in 1539, and was chamberlain in 1553. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 274.

me by your letter to levie of our brethren her resedent one resonable somme of mone, by our selvylls her indeferently to be sessyd, accordyng to equite and conscience; and accordyng to my dewte I shalbe glad to accomplishe the same, provydyt allways that you do nott charge hous over and above the some that the town of Newcastle is sessyd att, consideryng, that they be of gretter trayd and abyllite than we be of; and thus most hartly fare you well. From Yorke, this xij of November, 1549. Assured yors Thomas Appleyerd, governor of the fellyship of marchaunts, within the cite of Yorke.

From Yorke, 1549.

Right worshipfull Sir and Sirs, after mooste hartie recommendacons this shalbe to signifie unto yewer wurships that we have receyved your letter, and haithe red and perceyved the same. Desiringe yowe to have in remembrance the littill and small occupieng that we have now a days towards youre countrie, and what small gaines or profite we have by the same. And that consideringe we think ye will somewhat regards the habilitie of this our companie and felowship. And for so muche as ye have written for a cessement which ye have sessed allredie, which some is cessed to muche more than there habilitie is, and other some a greate deall lesse then their habilitie. And also that parte ¹of our companye,¹ ye have sessed, is departed forthe of our companie into the countrie, and parte and ²other parte dead² is departed furthe of this world, whose soules God pardon. Wherefore we desire your worships to cesse or raite some amongeste youe to the value of xx marks or thereapon and to be so good unto us as to let us have the sessements amongeste us selves, because we knowe the habilitie of everie one of our companie. And this doinge, we ar bound to geve and render unto your worships hartie thanks; and we beseche God preserve yower worships in healthe. Frome York, the xiiij of November, anno 1549.

¹⁻¹ "Of our said" is crossed through, and "of our companye" substituted.

²⁻² Is crossed through in MS.

To the worshipfull M^r Thomas Appyllyerd, chefe of the feolashipe of merchants adventurers, within the cytie of Yorke, gyvethes.

After right hartie comendacons, your letter, datyd the xij of Novembre last and dyrectyd to M^r gouvernor, was this day at a generall corte here holden publyshed and redd, and the meanyng thereof well understand. And whereas you requyre us to remytt the cessyng of our brethern resydent in Yorke unto you, enjoynyng also an indyfferent some for the hole cytie not above the some, which the merchants of Newcastle be cessed att. For to declare unto you the indyfferent manner of our procedyngs here, as well in lyke cessements as all other our affayres, yt shall not nede, for that you have dyvers tymes sene and knowen thexperiences thereof, but do hartely requyre you, that you wyll once agen call unto you the collectors by us appoynted, and wyll them for to procure together the same money, accordyng to our cessement here made. And for suche as be deade, or otherwise wyll not, or cannot pay, we desyre you to certefye hyther their names in iij sortes; to wytt, they departyd alone; they unable (yf any suche be) alone; and the obstynante that wyll nott (yf you fynde any so unreasonable as our hope ys the contrary) by themselves, requyryng you in all the prmyses for to assyst the said collectors to folowe thys our order consydering the greate charge, which this tryumphe hath putt us unto, and what reasonable request that at any tyme you shall requyre at our hands, you shall fynde us no lesse wylllyng. And as concernyng that you wryte of them of Newcastle, we have lymtted no some unto them, butt loke for more at their hands, then we have cessed you at, and thus not doughting of yor good conformyties concernyng the premyses, we comytt you to the tuytyon of the Lorde, from Andwarpe, the vij of December, 1549. By yours Humfrey Baskerfeld, deputy.

*This ys the mone paid by me Thomas Appilyerd of the compeine
at feaste.¹*

Paid by me Thomas Appilyerd for the companye as followythe. Item, paid for xxx gallanddes ayell, xs. Item, paid for vj dossand bread, vjs. Item, geven to the baker maid, iiij*d*. Item, paid the cooke, iijs. iiij*d*. Item, paid [vjd].² Item, for loyne of vessell, ijs. vjd. Item, for j bussell saltte, xiiij*d*. Item, for butter, vjd. Item, for rabbyttts, vij*d*. Item, for woodde, xxiij*d*. Item, for charcolle, ijs. ij*d*. Item, for halfe a beaste, xxijs. Item, for sewytt, iiijs. vjd. Item, for x gallandes wyne, xiijs. iiij*d*. Item, for ij*li*. pepper, vjs. viij*d*. Item, for carryinge of the woodds, ij*d*. Item, for loyne of pottes, xd. Item, geven to the players, xs. Item, given for a bucke, iijs. iiij*d*. Item, more for hys charge that went for it, iijs. iiij*d*. Item, for hire of hors thre daies, ijs. viij*d*. Item, geven the cookes man, iiij*d*. Item, for mustard, vjd. Item, geven Raffe Tennant, vjd. Item, for mealle, iiijs. *Summa* paid, v*li*. vijs. vjd. Recevied herof, xxviijs. iiij*d*. So rests to me, iiij*li*. xixs. ij*d*.

*From the account roll of the third year of Thomas Appelyerde,
master, 1551.*

Allowances accustomed.—The said accomptantes asken allowance for soo muche as they have payed this yere, and hathe ben yerely accustomed. That is to saye, for expenses made by the maister and preist of the same of custome upon Trynytie Sunday, ijs. And for expenses made abowte gatheryng of ferme, subsidies, and arreragies of this felawship, xiij*d*. And for paper, parchement, and ynk for wryhtyng of this accompte and other wrytyng perteynyng to this felawship, iijs. iiij*d*. And to Robert Love, the beddell of this hospitall, xls. And to the clerk of this hospitall and felawship for his fee, xiijs. iiij*d*. *Summa* lixs. viij*d*.

¹ This document is undated. Thomas Appleyerd was master of the Mystery in 1549, 1550, 1551, so one of these dates must be the year of the feast.

² The article and its price are illegible, but as the total, according to the separate items, is 6*d*. too little, the missing price is probably 6*d*.

Rents resolut.—*Summa* *ixli.* xviijs.

Gawging ferme.—Item, the saied accomptantes asken to be allowed for the wholle yere ferme of gawgyng ended at Michelmas, within the tyme of this accompte, whiche they have payed this yere to M^r Stokdale, maiour of Hull, accordyng to the leass thereof made, xvjs. iiijd. *Summa* xvjs. iiijd.

Reparacons.—*Summa* *xxiiijli.* xiijs.

Gressome or fyne payed.—Item, the saied accomptauntes asken to be allowed for suche money as they payed this yere to thandes of Jamys Stokdale of Hull, for the fyne or gressome of the leas of gawgyng, and wrightyng made by the maiour and burgesses of Hull to this maistir and felawship, iiijli. *Summa* iiijli.

Expenses in the lawe.—Item, the saied accomptaunts aske to be allowed for suche money as they have payed this yere to Robert Criplyn, tenaunt to this felawship, for his expenses made in defense ageynst William Bekwith, afore the kynges maiesty counsell established in these north parties,¹ xxiijs. xjd. *Summa* xxiijs. xjd.

*Weightes bought.*²—Item, the saied accomptauntes asken to be allowed for such money as they have payed this yere for weightes according to the kynges standerd, that is to say, twoo weightes of seven poundes a pece, one weight of a ponde, and a broken ponde of brasse with cariage of the same from London, xiiijjs. xd. *Summa* xiiijjs. xd.

The saied accomptauntes doo further aske to be allowed for the fourth part of xvjli. xvjs. iiijd. of store remaynyng in the handes of the sayd accomptauntes, at the first proclamacon³ for abacyng of certayne the kinges coyne, and than by vertue of the same proclamacon last in their sayd handes, iiijli. iiijs. jd. Item, the same accomptantes aske to be allowed for the fourth

¹ The Council of the North was instituted by Henry VIII in 1537. Its sittings were held in the house built for the abbot of St. Mary's. Sir Thomas Widdrington, *Analecta Eboracensia*, pp. 107–111.

² The weights possessed by the company are dated in the reign of Elizabeth.

³ “[The Council] issued on the 30th May, 1551, £80,000 worth of silver, in a coin of which two-thirds was alloy; on the 18th of June they issued a further £40,000 worth in a coin of which three-quarters was alloy.” See J. A. Froude, *History of England*, vol. v, pp. 9–15. Froude becomes of greater historical value after the death of Henry VIII.

part of xviijs. iiij*d.* receyved by theym of newe bretherne at thannunciacon anno 1551, and remaynyng in their saied handes at the saied first proclamacon, and thereby also lost, iiijs. vij*d.* Item, the saied accomptantes aske to be allowed fer the thridde part of iij*li.* xvjs. vj*d.* by Robert Love, bedell, receyved of certayne tenauntes betwene the first and latter proclamacon, and so therby lost, xxvs. vj*d.* Item, the said accomptantes aske to be allowed for the moitie or half part of xxxjs., in peces of twoo pens or half . . .¹ by the said bedell lykewyse receyved, betwene thaforesayed proclamations and in his handes remaynyng at the said latter proclamation, and soo by force therof there was then lost in the sayd bedells handes half of the saied some of twoo pences beyng, xv*s.* vj*d.* Item, the saied accomptantes doo aske to be allowed fer the half part of xvjs. viij*d.* fer twoo yeres rent and an half owyng to sir Leonard Bekwith, knight, bycause there was none to receyve it, whiche some was remanyng in the sayd accomptantes handes bothe at first and secunde proclamacons, and soo thirby lost viijs. iiij*d.* lost of the sayd some. *Summa of money lost by proclamacons, vj*li.* xviijs.*

Coppie of the King's letter sent to Hull for restraynt of leyde.

After our hartie commendatons, for as moche as the kings maestie, upon diverse good consideracons, is pleased that from hensfurth no manner of lead shalbe transported furth of any of his heighnes realmes or dominions into the parties of beyonde the sees, his heighnes pleasure therefore and speciall commandment is, that ye shall taike such good and substantiall order for the welloking to that his heighnes port, as there be not from thens shipped or any waies conveyed any lead furth of the realme, as ye tender his maiestes commandement and will aunswere for the contrary. And further his heighnes pleasure is, that in case there be alredie within that port any lead shipped, and not yet gone awaie, that ye cause the same to be ymmediatelie stayed, so as it be not in any wise suffered to deposite, unto his maiestis further ordere shalbe signified unto you; and so we bidd you farewell. Frome Windsore, the xxvj of

¹ An illegible word.

September, 1552. Your loving frendes, Northumberland, Bedford, Winchester, J. Huntington, J. Darcie, O. Cobbham.

To the worshipful master of the felyshippe of marchaunts adventurers, within the citty of Yorke, and to all the brethern of the said feolyshippe theare resydent or dwellinge, this be delivered with spede.

After our ryghte hertie commendations, this shall sygnefie unto youe that as well for the weale and benefytt of this felyshippe, as for advancement of the commodities of the realme of Englonde, it was, at a generall courte heare holden the ij day of this present, concluded and inacted, that for this yeare nexte ensuyinge these appoynted shippings shall stande and be kepte, whereof the last daye of shippinge unto the fyrste shippinge beinge for the pasche marte is ordeyned to be the laste of Marche nexte ensuyinge; and the seconde shippinge, which is appointed for the sinxon marte, the laste day to the same is appoynted the laste of June then nexte followinge; and unto the colde marte the laste day of shippinge is appoynted to be the laste of November then nexte insuyinge; after which said dayes it shall not be lefull for any persone shipping to any of the said marts for to shippe, lade, transporte, nor by any meanes sende or convaye owte of the realme of Englonde, nor any other the kings maiesties domynyons into these parties of Hollande, Zealande, Brabant, nor Flanders, nayther clothes, carsayes, nor other kynde of wollen clothe, nather wurstedes, tynne, nor leade, but suche as shall be by the said dayes, accordinge to the marte he dothe shippe for packed, trussed, or fardeled, redie to be lade, and soo water borne, by the said daye, uppon payne to forfeit for everye clothe after the said dayes or any of them expyred lade or shipped, not beinge by the said daye water borne as afforesaid, xls. flemyshe, and for all other comodyties after the rate. Nayther may anye shippe nor shippes, which shall lade for or to any of the said marts, departe uppon hire vyayge owte of the porte or haven, wheare she shall take in hirre ladinge, towards these parties tyll the said laste daye of shippinge, unto the marte for which she shall lade, be passed, uppon payne to forfayte uppon everye

clothe and other comodyties byfore specefyed, the lyke penaltie. Whereof wee have thought good to advertyse you, and everye of youe, to thintent youe maye the better advoyde the daungeor of the penaltie in that byhallffe provyded; and further youe shall understande that uppon necessarye con- siderations, wee have inacted that noue apprentice of any brother of our felysshippe, bounde after the feaste of the Purifycation of our Ladye nexte ensuyinge, shalbe admytted into the liberties of this our said feolyshippe, nor take the othe, tyll he have served his master two yeares of his appren- tis- hooode at leaste; and after his apprenticehooode not to enioye the same, unlesse he have served in all the full terme of viij yeares at leaste, whereof he muste bringhe suffycyent testy- monyall within one yeare, after his said terme expyred. Whereof wee have allso thought necessarye to advertyse youe, not dowtinge of your good conformyties in all and singuler the premysses, and soo comytt youe unto the tuytion of All- myghtie God. From Antwarpe, the xij of December, 1552. Your lovinge frende, W. Dansett, governor.

To the same.

After our ryghtt hartye commendatyons, this shall sygnefye unto youe beinge uppon sondrye con- sideratyons therunto moved, wee have bene forsed to make a generall cessement uppon all the brethern free of our feolyshippe, and for that wee hadde not here suffycyent nombre of the merchaunts of your cittie of Yorke, and of the towne of Wakefield, wee have thoughte good to cesse the said cittie and towne by one totall some, which wee have doone, and cessed all you there at lxiij*li*. sterlinghe, referringhe the levyenge of the same some unto yor good dyscrytions, to whoome wee have geaven, and by this present doo gyve full power, and awethorytie, to cesse and levye uppe euerye brother of our felyshippe, resydent or dwellinghe within the said cittie or towne sutche some, as in your consyences youe shall judge and exsteame hym to be worthye to pay towards the furnytüre of the said some of, lxiij*li*., which wee have cessed to be for the whole cittie of Yorke and towne of Wakefeilde as afforesaid. And this

cessement to be fynsshed and gathered by sutch collectors as youe shall thereunto appoynte, and the same to be sent uppe to London, and theare delyvered with thacomptes thereof unto Emanuell Lukas, deputie there and unto Henrye Austeyn, haberdasher, within xiiij dayes after the fyve of Marche nexte, which ys the laste day appoynted for gatherynge and payment of the sume, and this to be observed, as youe will advoyde the forfayture of the doble some thereof. And yf any brother of our feolyshippe refuse to paye sutch some as by youe he shalbe cessed at, thereof to advertyse us, that wee maye exycute our ordinaunce uppon hym, ayther by levyenge the duble some, or in dyffawelte thereof, by dysmysynge hym owte of our said feolyshippe. And thus not dowtyng of your good conformyties considerynge the premyses, wee comytte youe unto the tuytion of Allmyghttie God. From Andwarpe, the viij of December, Anno 1552. Your loving friend, W. Dansitt, Governor.

To the same.

After our ryghtt hertie comendatyons, wheareas elevyn dayes paste wee receyved frome youe a letter, bearinge date xxvij of Januarye laste paste, wherebye youe declare your sellves to be unwillingh to the levyenge and contribution of soo greate a some as you be cessed at to paye towards the dyscharge of suche detts, as the feolyshippe arre in. Alledginge in your said letter dekaye, and povertie of our brethern there with youe, and puttinghe dowte wheather the same hathe bene spent for the generall wealle of the said feolyshippe or no; semynge alsoo not contented that wee doe not partickulerlye declare unto youe howe and by what meanes, the said feolyshippe shulde have spent sutch some of monye. At which your allygacyons and other contenthes (*sic*) of your said letter, wee mutche marveyle for that it semythe unto us by the same, you doo not onelye pretende to correcte our prosedings, but allsoo in a manner threaten us, as though we did that which wee myghtt not abyde bye. Wherein wee note youe nayther soo circomspecte in your wrytinge, nor yet soo conformable unto our orders, reasonabley and uppon good

consyderatyon made, as youe oughtt to be, and arre bounde by your othes. Wherefore wee onze agayne requier youe, that accordinge to the purpoorte of our former letters to youe wrytten, youe doo cesse and leavye amongyste youe the some of syxtye and foure poundes, as in the same our former letters ys specyfyed, as youe will advoyde the penaltee in that behallfe provyded. And trulye wee mutche marveylle that youe finde your sellves soo agreved for the levyenge of this some, seinge it is not unknowen unto sutche of your cittie as haunte higher, that some foure merchants of this feolyshippe doo paye more then wee have cessed your hoole cittie at. And therefore not dowtinge of your conformytie in the premysse withall delygence to be accomplysshed, wee comytt youe unto the tuytyon of Allmyghttie God. Frome Andwerpe, the xx of Maye, 1553. Yours, Humffrey Baskerfeld, deputy.

To the same.

Worshipfull sirs, after our moost hertie commendations, this shall singnefie unto youe that at the quens maiestie hire graces request to this folysshippe made, for certeyne mony to be by them prested unto hire moost noble grace, and to be heire debursed, and paid by the last of Novembre next ensuynghe, and by hire majestie verye shortelie repaid in Englonde. Wee, accordinge to our bounden dewties, dissirous in all pointes to show and declare our sellves hire graces moost lovinge and obedient subiects, have promysed to furnysshe hir noble maistie of the some of xij thowsande poundes, to be heare debursed, by the said day, for perfourmance whereof wee have made a cessement, what evrye brother of this said folisshippe shall present to the same, and have cessed youe of the cittie of Yorke, as by this bill heare inclosed dothe appere, requiringhe youe with all diligence for to procure the collectinge of the same, and to make it over hyther with all convenyent spede, not dowtinghe that any of our said brethern will denye the presentinge of suche soñie, as thay are cessed at, as well for that it shall verye shortelie be repaid, as allseo for advoydinge of the peneltie in that behalfe provided, which is the dismyssion frome the libarties of this folisshippe for

ever, besides the quenes maiesties hire highnes displeasoure. And thus not dowtingh of your good conformities concernynge the premyses, and requiryngh you to advertise us of your prosedinghes heerein, with all conveyent spede, wee commytt youe unto the tewition of Allmyghttie God. Frome Andwarpe, the xxx of Octobre, anno 1554. By me, Nycolas Whelar, deputy.

Pettition (undated).

To the ryght honorable lord maior and his worshippfull bretheren.—Whereas your poore nightbure Humfraye Hogsone¹ one of the poore folkes in Trenitye Chapell, and beinge a franchises man sonne of Fossebridge, who ys deseased sexe yeres synce, wheras by mysfortune dyd brake my arme x yeres sence, who then havinge towe surgans, the one was Pettar Pape, the other Johan Gravell and dyd set yt and spalkye yt, and beinge not sound healed dyd oppen in the same place, wher yt was fyrste broken, wythin a yere and a half after. And further Johan Gravell againe took me in hand, and layd me in bathes, and I never cold get noe remedy to thys day, whereas God knowes ys to our undoyng with great expences, for the surgerye of yt, and dothe greve me so sore, that I have never leathe of yt of my fathe, but when I ys of my dead slepe, whereby I ys as wilinge to have seperated from my body, this beinge a dead arme to me, who neither can get my clothes of nor one, thus in waye of pittye.

The mannor of assessing as in 1540,² for triompe at reseate of the King of Spaine (1554).

Beinge of this present courte well and rypely debated by the worshippfull M^r Gouvernor, assystents, and generaltye, what meane ys mooste meate to be devysed for money to be levyed for the sustentatyon and beryng of the cherges whiche thys fealyshippe muste now sustayne, by reason of the tryomphe to be made at the entry of the prynce of Spayne into this towne of Andwerpe, yt ys after longe debatyng, by goode

¹ Humfridus Hogeson, taillour, was made a freeman in 1542, but neither of the surgeons appear in the freemen's list.

² Can this be a mistake for 1549, *ante*, p. 140?

advyse, and delyberatyon ordeyned that a generall cessynge shall be made uppon all the brethern fre of this feolyshippe, not beyng within the termes of thayre apprentyschoode, every man to be cessed accordynge to thayre substance, and as the cessoueres in thayre consyence shall thynke mete and awarde, followynge the presydenste used in the cessement made in anno 1540; to wytte, the ablyeste sorte to be cessed att *iiijli.* the pece, the seconde sorte at *iiijli.* the pece, the thyrde sorte at *xls.* the pece, the fourte sorte at *xxs.* the pece, and the fyfte sorte at *xs.* the pece, and the leaste to paye *vs.*, and to be cessed of the sayd paymenthe. The generaltyte have appoynted the persones heare underwrytten to whome ys geaven awthoryte to cesse every brother of this compeny within the realme of Englande, accordynge to thayre consyence, to the somes prescrybed; and that no man, beyng by them cessed at any of the sayd somes, and requyred by any offycer of this fealyshipe or other therto appoynted to paye the same, shall not denye or refuse to pay the same, nor make delaye contrary to the forme heareafter declared, uppone payne of payenge duple the some wher at thay shall be cessed, and losynge of thayre fredomes for ever, nor thayre chyl dren nor apprentyse heare after to be mayde fre in any wyse. And ys ordeyned, that all and every brethern of this fealyshipe, as well of the cyttye of London as of all other places of the sayd realme of Englande, beyng heare presente, or havynge any persone or persones to doo his feats for hym heare, att this present synxon marte, shall contente and pay unto the collectors, that shall be appoynted for it by the day therefore to be lymyted, al sutché somes as they shall be cessed att, uppone the payne byfore expressed. And that every other brother of the compeny, as well thay inhabytynge within the citye of London, as they of the countre, beyng absent frome hence thys present synxon marte, shall pay thayre cessed money in this maner ensuyng, to say that thay of the cyttie of London shall pay the same by the feaste of Sante Mychell nexte ensuyng, and thay of the contry to pay the same by Corpus nexte, uppone the sayd payne of duple some where att thay shalbe cessed, and of losynge thare fredomes for ever as ys aforesayd. O. Gilpin.

The marraners petetion setting forth their previllidge in their keele freights att Hull as will fully appeare by indenture. Anno 1555.

To the righte worshipfull the Mr of the fellowship of the merchants or venterers, within the cytie of Yorke. Complayninge shewth unto yor worssipes, that whereas there is an aunciente custome and ordir betwixt your worshipes and the mareners of this cytie of Yorke, that if any of the same mareners come on bourd upon any shippe, where any of your worshipes haithe any goods or merchandries, that then the same maryners shall have there keile freighted with the same goods and merchandries, if there be so muche. Nowe so it is righte worshipfull that one Morgan, servaunte to maister Anthony Pulley, one of your worships companye, havinge goods of his masters in a shipe called the Mathew of Hull, whereas Roberte Stampe and Miles Dawson, of the citie of Yorke, had fassened there keill in foure festes to the said shipe called Mathew, mening to have lodued the said keill with suche goods and merchandries, as were in the said Mathewe, and lay abourd upon the same Mathew, by the space of xxiiij howeres or longer. And there caime the said Morgon, and caused the said festes to be loused, and cutt, and so putt the said Robert Stampe and Miles Dawson from there frighte, for whereas there keill was of xxviiij tun were forced to coom with sextene tun, and so by menes thereof tared for more goods to have made up there frighte, and culd not have it, by the space of a fortnett, by menes whereof they culd not come up with there keill, because of the froste, butt lay the space of sex weikes to the losse, damage, and hindrance of the said Robert and Miles of five markes, and contrare to your worshipes order. Wherefore may it plese your worships to se or cause some remedie herein, lest perhaps it shoued cause hereafter some of your worships goods wilfully to be loste, if any suche wilfulnes should be used. And in the menetyme to se that the said Roberte and Miles maye have some recompens, not onely for cullinge there feste, but also for there grete hindrance for lake of there freighte. And this in the waye of pittie. Also, I shall require youre worshipes to will Mr Paicoke, alder-

man, Mr Trewe, Mr Watson and Christopher Jackson, that they wold take some order with certaine salt, and that they will pay the said Roberte Stampe his freighte, which comethe to xxs., and for a bote lyinge with it, at stethe, vs. And also, that you wold be so good as to take the Margett of Yorke forth of your boke, for it is a twelmonthe and a daye paste now sence she haithe comitted her offence.

From the account roll of Ralph Hall, master, 1557.

. . . . *Receytes for land sold.*—Item, receyved of Mr Robert Paicoock, xli. xviijs. ijd. ob., alderman, for a parcell of the purchase of a tenement now in the holding of John Eyre.¹ And of Christofer Harbert,² ixli. xxd. ob., for a parcell of the purchase of a tenement in his owne tenure with . . . And likewise of John Gellistrip, xli. for the purchase of a tenement late in tholding of Thomas Northe, tanner. *Summa xxixli. xixs. xjd.*

*An indenture of freightment betwixt merchaunts and maryners, anno 1555, for 7 years, and other conditions and agreements.*³

This indenture mayde the last day of June, in the seconde and thirde yere of the reynge of our soveraign lorde and lady Phillip and Marye, by the grace of God King and queen of England, Spayne, Fraunce, bothe Secills, Jerusalem and Ireland, defendours of the faithe, archdukes of Austrige, dukes of Burgundi, Millone, and Brabante, counties (*sic*) of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tirolls, betwixt William Bekwith, alderman and marchaunt of the cite of Yorke and governour of the

¹ Master 1563, 1564, 1565.

² Master 1572, 1573, 1574. The house still stands in the Pavement. The fireplace in one room, and the decorated ceiling in another, afford incontrovertible evidence of the splendour of the houses of some of the civic magnates of the sixteenth century. They pay £39 19s. 8d. more for these properties in 1559, and £20 in 1560.

³ On the cover the following is written: "Selled to thys indenture were manes names herafter folwing, Richard Plasket, Thomas Wylkensone, John Watson, Herre Wylson, Robert Hudles, Nicolaes Haerup, Edward Loensdale, Tomas Rakes, John Wylkinson, Rawffe Gretchode, Matthew Grenestreet ?, Robert Wilson, John Messege."

felowship of merchaunts residente within the said cytye, Richard Plaskett and John Midleton, kepers of the same, for and in the name of thole felowsship of merchaunts aforesaid on thone partye, and Peter Hudelesse, Richard Plaskett, John Lynley, John Watson, John Makey, John Wilkinson, Robert Hudelesse, Peter Gibb, William Roper, Henry Wilson, Rafe Garthe, and Robert Harrison of the saide cytye of Yorke, owners of certeine keles, bootes, and lighteners, usui[n]ge and occupienge the ryver of Owse mid betwixte the said city and the porte and haven of Kingston upon Hull on thother partee: wittenesseth that for a good order and quietenesse hereafter to be had, and also for the welthe of bothe the said merchaunts and owners, therefore of there one (*sic*) free willes, it is fullye covaunanted, condiscended, concluded, graunted, and agreed betwixt the saide parties, and either of the same parties, covaunte, graunte, and fullye agree to and with the other in maner and forme followinge: Firste, the said owners at all tymes hereafter and frome tyme to tyme whan thay therunto shalbe required by the saide marchaunts, there servhaunts or factors, or any of thame shall (withall convenyente spede and deligence they can) tayke and recieve into theirre saide keles or other vessells the goods and marchaundice of the sayde marchaunts, and the same safelye carye, and transporte ¹so motche as in them lieth¹ frome the saide citie of Yorke to the said haven of Kingston upon Hull, and from the said haven to the sayde citye of Yorke, for the freight and prices hereafter folowinge:—that is to saye, a tonne of iron, accomptinge sex score endes to the tonne, receyved of the shipe bord, for two shillinges and eyghtpence; and receyved of the lande, for three shillings. Item, a tonne of any other marchaundice, rayted as yt comyeth from beyond the seas, for two shillings. Item, a last of flax and osemondes, for two shillings and sex pence. Item, a last of ashes, for twentye pence. Item, a last of tarr or pyke, two shillings. Item, a last of rede heringe, for two shillings. Item, a last of stockfyshe, for two shillings and six pence. Item, a bouche of bottell iron, for thre pence. Item, a chalder of coles to the marchaunts owne use, two

¹⁻¹ Interlined.

shillings and eight pence. Clapborde the smalle hundrethe, six pence. A hundreth waynescotts, six shillings and eyght-pence. Item, a quarter of salt of Yorkes mesure, fyve pence. Item, a quarter of any other grayne of Yorkes measure, fore pence. A fat of eles, foure pence. A fother of leade, taken in at the crayne, twelve pence; and yf it be ligtened sextene pence. A pake of clothe, sixtene pence; a small trusse, as the parties canne agree, so that it excede not the price of the pake, to be rated after the qualitie thereof. And further yt is agreed betwix the saide parties, that the saide marchaunts or any of them shall nott hereafter fraght or leade any other kele, lightener, or vessell betwixt the saide citie and Hull, but such as do belonge eyther all or halfe to some of the sayde owners, (yf there be any suche there then to be gotten), upon payne that every marchaunt so offendinge shall forfett and lose for every tonne as last freighted contrary to this ordinance, syxe shillings. And also for avodyng of stryfes and 'contentions,'¹ which hereafter myght happen amoungest the sayd owners or there servaunts for takinge in there lodinges, yt is therefore agreed betwixt the said parties, that that kele or lightener, that dothe first come to the said crayne, and shalbe redy there to receyve there ladinge, shalbe first loden, and after the residew folowinge shalbe loden in there courses accordinglye; and lykewyse what ship soever comythe into the sayde haven att Hull, loden with marchaundyces belonginge to the sayde marchaunts, or any of them, shalbe fyrst [be] discharged, and that that kele, that first cometh aboard of hir, shalbe fyrst loden, and every other ship to be discharged in there courses, and the keles to be lodened in there corses accordinglye. And it is further agreed betwixt the saide parties, that none of the said owners or any of the marsters, marriners, or servaunts shuld tayke into any of there sayde keles any goods or marchaundyces of a shore, so long as any shippe beyng in the said haven, and having goods in them belonginge to the sayde marchaunts, or any of theme, are not fullye discharged. And it is further agreed betwixt the said partyes, that every kell or lightener loden with any marchaundice belonginge to the

¹⁻¹ Interlined.

said merchaunts, or any of them, comynge to Yorke staythe, shalbe discharged in hir course as she comythe to the saide staythe, and that no other parson, beyinge any of the sayde partyes, there servaunts, or deputies shall discharge or unlode any other kelle or lightener to the disturbance, hinderance, or troble of thame, that are in discharginge the other which came thether before them, so long as the goods beynge in the first kele or lightener are not fullye carryed awaye frome the said staythe. Also, the saide owners covennte, graunte, and agree to and with the saide merchaunts, that thay the sayde owners, ne any of them, nor any mayster, marriner, or other person, saillinge or occupienge in any of the said keles or lighteners, shall at the saide cytye or haven take any frayghte or lodinge of any person, (other than sutche as are and shalbe fre of the saide felowshipe of merchaunts), so longe as the said merchaunts have any goods there to transport towards the said cytie or haven, upon payne to forfait for every tonne weight that he or thay, or any of theme, shall taik, contrary to this ordinance, fyve shillinges. Also, it is further agreed betwixt the saide parties, that yf any other freman of the saide cytye of Yorke, other then the aforenaymed owners, fortune to buyld, buy, or otherwise to obteyne, and gett any kele or other vessells, or halfe parte thereof, mete to serveice the saide merchaunts, for the purpose aforesaid, that then every such person, having any sutche vessell or parte thereof, (afore that any of the said merchaunts so freyght the same), shall come before the saide governors and kepers or there successors, and some of the saide owners, and shall declare unto them the havinge of sutche vessell or kele, and yf it do appere before the saide governor and kepers, that he is then trew owner of the same, without any color or disceyte, that then his nayme shalbe enterd and recorded afore the sayd governoroure, and kepers, and from thence furth it shalbe lawfull to the saide merchaunts, or any of theme, to freight the same, after the rate and price as is aforesaid. Item, yt is agreed betwixt the said parties, that yf it fortune at any tyme hereafter any owner Mr, marryner, or boye, in any of the saide keles, or lighteners to bribe, steall, convey, or otherwise

put away, any goods beinge in the said vessells, or any of them, and belonginge to the saide marchaunts, or any of them, or do conceale and layne the brininge, stalleinge, or pullinge awaye of the same, that then the saide persons so offendinge, (and beinge dewly provid before the said governor and kepers), shalbe by them punysshed, accordinge to the ordre of the kinge and quenes maiesties lawes, and besides that, shalbe discharged for occupieng any more in any of the saide keles, lightener, or other vessell for ever; and yt is also agreed that yf the M^r or Masters of such offendore or offenders or any other owner, master, or marriner, belonge to the saide cytye, at any tyme after that, do reteigne and take the same offendor to his service agayne, or do suffer hime to saille in any of these saide keles, lighteners, or other vessells, that then, the saide owner, master, or marryner, so retenninge, or taykinge into his service or occupaton any sutche offendor, shall forfait for every tyme fortye shillings. And it is further agreed, that yf it fortune the saide offendor to be . . . to labor or occupy in any forren kele or lightener (beinge not of the saide citye), that then the sayde marchaunts or any of theme, havinge knowledge thereof, shall not fraght or loden the saide kele or lightner with any of there goods, upon payne to forfeit for every tyme offendinge contrary to this article, fortye shillings. And it is also agreed that the presenter of any of the said offenders shall haue the third parte of the same forfeiture or forfeitures for his labor, and the other two partes shall go to the releyfe of the pore people within the Trenitye house, in Fossegaitte, belonginge to the saide governor and fellowship, provided alweyes, that the saide owners, ne any of them, shall be charged by this agrement and ordenaunce to tary att Hull for discharging of his or ther keles, or lighteners, above two lawfull workinge dayes, and yf he tarye any longer, it shalbe laofull for hime, att the marchaunts charges, to ly up the goods on the saide keles, yf it be leade, in the wholhowse att Hull aforesaide, and yf it be other wares, then in some other sayfe place. Provided also, that the said marchaunts or any of them, shall not be charged by vertew of any of thes articles to freight or lode any of his or there goods or marchandises,

in any of the saide keles, or lighteners, onelesse the same kele or lightener be stronge, and suffycyently apperrellyd with all necessary taclinge, able to supporte the same good together with an able master and marryners able and suffycient to renew and governe the said vessells. In witnes hereof to thone parte of thes present indentures remaininge with the said governor and fellowship, the saide owners have sette there sealles, to thother partye remayninge with the said owners, the said governor and kepers for and in the name of the said holle fellowshipe have sette there sealles, geven the daye and yere first above written. Memorandum, that it is fullie agreed by all, ¹the said¹ present indenture shall stand and abide in his full force and strengthe during seven yeres next foloing after the date hereof. Wylliam Bekwithe, Richard Plaskett, John Middletone.

Letter from the lord treasurer, 1559.

I comende me hartelye unto yowe, and albeyt I gave you restraynte, that there shoulde no lead passe youre porte wythowte speycall lycence, which must neades be contynewed, bycause lead is so faste caryed owte off the realme, yet so yt is, that the marchaunts of Yorke [and] Howlle, havynge employed there money upon lead for this shipping, knowynge not howe to alter the same at this tyme wythowte great losse, have maid desieres unto me to have the contynuance of this shippyng, which for the consederacons aforesaid, I have graunted theme, and that performe for this tyme onelye, and no more, and this wrytyng shall be yowre warrante for the same. Wrytyng this x day of December, 1559. To my friends the customers, comptrollers and searchers of the porte of Howelle, Winchester.

From the account roll of George Hall, 1560.

. . . *Shyppyng.*—George Hall and Thomas Newton for shipping three shippes, xx*s.* James Hall and Francis Jake, xii*js.* iii*jd.* *Summa* xxxii*js.* iii*jd.*

Item, the same accomptants aunswere for money by them receyved this yere of master Robert Paycoke, alderman, for a

¹⁻¹ Interlined.

parcell of a purchase of a tenement laite in tholding of John Eyer, dewe at Whitsonday last, for his last payment, *xli. xviijs. iijd.* Item, receyved of Christofer Harbart for his last payment for a tenemente in his owen tenure dewe at Whitsonday last past, *ixli. xxjd. Summa xxli.*

Money receyved that was collectyd.—Item, recyvyd of John Hewson for the reist of *xlviijli. viijs.* whiche was collectyd for the prest money to the quenes majsties use, with the allowance of the prese money and John Hewson charges, Gregory Paycoke, and Christofer Harbart charges, at there goyng to London as apperythe by there bylls to be showyd to the awditors, which charges cometh to *xxixli. viijs. iijd.* so remanyth *xliijli. xixs. ix.* Item, receyved of Christofer Herbart that he collectyd of this fellowship upon lead and clothe as by his particuler bill thereof mayd it doth appere the some of *xliijli. ijs. Sum. lvijli. xxjd.*

Money receyved towards chardges of oure affaires.—Item, of maister maior of Hull confermyng Edward Gylpyn charges, *xxs.* Item, of Robert Broke, which raysyd of thoncostes in Andewarpe at synxson marte last towards Thomas Newton concernyng his goyng to London for the releasing of shippes, *vli. ix.* Item, receyved of Christofer Harbart for the geldyng, that Thomas Newton had to London, *iiijli.* Receyved for the thyrd parte of thofferand of Trynytie Sunday last, *vs. viijd. Summa ixli. xiiij.*

Allowances accustomed.—The sayd accomptantes aske to be allowed for suche money as they have payd this yere, and haith beyn yerely accustomed to pay, that is to say to William Paige post to London to the Englyshe nacyon, for his hole yere dewe at Michelmes last past, *xxs.* Item, to the master and constables of Trynytie Sunday, *ijs.* Item, for the gathering of the farme, *xijd.* Item, for pawper, parchment and making this accompte, *iijs. iiij.* Item, to Robert Luffe for his hole yeres fee, *xls.* Item, to John Clerk for his hole yere fee, *xiijs. iiij.* Item, to the power folkes of the horspytall, *vjs. viij.* Item, to Rauf Tenand for helpyng Robert Luff to gather the rentes and dothe other thynges, that longeth to his offece, for his reward therefore, *xs. Sum. iiijli. xvjs. iiij.*

The copy of my lord tresourare letter.

After my hartie comendations, I hayve Percyvyd by your letter that you hayve mayd provyshon for shypyng of clothe, leyd, and other merchaundices beyond the see, and cannot passe with the same without a tokyn frome me, wyche is very trew, and lyke as am very glad to help you, for the gentylnes I found in yow always, yet cannot I nott do your disyre, for I may let no leyd passe, nor your cloythe may not passe to the low countries, tyll the shypyng of you all merchants adventurers do goo together, for so yt ys acordyd, and desyryd by all the rest of the company merchants adventurers. Bot if you goo to Spayne, or to anny other playse beyond the Straytts, or estwards to Danske, you shall goo with all cloythe and merchandysses, except lede, so you put in sureties you shall not touche in the low countres, and for the doynge hereof yow shall find the customers agreable thereto, showing or levying with them thys letter. Thus fare ye well, wrytten the viij of apryll, 1560. Your lovyng frend, Winchester.

To my lovyng freinds, Jaymis Harryngton, maior of the cittie of York, and Jaymes Clarkson, maior of the town of Hull. Hast.

The coppie of my lord tresurers letter sent to the costumers and comptrolers of Hull.

I comend me unto you, and so sygnifie unto you that sens my last letter restrent wrytten to you to let the merchants of York and Hull passe into the low countryes, I hayve received merchaunts adventurers desires, wyche ys that the merchants of Hull will share shyps chargyd with clothe, before the wrytting of my letere of restreynt, that they should passe. Wherewith I am content, as well for thayme of York as for thayme of Hull, sayvyng that I wyll hayve no leyd to pas, whereunto hayve speshall regard, I pray you. And towchyng your customs, you must tayke after the ould ¹reyte¹ costum, and stay the new impost for cloythe, tyll order be taykyn by my lords of the counsayll taykyn bound of thayme, that thay

¹⁻¹ Crossed through in MS.

shale pay that shalbe enjudgyd by my lords of the counsayll frome the tyme of there fyrst shypyng. And albeyt the merchants wold very gladly and albeyt [*sic*] hayve there leyd pas in thys voige, yet I cannot suffer so to do, because thar ys so lyttyll leyd within the realme. And therefore in that caysse, thay must tayke paciens, tell thayme, I pray you. Wrytten the x of Apryll, 1560. Your frend, Wynchester.

To the worshipfull and our very loving brother Mr Robert Hall, of the city of Yorke, merchaunt, be this delyvered.

In right hartie manner, I commende me unto youe, signyfinge that our fellowshipe of merchants adventurers, havinge upon sundry urgent respects and causes them thereunto movinge, consented and promysed to a prest unto the quenes most excellent majestie the some of thirty thousande pounds, currante money of this realme, for one whole yeare, for tenne pounds uppon the hundred interest, and goods and lande to be assured to suche wurshipfull brotherne of our companye as be therunto named, for the sure repayment as well of the principall as of the interest, to which parsones the charge of procuringe the assurance ys also gevent, the same to be made ready under the great sealle of Englande before the monny be paide. Which is promysed to be defrayed in forme followinge, viz., tenne thousande pounds the first day of August nowe next cominge, and xx^mli. pounds, beinge the residewe, the first day of September than next followinge. Youe, with such other our brotherne as be herafter named, unto whom youe are instansed to communicate this letter, for knolaige thereof to be had, are lotted to contrybute and paye here in London, to the collectours therefore to be named, the partyculer somes herunder mentyoned. Wherefore yt is requested that youe, consideringe the parformance of the premysses ys of suche ymportance, the necessarytie of present sarvyce dewly wayed, as noe defaulte of payment be made at the foresaide two dayes, ye faylle not to geve order that the said somes be here dewly paide, in forme aforesaide; and this uppon payne of three shyllings and foure pence for every pounce of the said somes

wherat youe be ceassed, that shalbe denyed, refused, deferred, prolonged, or remayne unpaide at the foresaide twoe days, or ayther of theym, contrarye to the forme before preseryved. At London, the xxvij day of June, anno 1560. Mr Robert Hall, 100*li.*; Mr Raulph Hall, 75*li.*; George Hall, 60*li.*; Thomas Dawson, 30*li.*; Gregory Pecocke, 60*li.*; Christofer Herbert, 25*li.*; Mr James Harington, 75*li.* Youres John Merthe, gouvernor. Seconde payment 283*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; third part ys 141*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* 425*li.* totall of same.

To the right worshipfull Mr George Hall, master of the marchants of the cytie of York, geve this.

At Wakefild, the iiij daie of October, anno 1560. Right worshippfull Sir, my dewtie consetharye [?] I have me comended, this may be to sertefye you, that I have received by Mr Pease a letter frome your compayne at Yorke, wiche is to Mr Bayllis, Harry Bentlay, and me, for payment of sertayne monay apou a clothe, as consernyng suetes by past, wiche for to paie because that they be absent, and also because the matter as yett hathe not takyn good effecte, I cane not well sertefye ther minds in that matter. But befor this, whe dyd se a noate from yor mastershipis by John Grangher. Wher apou I have apouctid my selfe to wayte apou Mr Raffe Halle and Mr Thorneton, at London, with the best fryndshipe I can make, and afterward at our retorne home, whan Mr Bayllis shall come to York, I trost you shall have answar reasonable, so that I trost whe shalle haue you fryndle, as befor whe have had; and in so doyng you shalle have me or any of hus to do that pleasor and serve, that in God ys to do, as knoweth hym, whom preserve you. With moiche worshippe, yors assured to comand to his small pour. William Cyster.

Sir I intend to be at Dancaster towards ¹. . . apou Monday nyxt.

¹ MS. torn away.

