

X.—THE WOOL CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS FOR
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE FOR THE REIGN
OF EDWARD I.

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The latest contribution to the history of the English medieval wool trade and the system of national customs revenue built upon it is contained in Sir Maurice Powicke's recently published volume on *The Thirteenth Century*.¹ Therein it is stressed with lucidity and force that from 1266 when the control of foreign merchants was granted to him, Edward I, "as duke of Aquitaine as well as king of England was the patron and also the exploiter of commerce",² and that "the development of the customs system was the outstanding contribution to English finance in Edward's time".³ That Edward I's policy was fruitful is proved by the fact that the customs on wool, wool-fells and hides for the nine years 1278 to 1287 averaged £8,500, and for the last four years of the reign, 1303 to 1307, about £13,000 a year.⁴

The special position of wool in English economy throughout the Middle Ages and into modern times was fully appreciated contemporaneously and later, both at home and abroad. Professor Eileen Power, in her *Ford Lectures*,⁵ pointed out that in the thirteenth century a poet of Artois used "carrying wool to England"—in the sense in which "carrying coals to Newcastle" was used in the nineteenth century. In the twelfth century, the great English chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon,⁶ puts wool as the greatest of English sources of wealth; and in 1297, another great English chronicler, Walter of Hemingburgh,⁷ described Flanders as being almost void, because its people could not obtain the

wool of England for its cloth manufactures. That same year of constitutional crisis in England, the opposition baronage stated that the wool of England amounted to the value of half the whole land, and that the *maltote* customs amounted to a fifth of the value of the whole land.⁸ In the next century, in 1341, the English merchants described wool to the king as "his greatest treasure"⁹ and the *Ordinance of the Staple* of 1353 described it as the "sovereign merchandise and jewel of the realm of England".¹⁰ In the sixteenth century it was a popular saying that the foot of the sheep turned sand into gold, and the stricture of Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and himself the son of a yeoman farmer, that sheep devoured men, was a preacher's protest against the predominance which wool and its production had in national policy.

The wool custom was the chief of the new sources of royal revenue in the reign of Edward I. Then, and for long after, England's "commerce and her politics alike were built upon wool".¹¹ As the historian of the *Early English Customs System* has observed, the English national system of customs, which has persisted throughout the centuries, "was, like equity, built upon the woolsack. . . . Just as in Aquitaine, the chief custom was on the staple product and export, wine, so in England, from 1275 onwards it was on wool, with two very secondary commodities, wool-fells and hides, added."¹²

The purpose of the present study is to give an account of the unpublished particulars of the wool trade, and especially of the export of wool, with the two secondary commodities, wool-fells and hides, for the port of Newcastle upon Tyne, for the reign of Edward I, the earliest period for which any detailed particulars are available for any English port. These particulars will include the quantities of customable products exported, the amount of the royal revenues derived therefrom, the ports of origin of the ships carrying these goods, the merchants, native and foreign, engaged in the trade, and the organization for the collection

of the customs. When these have been surveyed an endeavour will be made to see the comparative place of Newcastle, and its merchants and shipping at this period, in this the greatest of medieval home and export industries. The problems of high economic, political and constitutional policy and their results and reactions upon each other, as conditioned by the wool trade, have already been sufficiently covered and can be extended only after similar surveys for the reign of Edward I have been made for the other eight major English ports then engaged in the export of wool.

First, however, a few preliminary words must be said concerning the weights and measures and the rates of customs used during the reign of Edward I.¹³ The sack of wool consisted of twenty-six stones¹⁴ and throughout the reign, at whatever rate, the custom on wool was levied on the sack and its corresponding divisions. The sarpler¹⁵ and poke¹⁶ were containers, not standards of weight, though the sarpler usually contained approximately a sack of wool. The poke or bag, as used in the accounts relating to Newcastle upon Tyne and most major ports, contained any weight of wool less than half a sack, varying in fact from 2 stones to 22 stones. The standard measure for wool-fells was the sack, which was reckoned to contain three hundred wool-fells, and the custom was levied proportionately, normally in units of hundreds or scores. Hides, tanned or untanned, were measured by the last. The last consisted of twenty dickers, each dicker consisting of ten hides. The accounting for custom was by the last, dicker and hide.

The first national customs were imposed in May 1275,¹⁷ the result of a grant in parliament.¹⁸ The grant was called *Nova Custuma*, "The New Custom", and was at the rate of half a mark, that is six shillings and eight pence,¹⁹ on each sack of wool; half a mark on each three hundred wool-fells; and one mark on each last of hides,²⁰ exported from the realm, from England, Wales or Ireland, within franchise or without.²¹ These remained the rates until 1294, when the merchants of England granted a subsidy for two or three

years, if the war (with France) should last so long.²² The rates on wool and wool-fells were three marks²³ or forty shillings the sack; on hides five marks or sixty-six shillings and eightpence the last. These greatly increased levies lasted until November 1297,²⁴ after which the customs reverted, as a consequence of the constitutional crisis, which resulted in the *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1297 to the rates of the *Nova Custuma* of 1275, which henceforth became known as the *Antiqua Custuma*, or "Ancient Custom", to distinguish these rates from the *Nova Custuma* of 1303²⁵ for the subsidy of 1294, too, had been known as the *Nova Custuma*.²⁶

These "New Customs" of 1303 imposed a duty upon all goods exported by aliens. The grant was in the form of a charter of liberties granted to foreign merchants, the *Carta Mercatoria*, and on wool, wool-fells and hides the duties were specific. The rates were forty pence on each sack of wool and on each three hundred wool-fells, beyond "The Ancient Custom" of half a mark; and on the last of hides half a mark beyond "The Ancient Custom" of a mark.²⁷ This did not comprise English merchants²⁸ and as only summarized accounts relating to it are now available²⁹ and as these accounts are supplementary to the main customs accounts on wool, wool-fells and hides, they will not be dealt with at length in this present article.

Besides the proceeds of these ancient and new customs, the collectors of customs at most of the ports³⁰ had to account to the Exchequer and to pay there or to foreign communities or merchant houses, to which the king had granted or assigned the customs revenue, two other charges. The first was the charge for the *coket* seal. The "cokets" were receipts for the customs money which had been received by the collectors. These receipts were sealed with the *coket* seal, one half of which was kept by the collectors and the other half by the controller. The charge for the *coket* seal was two pence for each receipt, irrespective of the quantity or nature of the commodities exported. The customable goods of each merchant in each ship sailing from a port

required a receipt under the *coket* seal, so a merchant who exported customable goods in more than one ship sailing from a single port on a given day required a receipt for his goods in each ship. No account for the issues of the *coket* seal is found in any of the *Customs Accounts* dealt with below until 1294.³¹ Thereafter the charge was twopence the receipt. The second charge was for tronage. Tronage was a charge for weighing and was chargeable on only one of the three commodities at present being dealt with, on wool. It was chargeable at the rate of one halfpenny the sack of wool, the payment due for weighing by the tron. Fractions of sacks were, apparently, not chargeable.³² In Newcastle upon Tyne and most other major ports, tronage was accountable to the Exchequer as a separate item; in some ports it was retained by the clerk as a fee, perquisite or towards his expenses.³³

There were a number of further charges which the collector of customs had to gather from 1294. Two of these seem to have been designed to preserve the purity of the coinage or to ensure that the crown got its full value in good sterling. The first was a charge for light coins. If the coins in which the customs were paid were lighter than ninepence in the pound, those which were light were forfeited.³⁴ The second was the confiscation of counterfeit coins. If these exceeded fourpence in the pound they were forfeited.³⁵ Both these items were levied by an ordinance which had been made in the Exchequer.³⁶ A further item occurs from 1303,³⁷ for the last years of the reign, a period for which, unfortunately, there are no detailed accounts. In addition to the totals of the customs on wool at half a mark the sack, on wool-fells at half a mark the three hundred, and on hides at a mark the last, tronage at a halfpenny the sack on wool and the issues of the *coket* seal,³⁸ there was a total for what is described as for increase in halfpence and farthings on particular sacks of wool, wool-fells or hides customed beyond the certain custom.³⁹

The detailed *Customs Accounts* for the port of New-

castle upon Tyne which are now available, for the reign of Edward I, are five in number, summaries of which, numbered one to five, will be given below. In addition to these detailed accounts there are available upon the *Pipe Rolls* and among the *Enrolled Accounts* summaries of some of these and of further accounts, particularly for the last three and a half years of the reign. These, too, will be noted. In other words, for the thirty-five regnal years of Edward I there are available accounts, in detail or in summary, for the whole or part of some twelve years which, in comparison with the information about other ports, similar in size and standing,⁴⁰ is extraordinarily good. There are, also, other fugitive reference to the customs and trade of Newcastle upon Tyne which permit missing detailed information concerning the total picture to be filled in adequately if not in an entirely satisfactory manner.

Before, however, these detailed or summarized accounts are dealt with seriatim, as a sketchy introduction, even before the first national customs were imposed in 1275, a useful prologue to the export wool trade of Newcastle, or, at least, to the export wool trade of Newcastle merchants, can be supplied for a few months of 1273. Since the prohibition of the export of English wool to Flanders, then the chief consuming country for use in manufacture, in 1270,⁴¹ royal licences had to be obtained for the export of wool. Between 4 April and 24 September, 1273,⁴² twelve such licences were issued to merchants described as of Newcastle for the export of a total of 270 sacks of wool. The dates for the issue of these licences are interesting: six totalling 150 sacks in April, one for 20 sacks in June, three for 60 sacks in July and two for 40 sacks in September. The names of the merchants and the totals for which licences were granted to each are still more interesting. Though these, for reasons which will be given below,⁴³ do not necessarily give any certain guide to the volume of the exports of wool from the port of Newcastle, they do give a very fair idea of the leading Newcastle merchants engaged in the trade. These were

Richard del Hay, 63 sacks;⁴⁴ Henry le Escot, 60 sacks; Roger le Rus, 24 sacks; Thomas of Carlisle, 23 sacks; and Richard of Abbeville, John le Fleming, John le Teynturer, Henry del Hay, Simon of Edmundbys, 20 sacks each. Almost all these merchants will be met with again⁴⁵ and many of them were mayors or bailiffs of Newcastle or important officials in local or national service. It is not suggested that all these 270 sacks were exported at all or from Newcastle, but it does mean that these Newcastle merchants were of sufficient standing to obtain and pay for the licences.

(1) Of the five detailed *Customs Accounts* for Newcastle for the reign of Edward I, the first⁴⁶ is a mere fragment of less than a membrane and it does not appear yet in the Public Record Office *List of Customs Accounts*.⁴⁷ It is the first membrane⁴⁸ of a detailed account which ran from Easter 1281 to Easter 1282. In fact the account covers only those ships which sailed from Newcastle with customable goods from 17 April to 4 May, 1281. The collectors of customs were [Henry le Escot]⁴⁹ and Hugh of Carlisle.⁵⁰ The actual number of sailings of ships with customable goods in this brief period of eighteen days was nine, of which six sailed 2 to 4 May. Of these nine ships one belonged to Newcastle, one to Monnikerede, Flushing, and Barfleur, two to St. Valery and three to Calais. French ships seem to have held the bulk of the Newcastle shipping trade at this time. In all the ships the exports on which custom was charged were all hides. The bulk of the trade was in the hands of three merchants, John Hangard of Amiens,⁵¹ Henry le Escot⁵² and Roger le Rus,⁵³ both of Newcastle. John Hangard was one of the most considerable merchants dealing with Newcastle; indeed a member of his family appears to have gained burgess status there in due course,⁵⁴ and he will be met with in all the detailed accounts save the last. Out of the total of 12 lasts 5½ dickers of hides exported, he exported nearly half, six lasts. Of the Newcastle merchants, Henry le Escot exported 2 lasts 1 dicker and 17 hides and Roger le Rus

2½ lasts. The trade of the other merchants, native and foreign, was negligible. It should be noted that this is one of the earliest *Customs Accounts* which has survived.⁵⁵ It is not indeed to be compared in value with the detailed account in perfect condition for Kingston upon Hull, covering the period 27 June, 1275, to 27 April, 1276, when the total customs amounted to £1,431 7s., and totalling 4,038 sacks of wool, 39½ lasts of hides and 4,704 wool-fells,⁵⁶ but it is a useful and interesting fragment.

(2) The second detailed Customs Account⁵⁷ for Newcastle is also incomplete. Its three surviving membranes cover the period 2 May to 31 July, 1287, whereas the account should cover the accounting year Easter 1287 to Easter 1288; the collectors were Henry del Hay and John de Stockton, two local men of some importance.⁵⁸ During the period of slightly less than three months covered by the account, twenty-seven ships with customable goods left the port. The ports of origin of all the ships seem to have been foreign. Five came from Calais, three each from Middelburg and Barfleure, and two from St. Valery. Of the other foreign ports from which a single ship came, the normal ports of France and Flanders appear, such as Boulogne and Ostend, but it seems strange to find a ship from as far afield as Tunis.⁵⁹ The shipments of all three commodities seem small. The totals were 322½ sacks 2 stones of wool, 3 lasts 19½ dickers 8 hides, and 160 wool-fells. Of this total two ships carried more than half the total value of customable goods. The first was a Middelburg ship which sailed 18 June, 1287, carrying 73½ sacks, 41 stones of wool, and 100 wool-fells; the second a Monnikerede ship which sailed 19 July, 1287, carrying 113½ sacks 41 stones of wool. In each of these Henry le Escot exported 20 sacks of wool; Isolda de Pampeden,⁶⁰ or Panton, 10½ sacks and 15 sacks 22 stones respectively; and Gilbert of Cowgate,⁶¹ 8 sacks 4 stones and 20½ sacks respectively. The Newcastle merchants were coming into their own.

