ART. VIII.—The repairing of Crummock bridge, Holm Cultram, 1554. By Professor G. P. Jones, M.A., Litt.D.

Read at Bangor, September 4th, 1952.

THE accompanying accounts, in the Public Record Office, are of some importance both as evidence of the way in which public works were carried on and managed in the sixteenth century, and as adding a little to the history of Holm Cultram. The present purpose is to present a text of the documents with some comments on the points of most interest relating to them.

Crummock bridge is on the main road from Wigton (about six miles to the east) to Abbey Town and Silloth. No traces of ancient work now remain and, indeed, an inscription on the present bridge indicates that it was rebuilt by the Cumberland County Council in 1935. A traveller using the road would hardly notice the bridge; and Crummock Beck, flowing under it, is ordinarily little wider than a broad ditch. It may well have been wider in times past, especially after prolonged rain on the Cumberland fells, and it is also possible that the road-level was lower, the watercourse less deep and the bridge and its approaches longer. Abbey Town, on the outskirts of which the bridge is situated, is so called from the Cistercian house of Holm Cultram, and it may be presumed that the road over Crummock bridge had a

¹ It is my duty to acknowledge a debt to Mr D. L. Evans, of the Public Record Office, for assistance in getting photostats of the documents (K.R. Exch. 462/3 and 465/18); and to the Chief Librarian, Barrow-in-Furness Municipal Library, and Mr Wilson Butler, of Broughton-in-Furness, for access to secondary authorities. I am under a special obligation to the Rev. F. B. Swift, L.Th., for correcting some errors in the first draft of this article and for adding considerably to the information it now contains about Holm Cultram and its past inhabitants.

considerable local importance, in the later Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, as the means of communication between the abbey and its neighbourhood and the country to the east, especially because of the monks' interest in the wool trade. As they had houses at the port of Hartlepool, this bridge was probably on the route by which, viâ Penrith and Stainmore, their fleeces were carried there.² It may also be presumed that Holm Cultram, like other monasteries, would build and maintain bridges in its own territory. In addition to Crummock bridge it is known to have maintained three others, called Hartlow, Selat and Long Bridge.

After the Dissolution, the cost of maintaining Crummock bridge, as our documents show, was met by the Crown, into whose hands the lordship passed, remaining there until the Restoration. Despite the work done in 1554, the bridge was in need of further repair in 1573, by which time it appears to have been a wooden structure.³ Reparation was necessary also in 1624, 1632 and 1685, and the bridge was rebuilt, at a cost of £55. ros., in 1706. Doubt existed in 1624 as to the liability for maintenance, for a letter to the bishop of Carlisle and other justices refers to a petition of the tenants to the chancellor of the Exchequer, stating that in earlier times the abbot had borne the cost, and requesting that in future either the Crown should pay, or the tenants themselves should meet the expense, in consideration of being freed from charges in connection with bridges outside the manor.4 The latter course was eventually adopted, and the parish remained chargeable for its bridges until they were taken over by the county council.

While the manor was in the hands of the Crown, its

² Cf. Prelates & People, p. 28.

³ Cf. F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood, Register and Records of Holm Cultram (= this Society's Record Series, vii, 1929), p. 170; the bridge is there called Cromford Bridge. It was pontem de Crumbocke, 1279 and Cromock bridge, 1553 (Place-Names of Cumberland ii, 1950, p. 289).

⁴ Ibid., p. 229 f.

administration was conducted by agents such, for instance, as Anthony Barwis, appointed feodary of the Crown estates in Cumberland in 1538,⁵ and Richard Assheton, receiver-general for the county. These two, with others, were associated in a commission to survey lordships in the Crown's hands in Cumberland in 1570; and it was they, sixteen years earlier, who certified that repairs on Crummock bridge had been duly done. Of Assheton we know nothing beyond the office he held, but Barwis was a prominent member of the family which had its seat at Ilekirk.⁶ As 'learned steward', he certifield the repair of Crummock bridge in 1554; he may perhaps be taken to have been a lawyer.