*To Mr George Hall, governor of the fellowship of merchants
adventurers, resydent within the citie of Yorke, geve this.
At Antwarpe.*

So after our hartie comendacions, may it pleas you to be advertized that the iij of November instant, we receyved a letter frome Mr Fitzwilliams, the governor, dated at Andwarpe, the xvij of Octobre, whereby we do understande the holle fellowship there resydent haith condiscended and agreed to dysburse and paye for the quenes maiesties use, in Andwarpe aforesayd, by exchange to be repayd in Englund at double usance, xxx^{li}. betwyxt the xv and xx of this instant of Novembre, for the levyinge whereof they have maid a generall cessment, wherein they have charged us, the holl brethren resydent in Yorke and precyns of the same (whiche we take to be Wakeffielde onlye), with the payment of iiij^{li}. sterlyng, parcell of the said xxx^{li}., and further saying if perhappys by reason of shortnes of tyme, or lacke of furnytur in these parties, any of our said company cannot commodiously furnyshe the said some appointed by the day, they are then contented, (as they alledge for our ease), to take up the same at interest for iij^o monethes, we being the charge of the said interest, and also willing us to take sureties of every of our said brethren, which desyer so to be eased, as well for the pryncypall some to be by the quenes maiesteie repayed, as for payment of the said interest by the fyne of the said iij monethes, which is by the xv of February next. And the said letter we declared unto our brethren, called to gather by the anncyent custom, wher it was fully agreed that we, for and in the nayme of our holl fellowship, should directe our letter to you in the premysses, requyring you hartelye, according to the expectatione we have in you, to use your good discretione and wysdome for order and payment of the said somme, as ye shall thinke best for our proffyt and ease. And what ye shall do for us therein, we shall not onely affyrme the same to be our fact (*sic*) and deed, but also shall see the same well and suffycyently dyscharged accordingly, with hartie thankes also. Sir, where we are credably informed by dyvers of our company and fellowshipe, that the act of retaill

shall taik place and effect according to his former estate, whereby we shalbe forced to shutt in our shopps, (to our great losse and hynderaunce, as the probacion thereof is not unknowne to us all that be venturers), for the qualyfyng thereof, we shall most instantly requyre you not onely to taik paynes and travaill therin, but also to make all the frendes ye can possyble, that the sayme may be sett at lybertye agayne onely for the fellowship in Yorke. Sir, we wold wyshe and also reaquerer you, with all spedecione possable, ye shuld travell for the sayd relleze, for we suppose they will make sewt to the previe counsell to have yt rattyffied. Thus commytting you to the twitone of Allmyghtye God, from Yorke, thys vij day of Novembre (1560). By me James haryngton, maior, Robert Hall, alderman, Robert Pacok, William Watson, Thomas Appylyerd, Wylliam Bekwith.

To the right wurshipfull Mr Rafe Hall,¹ governor to the fellowshipp of merchaunts adventurers within the cyttie of Yorke, and to all the rest of the bretherne of the sayd fellowshippe there resident or dwelling. At Yorke.

Right wurshipfull sir and sirs, whereas of late the quenes maiesties request was by the companie dysbursed heare to her graces use thirti thousand poundes, for the furniture whereof a generall ceasement was then made, lyke as by owre former letters we dyd singnifie unto you, whereby wee likwyse dyd advertise you at what some you there weare cessed at, to be payd heare by the daye then appoynted, or ells for your ease we offered to take up the same for you at interest, you using suche order for suerties and otherwise for payment of thinterrest thereof, at the daye appoynted, as by the sayde letters was specyfyed. Now shall this singnifie unto you that upon lyke request by her maiestie made, wee have consented to serve her grace with the lyke some of thirtie thousand pound sterling, to be heare dyffrayed by the xx of Marche next ensuing. For the furniture whereof wee have anew ratefyed the said former reassement, and ordeynid that

¹ Mr. Ralph Hall was governor in 1557, 1558, 1559, but probably acted as governor during the absence of his brother in Antwerp in 1560.

the lyke contribution and prest shalbe by every brother of this felloschyppe, as was for the last, and that apou payne of the penalties in the same comprised. And for the ease of such as ar not, nor cannot be heare furnisid of such somes, as they ar ceassed to dysburse, by the daye appoynted, wee have taken the lyke order to ease them by thinterest, as in the first prest wee dyd. Wherefore this shalbe to requier you to prepare your money agaynst the sayde xx of Marche, or ells yf you requier to be helped heare by thinterest, then to take such suertise, as by the former order was appoynted, and by our letters then writen to you singnefied. And thereof to advertise us with all convenient dyligence, whether of the two orders you wyll take, and therof not to faylle, as you will exchew the danger of the pennaltie in that behalfe provydytt, which is, iijs. iiijd., upon every pounce, whereat you or anny of you ar ceassed att. And thus not dowting of your good conformities consarning the premisses, wee comitt you unto the tuition of Allmightie God. From Andwarpe, the first of Februarye, 1560. Yours, John Fitzwilliams, governor.

To the righte wurshipfull Mr Raulphe Halle, governor of the fellowshippe and companye of merchant adventurers, resident within the cyttie of Yorke. Geve this, in Yorke.

Wurshipfull Sir, after our right heartie comendations, whereas by our bokes of accomptes we doe fynde sondry brethern of this oure fellowshippe, resydent within this cyttie of Yorke, and other places nyghe thereunto adioynnye, to be indebted unto the same fellowshippe in sondrye somes of money as by a note thereof made, which herein closed you shall receive, doethe appere. This shalbe to require youe for to take so muche paynes in thaffayres of the companye as for to speake with all suche, or lett them have sufficient warnynge to see the said dette paid, or otherwize sufficyentlye answered here by themselves, or their sufficyent attorneys, betwixt this and the feaste of Seinte Mychaell tharchangell, next ensewinge; and that upon payne to be dysmyssed from the lyberties of this fellowshippe for ever. Desyryng you further, that a note maye be taken and kepte of the tyme, when you

doe hereof warne, and advertyse them; and loke what charges you shalbe att in goinge or sendynge to any of them. yt shalbe heare allowed you with thanks. and repaied to whom you shall appoynt. And yf the parties be dead, lett the declaration be made to their heyres, executors, or successors, especially unto them whoe maye pretend any benefitt of this freedom by theyre coppies, and thus desyringe you hereof to have your answere, with declaration of that whiche youe shall therein have doen, we comytt you unto the tuition of all-mightie God, from Andwarpe, this xth of Februarye, anno 1560. Yours, John Fitzwilliams.

Lead struck at the crane anno 1561-1562.

Memorandum that thys ys the noyte of all the leyd shypt frome York sence the xxj day of Januarii 1561 to thys 8 of Dyseember, 1562.

The said leyd to be chargyd to pay the los of xvj fothers of leyd delyvered to the quenes maiesties, to the vaylow of xvj*li*. to be leviyd upon all the said leyd shypt, as hereafter follows. Farther char[g]e ys to be leviyd upon the sayd leyd, wyche ys awyng to the hows to the sum of, ix*li*.; the particullers of every mans leyd as follows:—M^r Watson, Gregory Paycock, Wylliam Pennington, lx fothers. Delyveryd to the quene ij fothers *dimidium*. M^r Paycock, xliiij fothers, delyveryd to the quene, ij fothers. M^r Becwith, xxvij fothers, delyvered to the quene, 1 fother. M^r Appleyerd, xiiij fothers, delyvered to the quene, a fother. Thomas Donnyngton, xij fothers, delyvered to the quene, j fother. Thomas Newton, Robert Bruke, viij fothers. Leonard Hall, iiij fothers. George Hall, v fothers. Jaymys Leppyngton, ij fothers. Sum of all lede ys ij^ciiiij foddres at 19*s.*, xvj*li*. iijs.

Antwarpe, 1562, Yorke in answer to letters from Antwarpe.

Right worshipfull Sir and Sirs, may it please you to be advertysed that accordyng to your request and desyr, I have sent unto you by the brynger hereof, one booke breffly noted of all those apprentyses, which stoude boundon by indenture

unto 'every of us,' the marchants adventurers of the citie of Yorke, and are entryd in our booke of record, mayd for that purpose, senc the yere of our Lord God, 1555, unto the second day of Octobre, the year of our Lorde 1562, according to the good order therefore by you mayd and enactyd; which booke I do sertefye your worships therunto accordingly. And thus the holy Trinitre long preserve your worships in helth. At the said Citie of Yorke, this second day of Octobre, anno 1562, and sealed with our comon seall. By yours, R. Hall, governor of the felloship of marchaunts adventurers of the said citie. To the right worshipfull M^r governor, and felwshipe of marchaunts adventurers, resident at Andwarpe.

Freight of goods betwixt Hull and Yorke. 1562.

A ratement of sartane goods transported betwixt the Kyngs lord of Hull, and the cyty of Yorke, which is fully concluded and agreed unto betwixt the marchaunts adventurers of the cytye of Yorke, and the kelemen thinhabytters of the said cytye, this vth day of December, the fourthe yeare of the reigne of oure soveraigne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of England, France and Yrlonde: Iron sex skores endes to the tonne, ijs. iiij*d.*; A tonne of any other marchandice as it comethe from beyond the seae, ijs. iiij*d.*; A tonne of yron xx^c for the tonne, ijs. iiij*d.*; A chalder of coles for the merchauntes own house, meanyng so many coles as ye will spend yearlye, iijs.; Clabbord the small hundrythe, *xd.*; Wayn-skotte the small hundrythe, *xs.*; Salte the quarter watter measure at Hull, *vjd.*; Salte the quarter Yorke measure, *vjd.*; All manner of grayne Yorke measure the quarter, *vjd.*; All manner of grayne Hull measure the quarter, *vjd.*; Flaxe the laste, ijs. *vjd.*; Flaxe the packe untrussed as it comythe from Danske, iijs. iiij*d.*; Osmonds the laste, ijs. *vjd.*; Pyche, tarre and asshes the laste, ijs. *vjd.*; Read heryngs the laste, ijs. *vjd.*; Stock fyshe the laste, iijs. iiij*d.*; A fatte of eles, *vjd.*; Lead, the futher, taken in at the crayne, xiiij*d.*; Lead, the futher, beyng lightened, xvij*d.* [Provided alwaies that the merchauntes shall pay his frgyt within two days next after the keyll shall be delyvered, wytheowte any further delaye]; A packe of clothe,

xxd.; A small truse of clothe as the parties cane agre. It is fully agreid, as well by the merchaunts as by the owners, that this rayt, order, and agreement shall contynew firme and stable wytheowte alteration for the tearme and space of thre yeares next ensueynge, upon payne of forfature of any clawse, article herein comprised or specified the some of, xls.; Six small pokes of Brassell to a tonne, and the greater as they be rayted forthe of the ship; A hundreth nowland (*sic*) fyshe, viijd.; Scotyshe fyshe and Skarbrugh fyshe the c, xijd. John Wilkynson, Steven Skellton, Herre Wyllson, Jhon Lenlye, Wylliam Rogares, Thomas Welfortt, Jhon Makehege, Wylliam Watson, Thomas Raikes, Richard Raikes. To begin at Whitsonday next, anno 1562.

To the right worshipfull Mr George Hall in the Pavement within the citie of Yorke, geve these.

After hertie commendacons, these shalbe to advertise you, that I have receyved your letters, herein I do perceve your requeste is for the discharge of the hospitalle of St. Trinity, in Yorke, which I have not slaked, but as fast as may be, I do proced for the discharge thereof; and this terme I trust to fynysh the same. I have retayned counseld this last terme, and caused it to be moved, and the courte is contented to have it discharged, and thereapon I have thorder drawne; but it must be shewed this terme in the courte, and so inrolled in our office, which wilbe somewhat chargeable, but I trust to mydecate parte thereof, so that ye shall not be streatelie used. I am not able to certefie you the hole charge as yet, but ye shall understande as it belonge, therefore I wolde wyshe you that one of your frends may repaire unto me, and he shall understande, what is disbursed. As for the processe that came downe, it was maide by a boye in thoffice, which did not regarde the respecte that was apen the hospitall, but ye shall take no further harme by that skape, as knoweth the Lord, who preserve you and your good bedfellow in healthe, from London this xiiij of Aprill, anno 1562. Your assured to commande, Roberte Kendall.

To his mastere Roof Hall, marchante, send these, foather.

In Antwarpe, the 26 of September, 1562. Sir, my dewttie consederyd, this may please you to understande that the day before the mackine heareoff, Thomas Dawsone haythe taiken uppe at dobell ussance for the preste mony for the merchauntes of Yorcke the some of 50*li.* sterling. at dobell ussance, 21*s.* 10*d.* sterling of the worshepful Mr Homeffray Basefelde, soe the whiche mony I trouste you wel se discharged at the day, for Mr Dawsone haythe done it onlye upon my worde; he thought you woulde have wrytten unto hyme for the furneter of the same, boutte neverthesse at my requiste he hath tacken so mouche pane as to tacke it upe at dobell usance, whearefore I trouste you will se it dyscharged. . . . I shoulde have wrytten to you before, and for noes theare ys none to wrytte you off. Boat the Lorde have you in his kepyng, and longe lyffe to conteneue in healthe wythe a beholdyng voagge. I reste, your apprintes, A. Pullay.

Item, to remember for reparrychones of serten houses as in Peterlane littell, in Gederomegatte, in Bowtham to be some . . . order tackyen that the tenantes maye reparre them or else the charge wilbe tow grett and above the rent.

Jhesu.—At Antwarpe, the 29 Januarii, anno 1563. Right worshipful sir, in ryght hartye maner, I commend me unto your worshepe, trystyng in God that you be in helthe and all yours, with all the felowshipe of merchants. Thys may be to syngnyfye to your worshepe that at a cort of asystance holdyng this daye, the debutye with the ryst of the systanse command me, that I should not gyffe furthe the seyll of our offysse, clering of our shypes, tyll the lone monye, wyche remanes at intryst, be payd by husse of Yorke; for it wasse agreyd in synxson mart layst, that it shold be clered the 20 of February next, bowthe the prinsepal and intryst in pane of the brogge wyche wasse 3*s.* 4*d.* of everye *li.* And thaye saye if here ware bound one here with gudes that theye wold have it of them, for that we dessyred to have it sessed at home, so that we stand one for another. If the holle intryst were payd, I thynke we myghte have monye for the qwynges byll, but it is motche to loysse the hole intryst, for there is no

dowt to get it payd at my lord tresorer, or else he wyll assyne the byll to be alowed in costome, and so he has done with manye of London. I have declared, that we have dywers of our brethern, that is departed fensshewyshed, we could gyt nothing of; and there is some sessed, that wyll not paye as they are sessed. But the companye seyes, that we may have as gud law of thame, that wyll not paye, as if it were anye dett belonging to one of hus. Wherefor I shold dessyer your worshops that it may be collected and mayd over, as soone as is possyble, for we shall rynne in danger of the hanse¹ for it, and there is small faver to be hayd for hus, for layke of the workshopfull comyng over; for I fynd manye charges that London hayes alowed of the hanse¹ in thare affayres that we cannot have, and this is for layke of comyng over of the gret assystancys. I shall doe as moche as in me lyes to send the broge, if the money come before I be owt of the tresershype, and if ye cannot colect and gether the hole, yet get as moche as ye can. Here is the balances of our moneye. Item, the bretheryne of York owes for 00450*li.* sterling after 22*s.* 6*d.* the *li.* 00506*li.* 5*s.* For the interest of 00506*li.* 5*s.* sterling, frome the synxson mart anno 62 to the cold mart next folying, after 6 per cento 0030*li.* 7*s.* 6*d.* For thintrest of 00536*li.* 12*s.* 6*d.* sterling, frome the cold mart anno 62 to the synxson mart next folying in anno 63, after 6 per cento 0032*li.* 4*s.* From the synxson mart to 20 of February, 0034*li.* 2*s.* 8*d.*, 00602*li.* 19*s.* 2*d.* sterling, due per the syed brethren in all ²00568*li.* 16*s.*² 06*d.* Other newes here is non, but I tryst to God that all the breblyng be done, that we have heyd here, for there is apointed of ours and of theres to meyt the 20 of May next at Bryges, and to desyde all matters and to se all things, that is wrong amendyd of bowthe partes. Thus comyt you to the tuyshone of allmyghtye God, who preserve you in helthe, yours to comand, Christopher Herbert, treasurer. As for the money, here will be no helpe, but to pay it, and if

¹ This word looks more like "husse" than "hanse," but the whole letter is very difficult to decipher; if "husse" is the correct reading, then the word is probably used in the sense of "the English nacion," that is, the whole body of English merchants resident in Antwerp.

²⁻² Crossed through in MS. I have copied as the letter stands, and left obvious emendations to the reader.

I payd not, bene treasurer, we shold have heyd no gane clered owt of sellves tolne, so that it heyd bene payd, and theye thretyning hus sore that we shold paye it, or we goye. And if we pye it not before 20 of this monthe, we shall pye the broge; if it were pyd, I wold not dowbt but to get alowed of my lord treasurer, so hays most of theme doe that payes the hanse¹ here, payes cyssyng coste to 20 or 13 of the worshopfulles at home to point whareas they shall thinke good for thayre shypes to goy with thayre clothe, for that the acte at Brysselles hayes set of comand . . . , and theye thinke that we shall go, wharesoever they thynke it good. If some of our worshopes wold ather go, or send, if ye thought gud to point some place for husse, for they may point a place for thame that shall not be for husse, and if it sell not furthe wayres as I tryst it shold not, we can have no better place than thes for hus, for we may have all fawer showed hus that we wyll dissyir of thayme, if the counsell of England wold consent to it. I would we were from thance, for we be sore charged with thame, and yet hayes no helpe, when we stand neyd of anything. Thus I byd you most hertylye farewell, and I dessyir you to tayk this my letter in good part. Our shyppes is allmost all alodyng, and I tryst thaye shalbe rydye to tayke the first wynd that God shold send, within this 8 dyes to be clere, by God's grace. God send thame a beholdyng voyage. Yours to comand, Christopher Herbert, treasurer. As for the actes of results and for renderyng, here wyll be nothing done here in that to symxson marte, for our governor is in England. It might be some gooyng [?] at London more than here, for here is small assistance but thoes that is necesery here.

To the right worshipfull Mr Robert Paycocke, allderman and merchaunte adventurer, of the cittie of Yorke, geve thes.

Wurshipfull sir, after our right heartye comendations, whereas for the better order to be observed in the shippinge of goods hyther to this present marte and laste shippinge, an order was taken that all suche brethern, as shuld shipp in the said late shippinge, shuld take a certen othe for the prop-

¹ *Ante*, p. 171.

ertie of his goods, eyther att London or heare. For so muche as dyvers brethren of oure fellowship, there with yowe resy-
dent, have not takyn the sayd othe, nor com over themselves, we have for the more ease of our said brethern comytted the same othe to be to them mynystred by your wurshipp, whom we require, as shortlye as convenyently you can, for to call all suche persones, as have shipped eyther in the fyrst shippes, which dyscharged at Barrowe, or in any other sence, before yowe and suche other antient brethern of the fellowship there, as you doe use for assistents in lyke case. And there mynyster unto them and to every of them particulerly the said othe, the coppie whereof you shall herewith receive; and to advertis us of your proceedings herein, and whether any of our said brethern doe refuse to take the same. Further you shall understand that upon dyvers reasonable consy-
derations, we have thought ytt mooste necessarye for to restrayne some parte of the ample lybertie of thacte of retayle, and so for our brethern of your cittie and other not resident in London, occupienge as merchaunts by greate, we have appoynted this order and proportion to be observed in the sale and utterance of their wares and comodyties, which by the acte herein sent, you shall perceive, requiring you that the same maye be openlye publyshed to all our said brethren there resy-
dent, (to thintent no man have cause to excuse himself by yngno-
rance), nor incurre the penaltye. Wherewith we comytte youre wurshipp unto the tuition of All Mightye God, from Embden, this xxij of August, anno 1564. Yours, Rychard Hyll, depewty.

Copie of an othe to be ministred unto everie brother of this fellowshipe, 1564.

You shall swear that all the clothis, kearsies, cottons, wurstedes, tinne, leade, or any other Englishe commodities by you entird and shippid, or for to be shippid, in theis apointed sheppes for the colde marte, are properlye yowre owne goodes or you parteners, freemen of this fellowshipe, and that the adventure thereof is of your self or parteners borne. And also all profits comynge and growinge therof redoundith onelie to your privy accompte or your parteners. And that whither

you, or anye other for you, or to your use in your name, have shipped since the xvij of Aprill, 1560, laste paste, any clothes, kearsies, or other englishe commoditie, in the acte of shippinge prohebeted, unto the parties of Hollande, Zealand, Brabande, or Flandres, or anye other place or places in the base contries, subjecte to our orders. Item, whither you have trulye observed all the branches of the acte made for sellinge of clothis in Englande unto estrangergs, with condition to be paid for the same in anye other coyne then sterlinge monye, or out of the same realme shipt the same, upon your adventure, otherwyse then accordinge to the true meanyng of the same acte.

To the right wurshipfull Mr Robert Peacocke and Mr Raulf Hall, merchaunts reseaut in the cytie of Yorke, and to aither of theyme, this be delyverdede.

Right worshipfull sir and sirs, in righte harty maner I comende me unto you, and whereas communicaton or colloquye is appointed to be at Bruges in Flanders,¹ betwene the right honourable the quenes maiesties comissaryes and of the Kinge of Spayne, Whereat it is thoughte expediente and righte necessary, that sondrye of our fellowshipp, suche as have moste knowledge in trafique, entercourses, and privileges, should be presente bothe to sollicite reformacon of suche exactions, forfaitures, and disturbances, as againste the same have by any meanes ben attempted and executed. And also to prosecute the conservacion and restauration of those franchises, libertyes, and immunities, whiche be to be requyred; hereupon it is thoughte very conveniente that for the better proceeding in the premysses, ye hereby be instansed, calling unto you so many of our brethern as inhabite that citey, and other places nigh adionying, and declaring the determination unto them both, they and you, and so many of you, as have juste cause to complayne of any the griefs or molestacyens in the schedule herein enclosed notified; or of any other injury to you, or any of you ministred, in any parte of the

¹ In the Antwerp archives the volumes catalogued as "Engelsche Natie," give many details of the life of the merchant adventurers in Antwerp. The fullest account of the Bruges meeting is given in the Amsterdam MS.

Lowe countries, ye procure the same formally and particularly to be sett downe in wrytinge, togethers with the losses and demages thereby sustayned, which justificacion thereof by other witnesses or otherwise, and so sende the same hether under the Seale of your citie, in goode order to be exhibited at the said colloquye. And it is requested that you faile not to use all dexteritie and speede, that may be executed herein. For that it is willed that nothings be wantinge at the firste meetinge, that maye further the premisses. For the better furnishing whereof bothe the said articles and also an abstracte for the rate of tolles, which be to be payd in Andwarpe is sente unto you herein enclosed. Almightye god preserve you longe in good health, at London. the xixth daye of January, 1564. Youres, John Merthe, governor.

Cover Tolls paid at Antwarpe.

1. What goods have bene seased or forfayted for mystring or not entring ? and what losse and damage hath bene susteyned thereby ? mencioning particulerly whay, where, and by whom, the same was donne, and what the goods were that was so forfayted, and to what value ?

2. What damages have bene susteyned by any arrest or restrainct of traphique there made, and specially to expresse the tyme of the arrest or restraincte, and the contynuance of the same, togethers with the losses susteyned by the abating of the price of the commodities at the sale, by not receyving your debtes, with the losse of the interestes and lett of your trade.

3. What exaction or impost you have paide for any goodes carryd owte of the lowe countries into France ? or for Frenche wares brought into the same parties ? What was paide, to whome, for what comodite, and in what tyme ?

4. What toles have bene exacted of the particularities of goodes, wares, marchaundises, packed in any fardelle, dryfatt, maunde or cheste ? How muche, whan, where, and by whome ?

5. What damage hath bene done to any mans goodes by unlawfull searche, with long instruments of iron or otherwise, expressing how, whan, and where, and to what losse and damage ?

6. What exactions, as gheleyde ghelt, rever ghelte, tukenay, chardging of ballust or suche like, touching maronnens have bene exactedde ?

7. Whither any have payde the c penny or twentyth penny ?

8. What excise or impost hath bene payde upon wyne, or bier, by whome, to whome, howe often, and to what value ?

9. What damage hath bene susteyned by arrest of any shippe, or by sute for release or recovery, of suche as have bene arrestedde ?

10. What bondes have bene taken in the lowe countres that wares shipped from thence hither ento this realme shulde be here solde and certefyed within a tyme, what was exacted for making and dischardge of the bonds ? with declaration of the further losse and damage thereby susteynedde.

11. What goodes have bene taken by pyrates or shippes of warre of the lowe contrees ? of whome, by whome, at what tyme and to what valewe in the damage thereof ?

12. What losse and damage hath bene susteyned by slaying, forbidding or taking of any armare, horses, copper, latten, wyne, pytche, tarr, brymstone, gonnepowder, saltpeter, buss-skyns, or other munytion ? particulerly specifying the tyme, the quality and quantity of the merchaundise, and of what shipp or vessell, and by whom it was takenne ?

13. What greater toles have been exacted than by our pryveledges arne rated to be payde at Andwarpe ? for better knolaige whereof the rates of the same be herewith certefyed.

14. What disturbance youe have in the zewesthe toll in Andwarpe, the Brabantes toll being there payde, and for comodities brought thider from Spayne, Italy, or other foreyne countries, what greater tole is payde than by the same pryveledges arne appointedde ?

15. What penaltie is lymyted to be payde by suche as buy allome of any other than of the contractors thereof, and what ymposte is thereupon sette ?

16. What monny hath bene abated for lacke of lengthes and other faults of clothes there solde, by whom, whair, and to what some ?

17. What retardance of justice or unjust sentences have bene pronounsedde in any your sutes in the lowe countries ? whair, and in what court, and what losse and damage youe have therby susteynedde ?

18. What losse or damage hath bene susteyned for lacke of lengthes and other faultes in lynnenn, clothe, moorstedes, mockadose, and other merchandises there made and from thense brought into this realme ?

The rate of toles, which the quenes Majestyes subjects owe to pay in the towne of Andwerpe in the dukedom of Brabante.

First, for a last of ashes, iiiij *gr.* Fleming. For a bale of allome, iij *gr.* For a bale of anieyse, iij *gr.* For m^l of brusshes, ij *gr.* For a bale battery of twoo reape, vj *gr.* For a barrell bleke of vj^c, iiiij *gr.* For a laste butter, viij *gr.* For iiiij bouches baste, vj *gr.* For a bale conelers [?], viij *gr.* For a bale of conunpy [?], iij *gr.* For c cotton wool, ij *gr.* For a waye of cheese, ij *gr.* For a hondred cordway, these called suffschese, vj *gr.* For c vienendell corne, xx *gr.* For a bale dates, iij *gr.* For a fatt of latterne or ironewyer, viij *gr.* For a mande of boxes, ij *gr.* For a sacke onyon seede, ij *gr.* For a bale fustyan, viij *gr.* For a mande of farsers of leather, vj *gr.* For a maunde of fersers (*sic*) of tree or woode, ij *gr.* For a packe of celleyne or Burgoyne threde, viij *gr.* For a barrell of bowestring threde, ij *gr.* For a cheste with glasses, ij *gr.* For a cheste of glasse, iiiij *gr.* For a laste of hydes, ijs. For a laste heringe, v *gr.* For a maunde of felte or strawen hatts, iiiij *gr.* For iij [?] *li.* iroune, iiiij *gr.* For a cheste combes, ij *gr.* For a fatt or two pipes of hemepe, ix *gr.* For a c skybe taselles, vj *gr.* For c stoane pottes, j *gr.* For cloth, lynnenn, mercery, spicery, or pelterye or of the like of eche bale or packe, ijs. sterling. For a myddell packe, xvij *gr.* For a carlinge, xij *gr.* For a fardell, vj *gr.* For a soane, coruerde, fatt or maunde, xvj *gr.* For a rounde corf or pipe, viij *gr.* For a little corf or hogshhead, vj *gr.* For a aam, barrel, or chest, iiiij *gr.* For a barrell of litmose, iiiij *gr.* For a male of maddir, ij *gr.* For a barrell of nailles, iiiij *gr.* For a laste of osmondess, viij *gr.* For a corfe of quilles, seall-thredde, iiiij *gr.* For a

bale paper, xvj *gr.* For a sack feders of *celi.*, iiij *gr.* For a fatte or mand patens, iiij *gr.* For a stocke plate, or an alme or barrelle, iiij *gr.* For a barrell of pauchers [?] with lethers, vj *gr.* For a bale paper of fyve realmes, ij *gr.* For a measure quicksilver, iiij *gr.* For a barrell ryse, iij *gr.* For a last of tryed tallowe, viij *gr.* For a last tallow untryed, xij *gr.* For a barrell of steele, vj *gr.* For a barrell of grease, iij *gr.* For m^l stockfish, iiij *gr.* For a barrell of myrrors, iiij *gr.* For a fatt of brymston or saltpeter, viij *gr.* For a fatt sweardes or ij pypes, xij *gr.* For xij sweardes, l *gr.* For a stocke stergan of nyne bondes (*vertaten folium*). For a maunde storgane of iij stockes, xij *gr.* For a barrell of tynne, vj *gr.* For a hogshed tynne, ix *gr.* For a blocke of tynne, ij *gr.* For a tonne loade of iiij cupyes, vj *gr.* For *cli.* woolle, viij *gr.* For a sack English woolle, viij *gr.* For a sack Barwick wooll, vj *gr.* For a hundrede shepe fells with the woolle, iij *gr.* For c lambe fells sherrlinges or calf fells, j *gr.* For c wammes, iiij *gr.* For a fatte conyskyns or a packe, xij *gr.* For a bodam wax of Cullen, iiij *gr.* For a bodam wax rozin, iij *gr.* For a fatt flaxe or a packe, xij *gr.* For an aunne reinshwyne, iiij *gr.* For an aunne brabante wyne, ij *gr.* For a laste blacke soape, xij *gr.* For a bale of white sope, iiij *gr.*

To the wurshipfull Mr Roberte Peacock, gouvernour of the marchaunts adventurers, within the cittie off Yorcke, this yeve.

Wurshipfull sir, after our verie hartie comendations, theis shalbe to advertise yow, that at a generall courte heare holden the 11 off this present, it was ordeynid that all and everie such brother or brethren off this company resident within the towne off Newcastle,¹ Kingston-upon-Hull, or theare neare aidjoning, which have not certified this courte off their due services within a yeare after the expiration off ther yeares accordinge to the ordinaunces off our howse, shall paye or cause to be paide unto our treasurer heare at or before the xxv daye off Marche next cominge, the some off xli. sterling, for the broke, upon payne that whoesoever off the same makinge

¹ Crossed through in MS.

defaulte shall paye the double thereof without favour or pardonne. And to thende that none off the said persones shulde be ignorant of this order taken, it was further ordeynid at the said courte that the names off all such persones—as be heare founde offendours in the premisses—shoulde be sent unto yow. Requiringe you to call before you at your convenient laysure the same, and to declare unto them the effecte off this order taken in their behalfe, willinge them not to fail to accomplish accordinglye, as theis will avoide the penaltie aforesaide. And further this is to require you to call before you suche off our brethren as in this present note herewith sent be suspectid to have had more apprentices to be made free off this company at one tyme, then by thordinance is permitted, and to examen them whether thei have, or have had, all and everie suche apprentices as under their names in the said note is annexid. And off their answers to certifie us, as also of your wurships proceedinges in the premisses by your letters, with all convenient spede, that further order maye be therein taken accordinge to our ordinances. Wherewith wurshipfull sir, we reste, committinge you unto the tuition off Almightye God. From Andwarpe, the xxiiij of June, 1566. Yours, John Merthe, gouvernour.

*Generall Court holden in Antwarpe the 6 daye of Marche, 1567.
Copia.*

Where of late the citie of Hamborwe have at oure speciall instance and sewte graunted to us dyvers goodly privileges upon hope that we shoulde occupie and use somme trade thither, and for that purpose have according to ther graunt prepared a howse for us, and for that if we shold not mayntayne somme trad thither, it is possible theye of the citie might think we used them rather for a refuge in tyme of necessitie then of a playne meaning, which might turne to the company greate discredicte, not onely theare, but in all other places heerafter. In according wheareof, and for that it is thought convenient wyselye to forsee for the quiet and saulfe occupieing of the company whatsoever daunger maye hereaftar happen, and to thintent we may have prooffe of the usag of oure privileges,

it is thearefore ordeyned and enacted, that the first iiij shippes, which shalbe laden aftar the last daye of Marche by the bretheren of owre company, such manner and fourme as of late hath ben used for the lowe countries, shalbe laden and departe for and to the said citie of Hamborowe. And be it furtherre enacted that from the sayd last day of Marche untill the sayd iiij shippes shalbe laden and departed, as is aforesayd, that no brothere of this company shall lad or transporte or cause to be laden or transportid into the sayd lowe countries, or any of them, or anye porte, haven, or creeke, in any of the sayd lowe countries, or to the citie of Hamborowe or towne of Embden, directly or indirectly in any shippe bottom or vessel whatsoever, any clothes, kersies, cottons, or other wollen commodities upon payne of forfeiture of xl shillings upon everi clothe, and other commodities after the rates. Theis are to sorte and take efectes the last acte for shipping or any othere acte hearetofore made the contrarie notwithstanding.

Provyded alwayes that any brother or bretheren of this company, resident and dwelling in the contrie, maye at their pleasures shippe for the said towne of Hamborowe from the portes, where theye doe dwell, duringe the ladinge of the said iiij shippes, any artickle or clause in this acte to the contrarie in any wyse notwithstanding. Collationed and found agreable with the originall by me, W. Algor.

To right worshipfull Mr Watson, governer, assistancs, and generally of the right wurshipful company of the merchants adventurers resident in Yorke.

Le 24 de Novembre, anno 1567.

Right worshipfull sir and sirs, my humble dewtye con- sidered unto your wurshippes, your contynewall servant and orator, William Paige your wourshippes post. Having of yor worshippes xxs. geven for the faste conveyans of yor lettres from London unto yor cytie of Yorke, not havinge had any great benefete or profet other waies, but of parte of yor wourshippes which I have aneuytie of yearly; and of other some litell or nothings at all, which haith as many letters as those whom I have agreed withall. Therefore I have thought good

with myself at this present beinge bold to trouble yor worships with this my rude letter to be mensioned in yor next generall court. Trustinge that those, whom I have not agreede withall, might have some consideration thereof, as also for the saffe and spedy deliverance of their letters, and that this might be inclosed in a packet and their names therof to be written in the said letter, that every man may see to have his owne, and to be derected to Raphe Tenant, your bedall, or to some other trustey man, whom your worships shall appoint. And I, God wollinge, for my parte shall be redy to accomlishe the same from weke to weke, or as they shall otherwise come to my hands. And these laytte yeres the traffecte haith bene so small, and the charges so great that thinges be resen to such dearth as well in passadge as otherwyse, that I assure your worships that all their letters that I cary is not able to beare fourth the chairges. Thesse and such like considered, I most humbly dessire yor worships some what to consyddre my estate, as to you shall be thought good or convenient. And I trust my behavior shall be such as yor worships shall thinke yor good willes hearin extended not to be evill bestowed. And so binde me duely to pray for your wurships health and felicity longe to endure. By yor most bynden servant, William Paige, your worships poste.

To the worshipfull Mr William Watson, gouvernour unto the fellowshippe of marchaunte adventurers, resident at Yorcke, this deliver.

Wurshipfull sir, after our verie hartie commendatione. Wheras in tyme paste an order was here taken, and thither to you signified, for the sendinge over yearelye hither unto us the copies of all suche inrolemente off apprentices, as are from tyme to tyme theare made with you, the same have not bene hither sent, (the occasion we know not), off longe tyme, whereby when your apprentices repaire hither to be admitted, we cannot [know] whither thei be theare inrolid or not, and therefore we doe take off them the fyne aptainynge to the same. The premisses considerid, this is to give you advertisement, that at a generall courte heare holden the xxj present, we have

ordeynid that letters shoulde be written unto your wurshippe, requiringe you that as well all such inrolements as have bene theare made, since the laste copie hither to be sent, maye be fourthwith and without delaye sent hither unto us; as also that from hencefourthe, (accordinge to our firste order heare taken), all suche saide inrolements maye be from hencefourthe hither sent yearelye, to thend we maye cause them heare to be enregisterid accordinglye. And thus not doubtinge off your wurshippes good conformitie in the premisses, we bid you hartelye farewell. From Antwarpe, the xxv off Aprill, 1568. Yours the deputie, assistentes, and generalitie off marchente adventurers off Englande. Richard Saltonstall, deputy.

Certifate of inrolements of apprentices (1568).

Right wurshipfull sir, this is to signifye you that I have receyved your letter from Andwarpe beryng date of xxv of Aprill, last past, concernyng a copie of thenrolments of our apprentyces to be sent to your worshippe forthwith and withowte delay, whiche letter came not to my hands before the xij of June instant. And at a courte holden at our hall in Yorke, the xxv of this instant June, the same letter was openly redd unto the assembly of our brethren there present. And accordyng to the terme thereof, I have sent unto your worship by the bryngar hereof, a trewe copie breyfly notyde of all suche inrolments of our apprentyces, as are entryd in our booke, mayd for that purpose from the yere of our Lorde 1562 and before, unto the laste of June instant 1568, accordyng to the good order by your worships thereof mayd, and enactyd. And thus the blyssyd Trinitie long preserve yor helthe. At the citie of York, this last of June, 1568. And seallyd with our comon seall. Yours W. Watson, governour, of the fellowship of merchants adventurers of the said citie. To the right worshipfull M^r Governor of the fellowship of merchants adventurers, resident at Andwarp, or to his deputie there, geve this.

Antwarpe 1568 with a coppie of oath to be administred to evry brother of the fellowship.

Ye swere by the holy contents of that booke, that you shall declare the mere trewth of all suche things ye shalbe demanded of, without fraude or mallengin, so helpe ye God.

Interregatoires.—In primes, whether you, or any othere for you, or to your use, or by your consent, have shipped sence the last day of Marche last past, any clothes, carsys, or any ynglyshe commodites, in the last act of restraint prohybyted into the parties of Holland, Seland, Brabant or Flanders, or into any other contreie, or place in the base countries, or to Embden, during the tyme of the lading of the iiij shippes from London to the citie of Hamboroughe, but onely suche as ye have laden to the sayd citie. (2) Item, have you not hurd of a sertan person or persones of this company, who senc the sayd act of restraint have shipped clothes or other commodities contrarye to the tenor of the sayd act, or knowe you none that hathe so done? Doe you know or understand of any brother or bretheren of this company, who have had theyr clothes or other comodites shipped into the low contres in strangers names, and taken up there by strangers, and by them sold, or elles delyvered there owt of the straingers handes unto the handes of som bretheren of the company, to be by them solde duringe the tyme of the sayd restraint, or have you not yorself done any of the premises?¹ W. Algor.

To his loving frend Rauffe Tenent, bedal, unto the worshipful merchantes of the citye of Yorke, give thes.

In Londone the leaste of Aprill, anno 1568. After my hartie comendacons unto you, trusting in God you be in goud health as I am at the makinge hereof. Dessyringe you to see theis letters herein closed delivered with spede, and in so doeinge you shall command me to do the like, as the Lord God knoweth, who ever more preserve you and hus all in his blessed kepinge. From London as abouve writen, by your William Paige, post.

¹ A fourth clause is added, but it is a repetition of the last clause of the oath given on pp. 173, 174.

An acte for keeping the marte at Hambro. Copie of an acte passed att a generall courte holden the 26 of Aprell anno 1569, in London.

Whereas by meanes of sondrye unquiett arrests and other ungratefull occasions this fellyshippe arre inforced to discontynue their trafique in the base countries of Hollande, Sealande, Brabante, and Flaunders, and to frequent and haunte the towne of Hamboroughe or of Embden, as well for uttrance of the comodities of this noble realme, as also for continuance of the same fellyshippe in laudable trade, traffique and good government, itt is by this presente courte and generall consent and auctoritie of the same ordeyned and enacted that no brother of of (*sic*) this fellyshippe, nor other persone subiecte to thorders of the same, of what estat, degree, or condition, soever he or they be, shall shippe, lade, transporte, send, cary, or conveye, or cause to be shipped, laden, transported, carryed, or conveyed out of any poarte, haven, creke, or any other place of this said realme of Englande, or jurisdiction of the same, neither clothes, carsaries, cottons, tynne, leade, nor other comoditie of the said realme of Englande, after this present daye, aither unto Andwarpe in Brabant, nor to any other poarte, towne, or place within the said base contries, upon paine of forfaiture and payment of xls. sterling, upon everie clothe, and upon all other comodities after the rat. And that this acte and order shalbe duly and truly observed and kepte, untill by generall courte of this said fellyshippe it shalbe otherwise determyned. And further it is by like auctoritie enacted, and ordeyned, that no brother of this said fellishippe or other persone or persons subiecte to thorders of the same shall shippe, lade, transporte, send, carrye, or convey, or cause to be shipped, laden, transported, sent, carryed, or conveed any the comodities of this said realme unto any place or parte of the lowe contries, or where the company have or had privileges, but onely to sutche place or places where by common consent of this said fellyshippe, the martes shalbe appointed to be kept, and that att suche tymes in suche appointed shippes, and in suche order and forme, as is, and shalbe, by the said right wurshipfull fellyshippe, from tyme to tyme, appointed to serve the generaltie

thereof, upon paine of forfaiture and payemente for everie clothe xls. sterling, that shalbe shipped, laden, transported, sente, carryed or convaied contrarie to the trewe meaninge and intent of this said acte, and for all other Englishe commodities after that rate, without any favore, remyssyon or pardon therein to be shewed (any former acte or ordinance heretofore made to the contrarye notwithstandinge). This ordinance to be duly and truly observed and kept, untill by generall consent in courte of this forsaid fellyshippe, it shalbe otherwise determined. *Concordat cum originali, per me.* J. Bourne.

To the Right Worshippfull Mr Gregorye Peacock, governor unto the fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resydent within the cyttye of Yorck.

Right worshippfull, after our hartye commendacons. Whereas Thomas Hewetson, late apprentyce with John Hewson, merchant of York, decessed, at a generall courte here holden, the 4 of this present moneth, exhibited unto us a request, wherin he informeth the companye that (notwithstanding his faithfull, good, just, servyce done, as apprentyce apperteyneth unto his said late Mr, whylst he lyved, and sence with his mystrs, the wyddow of the said John Hewson, according to the tenor of his indenture), he cannot obteyne his said mystrs her certyficat unto us for the certefying of his said servyce, according to our ordenance, albeyt that on his parte he hathe (as he alledgeth) delyvered a just and trew accompte to his said mystrs, which accompte dayes past hathe bene (he sayeth), rysited, perused, and sene by Mr Groves, Mr Robenson, Mr Trew, and Mr Appleyarde, merchaunts of the said cyttye, who founde the same right and just, as apperteyneth, as allso to have dewly served them according to the tenor of his said indenture. Wherefore these are requyring yor worshipp, as well to have conference with the said iiij^{or} persones, concerning theire vew and state of his said accompte, as allso to call before you the said his late mystrs and to examyne her of the occasion, which moveth her to stave the certefying us of the servyce of her said apprentyce. And further to learne of others as muche as yor worshipp can, (yf she allege unto you any thing

in preiudyce or against the said yong man), whether all the same be trew, or by her onely uttered of evell wyll. And of the premysse to advertyce us as sone as convenyently you maye, that thereupon we maye proceede according to our ordenance, and as in suche lyke case apperteyneth. And thus right worsheppfull, our Lord God have you in his keping. Wrytten from Hamboroughe, the 21 of February, 1569. Yours the deputye, assistantes, and generaltetye of merchaunts adventurers of England. Yours, Richard Cloughe, debyte.¹

To the right worshippfull Mr Gregory Pecock, governor unto the fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resydent within the cyttie of Yorck.

Worshippfull, after our hartye commendacons. We be credably informed that there hathe lately arryved from the towne of Embdon certayne vessells of London with sope, hoppes, and other merchandizes of the lowe cuntryes at Hull, and at Yorck. And in lyke manner we have certayne intellygence of sondry shippes arryved at the said towne of Embdon from Hull, and Yorck, laden with corne, clothe, and other comodetes of the realme of England, whereof sale is there made, and the valew imployed for retorne in wares of the lowe countries laden in the said shippes for Hull and Yorck. And the said shippes are now reddye to sett sayle homewardes with the fyrst good wynde. All which proceedinges are not onely contrary to the quenes majesties proclamation, but also dyrectly against the ordenances of this our fellowship, and the meanes utterly to derogate and overthrowe our trafficque here. And yet we understand some of the doers thereof are of good calling and aucthorretye, who ought rather to be the observers of the quenes majiesties edyct and other good ordnances, and to punnyshe the offenders, then to be themselves

¹ The son of a Welsh glover, he settled in Antwerp in 1552, and kept Cecil and Gresham in touch with mercantile affairs there, until the removal of the mart to Hamburg in 1568, when he became deputy of the merchant adventurers. Gresham complained that Clough was very tedious in his writings, but seems to have relied on his information. He died in 1570, and was buried in Hamburg, but his heart was brought back to England and buried at Whitchurch. He was an ancestor of the poet Arthur Hugh Clough.

the infryngers and breakers of the same, thereby imboldening others to doe the lyke. This is therefore erenestly to requyre you, that as well at the arryvall of the said shippes and goods from Embden, as also at the arryvall of any lyke goods hereafter at your porte to whomesoever they apperteyne, Englyshe-man or strainger, except it be from this towne of Hambrough, proved by certyficat under our seale accoustomed, to arrest and kepe all such wares and merchandises from sale, untill you have other order from Mr Governor, or his deaputye, at London, thereof desyryng there aunswere, how you shall further procede therein. And further, we hartely praye you to advertyse us hether the names of all such our bretherne as have herein offended, togethers with a note of all suche commodetes as they laded to Embden and have retourned from thence. To the ende we maye procede against them, according to our ordenances without respecte of any persones. The rather allso to the ende that we maye seke remedye to prevent the greate ruyne, which otherwyse, throughe suche dealing is lyke to insew to our generall trade here; which is muche more to be respected then the particuler offendours. And thus not doubttyng of your worshippes brotherly good will and conformetye to the accomplyshement of the premisses, according to the good zeale you have allwayes bourne to the mayntenance of our generall estate, we comytt you to God, who ever preserve and kepe you, amen. Wrytten from Hambrough, the v day of Maye, 1571. Yours the deaputye and assistentes of the merchants adventurers of England. Nicholas Loddyngton, deputy.