Of the twenty-seven ships, ten carried customable goods

belonging to the owner or captain of the ship only. In other words, their main cargoes consisted of non-customable goods, concerning which, unfortunately, no details of any kind are now available. In other cases, too, the owner or captain of the ship also carried customable goods of his own. This means that the owners or captains of twelve of the twenty-seven ships appear to have done a little trading on their own account in the staple export products of England at this time. Of the other merchants, on whose behalf there appear to have been thirty-three consignments, nine only appear to have been English. Of these Henry le Escot, Isolda of Pampeden, and Gilbert of Cowgate have already been mentioned;⁶² the others of importance were Peter Sampson,⁶³ Samson le Cutiler,⁶⁴ Roger Peutevin⁶⁵ and Adam de Hoga,⁶⁶ all of Newcastle, and John Locksmith⁶⁷ of Alnwick.

(3) The third Newcastle *Customs Account*⁶⁸ is a more substantial record and covers the whole of the accounting year from Easter 1292 to Easter 1293. The collectors were Nicholas de Colle,⁶⁹ Henry del Hay,⁷⁰ and John of Stockton.⁷¹ The total number of sailings of ships with customable goods was sixty-three. The totals of customable goods exported from Newcastle were: wool, 841 sacks 10 stones; wool-fells, 8,042; hides, 55 lasts 11 dickers 9 hides. The total customs amounted to £326 9s. 6½d. Ships from no less than thirty-three ports participated in this trade, of which only ten were native, three from Newcastle itself, three from Hartlepool, two from Aylesford, and one each from Sandwich, Berwick and Wearmouth. Of the remaining twenty-four ships, nine were from St. Valery, five from Barfleur, four from Middelburg, four from Calais, and two each from Dieppe, Armel, and Berck sur Mer. Most of the other ports represented by a single ship were such ports as Bruges, Dunkirk, the Hook, Guise, Groningen, Zealand, Zierikzee.

In eleven of these ships the owners or captains of the vessels had paid customs on a part of the cargo; in six ships they owned the only customable cargo. In all cases their

stake was small; it was a sideline. In this year the most important exporter was John Hangard of Amiens,⁷² who paid custom on 51 sacks 2 stones of wool and 10 lasts 27 dickers of hides. His nearest rival was a Newcastle merchant, Peter le Graper,⁷³ who appears for the first time in these accounts. He exported from Newcastle 50 sacks 12 stones of wool and 400 wool-fells. Nor was Isolda of Pampeden⁷⁴ far behind, with 35 sacks of wool and a last of hides. The other local merchants worthy of note this year were Hugh Gerardin,⁷⁵ Adam of Irby,⁷⁶ and Peter Sampson,⁷⁷ James Clare of the Society of the White Circles of Florence⁷⁸ and Rainer Bellinzoni of the Society of Pulci and Rembertini of Florence⁷⁹ also appear.

(4) The fourth roll of particulars⁸⁰ is also a complete roll, covering the whole of the accounting year Easter 1293 to Easter 1294. The collectors were Roland Trentcost,⁸¹ and again Henry del Hay and John of Stockton. The total number of sailings of ships from Newcastle with customable goods was fifty-six. The totals of customable goods exported were as follows: wool, 571 sacks 2 stones; wool-fells, 5,233; hides, 59 lasts 7 dickers. The total of the customs to be accounted for was £236 and over. The ships hailed from thirty different ports. Newcastle itself claimed four, Hartlepool two, Yarmouth and Beverley one each. Of the foreign ports Middelburg was easily in the lead with ten; Calais, Barfleur and Cortenaitan each had three; Sandgate, Zierikzee, Flushing, Slypedam, Wolferdijk, Maarland and St. Valery two each. Of the foreign ports from which a single ship came, the most significant were Zealand, Wissant, Skiedam, and Friesland. The owners or captains of nineteen of these thirty ships were the only ones owning customable goods, while in six other ships the owners or captains had a share in the total customable cargo. Of the Newcastle merchants who appear, the most noteworthy were Peter Graper, who exported 24 sacks of wool; Roger Peutevin, who exported 17 sacks 12 stones; Peter Sampson, 10 sacks 6 stones; Walter of Cowgate,⁸² 37 sacks 8 stones and 190 wool-fells;

Alexander le Furber,⁸³ 17 sacks 3 stones and 160 wool-fells; Samson le Cutiller, 28 sacks 10 stones and 3 lasts 1 dicker of hides in a single ship; and Hugh Gerardin, 106 sacks 16 stones, 3 lasts 13 dickers of hides and 340 wool-fells. Despite this last considerable total, the foreign merchants, including the Italian Societies, were increasing their place in the Newcastle trade. John Hangard appears for the last time in these detailed accounts with an export of 14 sacks 7 stones of wool and two lasts of hides. Rainer Bellinzoni, in two consignments, exported 60½ sacks of wool.

(5) The last, longest and most complete of the Newcastle detailed *Customs Accounts*⁸⁴ for the reign of Edward I covers the three and a quarter years from 29 July, 1294, to 16 October, 1297. From its completeness and length of period it is incomparably the most important of the five. As it is translated in full in the Appendix,⁸⁵ a general description rather than a detailed analysis is all that is required at the moment. The details can be easily disentangled or entangled for themselves. On the other hand, a summary on the same lines as has been undertaken for the other four rolls is necessary for comparative purposes. The importance which this detailed account has, as covering the *Nova Custuma* of 1294—the *maltote*—will be more fully discussed below. It is important, however, to stress its comparative completeness. In the four previous rolls, the name of the owner or master of the ship, its port of origin and its date of sailing were given. In this fifth roll the name of the ship is generally stated, an interesting, if relatively unimportant detail. Previously just a summary total was given for the total amount of custom paid on the goods in the ship. Now the totals are given under six different heads, the first three heads including also the totals of the three customable commodities in the ship, that is, wool, wool-fells and hides; the remaining three totals are for Increase, Counterfeit money, and Tronage and *coket* issues. Then the sum total for each ship is given.

Next, it should be noted that this is the roll, not of the

collectors (who were Henry le Escot and Hugh of Carlisle), but the roll of Adam of York,⁸⁶ described in the main caption as Clerk of the King's Customs at Newcastle upon Tyne. In other words, he was the controller of the customs and this is the controller's not the collector's roll. It will be noted from the small section of this roll reproduced as an illustration that the right-hand side of the roll is indented. This shows that the roll was written in duplicate, side by side, and then cut through by indentation. The left-hand section was the counter roll of the clerk or controller of the customs. The right-hand section was the roll of the collectors. Both the rolls were returned to the Exchequer for audit and thereafter reached the Treasury. In the Exchequer they could be compared in detail for authenticity on audit. In fact, it is learnt from the Pipe Roll⁸⁷ that in this case both the collectors' and controller's rolls were returned for audit. The collectors' roll, like so many medieval *Customs Accounts* for Newcastle and all other ports, has not survived. Newcastle is fortunate in the survival, in such good condition, of this controller's roll of such first-rate importance.

The first section of this *Customs Account* purports to run from 29 July, 1294,⁸⁸ to Michaelmas 1295. In fact, from 29 July, 1294, to 26 February, 1295, nothing was accounted for at Newcastle for the *maltote*. The significance of this is probably due to the unwillingness or inability of the home merchants to pay the greatly increased rates and a time lag during which the foreign merchants, now entirely bereft of their friends and colleagues, adjusted their operations and mechanism. The effective accounting period for this first section is, therefore, from 27 February to Michaelmas 1295. During this seven months' period the total number of sailings of ships from Newcastle was nineteen. From Michaelmas 1295 until 2 January, 1296, there was no sailing of a ship with goods on which customs had been paid from Newcastle, but from that date onwards, for the rest of that accounting period, that is until 14 September, when the last sailing took place, the total number was ten.

Sailings in the next accounting year started on 11 October, 1296, and ended on 16 September, 1297, and totalled twenty-three ships. The fourth and last period covered by this account is a mere fraction of a year, two sailings, one on 4 October, the other on 16 October. For the *maltote* was formally and irrevocably abolished on 23 November, 1297,⁸⁹ and for some months there must have been anticipation of its abolition.

Next, a brief consideration should be devoted to the ports of origin of the ships in each of these four periods. Of the nineteen ships in the first period three were of Zierikzee, two each from Kats and Middelburg, and single ships from such ports as St. Anne der Muiden, Groningen and Lubeck. The ports of origin of a number of the ships are not given, but judging by the names of the masters none came from an English port. Of the ten ships in the second period three came from Middelburg, three from Yarmouth, and one each from West Chappelle, Zierikzee, Whitchurch and Sandwich. So four came from English ports. Of the twenty-three ships in the third period, of the foreign ships two came from Cortenaitan, one each from Barfleur, Flushing, Zierikzee, Caumfer, Swynn and Cruce; of the native ships three came from Yarmouth, two each from Newcastle and Dunwick, and of the other known home ports one came from Salcott and Blakeney. For the fourth short period, unfortunately in the case of neither ship is the port of origin given.

In considering the value of the cargoes, it must be strictly borne in mind that for all these four periods the custom on the sack of wool had been increased sixfold from half a mark to forty shillings, on wool-fells by the same amount, and on the last of hides, fivefold from a mark to sixty-six shillings and eightpence.⁹⁰ The weight or measure of the cargo is, therefore, the only true criterion for comparison. In the first period, the total customs were £252 9s. 7d., of which £221 9s. 3d. came from 110 sacks 6 stones of wool, £23 6s. 4d. from 6½ lasts 9½ dickers and 4 hides, and £2 2s. 8½d. from 320 wool-fells. In the second period the total customs

were £425 16s. 10d., of which £332 1s. 6½d. came from 166 sacks 1 stone of wool, £78 1s. 4d. from 23 lasts 8 dickers 4 hides and £13 1s. 4¼d. from 1,960 wool-fells. In the third period the total customs were £1,297 15s. 9d., of which £1,103 7s. 8½d. came from 551½ sacks 5 stones of wool, £177 9s. 8d. from 53 lasts 4 dickers of hides, and £15 2s. 0d. from 2,264 wool-fells. In the short fourth and last period the total customs came to £165 4s. 4½d. of which £157 came from 78½ sacks of wool, £6 19s. 4d. from 2 lasts 1 dicker 8 hides and £1 from 150 wool-fells.

Now these totals can be checked and verified not only from Adam of York's counter roll of particulars but also from the summary of the audited accounts which was enrolled on the Pipe Roll for 28 Edward I,⁹¹ among the *Foreign Accounts*. For there is enrolled "The Account of Henry le Escot and Hugh of Carlisle, collectors of the New Custom of Wool, Hides and Wool-fells at Newcastle upon Tyne". The account is stated to be in the form noted on the same roll in the account of the collectors of customs at Kingston upon Hull. These accounts purport to run from 29 July 22 Edward I (1294) to Michaelmas next following and from then to 23 November 26 Edward I (1297), "which day the king at the instance of the community of the realm remitted the said custom of 40s. and granted that from each sack, half a mark and from each 300 wool-fells making a sack, half a mark only should be taken, and likewise for a last of hides, a mark, by his writ directed to the said collectors, by them and by the testimony of Adam of York, clerk assigned to the said collectors."

The audited account enrolled agrees with the statement⁹² that there was nothing to be answered for for the period 29 July, 1294, to 26 February, 1295, and then agrees with the totals of customs and commodities. It then continues with an account of the deliveries of the money which had been received or for which the collectors had to account. For instance, of the total receipts of the roll, £2,161 6s. 6¾d., £630 had been paid into the Exchequer by four tallies.⁹³

The details throw a valuable light upon the financial machinery of the crown but have little bearing upon the early history of the port of Newcastle upon Tyne or upon its trade in customable goods.

So far this summarized account merely confirms the more interesting and valuable data obtainable from the detailed *Customs Account*, but it goes on to give a summary of exports for the remainder of the financial year 1297 to 1298 which are not available from any other source. Before these are considered there are two other and earlier *Foreign Accounts* on *Pipe Rolls* which give similar summaries for earlier years and these must be dealt with first. The first of these is the account of the representatives of the Lucca merchants who received the customs revenue of Newcastle and eight other major English ports for the year Michaelmas 7—8 Edward I⁹⁴ (1279-1280). The total of customs collected at Newcastle that year and accounted for by the Lucca merchants was £336 9s. 5d., which arose from 875 sacks 8 stones of wool, 2,260 wool-fells and 46 lasts 7 dickers and two hides. The second is a similar account by the Lucca merchants for the year Easter 8 to 9 Edward I (1280-1281). The total of customs collected at Newcastle that year and accounted for by the Lucca merchants was £344 4s. 3d., which arose from 852 sacks 27½ stones of wool, 4,122 wool-fells, 76 lasts 11 dickers of hides. For the succeeding year Easter 9 to 10 Edward I (1281-1282)⁹⁵ the total was £323 3s. 9d., which arose from 771 sacks 7½ stones of wool, 11,182 wool-fells, 80 lasts 12 dickers of hides.