It is not unlikely, though the documents do not directly indicate it, that the repairs to Crummock bridge were part of a larger operation. Holm Cultram, much of which consisted of what in this district is called moss, was subject to flooding from the sea and from the rivers which meander through the parish, so that only by extensive ditching and draining and the raising of embankments could parts of it be made safe for habitation and cultiva-It will be noted that the scribe of the Account, in the first line, originally wrote "Reparacons maide vpon the see dyke", and then crossed out the last three words: moreover on fo. v he wrote, instead of the heading "Masons", the word "Wrightes" and partly erased it. I therefore incline to believe that he was at the same time occupied with an account relating to dyking, which needed carpenters' work, and that his mind was occasionally on the one account while he was writing the other. No dyking account for 1554, so far as I know, has survived—but there is one relating to work done in 1550.7 It may be added that the present Holm Cultram Sea Dyke Charity was formed in 1888 by a decree in

⁵ Calendar of Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII, XIII i, p. 484.

⁶ Cf. F. B. Swift, "Barwise of Cumberland," CW2 1135-151 and li 117-136.

⁷ In the P.R.O.: Exch. K.R. 462/4.

Chancery to take over the maintenance of the sea dyke; before then this had been the duty of the Sixteen Men, who were allowed the use of timber from Wedholme Wood for the purpose, in accordance with a grant to the tenants by the Commission of 1570.8 The Sixteen, with the churchwardens, assessed the poor rate, and appear to have constituted the governing authority of the parish.9 They were appointed on the basis of four from each quarter of the parish, and it is therefore unlikely that the fourteen men appointed to examine the repairs in 1554 were connected with this body, since of the fourteen, six belonged to Swinsty and Southerfield in the quarter of Holm Abbey.

Turning now from the administration of the repairs to the men who worked on them, I may venture a few observations on the provenance of the labour and its remuneration. With the exception of Mungo Morheid all the masons and labourers employed may, on the evidence of the parochial registers¹⁰ and other local documents, be taken to have belonged to the parish. That is true also of the men who examined and reported on the reparation. Cuthbert Musgrave was probably a member of the Havton or Crookdake branches of that family and appears to have served the monastery as a kind of captain of the tenants. The abbot at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace "commanded Cuthbert Musgrave and his tenants to ride to the commons [i.e. the insurgents] the day before they laid siege to Carlisle''11 but, despite exhortation by the Abbot, they refused to go,12 thereby saving themselves, probably, from imprisonment or worse. William Allanby was a member of a family which for a few generations lived at Cunningarth in the grieveship of Swinsty. James Sympkin and John Smith also lived

⁸ CW2 iii 173.

⁹ N. & B. ii, pp. 180, 182; see also CW2 iii 172 f. and xv 92.

The Registers of Holm Cultram, 1580-97, ed. F. B. Swift.
 Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII, XII, i, p. 576.

¹² W. F. Gilbanks, Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey, pp. 100-104; see also VCH Cumberland ii, p. 171.

in Swinsty. Sympkin lived to the age of eighty and was buried in the churchyard on 27 March 1596.¹³ Robert Allanby, John Challoner, Matthew Fisher and Robert Benson all lived in Southerfield. Matthew Fisher was a supervisor of the will of Thomas Fysher of Swinstie in 1555.¹⁴ Hugh Stamper was possibly the man who in 1538 occupied "St. Christian's Chapel with a little garth containing half an acre of ground" and who acted as letter carrier in 1537.¹⁶

The 1554 Account gives clearly enough the facts with regard to the wages paid to two distinct but not very widely separated kinds of workman but, as will be indicated shortly, it also raises a problem. For the major part of the operation the workers called masons were paid 8d. a day and the labourers 6d. The former rate was about twenty per cent. below the average rate for such workers in the country generally during the decades 1551 to 1570, which was 10d., and about 18.5 per cent. higher than the average rate between 1531 and 1550, which was 63d. 17 It would therefore seem, if we may judge by this one instance, that in this remote region the adjustment of masons' wages to a higher cost of living had been less marked than elsewhere. With regard to the sixpence a day earned by the labourers, on the other hand, it may be observed that the rate corresponds fairly closely to that paid to workers of this kind in the country generally.18 There is at least one indication, however, that before very long the wages of masons and carpenters rose. An account relating to repair of the sea dykes in the lordship¹⁹ in 1559 shows that relatively skilled men

¹³ The Registers of Holm Cultram, 1580-97, ed. F. B. Swift, p. 79.

¹⁴ CW2 i 221.