From the roll of Gregory Pacoke, alderman, governor, 1571.

. . . *Shipping this yere.*—Item, the said accomptantes are charged with nothing therefore, for that it is ordered that such money as shalbe receyved therefore hereafter shall be geven towards the releyfe of the power folkes of oure hospitall.¹
 . . . So remanyth declaro appon this accompte ccxliijli. xjd.²

¹ Is there any connection between this sudden determination to devote the shipping money to charity by which all mention of names and ownership is avoided, and the letter of the same year from Hamburg ?

² The company must have been in a flourishing condition to have this large sum in hand.

To the right worshippfull the lord maior of the cytte of Yorke, and to the aldermen of the same, be thes delivered.

After my harty commendacons unto you, I am enformed that Mr James Phillipp haith bargaine and sold twenty fother of leade to a merchant of London, and that he is bounde for the delivery of the same at a day shortly to come. And further that you and your bretheren haith made an order that any fre man of the cytty of Yorke, havynge keyles for the carryng frome Yorke to Hull, shall not carry any leade of any forreyners, which kelemen do refuse to carry the said xx fother of leade, because of the sed order. Which your order wilbe thought extremytye, and putt the seid Mr Phillip in the danger of forfating his said bonde, and the lose of all his charges with whome he haith contracted the carrynge of the seid leade from Hull to London. Therefore, this is to require you to assemble your brether together, and take such order as the quenes subjects be not vexied by suche inconvenyences, otherwise ye shall geve him occacon to compleane to the quenes prevy councell, which I wold be very loth that he should so do. And thus I bid you hartyly farewell. From Upsall, thys xxj of June, 1571. By yours assuryd, William Tanekerd.

Laus Deo.

Worshypfull, after our harty comendacions. These ar to sygneffe unto your worshyppes that yours of the iij of February, we have resyved by chans, but not by the derecsyon. For it was derved to Mr Rayff Hall, who is neyther an occupyar nor inabettyng in the city of York, and to a young man, beyng a servant, whose nayme is Thomas Mosley, remaynyng at Hambroughe; so that we thought it very strang, you neither did know that we have a general resydens in the cittie of York, nor non of our bretheryn Hall dwelyn that be occupyer, and also where you do wryte that by report and other knowlege had from Flussyng, that the resdent is sett at lybertie to shipp for Sluyes in Flanders, further wher as you do warne us to do so warely for the avoydyng of trouble and damage, so that we cannot understand what is downe in the premysses,

for that you wrytt by report. Therfor thes ar to request and desyer yowr worshypps, that yow wyll by yowr letter to certyfy us, what is done consernyng thintercourse or traffec for yowrs and owr securitytes with the Flussdynners, for that we have maid no adventur as yett into thos parties, but wold gladly, if we could understand the certayntie of the premysses. Thus hoppyng of your good advertysment herein, thus we rest, comyttyng your worshyppes to the Almyghtie, who ever preserve your worshypps to his pleasur. From York the last of February, anno 1573. Yours Christofer Herbert, governor. Postscript, Sir, we do request yow if yow hav no court of assystans, s[h]ortly after the recyet hereof, that yowr worshypps wold certyfy us the rather for that the spryng drawyth ner. To the wurshippful M^r Thomas Egerton, deputie, and assystanc of merchants adventurers resydens in the cittie of London, gyve this in London.

From the rolls of M^r Christopher Herbert, governor, 1572-1574.

Agreyd that the ij challesses with pattens shall be defasyd, and they to be putt towards a nest of gobletts, and that whiche the said goblettes shall come to more to be borne of this felloship. It is agreyd that the pagyant masters gather money accustymed for the venyson feast, and they to bere the resydewe of all the charges thereof, except venyson and wyne, and those that shall be pagyant marsters hereafter to bere the lyke charges of the venyson feast, or ells to pay every one of them xs. if there be no play. *Forfate money*, item, recyvyd this yere of William Skott thelder for his fyne, for that he opnyd shopp in this citie before he was free of this felloship, vjs. viijd. *Forren expences and payments*, item, paid to M^r William Allyn, lord maior, that he dysbursed for this felloship for certen letters brought concernyng Spayne, iijs. iiijd. *Olde dettes*, item, master Gregory Paycock, alderman, late master and governor of this felloshipe oweth the some of ccxliijli. xjd. remanyng in the foote of the last yeres accompte. 1574, item, payd to John Clarke for drawing our charter into Englishe and makyng the same in a booke ijs. vjd. Item, payd to John Hogg for a coppie of Butterfeldes will, ijs. vjd.

Reparacons, item, for charge of makyng a newe chymney at oure hall, and pavyng the Kytchyng and other places as appereth in a byll, *vjli. vijs. vjd.* Item, payd for *vj* bushells of playster for Trenytie hall, *ijs. vjd.* Item, payd for reparacons mayd of our pagyent house, *xijd.* Item, more fore *ij* loddes of spererth, *ijd.* Item, payd for makyng rowmes in the hall for lyeng of cloth, *iiijli. iiijjs.*

1575. *Orders of the fellowship of merchants, Yorke. Particulers for the governor to turne over things by endenture to the new governor.*

Nootes of certen defaltes found by the auditors that satt appon thre yeres accompts of M^r Christofer Herbert, lait governor of this fellowship, mayd the *xiiij* day of June, anno 1575, as followeth, Fyrst, we fynd that M^r Harbert askith allowance of *iijs. iiijd.* in his fyrst yeres accompte, that he payd to M^r William Ablyn for letters concernyng Spayne, and also asketh allowance for the same in his second yere accomptt, for the whiche he muste answer this fellowship the said some, of whiche some of *iijs. iiijd.* he presently paid to the handes of M^r Brooke, nowe governor, before the said audytoures.

Certen Brethren behynd for there subsedy the second yere of M^r Herbert, governour, [1573].

William Watson, *viiijd.* William Ledale, *viiijd.* John Granger, *iiijd.*

Also certen Brethren behynd for there subsedy and other dewtys in his third yere anno 1574.—M^r Appleyerd, alderman, *viiijd.* John Granger, *iiijd.* John Chambre, *viiijd.* William Watson, *viiijd.* William Ledale, *viiijd.* Robert Gylmyn, *viiijd.* Robert Bynkes, *iiijd.* John Jakson is behynd for his parte beyng pagyant master, *xs.* John Smythes, for his laste payment of his brotherhead, *xxd.* William Gylmyn for gagyng money anno 1574, *xvjs. iiijd.*

Memorandum to remembre M^r Brooke, governor, that these men and suche like to have warnyng geven after to pay suche

dewtys and arrerages as they are behynd, orells they to luke to have no benefytt of this howse, as by a courte shall be agreed. Also, the auditors requyers that the old master and the newe master may hereafter passe althynges over by an inventory, indented betwixt theme for obligacons and other wrytinges, and all other thynges that belongs to this feloship to be delyvered over frome the one to the other, from tyme to tyme.

Reparacons.—Item, payd for ij tables in the hall, payntyng the merchauntes armes, and for stuffe and workmanship, and other reparacons, as in a particuler booke it doith appere, the some of iiiij*li.* xviijs. *vd.*

To the worshipfull M^r Robert Brooke, governor of the right worshipfull companye of merchants adventurers, within the cyttie of Yorke, and to the reste of the said companye, this be delivered in Yorke.

Worshipful sir and syers, my due comendations premysed, may it please your worshippes that for as muche as I have a sonne at Cambridge at scoole, which my abbillitie, my losses considered, etc., will not well accomplishe to find theare without some helpe; wherefore consideringe that our rightt worshipfull companye beyonde sea do allowe unto certeyne scollers some annytie towards helpe in the unyversite, some moore some lesse, as by them shalbe thought good, which said annytie so graunted is upon suet maid to them of there frindes, wherefore these be to requeste your wurships letter of favour to the said companye in my said sonnes behallfe, so that I hoope upon your wurshippes request with marchantes heare, who hayth graunted me thayre letter, I shall have some annytie graunted to him. And yf by this meanes I do not gyt thayre worshippes goodwilles towards him, I knowe not the way to obteyne itt. And therefore onse againe, I request your wurshipps favor in this my suett, and I rest to my small power at your wurshippes commandment, comyttinge youe all to the tuytion of Allmyghtie God, who geve unto youe good successe in all your affayres, from Hull the 7 of June, 1576. Yours bounden, John Barker.

From the account roll of Robert Brooke, master, 1576.

. . . For clothes benge in our hall, item, receyved of Sampson Persyvall, kepper of the clothe, that is brought to our hall to be sold, as in his perticler booke thereof mayd it doth appere, for this yere endyd at our Lady day thannuncayon, 1577. *Summa xlijs.*

Item, payd to Master Byrkeby for a copie of the recorde for John Cryplinge house, iijs. iiijd. Item, payd by master Perseyvall Brooke for a seall made beyond seas for anusuall seall for the fellowship, for the gravinge therof in latton and bone, xvjs. Item, for his chardges one wecke for addendinge about the same, xs. *Summa xxixs. iiijd.*

Charges of our venyson feast at oure hall.—Item, payd for the chardges of the said feast as in a perticler booke thereof mayd it dothe appere the some of, vli. xjs. ijd. Sum total of all these payments and allowances, xxviiijs. vi. And so there remanyth declaro upon this accompte to the use of the fellowship, xiiijli. viijs. vd.

The companye removid Broig, stint of apprentices, invrolement of prentizes, etc.

The worshipfull M^r Robert Brooke, governor, and M^r William Beckwith, alderman, and other merchants adventurers of England, resient in Yorke. Right worshippingfull sir, and sirs, after our harty commendations, these are to signifie that whereas in consideration of the estate of this contrey, and specially of this towne, it was thought good and put in practise to keape our residente and trafficque for a tyme within the towne of Brudges, in Flaunders, for the better commoditie of the company to restraine all our trafficqs for the tyme in these partes unto the said towne of Brudges, on paine as by the acte thereof herewith sent may appere. It is thought that sundry men, having more love to their present and pryvate proffyte then regard to the generall benefyte, have transgressed ther said acte, and therefore is ordeyned that all the brethren of this fellowshippe, as well on this syde as in England, shall take oathe for their purgation in that respect, and for the advoydinge

of extremity tyme is gyven to suche, as dwell in the realme owte of the citty of London, to take the same oathe betwixt this and mychaelmas next. And for the perfecte performance thereof in good ordre your worshippes shall receive herewith the copie of the acte and oathe here ordeigned in that behalfe, which by ordre of courte here holden is to be ministred unto every freeman of the fellowshipe resident in Yorke, by the worshipfull M^r Brooke, governour theare, and by M^r alderman Beckwith, whoe are to certifie hither under their handes, and seale of the companie, the names of all suche as before that tyme shall have taken the said oathe, and all such exceptions as anny of them shall maké. Furthermore, you shall understand that at a courte here holden, the 18th of July laste, an acte was here made enjoyninge every master free of this companie, even as they enroll their apprentices within a certain tyme upon a paine, so within a like tyme that they shall certifie in like ordre, when anny suche their apprentices departed life, or owte of their service. And because it ys signified that some of your worshippes are ignorante of the laste acte made for stinte of apprentices, though ignorance cannot excuse offendours, youe shall herewith receive copie of the same acte, and so referring other occurrences in these partes to be reported by our lovinge brother M^r Christofer Beckwith, the berer hereof, we comend youe all to the saulfe protection of Almightye God. From Andwerppe, the 2 of August, 1577. Your lovinge brethren and frendes, the deputy, assistents, and fellowshipe of merchants adventurers of England resident in Andwarppe. Thomas Wykys, deputie.

To the right worshipfull M^r Robert Brocke, master of the marchaundes and to the reaste of his bretherin of the same howsse.¹

Compleaininge shewth unto youre worship and said bretheren youre poore and dalie oratrix Jane Shadlocke, wyddow, sister of youre said howse, whereas youre poore oratrix is

¹ Robert Brooke was master in 1575, 1576, 1577. Jane Shadlock was probably the wife of John Shadlocke, Mayor of York in 1541. As a similar appeal is made to William Robinson, master in 1578, 1579, 1580, apparently her petition was not successful.

a laime whoman, and not able to gyt hir levinge, and paste hir woreke, desieringe youre worship with the reaste of youre bretherin for Gods and charitie sake to take pittie upon youre poore oratrix, to graunte and gyve unto hir, dowering hir lyffe, some releafe towards a poore levinge, to helpe me and me maide withall, according to the coustom of your said house, for so long as I was able to lyve of me selffe, I did demaund none of youe, till nowe that greate neade causes me so to do. And in thus doyinge youre charitable allmes youe shall not a little please God almightie, as thollie prophet Tobias witnesseth sainge,¹ "if thowe have mucche gyve then abundantlie, yf thowe have littell, yet gyve some what godlye." And youre worship poore oratrix shall dalie praye for the preservation of youre worship and bretherin in moste prosperous healtie with mucche increase of worship longe to contenew; and thus in the waye of pittie.

Full power to the merchant adventurers in Yorke to govern.

To the right worshippingfull the governor and fellowship of the merchants adventurers, resident within the citty of York.—Right wurshipfull, after our hearty comendacons of late we received letters from our lovinge brethren Mr John Thorton, Mr James Clarkson, and others resident in Hull, by which they seme to complayne of the indyrect dealing by unfremen and interlopers intruding themselves into their trade and others in the parties of beyond the zeas, (where we be preveleged), to the greate annoyans of those free and conformable brethern, which wold gladly and quietly followe their trade, if suche were not letts and impedyments. Which letter we caused to be made publike, att a generall corte here holden the last of July nowe passed, wheratt the same was throwly debated, and the necessaries of waye to reforme the same, which we coulde devyse, was thought for the beste to send unto your wurshippes, copie aucthentique of the quenes majesties prevyeledges graunted to us, to thend that fyndinge any disordered person unfree, which doeth otherwise then the said prevyleges will beare, to punyssh or cause to be punyshed

¹ Tobit iv, 8.

after tenor and force of the said privileges; for the better doinge wherof we doe by thes presents give you, with our brethern of Hull, in the premisses, our full and ample aucthorite and power, not dowtinge but the execution thereof shalbe so discretely and circumspectly handled by you, and them of Hull, as the parties offenders maye be punyshed according to their demeryts; and we therof from tyme to tyme advertized of your proceedinges. And that the said copie of privilege be so safely kept in custody of the governor of our fellowship in Yorke, and when nede shall require in the custody of M^r John Thorneton, or M^r Clarkson of Hull, from tyme to tyme, so as the same be exstant, when we shalbe moved to have the same returned unto us, and so reverse this oure aucthorytie as aforsaid. Wherewith right wurshyppfull sirs we reeste, comittinge the same unto the tuition of Allmightie God, from London this iijrd of August, anno 1577. Yours the governor, assistentz and fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resident in London. Thomas Heton, governor.

*From the account roll of maister William Robynson, governor,
1578.¹*

. . . *Forren Paymentes.*—Paid for the costes and chardges of the master Robert Brooke, master Andrew Trewe and Antony Pulley in rydinge to London aboute the fellowship affayres as by two particler bills thereof maid more at lardge it may appere, the som of *l*ij*l*. xjs. vijd. Item, paid to Henry Hall and William Frysbie poynters appoynted for freightinge of oure ships, for there chardges in rydinge to Hull about the fellowship affayres, as apperith by there partieller bill thereof maid, the some of, xxxijs. Item, paid to John Clercke for makinge of a letter and a certefecate for apprentices to beyond the seas, ijs. Item, paid to the maister, master Herbert, and there two servantes for there chardges rydinge to Hull ij severall tymes aboute the fellowship affayres, the some of

¹Willelmus Robynson, merchant, was enrolled as a freeman in 1557, lord mayor in 1580-81, 1593-94. He represented York in Parliament twice in the reign of Eizabeth. He died 1 August, 1616, aged 82, and was buried in St. Crux. He was an ancestor of the Marquess of Ripon.

ijli. Item, paid to master Andrew Trewe for a deske, whiche was geven to my lorde presydent, xli. Item, paid to master Robert Brooke and master Andrew Trewe for there chardges ryddinge to Hull and Beverley aboute the fellowship affayres as apperith by there particler bill, the some of xxvjs. ix*d*. Item, paid to John Metcalfe and Thomas Moseley for there chardges to Doncaster about this fellowships affayres, vijs. x*d*. Item, paid to master Salmond for his fee for a letter, vs. Item, paid to master Robert Brooke and Antony Pulley for there chardges to London aboute the renewinge of the charter, as by there particuler bill more playnly apperith, xxxijli. iii*d*. *Summa* iiij^{xx}xviijli. vs. v*d*.

About Easterlings abuses to English Merchants.

To the worshipfull the governor of the merchantes adventurers of England, and to the rest of the said merchants in the cittie of Yorke.—Worshipfull, after our hartie comendacons, Where at this present upon controversies betwene theasterlinges and those of the Hanstownes on the one parte, and us the merchantes adventurers with other her maiestes subjectes trafficing the east parts as Dantsicke, Lubecke, Hambrough, Quensbrough, Melvin, and those places of the said Hannee of the other parte, the whiche controversies remayne to be decided by her majistie and her most honorable cownsell as upon travers of both sides shall happen to fall out. And for that [ye] and other her majesties subjectes should be provided for to enjoye such liberties in the said Hanse townes, as of right they ought, and as the said Easterlinges enjoy in the realme here, we have thought good by theis to signifie unto you thereby requiringe you with all convenient spede to cause intimacon to be given unto such merchantes with you there, as have and do trade in any of the said townes of Eastland, beinge of the Hannee, to thend they may declare their griefes, abusyes, and usadges, which they are able to vouche for veritie to have bein comitted unto them, in any of the same. And that the said griefes and usadges beinge by them particulerly set downe in writinge, and subscribed with their handes, you send

the same hether unto us with expedition accordinglye, for so it is the lordes of the counselles pleasures. Wherewith fare you hartely well, from London, this vj of December, 1578. From the governor, and felowship of Merchantes Adventurers of England rezident in London. Nicholas Loddyngton, governor.

Grevences by the Easteling Merchants (1578 ?).¹

Jeshu.—Thes ar the greyis injurys and wrongges that theysterlynges hathe done to the north citye. Thay brynge thare schippys to all the havyns, crykkes, and vyllagges, where they may gett into all the north payrttes, and kepys nott the styllverd and oyther sortes to them assigned, as they dyd in the hold tyme, to the gryett hurtt, damage, and loose to the foresayd marchauntes, and to thare custome, and thayre every man, husbandmann, coollyer, bucher, and schomaker, kepys all the goold and syllver and beste payment that they may gett, and pays to thayme contrary thare oold statuytts, thatt thay usyd in the oold tyme. And allso thay bryng wellvettts, sattans, damaskes, Holland cloothe, and other marchandsys, wych is no payrt of thayre commodyte, pepper, saffron, clovs, and maasse, with all other grossere, and allso all manner of wynys and pottre wayre; and they goo to all farys and markettes, and to any towne and vyllage, and goys to clothars howsses, and bartars, and seys the prevyte off every pryce off clothe at home, thare own howsses, and bryngges thayme all maner off wayres agayne, to the greytt hurtt and damage off the occopyers off thayre occopyyng, and hasse undone all the goodly foleshipps off the northe payrttes undder thatt manner. And masters off schippys and marryners sens thay have occopyd under suche, and iff we myght occupy thyther, as we have doone in tymes past, itt schuld be myche more profett for the kyngs coustome, and to the help and sukker off many other good men.

¹ In spite of the date, 1578, and its apparent connection with the preceding document, I think this document from the writing, spelling, and expression belongs to an earlier date, probably 1478. It is obvious that the expression "Kyngs coustome" could not be used of the year 1578. Possibly the date was added at a later time.

The Notes of chardges to London, 1578.

Reseyvd of Mr Robinson for the paymentes of the charge and affaires for the company of the marchaunts of Yorke, from the 6 day of Januarye, 1578, unto the 9 day of February next followynge, the some of xlii.

Discharge as followith.—In primis, paid for all our chargies from York to London being 7 men and 7 horsse, as did apper per pertickeler accomptes, 006*li.* 13*s.* 04*d.* Item, paid for foure of our charges at 16*d.* a day, a man, is 05*s.* 04*d.* a day, and is from the 11 of January unto the 8 of February, 007*li.* 14*s.* 08*d.* Item, paid for 3 men, at 3*s.* a day, is 004*li.* 07*s.* 00*d.* Item, paid for our charges in our chamber, 002*li.* 14*s.* 00*d.* Item, paid for the meit of 7 horsse that tym, 010*li.* 10*s.* 00*d.* Item, paid for carridge of a trownk and for dyvers supplycations, and other extrayordynary affaires, as did appere per accompt, 002*li.* 11*s.* 00*d.* Item, paid, when the court was at Richmond, for our charges of horse and man for one nyght, and two *dimidium* daies, as did appere, 001*li.* 08*s.* 10*d.* Item, paid for our chargies at Westmynster, as did appere per account, 001*li.* 00*s.* 01*d.* Item, paid for our chamber the day we came away from London, 000*li.* 05*s.* 00*d.* Item, paid for 3 of our chargies from London to Yorke, 001*li.* 15*s.* 06*d.* Som of the charge is, 038*li.* 19*s.* 5*d.* So the rest of this accompt with this paid unto Mr Robinson is the som of 0001*li.* 00*s.* 07*d.* Item, paid carridge of our mall be the carore from London to Yorke, 000*li.* 03*s.* 04*d.* So the rest of this accompt is the som of 000*li.* 17*s.* 03*d.*

Charges about renewing the charter, 1578.

Laus Deo, 1578.—Paid to Mr Savill, lawyer, xxx*s.* Paid to Mr Thymelbie, x*s.* Paid to Mr Dalton, notary, xii*js.* iii*jd.* Paid to Mr Garthe, for the charter drawyng, xl*vs.* Paid to Mr Gerrot, the quenes attorney, x*li.* Paid to Mr Sankkey, x*ls.* Paid to Mr Torney his man, for ingrossyng the charter, xxx*s.* Paid to the master of requests servant, xx*s.* Paid for the ryght copy of the charter, 5*s.* Paid to Mr Belt for his paines, x*s.* Paid for owr charges to London, x*ls.* Paid for owr

charges at London, 24 dayes, *iiijli. vjs. viijd.* Paid for our horses ther at London, *iiijli. xs. iiijd.* Paid for our charges hom to York, *xls. Summa xxxijli. iiijjs.*

By us whoes names do hereafter folow, the 7th of July, 1578. Christofer Herbert, Raiphe Richardson, Rychard Morton, Edward Spilbye.

Received of Mr Brok *21li. 17s. 11d.* per obligacon of Mr Wright, *100li. 0s. 0d.*, for charges about same, *32li. 0s. 4d.* [*Summa*] *153li. 18s. 3d.*

Suggestions for a new charter (undated c. 1578).

Firste, whereas merchants of the citie of Yorke ar incorporated by the name of governor, keepers of the misterye of mercers. Item, that they requeste to be incorporated by the name of governor, assistants and socetye of merchaunts adventurers of the citie of Yorke. Item, that the said societye may chose a governor the first Mondaye after the annuncyacon and to stande a yere, and if he dye to chose an other in his place. Item, to meete or assemble themselves fower tymes in the yere or oftener, and chose assistants and make constitucones, and to make chose of a deputie to serve [in] absence of the governor. Item, that the governor or deputie, assistans, and societie maye purchase landes to the valew of *xlii.* by yere of borgage land, not holden of the quene, ne copie, ne by knyght service. Item, that the societye aforesaid may take into their socitie all that tradeth nowe marchaundezes, and hath bene for the space of tenn yeares, havinge noe manuell occupacon, and also such as have bene prentics vij yeares, with such retailers, by such order and distinctions, as the governor, assistants, and societye, or most parte of them shall thinke good. Item, that the governor, assistantes, and societie, or the most parte of them maye make actes, or ordinances for the good government of their societye, not disagreeing from the lawes of this realme, and the same to revoke and amende. Item, that no inhabiter within the citie of York, nor in the suburbres of the same shall sell, shewe, or put to sale, either in shopes or their houses, anye wares, marchandizes growinge or broughte from beyonde the seas

(salte and fyshe onelye excepted), in payne of forfeycture of the same to the societie, but onelye such as ar free of the said societye in the cytye of York. Item, that such disobedient persons as will not obey the said actes and ordinances made as afforesaid, that then the governor or deputie, assistants maye comitte them to warde and there to be receyved and remayne, till they submitte themselves. Item, that the governor, deputie, assistants and societie maye chose and appointe serchers to serche weights and measures, and false wares within the citie of Yorke and suburbes of the same. Item, to appointe one or two officers to levye fines and amercyments of offenders. Item, that the governor or deputie, assistants, and societie maye determyne causes betwixte partye and partie of the said societie or others, soe the defendant be of the same societie.

Crayn masters byll or petition, 1579.

To the right worshipfull the master and company of the merchaunt adventurers of this cittie of Yorke, Nicholas Valentyne wysith the grace of God with happye successe in all youre godly affaires.—Maye it please your worships to understand that I, being the common officer or rather the common servaunt at the common crane of this cittie, nowe am, and often tymes heretofore have ben over moch postured and trobled with packes and other wares lying in the crane howse after their taking upp, so that I am forced for lack of romth to denye the taking upp of sondry wares, and also forced to lett the lead catches lye undischarged to ther coste and charges, and to the discomodite and hinderans of the corporacon; and the oppenion of some of the most ancient merchantes of this cittie is, that the crane house ought alwaies to be kept emptie and redy to receve any commoditie. May it therefore please your worships to sett downe some good order for the amendement of the forsaid inconveniences, for surely the iiij crane men have moare labour with the packes after ther taking upp, then they have with any one labour appertayning to them, and not any waiges appoynted to them for the same. And the long howse, as it is used of late, can not

greatly doe any pleaser, therefore if it may seme good to youre worshippes to take some good order herin; no dout by God's helpe but it wold be comodite to your selves and corporacon, and great quietnes to me and the rest of the crane. And so comyttyng your worshippes to allmyghtie God, I ende.

Letter to the Secretary of the Earl of Huntingdon, 1579.

Mr Jennyn, after our hartly commendacions, we have us comended unto yow, whysshyng you healthe as so ourselves, and thes fewe wordes ar to sygneffy unto yow, that we ar styll contenewell sueters to owr good lord and yours, his honor to stand our good lord for ¹the obtaynyng hir majesties confyrmacion of,¹ renewyng of owr charter to hir majestie, whych we trust his honor wyll. We did desyre his honor to remember the saym at his beyng here, ²the last,² before his departure from York, whych we hope his honor wyll not forgett, beyng remembred by yow. Therfor thes ar most earnestlye to desyr you to be his honors rememberar for the obtaynyng of the premysses, and for yowr paynes and chardges therin takyn, and to be takyn, God wylyng, we to yowr paynes ³we thynk it wer great for the most.³ And thus hopyng of yowr good and delygent prosedyng herin, as owr trust is in yow, we rest comyttyng yow to the protection of the Allmyghty, who ever preserve yow to his good pleassur, amen. Your assured to comand, To owr verry frend Mr Thomas Jennyn', secreterie to the ryght honourablee thearle of Huntynghon, gyve this, in London, or elswher.

A list of such merchants in Yorke traders through the Sound, at and before, 1579.

Thomas Appleyerd, alderman, William Bekwith, alderman, Christofer Herbert, alderman, Mr Maskew, Hewe Graves, alderman, William Robynson, alderman, Robert Brooke, alderman, George Hall, Andrew Trewe, Rayff Mekkelthwayt, Thomas Appleyerd, Raphe Rychardson, Lawrance Robynson, Percyvall Brooke, Robert Mawde, Christofer Bekwith, Francis Bayne,

^{1-1, 2-2, 3-3} Crossed through in MS.

Anthony Pullay, Thomas Moslay, John Wryght, William Paycok, Leonard Bekwith, Robert Paycok, Rychard North, William Burton, Georg Aslabie, James Croft, Rayff Haslabie, Thomas Hewson, William Frysbie, John Metcalf, thelder, John Metcalf, Henry Hall, Anthony Cawton, Thomas Coplay, Marmaduke Sothebie, Clement Penyman, Peter Smythe, Edward Exelby, John Herbert, John Graingell, James Wyllson, Thomas Harbert, James Leppyngton, William Skott, Nycholas Mawd, John Mawd, Harry Banyster, Thomas Barkar, James Bland, Edward Warton, Thomas Chester, Richard Maltbie, William Talor, Thomas Maskew, Harry Nevyll, Francys Wayd, John Graves, John Banyster, Sampson Persyvall, John Norton, Leonard Dent, John North, Bryam Byrkhead, William Ledell, Wylliam Watson.

Aboute renewing their charter.

Right worshipfull sir, in our most humble maner, may it pleas youe to be advertised whereas the marchantes of Yorke are incorporate by charter, and hath bene a boddie pollyticke longe tyme, and notwithstandinge not in suche good lardge maner as we wyshe it, we are therefore sir, we are aboute to gett the same renewid of hir maiestie, and to enlardge the same for the more benyfet of the marchanntes and not prejudiciall to any. Therefore sir, thes most humblie to desyer your worships in the name of the hole company of merchantes of Yorke for your worships letter in this behalf to the right honorable and our good lorde your brother, the earle of Rutland,¹ that it wold pleas your honourable to comend our cause to the right honourable the lorde high chamberleyne by his word, or letter, who we hope at his request wold obtayne hir maiesties hand to the same, and thus hopinge of the good zale your worship haith towardes us, we are bold to write unto youe, trustinge by this berer to receyve your letter for upon Saterdag next, God willinge, we send to London about the premisses Robert Brooke and Andrew Trewe, and thus we reast for this tyme comittinge your worshypps to the protecton of thalmyghtie, who ever presarve youe with moche increase of

¹ In 1579 the Earl of Rutland was on the Council of the North.

worship, Yorke, the xxth of January, 1579. Yours, William Robynson, governor, Robert Broke, Andrew Trewe, Ralf Richarson.

To the right worshipfull Mr John Maners, Esquire, give this.

London chardges.

Laus Deo, the 23 of January, 1579. Receyved of Mr Governor, the day abovsaid, *xxli*. Money paid, as folowth, in primis, payd for our charges at London, *02li. 12s. 03d.* Item, payd to my lord of Rutland secretarie, *00li. 05s. 00d.* Item, payd for our charges at London for 29 days, *07li. 12s. 06d.* Item, payd for our horss meatt ther, *04li. 04s. 06d.* Item, payd for the copy of our charter, [*08s. 00d.*]. Item, payd for werrie to the court, and from the court dyvers tymes, *00li. 13s. 00d.* Item, payd for our charges from London home, *02li. 06s. 00d.* Item, payd to Mr Robertson, *10li. 00s. 00d.* Item, payd for our chammer and money geven, *01li. 06s. 08d.* Som payd, *29li. 07s. 11d.* Payd more for wrytting, *00li. 05s. 00d.* Robert Brooke, Andrew Trew. Som total, *xxixli. xijs. xjd.* Wherof is payd us as aforesaid the some of *xxli*. And the rest which is the some of *ixli. xijs. xjd.* payd unto the handes of Richerd Conyers, viz. suriute unto the abovesaid Mr Brooke, the v daye of Marche, 1579, by me Rycharde Conyyears.

Receyved by me James Leppington of the worshipfull Mr Robynson this 5 daye of Marche, anno Domini 1579, which was geven me by owre companye, the some of *06s. 08d.* for wrytynge up thact towchyng the premysses. Item, payd to Martyn Marshall in Fosgait.¹

Receyved of Mr Robeson at my goying up to London, and Herye Nevell, and my man for the compeny affaires, the som of *xli*. I seye *xli*. Payd for my charges, and Herye Neveal, and my man for v dayes goyng up, *xxs.* Payd for our horss meyte going up, *xiiijs.* Payd for maykeing a suplechaion for our brethering for thare fredome of Spanys compenye, I have borne, vs. Payd to secretarie and to Mr Governour for to drawe up sectyary noytttes for our fredome, wiche thaye promysed to sende with next caryen of same othes, *xxxs.*

¹ No money entered.

Payd for copying owt of double boke of thare fredome, ijs. Payd for our charges at London for viij dayes, xxxs. Payd for our horsse meyt at London for viij dayes, xxxs. Payd for a horsse frome Hontyngton to London, and to Hontyngton agane, 06s. 08d. For our charges comeing home and for our horsse and for extreordernarye charges as mendyng of sadell and other chardges, xxxiijs. viijd. *Sum viijli. xjs.* So reystes to companye, xxixs., which xxixs. receyved by me William Robynson the 20 of Januarie, 79, by me Christofer Herbert.

*To the worshipfull very lovinge brother Mr William Robinson,
marchant, at Yorke.*

Worshipfull sir, after our most hartie comendacons. These are signifieing unto your worships that at a generall courte here holden, the last day of June past, we proceded to the election of a tresurer for the next sinxson marte, and putting dyvers worshippfull persons into the said election, you were by hole and free consent chosen, and elected to the said office of tresurer, for the said sinxson marte. These are therefore to require youe to make your repayer hither, or where the authorite of the companie shall then be rezident, in your owne person, by the xxiiij of June next cominge, the rather for the avoydinge of the penaltie of fortie markes Flemishe, to be by youe in defaulte of your appearance forfeited and paid, without favour or pardon. And so not doubting of your good conformitie in the premisses, we rest, comittinge you to God his tuytion, from Andwarpe the 21 February, 1579. Yours, the deputie, assistants, and fellowship of merchantes adventurers of Englund, resident ut supra. William Bowes, deputye.

Chardges to London, 1579.

Mony lade downe at London by Mr Brooke and Andrew Trew for the company.—Item, paid at Westemenster for a braikefast to Mr Jenenges and otheares, iiijs. viijd. Paid to Mr Fanshaw for his letter, xxs. Paid to my lord tresoure seckretory, xxs. Paid ovr horsse meitt at London, iijli. iijs. vjd. Paid our chamber at London, and dyveres other charges as

mony given to the sarvants, xxijs. iijd. Paid for wrytyng us makeing, xxijd. Paid for our owne charges at London, iijli. viijd. Paid sherttes wessing, iijs. Paid other charges as horsse shoeing and ostelleares, ijs. viijd. Paid at Wayer, our chardger and horsse, xs. vijd. Paid at Huntengton, xjs. viijd. Paid as Grantam charges, ix. s. ix. d. Paid at Newark, iijs. vijd. Paid at Crowle charges, iiijs. xd. Some is, xijli. iiijs. Paid out charges goyeing to Hull as toow nightes at Beverley and one night at Hull, xxvjs. ix. d. I owne to have for my desbt xli. For the brenging downe of our tronck fro London, iiijs. xd. Some we ar to have is xxiiijli. xv. s. xd. xxij Januarii, 1579. Received by Andrew Trew of M^r Robenson, the xx day of Marche, 79, thes some of xxiiijli. xv. s. xd. Receyved of John Wright and Edward Exilbie dewe to the company upon one obligacon, xli.

*To the worshipfull our very loving friendes the mayor and
aldermen of York.*

After our hartie comendacions, etc. Wheare it hath pleased the quenes majestie by hir highnes letters pattents under the great seall of England, bearing date the xvijth day of August last past, to encorporate us the marchaunts trading the East partes into one body pollitique by the name of governor, assistantes, and fellowshipp of merchantes of Eastland,¹ wherein is encludid the cuntries of Polland, Swethen, Norway, and the territories of the same Kingdomes, forbydding all others to traffique and occupie the commodities of hir majesties dominions into eny of those parts, except they become free of the said fellowshipp, nevertheles such as be or wer traders into those partes, in and through the Sound, before that first

¹ As far as my knowledge goes the only copy of the Laws and Ordinances of the Eastland Company is in the possession of the Merchant Adventurers. It was known to Mr. Riley, who mentions it in the first account of the Hist. MSS. Comm., but seems to have been lost sight of until 1891, when it was found among a pile of old books in the office of the secretary of the Society, who had lost his sight, and evidently mislaid it. It was published by the Camden Society, Third Series, xi, in 1906. The charter is given in Pat. Rolls, 21 Elizabeth, part ii, m. 21-m. 25. Selden Soc., xxviii, Select Charters of Trading Companies, pp. xxii-xxiii, 97. In the seventeenth century, York merchants were generally members of both the Eastland and Merchant Adventurers Companies. Acts of Privy Council, vol. xii (17 July, 1580).

day of January, 1568, are to be receyved into the said fellowship as frely as eny other mencioned in the said charter, that is paying at the tyme of their admission to the said fellowship tenne shilling, and xij*d.* to the officers. And such as have bin traders into the said partes, in and through the Sound, since the said first day of January, 1568, shalbe receyved into the said fellowship, not being free of eny other societie, and demanding the same within one yere, paying for their admissions in the name of a fyne the some of syx poundes xiijs. iii*d.*, for which fyne their sonnes and apprentices, bourne and bound after their admissions, shalbe as free of the said fellowship as those nominated in the said chartre. Allso all such as be free of eny other societie of marchauntes, which have traded as afforesaid, shalbe receyved into the said fellowship demaunding the same as afforesaid, paying for their admissions the fyne of tenne poundes, for which their sonnes and servantes to be free as afforesaid. And also that all such as never traded into those partes, being of no other societie, shalbe admitted for the fyne of twenty poundes. And those that be of eny other societie of marchauntes shalbe receyved for the some of twenty and syx poundes, thirtene shillings, iii*d.* Nowe for that none shold be ignorant of the said graunt, wherby they might encurr the dannger lymited in the said charter, we have thought it good to gyve knowledg thereof, as mich as in us is, to such as have bin, and are traders, into the said partes. Whereby such as desire the said fredome, and to be partakers of the said graunt, may make their repaire to the citie of London to receyve the same accordingly. Wherefore, we hartely pray you, that you will signifie from us unto such of your citie as be traders into those partes, wherein we are preveleged, the premisses and the good will of the company towordes all those, that have bin traders, praying them to make their [re]paire hether as soon as they may. And they shall further understand the just and true meaning of the said charter, which no dowt wilbe beneficiall both to them, and us, and to all other the quenes majesties subjects, especiall for such good order and government to be taken as the commodities of our country may be the better vented. And thus we byd

yow most hartely farewell, from London, the second day of September, anno 1579. Your loving frendes Thomas Pullyson alder, and governour.¹ Thomas Russell, deputie.

The settleing the residence from Hambro at Emden.

To the worshipfull oure very lovinge brother Mr William Robinson, governor, and to Mr Robert Brooke, alderman, and the rest of our very loving brethren of the fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resident in Yorke.

Worshipfull and our moste dear brethren. Whereuppon the unfrendly dealing of the towne of Hamborough, and other the Hanzes (our fellowship of merchants adventurers being restrayned from their accustomed use of trafficque unto the saide towne) to theintente to meete withall events, aswell for mayntenaunce of the state of this courte in annycient orders together, as well as also to drawe all other straingers with their wares were we shall kepe our marte, and not to disperse our selves in sondry places to the greate hurte and ruyn of the saide fellowship, but to frame also our doinges agreable with the lordes of the councell their late decrees instituted and made at thinstant sute of the said fellowship, we have together with the councell, assent, and advice of our worshipfull bretheren in London, after good diliberacon had of the premisses, made choise of the towne of Emden,² whereunto was agreed and determyned that shipping should be destynated by the bretheren of this fellowship, and to no other places (this towne of Andwerp excepted). And to that ende have of late severall actes byn made restrayninge shipping, buying, or selling at, to, or from the towne of Hamborough, and betwene the Thamis and the Scawe, uppon penalties of xls. upon every clothe, and that (*sic*) Englishe commodities after that rate. And for

¹ The name of Edward Osborne stands first in the charter, and is followed by the name of Thomas Pullayson. There were sixty-four original members, among whom Margaret Bond, widow, was the only woman. Four were London aldermen and mercers, one is a draper, another an armourer; the trades of the remainder are not given.

² Kölner Inventar, Zweiter Band, No. 1870. The merchant adventurers went to Emden in 1580, and remained there until they removed to Stade in 1587. Dr. Hagedorn, Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt im 16 Jahrhundert, Band II, pp. 29-59. C.S.P.D., clxxv, pp. 93, 94, clxxxi, p. 73.

forreine wares boughte *xxli.* upon every *cli.* And for so muche as we understande of dyvers dysordered bretheren respecting more their private lucre and gayne then the contynuance or mayntennance of the generall estate in prosperitie and welfare, notwithstanding that we are all sworne unto the same, and oughte in dewtie and conscience to have especiall care and regard therunto to meete with suche indirect dealers and breakers (or rather vilipenders) of our good orders, by our auncestors so long maynteyned and carefully observed, [we] have devised certain oath (copie whereof you shall herenclosed receive) to be generally taken by all bretheren of this fellowship in perticuler (none excepte) betwene this and Christmas next following. And that uppon payne of *xxli.* sterling without favour or pardon to be paid by every brother neglecting or omytting the same. Besides that such person shalbe taken, and suspecte to have offended thordynunce and so ponnished at the discretion of the right worshipful M^r Governor, his deputie, and assistentes, here or where thauctoritie of the company shalbe resident. And whereas (because that none shall escape or pleade ignorance of this presente order), it was thought convenient that copie of the oath should be sent unto all the principall places in the contrey, where any of our bretheren may be resident. It hath byn lykewise agreed, by order of court holden the *xxvjth* of September, that the worshipfull M^r William Robynson and M^r Robert Brooke should be therto appointed, who are to minister the same unto every merchant adventurer by you or theare nere aboutes resident. Earnestlie requiring the aforesaide appointed to advertise hither under their handes and seale of your towne the names, as well of all suche as before the tyme lymtted shall have taken there oathes, as also of those that shall have neglected or refused to take the same. And all suche exceptions, as any of them shall make to be under their owne handes in wryting, delyvered unto the foresaid comittee. Wherein we earnestly desire their carefull indevuor, the rather to avoyde the penaltie of *vli.* sterling by every of them to be forfeited omytting to accomplishe and execute this presente charge, wherein as you shall do a good deede and service to the generallitie (in the

mayntenance of our laudable orders), so shall we be ready to acknowledge and requite your courtesie, as occasion maye be offerd. We sende you also herewith copie of an acte which you maie imparte unto those of the fellowship, therby to avoide suche penalties as by ignorance thereof mighte fall upon them. And so nothing doubting of your confirmities in the premisses, not havynge other wherewith presentlie to trouble you we cease, comyttyng your worshyps unto the tuyton of Almighty God, from Andwerp, this iiiijth of October, anno 1579. Yours, the deputie, assistentes, and fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resident ut supra. Nicholas Piersone, deputie.

To the ryght worssypp Mr Thomas Pullayson, governor, and Mr Thomas Russell, deputie, assistants, and fellowship of merchants of Eastland geve this, in London. First settlement.