To return to the summarized account for the last three-quarters of the twenty-sixth year of Edward I (1297-1298), that is to say from the late autumn 1297 (after 23 November when the *Antiqua Custuma* became operative again) to, in this particular case, 27 May, 1298.⁹⁶ During this period £85 18s. 11¼d. had been received as custom at half a mark the sack on 256½ sacks 2 stones of wool, which had been contained in 248 sarplers and 34 bags; £12 11s. 1½d. as custom at half a mark for three hundred wool-fells on 11,282

wool-fells,⁹⁷ and £22 4s. 5d. as custom at a mark a last on 33 lasts 6 dickers and 6 hides. In addition, £4 8s. had been received for 22 stones of wool, the remainder of 81 sacks 6 stones received from the Sheriff of Cumberland. The total sum for which the collectors had to account was £126 6s. 6¼d. All these particulars were of course contained in detail in the roll of particulars of the collectors and of the controller, Adam of York, neither of which has unfortunately survived for this period.

Nor are the accounts in detail or in summary available for the next few years, nor, as far as present information goes, are any further summaries available on the *Pipe Rolls* for the reign of Edward I. But these five summaries which have been dealt with above show us what to expect once *Customs Accounts* become regularly enrolled on the *Enrolled Accounts* from the reign of Edward II onwards. Thus the same kind of summary accounts are available for Newcastle for the period 1 April, 1304, to 7 July, 1307.⁹⁸ Throughout this period, and indeed for some years after, the collectors were two members of a well-known Newcastle family, Nicholas of Carlisle⁹⁹ and Thomas, the son of Hugh of Carlisle,¹⁰⁰ and the accounts for the whole of their period as collectors were finally audited together.¹⁰¹ The account as enrolled is described as "The Account of Nicholas of Carlisle and Thomas, son of Hugh of Carlisle, whom the Mayor, Bailiffs and the whole community of the town of Newcastle upon Tyne choose to collect, receive and keep the ancient custom of wool, wool-fells and hides at Newcastle upon Tyne from 1 April 32 Edward I (1304), by the King's writ patent, dated 16 February, as is contained in the *memoranda* of the same year, from which 1 April to 11 April no wool, wool-fells or hides left the same port, until the Feast of Michaelmas following, and from that Michaelmas to 4 April 34 Edward I (1306), namely for the first half of 32, the whole of 33 and the first half of 34 Edward I." Immediately following came the accounts for the second half of 34 Edward I and for 35 Edward I.

These summarized accounts must be considered in these divisions, as rendered. Each of these five accounts has as its heading, for reasons which have been stated above,¹⁰² *Antiqua Custuma*.

(1) From 1 April to Michaelmas 1304: £246 19s. 4½d. was received on 740 sacks 10 stones of wool "which left the port of Newcastle upon Tyne from 11 April, on which day they first began the tronage of wool and to receive the custom"; £10 12s. 11d. on 9,579 wool-fells; £29 11s. 10d. on 44 lasts 7 dickers 7 hides.¹⁰³ The total receipts were £291 0s. 6¼d.

(2) Michaelmas 1304 to Michaelmas 1305: £636 19s. 6d. on 1,910 sacks 23½ stones of wool; £38 16s. 7½d. on 34,948 wool-fells; £47 4s. 10d. on 70 lasts 17 dickers 2 hides.¹⁰⁴ The total receipts were £731 6s. 6¼d.

(3) For the first half of 34 Edward I, that is from Michaelmas 1305 to 4 April, 1306; £77 9s. 9d. on 222 sacks 12 stones of wool; £29 17s. on 27,965 wool-fells; £27 0s. 7¼d. on 40½ lasts 9 hides.¹⁰⁵ The total receipts were £136 9s. 7½d. The totals for these three periods is given as £1,158 16s. 8d., and then follows a summarized account of the disposal of the money.¹⁰⁶ The following are the sections of the second half of these audited accounts relative at present—

(4) From 4 April, 1306, to Michaelmas 1306: £422 0s. 8d. on 1,266 sacks 2½ stones of wool; £19 5s. 10¾d. on 17,363 wool-fells; £15 6s. 1d. on 22 lasts 18 dickers 9 hides.¹⁰⁷ The total receipts were £462 4s. 4d.

(5) Michaelmas 1306 to 7 July, 1307, "on which day Edward I died", and from 7 July, 1307, to Michaelmas 1307 (1 Edward II); £468 2s. 3d. on 1,404 sacks 8½ stones of wool; £41 14s. 11¼d. on 37,573 wool-fells; £91 2s. 9d. on 136 lasts 14 dickers 1 hide.¹⁰⁸ The total receipts were £609 6s. 4½d.

The customs accounts, in detailed or summarized form, which have been surveyed above enable certain fairly definite conclusions to be drawn, firstly on the course of

exports in wool, wool-fells and hides from Newcastle upon Tyne, and secondly on the result of the imposition of the *maltote* upon that trade. The comparative results for other ports will be considered later.¹⁰⁹ First a recapitulation, in chronological order, and dealing only with full trading years, of the quantities of wool, wool-fells and hides on which custom was paid at Newcastle might be useful:

- Michaelmas 1279 to Michaelmas 1280¹¹⁰
 - Wool, 875 sacks 8 stones;
 - Wool-fells, 2,260;
 - Hides, 46 lasts 7 dickers 2 hides.
- Easter 1281 to Easter 1282.¹¹¹
 - Wool, 771 sacks 7½ stones;
 - Wool-fells, 11,182;
 - Hides, 80 lasts 12 dickers.
- Easter 1292 to Easter 1293.¹¹²
 - Wool, 841 sacks 10 stones;
 - Wool-fells, 8,042;
 - Hides, 55 lasts 11 dickers 9 hides.
- Easter 1293 to Easter 1294.¹¹³
 - Wool, 571 sacks 2 stones;
 - Wool-fells, 5,233;
 - Hides, 59 lasts 7 dickers.
- Michaelmas 1296 to Michaelmas 1297¹¹⁴
 - Wool, 552½ sacks 5 stones;
 - Wool-fells, 2,264;
 - Hides, 53 lasts 4 dickers 9 hides.
- Michaelmas 1304 to Michaelmas 1305.¹¹⁵
 - Wool, 1,910 sacks 23½ stones;
 - Wool-fells, 34,948;
 - Hides, 70 lasts 17 dickers 2 hides.
- Michaelmas 1305 to Michaelmas 1306.¹¹⁶
 - Wool, 1,488 sacks 14½ stones;
 - Wool-fells, 45,328;
 - Hides, 62½ lasts 19 dickers 8 hides.

Michaelmas 1306 to Michaelmas 1307.¹¹⁷

Wool, 1,404 sacks 8½ stones;

Wool-fells, 37,573;

Hides, 136 lasts 14 dickers 1 hide.

Making every allowance for wars and other alarms, and for changes in national policy, economic, political, financial and diplomatic, and for murrains, the thirty-two years covered by the period between the first levy of national customs in 1275 and the death of Edward I in 1307 saw a very considerable expansion in the Newcastle export of wool, a still more remarkable increase in the export of wool-fells, and a very substantial increase in the export of hides. Between the earlier years and the later, the export of wool more than doubled; the export of wool-fells increased between eight and tenfold; the export of hides two to threefold. Though the imposition of the *maltote* in 1294 not only delayed the expansion of the port's progress, but caused a temporary but quite definite recession, the removal of the high duties saw a remarkable increase in exports within a few years. Comparing the full year of the *maltote* given above with the average for the last three years of the reign the export of wool increased threefold and more, of wool-fells fifteen to twentyfold, and of hides one and a half to threefold.

Many reasons could be suggested to account for this notable expansion, but it would be difficult to determine the precise or particular effect of any of them. Growing wealth or better weather, the advent of more enterprising merchants, or a better organized or more highly developed system, an increased demand from overseas, particularly from those ports most accustomed to trade with Newcastle, or from some of them, the arrival of foreign capital, the results of Edward I's policy towards Scotland, and the great importance of Newcastle as a base of operations, bringing employment and money to the area, and encouraging the interest of foreign financial houses, these and many other factors can

have contributed. The reasons could not have been contained within the town and port of Newcastle alone. For its wool and wool-fells were drawn from a widespread area, and in the county of Northumberland almost every substantial township appears to have had a tanner.¹¹⁸ The widespread area from which it drew its supplies of wool and wool-fells included not only the whole county of Northumberland—the whole coastline from Newcastle to Berwick was its customs coast—but the county of Cumberland and part of Westmorland. If Hartlepool¹¹⁹ may have been the port for Teesdale and Weardale, it is likely that Newcastle was the port for the northern half of the palatinate of Durham, and perhaps for a good part of Weardale.

It will, probably, be easier to form a reasonable and informed view of the factors which accounted for this growth in the export trade in wool, wool-fells and hides, when the whole of the evidence contained in these five detailed accounts and the eight summaries of accounts have been analysed. Four main problems seem to be relative: firstly, the ports of origin of the ships carrying the cargoes; secondly, the collectors who gathered the customs; thirdly, the merchants who engaged in the trade; and lastly, the changes which occurred in the incidence of the trade.

First as to the ports of origin of the ships engaged in the trade in wool, wool-fells and hides from Newcastle. The five detailed accounts (and these are the only ones of use in this connection) show that in a total period of some seven years or less, 205 sailings were made from Newcastle in this trade. In many cases the port of origin of the ships is not given, but in 189 cases they can be identified. Of this total of 205 sailings the ships in 35 sailings came from English ports. Seven Newcastle ships made eleven sailings. The owners or masters of these ships were Simon Patch,¹²⁰ Andrew Raket,¹²¹ Walter Gray,¹²² Henry Mariman,¹²³ Walter le Escot,¹²⁴ Henry of Wearmouth,¹²⁵ and William Cronan.¹²⁶ The last three named were the only Newcastle men who carried any customable goods during the years of

the *maltote*. Two of the ships came from Hartlepool, one of Andrew Bruntoft making a single sailing,¹²⁷ and the other of Stephen Hawthorn making four sailings.¹²⁸ The latter must have been engaged on coastwise trade. The quantities of customable goods he carried were small, in the first three sailings small quantities of hides only for merchants from Hartlepool, Durham and Calais, and in the last 8 sacks 20 stones of wool for a Yarmouth merchant. There was a single Wearmouth ship, that of Robert of Wearmouth,¹²⁹ which sailed with a small quantity of hides and wool-fells for a Hartlepool merchant.

To Newcastle's seven ships with eleven sailings, Yarmouth could counter with seven ships with the same number of sailings, but the incidence of their sailing was very different. Until the imposition of the *maltote* but one ship sailed from Newcastle with customable goods,¹³⁰ with just 17 dickers of hides for a Durham merchant. The sailings of the other Yarmouth ships were as follows:¹³¹ 24 May, 1296 (two ships); 14 September, 1296; 8 April, 1297; 14 May, 1297; and 30 May, 1297. It is noteworthy that the bulk of the customable goods in the first two of these ships was owned by Hugh Gerardin, and in the last by the king.¹³² Of the other fourteen home ships which can be identified a majority seem to have carried customable goods from Newcastle only during the *maltote* period. These included two from Dunwich¹³³ and one from Sandwich,¹³⁴ though a Sandwich ship had also sailed from Newcastle in 1293¹³⁵ with fair cargoes belonging to two Newcastle merchants. Other home ships ranged from Berwick, through Beverley to Blakeney. The Berwick ship carried a small cargo belonging to a French merchant;¹³⁶ the ship of John, the son of Walter of Beverley, carried 14 sacks 7 stones of wool and a last of hides belonging to John Hangard;¹³⁷ the Blakeney ship was owned by John, Abbot of Blakeney, and carried a cargo of hides for a Blakeney man.¹³⁸ Two ships of Aylesford made five sailings in the year 1292-1293, all carrying consignments belonging to Newcastle merchants or John Hangard.¹³⁹

Other ships were described as of Gosford, Farringdon, Ravensfleet and Salcott.¹⁴⁰

Thus from home ports there were 26 ships which made 35 sailings, for which details are available. From foreign ports there were 162 ships which made 170 sailings. The principal sailings were as follows: ships from Middelburg made 22, Calais 17, St. Valery 13, Barfleur 12, Zierikzee 8, Cortenaitan 5, Flushing 4, Axel, Swynn and Slypedam 3 each, Monnikerede, Dieppe, Armel, The Hook, la Motte, Wolferdijk, Berck sur Mer, Zealand, Hamburg and Sandgate 2 each. Of the ports which had single ships in the trade, Bailleul, Boulogne, Ostend, Nes, Guise, Struther, Bruges, Dunkirk, Groningen, Skiedam, Friesland, Maarland, Wissant, Briel, Lubeck, West Chappelle, and Caumfer appear amongst others. To analyse, in detail, the incidence of the sailings from these and the other foreign ports would take too much time and space to make it immediately profitable. Still, certain general trends can be mentioned. First, it is clear that between the years 1294 to 1297 when the war with France was on, the ships from French ports and from some of the ports of Flanders, were almost entirely, if not entirely, excluded from trade with English ports. Secondly, during this special period from 1294 to 1297, when the *maltote* was in operation and for which such full and illuminating details are available,¹⁴¹ the tendency was for the amount of customable goods per ship to be greatly above the previous averages. Fewer captains or owners traded in small quantities on their own accounts. The shipping generally seems to have been more highly organized, in part, by the Italian houses and, in part, doubtless, under the guidance of royal officials and the necessities of war. Thirdly, during this period, foreign ships from certain ports dominated the trade. This is the period when of the ships whose ports of origin are mentioned 39 were foreign and certain ports of Holland, Zealand and Friesland were particularly active. Finally, it is not possible to determine how and when the balance of trade was restored to French and Flemish ports after the

cessation of hostilities with France, as particulars of accounts for the period 1297 to 1307 are not available.