¹⁵ CW2 ii 345.

¹⁶ Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII, XII i, p. 576.

¹⁷ On masons' wages see D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason*, p. 236.

¹⁸ See Stephen, Geschichte der englischen Lohnarbeiter i 370.

¹⁹ In the Public Record Office: Exch. K.R. 462/4. An account of 1577 relating to repairs at Penrith Castle (Exch. K.R. 479/13A) shows masons at 12d. a day, rough wallers at 10d. and labourers at 6d.

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received 10d. a day and labourers 6d., which were the average rates for the country generally in 1561-70.

The problem raised by the Account lies in the sudden fall, on Monday, 25 June, of one quarter in the rate of wages for masons and one-third in the rate for labourers. This change is the opposite of the usual seasonal variation whereby wages between Easter and Michaelmas, because of the longer working day, were higher than in the winter. One possibility is that from 25 June onwards only part of the day was worked; it is, for instance conceivable, that work ceased early to enable men to deal with the hay crop or because the state of the tide made it impossible to work a whole day; but there is nothing in the wording of the account to suggest any such reason. Another possibility is that from 25 June the men were provided with food. Twopence a day, the amount of the reduction, was a common allowance for a mason's board in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries20; but there is nothing in our document to suggest that this twopence a day was charged on some other account relating to the manor, and by 1554 twopence would have been a small allowance. A last possibility is that Barwis and Assheton became or were made aware of the Statute of 1514,21 which laid down a maximum of sixpence a day for ordinary masons in summer, and decided that men on a crown manor must abide by the legal rate.

²⁰ Knoop and Jones, op. cit., p. 213.

²¹ 6 Henry VIII c.3, re-enacting the provisions of 11 Henry VII c.22 (1495).

THE BRIDGE ACCOUNT²²

HOLME COLTRAM

Reparacons maide vpon Crummocke bridge the xviijth day of June Anno Regni Marie Regine primo which was in Rewyne and Decaye for lacke of Reparacons whereby the hole Lordshippe coulde have no passaige in the cuntrye, buylded and Amendyd by the sighte of xiiij Sworne men whose naimes herafter followithe that is to saye, Cuthbert Musgrave, William Allonby, Hughe Stamper, John Challoner, Robert benson, John smithe, Robert Allenbye, Robert hayton, Thomas doughty, Mathew fisher, William fisher, James simkyn, William Marshall and John wigham whiche Reparacons ar exsaminyd and knowen to be doone by Anthony Barwys, Esquyer learned stewarde And Richarde Assheton Esquyer Receyviour generall within Cumbreland.

MONNDAYE [18th June 1554].

MEASONS

Moungo morheid, Robert benson, John ijs. viijd. Smyth, Wm. mArshall

[All at 8d.]

Laborers

John challoner, Robt. challoner, Anthony Vllock, Thomas challoner, Robert Vllock, Mathew Andrewe, Robert Stamper, Wm. Mylner, Davy bell, Wm. lancak, Mathew broune, Cuthbert lancak, Thomas lancak

vjs. vjd.

[fo. 2] [All at 6d.]

Robert langes, Peter lancak, barnard Atkinson, Anthony atkinson, Robert huggon, John lute, Christofer Stamper, Patye Barne, John Younge, Thomas Dande, Richard Pete, Thomas Watson, Thomas doughty, Thomas Calbeck, John Wate, James askew

viijs.

[All at 6d.]

 $^{^{22}}$ Exch. K.R. $_{462/3}$. In order to save space, the names of workmen are here arranged not, as in the original, in column but across the page.

Item paied to hughe stamper for vj fother ²³ of ling to Cromock brigge Item paied to John	iiijs.			111.
challoner for ij fother of linge to the brigge Item paied to Robert	xvjd.			
pete for iiij foder of leing to the bridge Item paied to hughe Stamper for iiij fother	ijs.	viijd.		
of stones Item paied to John challoner for v fother	xvjd.	• }	xxxvjs.	viijd.
of stones to the bridge Item paied to him another time for xxiij fother of stones to ye	xxd.			
bridge Item for Bread and	vijs.	viijd.		
ale Item paied to John challoner for leding of	vjd.			
xxxv lode of Sandes	xvijs.	vjd.		

TWISDAYE

MASONS.