Ryght worshypfull sir and sirs, after our most harte comendacon, etc. Thes ar to sygnyfye unto you, that yours of the ij of September from London we have recyved, understanding by the sayme your newe incorporatyons, and having imparted the sayme to our holle companye, and allso we percevyng howe and where your worshyps is determyned to take into your societie by all degrese, and espycally thes that have ben traders through the Sound before Janawary anno 1568, to be in the fyrst degre. Wheareof we the marchants of Yorke be members, for that it is oure greteste trafecke to Danzyke, and thes partes, for that we serve the northe partes with flax, and other comodities growing in this contree. Therefor, the prymyses considered we trust youre worshypps wyll have tender consyderacon of our estates, and that it wold please yowe to deyspence with us for our comyng to London, for that it is note great charges onlye but great trwblle for us, neyther havynge other occacion and unprovdyed for the sayme, and many note fytt to travill such a jorney having infyrmyties, and the great causes that they cannote come allso being manye in nomber as youre worssypes shall perceve by the names of them in this sedalle heare inclosed; therfor that it wold please

your worshypps to send the cobby of the oothe together with suche arteycles as thos who shalbe admytted into the societe shalbe examned upon, and thereby found to be amett members to receyve the benyffytt of the pryvelleg ayther by traydyng, patrymonye, servis, or by any degree, with such penall actes as ar to be observed by all suche as shalbe admyted brothers into your societe. And furder if it wold please your worsshypfull eyther to apoynt one to be deputie in the citie of Yorke, or els to gyve us actorytie, that be capable to have the benefyte of the fredome in the fyrst degre, to make chose of one to be depute for beter government of the bretherne hear, and that the said depute may be actoricyed to levie all suche monye as shalbe paid for the fredomes that shalbe admyted, and all other impossysones or paymentes that hear shall arise, and the same to ansere according to your worsyps resonable derections for all thinges that to the companye shall aperten, and by granting us this our requestes we dout not but the company shalbe quitly governed, that you shall lyke well of us, and 'shall prairie to God' for your good succes in all your affayres. And thus trustyng hartly to have your worsyps favourable answer of the premysses, we rest comyttyng your worshypps to the protection of the Allmyghtie. Yorke, the 25 of October, 1579. Your worshpps frend in the naym of the company.

*To the worshipfull the governor, and company of the merchants
adventurers, of the citie of York.*

After our hartie commendacions, we have receyved your letters dated the 25 of October last past, the contents whereof at a court of assistants here holden we have deliberated. But finding your request altogether disagring to our proceedings, we cannot accomlishe your requestes² resires (*sic*) therein conteyned, nor take eny other course with your worshippes then with all others in the like predicament. Wherefore these may be to signifie unto you our full determinacion is, that such as mynde to be partakers of our societe and fellow-

¹⁻¹ Written over several obliterated words.

² Crossed through in MS.

ship for freedom in the east partes to us by hir majestie graunted by any degree are to make them repaire hether for their admittance, and to make suche sufficient prouffe for their trading into the said partes, as the want whereof be no just cause to lose their labors. So also are they here to take their corporall othes at their admittance according to the purport of hir maiesties letters pattents. Assuring your worshipp that the like course we take generally with all others enhabiting within the realme, as knoweth God, who send you healthes and prospertie, from London the xth daie of November, anno 1579. Your loving friende, Thomas Russell, deputye.

Letter from York.

Ryght worshyppfull sir and sirs, with our most hartyst comendaycions unto your worsypps &ct, thes ar to sygneffy unto yow that yowrs berryng dayt at Andwarp the iiij of October last, we have recyved, together with an oothe to be mynestred to the company and the actes to be examend upon¹ them upon, and accordyng to your derection we have called all thes our bretherin before us, who takyn ther othes upon the evangelist, whos naymes be wrythyn in this cedula herin closed, and also such exceptions as any have takyn, we have sent yow herin closed² lykwyes. And further we ar to advertes yowr worshypps that the company³ owr bretherin here at York thynketh themselves to be hardly delt withall, for that they be cawsed called⁴ to be sworne and examened upon such penall actes as these be, and never have been heretofore advertysed of the sayme, so that by ignorans myght unwyllyngly have offended in the premysses; and therfor we besech yowr worshypps that if any owr servantes or apprentyses have offended without owr comysson, consent, or knowledg, that we may be dyspenced withall for this tyme, and that it wold please you, that when any penall act or actes be maid hereafter, that yowr secreterie may advertys us, that we shall have no cawse to plead ignorrans in the sayme. And thus seasyng for

^{1, 2, 3, 4} These words are crossed through in the MS. The letter is unsigned, and no schedule of names attached to it.

this tyme, we comytt your worshyp to the protection of the Allmyghty, who ever preserve you all in his good pleasur. York, the xxx day of December, anno 1579. Your lovyng frendes.

To the right worshypfull Mr William Robinson, alderman and governour of the Merchantes of the Cyte of Yorke, geve this, and the generalyte of the same.

Ryght worshypfull. In our right hartie manner we comende us unto youe, sygnyfyinge that at a generall courte of merchantes holden here the 9 of this instant monethe, havinge occasyon to peruse ouer a letter, whiche came from the governor and deputie of the late erected companye of merchantes tradinge the East partes, wiche letter beareth the date the second of September last, the effecte of which letter was in lyeke sorte sent unto your worships. And havinge delyberated upon the same, after muche talke had, it was thought good by M^r Governor and generalyte of merchaunts here, before we answered the same to send this berar M^r William Bray unto you to understond your myndes, that is to wytte whether your worships will wellingly joyne wythe us about that matter, or no, wiche we of our partes most hartelye dyessyered, and to thend if it please youe, he may understonde your myndes howe youe and we may best dealle in and about those affayres. We dyessyere your worships to have some conference withe hym, and if it please you to joynge withe us, that youe wolde wryte us your myndes at lardge, what youe ar determyned to do. And thus havinge no other matter to troble youe moe withall at this tyme, we commytte youe to the government of Allmyghty God. From Kyngeston upon Hull, this 9 day of Januarii, 1579. Youre frendes in the lorde, William Gee, governor, John Thorneton, James Clarkson, John Smythe, William Gayton, William Wilson, Wylym Smyth.

Letter from Yorke.

Ryght worshipfull sir, hartie comendacons promised (*sic*) unto you, havinge received yours dated the 9th of Jennarie, 1579,

and delib[er]atly weid the premises, We have determyned at a courte heire holden, this xj day of Jenuary, to send upp to Lonndone towre of our brethren M^r Robert Brook and M^r Audray Trewe, and to be redie to ride within this xiiij daies, desiryng your worshipes also to send uppe towre shuche, as you shall thynk most conveyent, to june with our said brethren for the better accomplishment of all such matters or affaires as may be most suytable for cort and commodietes, and where you ar willinge to juine with us in this affaires consarning the east parties, your worships shall understand that it is our holl consentes so to doo in as frendly order as you and we may best deviz. And further your worshippes shall understand that we have sent our letters to Newcastill to the marchauntes geving them to understand what we and you are determined to do in the premisses; and so we think it good that thay shold june with yow and us in the said affaires, and thus requiringe you to send us answeere of the premises be your letter, thus we commend you to God, this xjth of Jennary, 1579.

To the worshypfull M^r William Robinson, governour of the fellowshype of marchants, resydent in the cyte of Yorke.

Ryght worshypfull. In our ryght manner we commend us unto youe havinge receyved your letter by M^r Bray dated the xj of this instant, wiche letter beinge at a generall courte rede, the xij of the same, being very well lyked of, who have concluded to joyng wythe M^r Brooke and M^r Trewe, M^r Thornton and M^r John Logan, howbeyt it wilbe vj dayes after candlemas before M^r Thornton can be at London, notwythstondyng M^r Logan wll goo soner, if nead requyre. And as we shall here from youe agayne, which we pray youe withe as mucche conveyent spede as youe shall meat, and forther M^r Clarkeson beinge one of our burgesys for the parlayment haythe promysed to assyst M^r Logan untyll M^r Thornton hys comynge. Thus endynge, we comytt your worshyps to Allmyghty God, from Hull, the xiiij of Januarie, 1579. Yours in the name of the felloshype, William Gee, governor.

About sending commissions to London to treat with Eastland merchants.

The worshipfull and our lovinge freendes the governour, assistants, and felowship of merchants adventurers resident at the citie of Yorke, with speede.

Worshipfull, after our hartie commendacons, we have receved your letter of the xjth of Januarye, and doo perceive that you and the merchaunts of Hull are determined within theis xiiij daies to sende to London, that is to saie twoo of either of your feoloship to conferr with the newe feloshipe trading the east countries. In which your dooings you shall doo well, for at the cominge of those whome you entende to sende to London, we at their repair thither shall synde certen of thes our feoloship there at London alredye appointed by us for like affaires. Of whome thei may lerne howe those of our feoloship have proceeded in such behalfe. And so we committ your worships to the tuycon of Almightye God. At Newcastle, the xvth of Januarye, anno 1579. Yor worships assured lovinge freendes, the governour, assistants, and felwship of merchants adventurers of Newcastle-upon Tyne. Roger Raw.¹

Letter to Hull.

Right worshipfull, in our right manner recommend us unto you, yours of the xijth of this instant I hayve ressayved, whereby I understand that you men to send uppe M^r Thornton and M^r Loggon to London, to jun with M^r Browck and M^r Trew for our fredom to trafic in East partes, and that M^r Loggon to be reddy presently and M^r Thornton to be reddy vj days after Candellmes next, which is verrey long to stay. I hope you reccsayved our letter of the xvth of this instantt from M^r Raw, governour of the merchants of Newcastle, whayr he wryteth that he lyketh well that these of us joyne together, and that they hayve iij men att London aboutt the sayd affayres.

¹ Unfortunately, the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers, Surtees Soc., 93, 101, has few documents relating to the sixteenth century. Both volumes, however, furnish a very valuable contribution to the history of the merchants in the seventeenth century, a period about which the York documents give scanty details.

Iff M^r Thornton would goe presently with M^r Leggon¹ no doubt but gooing all together² thaye would bryng the pourpous to som good ends, M^r Brouck and M^r Trew taketh the journey on Setterdaye, and thus I comytt your wourships to Allmyghty God, wrytten from York, 20 of Januari, 1579.

Letter from Antwerp.

After our very hartie commendacons, We have of late taken out order and newe acte for calling over of suche persons as are, or shall be, chosen for assistentes, or thresorers to serve on this side the seas. To thende none have cause to pleade ignorance thereof, or by his default of appearance fall into the penaltie therfore provided, we have thought most convenient to advertise you the same, sending copie of the said acte herewith, earnestlye requiring that you make the same publicke, or do it to be knowne amongst all our and your bretheren with you, or within the precinctes of youre towne abiding. Wishing you for the avoyding of the extremetie of the saide acte to appere, as any of you maie, or shall be, called ouer. And so not doubting of you conformities in the primesses, do cease to trouble you further. Comitting you to the tuition of Almightye God. From Andwerp, this firste of Marche, anno 1579. Yours the deputie, assistentes and fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, rezident ut supra. William Bowes, deputye.

To the worshippfull M^r William Robinson, governor of the merchaunts in the cytty of Yorke, geve theise.

Worshipfull, after oure hartie commendacons, consideringe the greate losse and hynderance likeley to growe to youe, us, and the marryners of this porte by contynnance of the stay of the shippes and marryners here, we have thoughte good yf youe will thereto agree, that some one of you, us, or bothe, to be appoynted at oure equall chaarges, maybe furthwith sente to make sute to the lords of her majesties privie counsell for some libertie to be obteyned for traffique to be had in and

^{1, 2} Two words obliterated in MS.

with the saide shippes and maryners to such plaices and partes beyonde the seas, as to their lords good discretions shall seme moste expediente for the quiete and publicke weale of the countrie. Wherein we desier youe by this bearer our neighbor Mr Willand to advertize us of youre likinge and determynaton. And so we bidde youe moste hartelye farewell. Kingston upon Hull, the xxij of Marche, anno 1579. Yours assured, William Gee, governor, William Wylson.

Copy of Act sent from Antwerp.

The worshippfull company of marchaunt adventurers, who have authoritye to make lawes and ordinaunces for the generall benyfitte of the same, have alwaies had a care accordinge to equitye, and accordinge to their othe to provide for the generall state thearof. Item, accordinge thearunto in tyme long syns, when the company wear oppressed by brethren keepinge shoppes of retayle in London and other partes of England, [who] did alsoe, because they weare free amongst us, goa over the sea and buy their wares at the marte townes as the rest of the company did; therefore the company enacted at that tyme, that no brother therof should occupye over the sea and at home by retayll att one tyme, but using the one he shoulde leave the other, wherby syns that tyme bothe sortes have the better lyved. And yet no doubt but many bothe would and could use bothe trades willinglye, and soe taik the livinge from their brotheren, as good members as they be, yf they weare not by this acte restrayned.

2. Item, the marchant adventurers tradinge Spayne¹ (whoes trade as it is used dothe greatlye at this tyme hurt the generalytye) are necessarye lyckwise by good lawes to be restrayned from occupyinge in the priviledged places of the

¹ "At that tyme of Kyng Edward [IV] Londoners beganne to pay costumes to the kyng by bryngyng straunge merchaundises into the reame from the marte. That tyme Londoners scantly beganne first to adventure by south into Spayn." Reinhold Pauli, *Drei Volkswirtschaftliche Denkschriften*, pp. 16, 17. The merchants trading to Spain had been given a charter by Henry VIII. Pat. Rolls, 22 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, printed in Selden Soc., vol. xxviii, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3. Elizabeth increased and defined the powers of the company in 1576; *ibid.*, xxiii, xxiv, Pat. Rolls, 19 Eliz., pt. viii. Acts of the Privy Council, vol. ix (25 Oct., 1576).

company amongst us, unlesse they will give over occupieinge into Spayn, their trade as the (*sic*) nowe use ytt beinge onlye benyficiall unto themselves, but hurtfull to our companye.

3. Item, the merchant adventurers tradyng Spayne doe now usuallye shipp great store of clothes and kersies to the mart townes, that with the monye that comethe of them, their factors and servants may provide great store of comodities of Eastland, of Germany and Lowe Cowntries, which they use to ship thence directly into Spayne, and because the provisiones for thoes comodities must be made in tymes and seasones (as against the vintages), they shall in that respecte be driven to sell the said Englishe commodities the better cheape, and to smawll gayne, which althoughe they may doe soe and yet verry well lyve, in that their gayne lyethe rather in the forraine comodities thear bought. Yet the body of the company, which have alwaies esteemed the comodities of England, can not lyve by soe smawll gaynes, and clothes, which wee shipp with great difyculty withe gettinge the licence from her majetie, as is thought to owre great benyfite, may by these meanes [be] soe imbased in price, as they may be sould to macke mony of mucche licke to thinges solde in London in shiftes, whensoever dead sail be, wherof our bretheren tradinge Spayne shalbe occasion.

4. Item, our company, contrairy wise, tradinge onlye the marte townes, being verry great, and ample, and hable to carry and vent the clothes and other Englishe comodyties for that trade without any help of our brethren tradinge Spayne, have made their wholl contynuall retourn of all manner of merchandize directlye to England, and wear wonte to buy wax, copper, fustianes of all sortes, lynyen, clothe, tapistry, faies, moccadoes, and divers other comodyties made bothe in the lowe countries, and norren boroughe, and in hyghe Ducheland, and paid the quenes majestie her costome for theis goodes, whereof we sold many tymes great quantities to Spanishe merchauntes, that paid costomes agayne for the same, and so by this meanes the quene majestie receaved divers tymes double costome, the navye was double sett on worcke, and the realme of England, throughe the which these

merchandise came, was by those meanes haboundantly furnyshed and satisfied. But nowe of thes benyfites of our retourn, both the quene majestie, the realme, and the company are deprived by these brethren that be free in Spayne, and their pretenders.

5. Item, it is to be feared that the marchant adventurers, tradinge and free in Spayne, will in smawll tyme by reason of their trade into many¹ countries breed upp soe many servantes, which if they shalbe free in bothe the incorporacions as nowe their masters be, might growe to the hindraunce and hurt of bothe corporations, especyally of all suche of either of the said companyes as should not be free of bothe as they be; for their number, waxing in smaull tyme greate, and by their many wayes occupyinge, are liklye to growe welthe, they might and woulde overrule the meere corporation in bothe the companyes, if speedy remedy be not had. But for this owre company hathe bene auncient, and hathe longe tyme governed others, it behoovethe them the spedier to loocke for redresse, least others of newe corporationes govern, and rule, and over rule them, which in tyme is to be foreseen.

6. Item, in all the new corporationes the quene maietie and her counsell have foreseen and provided, for that non of any other societie shall easelie have previledge amongst them, no not owr company of merchant adventurers, which had libertye over all (with some except) as wee receive non [?] of them into owre fellowship, which dothe signyfie that they accownt it a burthen to their corporationes to have amongst them brethren of other corporationes. Then likewise, it is necessary for our company to indeavour owre selves havinge authoritye, and habilytie, to lett in tyme to our power that brethren of thes newe corporationes growe not to burthen some of owre auncient company.

7. Item, in the service of our company this is a great hurt and mischief to the same, when thoes that be chosen to be assistantes or comoties to doe our company good shalbe alsoe chosen to the same functions in the other new corporationes, whoe beinge sworn to bothe the companies to deall for

¹ "Many" crossed through, and "divers" substituted in MS.

the benyfite of eache, thear may fawll owt suche matter as may be directly opposit, and contrary, and repugnant the one to the other; hearin either coldnes or neclýgens at the least wise must needs appeare in the on, for no man can serve 2 masters; well, I say nothings of the suspition that will every day increase, especially when thinges comethe not to passe as wee look to have them, what a misery is this, when wee shall have in our corporation, men that wee knowe can doe us good, and we are afearde to trust them that have in their power to helpe us, and lacke a good will to doe it.

8. Item, wheare we usually cawll courtes to heare mens opynions for the benyfite of our company, the brethren assembled beinge of soe many corporationes as of us, of Spayne, of Eastland, of the staple of Muscovye,¹ etc., and using sundry contries, what strifes, contentions, and brawlers doe this stir up, for the most parte will have respecte, whether the proposition put forthe dothe hurt, or hinder that place whear they most frequent, and soe instead of sound counsell to doe the company good, wee shall have oppyniones, sectes, devicioness, brawles, and suspitiones amongst us, as if weare to begin hell uppon earthe; which will come by thes soe many corporacions that be amongst us.

9. Item, howe ordynaunces wilbe kept, wee have seen of late, and daylye doe see by experience, that whear the honorable counsell made a decree forbidinge trafficque to the hauncs townes, and our company confirmed it by ordynance, yet some of thes bretheren, that be free of other societies, neither could nor have observed it, but sometymes by petition, sometymes by complayninge, and hart burninge, and sometymes by adventuringe without leave, some mens tornes have been served. What is to be looked for to be observed of our ordynaunces, if thoes ordynaunces ratified by a decree of the lords be broken. Moreover, the paiement of impositiones, loanes,

¹ An extremely interesting account of the efforts to open trade with Russia is given in Hakluyt, *The Principal Voyages of the English Nation*, *passim*. The Muscovy company was incorporated by Philip and Mary in 1553, and the rights then given were confirmed by Parliament in 1566. Statute 8 Eliz., c. 17. "The company is, perhaps, the first example of a joint-stock corporation." C. T. Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix, xxxiv. W. Cunningham, *Growth of Industry*. vol. ii, p. 239.

taskes, and suche licke, howe well shall the company gather them amongst bretheren of soe manye societies, and occupieinge in soe many contries, for when wee shall looke for him in our mart townes, he wilbe gone into Spayne, or Eastland, and one contrye or corporation is as good for him as on other, soe wee shalbe defrauded, and the meere bretheren the more burthened.

10. Item, the lynitie of our company hathe been suche, that while the trade into Spayn was litle, the (*sic*) suffered and did tollerat the merchauntes thear tradinge to bringe and sell to and in the mart townes all sortes of Spanishe comodities, and that (withowt payment of any impositiones or duties) to our house, which as our company had thearby no gayne att all for the lessenyng of unfree mens trades, who by that meanes have seen into the doinges of the company, speedy remedye is to be sought forbiddinge factors, servants, and bretheren of the company to receave, handell, or sell the goods of any unfree man what soever, or to tacke upe, or deliver any mony per exc^o for their behoofe, for wee thinck and hope that by force of our privilegedges and auncient orders, our company may not onlye tacke impositiones of them, but wholly restrayne them.

11. Item, it is apparant that some bretheren of our company, free bothe of our companye and the Spanishe, doe in their trade from Andwarpe into Spain and Portingall joyne themselves in portable dealinges with unfree men, and their servantes are made partakers of the secrets of the comodyties, and reckonynge of our company, whilst they make their portable provisiones for Spayne and other countries. Thearfore, for that men in these daies have suche respecte to themselves that they forgett their bretheren, yea sometymes thear othe, they are either to be punysshed for offence comyttid, ore els to be under great penalty forbiddinge suche occupyenge, wherby they shoued bring the utter decaye, subvercion, and desolation of the companye.

Wherefore the premisses consithered, wee think it verry needfull, that you would forthwithe by acte provide forbiddinge all bretheren of our company tradinge Spayne, Eastland, etc.,

duringe their said trades to occupye as a merchaunt adventurer in our preveledged places, and that before he be enhabeled to occupye amonge us, he shalbe holden to give our companye a yeares warninge, that he will leave of that trade of Spayne and Eastland, and occupye amongst us as a meere merchaunt adventurer.

Jesu.—As before tyme hathe bin provided for the retaylorers in the acte of retaile, all that is afore written is the opynion and judgement of sundrye bretheren, well willers of the company, and the wrighters wishethe it accordinglye, but the opynion and judgement of the wrighter is that notwithstandinge sufficient reasons and argumentes are alledged whye bretheren free of the company trading Spayne and Portingall, etc., should be quite cut of from any trade amongst us, for that I think the same wilbe verrey hard to gett them to doe it for sundrye reasones that they will alledge, as that the trade between the East parte and the lowe countries is but the trade the straunger did, and yett dothe use, and then whye not they? I for I thinck it good that thear be a tolleration that in restrayninge them the shippers¹ of clothes, kersies, etc., they should have lybertye for the rest.

Item, it is alsoe to be consithered and remembred howe the trade to and from Hambroughe might be stayed, and the offendours better mett with all. I thinck the smaull penaltie of the acte imboldens divers to adventure to do as they doe; for this last weeke heare arryved 2 shippes fully laden from Hambroughe. Written in London this 18th of Marche, anno 1579, by a rude and ill wrighter, but yet a well wisher, etc. Nicolas.

This agreeth withe the coppye presented in the courte att Andwarpe, Gilpin, Secretary.²

¹ *Ers* crossed through, and *ing* substituted in the MS.

² For the replies of Hull and York, see *post*, pp. 230–237.

Yowre poor orator Jane Shadlock, playntyff.

To the right worshipfull Mr William Robinson,¹ master of the marchaunts, and to the reste of youre brethren of the same house, Jane Shadlocke, wydowe, sendythe gretynge in oure Lorde God everlastinge.

Most lamentably complayninge showythe unto youre worships youre poore and dalie oratrixe a benefaud, whereas youre worships poore oratrixe is by the handdeworke of God kepinge into greate povertie, beinge a laime whomam and not able to travell for me levinge sence drawing of wyne I lefte, but haith levid sence of me olde gotten goods, me and me two maides, therfor may it please youre worship, with the reuste of youre worshipfull brethren of the same house, to grante unto me youre poore oratrixe beinge a syster, some releife for Gods cause, and charitie sacke, considdering youre pore oratrixe husbände estate yearely to be paid during youre oratrixe nacterall lyfe, and youre poore oratrixe shall dailie pray for your worshopes healthe long to contenew to Gods pleaswre. And thus in way of pittie.

To the worshipfull Mr William Gee, governor of the merchantes of Kynstone-upon-Hull, deliver this, Laus Deo, in Yorke, the 27 of Marche, 1580.

Worshipfull, after oure hartye commendations, yours of the 22 of this instantt we have resayved, and accordinge to your sayd letter hayth imparted the same to our brethren, ²which is² wellinge to joine with yowe to send one upp to London, accordinge to your saide letter, to sende one up to London (*sic*) for to gett releasment for oure shipes for the est countrie, and other places; trustinge that yowe will appoynt suche³ a man as is mett for that purpose, ⁴with as mucche sped as is possible,⁴ and we will be contented to beare chardges with you for his expenses in the premyses; thus we commytt you to

¹ *Ante*, p. 195.

²⁻² Interlined, and then crossed through in MS.

³ A word here crossed through and illegible.

⁴⁻⁴ Interlined.

God, wyssinge you healt he as oure selves. ¹Yours, William Robinson, governour for and in the name of the merchauntes,¹ Yours assured William Robinson, governour.

Articles of Agreement betwixt John Stanhope² of the court, esquyre, of thone syde, and Percyvall Brooke and Henry Banester, merchantes of Yorke, and agents of the hole companye of the merchantes of the said cittie, of the other partie.

In primis, the said John Stanhopp haith undertaken to be humble sutor to hir majestie for the enlarginge of the privileges of there corporation, according to the draught of certayne articles delivered in there suppleacon, and haith promised to do his best to precure hir majesties bill assigned for the draught thereof, with as convenyent spede as he may. Item, the said Persyvall Brooke and Henry Banister for them, and in the behalf of the rest of the merchantes have covenited with the saide John Stanhope, that upon the obtaninge of hir majestie bill assigned for the foresaid graunt, and upon the delyvery of the same unto the said Percyvall Brooke and Henry Banister, or their assignes, that they or there assignes shall forthwith and imediatlye thereupon pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Stanhop, or his assignes, the some of forty poundes of lawfull money of England. Item, that whereas the said John Stanhop standith boundon by obligacon beringe daite the 5 day of February, in the yere 1578, for the payment of one hundrith poundes unto Robert Brooke [and Andrew Trew] or ther assignes, the ³ day of February, then next followinge, in the yere 1579, the whiche upon further speche betwixt the said parties hath sence that tyme bene further respited, nowe the said Persyvall Brooke and Henry Bannester do covenante and promysse unto the said John Stanhope, that upon the delyvery of the said grant, they shold delyver or cause to be delyvered by themselves or there assignes the said obligacon to be cancelled withoute any advantage to be taken thereof.

¹⁻¹ Crossed through in MS.

² Born in 1545, third son of Sir Michael Stanhope. He was a member of the Council of the North, and one of the Commissioners for the union of England and Scotland. He died 9 March, 1620-1.

³ No day given in MS.

Item, that the said John Stanhope doth promise that upon the receipt of his former obligacon, he shall delyver signed and sealed one othere obligacon of lyke value and free as the other is, payable unto the said Robert Brooke and Andro Trewe, or ther assignes, on February next followinge the daite of the said obligacon, then to be maid. In witnes whereof either parties to theis presentes enterchanablye have sett their handes, and seales, the vijth of May 1580. The trewe copie of the articles betwixt John Stanhop, Esquire, and Percivall Brooke and Henry Bannester.

Expenses of commissioners to London, 1580.

Laus Deo, the 11 of May, 1580. The expenses of Percivall Brooke and Henry Bannester at London in the affaires of the company and for them appoynted. First, our expences to London, xxvs. Item, geven to my lorde Rutland gromes of his chamber, xs. Item, to the porter that keppethe the parke gayt at Whythall, ijs. Item, for maykyng supplycaychons and other wrytyngs, xs. Item, for botte hyre to and frome the court, viijd. Item, for a boxe to put the wrytyngs in, viijs. Item, to the grome of my lorde of Sussyx his chamber, vs. Item, for our charges at London for xix dayes at iiijs. a day, iijli. xvjs. Item, for our horses charges at London, xxvjs. viijd. Item, gevyn to M^r Skinner to stand our frend to my lord treasurer his master, xxs. Item, to the secretary of the Spannysh compayny,¹ iijs. iiijd. Item, our expences to Yorke, xxvs. Some is xli. xjs. viijd. By me Percivall Brooke, Henry Bannister.

To the worshippfull our loving bretherne M^r William Robinson, governor at Yorcke, M^r Robart Brooke and M^r Thomas Appleyarde, merchauntes, of the same cyttye, and to every of them in Yorcke.

Worshippfull, after our hartye commendacons. Whereas an action was commenced in our courte at Hambrough, the 29 October, 1578, by Thomas Thackraye for William Braye, merchant of Hull, against George Hall, merchant of London,

¹ *Ante*, p. 216.

and attachement made of all and singuler the goods whatsoever of the same George Hall, then in the hands of Robert Pacocke,¹ merchant off Yorke, for and towards the satysfacon payment of 854 gylderns pollyshe,² which he, the said George Hall, is indebttd by his byll obligatory made payable unto the foresaid Thomas Thackraye, or the bringer. And consydering the same Robairt Peacock having bene called before a courte of assystentes there at Hambrough holden, the 7 November then following, and of him demaunded what he had in his hands of the said George Hall, at the tyme of the attachement making, who declared he knew not certayne untill accompts be cleared betwene them. And therefore dyd put in sewertes Bryhan Byrkhed and Frauncis Wormelye to aunswere whatsoever he shoued be founde indebttd, or in his handes apperteyning unto the same George Hall, to the satyssfaccion of such action. But forsomuche as throughe the absence, (sence which tyme), of the said Robert Peacock from these partes, the said action remayneth yet undecyded, upon the request unto us here lately made by our bretherne Leonard Wylland and the foresaid William Braye, per theire letter, at a courte of assistentes here holden the 14 present, we have appoynted and aucthorysed your worshippes, lyke as we hereby erenestly requyre you, and every of you, in vertew hereof, to call the said Robart Peocke before you, at suche convenient tyme as to your worshippes shall seeme good. And to take of hym, upon his othe, a fast and trewe accompte of all suche redde monye, bylls, or goods whatsoever, as he had in his hands, or any waye was indebttd at the tyme of the said attachement making unto the forenamed George Hall. And thereupon given your worshippes joyntly hereby further aucthorety to ende the dyfference between them, if you can, yff not, then hereby lykewyse requyring you spedely to advertyse us hether, how farr your worshippes shall have therein proceeded. To thende we maye fynally procede here in sentence accordyng to equetye and good consyent. And thus not doubbtting of your worshippes good conformety, and reddynes in thaccom-

¹ Master of the Company in 1563, 1564, 1565.

² Dr. M. Kirmis, *Polnischen Münzkunde*, pp. 102-106.

plyshement of this our order and request, we cease and comend you to God. At Embden this 20 Maye, 1580. Your the governor and assystents off merchants adventurers of England, wrytten in Embden. Christofer Hoddesdonn, governor.¹

Jhesu.—Worshippfull sir and sirs, after our hartly comendations. Wheras the right worshipfull brethren at Andwarpe lately sent us the coppye of a drafte in articles devysed by some particuler bretherne to restrayne all suche our bretherne free also of other companies to trade lykewyse as merchants adventurers. And for so muche as dyvers of you there at Yorck, and also at Hull, are lykewyse entered into other companies and trades, by the motion of a particuler brother of Hull, we have thought it most convenient and at a generall court here holden, the 2 present, agreed to sende you (lyke as herein closed you shall receyve) coppye of the said drafte in articles erenestly requyring you, M^r governor, upon receipt hereof to call the fellowship there together, and that with further request unto you all, you will welle waye, consider, and deliberate uppon the same, whose opynions there upon by lyking or dyslyking, in parte, or in all, we also requyre maye be spedely sent unto our said right worshippfull bretherne at Antwerp. And to thend our bretherne at Hull may observe and performe the lyk, we praye you in hereof to impart unto them lyk coppye wherewith, and not having further to inlarge, comende you all to Gods mercy, from Embden, the 6th Juine 1580. Your the deputye, assysents, and fellowshipp of merchants adventurers of England, rezydent in Embden. By M^r John More, clerck to the said fellowshipp, for lack of M^r deputy his hande, being in hast, the shipp redde now to departe from hence.

*At a generall court holden in Andwarpe the 9th of June,
anno 1580.*

The act made by the worshipfull persons therto appointed (for entringe in the booke of shippinge such monney as is paid for the new impost) was red, liked, and ratified. And ordeyned that every brother, who hath used any trad in those countries

¹ cf. The Eastland Company of York, R.H. Soc., 3rd series, vol. x, p. x.

since this new impost was begun, shall bringe in as nere as he can in grosse the some of all such money, he hath paid for the said impost. And this to be don, as well by such as have and do abide here, as by others that are in Englonde and elsewhere, within three monethes from midsomer next, upon payne of *vli. flemishe*, to be forfeited and paid by every one neglecting to accomlishe this presente decree. This being collationed with the originall is founde to agree, per me, Gilpin.¹

An Acte concerninge the specifeng of money paid for the new impost contrary to the entercourse and priviledges.

For dyvers greate reasons and good consideracons as well therby to manyfest and presentely to make publickly knowen, that in every ship cleared hence or arryvinge here the uttermost extremitie of those greate exactions are paid by the laders therof being of the fellowship, as also to have in readynes, at all tymes, and upon all occasions, when nede or other cause shall require, perfect note to be showed either to the governors, or councells bearing government in this countrey, or the magistrates of this towne or otherwayes, where the company is or may be priviledged, orells to the quenes majesties most honorable privie councill, or any her highnes ambassadors, or agents, that may kepe rezidence or be sent over into these parts, what greate excessyve somes are extorted of the company contrary to the intercourse and previledges, to the unlawfull breache and violation therof.

It is fownde most requisitt and so by errecting of handes agreed, that from henceforth every brother of the fellowship, receaving or transportinge any goodes or merchandizes out or into England or other countrey, shall orderly and dylie at the making of his entrie in the tresorye in the booke of shipping add unto his parcell of wares or goodes shipped in such ship, as shall be then arryved or a lading, and onely set downe in the margent what sum of payeth² monney he payeth for impost therof, without the particuler specifeng what his goodes are. And further all such persons as shall receive

¹ Kölner Inventar, Zweiter Band, 1572–1591, No. 2037.

² Crossed through in MS.

any Spanishe or forrayne comodites, or shall send or transporte any hence into other strange countries or places, for the which he shall be constraigned to pay any Zealand tolle, shall in like sort set downe in the said booke at the entring of his parcell, what he hath paid in the Zealand tolle for the same, and this to be done in perfect and such good order as by the tenor of the direction in the booke by the secretary or his clarke [is] precibed. And whosoever neglecteth orderly to enter his goodes specifieng the parcell, vizt. as fatt, maunde, trosse, etc., and what he payeth in the Zealandes tolle or impost, as above written, shall forfeite and pay to the use of the generalitie for every tyme offending without all favour or pardon such fynes, as is provided by former orders for entring in the booke of shippinge. And this order to take effecte and begin from the first of Aprill last past.

To the right worshipfull M^r Governor assistants and generalltie of merchantes adventurers resident in Andwarpe.

Right worshipfull sir and sirs, in our hartie manner we commend us unto you, syngnfyinge ¹unto you¹ that we have received a letter of the 6 of June last past from the worshipfull bretheryn resydent in Embden with the coppie of sertayne artycles devysyed by some particuller bretheren (as the same letter doythe ymporte), the effect whereof is to restrayne the bretherryn beinge fre of other corpporacions to occupie with you and in the other corporaychons at one tyme. Requestynge us by the said letter to assemble ourselves and ²not onelye² delyberratly to consyther of the same, but also to syngnifie the same to ower bretherren at Hull, and to syngnfie³ sertefye⁴ unto your worshipes the lykyng or dyslykyng of the said artycles in parte or in all. Alwhyche thire request we have donne accordyngly and for our resolute apynyons concerninge the said artycles, we have sent you herein clossyd, wherby your worshippes may fully perceyve that of the most of the said artycles we do utterly meslycke, nether do we thinke it

^{1-1, 2-2} Interlined in MS.

³ Crossed through in MS.

⁴ Interlined in MS.

reason, whereas we have by our ayncient traydes bene free in thosse playces, which be nowe incorporrayt, to restrayne our selves from the benyfyt that may come therby, and further we judge the same artycles to be devysyd by some fre of the newe corporraychons only¹ onely and not by owr bretheren, for that they cannot be a more benyfyciall acte devysyd for them, nor one more hurtfull unto us, therefore we hartly pray you that as we have herewith fully sette downe what we thynke of the same, so yowe will tayke the same in good parte, and so right worshipfull sir and sirs, we commit you to the tuessyon of thalmightie god, who preserve you in all your affaires to his pleasure, Yorke the² Your worshipes to command, the governor, and fellowshipe of merchants adventurers, resydent in Yorke,³ the cite of Yorke.

To the right worshipfull the governor and felowshipe of merchant adventurers, resydent in Hull.

Right worshipfull, in our hartie manner we commende us unto you syngnyfe that the xxiiij^{1e} instant, we receyved a letter as from the deputie at Emden and the coppie of a draught in (*sic*) artycles devyced by some perticuler bretheren to restrayne all the brethren of the compaynye, and for that we beinge willed by the said letter to impart unto your worshipes the content thereof, which we have lycked well to accompleshe, for that we beinge in one prediccament are most willinge to joyne with you in answeyrynge the same, and we have sent you herein closed the coppie of the said letter and artycles, prayinge you hartilye to calle the compayny of merchants adventurers with you resident to gethers, ⁴and suche good cons. consowllaychons as you shall and,⁴ and ympart the same to them at lardge. And what you shall thinke moste mete to conclude upon to sytisfie (*sic*) us hether, with suche covenyent spede as you can, wherfor if yow consent we may answere the said artycles, which we thinke ar very prejudiciall for us, I observe. And thus expectyng your answere with

¹ Crossed through in MS.

² Four words obliterated in MS.

³, ⁴⁻⁴ Crossed through in MS.

your good advyce therein, we commet you to God, who prosper you alwayes with his myghtie power. Yorke, this 26 of Juine, 1580. Your worshippes, the governor and compayny of merchant adventurers, resident in the citie of Yorke.

Answer maid to certayn articles receyved from the worshipfull company of merchants adventurers resydent at Embden by the merchants adventurers of the cittie of York, as followeth:—

To the first item, for the acte of retayle we ar dyspenced wyth all upon great consyderacions and dyvers good cawses etc.

To the second item, the merchants adventurers which have bene found to be capabee to receyve the benefete of hir majesties grant for Spaine and other places are not to be restreaned of the sayme, nor frome any other previledged place granted to them by hir majestie, otherwaeyes it should be bondage for us and not privilege, therfor we uterly dyslyke of the article etc.

To the thyrd item, we tradyng Spaine, ovr doying in thos parties are smale for that ovr comitiee wyll not vent the comoditie, [we] do not shypp any great quantity clothes or carzeas for that porpose to the mart tounes neyther dowe, neyther dowe (*sic*), or ovr factors make any provicion of the comodities of Eastland, Germanye or of the lowe countries to shypp deryctly into Spaine att any tyme, and therfor we do thynk this articlee was not panned without the advise of som that is but onely free of Spaine, and can not mak so good provicyon as the merchants adventurers do, so that we myslyke of the articlee, but if any do abbase ovr comoditie, we whyshe they were mett withall.

To the fowrthe item, the marchants free of hir majesties grant in Spaine onely ar in the sayme predecament that they were in tymes past, and no better, and the merchants adventurers have no more privileg now than in tymes past, than they have had in the marte tounes, nor in Spaine, nor in any others places, that be now previledged by hir majestie, therfor we ar havyn¹ to use our fredom at our pleasures as we may,

¹ Crossed through in MS., an illegible word precedes, also crossed through.

so that we wyll not in any wyse agree to make ourselves bondmen.

To the fyft item, we thynk that the marchants adventurers beyng lemytted how many apprentisses thay shal have at one tyme and not above, the act provided for the sayme beyng dewly executed wythowt favor or pardon, they cannot encrease in number of our company mo then the ordenanc of the howse wyll permytt them, and for any doying we have into Spayne we ar mor lyke to content our selves wyth owr smale abyllities than to attayne to any greater welthe thereby.

To the sext item, as the merchants incorporat for Spayne and others have forsene to exlude so many of the marchants adventurers owt of ther societie as be any meanes they could, so we wyshe that it should be that none of them should be takyn into owr societie, ayther by redempcion, or any other wayes.

To the sevent item, we thynk ther is fewe of our company so necclygent that beyng sworne to any new corporacion dothe not bear in mynd that in his latter oothe, there is reserved to hym his oathe and dewtie to any former corporacion, and yet not wythstandyng secludyng not hym self from any off the corporacions wherof he is a member, but may serve all, as dyvers have donne of long tyme beyng bothe marchants adventurers and staplears without any innovatyng.

To the eight item, we thynk that every brother of this company, being called to gyve his advice consernyng the benefet of the sayme, wyll not prefer any corporacion before this of owrs, for as it is most ancient, so it is most tollerable, and therfor not lyke that any brother wylbe against the profete of the sayme company, nor ar lyke to move any contention or division amonge us, and further we were never of counsell in obtayning the newer charters, so we do not meane to lose any benefet that redondethe to us by the sayme.

To the nynthe item, yf any wyll traffyque to any of the hance tounes or to any other citties or tounes prohibeted, contrarie to the counsell, decree, and the ordenances of our company, lett hym be met wythall accordyng to the penaltie provided for that offenc, and for impossessions, payments, or

loanes, you have ordynarie meanes and actoritie to levie the the (*sic*) sayme or ells to crose (*sic*) hym the howse that offendythe, and then he is well founde, which payments in owr oppynyons is not lessyned by any of the layt graunts, if the actes maid in that behalf be seuerelye executed as they ought to be.

To the tenthe item, we request yowr worshypys to prevent the offenders that this article may be dewely consydered, and that som good acte or actes may be maid, and sharpe fynes to be sett upon the offenders, and the sayme to pay without faver or pardon.

To the eleventhe item, we request that your wysdomes wyll with spede prevent such senyster and indirecte dealyng, as is specified in this articlee, by great penalties to be lade upon the offenders as in the last answer, and for the consyderacon of the premysses.

We answer, for as moche as most of the ancient marchants adventurers have had ther usyall traddes into Spaine, and Eastland, and other countrees, now previledged, and never prohibited, and now the said marchants and ther servants beyng free by hir majesties newe grauntes, we thynk it neyther reason nor wysdom to abrydg owr selves ayther of our lyberties, or benefett in abstenyng from owr accustomed traffecques, to leve to inryche others not beyng of this company, for that wear the most beneficciall acte that could be deviced for the new corporacions of them that be not free of the merchants adventurers, and flat agaynst owr selves, and therfor we cannot, neyther wyll we consent, nor at any hand do lyk of any of the premysses, the xth and eleventh articles onely excepted, to whych twoo articles we wyshe that some good actes may be spedilye maid for preventyng the sayme; and for the tollaracion of the company that be occupyers into Spayne, it doth not towche us, as is answered to the thyrd article. But if you wyll stynt your selves in shyppying to the mart townes, we shall not be agaynst it, and for Hambroughe thos that offend contrarie to the actes and ordenances maid, let them pay the penalties wythout favour or pardon, and if the penalties be not great enough, we wysse they maye be greater, so that yowr worshyppes adverties us of the sayme.

To the right worshypfull the governor and merchauntes adventures of England, resydent within the Cytie of Yorke, geve thys.

Ryght worshypfull, in our right hartie manner we commend us unto youe, havinge received your letter dated the 26 of June last, withe a copie of certaine articles devised by some merchauntes of our companie beyond the seas, for the which we yeld youe hartie thanks. Wheras it semethe to us, youe be willinge to joingue¹ joyne withe us, we signyfy unto your worshippes we ar willinge to joyne withe youe, not in this matter only, but in all other matters appertaynyng to our trades, so oft as the necessaryte of the cause shall require. We have sent youe herewithe our answeere of their frivolous artycles roughly kome over, wherin youe may perceyve, we ar not mynded to yelde to ther request, trustinge your worshyp will in lyke sorte stand withe us, prainge you to peruse the same, and wher youe ²thinke ther is² eny superfluous matter or that wantethe, that youe will correct and performe (*sic*) that is amysse, prainge you now so send us a cople of your determynations, that youe will send up unto them, to thende we may be sertyfyed of your intentes, so as we may be the better able to answer them, when tyme servethe. Of late by your worshypps consentes we sent up Christofor Danebroke, one of our brethren, to London to hir maiesties honorable counsell to gett the shyppes at lybertie, which were stayed, unto whom we gave *iiij*li. towarde his expencys. Youe wer then promysinge us to contrybute to that chardge, we have therfor thought good to dyessyere youe to sende the same unto our thresorer John Hartcastle, who haithe defrayed the same, convenyentlye as you may, and thus havinge no other matter to troble youe withe att this tyme, we commyte youe to allmyghty God, from Kingston upon Hull, the vj of Julii, 1580. Your worshippes in the lorde, Yours in the lorde (*sic*) William Gee, governor.

¹ Crossed through in MS.

²⁻² Interlined.

The answer of the merchants adventurers resyant in Kingston upon Hull unto the artycles sent from the merchants of Yorke unto them, beinge devyzed at Embden and Andwarpe by the merchants ther.