Next as to the collectors who gathered the customs. The accounts supply the facts that they were (1) [Henry le Escot] and Hugh of Carlisle, 1281 to 1282;¹⁴² (2) Henry del Hay and John de Stockton, 1286 to 1294;¹⁴³ (3) the addition of Nicholas de Colle to these two, 1292 to 1293;¹⁴⁴ (4) the replacement of Nicholas de Colle by Richard Trentcost, 1293 to 1294;¹⁴⁵ (5) Henry le Escot and Hugh of Carlisle, 1294 to 1298;¹⁴⁶ (6) Gilbert le Fleming and Thomas of Freshmarsh, before 1304;¹⁴⁷ (7) Nicholas of Carlisle and Thomas, son of Hugh of Carlisle, 1304 to 1323.¹⁴⁸ It would be possible but hardly profitable, for present purposes, to compile a complete list of the Newcastle collectors and controllers of customs for the whole reign, as most of the appointments were duly enrolled on the *Chancery Rolls* and the others appear upon the *Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer*. For the present purpose, however, it would be tedious to go through the whole list, but it can be stated that apart from those imposed upon the Newcastle local authorities by the king's obligations to Bayonne¹⁴⁹ or foreign financiers¹⁵⁰ for money which had been received from them, and for which the customs revenue had been given as security for repayment, those responsible for the collection of customs at Newcastle were influential burgesses who held, had held, or were to hold the highest offices in the borough, or substantial if not the foremost merchants in the town and port.¹⁵¹ Times changed their names but little. As with the merchants who traded in customable goods, who will be dealt with at some little length below,¹⁵² at Escot, a Carlisle, a del Hay appeared in each decade and generation.

Before, however, the Newcastle merchants can be dealt with in some detail, the merchants generally who dealt in customable goods from Newcastle must be considered as a class. Of the total number¹⁵³ of owners or masters of ships who traded on their own account, or as agents for others, in customable goods, these appeared to consist of a substan-

tial minority of the whole, though the quantities of wool, wool-fells and hides dealt with were small, sometimes very small. Of the owners or masters of ships from foreign ports over a third, some sixty out of a hundred and sixty, carried some customable goods belonging to themselves. In wool the least was a stone, the most 9 sacks 22 stones; in hides the largest one last one dicker, the least a dicker and a half; of wool-fells the least 12, the most 100. It would appear that some were merely taking home presents or doing a purchase for a friend, while others were doing a little trading as a sideline. Of the 31 English owners or captains only two carried customable goods on their own account. Andrew Burntoft of Hartlepool had a last and a dicker of hides;¹⁵⁴ Henry of Wearmouth of Newcastle, on one of his journeys with customable goods had four dickers and one hide.¹⁵⁵

When merchants proper, as distinguished from masters or owners of ships, are considered, these may perhaps be dealt with most conveniently in the following groups: first, foreign merchants who traded on their own account; secondly, foreign merchants who were members of the great Italian Societies, who were financiers and financial agents as well as merchants; thirdly, English merchants generally, with special reference to those whose main base of business was Newcastle upon Tyne. As an addendum, a few words must be said about the king himself as an exporter of wool, wool-fells and hides.

Out of the 216 merchants¹⁵⁶ who traded in customable goods from Newcastle seven only belonged to the Italian Societies, though the extent of their trade bore no relationship to that proportion of numbers. Of those to which a definite town or country can be allocated of the 138 remaining foreign merchants, the towns most frequently represented were Amiens 11, Middelburg 7, Calais 6, Bruges 4, Abbeville 4, Lubeck 4, St. Valery 3, Barfleur 2, Stavoren 2, Six merchants were described as of Brabant, but they operated in groups or partnerships. One is vaguely described

as of Germany, another as of Estland. Over the whole of the periods to 1297, more seem to have come from non-French than from French ports; before 1294 a majority had come from French ports. Over the whole period amongst the towns which provided a single merchant were The Hook, Sluys, Dinant, Tocqueville, Dieppe, Ypres, Corbeill, Stralsund, Dinard, Arnemuiden, Dunkirk and Cologne. It will be observed that the number of merchants who came from a particular town bore no close relationship to the number of ships that came from that place. The businesses of merchanting wool, wool-fells and hides, and of carrying the same were largely separate and distinct. The export trade and the shipping industry in these commodities were already different businesses even as early as the reign of Edward I.

To enable a clearer view to be obtained of the general nature of the trade of these independent merchants, and of the size and variety of their operations and interests, a practical plan would be to take a number of representative merchants from different towns and countries and give precise details of their shipments and consignments. The most considerable of the French merchants exporting from Newcastle was John Hangard of Amiens. The accounts disclose him as exporting on twelve different occasions between 1281 and 1293.¹⁵⁷ Making allowance that these accounts cover less than three trading years, this was a notable number of shipments and he must have been almost constantly resident in Newcastle from July 1292 to September 1293 at least. His exports were in all 72 sacks 12 stones of wool, 21 lasts 6 dickers 6 hides, distributed as follows:

2 May, 1281	3 lasts of hides
3 May, 1281	3 lasts of hides
25 July, 1287	1 last 12 dickers of hides, 1 dicker of horse hides, 1 sack of wool
26 July, 1287	1 last 6 dickers 6 hides, 6 sacks 1 stone of wool
20 June, 1292	3½ lasts of hides

12 July,	1292	14 sacks 2 stones of wool, $\frac{1}{2}$ last of hides
22 July,	1292	9 sacks 2 stones of wool, 1 last of hides
24 Sept.,	1292	16 sacks of wool, 2 lasts of hides
6 Oct.,	1292	10 sacks of wool, 2 lasts of hides
30 Nov.,	1292	2 sacks of wool, 27 dickers of hides
28 July,	1293	1 last of hides
1 Aug.,	1293	14 sacks 7 stones of wool, 1 last of hides

Hangard appears as easily the most considerable merchant exporting hides from Newcastle for the whole of the period. Not all the Amiens merchants were in business from Newcastle on this scale. Two others were responsible for three consignments each, and two others for two consignments each. John le Cutiller made a single shipment of but 10 dickers of hides and 80 wool-fells,¹⁵⁸ and Peter Bonvill a single shipment of 5 lasts of hides.¹⁵⁹ The Amiens merchants seemed to specialize in hides rather than wool.

No Calais, St. Valery or Barfleure merchant was responsible for more than a single shipment. Of the Abbeville merchants the most considerable was John of Abbeville, who may have had Newcastle associations.¹⁶⁰ Between 28 June, 1292, and 24 July, 1293, he exported a total of 36 sacks 17 stones of wool and 1 last $4\frac{1}{2}$ dickers of hides in five consignments,¹⁶¹ distributed as follows:

28 June,	1292	6 sacks 6 stones of wool
3 July,	1292	7 sacks of wool
22 July,	1292	8 sacks 15 stones of wool
26 July,	1292	6 sacks of wool
24 July,	1293	8 sacks 22 stones of wool, $24\frac{1}{2}$ dickers of hides

By way of contrast compare the activities of two Flanders merchants, each of whom shipped four consignments of customable goods before the 1294 change of duties. First, Copin Hertburg of Bruges exported 92 sacks 23 stones of wool, one last of hides and 532 wool-fells,¹⁶² distributed as follows:

18 June, 1287	6 sacks 4 stones of wool
3 July, 1292	31 sacks 14 stones of wool, 1 last of hides
16 Aug., 1292	55 sacks 5 stones of wool, 412 wool-fells
2 April, 1294	120 wool-fells

Secondly, Herbert of Dinant exported 12 sacks 21 stones of wool and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts 7 dickers of hides,¹⁶³ distributed as follows:

4 Sept., 1292	2 sacks 16 stones of wool
26 June, 1293	$1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts 7 dickers of hides
8 Aug., 1293	2 sacks of wool
20 Sept., 1293	8 sacks 5 stones of wool

Of the other merchants, mainly from the Low Countries, with the exception of Andrew Malyard of Pourville, who exported 23 sacks of wool 11 dickers of hides and 129 wool-fells¹⁶⁴ in one consignment, those who made shipments in single consignments were normally small men as far as the Newcastle trade went.

Only two German merchants appear to have exported customable goods from Newcastle before the imposition of the *maltote* in 1294, Hermann of Hamburg, a single sack of wool,¹⁶⁵ and Conradin of Germany, a single sack.¹⁶⁶ Conradin reappears with another single sack in 1296.¹⁶⁷ During the period of the *maltote* three Lubeck merchants exported two consignments each, Mark of Lubeck's total exports came to 4 sacks 4 stones of wool, 10 dickers of hides and 200 wool-fells;¹⁶⁸ Arnald Keseling's to $18\frac{1}{2}$ sacks 7 stones of wool,¹⁶⁹ and Hermann Molle's to 22 sacks 1 stone of wool, $4\frac{1}{2}$ lasts 5 dickers of hides and 100 wool-fells.¹⁷⁰ The only other German merchants who appear in this period were Ingelram of Cologne, who exported $2\frac{1}{2}$ sacks 1 stone of wool,¹⁷¹ and Gerard Cruse of Lubeck, who exported $3\frac{1}{2}$ sacks.¹⁷²

In this same period groups of Brabant merchants, of whom the leader appears to have been Simon Roland of

Brabant, entered the Newcastle trade in a substantial way. On 13 February, 1296, one group exported $70\frac{1}{2}$ sacks 8 stones of wool in a single consignment,¹⁷³ almost the largest of any consignments which the detailed accounts cover. On 16 September, 1297, another group exported 6 sacks of wool and $3\frac{1}{2}$ lasts 4 hides,¹⁷⁴ and on the 16 October, 1297, Simon, on his own account, exported 19 sacks of wool.¹⁷⁵

During the reign of Edward I, at some time or other, most of the great Italian Societies exported wool from Newcastle, the Riccardi of Lucca, the Society of the White Circles and the Society of the Black Circles, the Pulci and Rembertini and the Friscobaldi of Florence, and the Mozzi of Florence. The sole representative of the Riccardi was the great Roland or Orlandino of Podio,¹⁷⁶ the most important of the Lucca merchants in England at the time, who exported 16 sacks 6 stones of wool on 20 September, 1293,¹⁷⁷ the only representative, that is, if we exclude Hugh Gerardin, who was possibly a Lucca merchant who became domiciled in Newcastle.¹⁷⁸ Of the merchants of the Society of the White Circles, the first to appear in the accounts was James Clare of Florence, who by 1293 had exported $87\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of wool,¹⁷⁹ distributed as follows:

28 June, 1287	$23\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of wool
15 July, 1292	16 sacks of wool
26 July, 1292	36 sacks of wool
20 Sept., 1293	12 sacks of wool

Another White Friscobaldi was Lupus Bortet, who exported 47 sacks of wool and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts 6 dickers of hides on 6 April, 1297.¹⁸⁰ A representative of the Society of the Black Circles was Villan Iscoldi who, in all, exported 52 sacks 22 stones of wool,¹⁸¹ as follows:

30 May, 1297	14 sacks 11 stones of wool
30 May, 1297	14 sacks 11 stones of wool
4 Oct., 1297	24 sacks of wool

But he was not the first representative of that Society to trade from Newcastle, for the Pulci and Rembertini had been earlier represented, first by Rainer Bellinzoni and then by Gerard Simonet, each of whom had exported three consignments. Those of Rainer totalled $93\frac{1}{2}$ sacks,¹⁸² made up as follows:

13 Aug., 1292	33	sacks of wool
24 July, 1293	$25\frac{1}{2}$	sacks of wool
20 Sept., 1293	35	sacks of wool

The exports of Gerard Simonet from Newcastle totalled $85\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of wool,¹⁸³ distributed as follows:

27 Feb., 1295	$57\frac{1}{2}$	sacks 1 stone
29 Mar., 1295	$15\frac{1}{2}$	sacks 4 stones
29 Mar., 1295	$12\frac{1}{2}$	sacks 4 stones

Lastly, the Mozzi was represented by James de Avangate who, in two consignments, exported a total of 28 sacks of wool on a single day, 24 May, 1296.¹⁸⁴ The Italian Societies were, therefore, responsible for the export from Newcastle of the considerable total of more than 410 sacks of wool. Their interest in hides was negligible, a single consignment of less than two lasts throughout. The average weight of their consignments of wool was very considerably greater than that of any other class of merchants and many fold the average.