Moungo morheid, Robert benson, John Smyth, Wm. Marshall

ijs. viijd.

[All at 8d.]

Laborers.

John challoner, Robert his son, Anthony Vllocke, Thomas challoner, Robert Vllocke, Mathew Andrewe, Robert Stamper, Wm. mylner, Davy bell, Wm. lancak, 24 Mathew broune, Cuthbert lancak, Thomas lancak, Robert langes, Peter lancak, Barnard atkinson, Anthony atkinson, Robert huggon, John lute, Christofer Stamper, Paty barne, John younge, Thomas dande, Richard peitt, Thomas watson, Thomas Doughty, Thomas calbeck, John wat, James Askewgh

xiiijs. vjd.

23 Fother, foder, means cartload.

²⁴ This name, also found as *Langrake*, was in the nineteenth century spelt *Longcake*. The family had many branches in the parish. From one of them sprang John Longcake of Pelutho, who died in 1873 and whose will was the foundation of the Longcake Charity.

· ·		
[fo. 3]		
Item paied to hew stamper for v fother of linge ²⁵ to cromock		
Bridge iijs. iiijd. Item paied to John		
challoner for j fother of leinge to ye bridge viijd. Item paied to Robert		
pet for iij foder of leing to ye bridge ijs. Item paied to hugh		
stamper for iij fother of stones to ye brigge xijd. Item paied to John challoner for iiij foder	xlijs.	
stones to ye Bridge xvjd. Item paid to him		
another time for xxij fother stones vijs. iiijd. Item for bread and		
ale iiijd. Item paied to John challoner for leding of lij lode of Sande xxvjs.		
Wednysday Masons. Mongo morheid, Wm. Marshall, Robert benson, John challoner [All at 8d.]	ijs. vii	jd.
Laborers		
John challoner, Robt. his son, Anthony Vllocke, Thomas challoner, Robt. Vllocke, Mathew Andrewe, Robert Stamper [All at 6d.]	iijs. vj	jd.
Wm. mylner, Davye bell, Wm. lancak, Mathew broune, Cuthbert lancak, Thomas lancak, Robert langes, Peter lancak, barnerd atkinson, Anthony atkinson, Robert huggon, John lut, Christopher Stamper, Paty barne, John younge, Thomas Dand, Ric Peitt, Thomas watson, Thomas doughty, Thomas calbeck, John wat, James	xjs.	
askewgh. [All at 6d.]		

²⁵ The ling was perhaps used either to make a dam across the beck so that the masons might work on the foundations and lower courses or else as a base on which the foundations might be laid. The use of ling to stop holes in a mill dam (pro obstupacione stagni molendini) in 1445-46 is attested by an item in Durham Account Rolls III. 630, Cf. ibid, I. 248, II. 557, 559, III. 580.

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Item paied to hughe stamper for viij foder leing to the Brigg Item paid to John challoner for iiij foder to the bridge Item paied to Robert Peitt for viij fother of Stones to the bridge Item paid to hughe stamper for xx ^{te} fother of stones to the Bridge Item paied to John	vs. ijs. vs.	iiijd. viijd. iiijd.	xxiijs.	iiijd.
challoner for x fother of stones to ye bridge	iijs.	iiijd.		
[fo. 4] Item paied to him another time for xliiij foder of stones to the brige Item for bread and ale Item for leding of	xiiijs. xviijd.	viijd.	xxixs.	viijd.
xxvij lode of gravell at vjd the lode	xiijs.	v j d.		
THURESDAY Moungo morheid, Robe Smyth, Wm. Marshall	ijs.	viijd.		
John challoner, Robert Vllock, Thomas cha Vllocke, Mathewe A Stamper, Wm. Myllner lancak, Mathew Br lancak, Thomas lancal	vijs.			
Anthony atkinson, R John lut, Christofer Broune (sic), John dande, Richard Peitt, Thomas Doughty, T John wat, James Askew	obert hug Stamper, young, T Thomas w 'homas ca	Paty homas yatson, albeck,	vijs.	vjd.