1. In primus, to the fyrst article that is of retaylinge and adventuringe, we have nothings to answer unto forasmuche as it is not here withe us in force, for that we ar for the same dysspenced witheall.

2. Item, to the seconde, wher as they alledge that by the dysordred dealinge of the merchants free of Spayne and other countries, by bringinge great aboundance of Englyshe commodityes to the marte townes, for that they be free of the companye of the merchants adventurers, if they be so prejudicyall unto ther trade, let them devyze some good and laudable ordenaunces to restraine them, so that the same be note hurtfull to our lyberties granted to us of late of the east countreys, and of Spayne, for sewer we are that they merchantes of this countrey do not hyndere them in any respectes, wherfor we ar not determyned to gyve over the advantage of any our lyberties graunted unto us by hir majestie.

3. Item, to the iij^{de} article, we answere as in or to the seconde we have alredy answered.

Item, to the iiijth, we thinke that every merchant may take the benefyt that is dewe unto hym by the trade of merchaundyze by generall previledge or pertycular, and for ther allegacon of hynderinge hir maiestis costum, or our navye, that we suppose is not the marke they shoate at, wherfor we say as before we have sayd, we ar not to lease any advantadge of our preveledges lately graunted.

5. Item, to the v, we answer that for takinge of apprentyzes we of this town can do no harme, for ther is no merchaunt of this town that may have eny moo apprentyzes then iij at one tyme, some of us but ij, and some others but one, for all these fredomes, and not one of them to be eny clothiars sonne, and if they and youe will take the lyke, they nead not feare that damage.

6. Item, to the vjth, we answere that for these newe obtayned corporacions, they were never procured by the merchantes of

this countrey, yet we beinge capable of them are contentyd to take the benefyte of them, if ther be eny, notwithstanding if ther be eny of those newe erected companyes, that will go aboute to over throughe eny of our ancyent lyberties of our worshipful feloweshyppe of merchants adventurers, we will to the uttermost of our powers stand to defend them, but if the (*sic*) will devyze eny newe ordenaunces to cutt us of from our lyberties of Spayne, Eastland, or Russya, we will not in eny wyesse consent or yeald therunto.

7. Item, to the vij, we answere that when soever any merchant is called over the seas to serve to eny of the companyes, wherof he is free, wher he is fyrst somoned to serve, he is bounde to serve, and being ther he haithe to use his conscience as God shall geve hyme leve, and allthouge he cannot serve ij maysters, yet he may be free of ij companyes, and use a good conscyence to them bothe, as be dayle experience we have had of longe tyme good proffe, for ther be dyvers of us that be bothe merchants adventurers, and staplers.¹ And no suche farringe is amongst us as they alledge.

8. Item, to the eight, weras they alledge the (*sic*) caulle courtes where mens opynyons for the benefyte of the companye fearinge that the deversite of opynyons by reason of the dyversyte of merchaunts of sondrey contreys² companyes as the merchauntes of Eastland, Spayn, and others contentyons, stryves and brawlles steared upe, if that shall happen so to faulle out at eny tyme, they have dyvers and sondrey ancyent orders for qualyfyinge and punysshinge of suche dysordered delynge. And if those they have alrede mayd will not serve, they have aucthoryte to make others, so as the same be not prejudiciall to our later graunts.

9. Item, to the ix, whereas thei say that ther haithe bene ordre taken by hir majesties previe honourable counsell, and confyrmed by our companye, that none shold have traffyque

¹ The relation of the Staplers to the Merchant Adventurers has not yet been thoroughly investigated. G. Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, and R. Pauli, *Drei volkswirtschaftliche Deukschriften*, and H. E. Malden, *Introduction to the Cely Papers* (Camden Soc., 3rd series, vol. i).

² Crossed through in MS.

to eny of the hance townes, we answeare that we have therein not offendyd, and if ther be eny of themselves, or eny others that they knowe, that have offendyd in those matters, let them be punysshed by fynes, multes, or otherwysse, accordinge to our ordenances in suche cases mayd and provyded for, or otherwysse complayne of them to hir maiesties honourable counsell for so offendinge. And as for all suche imposysseyons or other dewties dewe unto the house everyone haythe to pay dewty fully accordinge as his abilyte will serve.

10. Item, to the x, we answer that wheras they alledge that the lenyete of the companye in tymes past haith bene suche that when the trade of Spayne was but lyttell, they suffered unfree men to occupye and bringe in forayne commodityes into the marte towns without painge eny impossysseyons or other dewties¹ to the house, and now for as muche as the said trade is growen into a more ample manner than before, they may sett some penallyte or some rounde fyne upon them, or utterly restrayne them, if our graunte will serve so lardgly, and forther to restrayne all factors and servantes beinge free of our companye, and servynge eny of our companye to dealle for eny unfree merchantes within eny of the marte towns dyrectly or indyrectly howsoever.

11. Item, to the xj, we answer that wheras thei alledge that some bretherne free of of (*sic*) our companye, beinge also free of Spayne, Portyngall, and other places, do joinge themselves in partenershype withe merchantes beinge not free of our companye to adventure to Spayne, Portingalle, and other places, as preteners (*sic*) in joynte soke togythers, by meanes wherof they be or may be mayd partetakers of the seacretes of the trayd of our companye of merchants adventurers, we do thinke it veraie necessarye, meate, and convenyent, that ther be some good and holsome ordenaunces devyzed, and set down, for that matter. That is to witt, that none of the brethern of our companye, servant, noe apprentyze to eny of our sayd companye do dealle or be factor for eny merchaunt beinge not free of our companye of merchantes adventurers, as in the 10 article aforsayd is suffycyently comprehended.

¹ Hull, 1580, is interlined here.

Item, wheras they say that the trade of Hambroughe myght be stayed and the offenders better mett withe, all wiche thinge we most hartely dyessyere. Ther is none of us that offendethe. We have mayd sewte unto the companye at London, at Andwarpe, and at Embden to have had a deputie here and an assystances, who myght have bene aucthoryzed to have cut of all interlopers from all our preveledged places, wiche if it had bene graunted, ther had not bene eny one of them that offende, but they sholde have bene mett withe all. And so we wysse that they, havinge the aucthoryte in their hands, do that in them lyethe to cut of all dysturbbers of eny of our trades whatsoever.

Last of all, they conclude that it wer verye neadfull that forthwythe some acte shoulde be mayde by youe and us to forbyde all the bretheren of the merchauntes adventurers of this countrey, occupyinge Spayne and other preveledged placis, to sease to occupie the lowe countreys duringe that tyme, for answeere thereof, all their artycles beinge at a court holden the last of June, 1580, rede, and well weyed, and consydered upon, that ther is not one of our companye here that will consent therunto, no more do we hope that your worshippes will do, for that we bothe have bene at so mucche chardge, so sclendielye to pass away the comodyte that may come thereby, but we ar all determyned to enjoye and occupie Flanders, Eastland, Spayne, Portingall, and all other our preveledged placis, witheout interrupcon, so much as we may. For allthough it may be to them commodious, yet to youe and us it wilbe veraie hurtfull and injurious, wherefore we trust youe will joyne and confyene your selves with us, and so we ar determyned to do wythe youe, God willinge.

To the righte worshipfull Mr William Robinson, governor to the fellowship of marchantes edventurers of Englonde, and the rest of the bretheren of the same company, rezident at Yorke.

After our most hartie comendacons. We have of late taken an order that all bretheren of our company, which any time since the raysing of thexactions in this countrey termed new impostes, have used any trade into these parts, and bin

forced to yeld to those taxes, shall bringe in or send dew notes of such monie as they or ther servaunts for them have paid, and disbursed, either in this towne or other place in those basse countries, the tenor of our acte you shall herewith receive, as also within what tyme it is to be accomplished, refarring you therunto earnestly refarring¹ requiring that you use your accustomed conformites herin, letting all our bretheren, dwelling within your towne and precinctes therof, or therof or therabouts, understand of this our determinaton, to thend they may not onely satisfie that good purpose we desire, but also avoyed the penaltie provided for such as be in defaulte, and so do cease, leaving you unto the perception (*sic*) of thalmightie, from Andwarpe, the 23 June, 80. Yours the deputie, assistentes & fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, rezident ut supra, Mighell Boyle, deputie.

To his lovyng cosson Mr Robert Somerskayll, at his howsse in Fletstreet, near the Bell Savaidge, this deliver, in London.

Laus Deo, in Yorke, the 6 of July, 1580. Cosson Somerskall, after our hartie commendaycons unto you, with your bedfellow, with lycke thanks to you boythe for our good cheare, this ar to request you to tayke the pannes to ride to the cowrt to Mr John Stanhope, esquire, and receyve of hyme, under seall or signet by the quenes majestie, one charter² for the merchants of Yorke, and upon the receyt thereof signed or under the broad seall to pay unto hym, the said Mr Stanope for the same in consetherraychon of his paynnes, the some of fortie poundes; and if he have cawsed it to be put under the great seall, then that you will pay hyme the ordinarye charges for the same. For at my beinge at London in Easter tearme, it was agreid by surtayne artycles under ovr handes, and sealed, that the said Mr Stanope should procure hir majestie bill assigned for the same, and upon the delyvery therof, and me or any whom I shold apoynt, I shoued pay or cawse to be paid

¹ Crossed through in MS.

² The charter was not signed until 15th of November, 1581, the day before the end of the regnal year, as Elizabeth came to the throne on 17th of November.

unto the said M^r Stanope, the some of fortie poundes. And forther, wheras the said M^r Stanope doythe stande bound unto M^r William Robenson, and M^r Robert Brooke, ¹and M^r Andray Trewe¹ for the payment of one hundrythe poundes upon the ij day of February last past, it is also agreid bethoyxt us, that upon the passynge of the said graunte he should have respite for payment of the said hundrythe poundes, tyll the ij of February next, and that upon the enseallynge and delyvery of a newe bonde to the said parties, or there assignes, for the payment of the said hundrythe pounds, on the ij of February next, and upon the delyvering of the said charter signed as aforesaid, he shold have redelyvered unto hyme the owle bounde to be cancelled. And because it is great charges for us to send up for the premysses, and fyndynge yow a very able man for the same, we ar so bowld to troble you herwithe, praying you not onely to tayke the paynnes to go about the same, but also to tayke us upe as moche money to be paid here, or at London, upon syght or otherways, as will serve this nede, whiche wilbe abowte fyftie poundes; and put in as well for your owne charges and paynnes tayken about the same, as also for the furnysshinge of the said money, which we shall stand ned of aboutt the premisses. And we shall, upon advertisement frome you, mayke dewe payment of the same to whom and other you shall appoynt wethout delay. And we have sent you herwythe, as well the newe bonde to be sealed by the said M^r Stanope, as also the owld bond and the articles unto hyme delyvered. And thus beinge bowld to troble you, we sease, comettyng you to God. Yor lovyng cossens to commande. This letter was drawn by Percyvall Brooke.

To the right worshipfull the governor, and fellowshipe of the merchantes adventurers, resident in Kingston upon Hull.

Right worshipfull, in our ryght hartie manner we comend us unto you, syngnyfinge that yours of the 6 of July last past we have recyved, with a drought for answer of sertayne artycles sent to us and you from Embden, whyche answeere we have

¹⁻¹ Crossed through in MS.

lyked well of, and yet we have drawn the effecte therof into some lesser rome, as you may perceyve by the same sent you herin closed, and also the letter whyche we have agreid to send with the said answeare to thire artycles to Andwarpe,¹ prayinge you to peruse the same, and send us the letter with the answer to thire artycles backe agayne, to the end we may seall them up, and send the same to the compaynye at Andwarpe. And if you shall lycke the same for your answeare as ours, then you may underwrytte the letter and artycles, if you thinke good, and then we shall maycke the tytle to be your answeare as youres² ours; and whearas you do wrytt in one of your artycles that you have bene sutters to the compayny to have a deputie to the end you may mete with interlopers, we thynke you have suffycient actorrytie with us by the compayny letters, and the coppie of the charter sent therby for that purposse, which they have not at any tyme tayken frome us, and for our parte, upon any occaychon offered by any that shall or have offended, we will joyne with you for the better servyce of the compayny in punnyshinge the offenders upon any advertesement frome yow or of our owne knowledge, and wheare as in your letter you requere to be answered for our parte of the charges of Christofer Dawnbroke to London, we have agreed that the mone [?] M^r William Robinson, governor, shall repay you the one half of the same, requestynge you to calle of the maisters of the Trinytie housse for some parte of the same, for the sute did as well appertayne to the marryners as merchantes. And so, we hayvyng [no] other matters to trouble you at this tyme, we comet you to the Almyghtie God. Yorke, this 14 of August, 1580. Your worshipes the governor and company of merchants adventurers, Resident in the cite of Yorke.

¹ The transference of the company from Antwerp to Emden took place in the spring of 1580. Dr. B. Hagedorn, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

² Crossed through in MS., an illegible note in the margin.

For admitting into the fellowship of Eastland merchants.

To the worshipfull our loving brethren the governor and fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resident within the citie of Yorke.

Worshippfull, after our heartie comendacons, where it hath pleased her majestie of her graces especiall to graunte unto certaine her subjectes a charter, under the greate seale of Englande, for the incorporatinge of certaine merchantes to traffique in the terrotories and dominions of the Easte contreys, as to your worships we thinke is not unknowen. By vertue of which they coulde exclude some of her majesties subiects from the benefitt therof, if the lords of her majesties councill had not stod our good lordes by decidinge of the differences betwene us;¹ whose honours have decreed that all such of our companie, as ar minded to be admitted of that corporacon, according to tharticle of the said charter herewith sent, and will, before the first day of October next, present there names unto the governour or deputie of the said fellowshippe, and before the feast of Christmas nexte, repaire in persone to be free of the same, shalbe admitted, paienge onely for there admission the some of tenn poundes sterling, otherwise to be excluded from the said admission into the freedome thereof, merchant a more fine. Thes are therefore to advertise yow of our proceadinges herein, willinge such of yow as are minded to have and enjoy the freedome of the said cooperation, within the times and for the some above limited to deliberate here-uppon, and with all convenient speede send the names and advertisments hether to the right worshippfull M^r Governor, before the said first of October, to thend he may present them accordinge to the decree aforesaid. And thus we reste, committinge your worships into the tuition of Allmightie God. From London, this xvijth of Auguste, anno Domini 1580. Yours the governour, assistantes and fellowship of merchants adventurers of England, resident in London. Christofer Hoddsdone, governor.

¹ P.R.O. Pat. R., 21 Eliz., part ii, m. 25, printed in Laws and Ordinances of the Eastland Company, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-151.

To the right worshipfull-the governour and fellowship of Mr (sic) merchauntes adventurers resident in the Cyttye of Yorke.

Right worshipfull, our most hartly commendacons remembered. Upon the receipt of your letter of the xiiijth of August instant, I did assemble our brethren the merchants adventurers resydent in this towne, before whom the answer to the articles sent from Emdon and the letter by you agreed to be sent to the right worshipfull the governour, assistantes, and generallity of merchants adventurers resident in Antwerpe, concerninge that matter, were redd and by us all well lyked of, and a generall consent gyven to them boothe: and therupon I (in the name of the marchaunts adventurers here) have subscribed to the same letter and articles, boothe which I have returned (to your worships) hereinclosed: we persave by your said letter (of the xiiij of August, instant) boothe your willingnes in joyning with us for the meting with interlopers and the punishing of sutch offenders, for which we hartly thanke you, desyring allso therof continewanc and allso your agreement to repay thone half of the chardges of expenses Darnborough to London. We have not (as yett) moved the masters of the Trenyty house to be contributors to the said charges, but we shall do yt as opportunity may serve. And so wee byd you hartly farewell. Kingston upon Hull, the xxiiijth of August, 1580. Your worships, the deputy, assistantes and company of merchants adventurers resident in Kingston-upon-Hull. James Clarkson, depute.

Venison Feast, 1580.

For half a barill of geilmer bear, 02s. 06d. For half a barill of my own bear, 05s. 00d. For a ij busheles of wheat, 06s. 00d. For rosted beaf and poudered bef, 06s. 00d. For xij henes, 07s. 00d. For 4 capons, 01s. 04d. For ij cockriles, 00s. 09d. For iij quarters of mutton, 07s. 00d. For j quarter of veale, 02s. ijd. For vj li. of sewitt, 02s. 00d. For iiij part-ridges, 03s. 00d. For ij doz $\frac{1}{2}$ felfeares, 0js. 08d. For v doz larches, 0js. 09d. For ij turckey baickt, 02s. 00d. For j quarter of butter, 02s. 02d. For $\frac{1}{2}$ li. of peper, 0js. 08d. For iij li. of carants, 0js. 00d. For iij li. of great rasaines, 0js. 00d.

For j li. of prunes, 00s. 04*d.* For j onz of clives, 00s. 08*d.*
 For j oz of maice, 0js. 02*d.* For j onz of senymond, 00s. 08*d.*
 For j onz of jnger, 00s. 04*d.* For iij li. of poudere sugar,
 03s. 06*d.* For $\frac{1}{2}$ li. of daites, 00s. 08*d.* For j li. of suger to
 their win, 02s. 00*d.* For j doz. of lemanes, 0js. 00*d.* For j
 shulder and a breast of mutton, 0js. 08*d.* For a breast of
 veaile, 00s. ij*d.* For iij henes, 0js. 06*d.* For vj doz of vessells,
 0js. 06*d.* For cooke and his ij boyes, 03s. 04*d.* For xxij
 . . . yds will [?] for wardens, 05s. 00*d.* For fyer, candell, and
 my panes, 10s. 8 gals. 3 quts. claret, 17s. 06*d.* 3 pottels
 sack, 04s. To Sir William Malloreys, where I rode, a gallon
 of markadel and benwns [?] brewd wyn to Sanderson and
 Bland, j pottel, 02s.¹

*London, 1581. To the worshipfull Mr Thomas Appleyard,
 governor to the merchantes adventurers ressedent, geve thes,
 in York.*

June the 14th day, 1581.

Worshipfull sir, my dewtie remembered, may ytt please
 yower worshipec, my servant, the bearer heareof, is contented
 to be sett over to serve the rest of his yeares with Leonard
 Dent, who is free of ower companye, and desyer use to have
 hym, who doethe promes to macke hym fre of his owne proper
 cost and chargges, I meayn of the old hans, wher ower com-
 panie is resedente. It may appear per indentures howe longe
 he haythe to serve; wherefore I knowe nott the order in settinge
 over any appretes unto an other, therefore I request your
 worshepe that accordinge to your lordeble order, he may pre-
 sentlye be sett over, for within a day or two he must retourne to
 Boston to the sayd Dent, for that he meaynes to send hym
 into Flanders, or some other place beyond the seayes. I have
 kept hym at Emdon this two yeares to my great charges, and
 now beinge nott able to sett hym of worke, and would have
 hym to leyse no tyme, I am contented to parte with hym,
 and so I would have the sayd Dent to be bound to macke

¹ Various tentative totals figure in the MS., 6*li.* 18*s.* 10*d.*, 5*li.* 15*s.* 04*d.*.
 The account roll has 6*li.* xs. iij*d.*, but the amount according to the items is
 £5 17*s.* 6*d.*

hym fre within the sayd tearme of his yeares. I knowe not your order, but fully assewringe myseif, that ye will call the clarke before you, and to sertefye accordingly as it should be. Thus having not others to inlargge, I weiche your worships healte to Gods pleassuer with harty dessyer, amen. Your worshippes command, Thomas Hewitson.

Elizabeth by the Grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith &c.¹

To all to whom these Present Letters shall come Greeting. Whereas our most noble Progenitor Henry the Sixth late King of England by his Letters Patent bearing Date at Westminster the twelfth Day of July in the Eight year of his Reign did Give & Grant to the men of the Mistery of Mercers of our City of York that they thenceforth should be one and A perpetual Community and that the same Community might choose on the day of the Annunciation of the Blefsed Mary every Year from themselves one Governor and two Wardens to overlook rule & Govern the mistery and Community aforesaid And whereas we are now credibly informed that the Merchants of our City of York have daily sustained many & great Losses upon the Seas by the Great Number of Pirates and many other losses by Bankrupts and the same Merchants by reason that their Bridge of Ouse hath fallen & as well on Account of the foundation rubbish of the said Bridge yet being and remaining in the Water of Ouse as of divers shipwrecks on the High Sea and in the water aforesaid Have suffered very great losses whereby the Merchants of the City aforesaid are compelled to incur and bear many & Greater Costs & Charges in bringing their Goods and Merchandizes unto the aforesaid City than before they were wont. And also by reason that the same Merchants are Destitute of Arts and Handicraftmen. So that when once they fell into Poverty they could in no way help

¹ The original charter with the seal attached is still in the possession of the merchants; as it has already been published by Dr. Gross from a copy in *Patent Roll*, 23 Eliz., pars 4, mem. 20-22, I have preferred to print a translation made in 1827, for the use of the counsels in the trial by the verdict of which the merchants were deprived of their alleged right to levy fines on men opening apothecaries' shops in York. Capitals and punctuation remain as in original document. On the cover is written: "Translation of Charter, Merchants Adventurers v. Harwood, Agar, York."

themselves and emerge therefrom but live upon the Charity and Alms of the Rich men of the same Society who are likewise burdened with a Great number of Poor Dwelling in their Hospital of the Holy and undivided Trinity of the City aforesaide to their great cost and charges And also for that the greatest part of Merchants Inhabiting in the said City who have used the same art have been brought to great poverty & Decay by reason that others who never Served in that art Intrude and intromit themselves in trading in Merchandizes in that City without any Government or correction not having any need thereof but only to Gratify their Coveteous desire to the great decay of the Merchants and to the great prejudice and lessening of our Customs which heretofore hath been paid by many Rich Merchants of the same City who now by reason of the Intrusion aforesaid are not able to deal in Merchandize as heretofore they used against the form of the laws and Statutes of this our Kingdom as we are Credibly informed.

Know ye Therefore that we piously compassionating the decay & poverty of the said Merchants in this behalph and being desirous to relieve the same Merchants and to restore them to their former State of prosperity and in Consideration of the good faithful and acceptable Service to us by the same Merchants abundantly performed on our accefsion to the Crown and also for Divers other causes & considerations as here unto Especially moving of our special Grace & of our certain knowledge and meer motion we have Granted and given License and for us our heirs and successors do by these presents grant and give Licence to our Beloved and faithful Subjects the present Governor and Wardens & Community of the mistery of Mercers of our City of York aforesaid That they of themselves Every year in the place and Stead of the aforesaid Governor and Wardens may choose one Governor & Eighteen afsistants to overlook Govern and Rule all the Mercers & Merchants of the City aforesaid for ever & the said Governor so chosen to stand and exercise that office until Monday next following the feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary every year and further we will and for us our Heirs and

successors do by these presents ordain constitute and declare that they the same Governor Afsistants and community so Chosen and hereafter to be chosen henceforth and hereafter be and shall be one Body Corporate and politic of themselves in deed fact and name and one Community perpetual and Incorporate by the name of the Governor Afsistants and Society of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York and them by the Name of Governor Afsistants of Merchants adventurers of the City of York into one body corporate & politic for Ever really & fully for us our Heirs and Successors do erect ordaine make constitute and establish by these presents and that the same Governor Afsistants and Company of Merchants adventurers of the City of York shall have perpetual Succession and a common Seal to serve for their things and businefs for ever and that they and their successors for ever shall be stiled named and called by the Name of the Governor afsistants & company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York & by the same Name shall and may be able to plead & be impleaded answer and be answered Defend and be Defended Demand and be demanded of before any Judge or justice or before any Judges or Justices whomsoever as well Spiritual as Temporal and other person & persons whomsoever and in any Courts or places or in any Court or place whatsoever and in all Actions real personal and Mixt afsizes and plaints of Novill discission and also in all other plaints Writts Bill Suits Pleas Businesfs Things and demands whatsoever which touch or in any wise concern the aforesaid Governor afsistants and company or their successors or their rights privileges Libertys things lands Tenements Hereditaments goods Chattles Debts or Businesfs of them or their successors and by the same Name at all times hereafter they may accept take and purchase as well of us our heirs and successors as of any other person or persons whomsoever and bodies politic & Corporate whatsoever all and all manner of Goods Chattles Lands Tenements Hereditaments Licences Libertys Franchises profits Commoditys discharges and other advantages and things whatsoever so that such Lands and Tenements so to be purchased by them or their successors be not held of us our Heirs and Successors nor of

any other whomsoever in chief Nor by Knight service not exceed the clear yearly value of forty Pounds beyond reprints the Statutes for not putting Lands or Tenements to mortmain or any other Act or Acts to the contrary thereof Notwithstanding And further we have given and Granted & for us our Heirs and successors do by these presents give and Grant to the aforesaid Governor Assistants & Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of York that the same Company yearly for ever may assemble and meet together on the twenty sixth day of March in every year in their Hall or any other Convenient place at their pleasure And there name three of the most fit persons being free of the Merchants adventurers of England and of the company aforesaid of whom they may chuse one by the Votes of the same Company or the Major part of them which person so elected shall remain and be Governor of the same Company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York aforesaid during one whole year then next following and also we will that if it happen the aforesaid Governor so chosen should die within the year after his Election that then the said Company within six days after such decease of Every Governor So chosen shall assemble and meet together in their Hall aforesaid or any other Convenient place and there name and choose one other fit person of themselves to succeed the person so Dead for the rest of that year to govern their said Company until the twenty sixth day of March then next following and so as often as the case shall thus require. Also we will and do by these presents grant that the said Company shall choose one Deputy to use and exercise the place & office of the aforesaid Governor in the absence of the same Governor and so from time to time the said Governor & deputy to be chosen and to be continued in the said office or offices & again to be removed therefrom by the consent of the said company or the Major part of them of their own will and pleasure. And also we will and for us our Heirs and Successors do by these presents ordain that the aforesaid Governor and Company from henceforth for ever four times in a year or oftener at their pleasure being assembled in their Hall or in any other place shall and may choose Eighteen discreet & honest persons

of the company aforesaid by the most votes of the same Company to be assistants to the said Governor or his Deputy & their successors for the time being and that the same eighteen persons so chosen or hereafter to be chosen Shall be called assistants & shall be from time to time hereafter chosen in manner & form as is above mentioned of the aforesaid Governor and his Deputy & that the same assistants shall continue in the same places & offices of assistants until by the company aforesaid or the Major part of them they or any of them shall be removed from the aforesaid office or place of assistants. And further we have granted and for us our Heirs and Successors do by these presents grant to the aforesaid Governor Assistants and Company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York that the same Governor or his deputy Assistants and Company or Major part of them henceforth for ever at all times & from time to time Admit and receive and shall be able to admit and receive into the said Company and Body corporate and to make free of the same Company all and every such person and persons as they shall think most fit and convenient And who have served in the manner of apprentices by the space of Seven years or who have followed Merchandize by the Space of ten years and are not Artificers or Handicraftsmen in such manner and form & with such distinctions and differences of Immunities or Liberties as from time to time shall seem to them most expedient and that every person and persons hereafter so admitted received & taken into the aforesaid Company or Body Corporate shall be as a lawful member or part of the same Company or body Corporate in the same manner and with such Conditions and distinctions of liberty as is aforesaid. Moreover Know ye that we for divers other causes & considerations as thereunto Especially moving of our special Grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion have given & granted and for us our heirs and successors do by these presents give and grant to the said Governor Assistants & Company of Merchants adventurers of the City of York that they and their successors henceforth for ever Shall have use and exercise full Jurisdiction power & authority lawfully to rule and Govern the aforesaid Company of Merchants

Adventurers of the City of York & their successors and all and every the merchants and members of the Same in all their private causes Suits plaints Debts Offences and debates amongst them or either or any of them arising or happening & to reform assuage and pacify all disputes discords and Controversies between themselves or either or any of the aforesaid Company or between any other person or persons whomsoever, Who shall complain by supplication or Bill of Complaint against any of the Company or Corporation aforesaid and also all manner of Trespasses hurts Misprisonments Excesses Violences and injuries to any citizen or other our Subjects or any stranger or either of them Done or to be done by the Merchants of the Company or Corporation aforesaid or by either of them to repair restore and amend and the like restitutions Reparations and amendments of other foreign Merchants to exact require and receive And moreover of our more abundant grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion we do for us our Heirs and Successors by these presents grant to the said Governor Assistants and Company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York and their successors for ever That the same Governor Assistants & Company or the Major part of them from time to time and at all times hereafter Do frame constitute Establish and Confirm & may and shall be able to frame constitute and Establish acts Constitutions Laws and ordinances reasonable & agreeable to the Laws of our Kingdom of England as well for the Good Government rule & order of the said Governor Assistants & Company and their successors as of every Merchant & particular member of the same Company or Body Corporate as also of all and Singular other the Subjects of us and our Heirs and Successors intermitting Exercising & using the Art or Mystery of Merchants or Mercers within the said City of York and the Liberties and Suburbs of the same City and the same Laws Acts Constitutions & ordinances to revoke and abolish and to reform correct and make better according to their sound discretion. So as the same Acts Laws Constitutions Statutes and ordinances be not prejudicial to any right of the Crown honour dignity royalty or prerogative of us our heirs or successors or to the

detriment of the Commonwealth of this our kingdom of England or repugnant to any Laws or Statutes of this our Kingdom of England and that the said Governor or his deputy assistants and Company aforesaid and their successors or the major part of them for the time being and from time to time from henceforth for ever as often as occasion shall require may & shall be able to execute exercise & put in use all the aforesaid Acts Ordinances Rules & Statutes in form aforesaid made as well against & between all and all manner of persons now being or hereafter to be a member or members of the aforesaid Company or Body Corporate as also against every other person or Persons intermeddling with the exercise and use or who hereafter Shall intermeddle with the Exercise or use of Merchandize or who shall show or expose to sale or permit to be shown or exposed to Sale in his or their house or houses any wares Goods or Merchandize growing made or imported from beyond the Seas (Fish and Salt only excepted) Within our City of York or the Liberties and suburbs thereof Such acts rules Laws and ordinances whatsoever which by the aforesaid Governor Assistants and Company or the major part thereof shall be made and also shall compel every of them by Fines Forfeitures Penalties imprisonments or otherwise to obey perform & keep all such ordinances Acts and Laws which hereafter shall be ordained approved or confirmed by the said Governor or his deputy & assistants of the aforesaid Company & their successors or the Major part of them for the good Government rule Order and estate of the said subject or subjects so only that the said Governor Assistants and Company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York aforesaid or any of them be not thereby Impeached or Damned but by all lawful ways and means shall be upheld & continued & that all the said Forfeitures fines Penalties & amerciaments, so to be levied & collected shall be for ever to the only use and behoof of the said Governor Assistants & company of Merchant Adventurers of the said City of York and their successors for the time being And further of our more abundant grace for us our Heirs and successors we will & by these presents strictly enjoin and command as well all and every person and persons

now being or hereafter to be a member or members of the said Company or Body corporate and all and every other person and persons intermeddling with the exercise or use of Merchandize or who hereafter shall intermeddle with the exercise or use of Merchandize by any ways or means within the said City of York and suburbs thereof that that they & every of them shall submit themselves & in all things be obedient to the said Governor or his Deputy and to the said assistants and their successors and every of them and to all the aforesaid acts Orders Rules Laws and Ordinances hereafter to be had and made as aforesaid without deviating from renouncing or disobeying the Power and Authority of the said Governor or his Deputy & assistants and without any further appeal or challenge whatsoever and also that the Mayor Sheriffs Justices Bailiffs and other officers and Ministers of our City of York and every of them for the time being from time to time for ever shall support the said Governor or his Deputy and assistants of the Company aforesaid for the time being and their successors & also their Ministers and Officers and every of them in the due Execution of the said Laws Acts and Ordinances and in the punishment of the persons offending and transgressing the same by pains and penalties limited and appointed or to be limited and appointed in the same Laws Acts & Ordinances made by the said Governor Assistants and Company or the Major part of them and if the said Governor or his Deputy or his or their successors for the time being with the absence of the said Assistants or the Major part of them shall commit or send any of the Company or Corporation aforesaid or any other Subject of us our Heirs or Successors not being of the same Company to any custody Gaol or prison for the Breaking or acting against any of the said Rules ordinances or Laws made or hereafter to be made Therefore we will and strictly command and for us our Heirs and successors do by these presents grant that Wardens or keepers of such Gaol or Prison or the Wardens or Keepers of such Gaols or prisons Shall so often from time to time take into his or their Prisons any such person or persons so offending who shall be sent or committed to him or them and there safely shall keep such

person and persons so committed at the proper cost & charge of the same person or persons so committed at to be committed without Bail or mainprize until the said offender or offenders shall be discharged of the said Imprisonment by the said Governor or his Deputy and Afsistants or the Major part of them or by their succefsors And that we our Heirs or Succefsors will by no means discharge or deliver out of Custody or prison upon pledges Bail Mainprize or otherwise any such offender or offenders without the consent of the said Governor or his Deputy and afsistants or the Major part of them for the time being or their succefsors whatsoever until the persons so Imprisoned and every of them shall obey perform and keep all the said Acts Statutes and ordinances made or hereafter to be made as aforesaid And shall also pay such fine and fines penalties forfeitures & amerciements as upon them or any of them shall be adjudged to be paid by the said Governor or his Deputy and afsistants or their succefsors for the time being or the Major part of the said Afsistants for any such their trespasses abuses & offences committed or to be committed as is aforesaid against any Act Statute Rule or Ordinance made or hereafter to be made concerning the Art or occupation of Merchants & that it shall & may be lawful to the said Governor or Deputy afsistants & community of the Company aforesaid and their succefsors for the time being or the Major part of them to amove eject and expell from the said Company all and every such persons as shall commit or perpetrate any great trespass abuse offence or Contempt against any of the said Acts Laws Statutes and ordinances made or to be made as is aforesaid in that behalf and also we have granted and for us our Heirs & succefsors do by these presents grant to the said Governor Afsistants & company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York aforesaid and their succefsors for the time being or the Major part of them That they may have and shall have full power & lawful Authority from time to time at all times for ever hereafter for ever to assign Constitute make & ordain two three or more searchers of the same company who at all times hereafter from time to time at their pleasure and whensoever it shall seem meet

to them & convenient shall & may enquire and make search as well of all and every person & persons being of the company or corporation aforesaid as of any other subjects whatsoever of us our Heirs or Successors within our City of York or suburbs thereof who now exercise or hereafter shall exercise merchandize by any Ways or means as well upon the account of unlawful Weights and measures as also upon the account of unlawful Wares and merchandizes & that the said Governor or his Deputy and Assistants for the time being or the Major part of them may compel any person or persons being of the said Company or any other Subject of us our Heirs & successors in this Behalf offending to repair & make amends for his or their offence and to amerce Mulet or Imprison for the offence Committed according to the Discretion of the aforesaid Governor or his Deputy & assistants for the time Being or the Major part of them in manner or form aforesaid and also that they may assign constitute make & ordain one or more Officer or Officers within our City of York & Suburbs thereof to receive take Levy & collect all & every the fines forfeitures penalties and amerciements of every person or persons whomsoever being of the Company aforesaid or of any other person or persons not being of the said Company offending or Breaking any Statute Law Act & ordinance made or to be made as aforesaid by the said Governor or his Deputy & assistants or their successors for the time Being or the major part of the said assistants And we will and do by these presents Grant that the said officer and officers shall & may have full power & Authority for Default of payment or for Disobedience if need be to arrest as well the Body or Bodies as the goods and Chattles of such offender or offenders and transgressors in all & every places within the City of York or the Suburbs thereof where they shall or may be found and the same to retain & keep Irrepleviable until for their Crime & offences they shall make satisfaction or otherwise come to agreement for the same with the said Governor or his Deputy and assistants for the time Being or the Major part of them And moreover we do will and strictly Charge and command all & Every Persons to whom In this Behalf it shall apertain that they and every of

them shall permit and suffer the aforesaid Governour Afsistants and Company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York and their Successors & Every person and persons being or hereafter to be A Member of the same Company fully and peaceably to use receive and enjoy the fully and entirely the effects of this Corporation and Grant without any resistance let hinderance Molestation or Contradiction & further we do will and for us our Heirs and successors do by these presents strictly enjoin & command all ever your Officers Ministers faithful Liege People & Subjects of us & of our Heirs and successors that to the aforesaid Governour & afsistants and company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York & their successors in using executing performing & fulfilling all and singular the premises they shall shew favour and be helping & afsisting in all things and at all times as they tender our favour and expect we should praise & commend their faithful obedience and afsistance herein and on the Contrary on pain of Incurring our displeasure & as they shall answer it at their utmost peril And Lastly our will and pleasure is that the said Governour and Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of York aforesaid shall and may have these our letters patents under our Great Seal of England Duly made & sealed without any fine or Fee great or Small to us our Heirs or Successors or to the use of us our heirs or successors in our Hanaper or elsewhere to be given or paide Altho' exprefs mention of the sum yearly. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness our self at Westminster the fifteenth day of November in the Twenty Third of our Reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

To the worshipfull Mr Broke and Mr Trew, aldermen of the Citie of Yorke, geve these.

Paid by Mr Trew to the berar thereof.¹ After my verey hartie comendacons. This bearer hathe ben commended unto me by dyvers of my frendes in Lanceshire, prayinge me that I wolde be a meanes to helpe hym to some schollers in the

¹ No sum of money specified.

towne, that he might teache them to write, whiche I wolde have ben verey glad to have done, but our towne hathe greate store of teachers, so that he is inforced to retire backe into Lancashire, havinge verey litill to manteyne hym in his travell. Therefore I am earnestlie to desire you, that you wilbe a meanes to my lord maior, or some other device, what shall please you, that he may have your rewardes for the better helpinge of hym home agyne. Wherin surelie you shall do a verey good deede, and shew me a greate pleasure, wiche I shalbe mooste willinge to requyte, as occasion shall shewe, as knowethe the Lorde, who have you in his keapinge. At Hull, the xiiij of this instant, 1582. Yours assuredlie, Edmonde Latham.

From the account roll of Thomas Apleyerd, governor, 1583.

Casual receytes and fynes.—Item, receyved of master Christofer Harbart, alder, for the challice which he sold belonging to this fellowship conteyninge xxxj ozes at vs. iiij*d.* the oz, viij*li.* vs. iiij*d.* Receyved of master Gomersall of London for his fyne for sellinge marchandizes within this cittie contrary to the ordnaunces, ij*li.* Receyved of John Dynsdell and John Pennoke, copuers, for ther fynes for retalinge of tarr contrary to the ordynaunces ether of them, vjs. viij*d.* *Summa* xiijs. iiij*d.* Receyved of Thomas Masken and Thomas Moxon for ther fynes eyther of them, iijs. iiij*d.* a pece. *Summa* vjs. viij*d.* Receyved of Launcelot Holmes iiij*d.*, William Pacoke iiij*d.*, Robert Myers xij*d.*, and John Mawd xij*d.*, for absens. *Som* ijs. viij*d.* Receyved of the assesement emongst our brethern for the chardge of our charter, as by bill therof made doth appere, the some of lxxij*li.* xs. *Summa* iiij^{xx}iiij*li.* xviijs.

The account of Antony Calton and William Scott, mercers, wardens of the fellowship and misterie of marchants and marcers, within the cittie of Yorke, the second yere of the right worshipfull Mr William Robynson, alderman, and second tyme governor of the same fellowship, of all there receipts, paments and expences belonginge to the same fellowship, from the xxvj day of Marche, anno Domini 1591 unto the xxvj day of Marche 1592, that is to saye for one whole yere.

Money in store, the said accomptants do answere for money remanyng in the fote of the last yeres accompt amountinge to the some of vijli. xijs. 0d. *ob. Newe brethren*, the said accomptants do answere for money by theme receyved of brethren entringe into this fellowship, that is to saye of John Jaque xs., of Ralf Woods xiijs. iiijd., of Edward Richardson xiijs. iiijd., of George Noble xs., of Mighell Hartforth xiijs. iiijd., of Robert Mydleton xiijs. iiijd., of Hughe Bothe xiijs. iiijd., of Robert Toller xiijs. iiijd., of James Colton xiijs. iiijd., of William Shawe xiijs. iiijd., of Richard Baine xiijs. iiijd., of Lancelot Woodworth xiijs. iiijd. [*Summa*] vijli. xiijs. iiijd. *Arrerages of brethren*, receyved therefore this yere, nothings. *Shippinge*, receyved therefore nothings. *Impositions of brethren*, this yere receyved therefore nothing. *Subsydie this yere*, receyved therefore emongs the brethren of this fellowship, as particulerly doth appere by a paper booke thereof maid, remanyng with thes accomptants amountinge to the some of vs. *Gawginge money*, receyved therefore this yere nothings. *Advantages found by the Awdytours*, receyved.¹ *Debts and arrerages*, receyved of Edward Richardson for arrerages owinge by his (*sic*)² M^r John Harbart, vs. viijd. Receyved of Robert Toller for arrerages owinge by his M^r William Robynson (*sic*), ijs. viijd.³ Receyved by James Colton for arrerages owinge by his M^r John Todd, ijs. xd. Receyved of Robert Dawson for arrerages, xviijd. Receyved of Parsvall Brooke for arrerages, ijs. Receyved of Peter Curer parcel of xli. for the garsome of his tente, xls. Receyved of Leonard Place for the last payment of his garsom, iijli. Receyved of William Awkland for the last payment of his garsome, xxs. *Summa* vjli. xiiijs. viijd. At our venison feast and of the pagiant masters, received for the venison feast this yere nothings, receyved of Thomas Graves and of William Bullrie, xs., of Christofer Brook and Robert Dawson, js. discharged for that he (*sic*) hath bene pagiant master. *The rentall*, the said accomptants

¹ No entry.

² Probably this means owing by him during the mastership of Mr. John Harbart.

³ Probably this means owing by him during the mastership of Mr. William Robinson.

do aunswere of money by them receyved the yere of the rents and firmes belonginge to the said fellowship, within the cittie of Yorke and suburbes of the same, as hereafter followthe.

St. Nicholas withoute Walmegate barr. Imprimis, xiiij lez of land in the holdinge of Robert Swynbanke, xxxs. Item, one close in the holdinge of Annes Metcalf, iiij s. *Summa xxxiiij s.*

St. Lawrens parishe. Item, one close in the holdinge of Lady Harbert, xls. Item, one parcell of ground in the holdinge of James Mudd, ii s. iiij d. Item, one close in the holdinge of Parswell Brooke, v s. Item, one tente in the holding of Edward Exilby, xxiiij s. *Summa iij li. xii s. iiij d.*

St. Margrete parishe. Item, one close in the holdinge of William Awkland, vs. *Summa vs.*

St. Dennys parishe. Item, one tente in the holdinge of John Laurens, xi s. *Summa xi s.*

Crux Parishe. Item, one tente in the holdinge of Leonard Place, xxs. Item, one tente in the holdinge of Martyn Marshall, xxv s. viij d. Item, one tente, one stable, one garth, and one work house in the holdinge of M^r Johnson Smyth, xxv s. viij d. Item, one tente in the holdinge of Uxor Thorneton, vs. Item, one tente in the holdinge of Peter Curer, xxxs. Item, one tente in the holdinge of Uxor Persivall, xi s. Item, a nother tente in the holdinge of Uxor Persivall, iiij s. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Roger Heslewood, vs. Item, a tente in the holding of Richard Ward, ii s. Item, one chamber in the holdinge of Elizabeth Higgison, xs. Item, one tenement in the holding of John Cripling and Isabell his wife, v li. Item, one tente in the holdinge of Uxor Mason, liij s. iiij d. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Richard Robynson, xs. *Summa xv li. vs. viij d.*

Peterlayne litle. Item, certen tents or stables with a garth late in the holdinge of M^r Hughe Graves, or his assignes, xxvii s. iiij d. *Summa xxvii s. iiij d.*

Monkegate. Item, a tente in the holdinge of William Fressell, xii s. iiij d. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Uxor Nutkyn, iiij s. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Miles Sowrey, v s. *Summa xxii s. iiij d.*

Newgate.