Generally, compared with the independent foreign or home merchants, these Societies operated on a substantial scale and from many English ports concurrently. Their total contribution to the trade of Newcastle was, however, not important compared with the business of the home merchants, of whom those belonging to Newcastle itself were outstandingly the most important. Substantial, too, as their consignments were, those of the Italian Societies are dwarfed by those of one who exported in his own name for

just a single week in 1297. That was the king himself. In support of his diplomacy and finance abroad, Edward I had commandeered considerable quantities of wool, wool-fells and hides throughout the kingdom. In three consignments in a single day, 30 May, and a fourth on 6 June, the king exported from Newcastle a total of 286 sacks 2 stones of wool and 12 lasts 16 dickers and five hides.¹⁸⁵ The last consignment was stated to have come from the county of Cumberland. The controller and collectors of customs at Newcastle thought it futile to make nominal book entries of the custom payable on the export of these royal consignments, but the Exchequer thought otherwise. For when the account came up for audit, the details of the customs due on each commodity, with the tronage and *coket* issues, were inserted for each consignment, showing a total of customs due but clearly not collected of £615 15s. 3½d.¹⁸⁶

So much for the shipments of foreign merchants, foreign societies and the crown. Concerning home merchants it will be convenient to consider first a few details of shipments by merchants from beyond the natural area served by Newcastle upon Tyne as a port. These do not seem to have totalled more than a score of merchants, of whom five came from Yarmouth, four from Durham, and two each from Barnard Castle and Hartlepool. Of the others, only John of Norfolk used the port more than once. His six consignments, totalling 40 sacks 3 stones of wool, 4 lasts 10 dickers 7 hides and 120 wool-fells,¹⁸⁷ work out as follows:

22 Sept., 1292	6 sacks of wool
5 Nov., 1292	8 sacks 13 stones of wool
1 April, 1293	2 lasts of hides
1 April, 1293	1 last 3 dickers of hides, 1 sack 7 stones of wool
4 Mar., 1294	14 sacks of wool, 120 wool-fells, 13 dickers hides
16 June, 1296	10 sacks 9 stones of wool, 14 dickers 7 hides

Peter le Espicer of Aberdeen shipped a single consignment of 7 dickers 7 hides;¹⁸⁸ a Richard of Redesdale, one of 3 sacks 3 stones of wool and 50 wool-fells;¹⁸⁹ and a John of Penrith, one of 4 sacks 10 stones of wool and two dickers of hides.¹⁹⁰ Two, at least, of the Yarmouth merchants were bigger men. Henry Etwater exported two consignments of 1 sack of wool, 1 last of hides and 100 wool-fells,¹⁹¹ and of 7 sacks 17 stones of wool and 130 wool-fells¹⁹² respectively. John Scot exported two consignments of 8 sacks 20 stones of wool¹⁹³ and of 1 sack 4 stones of wool, 4 lasts 2 dickers of hides and 414 wool-fells¹⁹⁴ respectively. The other Yarmouth merchants were smaller men, one Hermann Breton's sole's consignment being 2 dickers 1 hide.¹⁹⁵

Of the Durham merchants, one of them in a moderate way of business, two made two consignments each. Robert le Gerneter exported 8 sacks of wool and 200 wool-fells¹⁹⁶ and 13 stones of wool and a last of hides.¹⁹⁷ Adam of Durham was in a small way of business; in partnership, he exported one consignment of 1½ dickers of hides and on his own account 2 dickers of hides.¹⁹⁸ The other Durham merchants, of single consignments, ranged from John le Espicer who exported 4 sacks of wool¹⁹⁹ to Geoffrey Lewin who exported a dicker and 5 hides.²⁰⁰ The Barnard Castle merchants were mainly interested in wool; John Colston exported 12 sacks and Guy of Barnard Castle 4 sacks 1 stone and a last of hides.²⁰¹ The Hartlepool merchants were interested in hides and wool-fells only, Peter Marvins exported 1 last 5 dickers of hides and 40 wool-fells; Richard le Mason 1 last 9 dickers and 228 wool-fells.²⁰²

Of the known total of 71 native merchants, no less than 50 merchants were based upon Newcastle. Perhaps there were some further half-dozen, or perhaps even ten out of the total number of 216 merchants, who may have belonged to Newcastle, who have not been identified, who may be hidden among foreign or other home merchants. A small number of the Newcastle merchants are identified because they are so described in the detailed account, but these form a small

proportion of the total who, in fact, belonged to Newcastle and its district. For the identification of many more there is, fortunately available, though little known and still less used, a *Lay Subsidy Roll* for the reign of Edward I,²⁰³ which covers the whole county of Northumberland. This roll which relates to the subsidy of 25 Edward I (1296-1297) gives the precise vill, or in the case of the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, the parish, in which each payer of the tax lived or had movable goods and the value of those movable goods. The following selection of names and assessments, or valuations of movables, shows the relative wealth, in movables only and, therefore, gives some idea of the relative standing of a number of the merchants²⁰⁴ who exported wool, wool-fells and hides, of the collectors of the customs and of many of the chief burgesses of Newcastle:

Newcastle upon Tyne.		Parish of St. John's. ²⁰⁵
	John le Escot	£11 3 0
M	Alexander le Furber	£21 10 0
	Peter, the servant of Sampson	£5 7 8
M	John of Blakeden	£13 6 8
M	Peter Sampson	£31 10 0
MC	Henry le Escot	£28 0 0
	Thomas, the servant of Sampson	£2 2 0
		Parish of St. Andrew's.
	Edmund, the servant of Henry del	
	Hay	£0 7 0
		Parish of All Saints. ²⁰⁶
M	Thomas of Carlisle	£3 10 0
M	Roger of Burnton	£10 14 0
M	John Thorald	£21 0 0
M	Roger le Rus	£4 13 4
	Henry Mariman	£1 15 0
M	Adam le Rus	£1 1 0
C	Hugh of Carlisle	£1 7 0
M	Gilbert of Cowgate	£3 0 6

Killingworth. ²¹¹		
M	Peter Graper	£4 15 4
Benwell.		
M	Henry le Escot	£10 6 4
Panton, outside the Borough. ²¹²		
M	Gilbert of Cowgate	£7 11 8
	Emma Ayre	£2 16 4
M	William of Dolfamby	£0 15 0
C	Henry del Hay	£0 13 4
Newton under Wood.		
M	Henry le Escot of Newcastle	£1 13 4
Alnwick. ²¹³		
M	John Locksmith	£11 14 6
Newbiggin. ²¹⁴		
	Robert Thorald	£2 5 10
	Alexander of Hoga	£0 16 6
Hetpool. ²¹⁵		
	Adam Ayre	£4 16 4
Presfen. ²¹⁶		
	Robert Ayre	£25 14 8
M	Robert of Abbeville	£8 19 2
Bulmer. ²¹⁷		
M	Isabella de Vesci	£6 12 4
Chatton. ²¹⁸		
M	Isabella de Vesci	£5 18 0

In commenting upon this authentic list of assessments for taxation, perhaps the item which calls for notice first is the extraordinary joint assessment of Hugh Gerardin and Isolda of Pampeden, £84, nearly double that of any one else in the county of Northumberland. Hugh Gerardin, in the first *Customs Account* in which he appears, is described as of Lucca.²¹⁹ Whether he ran a joint establishment with Isolda de Pampeden, probably the daughter of a Gilbert of

Pampeden,²²⁰ a Newcastle merchant of importance of past days, or whatever was the precise relationship, one thing is certain, the surviving *Customs Accounts* show no single instance in which they were jointly responsible for a shipment of customable goods from Newcastle, though they were both individually very considerable exporters. Between 28 February, 1293, and 24 May, 1296, Hugh Gerardin shipped customable goods in eleven consignments, totalling in all 110 sacks 22 stones of wool, 15 lasts 9 dickers 1 hide, and 520 wool-fells²²¹ in the following order:

28 Feb., 1293	1 last of hides, 3 sacks of wool, 180 wool-fells
26 June, 1293	15 sacks of wool
8 Aug., 1293	14 sacks 3 stones of wool
24 Aug., 1293	18 sacks of wool
30 Aug., 1293	16 sacks 13 stones of wool
30 Sept., 1293	12 sacks of wool
14 Feb., 1294	10 sacks of wool
2 April, 1294	10 sacks of wool, 2 lasts 5 dickers of hides
6 April, 1294	11 sacks of wool, 28 dickers of hides, 340 wool-fells
24 May, 1296	22 stones of wool, 5½ lasts 1 dicker, 3 hides
24 May, 1296	5 lasts 4 dickers 8 hides

Between 18 June, 1287, and 14 September, 1292, Isolda de Pampeden shipped customable goods in seven consignments, totalling some 80½ sacks of wool and 1 last of hides,²²² distributed as follows:

18 June, 1287	15 sacks 22 stones of wool
19 July, 1287	10½ sacks of wool
3 July, 1292	24 sacks of wool
2 Aug., 1292	8 sacks of wool
16 Aug., 1292	16 sacks 5 stones of wool
4 Sept., 1292	5 sacks 6 stones of wool
14 Sept., 1292	1 last of hides

It will be noticed their periods of shipment do not overlap and that no shipment is recorded after the first half of 1296; in 1297 jointly and severally they were of considerable wealth.

Of the other Newcastle merchants, Peter Graper²²³ shipped in every year from 1292 to 1297, his eleven consignments totalling 103½ sacks 12 stones of wool, 3½ lasts of hides and 600 wool-fells,²²⁴ distributed as follows:

16 Aug., 1292	20 sacks of wool
5 Sept., 1292	8 sacks 12 stones of wool
2 Oct., 1292	16 sacks of wool
24 Oct., 1292	6 sacks of wool, 400 wool-fells
24 Aug., 1293	10 sacks of wool
2 April, 1294	14 sacks of wool
29 May, 1296	10 sacks of wool ²²⁵
1 Nov., 1296	2½ lasts of hides, 200 wool-fells ²²⁵
23 April, 1297	10 sacks of wool, 1 last 1 dicker of hides ²²⁵
4 Aug., 1297	6 sacks of wool
16 Oct., 1297	3½ sacks of wool

Peter Sampson shipped intermittently between 1287 and 1297 in eight consignments totalling 77 sacks 22 stones of wool, 4½ lasts 2 dickers of hides and 320 wool-fells,²²⁶ distributed as follows:

10 June, 1287	10 sacks 16 stones of wool
3 July, 1292	15 sacks of wool, 120 wool-fells
3 July, 1293	12 sacks of wool
30 Aug., 1293	10 sacks 6 stones of wool
29 May, 1296	10 sacks of wool ²²⁵
1 Nov., 1296	2½ lasts of hides, 200 wool-fells ²²⁵
20 April, 1297	10 sacks of wool, 1 last 1 dicker of hides
23 April, 1297	10 sacks of wool, 1 last 1 dicker of hides ²²⁵

The Newcastle merchant in the biggest way of business was probably Samson le Cutiller,²²⁷ who appears with the second highest assessment in the county of Northumberland, but who must have died soon after the assessment was made. Between 1287 and 1294, in six consignments, he shipped a total of 98 sacks 16 stones of wool and 5 lasts 17 dickers 1 hide,²²⁸ distributed as follows:

13 July,	1287	12 sacks of wool, 1 dicker 1 hide
3 July,	1292	12 sacks of wool
5 Sept.,	1292	12 sacks 11 stones of wool
14 Sept.,	1292	31 sacks 6 stones of wool
12 Feb.,	1293	2 lasts 15 dickers of hides, 3 sacks 15 stones of wool
1 Mar.,	1294	28 sacks 10 stones of wool, 3 lasts 1 dicker of hides

On Samson's death, his widow Agnes carried on his business and in one day, 23 April, 1297, she exported consignments of 3 sacks 2 stones of wool, 1 last of hides, 60 wool-fells and 2 sacks of wool respectively.²²⁹

Nor was Agnes, the widow of Samson le Cutiller; the only Newcastle wife who continued her husband's business activities. Alexander le Furber must have died about the same time as his greater fellow townsman Samson le Cutiller. Between 1292 and 1294 he had exported seven consignments of customable goods totalling 46 sacks 1 stone of wool, 1 last of hides, and 240 wool-fells,²³⁰ distributed as follows:

26 July,	1292	10 sacks 5 stones of wool
26 July,	1292	3 sacks of wool
16 Aug.,	1292	13 sacks of wool, 80 wool-fells
12 Feb.,	1293	1 last of hides
28 Feb.,	1293	3 sacks 3 stones of wool
30 Aug.,	1293	11 sacks 11 stones of wool, 160 wool-fells
14 Feb.,	1294	5 sacks 8 stones of wool

On two days, 20 and 23 April, 1297, Cecilia, the widow of

Alexander le Furber, exported three consignments of 2 sacks of wool, 2 sacks of wool and half a last of hides and fifteen dickers of hides,²³¹ and on the second of those days Elias, the servant of Alexander le Furber, exported in two consignments $\frac{1}{2}$ last 11 dickers of hides and 100 wool-fells.²³²

Besides those posthumous household transactions, there were other Newcastle families who were actively engaged in this trade. Gilbert of Cowgate's three shipments between 1287 and 1293 were in part coincident with and in part continued by Walter of Cowgate's ten consignments between 1292 and 1297. Gilbert of Cowgate's exports, totalling $34\frac{1}{2}$ sacks 4 stones of wool,²³³ were as follows:

18 June, 1287	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of wool
19 July, 1287	8 sacks 4 stones of wool
24 Aug., 1293	6 sacks of wool

Walter of Cowgate's exports, totalling 55 sacks of wool, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lasts 13 dickers 3 hides and 1210 wool-fells,²³⁴ consisted of:

16 Aug., 1292	8 sacks 20 stones of wool, 300 wool-fells
24 Oct., 1292	1 sack of wool
20 Feb., 1293	1 last 13 dickers 3 hides
28 Feb., 1293	1 sack 24 stones of wool, 320 wool-fells
8 Aug., 1293	11 sacks 6 stones of wool
24 Aug., 1293	8 sacks 8 stones of wool
30 Aug., 1293	14 sacks 4 stones of wool, 190 wool-fells
2 April, 1294	3 sacks 16 stones of wool
20 April, 1297	4 sacks of wool
23 April, 1297	2 sacks of wool, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts of hides, 400 wool-fells

The Thorald family operated in much the same way. William Thorald exported a single consignment of 22 stones of wool in 1292;²³⁵ John Thorald exported in seven consignments, between 1292 and 1297, 57 sacks 13 stones of wool,

2 lasts 1 dicker 4 hides and 1,680 wool-fells.²³⁶ The Dolfamby family operated on a smaller scale. John of Dolfamby exported one consignment of 2 sacks of wool, 10 dickers 16 hides and 120 wool-fells in 1294;²³⁷ William of Dolfamby, in six consignments in 1292 and 1293, exported 14 sacks 9 stones of wool and 1,700 wool-fells.²³⁸

So far, examples of Newcastle merchants who operated on a substantial or a moderate scale only have been given. There were many smaller men, of whom Alexander of Gisburn and Adam of Hoga are characteristic examples. Between 1292 and 1294 Alexander of Gisburn shipped, in six consignments, 8 sacks 1 stone of wool and 1,290 wool-fells,²³⁹ of which the following are the details:

3 July,	1292	2 sacks of wool, 416 wool-fells
4 Sept.,	1292	1 sack of wool
24 Oct.,	1292	24 stones of wool, 200 wool-fells
8 Aug.,	1293	2 sacks 3 stones of wool, 304 wool-fells
30 Sept.,	1293	1 sack 6 stones of wool, 320 wool-fells
14 Feb.,	1294	20 stones of wool, 50 wool-fells

In four consignments, between 1287 and 1293, Adam of Hoga exported 10 sacks of wool and 8 lasts 3½ dickers of hides,²⁴⁰ as follows:

18 June,	1287	6 sacks of wool
5 Sept.,	1292	4 sacks of wool, 2 lasts 15½ dickers of hides
28 July,	1293	3 lasts 8 dickers of hides
28 July,	1293	2 lasts of hides

In two consignments, in 1292 and 1293 respectively, John of Corbridge exported 7 sacks 13 stones of wool and 1 last 13 dickers of hides.²⁴¹ In four consignments, between 1292 and 1297, Robert of Norton exported a total of 18 sacks 3 stones of wool, 506 wool-fells, 1 last of hides.²⁴² John Russel, in a single consignment in 1292, exported 20 sacks 10 stones

of wool.²⁴³ With these should be compared three other Newcastle merchants, clearly younger men, who were active during the *maltote* period, though all on a small to moderate scale. Between 1293 and 1297 Elias of Cricklaw, in four consignments, exported a total of 3 sacks 19 stones of wool, 3 dickers of hides and 400 wool-fells:²⁴⁴

16 Feb., 1293	1 sack of wool
2 April, 1294	16 stones of wool, 400 wool-fells
6 April, 1294	3 dickers of hides
30 May, 1297	1 sack 3 stones of wool
16 Oct., 1297	1 sack of wool

Between 1294 and 1297, in five consignments, Richard of Embleton exported 16 sacks 2 stones of wool, 6½ lasts and 6 dickers of hides and 250 wool-fells:²⁴⁵

16 Aug., 1295	2 sacks 2 stones of wool, 6 dickers of hides
20 April, 1297	5 sacks of wool, 3 lasts of hides, 150 wool-fells
4 Aug., 1297	1 sack of wool, 50 wool-fells
16 Sept., 1297	3 sacks of wool
16 Oct., 1297	5 sacks of wool, 1½ lasts of hides, 50 wool-fells.

In five consignments, in 1295 and 1296, Nicholas of Ellerker exported a total of 27 sacks 10 stones of wool, 4 lasts of hides and 1,060 wool-fells:²⁴⁶

28 June, 1296	1 sack 2 stones of wool, 200 wool-fells
1 Nov., 1296	7 sacks 8 stones of wool, 2½ lasts of hides, 100 wool-fells
23 April, 1297	4 sacks of wool, 660 wool-fells, 1½ lasts of hides
4 Aug., 1296	5 sacks of wool, 100 wool-fells
16 Sept., 1297	10 sacks of wool

Lastly on the Newcastle merchants, consider the trading activities of a member of the elder statesmen of Newcastle

upon Tyne, those who were not only important merchants, but held the highest local offices as mayors or bailiffs of Newcastle, or as officials appointed by the crown. Amongst these must be considered Henry le Escot, Roger Peutevin, Roger le Rus, Thomas of Carlisle and Adam of Irby. Outstanding amongst these was Henry le Escot. He was a bailiff of Newcastle before 1281²⁴⁷ and mayor by 1283²⁴⁸ and was still mayor in 1290.²⁴⁹ He was appointed a collector of murage there in 1276, again in 1280, and his accounts as collector were still unaudited in 1299.²⁵⁰ He was appointed a collector of the *maltote* in 1294.²⁵¹ In 1276 a commission of oyer and terminer had been issued against him and other burgesses of Newcastle for the taking and detention of a horse and the ejectment of a man's tenants from houses which the complainant held at farm.²⁵² In 1279 the custody and marriage of a tenant in chief was granted to him.²⁵³ In 1298 he was the first local witness to a deed concerning land in Byker, among his fellow witnesses being Walter, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the Treasurer, and Walter de Beauchamp, the Steward of the King's Household.²⁵⁴ On 26 November, 1304, he was granted licence, in consideration of a fine made at the Exchequer, to alienate in mortmain six marks of rent in Newcastle for a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the church of St. John, for the souls of himself and his ancestors.²⁵⁵

Officially and financially he was well placed to participate in the wool and hide trade, and he had done so even before the imposition of customs upon these commodities, not always as smoothly or profitably as he could have wished. For shipments, in which he was a partner, became involved in the troubles with the Flemish. On 6 October, 1273, the mayor and eshivens of Abbeville were written to by the king about 92 sacks of wool which Thomas de Basing, citizen of London, and Henry le Escot, Thomas of Carlisle and Richard del Hay, burgesses of Newcastle, had bought for merchants in Flanders, part of which had been arrested at Abbeville.²⁵⁶ The following day a letter was written to the Earl of Nor-

folk about 27 sacks and a poke of wool belonging to the same Newcastle merchants which had been arrested at Harwich.²⁵⁷ On 15 October, 1273, the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle upon Tyne were ordered to arrest the goods of Flanders entering that port and to deliver a third part of them to the same three merchants, who had sustained losses through men of Flanders who had plundered them of their goods.²⁵⁸ Whether these difficulties lessened his interest in this trade or not, during the periods covered by the detailed accounts, Henry le Escot exported but six consignments totalling 42 sacks 3 stones of wool and 2 lasts 17 dickers of hides,²⁵⁹ the details of which were:

2 May, 1281	1 last 1 dicker of hides
3 May, 1281	$\frac{1}{2}$ last 1 hide
4 May, 1281	$\frac{1}{2}$ last 16 hides
18 June, 1287	20 sacks of wool.
19 July, 1287	20 sacks of wool
1 May, 1296	2 sacks 3 stones of wool

He dealt in the export of customable goods only intermittently, probably when he saw an opportunity to make a quick profit. He was probably a general merchant or middleman, perhaps a financier, engaged in all kinds of activities.

Roger Peutevin had been a fellow bailiff and collector of murage with Henry le Escot,²⁶⁰ but he was not of the civic or commercial importance of his fellow townsman. That customable goods were not his only or chief interest is clear from the details of his trading therein and from a recorded transaction, in company with his fellow burgess, Thomas of Tyndale,²⁶¹ in woad. When the goods of French merchants were seized on the outbreak of war with France in 1294, Thomas of Tyndale and Roger Peutevin sold woad belonging to an Amiens merchant worth £34,²⁶² and this sum they paid off to the crown by instalments.²⁶³ Among debts owed to a Caen merchant for goods at this time was £20 owed by three Newcastle merchants, two of whom were

Peutevin and Robert of Norton.²⁶⁴ His consignments of customable goods numbered four, ranging from 1287 to 1297, and totalled but 17 sacks 12 stones of wool, 1 last 1 dicker of hides:²⁶⁵

26 July, 1287	1 dicker of hides
24 Aug., 1293	12 sacks 10 stones of wool
30 Aug., 1293	5 sacks 2 stones of wool
23 April, 1297	1 last of hides

Thomas of Carlisle, the elder, belonged to a generation older than Henry le Escot and was the only one of the Carlisle family found as exporter in the detailed accounts, important as members of the family were administratively. He has already been seen in association with Henry le Escot and Richard del Hay in troubles over the Flemings.²⁶⁶ He was also associated with that other important Newcastle merchant, John le Fleming, and a ship laden with their goods en route for Newcastle was seized off the coast at Whitby, taken there, where a part of the goods was consumed and the remainder detained.²⁶⁷ He also had transactions in land in the county of Northumberland on his own account and in association with Richard del Hay.²⁶⁸ In 1272 also he had licence to export wool, though the quantity is not disclosed.²⁶⁹ Thereafter he does not appear prominently, except as an exporter of two consignments, in 1292, of 19 sacks 5 stones of wool and 131 wool-fells and of 11 sacks of wool.²⁷⁰ His sometime associate, Roger le Rus, was responsible for the export of two consignments of hides only, 1½ lasts of 3 May and 1 last on 4 May, 1281.²⁷¹

Hugh and Nicholas of Carlisle seem to have belonged to the next generation. Hugh of Carlisle may have exported customable goods from Newcastle as early as 1275; he certainly paid customs at Kingston-upon-Hull on 18 April, 1276; on a small quantity of wool when he left Yarm.²⁷² Apart from his office as collector of customs with Henry le Escot, he seems to have been a man of business or law rather than commerce.²⁷³ His son Thomas, however, seems to have

made a career for himself as a collector of customs. With his uncle, Nicholas of Carlisle, Thomas, the son of Hugh of Carlisle, was appointed a collector of customs at Newcastle on 16 February, 1304,²⁷⁴ and twenty years later was still a collector for a district which had long been extended to include Hartlepool and Yarm, and which still extended to the Tweed.²⁷⁵ Nicholas of Carlisle was a more important person who also continued as a collector of customs for the enlarged area for some twenty years, with some slight intermissions.²⁷⁶ He had become chief bailiff or mayor of Newcastle by 1304²⁷⁷ and collector of murage from 1299.²⁷⁸ So when the two Carlisles displaced Gilbert le Fleming and Thomas of Freshmarsh as collectors of customs in 1304²⁷⁹ it was the replacement of comparatively unknown men by known men, though that very same year Gilbert le Fleming was appointed a collector of murage.²⁸⁰ Except that he was a burgess of Newcastle nothing is known about Thomas of Freshmarsh. Gilbert le Fleming was of the family of John le Fleming, perhaps a son. John le Fleming had been an early associate of such men as Thomas of Carlisle, Richard del Hay and Henry le Escot.²⁸¹ In 1276 he had obtained protection while he was engaged in the king's affairs with the Lucca merchants,²⁸² and in 1280 the king's exchange at Newcastle had been committed to him²⁸³ and he was active as merchant until his death in 1295.²⁸⁴

As civic dignitaries, royal officials, or merchants trading in many commodities, the patrician families of Newcastle upon Tyne were a compact community of importance, wealth and influence. The Escots, Carlisles, Hays and Flemings were merely among the leaders of a vigorous commercial and municipal life. They were not necessarily among the wealthiest of the merchants. An Isolda of Pampeden or a Samson le Cutiller had servants who were burgesses and themselves as wealthy as many of the merchants. John de Stockton, the clerk of Henry le Escot as mayor,²⁸⁵ within a few years was junior collector of customs at Newcastle to a Henry del Hay²⁸⁶ for several years. Though in prison in

Newcastle in 1290 for an outlawry in the county of Oxford for a homicide, he was pardoned on proof that he had lived in Newcastle for the previous ten years.²⁸⁷ His experience and ability in 1315 secured his appointment as controller of customs in the ports of Great Yarmouth and Lynn.²⁸⁸ Adam of Irby, whose highest official position discoverable was as a juror for the assessment of the *Lay Subsidy* in Newcastle,²⁸⁹ exported in five consignments between 1292 and 1297 a total of 22 sacks 8 stones of wool and 4 lasts 3 dickers of hides from Newcastle.²⁹⁰ Even the nobility participated in the profitable trade from Newcastle. On 30 May, 1297, Isabella Vesci exported 42½ sacks 2 stones of wool.²⁹¹ She had got into some difficulties over this consignment as it had been conveyed to Newcastle against the king's general proclamation, but she was able to secure its restoration on the ground that she was in Brabant with Margaret, Duchess of Brabant, Edward I's daughter, at the time of the proclamation.²⁹²

Those who traded from Newcastle during the reign of Edward I may be considered as representative of their place and time, and the accounts give valuable information of their method of trading though no details of their organization. Most were individual merchants, though they occasionally traded in partnership with a friend or neighbour. If, however, generally they were individual exporters on the shipping of their goods, particularly the greater merchants, they generally acted together. It would appear that frequently the whole capacity of the ship must have been chartered by them. The instances of their activities in these directions between 1294 and 1297 will be found sufficiently in the Appendix,²⁹³ but a few examples from the four earliest detailed accounts will be useful. In 1281 Henry le Escot and Roger le Rus are found exporting their hides in the same foreign ships.²⁹⁴ On 18 June, 1287, a Middelburg ship carried customable goods for eight merchants, totalling 74½ sacks 15 stones of wool and 100 wool-fells, of which all but 6 sacks 5 stones belonged to local merchants such as John