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Item paied to hugh stamper for iiij fother of leing to the Bridge Item paied to John challoner for iij fother	ijs.	viijd.		
to the Brigge Item paied to Robert Pete for vij fother to	xviijd.			
the Bridg Item paied to hughe	iijs.	vjd.		
Stamper for xvij foder of stones to ye brige Item paied to John challoner for xj fother	vs.	viijd.	lviijs.	xjd.
of stones to the brigg Item paied to him at another time for xxx	iijs.	viijd.		
foder of stones to the Brigg Item for bread and	xs.			
ale Item for xxxvij lode of Sand	xvijd. xviijs.	vjd.		
Item for xxiiij lode of gravell	xijs.	, ja.		
[fo. 5] FFRYDAYE MA	sons.			
Moungo morheid, Robe smyth, Wm. Marshall [ert Bensor [All at 8d.]		ijs.	viijd.
	Laborers	S.		
John challoner, Robert Vllock, Thomas cha Vllock, Mathew Andrev per, Wm. myllner, D	allener, [] w, Robert	Robert Stam-		
lancak, Mathew bro lancak, Thomas lancak Peter lancak, Barr	owne, Cu , Robert nerd atl	thbert >	xjs.	
John lute, Xpofer Stam John younge.				
[.	All at 6d.]			

[All at 6d.]

iijs.

vjd.

Thomas Daunde, Richard Peitt, Thomas watson, Thomas Doughty, Thomas Calbeck, John Wayte, James Askew

Them soind to bughe)	
Item paied to hughe			
stamper for ij fother of linge to cromock			
brige	xvjd.		
Item paied to John	Avju.		
challoner for vij foder			
of Sand to the Bridge	ijs.	iiijd.	
Item paied to Robt.	135.	mju.	
Pete for xiij of Sande		1	
to the bridge	iiijs.	iiijd.	
Item paied to hugh	mjo.	mja.	
stamper for xvj foder		,	
of stones to the brigge	vs.	iiijd. >	xxxvjs. ijd.
Item paied to John		12,00	
challoner for fyve			
foder of stones to ye		1	
brige	xxd.		
Item paied to him		.	
another time for iii		1	
foder of Stones	xijd.		
Item for bread and	•		
ale	ijd.		
Item paied for xxxiiij	•		
lode of gravell	xvijs.	1	
Item for vj lode of	-	1	
gravell	iijs.	J	
		_	

SATURDAYE

Wrightes²⁶

Moungo morheid, Robert Bensonne, John Smithe, Wm. Marshall

ijs. viijd.

[All at 8d.]

[fo. 6]

Laborers.

John challoner, Robert his son, Anthony Vllock, Thomas challoner. Robert Vllocke, Mathew Androwe, Robert stamper, Wm. myller, Dauye Bell, Wm. lancak, Mathew Broune, Cuthbert lancak, Thomas lancak, Robert langes, Peter lancak, Barnerd Atkinson, Anthony Atkinson, Robert huggon, John lute, Christofer stamper, Paty barne, John Younge, Thomas Dand, Richard Peitt, Thomas watson, Thomas doughty, Thomas calbeck, John wait, James Askew.

vjd.

xiiijs.

[All at 6d.]

²⁶ Crossed out and partly erased.

Item paied for xxx)		
fother of Sand to hew		1		
stamper	xs.			
Item paied to John		>	xvjs.	iiijd.
challoner for xix foder		· .		
of Sande to the brig	vjs.	iiijd.)		
Item paied to John	,	, ,		
challoner and hugh			xxs.	vjd.
stamper for xlj lode of			21210.	vja.
gravell	xxs.	vjd.		
Item paied to Robert	AAS.	٧,٠٠٠		
Pete for ix foder of				
	iiic			
Sand leding to the brig	iijs.			
Item paied to hew				
stamper for xxv foder		::: 4		
of stones to ye brig	xvjs.	viijd.		
Item paied to John		. [
challoner for xj foder			xxxijs.	ijd.
of stones to ye brige	vijs.	iiijd.		
Item paied to him		1		
another time for vij				
foder of stones to ye				
brige	iiijs.	viijd. [
Item for bread and				
ale	vjd.	·		
Summa Sept	imane	xix1i xviijs.	ix d.	
MONDAYE [25th June, 1554]		Masons		
Moungo morheid, W				
Mathew fissher	All at	6d.]	xviijd.	
		_		
	LABOR			
John challoner, Robert	t chanc	oner, Peter	xvjd.	
humfrey, Anthony Vllo	ске [All at 4d.jj)	
[fo. 7]				
Robert Stamper, Rober				
Androwe, George Clark				
Wm. Vllock, Davy be				
Thomas lancak, Robert langes, Christ-				
ofer stockdale, Christofer Stamper,				
Robert huggon, Thoma	s Vaill,	John lute,		
Richard Peitt, Thomas	watso	n, Thomas		
calbeck, Percevell ba			xxijs.	
challoner, John young			,	
John Vllock, Cuthbert l				
	All at	4d.]		
Item paied for x lode	~~~	41		
of Sande	iijs.	iiijd.		
Item paied to John	11,5.	mju.		
challoner for the led-				
inge of xv fother of	37.0	viii a		
Stones	xs.	viijd. J		