St. Sampsons parishe. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Miles Wilson, xxs. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Mathue Dent, viij s. Item, a nother tente in the holdinge of the said Mathue, iiij s. Item, a nother tente in the holding of the said Mathue,

ijs. viijd. Item, one tente in the holding of Uxor Tyndale, iijs. *Summa* xxxvijs. viijd. *Petergaitte*. Item, a frerent of a tente in the holdinge of Richard Hutton, vijs. *Summa* vijs. *Fisher-gate*. Item, one close ij narro lez of land and a brod lee in the holding of Uxor Metcalf, ix. s. vjd. *Withoute Miklithbarr and within*. Item, a tente and a lee of land in the tenur of William Halley, xs. Item, a tente in the holding of Bartholomew Hill, xs. *Summa* xx. s. *Owsegate*. Item, a tente in the holdinge of Uxor Hewson, xxvjs. viijd. Item, a frerent of a tente in the holdinge of Miles Dawson, vjs. viijd. *Summa* xxxiijs. iiijd. *Summa* of all the whole rents of this yere, xxixli. xs. ijd. *For clothe lyeing in our hall*. Receyved of uxor Persivall, for the proffete of all the clothe broghte to our hall, dew at mighelmes and thannunciacon, xxvjs. viijd. *Money of those who are admitted occupiers*. Receyved of Robert Ledale for this yere, ijs. Receyved of Edward Goodyere for this year.¹ Receyved of Elizabeth Hewson for this yere.² *Summa* ijs. *Causueill receipts this yere*. Receyved of certen brethren for comyng to the courte withowte gowens, xijd., more for absens and late comynge, iijs. viijd. *Summa* iiijs. viijd. *Summa* of all the whole receipts this yere, lvijli. iijs. vjd. *ob*. Whereof the said accomptants asketh allowance for so moche money as they have paid this yere, viz. to the wardens for gatheringe the firmes accustomed, xijd. Item, to William Halley our clerke for his whole yere fee accustomed, xxvjs. viijd. Item to hym for paper, parchement, writing and engrossinge this account, vjs. viijd. Item, to hym for his accustomed fee for makinge letters of certeficate for apprentices to beyond the seas, iijs. iiijd. Item, to Peter Smyth our officer for his whole yere fee, iiijli. Item, to the poure folke of our hospital, vjs. viijd. Item, to the bedells of St. Anthones, vs. *Summa* vjli. ix. s. iiijd. *Forren Paments*. Item, paid to Peter Smyth for the chardges of hymself & his horse hyer to Newcastle, xijs. Item, geven to James Granger in releif, xs. Item, paid to M^r Persyvall Brooke towards the chardges of custome of clothe.³ Item, to M^r William Paycocke for the chardges of the commission of

^{1, 2} No sum entered.

³ No payment entered.

cloth, *vli. xv. iiijd.* Item, paid to Mr Robert Paycoke, John Wodes and others for the losse of iron, *cli.*, sold to¹ sir William Mallorye.² Item, paid to the maior and burgesses of Hull for the lease of gawginge, and to the officers, *vli. xv.* Item, geven in releif to Robert Willie, *xxs.* *Summa xxvjli. xijs. iiijd.*³ *Rents resolute.* Item, the said accomptants aske allowans for certen rents, which they have paid, *viz.* to Peter Mease, collector to her majesties use for her prest sallary, *vli. xiijs. iiijd.* Item, for a chauntrie founded by William Selbie in Belfray church, *xxs.* Item, for an obbitt called Butterfeld obbitt, somtyme paid by the churchwardens of Crux parishe, *vs.* Item, to the brigmasters for a frerent of certen tents at Fossebridge and dew at Martymues, *vjs. viijd.* Item, to William Day collector to hir majesties use, for a parcell of ground at St. Nicholas Without Walmegate barr, in the holdeing of Lady Harbert, dew at Pentecost, 1591, *vjs. viijd.* and for his acquitans, *ijd.* Item, to the lord maior and chamberlens of the cittie of Yorke, for a frerent of Fridaythorp, for the manor of Tanghall, *ijs. iiijd.* *Summa viijli. xiijs. ijd.* *Gawginge Moneye.* Item, therefore this yere nothing. *Charges of venison feast.* Item, therefore this yere nothinge. *Expenses of the Awdytors.* Item, paid at Edward Exilbies for the chardges of the awdytors that satt on the last yeres accompte, *xiijs. iiijd.* Item, for a li. of counters, *xd.* *Summa xiijs. ijd.* *Repacone.* Item, therefore this yere nothinge. *Certen rents allowed for that the same is not paid by the tenants.* Item, the said accomptants asketh allowance for a whole yeres rent of a parcell of ground at St. Nicholas, in the tenur of James Mud, for that he refuseth to pay the same, *ijs. iiijd.* Item, for the whole yeres rent of a tente in the tenur of Martyn Marshall, *xxvjs. viijd.* Item, for the whole yeres rent of a tente in the tenur of Roger Heslewood, *vs.* Item, for the whole yeres rent of a tente in the tenur of Robert Ward, *ijs.* Item, for the whole yeres rent of a tente in the

¹ This passage has been tampered with. "To lend," or possibly "to lord," occurs before *cli.*, but is crossed through.

² The amount has been apparently entered but erased.

³ This total has also been tampered with, but as there is no entry for the custom of cloth or for the sale of iron, these two items may account for the £12, which would make the total correct.

tenur of Bartholomew Hill, xs. Item, for certen tents and stables in Peter lane litle, xxviijs. iiijd. Item, for a tente late in the holding of Uxor Lee, letten to Mathue Dent, ijs. viijd. Item, for a tente in the holding of Uxor Hewson, xxvs. viijd. Item, for arrerages of rent dew by William Johnson, vs. vjd. *Summa vli. xjs. ijd. Summa totalie of all the whole payments and allowances, xlviijli. xiiijd. And so remaineth declaro upon this there accompt to the use of this felloship, ixli. ijs. iiijd. ob.* Awdit the 14 of May, 1592. Radpho Rychardson,¹ Christofer Beckwith,² Lawrence Wayde,³ William Jenkinson.⁴

Actes and ordynaunces made by and for the good government of the socyitie of marchantes and marcercs, within the cittye of York, herafter to be observed and kepte, newlye corrected and emended, the tenth daie of October, anno Domini 1603. In the third yeare of the righte worshipful George Rosse, first time governor of the same socyetic. (fo. 80.)⁵

Elections.—For the elecon of the governor. First, it is enacted, that the sixe and twentieth daie of Marche, the governor for the time beinge yearly shall call a generall courte, at which courte shalbe nominated by the whole companye then assembled by ther most voyces thre of the most discrete and honest persons and such as be fre of the marchantes adventurers of thold hance, which persons so nominated shall go aparte, and the rest of the felloshipp in ther absence shall by ther most voyces choise one of the same persons to be governor for the yeare nexte to come, and that in the end of the courte the governor elected shall take his othe for him appointed.

For the deputies.—Also, it is enacted, that after the election of the said governor the said felloshipp shall nominate two or

¹ Radulphus Rychardson, merchant, son of Johannes Richardson, draper, was made a freeman by patrimony in 1569, chamberlain in 1573, mayor in 1586.

² Christopher Beckwith, merchant, free 1566, chamberlain 1575, mayor 1595.

³ Lawrence Wayde, free 1586, chamberlain 1591.

⁴ William Jenkinson, free 1584, chamberlain 1592.

⁵ These ordinances are taken from a vellum book in the possession of the merchants. It is bound in leather, with two clasps; a great many of the pages are blank. These ordinances begin on folio 80, and occupy the following twenty-nine folios.

more discrete and wise persons fre of thold hance, who shall go aparte, and the companye by erection of handes shall choise one of the same to exercise the office of deputie in thabsence of the governor, and he in like manner to take the othe appointed for the governor.

For the assistants.—It is also enacted, that on the said daie after the election of the said deputye, the companye shall nominate fower and twentye or mo of this fellowship of the most dicrete and honest persons, to the intent that by the most voyces of this said fellowship eightene may be chosen to be assistents for one quarter of a yeare nexte followinge, and at the nexte quarter daie thassistantes to be newe chosen, and so fower times in the yeare, and that the manner of the election shalbe by erection of handes, and if mo handes shall be erected to the contrary, then that person shall not be assistante for that time, and likewyse the same assistants shall in thend of the courte take ther othes for them appointed, so many as be presente, and the rest at the nexte court of assistantes.

For the wardens (fo. 81).—It is also enacted, that the said companye on the said daie shall invite fower honest and discrete persons of this fellowship, who shall go aparte, and the said companye shall by erection of hands choise two of the same fower, who shalbe called by the name of wardens, and shall have the chardge of the landes belonginge to this socyete in repa[r]lyng the same, and receiptes of the rentes, with fynes, amercyments, and other duties, which is or hereafter shalbe dewe to this fellowship; and they to stand the space of one whole yeare, and shall put in good sureties to the governor and companye, not onelie to make trewe and just accomptes of all ther receiptes and paymentes for thes causes abovesaid, but also at the giveinge up of ther accompte, or the nexte courte after at the furthest, to paye and deliver over all suche money as shalbe due by the same with all bondes, bills, writinges, implements and all other thinges belonginge to the fellowship, and the same sureties to be tryed by the governor, or deputie, and assistantes by ballytyng according to thorder of marchantes adventurers of thold hance.

For the searchers.—(5) And also it is enacted, that the said companye in the same daie by erection of handes shall choise fower discrete and honest persons,¹ to exercise the office of searchers, who shall have full power and authoritye to enter into aine shopp, seller, or wayrehouse of anie brother of this fellowship, or others exercisinge marchandize, inhabitinge within this cittye of York or suburbes of the same, to make searche as well of all false and corrupte waires, and marchandize, as also of all weightes, and metwandes, and the same to take awaye and presente unto the governor or deputye, and assistantes; and the partie takne with any suche false wayres, weights, or metwandes, not onelie to forfeite the same, but also [to pay] for the first offence, vjs. viijd., and the second offence, xiijs. iiijd., to the use of this fellowship; and if the said searchers shalbe negligente in doinge ther said office at the least two times in the yeare, they shall forfeite everie of them, that shalbe so found negligent herein, 4s. to thuse of this fellowship. And the said searchers remaine in ther (fo. 82) office, the space of five yeares, and if any refuse and will not suffer them to make searche, everie one so refusinge shall forfeite to the companye vjs. viijd.

For the Sergiant.—And it is also enacted, that the same daie shall also be chosen by the same fellowship one discrete and honest man to be officer or sergiant to this fellowship duringe ther pleasure, and he shall have full power and authoritye by warrant under the common seall, and under the hands of the governor or deputie, and ten of the assistants at the least, to arrest as well the bodie or goods of anie other person, persons inhabitinge within the cittye of York, as well fre of the same companye, as anie other forryner or straunger, not fre of the plaice, for any offence or trespasse committed against anie acte or actes standing in force, made, or hereafter to be made, by the governor or his deputie, and assistants, or the more parte of them, or by the governor, or his deputie and companye or the most parte of them, and the goodes so arrested to take and carrye awaye to the governor, or his deputie, to be kept untill the matter be answered and satisfied.

¹ “Whereof two shalbe taken” is inserted here but crossed through.

And the saide governor, or his deputie, and assistantes, or the most parte of them, for defalte of suche goodes for satissfaction as shalbe dewe by anie such offender, or offenders under ther warrant directed to the sergiant as aforesaid for him, the said sergiant to attach the bodie or bodies of suche as shall offend, and them to send by the said sergiant to the gaoler or keeper of the prison upon Owsebridge, and them to will, and commaund, not onelye to take, and receive into his gaole and saife keepinge, the same person or persons so committed, but also him or them saiflye to kepe at his or ther owne proper costes and chardges, untill suche person or persons so committed shall submitt himself to stand and abide the order of the said governor or deputie, and assistantes, and also shall paye such fyne or fynes, as by the said governor or his deputie and assistantes, or the more parte of them, he shalbe adjudged to paye.

The othes (fo. 83).—The oathe of the governor and deputies.—Ye swear to be trustye and trewe to our soueraigne lord the king¹ and to his heires and successors, and all fredomes, grauntes, and liberties, graunted or to be graunted to the governor, assistantes, and fellowship of merchantes, and mercers of the cittye of York, ye shall kepe, and mainteyne to the said commonaltye in all manner of ordynaunces and rules lawfullye made, and to be made by the said commonaltye, and the same ye shall well and trewlie kepe in your owne person, and ye shall by the advice of the assistants give trewe judgement in all matters that shalbe put unto you, betwene partie and partie, as farr forthe as God shall give you knowledge; ye shall punishe all persons that break the ordynaunces and rules of the said comaltye, accordinge to the ordynaunces made and to be made for the same. And the penalties ordeyned for the breakers of the said lawes, and ordynaunces, ye shall cause to be levyed as well upon the ritche as upon the poore, and for nothings lett them so to do. And ye shall assemble the comaltye together, as ofte as shalbe nedefull for the weall of the said comonaltye. And ye shall do nothings without the advice of the assistantes that towcheth the said commonaltye. But all things that maye be profit and worshipp to the saide

¹ These words are crossed through; doubtless during the Commonwealth.

commonaltye ye shall do to the uttermost of your power, So helpe you God, &c.

The othe of assistante.—Ye sweare that you shall without parciallitye, reward, or affection, indifferentlie here, well weighe, and consider all suche matters or causes, which shalbe broughte before you, and yow shall uprightlie and trewlie judge betwene partie and partie, accordinge to the trust committed unto yow, so farr furthe as God shall give yow understandinge, and knowledge. You shall not lett so to do, either for awe, favour, dread or displeasure. So helpe you God, &c.

The othe of the newe brother.—Ye sweare to be trewe and faithfull to our soveraigne lord the kinge, his heires, and successors,¹ and you shalbe obedyent to the governor, his deputye, and assistants of the fellowshipp of merchants; you shall come to all courtes and assemblies upon dewe warninge, havinge no reasonable excuse to the contrarye, or ells shall paye suche fyne, as is, or shalbe appointed (fo. 84) for your defalte, when it shalbe demanded. You shall not willinglye do, consent, nor knowe to be done anything, that maye tend to the breache, violacon, or impeachment, of anie the privileges or graunts, given or to be given to this companye. And if you knowe of anie thinge to be attempted or done to the contrarie, yow shall, with all convenyent spede, discover, and shewe the same to the governor or deputie, for the time beinge. The goodes or marchandize of any strainger you shall not in anie wise avowe for your owne, or the same culler, or conceale, whereby the kings majestie, his heires, and successors, this cittye, or this fellowshipp may be defrauded of his or ther dueties; and if you shall knowe of anie person that so doth, you shall with all convenyent spede therof informe the said governor, or his deputye for the time beinge. The counsell and previties of this saide commonaltye ye shall well and trewlie kepe. And all actes, ordinaunces, and institutons made and hereafter to be made, and standinge in force concerninge the good government and order of this fellowshipp, or other goodes, waires, or marchandize, you shall on your

¹ An erasure in MS.

parte maintene, supporte, and fullfill to your power and knowledge, or ells shall paye suche fynes paines, penalties, and moltes, beinge accused, condempned and orderlie demanded, as for the offenders, and violaters of the same is or shalbe ordenied, provided, and established to be paid. So helpe you God.

The othe of the wardens.—Ye sweare that ye shall well and trewlye rayse and gather all suche rentes and fermes, and other dueties belonginge to this fellowship, and make a trewe and just accompte of all receiptes and paymentes, by yow or either of yow made, for this yeare nexte enswinge. And ye shall neyther taverne nor lett anie landes or tentes belonginge to this fellowship without the consent of M^r governor, or deputie, and assistantes for the time beinge. And ye shalbe trewe to the said commonaltie in all affaires, and lett nor for favour, love, or dread, but trewlie do all thinges that belongeth to your office to be done so farr forthe as God shall give you knowledge. And come (fo. 85) to the governor, or deputye at all times, when ye shalbe señt for, and for nothinge lett then ye shall so do. So helpe you God, &c.

The othe of the sergiant.—Ye shall swear to be faithfull, and diligentlie serve, and kepe secrete all such matters and causes, as shalbe given you in chardge by M^r governor, or his deputie, and assistantes, or commonaltie, and dewlie and trewlye execute the same, which shall or doth apperteyne unto your office by vertue of anie acte or actes, that is made, or shalbe made by the said governor, assistantes, and the rest of the fellowship of marchantes; and as nere as in yow lyeth, yow shall learne to knowe them for the more profit execucon. Yow shall diligentlie make, enquire, and searche, if anie person or persons within this cittye of York do buye and sell anie marchandize, that cometh from beyond the seas, not beinge fre of this fellowship; if anie such be knowne unto yow, you shall trewlie presente all such person, or persons so offendinge unto M^r governor, and thassistantes, for dewe punishment thereof. And also to make diligent enquirye, if anie person or persons within this said cittye do suffer anie forreyner to sell anie kind of marchandize in his or ther house

or houses, shoppes, or sellers to any person or persons, that is not lawfull to do the same, and them presente to M^r governor, and assistants, for the time beinge. So helpe you God, etc.

Actes.

Suites by bill and answer.

(1) Also, it is enacted by the said auctoritye, that the governor, or deputie, upon the complainte of anie person by writinge againste anie brother of this fellowship, the said paynge to the officer or sergiant *ijd.* the governor or deputie signyng the bill, shall cause the sergiant or officer to shewe the bill of complainte to the defendant and commaunde him to take a cople of the same plainte, and to answeere the same in writinge at the nexte courte of assistants. And because most of the contractes emonghest marchantes are secretts, and seldome anie witnesses to prove ther demandes, and for that the governor, and assistantes swear trewlie to judge betwixte partie and partie, therefore, it is enacted, for the better satisfyinge, and informinge the said governor, (fo. 86) and assistantes of the trewthe of the matter, that the saide defendant shalbe sworne that his answeere put in by him is trewe, as in other Englishe courtes is used.

(2) And it is further enacted, that the said governor, or deputie, and assistantes, or the more parte of them shall from time to time diligentlye here and understand between partie and partie all complaints, answers, alligacons, and replicacons, as shalbe declared and published before them, accordinge to the equitye of the cause, and they shall here, and trewelye examyne all suche witnesses, as shalbe produced before them, by othe, or otherwise, at ther discretions, as the matter and causes shall require.

(3) And it is also enacted, that if anie brother of this fellowship being lawfullie warned to appeare, and answeere before the governor, or his deputie, and assistantes, for the time beinge, anie complainte, and make defalte of his appearance, and do not answeere as aforesaid, the defendant shalbe amerced, and fyned, at the discretion of the governor, and deputie, and assistants, or the more part of them, and the fyne to be leyed

and paid without favor or pardon, if the defendant cannot shewe reasonable cause to the contrarie.

(4) And it is also enacted by aucthoritye aforesaid, that if anie brother of this fellowship shall or will hereafter obstinately, wilfullye, or contemptuouslye disobey or refuse to stand, to performe, fullfill, and kepe anie suche order, agreement, and judgemente of the said governor, or deputie, and assistantes, or the more parte of them, or shall refuse to contente and paye anie payment or fyne by them, or the more parte of them agreed upon, ordered, and decreed as aforesaid, that then everie suche brother, so disobedient, and refusinge to performe the orders, paymentes, decrees, and judgementes, in parte or in all, contrarie the tennor, and trewe meaninge of the same, shall forfait and paye the some of xx*li*. to thuse of this fellowship, for a fyne for so refusinge, without favor or pardon, and a warrant to be directed for his bodie to be had to prison till he (fo. 87) performe the said order, and pay the same fyne.

Amercements.

(5) Also, it is enacted, that if the said governor, or deputie, and assistantes, being requested to here and consider of anie matter or cause, and shall make defalte thereof, if it be by the governor or deputie, they shall forfait to the use of this fellowship (fo. 87) shipp for everie suche offence, without a reasonable excuse, vs.; and if defalte be in the assistantes, everie of them makeinge defalte shall forfait to thuse aforesaid iijs. iiij*d*.; or if the saide governor, or deputie, and assistantes shall delaye, or prolonge anie matter otherwise, or for further time then in the former acte is lymitted, and sett forthe, shewinge no reasonable cause for the same, and suche as by the generall courte shalbe accepted, and allowed upon, they shall forfait, and paye for everie suche defalte, and for everie matter, and cause, so by ther meanes deferred, and delayed, as is aforesaid, the sum of iiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*., everie one without pardon.

Default.

(6) Also, it is enacted, that if the governor or deputie shall make defalte in comminge to the courte at the hour by them

assigned, or within half an houre after, they shall forfeite to thuse of this fellowship for everie suche offence, ijs., and if anie of the assistantes shall likewyse make defalte in comminge to the courte, at the houre to hym assigned, or not before the courte be sett shall forfeite, xij*d.* to thuse aforesaid, for everie suche offence, and if he come not before the courte arise, then everie assistant so offendinge to forfeite ijs. to thuse aforesaid, without reasonable excuse or license obteyned by the governor or deputye.

(7) Also, it is enacted, that if anie brother of this fellowship be warned by the bedell to be at the generall courte, and come not at the houre appointed, he shall forfeite v*d.* to thuse of this fellowship, and if he come not before the courte do arise shall forfeite, and paye xij*d.* (excepte he have a reasonable excuse to be allowed of by the courte, or license given). And all married men, and such as have bene chamberlaynes to come, as well to the quarter and generall (fo. 88) courtes, as courts of assistants in ther chamberlens gownes upon paine of, xij*d.* And M^r governor, and the aldermen,¹ in ther gownes and tippetts, and the rest in ther ancient cittizens gownes, as accustomed for the time, in like paine of, xij*d.* for everie defalte.

Forfeitures.

(8) Also, it is enacted, that if anie person of this fellowship discover anie counsell, that is communed of emonghest this fellowship, whereby anie brother of the same is hurte, or openlie accused, he shall forfeite for everie suche offence, xls., to thuse of this fellowship, without favor or pardon.

(9) Also, it is enacted, that if any brother of this fellowship fall at debate with anie other brother of the same, and belye him, or call him false, or other wise abuse him, by violence or evill speaches, beinge proved, or if anie brother abuse himselfe in the presence of the companye, he shall forfeite for everie suche offence, vjs. viij*d.*, thone halfe thereof to the use of this fellowship, and thother halfe to the presenter.

(10) For as muche as disorder and distention in assemblies is offensive to God, and displeasinge to man, and especially

¹ "And fower and twentie" is inserted in the MS., but crossed through.

in suche as should be so accompted wise, and seinge that emongst us marchantes in our assemblies diverse times suche thinges have hapened, for the remedyinge thereof it is by common consent enacted, that whosoever first standeth up in anie courte, generall or assistant, shall without interruption be suffered to make an end of his speaches, and none to stand up in the meane time, and whosoever doth interrupte anie other (excepte M^r governor) to pay for everie suche offence, *xijd.* And also whoever shall make anie speache in anie courte, generall or assistant, that he shall directe the same by specyall wordes either to the governor, deputye, or ells to the whole assemblee, and in suche quiett, and decent manner as shalbe to be well thoughte of, upon paine, if he do otherwise, to paie for everie his offence, *xijd.* Also it is likewyse enacted, that none shall take upon him to speak in anie one matter above thre times, upon paine of everie offence, *xijd.*

(fo. 89) (11) Also, it is enacted, that what brother of this fellowship, for anie cause of action whatsoever againste another brother of this fellowship, doth not first make his complaint, and frame his said action againste his said brother, before the governor or deputie and assistantes of this fellowship, before he sewe his said brother in anie other courte, everie one so offendinge to forfaite and paye the some of, *xli.* to the use of this fellowship, without favor or pardon. (Title of land, or leases, obligations, and bills excepted.)

(12) Also, it is enacted, that if anie apprentice absent himself from his masters service by the space of one moneth, without the consent and license of his master, or that he use dicynge, cardinge, mummynge, or any other unlawful games, whereby he doth waist and imbasell his masters goodes, he shalbe clearelie dismissed, and excluded from the fredom of this fellowshepp.

(13) Item, it is enacted, that if anie kelemen, catchemen or lightermen do take in anie straingers goodes at Hull, Beverley, or Howden, that all suche goodes at ther comminge to York with, it shalbe discharged at the common crane of this citty, and no where ells upon paine that for the first time they, so offendinge the fellowship, to have warninge upon paine of,

xxs. to load nothings in suche a keill, catche, or barke, for the space of two monethes. And for the secound offence to load nothings in suche a boate, or vessell, for the space of fouer monethes, and so for everie offence duple for loadinge anie thinge in suche vessells.

(14) And also it is ordeined, that all the companye of marchantes, and marcers of this cittye, and everie of them, shall from hensfurthe for the nomber and stynt of ther apprentices to clame or have anie fredome here in this cittye of York, accordinge to his majesties charter to us graunted, be wholly and fully ruled and governed accordinge to an acte made at Antwerp eighte and twentieth daie of August, 1582, for the stynt of apprentices by the marchantes adventurers ther assembled; and whosoever ther be, that excedith, transgresseth, or offendeth, here in this cittye of York, anie parte of the same, it is ordeined that he or they so offendinge shall paye to the (fo. 90) use of this companye, all and everie such fyne or penaltie, in like manner as is ther sett downe, and in his or ther owne person be also subjecte to abide and suffer suche order, disfranchisinge, or deprivation, as is therin sett downe for this fredome here of this fellowshipp, the tenure of which acte followeth; viz.:—It is by the said auctoritye ordeined, and enacted, that no person, subjecte to the orders of this fellowshipp, of what degre soever he be, shall have or take into his service anie moor greater nomber of apprentices¹ to be bound for his fredome, then by this presente acte is permitted, that is to saye, it shall not be lawfull for anie person, duringe the space of seaven yeares nexte after that he shalbe fullie fre, (and so maye fullie occupie for himselfe), to take or have in his service at anie one time above one apprentice to be fre of this fellowshipp; neyther after the said seaven yeares expired, till he have bene in suche sorte fre thirtene yeares more, viz. twentie yeares in all, shall take or have at anie one time above two apprentices; neyther at anie teme after twentie

¹ cf. The Lawes, Customes and Ordinances of the Fellowshipe of Merchantes Adventurers of the Realm of England collected and digested into order by John Wheeler Secretarie to the said Fellowshipe. Anno Domini, 1608. British Museum, Additional MSS., 18913. Printed by Dr. Lingelbach in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*. University of Pennsylvania.

yeares standinge, shall it be lawfull for him to have at anie one time, more then thre apprentices to be fre as aforesaid, and that upon paine of, *xxli.*, to be forfeited and paid by the master of eache apprentice, which at anie time, he shall have above the nomber and rate above specified. And nevertheless such apprentice, takne contrarie to the forme of this acte, shall not enjoye anie fredome of this companie, by vertue of suche apprentished, but for releife of everie suche apprentice, as shalbe ignorante of this order, it is by the said authoritye further ordeened and enacted, that the master, to whome he was bound and served, shall forfait, and paye to the behofe of the said apprentice, within sixe monethes nexte after he shall have claimed and bene denyed this fredome, *xxli.*, by the yeare that the said apprentice shall have trewlie served him in that quallitie; and that in defaulte of the master of suche paymente as aforesaid being demanded, or other reásonable contentment given to the exceded apprentice, the said master shall not make fre anie sonne, nor have anie other benifice of the fredome, untill he shall have dueliie satisfied his injured apprentice (fo. 91) for the same, wherein the courte shall assist suche apprentice so farr as reasonablye it maye; and if it shall happen any suche exceded apprentice to have trewlie served as apprentice the full tearme of eight yeares or more accordinge to his indenture, before he shall come to clame his fredome, and that his master, beinge demanded, do not recompence hym accordinge to this order, in suche case, it shall be lawfull, if this courte shall so be moved and se it convenyent, to disfranchesse that master, and to admitt such exceded apprentice into his fredome in place of his said master, he payinge to the house such duties, and arrerages, as his said master shall then owe, provided that no suche exceded apprentice shalbe so admitted into this fredome excepte his master shalbe so first disfranchessed as aforesaid. Neyther shall anie mo nomber of such apprentices be so admitted, then ther shalbe masters first disfranchessed ut supra; that is to saye, for eache master that shalbe disfranchessed, there shalbe one suche his apprentice as aforesaid admitted into the fredome, and not more. And it is also ordeyned and enacted, that no person

whatsoever, duringe the time of his nonoccupyinge in marchant-like trade by wholesale or retaile, shall take anie apprentice to be fre of this fellowship upon the paines before in this acte provided for excedinge his stynt, [xxli.]. Provided alwayes, that it shalbe lawfull for anie person fre of this fellowship, whiles he is occupier as aforesaid, to take and have for his apprentice at anie one time over and above the nomber before specyfyed one apprentice, which by patrimonye maye enjoye this fredome, or the apprentice orderlye bound, whose master hath given over occupyinge, is diseased, or becomed bankrupt, so alwayes he excede not his abovesaid stynt at anie time above suche one apprentice; and that the fremans sonne, so taken apprentice at his admyssion, do paye to the house the duties of the father, (if anie be) and forbear occupyinge during his (fo. 92) apprentishipp, otherwise then for apprentices is permitted; and that the apprentice of anie man diseased, not occupyinge, or bankrupt, beinge takne as by this proviso is permitted, do at his admissyon pay the arrerages of his former master; provided also, that if anie person have alredie exceded, or transgressed anie former order of stynt for havinge apprentices, that such persons shall pay the broakes by the former orders respectivelye appointed.

(15) Also, it is enacted, that all those, which shalbe admitted by patrimonye, shall paye for his fredome into this fellowship the some of, *xs.*, thone halfe in hand, and thother half within six monethes nexte after, at the discretion of the courte; and to the clark *iijs. vjd.*, bedell *xiiijs.*, and poor *vjd.*, and to have the copie of his oathe delivered, and paie for the same, *xijd.*

(16) Also, it is enacted, that everie apprentice, which hath dwelie and trewlie served the full tearme of his apprentishipp, beinge eighte yeares or more, with a fre brother of this fellowship, shall paye for his admittance *xiijs. iiijd.*, and like fees in manner and forme abovesaid.

(17) Also, it is enacted, that all apprentices after ther yeares be expired, and all other by patrimonye, beinge of the aige of one and twentie yeares, or out of ther apprentishipp, shall within thre monthes nexte after, (beinge in England),

come for the fredome of this fellowshipe upon paine of, xls., and that none of them shalbe admitted fre of this fellowship before he be first fre of the cittye of York.

(18) Also, it is enacted, that everie brother of this fellowship, which shall take anie apprentice, shall cause the clark to this fellowship to make thindenture thereof, and he shall likewise cause the freindes of the said apprentice to come before the governor, and there to seall thindentures, or at least acknowledge the same before Mr governor, or deputie, within one moneth nexte after the seallinge thereof, and to commense at the seallinge therof, and not before, and the same to be enrolled in the register, and his freindes shall depose, or affirme, what aige he is, which shalbe also entred in the book. And the clark shall have for thindenturs (fo. 93) bond and inrollinge thereof,¹ whereof shalbe given to the poore in our hospital, upon paine of xls., everie one herein offendinge.

(19) Also, it is enacted, that no apprentice shall enter bind or joyne himselfe with another in bond, but onelie for his master on thissyde or beyond the seas, without license of his master, upon paine of forfeytyng of, xli., and to lose the benifytt of the fredome of this fellowship.

(20) Also, it is enacted, that no apprentice shalbe admitted to the fredome of this fellowship, excepte his master come before the governor, and ther do certefye his just service. *This acte is mended fol. 11^o.*²

(21) Also, it is enacted, that none, that hereafter pretendeth anie fredome in this fellowship, shall open, or sett up shopp, or occupie marchandize, before he be admitt a fre brother of the same, without license obtenied of the governor, upon paine of forfaiter of ijli. vjs. viijd., to the use of this fellowship.

(22) Also, it is enacted, that all suche persons as hereafter shalbe admitted to the fredome of this fellowship, not havinge served as apprentice within this cittye, but requireth to be admitt by redemption for the some of vjli. xiijs. iiijd. at the least, shall neyther make sonne nor servant fre, but by redemption, *this acte is amended fol. 11^o.*²

¹ A space is left in the MS.

² This should be fo. 100; probably the pagination has been altered.

(23) Also, it is enacted, that no brother of this fellowship shall either take, or enroll anie apprentice into our book, or have anie certification beyond the seas, or on this syde the sea, for the admittance of anie apprentice, servant, or sonne, to the (fo. 94) fredome of this societie beyond the seas, or ellswhere, before suche master or father firste contente and paye to the handes of the wardens, to thuse of this fellowship, all such impossissions, debtes, dueties, and arrerages, as is, or shalbe dewe to this fellowship, upon paine of M^r governor so suffringe the same to forfaite and paye *vli.* for a fyne, to thuse of this fellowship, and the clark other *vli.*, neglectinge the same, in not makeinge the same knowne to the said governor.

(24) Also, it is enacted, that no brother of this societie, of what estate soever he be, shall take anie apprentices to be broughte up, and instructed in the said trad, for anie lesse tearme then eighte yeares, (*bona fide*), and to comense at ther sealinge of this indentures, and not before, as is specified in the twelfte acte, neyther shall suffer anie of his apprentices to occupye in buyinge and sellinge of marchandize for himself, within the tearme of his apprenticeship, howe longe soever it be, upon paine of everie master allowing the same, and everie apprentice so tradinge contrarie the trewe meaninge of this acte, to forfaite to thuse of this fellowship, either of them, the some of, *xxli.*, to be paid by the master presentlie upon conviction, and by suche apprentice before he be admitt to his fredome of this fellowship.

(25) Item, that no brother of the same fellowship shall directlie or indirectlie occupie, or be partner with anie apprentice, not out of his tearme, neyther shall receive any goodes of or for anie apprentice whatsoever, or others not beinge fre of this fellowship, neyther shall sell anie marchandize for anie not fre of the same, upon paine of everie brother herein offendinge to forfaite, and paye to the use of this fellowship (fo. 95) the some of, *xxli.* And if anie person or persons shalbe hereafter suspected to have offended in anie parte or branche of this acte, and beinge presented for the same, he shall not be cleared otherwyse then by his corporall oathe, before the governor, assistantes, and generaltye; and if anie

shall refuse to purge himself by his oathe, then he shalbe adjudged guiltye of the presentment, and paye the penaltie appointed for the same; and if anie partie warned to appeare and answeere the same, and do not come to the courte upon the firste warninge, he shall paye, ijs. vjd., the second time vs., the third time xs., the fourthe time xxs., and so double, and not to be made fre, nor make eyther sonne, or servant fre, untill the same offences be first cleared and paid.

Officers.

(26) Also, it is enacted, that all officers shalbe diligente in gatheringe all suche duties as shalbe estreated unto them for and to the use of this fellowship, and if anie of the said officers be found negligent in the same, he or they so negligent shall forfeite, and paye for everie offence the some of, xxs. to thuse of this fellowship.

(27) Also, it is enacted, that those, which are or shalbe hereafter chosen pagiant masters for this fellowship, shall paie everie of them xs. to thuse of the same fellowship, accordinge to the ancyent custome, upon paine of those, which shall refuse to paie the same, to forfeite xxs. to thuse aforesaid.

(28) Also, it is enacted, that if anie cittizen or other person whatsoever, within this cittie of York, take up anie straingers goodes into ther houses, or sellers, wherby this cittie shall lose anie dutie, suche cittizen or other person so offendinge shall forfeite for everie such offence, xxs., thone half to the use of this fellowship, and thother halfe to the presentor.

(29) Also, it is enacted, that no brother of this fellowship shall mark anie lead, but onelie in that place where the same is appointed to be delivered at the tryinge thereof, and the said lead to be delivered to him, that shall mark it, by the seller of the said lead, or his lawfull deputie, upon paine of forfactor for everie pece of lead marked contrarye to this acte, vjs. viijd., thone half to thuse of this fellowship, and thother half to the presentor, provided alwayes that the seller of the said lead, or his deputie maye mark the same lead in anie place, where he selleth it, for his buyer without any dainger of this forfeite.

(fo. 96) (30) Also, it is enacted, that no brother of this fellowship, nor no attorney or factor for him, or in his name, shall buy anie wayres on thissyde, or beyond the seas, excepte it be in partnership, but he shall sett the righte owners mark of the heads, or sides of all such waires, or marchandize so boughte, upon paine of, xls., thone halfe to the use of this fellowship, and thother half to the presenter.

(31) Also, it is enacted, that none fre of this fellowship shall go aboute or send with anie other person or persons anie waires or marchandize in this cittie or suburbes of the same, by way of hawkinge, to be shewed or sold to anie person or persons,¹ upon paine of, xxs., to thuse aforesaid.

(32) Also, it is enacted, that no freman or other, inhabitinge within this cittie or suburbes of the same, shall suffer anie strainger, or forrener to sell or putt to saile anie manner of marchandize, or mercerye, in anie of ther houses, shoppes, or sellers, upon paine of forfaitie for the first offence, *vli.*, the second offence, *xli.*, and the third offence, twentye markes, and one moneth imprisonment without baile, mainprize. And that no stranger shall shewe, or putt to saile in anie chamber, seller, or wairhouse, or otherwyse anie waires or marchandize, in this same cittie, upon the like forfeiture, and all the same goodes and waires so sold, shewed, or putt to saile, thone half of which forfactor shalbe to thuse of this fellowship, and thother to the presentor.

(fo. 97) (33) Also, it is enacted, that if anie cittizen or others whatsoever, within this citty, or suburbes of the same, shall at anie time hereafter, buye anie waires or marchandize growinge or made beyond the seas, to thintent to sell the same againe, not beinge a fre brother of this fellowship, he so offendinge shall forfacte, *xli.*, and all the said waires so boughte, shewed, or putt to saile (fisshe or salte excepted).

(34) Also, it is enacted, that no brother, factor, nor apprentice of this fellowship shall buye, or sell anie goodes beyond the seas, to the use of anie other, not fre of the same, (excepte houshold stuff to the value of, *xli.*), upon paine of, *xxli.*, to thuse aforesaid, without pardon.

¹ There is an erasure in MS.

(35) Also, it is enacted, that no brother of this fellowship shall hereafter go to se, or buye anie cloth broughte to this cittye to be sold in no place, but in our hall therfore appointed, in paine of, xls., for everie offence, thone halfe to thuse of this fellowship, and thother to the presentor.

(36) Whereas of late some bretheren of this fellowship have by themselves, and ther apprentices heretofore used not onelie to stand at the corners of the stretes, and in other mens shoppes, but also have gone to the common innes, wher the chapmen, buyers of flax, and other marchandize have lodged, and ther have often sollicyted them to ther owne shoppes, wairehouses, or sellars, for the ventinge of ther owne flax, iron, and other merchandize, the said chapmen manye of them benige (*sic*) deplie indebted to diverse bretheren of this fellowship, who by meanes therof have not onelie lost ther chapmen, and ordinarie customers, but also have bene longe times driven of ther paymentes, yea and sometimes therby have lost ther debtes to the great damage of manye bretheren of this fellowship, and for avoydinge of the same, it is by authoritye of this courte established, and enacted, that from hensfurthe it shall not be lawfull for anie brother of this fellowship, nor his servant, or apprentice, to lodge, or kepe table in anie common inne, wher anie chapmen buyers of flax or other marchandize or ther carryers do (fo. 98) commonlie frequent, eate, or use to lodge, upon paine of everie one herin offendinge to forfaitie and paye for everie offence, xvs.

(37) And also, it is enacted, that no brother of this fellowship from hensfurth by himself, servant, or apprentice, shall stand at the corners of the stretes, nor in the stretes, but kepe his or his masters shop, cellar, or wairhouse, or in anie other mens shoppes, to thend to call chapmen passinge alonge the stretes to ther shoppes, sellers, or wairehouses, for the saile of their merchandize, upon paine of forfactor for everie offence, xls., and if anie servant, or apprentice do offend in anie premisses, the master of suche servant, or apprentice to be adjudged guiltye of the breache of this acte and to paye the penaltie aforesaide, without pardon.

Orders.

(38) Also, it is enacted, that all thes actes, heretofore made, and hereafter to be made for this fellowship, shalbe openlye redd in our hall everie quarter courte, upon paine of the governor, or deputie, so offendinge to forfaite, xls., to thuse afore-said, except dispenced with by consent of Court.

Oathes of the Serchers.

You shall well, trulie, and diligentlie use and exercise the office of the searchers for the companye or fellowshipp of marchants, mercers, grocers, apothecaries, and ironmongers, within the cittie of Yorke, untill ye shalbe discharged thereof, and dew search and presentment made of all suche defaltes, as from tyme to tyme you shall fynde, either in weights or other waires, not forbearing any person or persons, for any favour, or affecton, nor presentinge any for mallice or evill will, but all thinges indifferentlie do, and execute, belonging unto the same office to the uttermost of your power and knowledge. So helpe you God.

At a generall quarter courte holden the first daie of Julie, anno Domini 1605.

(fo. 99) (39) And nowe it is agreed, that all and every the brethren of this societie resideing in this city, which hath or now doth kep any shopp, or shoppes in any place in the countrie to sell here (*sic*) waires, or merchaundizes, shall not after this present day sell, or offer to sell the same, or any parte thereof, in any place in the countrie by anie manner of wares or meanes, upon paine of every one doinge the contrarie to forfayte and to thuse of this fellowshipp the some of, xlii., and that they and every of them, which hath any waires, or merchandyses remanyng unsold in the same places, shall within 14 daies next bringe or cause to be brought all there said waires, and merchandizes in this cittie there to be uttered in marchantlike manner, as they ought to be, and shall not at any tyme hereafter use any manner of sellinge of waires or merchandizes, in any places whatsoever in the countrie, upon like payne of, xlii., to be paid to the use of this felloshipp.

Apprentices.

(40) Also, it is enacted, that no brother of this society shall frome hencefurth reteyne or kepe any person or persons in his house, being of the aige of xvj yeres or upwards, unbounde apprentice, above the space of six months, after suche person shall come unto him upon triall, or liking; for that divers of this fellowship, under pretence of having suche persons in their houses upon triall, have kepte theme sometymes fower yeres, &c., some tymes more for their service, and then such persons have afterwards gone into the country, and there sett up, and trayded in the marchandizes to the greate hurte and damage of others, who have served their apprentyship. Therefore it is by those presents enacted, that who soever do the offence, as is abovesaid, shall forfeite to this fellowship the some of six pounds; and so for every six moneths after that he so keepeth such person, or persons unbound shall paie the like fyne of vj*li.*, to thuse abovesaid, without favour or pardon.

At a quarter courte holden the last day of June, anno Domini 1615.

(fo. 100) (41) Also, it is enacted by the general consent of this courte, that no brother of this society shall frome hencefurth sell any waires, or marchandizes, otherwise then after the raite of fowerteene poundes weight to the stone, which is 112^{li} to the hundreth weight, upon payne of, ij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*, for every tyme he shall offend therein.

At a court of assistance holden the first day of December, 1630, it was ordered and at the quarter courte then nexte followinge, it was enacted and confirmed.

(42) That no person, or persons of this fellowship whatsoever shall sell any wares to any stranger not being free of this company by thirteen pounds to the dosen, upon the planne above said.

At a quarter courte holden the eleveanth daye of October, 1630.

Apprentices.

(43) Also, it is enacted, that noe apprentice shall be admitted to the freedome of this fellowship, excepte his master come before the governor, and there doe certifiye his juste service, howbeit if the master of any such apprentice can shewe noe juste cause why his apprentice should [not] be admitted to the freedome of this company, the courte in discrecon may make him free.

Redemptioners.

(44) Also, it is enacted, that all such persons, as hereafter shall be admitted to the freedome of this fellowshipe, not havinge served as an apprentice within this cittye to a free brother of this companye, but requireth to be admitted by redemption, shall pay to the use of this companye, thirtye poundes, at the leaste, and shall neither make sonne, or servante free, but by redemption. And if any such new redemptioner shall afterwarde take an apprentice for eight yeares, and that the saide apprentice shall have truely served the saide terme, then at the ende of his eighte yeares, he shall also come in by redempton, uppon such termes, and for such tyme, as the courte in their discrecon shall thinke fittinge.

(fo. 101) (45) Also, it is enacted, that noe brother of this societie shall from henceforth reteyne and kepe any person or persons in his house, being of the age of xvj yeares or upwards unbounde apprentice, above the space of sixe monethes, after such person shall come to him upon triall or likeinge. And if any brother of this company shall take any other person, not with a purpose to use him as an apprentice, he shall not take him into his shoppe, to do any service there, nor any way acquainte him with his trade, other then in such busnes as he maye imploye any laborer.

(46) Also, it is enacted, that noe brother of this fellowship shall take any apprentice conterably for any other purpose than serve himselfe, (*bona fide*), for the space of eighte yeares; and if any shall offende herein, he shalbe purged by his oathe, and if founde guiltye shall pay, *xli.* to the company. And

also, if any such apprentice shalbe soe taken and servinge another brother (who by the ordinary stinte cannot take one himselfe), the master soe offendinge shall paye the like fyne, and neither of the saide masters to make sonne or servante free untill the saide fyne be paide (6th July, 1629).