Locksmith of Alnwick, Henry le Escot, Isolda of Pampeden, and Gilbert of Cowgate.²⁹⁵ On 24 October, 1292, a Barfleur ship carried goods for ten merchants totalling 24 sacks 20 stones of wool, 880 wool-fells, of which all but a sack of wool belonging to the master of the ship were owned by Newcastle merchants, including John le Fleming and Peter, his servant, both Thoralds, Alexander of Gisburn, Walter of Cowgate, and Peter Graper.²⁹⁶ On 24 August, 1293, a Hamburg ship carried 76 sacks 2 stones, of which all but 5 sacks 2 stones belonged to seven Newcastle merchants—Hugh Gerardin, Roger Peutevin, Gilbert and Walter of Cowgate, Thomas Thorald, Robert of Abbeville, and Peter Graper.²⁹⁷

This use of foreign ships by the more important Newcastle merchants was probably caused in part by the greater capacity of the ships from foreign ports and the scarcity of Newcastle vessels, which seems to have been out of all proportion to the volume of trade of the port, and in part to the destination of the cargoes. The smaller Newcastle merchants sometimes used a local vessel. Thus on 28 July, 1293, the total customable cargo of the ship of Walter le Escot of Newcastle, totalling 5 sacks 5 stones of wool and 4 lasts 18 dickers of hides, belonged to three Newcastle merchants, Adam of Hoga, Adam of Irby and William Ayre.²⁹⁸ On one occasion the greater joined with the lesser in chartering a Newcastle vessel. On 14 February, 1294, the ship of William Cronan of Newcastle left with 33 sacks 18 stones of wool, 10 dickers 6 hides, 470 wool-fells, all of which, except 5 sacks and 300 wool-fells belonging to a Yarmouth merchant, belonged to Newcastle merchants from Hugh Gerardin to Alexander of Gisburn.²⁹⁹

The first four detailed accounts tell us little about the internal arrangements for the export, but an occasional glimpse is given. It is noted, for instance, that James Clare of Florence paid custom on 16 sacks of wool at Newcastle on 15 July, 1292, carted at Alnwick on 18 July and taken to Berwick-on-Tweed.³⁰⁰ The Foreign Receipts added

to the fifth detailed account³⁰¹ are much more useful, especially on efforts to smuggle wool beyond the border to Scotland. The collectors and controllers had their agents in the various wards of Northumberland. In the ward of Glendale eighteen sacks had been exported from England to Scotland without being weighed. A fine of twenty shillings was imposed on the official responsible. A fine of a mark was likewise imposed on the official in the ward of Lochdale, and on a Wooler man "because he wrongfully allowed wool to be taken from his house, after the arrest made, without custom, to Scotland". Details are given of the export of a last of tanned hides from Corbridge to Scotland; and of other consignments of hides from Berwick, or by such well-known merchants as Robert of Norton and Roger Peutevin. In 1297 eight uncustomed wool-fells and four uncustomed hides were found in a Yarmouth ship, all of which were forfeited and sold. These inland customs, fines and forfeitures were negligible compared with the very substantial total collected at Newcastle, but £20 6s. 8d. compared with a total of £2,161 6s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.³⁰²

Only one major problem now remains to be resolved from all these accounts, particular and summary, the comparative place of Newcastle among the chief English ports for the shipment of customable goods. The data for this comparison are available in three of the *Foreign Accounts* on the *Pipe Roll*, each of which has already been used for Newcastle alone above.³⁰³ The first for Michaelmas 7 to 8 Edward I³⁰⁴ produces the following result:

Newcastle upon Tyne.	£336 9s. 5d.
	875 sacks 8 stones of wool
	2260 wool-fells
	46 lasts 7 dickers 2 hides
Kingston-upon-Hull.	£707 9s. 11d.
	2083 sacks 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ stones of wool
	244 wool-fells
	19 lasts 3 dickers 1 hide

Boston.	£2,574 0s. 9d.	
	7654 sacks 2 stones of wool	
	10794 wool-fells	
	15 lasts 11 hides	
Lynn.	£367 0s. 0d.	
	1015 sacks 11 stones of wool	
	7082 wool-fells	
	19 lasts of hides	
Yarmouth.	£51 2s. 0d.	
	145 sacks 17 stones of wool	
	1091 wool-fells	
	2 lasts of hides	
Ipswich.	£168 12s. 10d.	
	407 sacks 12 stones of wool	
	19324 wool-fells	
Dunwich.	33 sacks 9 stones of wool	
	40 wool-fells	
London.	£1,963 14s. 11d.	
	5819 sacks 15 stones of wool	
	12311 wool-fells	
	9 lasts 16 dickers 2 hides	
Sandwich.	£249 6s. 11d.	
	690 sacks 18½ cloves of wool	
	17306 wool-fells	
Shoreham.	£105 4s. 10d.	
	283 sacks 5 cloves of wool	
	2798 wool-fells	
Seaford.	£89 7s. 2d.	
	117 sacks 49 cloves of wool	
	3990 wool-fells	
Chichester.	32 sacks 49 cloves of wool	
	1175 wool-fells	
Southampton.	£1,478 4s. 8d.	
	4168 sacks 7 cloves of wool	
	46988 wool-fells	
	39 lasts 18 dickers 2 hides	

Weymouth and Poole. £28 0s. 0d.
 82 sacks of wool
 600 wool-fells

The second, for the year Easter 9-10 Edward 1³⁰⁵ omits the return for London and combines the returns for Shoreham and Seaford:

Newcastle upon Tyne. £323 3s. 9d.
 771 sacks 7½ stones of wool
 11182 wool-fells
 80 lasts 12 dickers of hides

Kingston-upon-Hull. £1,086 10s. 8½d.
 3141 sacks of wool
 88 wool-fells
 59 lasts 12 dickers 7 hides

Boston. £3,599 1s. 6d.
 10675½ sacks of wool
 28215 wool-fells
 14 lasts 14½ dickers of hides

Lynn. £371 7s. 11d.
 1091 sacks 15½ stones of wool
 11 lasts 2 dickers 1 hide

Yarmouth. £10 12s. 4d.
 23 sacks 5 stones of wool
 175 wool-fells
 2 lasts 11 dickers of hides

Ipswich. £116 3s. 0½d.
 223 sacks 16 stones of wool
 476 wool-fells
 1 last 15 dickers 7 hides

Sandwich. £74 13s. 4d.
 208 sacks 43½ cloves of wool
 4543 wool-fells

Shoreham and Seaford. £189 5s. 10d.
 553 sacks 23 cloves of wool
 4101 wool-fells
 75 hides

Southampton.	£1,019 5s. 0d. 2801 sacks 49 cloves of wool 28727 wool-fells 63 lasts 6 dickers 1 hide
Weymouth.	£29 13s. 10½d. For a certain part of wool and wool-fells

The third account³⁰⁶ for which comparison can be made is not nearly so satisfactory. In the first place it covers the abnormal period of the *maltote*; secondly it enables comparison to be made only with the ports of Kingston-upon-Hull, Yarmouth, Ipswich and Winchelsea; thirdly for the five ports the periods of comparison are uneven. Still, sufficiently valuable information is given to justify a seriatim account of the total period by period.

First period. 23 Edward I.

Newcastle upon Tyne.	£247 8s. 6d. 110½ sacks 6 stones of wool 320 wool-fells 6½ lasts 9½ dickers 4 hides
Kingston-upon-Hull.	£6,196 10s. 10½d. 3040 sacks 967 wool-fells 31 lasts 7 dickers of hides
Yarmouth.	£1,350 4s. 9½d. 633 sacks 19 stones of wool 512 wool-fells 3 lasts 12 dickers 6 hides
Ipswich.	£120 4s. 9½d. 60 sacks 3 stones of wool

Second period. 24 Edward I.

Newcastle upon Tyne.	£424 14s. 9¾d. 166 sacks 1 stone of wool 1960 wool-fells 23 lasts 8 dickers 4 hides
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Kingston-upon-Hull.	£4,061 9s. 11d.
	1978 sacks 2 stones of wool
	3024 wool-fells
	24 lasts 8 dickers 6 hides
Yarmouth.	£5,070 6s. 5d.
	2497 sacks 7 stones of wool
	4174 wool-fells
	13 lasts 12 dickers 1 hide
Ipswich.	£70 5s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
	34 sacks 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ stones of wool
	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lasts of hides

Third period. 25 Edward I.

Newcastle upon Tyne.	£1,299 9s. 7d.
	552 $\frac{1}{2}$ sacks 50 stones of wool
	2264 wool-fells
	53 lasts 4 dickers 9 hides
Kingston-upon-Hull. ³⁰⁷	£544 9s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	261 sacks 19 stones of wool
	1583 wool-fells
	2 lasts 19 dickers 4 hides
Yarmouth.	£7,502 19s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	3751 sacks 11 stones of wool
	2645 wool-fells
	13 lasts 14 dickers 5 hides
Ipswich.	£37 17s. 0d.
	18 sacks 24 stones of wool
Winchelsea. ³⁰⁸	£24 0s. 0d.
	12 sacks of wool

Fourth period. First quarter of 26 Edward I.

Newcastle upon Tyne.	£165 4s. 4d.
	78 sacks 13 stones of wool
	150 wool-fells
	2 lasts 1 dicker 8 hides
Yarmouth.	£13 7s. 1d.
	6 sacks 13 stones of wool
	2 dickers of hides

*Fifth period.*³⁰⁹ Last three quarters of 26 Edward I.

Newcastle upon Tyne.	£126 6s. 6½d.
	256 sacks 2 stones of wool
	11282 wool-fells
	33 lasts 6 dickers 6 hides
Yarmouth.	£725 10s. 0½d.
	2161 sacks 20½ stones of wool
	3082 wool-fells
	2 lasts 4 dickers 1 hide
Ipswich.	£119 19s. 11d.
	343 sacks 10 stones of wool
	4180 wool-fells
	18 dickers of hides
Winchelsea.	£152 18s. 10¾d.
	434½ sacks 8 cloves of wool
	6814 wool-fells
	26 hides
<i>Sixth period.</i> First half of 27 Edward I.	
Yarmouth.	£997 12s. 2¾d.
	782 sacks 17 stones of wool
	4345 wool-fells
	9 lasts 10 dickers 8 hides
Winchelsea.	£44 12s. 11d.
	102 sacks 8 cloves of wool
	9289 wool-fells
	40 hides

These figures establish a number of important points. Before 1294 Boston was easily the most important English port for the export of wool, with London a bad second; Southampton and Kingston-upon-Hull about equal third. These were outstandingly the four principal ports for wool. In the second grade came Lynn and Newcastle upon Tyne, with Lynn slightly ahead of Newcastle, but with Newcastle easily the sixth chief port for wool. The other ports were in a much lower category with Yarmouth a very poor last,

with a very small export trade. The *maltote* within a few months made Yarmouth a more important port for the export of wool than Kingston-upon-Hull, which declined not only comparatively but relatively. The recession hit Newcastle still more severely. Reversion to the rates of the "Ancient Custom" hit Yarmouth temporarily, but Newcastle immediately began to recover its old position. Generally the position of the export of wool-fells followed that of wool, but not so hides.

Before 1294 Newcastle upon Tyne seems to have been the principal port for the export of hides, with Southampton second and Kingston-upon-Hull third. During the period of the *maltote*, its primacy in hides was challenged by Kingston-upon-Hull for a time, but the Newcastle trade in this commodity soon recovered and prepared the way for that very considerable increase in the export of hides, as well as wool-fells which was witnessed at the end of the reign and which has already been remarked.³¹⁰ A position of supremacy in one commodity, and that a subsidiary one in the customs system, would not secure the prosperity of any major port, though it might connote employment and profit in a subsidiary or even main industry in the town and the countryside. The phenomenal increase in the importance of Newcastle upon Tyne and the activities of its burgesses and inhabitants, which marked the last decade of the reign of Edward I was due to its strategic importance in the king's policy towards Scotland.³¹¹

However, important as it was, the export trade in wool, wool-fells and hides represented but a part of the economic activity of the town and port of Newcastle during the reign of Edward I, and its importance must not be exaggerated merely because there is more surviving contemporary evidence concerning it than for many other industrial or commercial enterprises. The records of anything which concerned the revenues of the crown were always more carefully preserved than those relating to any other activity, local or national. The vessels, largely from foreign ports,

which exported these three commodities from Newcastle, did not usually arrive in ballast. Most, if not all of them, brought some quantity of import goods from their home ports or from other ports and countries with which they enjoyed a carrying trade. Moreover, the small quantities of customable goods which some of these ships carried from Newcastle suggest strongly that wool, wool-fells and hides were not the only commodities they carried away from the Tyne. Nor did a foreign owner or master of a ship call at Newcastle just to collect a stone of wool, a dicker of hides or a score of wool-fells. The purchase and payment of customs on these was merely an incident in their normal shipments.