TUISDAY

Mongo morheid, Wm. marshall, Robert benson

[All at 6d.]

John challoner, Robert challoner, Peter humfrey, Anthony Vllocke, Robert stamper, Robert Vllock. Mathew Androwe, George clarke, Robert Tailor, Wm. Vllock, Davye bell, Wm. lancak, Thomas lancak, Robert langes, Christstockdale, Christofer stamper, Robert huggon, Thomas Vayll, John lute, Richard Peit, Thomas watson, Thomas calbeck, Percevell bacchous, Thomas challoner, John younge, Wm. Tramell, John Vllock, Cuthbert lancake.

xjs. vjd.

[All at 4d.]
Wm. fisher for ij fother
of stones leding iiijd.
Wm. Allenby for ij
fother stones leding iiijd.

[fo. 8] Wednisday

Mongo morheid, Wm. marshall, Robert benson

[All at 6d.]

John challoner, Robert challoner, Peter humfrey, Anthony Vllock, Robert stamper, Robert Vllocke, Mathew Androwe, George clarke, Robert Tailour, Wm. Vllocke, Davye bell, Wm. lancake, Thomas lancake, Robert langes, Christofer stockdale, Christofer stamper, Robert huggon, Thomas Vayll, John Lute, Richard Peitt, Thomas watson, Thomas calbeck, Percevell bacchous, Thomas challoner, John younge, Wm. Tramell, John Vllock, Cuthbert lancak.

[All at 4d.]

xs. xd.

THURESDAY

John challoner, Moungo morheid, Wm. marshall

[All at 6d.] humfrey, Anthony

John atkinson, Peter humfrey, Anthony Vllock, Robert stamper, Robert Vllock [All at 4d.] iijs. ijd·

fiat alloc[atio]

99

The totall somme ys twentye six poundes sixe shillinges and fyve pence

Summa totalis xxvj1i vjs. vd.

Winchester David Brook [?]

And the same dekays reparacon and expens maid surveyyd & examynid to be true by the othes and verdyt of xij men [?] Inquest whose [?] namez folowith & presentid the same affor the stewerd and others &c.

per me Anthonium Barwis Senescallum per me Ricardum Assheton receptorem.

Cutbert musgrave

[fo.9]

Willm. Allonby heugh stamper John chanlor Robt benson Inquest sworne John smith apon the reparaconz Robt Allonby Robt hayton afforsaid Thomas doughty Mathew ffysher Willm ffysher James symkin Willm Marshall John Wigm²⁷

²⁷ These names are all in the same hand. Opposite each is a mark which appears, in some cases, to be an attempt at an initial or initials. William Fisher, indeed, wrote his legibly. William Marshall managed a wavering M which, upside down, would also do for W. John Wigham's mark is perhaps a ligatured IW. Seven of the marks seem to be unintelligible scrawls.

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DITCH AND GATE ACCOUNT²⁸

HOLM CULTRAME

Este Waver

Reparacons maide vpon Watheholm wood Dyche and the gayte of the same the xxth day of June Anno Regni Marye Regine primo

Ffyrst paide for the makinge of ij great
Bolte of Iarne wth a greate hanginge
Lock to the great gate

xd

Itm for the croke and Bande to the sayme viijd

Itm to a wryght for makinge the sayme xxijd gayte

Itm paid to xxj Laborers for the makinge of the hedge abowt the same woode the space of ij dayes at vjd by the day

fiat alloc[atio] Summa xxxs iiijd Winchester Dauid Brook [?]

²⁸ Public Record Office: Exch. K.R. 465/18.