At a courte of assistance holden at Trinity Hall, the first of December, 1630.

(47) It is enacted, that if any person or persons not beinge a free brother of this fellowship (and offendinge againste the acts and ordinances of this courte) shall be lawfully warned by the officer to appeare at any courte of assistance to answer such presentment, or other misdemeanour as are in courte exhibitted against him, before the governor, or his deputie, and assistance, for the tyme beinge, and if he shall make defalte of his appearance accordinglye, then the saide person or persons soe offendinge shall be amerced and fyned, at the discrecon of the governor, or deputie, and assistantes, or the more parte of them, and the fyne to be levyed and paide without favour or pardon.

The Oathe of the Secretary.

(fo. 102) You shall sweare to be goode and true to our soveraigne lorde the kinges majestie, to his heires, and successors. You shall be obedient, dilligent, and attendant to Mr governor and his deputye of this fellowship at all tymes convainent. You shall faithfully and trewelye sett downe, write, and register, all the actes, ordinances, and constitucons of the saide fellowship, that from tyme to tyme they shall enacte, ordeyne, and constitute; you shall not give out any coppe, or coppes of any of the same acts, without the assente of a courte of assistants. You shall keepe secret all matters talked, and conferred in any courte of assistance or otherwise. And if you shall knowe any person, or persons, which intend any hurte, harme, or prejudice to our soveraine lorde the kings majestie, or to his lande, or to the foresaide fellowshipe, or previledge of the same, you shall give knowledge thereof and doe it to be knowen to the saide governor, or his deputie. All theis things you shall holde and keepe to the uttermoste of your power. Soe helpe you God.

Att the head courte holden at Ouzebridge, the xxvij day of March, anno Domini, 1647.

Sermons.

(fo. 103) (48) It is enacted, that if any brother of this societie shall not be present att the Sermons which hereafter shalbe . . .¹ upon any of the quarter courte dayes he shall pay two shillings, . . .¹ everie such neglecte, unles he can shew verie good and sufficient cause for his absences, one fourth part of which fine is to be paid to the officers, and the remainder to the poore.

26 *March*, 1649.

(49) It is enacted, that all the arreares due for brotherhood and poore shalbe remitted, and that from this day for time to come, it shalbe yearely paid and collected by the wardens, and whosoever refuseth to pay the same shall loose the benefitt of his freedome, shall neether make sonne, nor servant free, nor have any benefit by loan of any of the companies money. And if the wardens shalbe negligent in the collecon thereof yearly, and every year, they shall pay five pounds fine.

26 *March*, 1650.

(50) It is now enacted that if any brother of this fellowship declayne his trade, and fall into another way of tradeinge, as to a vintner, inholder, &c., he shall render himselfe incapable of takeinge an apprentice to be free of this fellowship, during the time he discontinues to exercise the trade unto which he was first bound an apprentice.

26 *March*, 1650.

(51) It is further enacted, that if any brother of this fellowship, who is an inhabitantt in this cittie, and exercising trade, being lawfully warned to come to courtes, and shall absentt himselfe foure quarter courtes together, he shall pay to the use of this company the fine of forte shillings, for every such his neglect, over and above all other fines, which are formerly imposed by any acte or acts heretofore made, and untill he pay the saide fine, or give sufficientt satisfaccon to this fellowship, he shall neither make sonne, nor servant free thereof, nor be admitted to take an apprentice.

¹ Erasures occur at these two places in the MS.

26 *March*, 1650.

(fo. 104) (52) Forasmuch as there hath beene many errors, and mistakes comitted in takeing apprentices contrary to the actes of this company, it is therefore now ordered and enacted, that if the governour, deputie, secretary or any of them shall permitt any brother of this societie to take an apprentice, contrary to our acts aforesaid, they and everie of them shalbe liable to the fine of tenn pounds per peece for soe doinge, and if any thinge fall out dubious therein, the governour and deputie shall presentlie send for four of the assistants, for the time being, to advise and consider with them, what is most convenient to be donne, and what is resolved, and concluded upon by them shalbe discharge to the governour, deputie, and secretary.

xj February, 1650.

(53) *Apprentices*.—A full and generall courte of merchants adventurers of the cittie of Yorke, weyinge and consideringe the excedinge great damage this fellowship sustaines by many masters conniveing att their apprentices and other masters trading in partnership with apprentices, and the losse that conformeable bretheren undergoe by apprentices dealeing for themselves, and one apprentice joyneing with another in partnership, which occasions them to be soe intentt upon their owne trades, that they altogether, or for the most parte, neglecte their masters busines, and the broague in the 24th acte imposed upon such masters and apprentices beinge but *xxli.* for such offences, for the future prevention thereof, it is now enacted and ordayned by this presentt courte and the authoritie of the same, that from henceforth everie master suffering his or any of his apprentices to trade for themselves, and everie brother tradeing with any apprentice, shall forfeit and pay, *50li.*, to thuse of this company for everie time that he shalbe convicted thereof; and everie apprentice shall pay the like some of, *50li.*, for everie time that he shalbe convicted thereof, and everie apprentice shall pay the like some of *50li.* for everie time that he shalbe presented and proved to trade dureing his apprentishipp, for which purpose the secretary of this fellowship is to keepe a perfecte register

of all presentments, that shalbe brought into courte against any apprentice for transgresinge in any particuler of this acte, and give an accompte thereof to the courte, at which such (fo. 105) apprentice shall demand his freedome, upon payne to forfeit, xxs. for everie time, that he shall neglecte soe to doe, and shall likewise give notice of this acte to everie apprentice, when he is bound, or to forfeit the like some of, xxs. And to the end the secretary may be provided to make such accompte, as is before required, it is further ordeyned, that everie apprentice, that is to be made free of this societie, shall three dayes att least before the quarter courte acquainte the secretary with his clame, or els be suspended from his freedome, untill the next courte after, and shall not in the interim (without leave) trade for himselfe upon the aforesaid penaltie of, 50*li*.

xij of October, 1657.

(54) It is enacted by this courte, that all the bretheren of our company, who hath not borne the office or place of chamberlane, shall for the future be permitted to come to our quarter courtes, which hereafter shalbe holden, without gownes, and for want of them incurre noe broagues, notwithstandinge any acte heretofore made to the contrary, and that none shall for the future be enjoyned to come to courtes of assistants in their gownes, but the governour, deputie and secretary.

26 of March, 1658.

(55) Forasmuch as there hath beene several tedious and troublesome debates about the imposeing of fines upon such apprentices, who have served eight yeares apprenticeshipp to redemptioners and bretheren of our company, for the future preventon whereof, and for the settinge of a certane fine upon such redemptioners att the time, when they come for their freedome of this fellowship, it is now enacted that all such new redemptioners shall pay for a redemption fine, without favour, or pardon, mittigation, or abatement the sume,¹ (fo. 106) of foure pounds, besides the usual fees of the courte, and that the secretary give notice hereof to the parents of all such apprentices, before they be bound.

¹ An erasure in MS.

xj Day of October, 1658.

(56) *Mr Hart's Money.*—For as much as many of the bretheren of our company to whom the money given to us by Mr Harte, Mr Woller, & Alderman Robinson hath beene lente, they having failed to pay in the said money, att the seuerall dayes, when the same became due and payable, contrary to the wills of the donors, it is therefore now enacted and ordered, if any brother of our company, in whose hands any of the aforesaid money now is, or to whome any parte thereof shall for the future be lente, faile to pay in the same to the hands of the wardens of our company for the time being, att the very day, when the same shall become due, and payable by the conditons of his or their severall obligatons, that everie brother, soe neglectinge and failinge, shall never after such faileing have any parte of the said money lente to him, or them agane; and that the bonds of everie such brother shall, immediatly after such faileing, be forthwith put in suite against them, and their sureties without any favour or delay.

At a court held the 4th October, 1676.

(57) Enacted, that if any of the persons whom the company monys is lent be in arrear of their brotherhood and poor, or for absenting att courts and sermons, or any other ways in brogues, they shall and doe pay the same before they receive the said money or bonds.

September the xxj, 1679.

(fo. 107) (58) And it is also enacted, that whatever office, charge, or businese, any brother of this fellowship be chosen unto, or appointed by a generall court, he shall not refuse to take upon him and performe such office, charge, or businese, upon paine of ten pounds sterling, for everie such refusall, or non-performance, (except there shall be reasonable cause to the contrary), and so accepted by the court. Provided that if any person be chosen governor, and being duely qualified, refuse, and do not serve that office, he shall forfeit twenty pounds sterling. Both which fines are to be to the use of the said fellowship.

March 26, 1719.

(59) Resolved that there shall every year be a general court at two o'clock in the afternoon, on the first Munday after Midsummer, except it happen to be St. Peters day, and in that case on Tuesday next after at two o'clock; and that the orders and acts of the company be then all read over, and that printed summons to appear, under penalty of a shilling, be left at every brothers house.

26 March, 1719.

(60) Resolved that no person be admitted into the freedom of this company by purchase under a less fine than fifty pounds. And that all apprentices to every such purchaser shall pay ten pounds, at his admission, to his freedom of this fellowship.

August 3, 1719.

(fo. 108) (61) *Instead of the 21st act, it is enacted*, that if any person shall set up shop, or open shop, or occupy any sort of merchandize, within this city, before he be admitted into the freedom of this fellowship, or have obtained lycence from this court, for so doing, he shall pay to the wardens of this company, twenty shillings for every month, he shall so set up shop, or occupy merchandize, notwithstanding he may have a right to his freedom by patrimony or servitude.

(62) *Instead of the 25th act, it is enacted* that no brother of this fellowship shall be partners with, or sell goods, for any apprentice of any member of this fellowship under the penalty of twenty pounds for everie such offence, half whereof to be paid to the informer out of the mony, which shall be received by the wardens for the said fine. And that neither sonne, nor servant of the said offender be made free, till the said penalty be satisfied and paid.

(63) *Instead of the 45th act, it is enacted* that no member of this fellowship shall keep, or employ any servant in his or her shop, or trade above five years (without lycence from this court) unbound apprentice, under penalty of twenty shillings a month for every month the said servant shall so continue in his service above the said five years unbound apprentice.

And that such servant shall not after the said five years be retained in any brother or sisters service free of this fellowship, (without consent of this court), under penalty of twenty pounds.

27 October, 1719.

(fo. 109) Ordered and enacted, that if any member of this company, that is or shall be presented for short weights, and measures, shall refuse to pay the penalty, that shalbe laid on him for the same after demand of our sergeant, the said sergeant shall give information of the same to our lord mayor in order to an indictment.

At the council chamber, upon Ouzebidge, the 24th day of November, 1760.

Ordered that an authority be given under the common seal of the governor, and wardens of the merchants company for the time being, to demise the house and premises in Coppergate, now occupied by Josias Truslove, which were demised to the mayor and commonalty, by the last will and testament of Jane Stenton, late of the city of York, spinster, deceased, bearing date the ninth day of November, 1692, and to distrain for the rent now due, or at any time hereafter to become due for the same. The commons being called up and consenting.

*A perticler of our lande lefte unsoulde the daye and yere above-
saide belonginge to the company of marchants adventurers
of the cittye of Yorke. 27 April, 1641.¹*

St. Nicholas.—One close adjoyneinge on Tanghall lane, in the parishe of St. Nicholas, letten to John Geldert marchant for 21 yeares, rente iij*li*. Eleaven landes in the Haver-garthes, next but one to the goeing into the close betweene eighte lande of the taylors on the easte, and the lande of Thomas

¹ Taken from a book, the contents of which are given on the first page: "The Booke conteyning such debts as ar dewe and owinge to the fellowship of marchants in the cittie of York. Also a catalogue of the pageant masters, fo. 65. An entrye of free brethern unto the felloschip, fo. 139. A rental of the lande belonging to the companye, fo. 128. A collecton of such moneys as are to be paide out yearelye by the wardens for the use of the societie, fo. 137."

Buckle on the west, the Kinges strete on the south, and Tange hall pasture on the north; letten by lease to ¹Will Hudson rente,¹ George Dickenson rente, *iiijl. xs.* One tenement, a lath, a garthe, a garden, two little closes, and six landes lyeinge there on the east of Tangehall, all same letten by lease to William Hudson, rente *vli.*²

Fishergate.—One close and three landes where a little tenement stode betweene the landes of Michaell Metcalfe towards Yorke, and the lande of Christopher Brooke, esqr., towards Foulforde, in breadth 19 yardes and halfe, in length from one streate to the other, lette by lease to William Whartop, rente *xxviijs.*

Owsegate.—A free rente of a tenemente in the occupacon of George Winterburne, *vjs. viijd.*

Petergate.—A free rente of a tenement in the occupacon of John Taylor, apothecary, *vjs.*

Crux parishe.—³A tenement in the occupacon of John Camell, *xiiijs.*; a tenement in the occupacion of Margrett Vaux, *xxxvs.*; a tenemente in the occupacon of Katherine⁴ Wilson, *vs.*; a tenement in the occupacon of Jane Stevenson, *vjs. viijd.*³

A table of benefactions belonging to the merchants adventurers of the city of York, at midsummer 1772.

William Woller, by will bearing date 21 December, 1597, gave one hundred pounds to be lent to two young merchants for 3 years, without interest.

William Robinson, by will bearing date 17 December, 1614, gave forty pounds to be lent to four young merchants for 5 years, without interest.

William Hart, by will bearing date 16 May, 1633, gave six hundred pounds to be lent to twelve young merchants for 2 years, without interest.

¹⁻¹ Crossed through in MS.

² "Havergarthes ij lands," in the left margin.

³⁻³ The whole entry is crossed through, "nowe parte of the hall," is written in the margin.

⁴ "Katherine" is substituted for "Margret."

William Brearey, by will dated 9th August, 1637, gave twenty five pounds for the use of the poor widows of this hospital.

Thomas Herbert, alderman, by will dated 14 January, 1644, gave thirty pounds to the end there shall be a sermon preached every Michaelmas Court viz.: twenty shillings to the parson, ten shillings to the poor women; if no sermon, the whole to be divided amongst the poor women.

Stephen Watson, by will bearing date 10 May, 1659, gave sixty pounds to be lent to 2 young grocers for 3 yeares.

Sarah Bawtry, widow, left fifty pounds to be laid out for the use of the poor widows in the hospital.

M^{rs} Jane Stainton, left by will dated November 9, 1692, a house in Coppergate, now occupied by Josias Truslowe, sadler, chargeable with the following out payments, viz.:—two pounds per annum to a merchants widow, fifteen shillings per annum to the minister of All Saints Pavement for preaching a sermon on the 30 January, also five shillings to be given in bread to the poor, who attend the sermon, and one pound ten shillings per annum to a school mistress for teaching six poor girls to read, knit, and sew.

Michael Barstow gave a deed of gift dated 8 May, 1694, of forty shillings per annum, to the use of the poor widows, fifteen shillings of which is paid out of the house in Micklegate, now in possession of John Cracroft and his under-tenants.

William Garforth, Esq., by a deed of gift dated 11 October, 1722 gave five pounds per annum for the use of the poor widows in the hospital, payable out of his house in Micklegate adjoining the house of Lady Dawes and M^r Thomas Swann.

M^{rs} Mary Thistlewaite, left forty shillings per annum for the use of the poor widows in the hospital, payable out of the house in Fossgate, now the property of M^{rs} Eliz. Roscoa in Coppergate, and inhabited by M^r Easterby, tobbaconist, situated on the south side of Stone Bow Lane.

M^r Hall in Petergate pays seven shillings per annum out of his house, the corner of Girdlergate.

Mr George Healey pays six shillings and eightpence per annum, out of his house in Ousegate.

Two closes out of Castlegate postern, occupied by Mr Ewbank, viz.: N^o 1, 0a. 2r. 21p. N^o 2, 0a. 3r. 18p.

Three closes out of Walmgate Bar, occupied by Mr Healey, viz.:—N^o 3, 2a. 0r. 26p. N^o 4, 0a. 3r. 20p. N^o 5, 1a, 3r. 8p.

One close out of Walmgate Bar, occupied by M^t Bar^d Acroyd, viz.:—N^o 6, 4a. 3r. 6p. N.B. the above numbers refer to a map.

Thomas Meals house in Fossgate, M^{rs} Percivals house next the Hall, four tenements in the possession of Thomas Bell, Eliz. Thomas, Stephen Wilson and Ann Watkins.

M^{rs} Ann Smith, widow of the late Alderman Thomas Smith, gave in her life time, 9 January, 1815, one hundred pounds for the poor in the Merchants Hospital in Fossgate. The interest at five per cent. to be paid to them every Christmas Eve for ever.

Mr Thomas Harper, merchant and wollen draper, late of this city, by will dated 24 January, 1816, left 100£. to be placed out on government security, and the interest to be equally divided amongst the poor men and women in the Merchants Hospital in Fossgate, on the first of January for ever. Finis.

I, Robert Davy of the citie of York, milliner, having bin indited by the company of merchants adventurers of the said citie for selling mercery wares, contrary to severall statutes, doe now appear at a generall court of the said company, and promise, and engage that if they please to desist from any further procedyngs at law against me, that I will pay the charges of suite already expended, and to forbear for the future to sell or expose to sale by retaile or otherwise, directly or indirectly, in the said citie or suburbs thereof, any mercery wares, excepting buckrums, callicoes, fustians, demithies, gallouns, ribbands, sowing silkes, and all sorts of trimmings for wearing cloathes.

Witnes. My hand the fourteenth day of February, anno Domini, 1675. Robert Davy. Witnessse, Robert Wall.

The account of Charles Hall and John Hillary, wardens of the fellowship and gild of merchants and mercers of the city of Yorke, of all their receates, chardges, payments, and dischardges belonging the same from lady day, anno 1679, until lady day, 1682, by the space of three whole yeares.

In primis, the said accounts answers for money in store, nothing. *Rents and farmes*, the said accounts answers for rents and farmes by them received, viz. 106£. 03s. 0d. *St. Nicholas parish*, for ij leaze of land in the Havergarthes, now in the occupation of Godfrey Drinkeraw, (by assignement of Elizabeth Dickenson, daughter of George Dickenson for her life), payable at Micaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 3£. 10s. 0d.: is 10£. 10s. 00d. For 3 closes in the occupation of Richard Mann, cordwaner, paying, 8£. per annum, at Micaelmas and Ladyday is, 24£. 00s. 00d.

Fishergate.—For a toft and croft in Fishergate, late in the occupation of Mr Henry Breray, and now in the tenour of William Breary, doctor of laws, payable at Micaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 28 shillings is 04£. 04s. 00d.

Ouzegate.—For a frerent of a tement in Ouzegate, in the tenor of, and occupation of widdow Winterburne, or assignes (joining upon a house of Mr Michael Bastow on the west, and the house of Mr Binjimin Masterman on the east), paying 6s. 8d. yearly is 01£. 10s. 00d.¹

Petergate.—For a freerent out of an house in Petergate, in the occupation of Mr Alexious (*sic*)² Tayler, or his assignes, paying at Micaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 7s. is 01£. 01s. 00d.

Fossgate.—For a tenement next the Hallgate in the occupation of Thomas Lucas due at Micaelmas and Lady day yearly 5*li*. 10s. 0d., 16£. 10s. 00d. For a tenement adjoyneing to the Merchants hall, betwixt Thomas Lucas tenement and Mr Prince his house, now in the occupation of Thomas Sandeman, paying at Micaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 4£. 10s. 00d., is 13£. 10s. 00d. For severall roomes, part of Trennety hall, in the occupation of Widdow Hurst, paying at Micaelmas and

¹ Some arrears must have been paid here as the normal payment was £1.

² Probably a mistake for Francois; a Mr Francis Taylor appears in a later notice as living in Petergate.

Ladyday yearly, 4£. 10s. 00d., is 13£. 10s. 00d. For severall roomes parcel of Trinnety hall, in the occupation of widdow Spence, paying at Micaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 4£. is 12£. 00s. 00d.

Ouzebrig Cloth Hall.—For a seller parcell of cloth hall, now in occupation of Widdow Hart, paying at Michaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 16s. is 2£. 08s. 00d. For cloth hall now in occupation of widdow Hart (anciantly 4£. per annum) is geven to the said M^{rs} Hart, dureing her widdowhood, by an order of court, the 18th January, 1674, and now pays nothing.

Gaigeing money.—For gageing money of M^{rs} Rosamund Garthwate, overseer of the crane, paying at Micaelmas and Ladyday yearly, 40s., is 6£. 00s. 00d. *Summa totalis*, 106£. 03s. 00d.

New Brethren.—The said accounts answers for money received for new franchist men, as followeth;—of Francis Hewitt, Francis Lacock, Thomas Steele, Joseph Askill, Jossua Squire, Martin Lacock, Joell Savile, Walter Galloway, William Inman, Richard Beverley, by service 13s. 4d. apece, 6£. 13s. 4d. Of Thomas Maxon, James Lee, Jossua Awmon[d], 4£. 13s. 4d. apece, 14£. 00s. 00d. William Lister, Tymothy Hardisty, William Lister, junior, James Strickland, Matthew Allinson, M^r Snawdon, John Day, William Widdows, Christopher Legger, William Hault, Charles Wood, by service, at 13s. 4d. apece, 7£. 06s. 8d. Thomas Bastow, by patremoney, 0£. 10s. 0d. *Summa* 28£. 10s. 00d.

Arreares.—The said accounts answers for money received for arrears from the last wardons accounts as followeth;—48£. 01s. 00d. Of M^r Francis Taylor for 3 yeares rent of an house in Petergate, 1£. 01s. 0d. Of M^r Hart for 1½ yeare arreare for a seller, part of cloth hall, 1£. 04s. 0d. Of M^r Garthwate for arrears for gaiging money, per order of court 5£. 00s. 0d. Of M^r George Pickering late warden for his & M^r Hodgson arreare, 40£. 16s. 0d. *Summa* 48£. 01s. 00d.

Amerciaments.—The said accounts answers for money by them received for finds and amerciaments as followeth;—33£. 16s. 10d. Of Francis Lacock, 10s., of Jossua Squire, 20s., of William Inman, 6s. 8d., of Richard Beverley, 16s. 8d., of

Mr Joseph Hillery, 20s. 3£. 13s. 4d. Of Mr Samwell Blackbird, 40s., of Mr Galloway, 20£., of Mr Thorp, 5s., of Mr Charles Wood, 20s., of Joshua Anmon, 10s., in all 23£. 15s. 00d. *For leight weights*, viz.: the 5th June, received 7s., the 7th July, 24s., the 9th October, 19s. 6d., the 24th June, [17]81, received 31s. 6d., the 27th June, 29s., and the 7th October, 17s. 6d., in all 6£. 08s. 06d. *Summa* 33£. 16s. 10d.

Brogues.—The said accounts answers for received monyes by them received;—for absences and late comings to courtes and sermons, for officers and poore folke of the hospitall, as followeth: 12£. 13s. 00d. 14th July, [17]79 received 16s. 6d., the 13th October, 7s. 6d., the 19th June, 12s., the 26th March, [17]80, received 9s. 00d.; the 7th of July, 3s. 00d., the 11th October, 10s. 6d., the 3rd January, 9s. 0d., the 26th Marsh, 25s. 6d., the 19th Aprill, 21s. 00d., 27th June, 1681, 12s. 00d., the 7th October, 23s. 0d., the 20th January, 3s. 0d., 26th March, 1682, 10s. 06d., which makes in all the sume of, 8£. 02s. 06d. More for Mr Taylor brogue the 20th March, 1680, 1£. 19s. 06d. More for Mr John Newell, the 26th March, 1681, 0£. 13s. 06d. More for Mr Richard Lodge, the 26th March, 1681, 1£. 18s. 00d., 4£. 10s. 06d. *unpaid*. *Summa* 12£. 13s. 0d.

Ditto short gownes.—The said accounts answers for moneys by them received for brogues for short gownes, for officers by custome, viz.: the 14th July, 1679, 3s., the 13th October, 1s., the 19th January, 2s., the 7th July, 80, 1s., the 11th October, 1s., the 3rd January, 18d., the 26th March, 1s., the 27th June, 1s., the 7th October, 1s., the 26th March, 1682, 1s., is in all 00£. 13s. 06d.

Brotherhood and poor.—The said accounts answers for moneys by them received upon the subsidy bill for brotherhood and poore, according to custome of 10d. per annum for every free brother and sister, viz.: 8£. 04s. 00d. Alderman Carter, governor, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Ramsden, 2s. 6d.; Mr Hewitt, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Metcalfe, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Horbatt, 2s. 6d.; Mr Francis Lacock, 2s. 6d.; Mr Bryhan Dawson, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Wood, lord mayor, 2s. 6d.; Mr Savile, 1s. 8d.; Mr Samuel Dawson, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Parratt, 2s. 6d.; Francis Cottan, 2s. 6d.; Mr Kighley, 2s. 6d.; Mr Henry Pawson, 2s. 6d.; Mr

Beverley, 2s. 6d.; M^r Henry Wilkinson, 2s. 6d.; M^r Michael Barstow, 2s. 6d.; Charles Hall, warden, 2s. 6d.; M^r Josephus Scott, 2s. 6d.; M^r Raper, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Elcock, 2s. 6d.; M^r Esh, 2s. 6d.; M^r Neightengale, 2s. 6d.; Alderman Cunstable, 2s. 6d.; M^r Briggs, 2s. 6d.; M^r Thomas Benson, 2s. 6d.; M^r Billingham, 2s. 6d.; M^r Thomas, 2s. 6d.; M^r Ernesshaw, 2s. 6d.; M^r Moseley, 2s. 6d.; M^r Bake, 2s. 6d.; M^r Duckworth, 2s. 6d.; M^r Suttle, 2s. 6d.; M^r Joseph Thorpe, 2s. 6d.; William Inman, junior, 0s. 10d.; Francis Tomlinson, 2s. 6d.; M^r Prestley, 2s. 6d.; William Inman, senior, 2s. 6d.; M^r Galloway, 2s. 6d.; M^r Murthwate, 2s. 6d.; M^r Marshall, 2s. 6d.; John Baines, 2s. 6d.; M^r Bashforth, 2s. 6d.; M^r Augustine Ambrose, 2s. 6d.; M^r John Hillery, 2s. 6d.; M^r Henry Michell, 2s. 6d.; M^r Lumley, 2s. 6d.; M^r Samuel Blackbird, 2s. 6d.; M^r Ager, 2s. 6d.; M^r Bell, 2s. 6d.; M^r Thomas Smith, 2s. 6d.; M^r John Welburne, 2s. 6d.; M^r Lund, 2s. 6d.; M^r Joseph Drake, 2s. 6d.; M^r Fish, 2s. 6d.; M^r Crowder, 2s. 6d.; M^r Gathorne, 2s. 6d.; M^r Thomas Nesbett, 2s. 6d.; M^r Robert Crake, 2s. 6d.; M^r George Horner, 2s. 6d.; M^r Stephenson, 2s. 6d.; M^r Ashtall, 1s. 8d.; M^r Lutton, 2s. 6d.; M^r Futhrgall, 2s. 6d.; M^r Downes, 2s. 6d.; M^r Metcalfe, 2s. 6d.; Joseph Squire, 0s. 10d.; Thomas Maxon, 0s. 10d.; 3£. 06s. 8d.; 3£. 02s. 06d.; 1£. 14s. 10d.; [*Summa* 8£. 04s. 0d. *Summa totalis* of these 3 yeares revenues is 238£. 01s. 04d.]

Whereoff allowances.—The said account[ant]s ask to be allowed for moneys they have payd from the 25th day of March, in the yeare 1679, until the 25th day of March in the yeare of our Lord God 1682, for 3 whole yeares. Rents resolute *imprimis*, free farmes to M^r Richard Sowery, the kings receiver for prests sallerys 6£. 13s. 04d., yearly at Michaelmas and Ladyday is for 3 yeares 20£. 00s. 00d.; more to him for 6 half-yeares acquittances 4d. an acquittance, 00£. 02s. 00d. *Winchester*, to M^r Thomas Tomlinson for 2 freerents to the Marquis of Winchester, payable at Michaelmas and Ladyday yearly, viz.: for the chantry prest in Belfray church, founded by William Selby, 3£. 00s. 00d.; for Butterfields obbit out of the White Horse in Fossegate, 0£. 15s. 00d.; for 2 acquittances ending halfe yeare is for 3 yeares 0£. 04s. 00d. [*Summa* 3£. 19s. 0d. Sir Henry Gay, to M^r Georg Rigdon for a freerent

to Sir Henry Gay of a close part of St. Nicholas without Walmgate barr, 6s. 8d., yearly at Michaelmas and Ladyday, is for 3 yeares, 1£. 00s. 00d.; for 6 half yeares acquittance 0£. 02s. 00d. [*Summa*] 1£. 02s. 00d. *Citty*, for M^r William Wyvell the cittys receiver for free rents and farmes paid to the citty at Martinmas as followeth, for cloth hall on Ouzebridge, 3£. 6s. 8d. per annum is 10£. 00s. 00d.; for a freerent on Fossbridge, 6s. 8d. per annum is 1£. 00s.; for a freerent Tengehall lands, 2s. 4d. per annum is 0£. 07s. 00d.; for a freerent to St. Anthonys hall, 5s. per annum, is 0£. 15s. 00d. [*Summa*] 12£. 02s. 00d. *Sermons*, to M^r Tobias Conyers for 3 sermons yearly, the gift of Sir Henry Thompson, knight, each sermon 20s., is for 3 yeares 9£. 05s. 00d.; to M^r Christofer Jackson for 1 sermon yearly the gift of M^r Thomas Herbert, 20s. a sermon, is for 3 yeares, 3£. 00s. 00d. *Summa* 12£. 00s. 00d. *Searchers*, to the searchers of weights and measures, their yearly allowance (per order of court 26th March, 1649) is 13s. 04d. per annum, for 3 years is 2£. 00s. 00d. *Chapell clarke*, to the chappell clarke for his fee yearly 10s. (per order of court the 22nd January 71,) is for 3 yeares 1£. 10s. 00d. *Hall keeper*, to Ann Hoggatt for keepinge the hall and lying of quithouse (*sic*) 18d. a quarter, is for 3 yeares 0£. 18s. 00d. *Poore*, to the poore folk of the hospitall paid them yearly as followeth, for M^r Harbott gift every Michaelmas day, per his will dated the 14th January, 1644 the sum of 10s., is for 3 yeares, 1£. 10s. 00d.; for every quarter court 5s. (per order of court, 18th July 42), 3£. 00s. 00d.; for every Christmas, Easter and Penticost 2s. a pece for 10 poore folke is for 3 yeares (per order of court the 27th June 81) 9£. 00s. 00d.

These sums left to the consideration of a court.—To the poore of the hospitall the increase of 25£, the gift of William Breary, alderman, to be disposed of at the discretion of the governor and wardons by his will, dated 9th August, 1637, is 30s. per annum, and for 3 years 4£. 10s. 00d. For William Grindall obbitt of 3s. 4d. yearly in bread to be given the Monday, the first weeke of quadragissima, 0£. 10s. 00d. For Agnes de Touthorp gift of 5s. yearly every Ladyday to every pore folke of the hospitall out of a house in Peter the little, is 3s. 10d. per annum, is for 3 yeares, 0£. 11s. 06d. *Secretary*, to M^r

Thomas Penrose, secretary to the fellowship, for his sallery, (by order of court 6th July, 1647), and continued by custome, 5£. per annum for 3 yeares, 15£. 00s. 00d. *Bedell*, to George Jackson, bedall or sarjant for his sallery, by custome 6£. per annum, and for 3 yeares is, 18£. 00s. 00d. *Arreares*, the said accounts askes to be allowed for moneys by them paid for several arrears left unpaid by the former wardons of this fellowship, that is to say, 50£. 08s. 00d. To M^r Richerd Sowery, the kings receiver, for a yeare and an halfe arreare for prests sallerys, at 6£. 13s. 04d., per annum 10£. 10s. 00d. To M^r George Rigdon for a yeare and an halfe arreare for a free farme due to Sir Henry Gay at 6s. 8d. per annum is 00£. 10s. 00d. To each receiver for 3 acquittances 00£. 12s. 00d. To M^r George Pickering, one of the late wardons for abatement out of his arrears (by order of court, 26th March, 1680) 15£. 00s. 00d. More to George Stephenson, bricklayer, for repairing the comon suer, by order of the same court, 04£. 00s. 00d. To M^r Tobias Conyers for 5 quarter sermons, in arreare, 5£. 00s. 00d. To M^r George Jackson, bedall, for a yeare arreare of sallery, 6£. 00s. 00d. To M^r Thomas Tomlisson for seven yeares and an halfe arrear of the free farmes to the marquis of Winchester at 25s. per annum, 9£. 07s. 06d. More for arreares acquittances, 2 each yeare, 0£. 05s. 00d. To M^r Robert Addinall for arreare for painting the roofe of the chappell, 0£. 03s. 06d. [*Summa* 50£. 08s. 00d.] *Repares*, the said accounts askes for money they have paid for repaires, tiling the hall and plastering the chappell, 2£. 07s. 05d.; for arching and cleneing the comon suer broken downe within widdow Spence tenne[men]t blowne downe, and for paveing the dossery, and tiling the great roofe of the hall, 1£. 09s. 06d. For repareing Thomas Sandeman tennement and new lying a chamber flower broken downe, 4£. 01s. 11d. *Summa* 10£. 13s. 10d.

Expences nessecary.—The said accountants askes to be allowed for money paid for nessecary expences as followeth. For assesments taxed upon lands & tennements, according to acquittances from severall collectors, 4£. 16s. 08d. For gaige money for one yeare paid to the towne of Hull for annum

1679, per order of alderman Williamson, governor, 1£. 00s. 00d. For clarke wage to Edward Robinson for 2 yeares augmentation of 10s. per annum as had beene before paid by former wardons 1£. 00s. 00d. To George Jackson bedall for gowne money due at Lady day, 1679, (per order of court the 11th of October 1680) 3£. 13s. 04d. For a pare of paun scales and small exchequer weights from a pound to a dram, 0£. 09s. 00d. To Anne Hoggatt, besomes, rubbers, and skuttles, 0£. 02s. 02d. For expences upon views of lands and on M^r Pickering and M^r Keeper upon clering late wardons accountts, 0£. 04s. 06d. For scoureing Fosse against Trenety Hall, 0£. 08s. 00d. For a nest of boxes to putt deeds, charters, and other writeings into, lying in the evedence chest, 0£. 03s. 00d. Paid Al[i]ce Darcy and Ann Hoggatt (per order of court 7th October [17]81), 0£. 04s. 06d. Paid Ann Hoggate (per order of court, the 3rd January [17]80), 0£. 01s. 00d. Paid in expences in gathering rents half yearly for 3 yeares collection 02s. 00d. per annum 0£. 06s. 00d.; for the search of Butterfields will, 0£. 02s. 00d. for expences made upon the audit¹ for² audetors officers attending³ 2£. 00s. 00d.; for parchement for the ingrossing this account as hath beene customably allowed 10s.; and for M^r Penrose the secretary for paper 06s. 08d. *Summa* 0£. 16s. 08d. *Summa totalis*, 21£. 14s. 06d.

Officers and poore folke.—The said accountants aske to be allowed for money by them paid for distribution of brogues to the officers and poore folke of the hospitall according to orders of court and ancient custome as followeth, 17£. 15s. 00d. To the poore folke of the hospitall for their $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the brogues (received and to receive) for absences and late coming to sermons and court (per act of court 26th March, 1647,) 6£. 06s. 06d.; to the officers viz. M^r Thomas Penrose and George Jackson for their $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the same brogues as officers, (as by order of court 6th October, 1617,) and continued by custome, 6£. 06s. 06d. More to the said officers for the brogues of shorte gowns by custome, 0£. 13s. 06d. More to the said

¹ Several words have been erased here.

² A short word has been erased here.

³ Another erasure here.

officers and poore. Poor, 20s. 00d. Secretary, 40s. 00d. Bedale, 28s. 06d. for their customary allowances out of the fines and presentments of light weights divided as in margent 4£. 08s. 06d. *Summa* 17£. 15s. 00d.

Arriages.—The said accomptants aske to be allowed for moneys they have charged themselves with in this account, which they have not received but remaines in arrears to the next wardens as followeth, 1£. 16s. 00d. *Gaige money*, for rents and farmes for one half yeare rent of the gaigeng money from M^{rs} Rosomond Garthwate or her assignes (M^r Augustine Ambrose) due at Lady day last, 1£. 00s. 00d. M^{rs} Hart, for one whole yeares rent 0£. 16s. 00d. from M^{rs} Hart for a seller part of cloth hall due at Lady day last past. *Summa* 1£. 16s. 00d. The totall sume of these 3 yeares payment and allowances is 202£. 10s. 04d. *Ballance*, all which afforementioned receates, payments, charges, and discharges, wee the auditors (appoynted for the said accounts) doe allow the hance, and we doe find resting in store in the hands of the accounts the sume of thirty five pounds, and eleven shillings for ballance, that is to say, in the hands of M^r John Hillary, 7£. 02s. 06d.; in the hands of M^r Charles Hall, 28£. 08s. 06d. (i.e.) 35£. 11s. 00d. *Totall* 238£. 01s. 04d. William Ramsden, Philip Herbert, Michael Barstowe, William Raper, Joseph Scott.

Extracts from the Court Book.

A quarter court holden at Trinity Hall, in Fossegate, the fourth day of Julii, anno Domini, 1677. (fo. 4.)

The worshipful York Horner, alderman, governor.

John Pemberton, late apprentice to Alderman Ramsden, merchant, desired his freedom of the company, but refusing to pay four pounds for his redemption fine, is not admitted.

January 19, 1679. (fo. 17.)

Free rent ordered that Master Thomas Tomlinson be sent for to the next court of assistants that he may acquaint the court what he demands of the company as rent due to the Marquesse of Winchester, and how the same doth appear to [be] due, the company having formerly paid the whole rent to the king's receiver.

20 *March*, 1680. (fo. 18*b*.)

Mr Roper desiring liberty to sell a parcell of iron in the country that he bought of Mr John Bothomley, which is now at Tadcaster, the court is pleased to give him leave to disprove of the same as he desires.

July 7, 1680. (fo. 20*a*.)

William Inman, late apprentice with Mr William Roper, Eastland merchant, is admitted to his freedome of the fellowship, sworne and paid, xiijs. iiij*d*. He paid for opening shop before he took his freedome, vjs. viij*d*.

Oct. 11, 1680. (fo. 22.)

Mr Walter Galloway's petition for leave to take a super-numerary apprentice now read, wherein the said Mr Galloway promises to submit to such fine as this court shall set, in consideration thereof, upon debate of the busines, it was put to the vote, and there upon ordered, that he may take one apprentice above his stint, provided he pay the sume of twenty pounds to the wardens, for the use of the company, before the apprentice be bound, and not otherwise.

June 14, 1681. *Court of assistants.* (fo. 27.)

Mr Robert Downes, presented at a quarter court held the third day of January last, for selling goods in the country contrary to our acts, did appear at the said court, and acknowledged the same, and submit[ted] to judgment, fine 10*£*.

Mr John Thorpe presented at a quarter court held the third of January 1680, for offering goods for sale at an inn, fined 10*s*.

Mrs Buxton, executrix of John Best, presented for keeping open shop several monthes after the decease of John Best. (fo. 28*a*.)

A quarter court held Oct. 7, 1681. (fo. 30.)

Mr Galloway petitions for some abatement of the fine deposited at the binding of his last aprentice, carried in the negative, the whole sume of 20*£*. paid to the wardens.

Quarter court, 20 January, 1681. (fo. 31b.)

James Low late apprentice to Thomas Fearn merchant is admitted to his freedome of the fellowship by redemption, paid *iiijl. xiijs. iiijd.* Mr Barstow and Mr Hall doe inform the court that counsell doe advise to pay the Marquesse of Winchester the arrear of rent demanded by Mr Thomas Tomlinson for his lordships use. But is of opinion that if the houses or lands out of which the said rent or any part thereof is payable can be found, the company may legally make demand of the arrears of the same; whereupon it is now by this court ordered that Mr Thomas Tomlinson be desired to goe along with Mr George Jackson, the companies serjeant, to the owners or occupiers of a house in Fossgate, sometime knowne by the name of the White Horse (*sic*) and formerly sold by the company to Mr Mason, and make demand of the arrears of five shillings per annum for Buttrfield's obitt, since the time that the said Mr Mason or his assignes have been possessed of the said house.

A quarter court, January 8, 1682.

Ordered that the present wardens and Mr Hall doe demand 5s. per annum of Mrs Mason due out of a house purchased of the company for Butterfeild's obiitt, and that Mr Thomas Tomlinson doe assist them by using the marquesse of Winchesters name, for which he is to be indemnified by the company. (fo. 36.)

A quarter court held at Trinity Hall, in Fossgate, in the twentieth day of January, anno Domini, 1687.

The governor acquaints the court that several French Protestants, inhabiting in this citie, doe desire leave to have the use of our Chapell for a minister to preach to them in the French tongue, which the Court are pleased to grant during their pleasure, provided noe damage be done thereby to the chappel. (fo. 53.)

Ordinance.

Whereas severall unfreemen do drive trades within this city to the prejudice of such as are freemen, It is therefore

ordered, That when the goods of any unfreemen are by them sold unto forraigners can be seized, if the owners or pretended owners of such goods shall bring any action for such seizure, charge of such suite to be borne by the chamberlaines of the same city. Dated 14 July, 1688. (fo. 56b.)

Court held 2 July, 1689.

That the governor do call a court of assistants on Fryday senitt to inspect the companies bookes in reference to the elecon of a deputy for the Eastland Company, and what hath been the usuage formerly. (fo. 58b.)

Court held 16th August, 1689.

Also, that they doe see the suit be prosecuted concerning the seizure of two packs of flax (as forraigne bought and forreigne sold) and were replevind by the Lady Williamson.

Court held 6 January, 1689.

Whereas a sute is now depending in Chancery between Sir Stephen Thompson, Knight, governor of the fellowship of merchants adventurers of the city of York and other parts, against Richard Mann, John Haddock, Joseph Williamson and others, defendants, touching two packes of flax seized within this city of York being forraigne bought and forraigne sold against the custom of the said city and privileges of the society of merchants aforesaid. (fo. 60.)

Court held 18 July, 1690.

The governor offering something to this court as to a feast. . . . It is desired that our present wardens will consult with Mr Joseph Scott, and search the companys book to see how the last feast was managed, and to consider, when it may most conveniently be done. (fo. 62a.)

Court held 1 July, 1692.

That the wardens do pay to Mr Governor 17s. 6d. by him disbursed towards the buriall of Mr Abraham Askwith. (fo. 69b.)

Court held 30 September, 1692.

Mr Emanuell Justice, now sheriff, petitions the court for his freedom of the company by redemption.

Court held June 20, 1693. (fo. 73a.)

Vpon consideracon of the companes revenue, receptes and payments, finding that a great part of their stock is expended and disbursed on severall occasions, so that the income will not reach to the payment of the poor weomen of the hospitall as formerly without retrenching their monthly allowance, or deducting something from the free gifts and benevolence of the company, which hath hitherto been twenty shillings at Christmas, 20s. at Easter, and 20s. at Whitsontide, as also five shillings at every quarter court, doe now think fitt for the reasons aforesaid to order—That their monthly allowance of 2s. 8d. per month to each of them be continued and paid as formerly, and that onely tenn shillinges be given to them at Christmas, 10s. at Easter, and 10s. at Whitsontide, (in lieu of the twenty shillings given as aforesaid). And this to continue during the companies pleasure. And that the wardens be acquainted with this order. Alderman Fothergall, and Mr Michael Barstow are desired to accompany Alderman Ramsden, and goe to Mr Robert Squire, or some of my Lady Bawtrys executors as to the fifty poundes left by her ladyship to be put forth, bestowed, laid out, or expended for the benefit of the poor women of Trinity hospitall. That care may be taken for the disposeall thereof to that end.

Court held July 2, 1694. (fo. 77a.)

Mr Michaell Barstow¹ doth now present to the Court an indenture bearing date the eighth day of May, in sixt year of their Majesties Raigne, Anno Domini 1694, whereby the said Mr Barstow hath given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released and confirmed, unto the governor, assistants and Society of Merchants Adventurers of the city of York, severall annual

¹ This indenture is still in the possession of the company. A portrait of Mr. Michael Barstow still hangs in the Merchants' Hall, and his descendants live at Garrow Hill, York.

rents, amounting to the sume of forty shillings per annum. Vpon the speciall trust and confidence, &c., that the said governor, assistants, and society, and their successors, yearly and every yeare, by four equall quarterly payments, at the four most usuall feasts, that is to say, the feast of St. John Baptist, of St. Michael the Arch Angell, of the Nativity of Our Lord, and of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin, or at the four quarterly court dayes, shall and will equally distribute and pay to the poore widdows of the said merchants hospitall, &c., share and share like all and singular the said rents, or the value thereof, in lawfull current English mony, so long as the world endures, the first payment to commence at the feast of St. Michael, the Arch Angell, next ensuing the date hereof, &c.

The Indentures are put into the haire trunck in the custody of Mr John Pecket and Mr Francis Thomlinson, wardens.

Court held 24 March, 1696.

And further itt is thought fitt that the said Richard Pecket the present Secretary and all succeeding Secretaryes, shall enter into a bond to the present governor and assistants, with one sufficient surety in the summe of fifty pounds for the due delivering up the books and papers and all other things belonging to the company of merchants adventurers of the city of Yorke, which shall bee in his custody, whenever the same shall be demanded by the then present governor or his order.

Court held 6 October, 1697.

Committee appointed to consider how to prevent the importation of Irish and foreigne yarne. (fo. 88b.)

Court held June 3, 1698.

The occasion of calling this court is upon the death of our late governor, Sir Gilbert Metcalfe. Whereupon this court taking into consideration the exceeding great want and scarcity of the brethren of the old Hanes,¹ that are qualified to bee

¹ The old Hanse, strictly speaking, consisted of the descendants of those who had been members of the original company before the limitation of the entrance fee by 12 Hen. VII, cap. 6. But the question cannot be dismissed summarily, and will be discussed in the Introduction.

governors, some part of the Charter and severall actes of the company were read relating thereunto. Upon which it is resolved strictly to stand to and abide by our sayd actes.

Court held Oct. 1, 1698. (fo. 92b.)

Mr Nathaniel Wilson offering to this court that itt was not out of contempt that hee refused to stand governor the last court, but that hee thought himselfe not quallified for the dignity of that office, whereupon hee withdrew, and then itt was moved for a mittigacion of his fine, these 3 summs being named, viz^t 5£ 6s., 10£ and £8, and by the majority of voyces itt is ordered that eight poundes of the sayd fine be remitted, soe that hee is onely to pay to the wardens forty shillings.

Court held Dec. 16, 1698. (fo. 93a.)

And likewise itt is ordered that itt bee moved to the next Quarter Court to have the passage that leads to the Chappell viewed by workmen, and to know what the charge of putting up a chimney there and making a large firestead would bee, in order to make our Hall more commodious for feasting and to prevent any mischeife being done by making fires against the wall in the court yard.

Court held January 19, 1698.

Free brethren to pay 30s., unfree 3£, for feasting in Hall. (fo. 93b.)

Court held March 26, 1699.

Ordered that for the time to come such of the assistants, as shall bee absent from any court of assistants without leave, shall bee fined two shillings for every such absence. (fo. 94a.)

Court held June 30, 1699.

John Fether son of Francis Fether¹ merchant adventurer peticons this court for his freedom by patrimony, but in regard

¹ Franciscus Feather, mercator, was made a freeman 1662; Johannes Feather filius Francisci Feather became free, per patres, 1694. York Freemen, *op cit.*, pp. 127, 174.

hee lives at Hull, and has not been bred, nor ever practised in merchandizing way, but his chief dealing as himselfe confesses being in coneyskins. The court thought fit to denye him, whereupon he withdrew. (fo. 95b.)

Court held March 26, 1700.

A court of assistance to bee held to consider of a dispensing act in this present exigency for admitting members not free of the old Hans to serve as governors to this company. (fo. 96b.)

Court held 16 day of December, 1700.

That from and after the confirmation hereof att the next generall court, itt shall and may bee lawfull for this company to chuse such able and discreet member and members to be governour and deputy-governour, who are free of this company of merchant adventurers of the Citty of Yorke onely, (redemptioners allwayes excepted) any act heretofore made to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.¹ (fo. 98b.)

Court held March 26, 1702. (fo. 103a.)

Whereas the governour of this company according to the custome hath heretofore had and enjoyed the benefitt and advantage of being governour of the Eastland Company, with an allowance of a certaine sallary from the sayd Eastland Company for his expences and trouble in carrying on the sayd governorship. And whereas this court hath taken into consideration the prejudice this present governor and all other his successors will bee lyable to, by the misunderstanding betwixt the sayd Eastland Company and us, and that therefore there are now no governour or officers appointed in this citty as formerly, the advantage of the sayd sallary is wholly lost. Itt is therefore now agreed, that the present governour and all other his successors shall be allowed and payd by the wardens of the company, for the time being, towards his charges the summe of ten poundes yearly out of the said

¹ Governors and deputy governors had to be members of the Old Hanse and members of the London company.

company's stock. And if att any time itt shall hereafter happen that the governour of this company be chosen and appointed to bee governour of the Eastland Company as formerly, that then and from thencforth the payment of the said ten pounds yearly to cease, and this order to bee voyd and of none effect.¹

Court held Nov. 19, 1702. (fo. 104b.)

The occasion of this meeting is upon the account of our present Sherifs M^r Joell Savill a free brother of this company and M^r Henry Baynes,² who has lately taken his freedom of the Hamburgh company³ by fine, there being a dispute betwixt 'em, about the precedency of theire place, or whose right itt is to take place as head sheriff; upon debate of the matter sherif Baynes being sent for and appearing, acquainted the company that the dispute being referred to my lord mayor and aldermen, and they having given itt in favour of him, hee was resolved to persist in itt, and then withdrew. Att the same time sheriff Savill⁴ did positively affirme that hee never did soe referre itt, and therefore expected as of right the precedency to bee his. After all the dispute ended, this company doe declare itt to be their opinion that M^r Sheref Savill has the unquestionable right of precedency in his office, and do therefore make itt theire request to my lord mayor the present governor that hee will be pleased to dine the first day of feasting with the sayd sherif Savill, who being present, gave his lordship an invitation accordingly.

¹ A dispute with the London Court as to the choice of a governor for the York Eastland Company was the cause of the closing of the York residence. The final meeting was held in 1696. Maud Sellers, *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, Royal Historical Society, 1906, p. lxxxvii. Sir Charles Lucas, *The Beginning of English Overseas Enterprise*, pp. 156-187.

² Henricus Baynes, merchant, free in 1688, chamberlain in 1697, sheriff in 1702, lord mayor in 1716 and 1731. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 177, 212, 233.

³ Adam Smith gives a brief account of the merchant adventurers in the *Wealth of Nations*, written in 1775. He uses the name "Hamburgh Company" throughout the account. *cf.* Sir C. Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-116. W. E. Lingelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-256.

⁴ Joell Savile, apothecary, was chamberlain in 1690. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

Att a meeting of the aforesayd company of merchants in Trinity Hall in Fossegate, the 15th day of December, anno Domini 1702, the right honorable John Pecket, lord mayor, governor.

The occasion of this further meeting is by reason of the death of the late sherif Savill. And Mr. Rowland Mosley,¹ a free brother of this company being chosen sherif in his place (with whom sherif Baynes still persists to dispute the right of precedency) the case of the late sherif Savill at our last meeting being read, this company are of opinion that sherif Mosley has the same right of precedency that the late sherif Savill had; and that noe person whatsoever by vertue of the freedome of the Hamburgh Company of Redemcioners for the fine of forty shillings hath, or ought to have, the precedency of any brother of this antient worshipfull companie.

Court held May 9, 1704.

Ordered that the wardens have notice to be there and bring along with them the counterpart of Mr Monkton lease of the Havre garths, in order to debate the complaint against Alexander Harrison, (fo. 109a) Mrs Mary Suttle, in Helaugh, and one Mr Helier, a Dutchman, are presented for trading in the companys privileges not being free.

Court held March 20, 1706.

The secretary acquaints the court that Alderman Pawson requests he may have leave to take Michael Lunds sonn apprentice, for that hee had lately payd a fine for one of those hee now has, and that they are both shortly going beyond seas; ordered that the said alderman have liberty to take the said apprentice without incurring any brogue or fine. But that it be noe president for the future. (fo. 113b.)

Court held Oct. 1, 1706. (fo. 114b.)

Thomas Haxby, who stood indicted by the company for selling foreign flax, rough unmanufactured, appears at this court, and with submission, desired to be admitted to freedome

¹ Rowland Moseley, apothecary, free in 1692, chamberlain in 1697. York Freemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 177.

as a Redemcioner upon a moderate fine; voted whether admittable, carryed admittable upon a fine, and then hee withdrew; but being called in and the court demanding of him to know if hee would stand and abide by what fine they should impose upon him bee the same more or less, which he faythfully promising to doe, againe withdrew. Three summs were then named by Mr Governor for his fine, viz.:—30*li.*, 40*li.* and fifty pounds. Voted that for the summ of forty pounds he bee admitted a true brother of this fellowship by redemcion, hee paying all our attorneyes charges. Then being called in and acquainted therewith, after some scruple and hesitacion, hee complied with directs; and upon neglect to incur the penaltyes therein contaynd upon the severall clarks of the said corporacions and companyes.

The wardens and secretary doe now produce to the court the enrolment of all the brethren, who have been admitted in this company since that time pursuant to the said notice given in the gazet; which this court taking into consideracion:—It is now ordered that all brethren, who are now living and enrolled on the said stamps, doe immediately pay to the wardens or secretary each man 2*s.* for their reimbursment, that those who refuse shall remaine as a brogue due to the company, and those that are dead or receeded to bee placed to the company's account by the wardens, and that for the time to come, the secretary shall procure stamps at his charge, and the brethren, who hereafter shall take their freedoms, to pay for the same and gave a noate under his hand both for the 40*li.* and the said charges, but upon request of having six months time for his said fine, itt is allowed him, provided hee immediately enters into bond for payment thereof.

Ordered: That all further prosecucion against the said Thomas Haxby cease; and then hee was admitted a free brother of this fellowship by redemcion, sworne, and paid for his admission fee, £0 13*s.* 4*d.*, and to the Queens duty for stamps, 0*£.* 2*s.* 00*d.*

There being a late order from the Commissioners of the stamp paper office the same being publisht in the Gazet that all manner of persons, who have been admitted free of corporacions

or companies since the first of August, 1698, shall be enrolled upon double 12*d.* stamps according as the act of parliament same att the time (*sic*) they pay theire court fees for their admissions.

The brethren hereafter named, being att this court, paid for their enrolments upon the said stamps as followeth, viz.:—Mr John Waynd 2*s.*, Mr Peter Barchard 2*s.*, Mr W. Pemberton 2*s.*, Mr Geo: Stockton 2*s.*, Mr Ja. Hurst 2*s.*, Mr Fran: Healah 2*s.*, Mr Fr. Moorwood 2*s.*, Mr Wm. Dobson 2*s.*, Mr Tho: Smyth 2*s.*, Mr Tho: Beverley 2*s.*, Mr Ja: Dodsworth 2*s.*

Ordered, that the wardens and secretary doe call upon the rest, who are yet in arreare. Mr William Hotham comes and acquaints the court with the hardship he is under upon account of assessments, which is deferrd to another opportunity.

Mr Alexander Harrison's petition read, praying to have the lease of the Havergarths assignd to him by Mr Mountayn renewed in his own name, upon the termes of the old lease, promising to sett a good quick hedge in and about the said close. Orderd, That the said A. Harrison have the lease renewd him upon the old termes, provided hee sett a quick hedge according to his promise and leave the same at the end of the term in good and orderly repayre; and further tis agreed twixt this court and the said A. Harrison that itt bee incerted in the said lease:—That in case Tobyas Jenkyns, Esq., or any person or persons for him shall demand and take away any tyth that shall bee growing in or upon the premisses aforesaid (to which tyth the said Tobyas Jenkins, Esq., hath lately pretended a right) then the said A. Harrison shall forthwith give notice thereof to the governor or deputy for the time being, upon which notice the said A. H. shall immediately bee defended by this company of and from all costs and damages whatsoever that shall happen to accrew by reason of any suite att law or equity, except one tenth part of all such costs that shall bee expended in defence of any such suite as aforesaid, which is agreed to bee at the proper cost and charges of the said Alexander Harrison.

The wardens acquaint the court that there have been complaints against our standard weights and that they are worn

light and wrong, upon which the court requests M^r Governor to write to London for a new sett according to the standard, which his worship promised to doe.

Court held Nov. 8, 1707. (fo. 118.)

Whereas a dispensing act, for the election of governors and deputy governors of this fellowship for time coming, as well not free of the Old Hans as otherwise, has been of late often debated. And now again this court taking into their consideration the exceeding great want and scarcicity of the brethren of the Old Hans, that are duely qualified to bee governors and deputy governors as the acts of the company does direct, insomuch that severall of our governors have been forced to stand 4 or 5 years, and are likely to be longer continued, if not timely prevented, which being now well weighed and considered of as also the authority of this court by charter to make, constitute, and stablish, acts, constitutions, laws, ordinancys, &c. And the same laws, acts, constitutions, and ordinancys to revoke, abolish, reforme, and to make better, according to their good discretions, &c., as by our said charter reference being thereunto had will more fully appear.

It is now therefore ordered and enacted by the authority of this court, for the reasons aforesaid, that henceforth it shall and may be lawfull for this company every 26 day of March to cause any able, fit, & discreet member or members of this society, to be governor or deputy governor of this company of merchants adventurers of the City of York (redemptioners in this company always and onely excepted) any usage had, or actt heretofore made to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Court held September 30, 1708.

Ruben Buskill is now chosen clark to the merchants for their chappell, and likewise reader to the poor hospitall women, by two different erection of hands during this fellowships pleasure, for it is now order'd that no clark of Crux Church shall have any rights or claime to be reader to the hospitall women, or clerk to our chappell, but by the choise of this

fellowship, any act or claime heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding (fo. 122a) Mrs Hart¹ widow humbly begs of this honourable court (being at the point of death) that when it shall please God to take her to his mercy, that this court will be pleased to allow something to bury her nigh her husband. Upon which three summs was put up, 20s., 30s., and 40s. Orderd that the wardens pay after her death 40s., to those that are intrusted for her funerall. (fo. 122b.)

Court held November 2, 1708.

Mr Alexander Harrison apeares att the court and alledges that some brickmakers, coming from Nottingham and Derbyshire, has quite outundone him in making of bricks to his great loss, and therefore begs of this court to grant him leave to dig clay to make brick out of the ground calld the Havergarths, which he farmes of this fellowship, and will give some consideration for the same. But this court thought fitt to leave it to the next generall or quarter court. (fo. 123b.)

Court held November 20, 1710.

Mr Alexander Harrison being tenant to this fellowship by lease for the Havergarths lying out of Walmgate Barr, and he being tenant likewise to the Tayler Company for the ground caled the Havergarths contiguous to this fellowships, appears and informs this court that the said Taylers were for encroaching upon the lands he holds from this company, and is well assur'd 'tis not their right.

At a Committee on Ousebridge, 28 Oct., 1718. (fo. 158b.)

Mr William Stephenson, Mr James Jolliff, wardens; Mr Garforth, Mr Denton, Mr James Barstow, Mr Reynolds, Mr Ben Barstow, Mr Chr. Smith, Mr Robert Stephenson. The resolution of the last court being read, appointing a committee to examine presidents and the charter, and to take councill how to proceed against irregular traders. Resolved that the

¹ A previous entry states "Mrs Hart haith the cloth hall upon Owsbridge given her during her widdowhood, she pays 4*li.* per annum for [it], as appears by an order of court the 18 January, 1674." Wardens' Book, fo. 54.

companys case drawne up 26 March, 1704, be referd to the consideration of the wardens, Mr Garforth and Mr Reynolds, who are desird to consult the recorder and lawyer Johnson, and to take their advice in writing upon the queries mentioned in the said case. Resolved, that the said gentlemen first wait on the lord mayor to desire him to search the orders of the city for prohibiting any citizen from trading in any goods belonging to any company, before he be free of it. Resolved that its the opinion of this committee that no person be admitted to his freedom of this company by purchase under a fine of £50. And that all apprentices, who shall be bound to any purchaser for the future, shall pay ten pounds to this company at their respective admissions to their freedoms of the same.

Court held August 3, 1719.

Resolved that a guinea be incerted in the 18th act for our secretary to receive for indentures bond, entring into the companys books and stamps for every apprentice, to be continued till our secretary be allso secretary of the Hambro company. And that he allso receive of every apprentice two shillings for the serjeant, who is also to have twelve pence for every bond for the companys mony. (fo. 161.)

At a committee upon Owsebridge, 23 September, 1719. (fo. 161b.)

The order for reading the 21st, 28th, and 45th acts being read this committee are of opinion:—That instead of the 21st act this act shall be made:—That if any person shall sett up, or open shop, or occupy any sort of merchandize within this city, before he be admitted into the freedom of this fellowship, or have obtained lycence from this court for so doing, he shall pay to the wardens of the company twenty shillings for every month, he shall so set up shop, or occupy merchandizes, notwithstanding he may have a right to his freedom by patrimony or servitude. Instead of the 25th act this act shall be made:—That no brocker of this fellowship shall be partners with or sell goods for any apprentice of any member of this fellowship, under the penalty of 20£ for every such offence, half whereof to be paid to the informer, accounts of the mony

received by the wardens for the said fine. And that neither son, nor servant, of the said offender be made free till the said penalty be satisfied and paid. The 28th act to stand as it is, because it immediately concerns the city. That instead of the 45th act, this act shall be made:—That no member of this fellowship shall keep or employ any servant in his or her shop or trade above 5 years (without lycence from this court) unbound apprentice, under penalty of twenty shillings a month for every month the said servant shall so continue in his service above the said five years unbound apprentice. And that such servant shall not after the said five years be retained in any brother or sisters service without consent of this court, under penalty of 20£.

Court held October 27, 1719.

Ordered that a lease be granted to Alex. Harrison of Havergarths now in his possession for forty years, with liberty to make bricks, and to carry them away, so that he leave the ground levell with the low part next Tanghall, and that all the said ground so dig'd shall be coverd with good earth, and laid for grass five years before the expiration of the said lease. (fo. 162a.)

Court held April 28, 1721.

Complaints being made by our secretary that M^r Ascough, lately admitted into the fellowship, refused to make the usual present to the governor's lady. He promised to send it this day, and did accordingly.

Court held March 26, 1722.

Widow Dodson and Hannah Hogle admitted into the hospital, and complaints being made that the hospital women and the clerk exacted treats from such poor women as were admitted, it was ordered that no treats nor money should be demanded for the future. (fo. 169b.)

Court held March 26, 1723.

John Bennington having served as an apprentice to a grocer at Rippon, and since taken his freedom of this city

by patrimony, desires admittance into this fellowship, which being vigorously opposed and warmly debated, whether to admit or no, after advice of the recorder, 'twas resolved to admit him, upon which he gave his note for 50*li.*, and paid for admission also 15*s.* 4*d.* (fo. 172*b.*)

At a secret committee held at Mr Christopher Whitelocks house, February 12, 1723.

Present :—The worshipful Samuel Dawson, governor, William Dobson, gentleman and others. Ordered that the governor be desired to write to Sir William Milner and Mr Thompson to procure a clause to be added to the bill for the viewing, searching, and examining of all drugs, medecines, &c., and to give this company the same power to search drugists and apothecarye shops, as the physicians in London will have by the same bill. (fo. 175*a.*)

Secret Committee November 10, 1724.

Ordered that the governour have leave to make application to Sir William Milner and Edward Thompson, Esq., pursuant to the petition and clauses sent the last session of Parliament, (which were now read), and to add a clause praying leave for a boddy or two for dessection yearly. (fo. 176*b.*)

Court held April 4, 1728.

Ordered that £150 due from the city to this company upon bond to be demanded at the next house, if they refuse to pay the same, to file a bill in chancery against the city. (fo. 193*a.*)

Court held July 1, 1735.

Complaint being made that Isaac Wilson living in the liberty of St. Peters and following the trade of a grocer without having served an apprenticeship to that business, resolved that he be indicted at the next assizes, also John Stone, Henry Frankland, Thomas Godson. (fo. 220*b.*)

Court held September 29, 1735.

Mr Governor acquainted the court that complaints had been made to him of divers abuses committed in the hospital

by the ill behaviour of some of the poor women, for the prevention of the like disorders for the future, he recommended a scheme for the better regulation of the said hospital, which was unanimously agreed to, and also recommended an infirmary to be provided in case of sickness. (fo. 221a.)

Letter to Mrs Doughty.

MADAM,

I am directed by a Committee of the Merchants Company, to acquaint you that they are determined to proceed against you in a legal manner, for exercising the Trade of a Mercer in this City without being free of the said Company. I should be sorry to have occasion to pursue their directions, was I sensible that you would submit to take your freedom of the said Company. If therefore you will take the Trouble of calling¹ upon me at my office on or before Monday next, I will give you my reasons, why it must be greatly to your Interest to petition for your freedom, and flatter myself that you will be satisfied therewith and if so that you will apply² on Tuesday next to the Committee at their Meeting which will then be held at the Merchants Hall at three of the Clock in the afternoon. If you pay no regard to this Letter blame yourself for the consequences.

I am

Your obed^t serv^t

York, 17th Oct^r 1777.

M^{rs} Doughty, Pavement.

Mr Hindley's Letter of Submission.

M . . . 25 Decr. 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have yours in course and note the missage from Comittie of the Merchants Company. As to any Litigation with them I never wish'd it, so far from it that I allways wish to live in the utmost Harmony with every Body and pursue a Conduct of the strictest propriety and Honor—and as the Gentlemen have so generously offer'd to charge me only a

¹ "Take the trouble" and the "ing" of calling are crossed through.

² "Apply" is crossed through, and "petition" substituted.

small Deuceur for becoming a member of their Society, I shall certainly accept their offer and refer myself totally to them— So you'll do the needful with the gentlemen and there will be an end of it. The gentlemen of that Company as well as every other inhabitant and well wisher to the City may depend on my utmost endeavours to serve the City all in in (*sic*) my power.

I am Dr Sir

Yours sincerely

R. Hindley.

Bill of Dinner of Company, March 26, 1817.

Batty

Kings' Arms, Foss Bridge, York.

					£	s.	d.
The Merch ^{ts} Comp ^y							
March	45	Dinners	-	-	-	9	0 0
26	45	Wine Tickets	-	-	-	13	10 0
		Wine for the Cup	-	-	-	1	8 0
		Governor's Wine	-	-	-	2	4 0
		Fruit	-	-	-	1	10 0
		Grass brake	-	-	-		3 6
		10 Widows din ^{rs} and ale	-	-	-		12 6
		Wax Lights	-	-	-		5 0
						£28	13 0
		Waitin (<i>sic</i>)	-	-	-		12 0
						29	5 0
		No broken glass. Deduct for broken glass					3 6
						29	1 6

James Saunders.

*The Trial.*¹

Merchants' Company of York *v.* Harwood.—This was an action of great importance to traders in this city. It was

¹ I am much indebted to Mr. Malcolm Spence, Almery Garth, York, for drawing my attention to, and for the loan of, *The York Courant* for April 17th, 1827, where this account appears.

brought by the plaintiffs against Mr Harwood, druggist in Petergate, for selling articles of foreign produce, without being a member of the Merchants' Company, and without a license from the company to deal in those articles.

Mr Alderson, in opening the pleadings, said the plaintiffs were the Governor and Assistants and Company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of York; and the defendant was John Harwood of the same city. The declaration stated, that there was in the city of York and had been from time immemorial, a body corporate, known by the name of the Company of Merchants Adventurers, and that no person had a right to carry on any traffic in foreign wares, or to exercise the trade of a grocer without becoming free brother of that company, or the widow of a free brother; or without their license; and that the defendant did carry on the trade of a grocer, without the license of the said company. There were other counts, charging him with carrying on the trade of a druggist; and others, charging him with carrying on that of an apothecary. The plaintiff pleaded the general issue.

Mr Justice Bayley.—Then a single woman, or a free sister, cannot carry on trade at all ?

Mr Scarlett stated the case on the part of the plaintiffs. This action was brought by perhaps one of the oldest corporations in the kingdom, for a violation of its privileges. Chartered bodies, and privileged communities, were at one time deemed necessary for trade, and for the public interest in general. This was at a time when the liberties of the people were entirely at the discretion of the Crown. They then formed barriers to that thralldom—to that despotism under which the land was overshadowed. He doubted not but the liberties we now enjoy were to be traced originally to the existence of those corporations. That they infused into the mind that spirit of liberty which was now so generally felt. He mentioned these things because many were apt to look back upon the formation of these companies with different sentiments.—Human nature often pushes down the stool by which it had been enabled to rise. If he (Mr S.) were asked, as a political economist, if the existence of such corporations were conducive

to the furtherance of commerce, he should reply, No; but if he were asked, if they had that effect when first instituted, he should as decidedly and firmly say, Yes. The question for the jury to try was not the propriety of the existence of a company, but whether it legally existed or not.—If it legally did exist, its interests were as much protected by the law of the land as any individual's private rights. There were many towns, which had corporations, where no stranger could carry on business without being free of the same; and in some few towns in England, besides the corporation of the town, there were chartered bodies, called guilds, the most ancient of which was the city of York. There were similar ones in London, for although the city of London had a charter, there were several subordinate corporations, as, for instance, that of the fishmongers, the stationers, the goldsmiths, and the merchant tailors. Before a man can carry on any one of these trades, he must be free of the company, as well as free of the corporation of the city of London. The guild of York, which is that of the Merchant Adventurers, is of a date earlier than that of the corporation of the city. They hold a charter of the 23d of Queen Elizabeth, but can trace back their existence as a guild to the time of King Stephen. The original charter had doubtless been lost in the remoteness of its antiquity. . . . The Guild of York was first called the Mercers' Company and at that period of time mercers meant merchants; they sent ships and corresponded abroad, and no one could carry on the business of a merchant without belonging to the company. This had been the custom from time immemorial and this company had the exclusive right of trading in articles from foreign parts. He should show the existence of the company in the year 1140, the fifth year of the reign of King Stephen by a document from the Court of Exchequer, of a fine being paid on the appointment of an alderman. He should further produce a grant from John the 1st, in the year 1199, which was a general one to the citizens, in which were mentioned the Hanse Towns, in Normandy, of which the guild was free; and further, a grant of confirmation from Henry the 3d, in which amongst others, John's grant is mentioned,

and the "privileges of the Guild perpetuated as firmly and as strongly as in the reign of our great grandfather, Richard." . . . He should prove that from the very earliest times, sums of money had been paid and were continued down to this hour for the freedom of the company; that the company formerly received for the freightage of ships; that they had every indication of a corporation by having a seal, &c.; and that they, at a particular period, founded a hospital, and endowed a chaplain, which hospital was taken possession of by the Crown, during the reign of Henry the 8th, when the monasteries in the land were demolished. They interfered not with persons selling articles of British manufacture or the produce of British soil, but when they found persons dealing in articles of foreign produce, they applied to them to become members of the company. If they could not prove that they had this exclusive privilege, they must cease to exist. Grocers selling tea, spices, and sugar, always became members of the company; druggists, as they are now called, but when trading wholesale, called drysalters, dealing in dye woods, such as indigo, become members of the company; and apothecaries, who alone formerly sold drugs, took up their freedom of the Guild. There were certainly exceptions, for whenever a person, free of the company, had a partner not free, the firm was allowed to carry on business, and the widow of a freeman of the company could continue the business. The mercer, who dealt in foreign silks, when allowed by the law of the land to do so, always belonged to the company. The sons of freemen and persons having served apprenticeship to a freeman, were admitted, on payment of a small fine, and to a stranger it varied, but never exceeded 24£ or 25£. This applied to all parts of the city, except the Peter Liberty, every foot of ground of which appeared to be sacred, because it belonged to the church. The defendant, Mr Harwood, was a druggist, and sold drugs, spices, and other commodities of foreign produce without being free of the company, which they conceived he had no right to do. He should prove that he had received notice to take up his freedom, that he had not done so, and that therefore he was liable to this action. Having

proved these facts he doubted not but he should have the verdict of the jury. *Mr Henry Wm. Hewlett* produced . . . he likewise produced from the Charter Rolls a charter of confirmation of 36 Henry 3d, "to the citizens of York." *Mr Pollock*.—The defendant is a citizen, my Lord. *Mr Ward* of Fossgate, druggist, who had been secretary to the company 30 years, produced several ancient documents from the chest of the company, showing acts of the brethren as far back as the reign of Henry the 6th, and also records of the audits of their accounts. *Mr Pollock*.—Are those accounts signed? No. Are they ticked off? No. *Mr Pollock*.—My Lord, I object to their being put in as evidence. *Mr Justice Bayley*.—I think they ought not to be admitted. *Mr Scarlett*.—These accounts are those of the master and constable, and though they are not signed, their names are at the head; and the wardens, by the books, appear to have admitted their accuracy. *Mr Justice Bayley*.—By the rule of evidence, *Mr Scarlett* you know, they must be signed, before they can be admitted. *Mr Scarlett* thought, that in a case recently tried, the books of the corporation of Cambridge were received under similar circumstances. He meant in the Earl of Northampton's case. *Mr Justice Bayley*.—Were they not the Chamberlain's books? *Mr Scarlett*.—No, my Lord, they were the books of the Corporation.

Mr Justice Bayley.—I think they were not received. However they were not legal evidence. *Mr Hewlett*.—The writing of the accounts is in Latin, and appears to be the writing of that day. The accounts were therefore not put in evidence. Several indentures of the demise of houses to various persons, by the company, under their common seal, from 17th of Henry 6th, to the 11th Charles 1st, were then read. The Charter of 23d of Elizabeth was next put in and read by *Mr Hewlett* (see pp. 244–254). . . . *Mr Justice Bayley* rose and addressing himself to *Mr Scarlett*, said, "The language of the charter is quite inconsistent with the custom you set out. It is a charter merely of regulations against strangers intromitting, without being subject to the control of the fellowship. It is not a charter which compels every one to become free. You

have proved no custom from time immemorial, which you must prove. Mr Pollock.—I certainly did not expect that charter so early, but intended to have produced it myself. Mr Scarlett submitted, that subsequent to the date of the charter down to the present time, he could prove the custom of fines being paid, licenses taken out, &c. He hoped his Lordship would conceive that would be sufficient to establish his case. Mr Justice Bayley.—Certainly not. You claim by ancient custom, and the language of the charter is utterly inconsistent with the custom claimed. You are bound to prove a custom from time immemorial.

The plaintiffs were nonsuited.

Counsels for the plaintiffs—Messrs. Scarlett, Brougham and Alderson. Attorney, Mr Agar.

For the defendant—Messrs. Pollock, Holt and Starkie. Attornies, Messrs. Ord and Pearson.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF GOVERNORS 1432-1918.

William Bedale . . . 1432	Thomas Scawsebe . . . 1462
Richard Louth . . . 1433	John Kent . . . 1463
William Bedale . . . 1434	Thomas Scawsebie . . . 1464
John Raghton . . . 1435	Thomas Scawsebie . . . 1465
Thomas Kirke . . . 1436	John Ferriby . . . 1466
Thomas Kirke . . . 1437	Unknown 1467
Thomas Kirke . . . 1438	Robert Walkar . . . 1468
Thomas Kirke . . . 1439	Robert Walkar . . . 1469
Thomas Kirke . . . 1440	Robert Walkar . . . 1470
Thomas Kirke . . . 1441	Thomas Wrangwis ⁴ . . . 1471
John Catrike . . . 1442	Thomas Wrangwis . . . 1472
Thomas Scauceby . . . 1443	John Tong 1473
John Gudeale . . . 1444	John Fereby 1474
John Calton 1445	Richard Yorke 1475
John Calton 1446	John Gyllyot 1476
Thomas Crathorn ¹ . . . 1447	William Todd 1477
John Calton 1448	William Tod 1478
John Cateryk 1449	Henry Williamson ⁵ . . . 1479
John Cateryk 1450	William Brounflete . . . 1480
Thomas Scauceby . . . 1451	William Brounflete . . . 1481
Thomas Scauceby ² . . . 1452	John Harper ⁶ 1482
Thomas Scauceby . . . 1458	Thomas Scotton 1483
John Gyllyot 1459	John Hagge 1484
John Gyllyot 1460	John Gillyot 1485
Thomas Beverley ³ . . . 1461	John Gillyot 1486

¹ Roll missing.

² Rolls missing until 1459.

³ Rolls missing until 1471.

⁴ Rolls still extant.

⁵ Rolls missing for 1479, 1480.

⁶ Rolls missing for 1482, 1483, 1484.

Thomas Fynch . . .	1487	Peter Jackson . . .	1524
Thomas Fynch . . .	1488	Peter Jackson . . .	1525
John Shawe . . .	1489	Robert Wylde . . .	1526
George Kirke . . .	1490	Robert Wylde . . .	1527
George Kirke . . .	1491	John Thornton . . .	1528
John Elwald . . .	1492	Robert Whitfield . . .	1529
John Stokdall . . .	1493	Robert Whitfield . . .	1530
Thomas Darby . . .	1494	John Hogeson . . .	1531
Thomas Darby ¹ . . .	1495	John Hogeson . . .	1532
John Norman . . .	1496	John Shawe . . .	1533
John Metcalfe . . .	1497	John Shawe . . .	1534
John Stokdale ¹ . . .	1498	John Shawe . . .	1535
William Nelson . . .	1499	Robert Hall . . .	1536
John Gylliot . . .	1500	Robert Hall . . .	1537
John Gylliot . . .	1501	Robert Hall . . .	1538
Alan Staveley . . .	1502	John Shadloke . . .	1539
Alan Staveley . . .	1503	John Shadloke . . .	1540
John Byrkhede . . .	1504	John Shadloke . . .	1541
John Stokdall . . .	1505	Robert Paycok . . .	1542
Thomas Jameson . . .	1506	Robert Paycok . . .	1543
John Lincoln . . .	1507	Peter Robynson . . .	1544
Alan Staveley . . .	1508	Peter Robynson . . .	1545
John Shawe . . .	1509	Peter Robynson . . .	1546
John Shawe . . .	1510	William Watson . . .	1547
John Shawe . . .	1511	William Watson . . .	1548
William Wright . . .	1512	Thomas Appilyerde . . .	1549
William Wright . . .	1513	Thomas Appilyerde . . .	1550
William Wright . . .	1514	Thomas Appilyerde . . .	1551
John Norman . . .	1515	James Harryngton . . .	1552
John Norman . . .	1516	James Harryngton . . .	1553
Paul Gillor . . .	1517	James Harryngton . . .	1554
Paul Gillor . . .	1518	William Beckwith . . .	1555
Thomas Burton . . .	1519	William Beckwith . . .	1556
Thomas Burton . . .	1520	Ralph Hall . . .	1557
Thomas Rasyng . . .	1521	Ralph Hall ¹ . . .	1558
Thomas Rasyng . . .	1522	Ralph Hall . . .	1559
Peter Jackson . . .	1523	George Hall . . .	1560

¹ Roll missing.

George Hall . . .	1561	Thomas Herbert . .	1599
George Hall . . .	1562	Thomas Herbert . .	1600
Robert Paycoke . .	1563	George Rose . . .	1601
Robert Paycoke . .	1564	George Rose . . .	1602
Robert Paycoke . .	1565	George Rosse (<i>sic</i>) .	1603
William Watson . .	1566	Christopher Consett .	1604
William Watson . .	1567	Robert Harrison . .	1605
Gregory Paycock . .	1568	Robert Harrison . .	1606
Gregory Paycock . .	1569	Robert Harrison . .	1607
Gregory Paycock . .	1570	Thomas Mosley . . .	1608
Gregory Paycock . .	1571	Thomas Mosley . . .	1609
Christopher Paycock	1572	Thomas Mosley . . .	1610
Christopher Herbert	1573	William Brearey . . .	1611
Christopher Herbert	1574	William Brearey . . .	1612
Christopher Herbert	1575	William Brearey . . .	1613
Robert Brooke . . .	1576	Elias Micklethwaite .	1614
Robert Brooke . . .	1577	Elias Micklethwaite .	1615
William Robynson . .	1578	Elias Micklethwaite .	1616
William Robynson . .	1579	William Robynson . .	1617
William Robynson . .	1580	William Robynson . .	1618
Thomas Appleyerd . .	1581	William Robynson . .	1619
Thomas Appleyerd . .	1582	Matthew Topham . . .	1620
Thomas Appleyerd . .	1583	Matthew Topham . . .	1621
Ralph Richardson . .	1584	Matthew Topham . . .	1622
Ralph Richardson . .	1585	Christopher Dickenson	1623
Ralph Richardson . .	1586	Christopher Dickenson	1624
Robert Brooke, Ald.	1587	Christopher Dickenson	1625
Robert Brooke, Ald.	1588	Edmund Cowper . . .	1626
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William Robynson, Ald.	1590	Edmund Cowper . . .	1628
William Robynson, Ald.	1591	Thomas Hoile	1629
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Thomas Mosley, Ald.	1595	William Breary	1633
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Thomas Herbert . . .	1598	Henry Thomson	1636

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William Scotte . . .	1638	Yorke Horner . . .	1676
William Scotte . . .	1639	Yorke Horner . . .	1677
William Scotte . . .	1640	Yorke Horner . . .	1678
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John Geldart . . .	1642	Thomas Williamson . . .	1680
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Robert Horner . . .	1650	Philip Herbert . . .	1688
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William Taylor . . .	1652	Sir Stephen Thompson . . .	1690
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William Taylor . . .	1654	Andrew Perrot . . .	1692
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Christopher Topham . . .	1665	John Pecket . . .	1702
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William Garforth . . .	1720	John Wakefield . . .	1758
William Garforth . . .	1721	John Wakefield . . .	1759
Samuel Dawson . . .	1722	John Wakefield . . .	1760
Samuel Dawson . . .	1723	Thomas Spooner . . .	1761
Samuel Dawson . . .	1724	Thomas Spooner . . .	1762
Samuel Dawson . . .	1725	Thomas Spooner . . .	1763
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Henry Pawson . . .	1727	Thomas Barstow . . .	1765
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James Dodsworth . . .	1734	Seth Agar . . .	1772
James Dodsworth . . .	1735	John Stow . . .	1773
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Benjamin Barstow . . .	1737	John Stow . . .	1775
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George Skelton . . .	1745	Thomas Spooner . . .	1782
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Richard Lawson . . .	1747	Edward Stabler . . .	1784
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Henry Myers . . .	1787	Seth Agar . . .	1825
Henry Myers . . .	1788	Seth Agar . . .	1826
Thomas Smith . . .	1789	Seth Agar . . .	1827
Thomas Smith . . .	1790	Henry Stead . . .	1828
Thomas Smith . . .	1791	Henry Stead . . .	1829
Thomas Smith . . .	1792	Henry Stead . . .	1830
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Edward Prest . . .	1807	Henry Bellerby . . .	1845
Edward Prest . . .	1808	Henry Bellerby . . .	1846
Edward Prest . . .	1809	Joseph Kimber . . .	1847
William Bilton . . .	1810	Joseph Kimber . . .	1848
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John Sampson . . .	1863	W. H. Gainforth . . .	1891
John Sampson . . .	1864	Samuel Border . . .	1892
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Joseph Terry . . .	1881	Lancelot Foster, sen.	1910
Joseph Terry . . .	1882	James Melrose . . .	1911
Lancelot Foster . . .	1883	James Melrose . . .	1912
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T. P. Bulmer . . .	1885	George Crombie . . .	1914
T. P. Bulmer . . .	1886	George Crombie . . .	1915
Richard Dresser . . .	1887	H. Ernest Leetham . . .	1916
Richard Dresser . . .	1888	H. Ernest Leetham . . .	1917
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GLOSSARY.

- ALMARIOLUM, 97, a small cabinet.
ALMUS, 32, 46, alms, almusa; N.E.D., under almose, a literary variant of alms, notes that perhaps the words owe something to the contemporary northern almous, Sir J. More's almose, almoyses, and to Anglo-French almosne.
ALPENWERTH, 41, halfpennyworth.
BEHOLDING, 172, satisfactory; N.E.D. gives attractive and illustrates from Arcadia.
BORGAGE, 199, burgage, freehold land in a borough.
BOURD DALEXANDR, 96, 97, 98, a kind of striped silk.
BRANDRITH, 87, a gridiron, a tripot, or trivet of iron, originally a grate supported on three legs on the hearth; probably the last meaning is applicable here.
BREBYNG, 171, brabbling, cavilling.
BRODDDES, 38, nails.
CAPACITE, 34, legal competency.
CARLING, 177, probably a portable beam beneath a hatchway.
CLAPBORDE, 156, a small size of split oak, imported from north Germany.
COGG, 73, a kind of craft used on the Humber and Ouse between Hull and York; the earliest example given in the N.E.D. is 1531.
CORPAL, 86, corporalle, a linen cloth upon which the consecrated elements are placed during celebration and with which the elements are covered after.
ESTYNGBORDES, 102, probably boards made of wood from the Baltic.
FATTE, 178, a cask or barrel to contain dry goods.
FELDFARE, 242, a kind of thrush.
GALES, 132, bay myrtle.
GARNIS, 87, generally garnish; a set of pewter vessels for table use.
GRESSOME, 145, gersum, a fine.
HALLYNG, 87, tapestry or painted cloth for the walls of a hall.
HANSING, 65, when the apprentice arrived in the mart town, he had to pay a fee at the next head court's meeting; the ceremony of paying fee, etc., was called the hansing.
HARNES, 60, 61, probably in the sense of harness cask, i.e. a barrel with a cover.
HOLYDOM, 89², a variant of halidom, a holy relic; the expression is much used down to the sixteenth century to add emphasis to an oath.
INSTECKS, 41, in the absence of a better explanation, Mr. Hamilton Thompson's suggestion with Stoks seems the most plausible.
JETTSOME, 59, 62, jetsam, the throwing of goods overboard.
KEEL, 73, 155, a flat-bottomed vessel; the term was in common use in the early fifteenth century on the north-east coast.
KNEPIE, 86, canopy ?; a canopy of lace was generally thrown over the vessel in which the Host was reserved. A pyx cloth, Gloss. of Eccles. Terms.
KOKETT, 62, cocket, a discharge note given by custom house officers to show that the goods had paid duty.
KYETTYS, 86, probably pieces, i.e. something cut off.
KYST, 47, 50, 61, kist, chest.

- LAST, 155, 178, a measure of weight varying for different kinds of goods, a unit in the measurement of the ship's burden.
- LIFELODE, 34, 84, obs. form of livelihood.
- MATHOUMES, 7, matthooks, mattocks.
- MAYNBREAD, 114, a York delicacy, a favourite gift to distinguished visitors.
- MEL, a measure. Canon Fowler has pointed out to me that this word should have been italicized in all Latin documents, as it rarely appears in the Latin form.
- MOTE, 90, to find fault, accuse.
- OSEMONDES, 155, a superior quality of iron formerly imported from the Baltic regions; the name was in use in Sweden from the earliest times, and in general use in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
- PAIJAND, PAUJAND, 63, the movable stage on which the mystery plays were acted.
- PIXIDE, 97, the vessel in which the Host is reserved.
- PORTIPHORIUM, 42, 50, 96, 97, a portable breviary in the medieval church.
- PUDIREN, 87, pewter.
- QATERAGE, 95, a subscription paid every quarter.
- REMLAND, 53, a form of remnant.
- RERDOSE, 38, the brick or stone back of an open hearth.
- SADNESS, 34, importance.
- SERGE, 133, ciérge, a large wax candle used in religious services.
- SERKES, 72, sarks, probably here used of surplices.
- SICCA FIRMA, 117, 136, dry farm, i.e. paid in hard cash.
- SKEP, 39, a scuttle.
- SLEDDYNG, 73, a sled is a drag used for conveying heavy goods.
- SPENCES, 33, expenditure in fifteenth century, generally spenses.
- SURCESE, 110, 111, to desist.
- TALDE, 37, 39, 42, 43, 48, 52, told, counted.
- TENTERHOOK, 83, a metal hook.
- THAKTYLES, 38, roofing tiles.
- VENTERER, 106, aventurer or adventurer, that is a dealer in foreign produce or an exporter; the word was little used until the reign of Elizabeth.
- WAINSCOT, 87, 156, probably a certain dimension of board, length, breadth, and thickness regulated by the Baltic sawyers' regulations.
- WAMME, 178, belly; backs and bellies are two great classes of hides.
- WERCESTOW, 59. } I have not been able to identify this place
- WUSHULL, 109. } or this custom.

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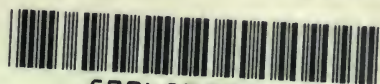
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