Timber and timber products, grain and wine, furs and fish, oils and metals were imported; and from the first half of the fourteenth century a continuous story of these could be chronicled. Even for the reign of Edward I there is sufficient evidence available to provide a satisfactory prologue. As the list of goods on which customs were levied was enlarged from 1303 onwards, the evidence increases and accumulates. Even before the additional evidence starts there is an occasional glimpse given in a chance account or in fortuitous official enquiries or in records relating to litigation. Take as a single example the account concerning the goods of French merchants which were arrested at Newcastle in 1294, on the outbreak of war between England and France.³¹² It discloses that at least five of the important Newcastle merchants, who exported wool, wool-fells and hides, also dealt in woad, Hugh Gerardin, Henry le Escot, Roger Peutevin, Thomas of Tyndale and Hugh Hangard, and that John Hangard of Amiens, who exported from Newcastle in his time, was also an important dealer in woad. The Amiens ships and the Amiens merchants brought in woad, amongst other goods, and took out, amongst other goods, wool, wool-fells and hides.³¹³ There was a similar exchange of products with other ports and other countries.

Again, the importance of three such commodities as

wool, wool-fells and hides on the scale upon which they were exported from Newcastle during the reign of Edward I presupposes a very considerable commercial activity within the town and port, and considerable ancillary or dependent industries in the town and the area it served. For wool, wool-fells and hides it varied from the fifth to the sixth of the ports for their export. It continued to be one of the eight, and not the last of, leading ports in the kingdom which were foremost in this trade.³¹⁴ When the *Ordinance of the Staple* was made in 1353 Newcastle was the first mentioned of the nine centres for the export trade in wool.³¹⁵ After Calais had been established as the sole staple for English wool, only two exceptions were recognized to the rule that all wool must go to Calais. One was Berwick, but, as Professor Eileen Power emphasized, "more important, the merchants of Newcastle were allowed to export wool of the growing of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham, together with Richmond and Northallerton and the lands lying between the Tees and the Tweed, to any port of the Netherlands, usually to the specified ports of Bruges and Middelburg".³¹⁶

Too much stress must not, therefore, be placed upon the stimulating effects upon the industrial and commercial growth and progress of Newcastle upon Tyne, because of its place as a strategic base against Scotland under Edward I. For in that period, as before and after, war with Scotland brought losses as well as gains to Newcastle and to the area for which it was the commercial and industrial centre. If Newcastle was the strategic base against Scotland, it was also the strategic port for trade with the Low Countries, the Baltic and the Scandinavian countries. Much more work remains to be done upon the medieval economic history of the North East before the true assessment of the relative importance of Newcastle and its development as a strategic military and naval base and a strategic commercial and industrial port can be made. In the meantime, it is hoped that some slight further contribution has been made by this somewhat lengthy

survey of a few principal products over a comparatively short period.

APPENDIX

The Roll¹ of Adam of York, clerk of the King's New Customs, Newcastle upon Tyne, from 29 July 22 Edward 1 (1294) to 16 October 25 Edward I (1297) for wool, hides and wool-fells.

Of the King's New Customs of wool, hides and wool-fells from 29th July, 1294, to Michaelmas following nothing

Of the same customs from Michaelmas 1294 to 26 February, both days counted nothing

The ship of Martin de Mari, called *Crossbow*, which left the port of Newcastle, licensed, 27th February 1295, with the goods of merchants who follow:

The same Martin had in that ship in one sarpler, one sack of wool and one stone by weight, whereon the custom was 41s. 6½d.

The same had in the same ship eight dickers of hides, whereon the custom was 26s. 8d. Of increase received from the same 2s., which exceeds the sum of nine pence in the pound, arising from 40s. by weight; by the statute delivered in the Exchequer, which runs as follows: "It is provided that merchants shall not carry any counterfeit money. And if any such shall be found to be counterfeit, beyond four pence in the pound it shall be forfeited. If any lighter than nine pence in the pound under the same forfeiture." Of the counterfeit money received from the same there was 2s. 4d. which exceeds the sum of four pence in the pound arising from the said money by the same statute.

Gisekin de Riua had in the same ship three dickers and five hides, whereon the custom was 11s. 8d. Of increase received from the same 11d., arising from the same.

From the same Martin and Gisekin for tronage and the *Coket* 4½d., whereof for the tronage of one sack ½d.

³Memorandum that the custom on one dicker is 3s. 4d. and on one hide 4d.

Totals: Wool, 1 sack and 1 stone	41s.	6½d.
Hides, 11 dickers and 5 hides	38s.	4d.
Increase	2s.	11d.
Counterfeit money	2s.	4d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		4½d.
Sum total.	£4 5s. 5d.	Certified. ²

The ship of Dideric Sampson of Cirice, called *The Wellfare*, which left, etc., the same 27th day with the goods of merchants, etc.:

The same Dideric had in the same ship in one sarpler, one sack and one stone of wool by weight, whereon the custom was 41s. 6½d.

The same had in the same ship four dickers and six hides, whereon the custom was 15s. 4d. Of increase received from the same 2s. 5d. as above by weight. And of counterfeit money 6d.

Gerard Simonet of the Society of the Black Circles of Pulci and Rembertini had in the same ship of wool of the said Society in fifty six sarplers, fifty seven and a half sacks and one stone of wool, whereon the custom was £115 18½d.

Of increase received from the same 22d., arising from 40s. as above, by the statute by weight.

Bartholomew, the son of Hugh, had in the same ship in one bag, two stones of wool, whereon the custom was 3s. 1d. Of increase or counterfeit money of the same nothing

Of the same Dideric, Gerard and Bartholomew for tronage and the *Coket*, 2s. 8½d., whereof for tronage 2s. 2½d.

Totals: Wool, 58½ sacks 4 stones	£117	6s.	2d.
Hides, 4 dickers 6 hides		15s.	4d.
Increase		4s.	3d.
Counterfeit money			6d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		2s.	8½d.
Sum Total.	£118	8s.	11½d.

Certified.

The ship of Clays Colin, called *Goodale*, which left, etc., the same 27th day with the goods of merchants, etc.:

Osbert of Vuna had in the same ship in two sarplers, two sacks and two stones of wool by weight, whereon the custom was £4 3s. 1d. Of increase received for the same 6s., arising from the same sum by weight as above by statute. The same had in the same ten dickers of hides, whereon the custom 33s. 4d. From the same for counterfeit money, 3s, which exceeds the sum of four pence, etc., as above by statute.

John Schilling had in the same ship in two sarplers, two sacks and one stone by weight, whereon the custom was £4 18½d. Of increase received from the same, arising from the same sum by weight as above by statute 5s. And for payment received from the same for counterfeit money, 2s. as above.

Of the same Osbert and John for tronage and the *Coket*, 6d., whereof for tronage 2d.

Totals: Wool, 4 sacks 3 stones	£8	4s.	7½d.
Hides, 10 dickers	£1	13s.	4d.
Increase		11s.	0d.

Counterfeit money	5s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		6d.
Sum Total.	£10 14s.	5½d. Certified.

The ship of Henry Popesune, called *Swan*, which left, etc., the same 27th day, with goods of merchants, etc.:

Mark of Lubeck had in the same ship ten dickers of hides, whereon the custom 33s. 4d. Of increase received of the same 16d. And of payment for counterfeit money 6d., as above by statute. And for the *Coket* 2d.

Totals: Hides, 10 dickers	33s.	4d.
Increase and counterfeit money		22d.
The <i>Coket</i>		2d.
Sum Total.	35s.	4d. Certified.

The ship of Henry Weyling, called *Cryland*, which left, etc., the same 27th day with goods for merchants, etc.:

Aubrey Papa had in the same ship six dickers of hides, whereon the custom 20s. For counterfeit money 12d. by weight, by statute.

John Schilling had in the same six dickers of hides, whereon the custom 20s. Of increase received of the same 12d., by statute.

William of Stoueren had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d. Of the same for the *Coket* 6d.

Totals: Hides, 1½ lasts 2 dickers	106s.	8d.
Increase and counterfeit money		2s.
The <i>Coket</i>		6d.

Sum Total. 109s. 2d. Certified.

The ship of Peter, son of William of Cates, called *Graytree*, which left, etc., 3 March with the goods of merchants, etc.:

The same Peter had in the same three dickers of hides, whereon the custom 10s.

Brand, the son of Benedict of Cates, had in the same two dickers of hides, whereon the custom 6s. 8d.

John, the son of Clays, had in the same two dickers of hides, whereon the custom 6s. 8d. Of the same for the *Coket* 6d.

Totals: Hides, 7 dickers	23s.	4d.
The <i>Coket</i>		6d.

Sum Total. 23s. 10d. Certified.

The ship of Henry Popesune, called the *Graytree*, which left, etc., 3 March with the goods, etc.:

The same Henry had in the same ship one dicker of hides.

And Henry, the son of William, one dicker of hides, whereon the custom 3s. 4d. Of the same for the *Coket* 4d.

Total. 7s. Certified.

The ship of Peter, the son of John, called *Sparrow*, which left, etc., 16 March with the goods of the merchants who follow:

Henry of Middelburgh had in the same ship three stones of wool, whereon the custom 4s. 7½d. The same had in the same two dickers and 6 hides, whereon the custom 8s. 8d. Of counterfeit money received by statute 17d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d.

Totals: Wool, 3 stones	4s. 7½d.
Hides, 2 dickers 6 hides	8s. 8d.
Counterfeit money	17d.
The <i>Coket</i>	2d.
Sum Total.	14s. 10½d. Certified.

The ship of William de Walda of Cyrice, called *Wellfarand*, which left, etc., the said 16th day with the goods, etc.:

The same William had in the same ship in one bag seven stones of wool, whereon the custom 10s. 9½d. The same had in the same five and a half dickers and three hides, whereon the custom 19s. 4d. Of increase on the same and counterfeit money 2s. 1d. as above by statute, whereof counterfeit money 14d.

Albert of Stauern and Miles of Strallisund had in the same seven hides, whereon etc. 2s. 4d. Of the same for the *Coket* 6d.

Totals: Wool, 7 stone	10s. 9½d.
Hides, 6½ dickers	21s. 8d.
Increase and counterfeit money	2s. 1d.
The <i>Coket</i>	6d.
Sum Total.	35s. 0½d. Certified.

The ship of Henry de Burgo, called *The Wellfare*, which left etc., 20 March with goods, etc.:

Giles, the son of Simon of Cortekin, had in the same four dickers and 3 hides, whereon the custom 14s. 4d. Of counterfeit money 11d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d.

Totals: Hides, 4 dickers 3 hides	14s. 4d.
Counterfeit money	11d.
The <i>Coket</i>	2d.
Sum Total.	15s. 5d. Certified.

The ship of William, the son of James of Middelburgh, called *Landboard*, which left, etc., 29th March with the goods, etc.:

six score of wool-fells, whereon the custom 16s. 0½d. Of increase by weight 6d. Counterfeit money, by statute, 14d. For the *Coket* 2d.

Totals: Hides, 1 dicker	3s.	4d.	
Increase, Counterfeit money and the <i>Coket</i>			22d.
Wool-fells, 120	16s.	0½d.	
Sum Total.	20s.	2½d.	Certified.

⁴Memorandum. That the custom for a hundred fells, the short hundred is 13s. 4d. and for a fell 1½d. and half a farthing.

The ship of Aulard of Middelburgh, called *Pilgrim*, which left, etc., 1 May with the goods, etc.:

John, the son of Henry of Middelburgh, had in the same ship two dickers of hides, whereon the custom 6s. 8d. Of increase and counterfeit money by statute 8d., whereof for counterfeit money 4d. For the *Coket* 4d.

Totals: Hides, 2 dickers	6s.	8d.	
Increase, Counterfeit money and the <i>Coket</i>			10d.
Sum Total.	7s.	8d.	Certified.

The ship of John of Whiteburgh, called the *Wellfare*, which left the port, etc., 2 June with the goods of the merchants, etc.:

Mark of Lubek had in the same ship in four sarplers, four sacks four stons of wool, whereon the custom £8 6s. 2d. The same Mark had in the same two hundred wool-fells, 26s. 8d. Increase by weight 8s., by statute.

Henry Duppen had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s. Counterfeit money 2s. 10d., by statute.

Of the same Mark and Henry for tronage and the *Coket* 6½d., whereof for tronage 2½d.

Totals: Wool, 5 sacks 4 stons	£10	6s.	2d.	
Wool-fells, 200		26s.	8d.	
Increase and counterfeit		10s.	10d.	
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>			6½d.	
Sum Total.	£12	4s.	2½d.	Certified.

The ship of Henry of Weremuth, called *Goldhop*, which left the port, etc., 6 June with the goods of the merchants, etc.:

Peter of Bedeschak had in the same half a last and one hide, whereon the custom 33s. 8d. Of increase and counterfeit

money 3s. 1d., whereof for counterfeit money 2s. For the *Coket* 2d.

Totals: Hides, half a last 1 hide	33s.	8d.
Increase and Counterfeit money	3s.	1d.
The <i>Coket</i>		2d.
Sum Total.	36s. 11d.	Certified.

The ship of Nicholas Clays of Groningen, called *Goodyear*, which left the port, etc., 12 August with the goods, etc.:

Richard of Emeldon had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks two stones of wool, whereon the custom £4 3s. 1d. And he had in the same six dickers of hides, whereon the custom 20s. for tronage and the *Coket* 3d.

Totals: Wool, 2 sacks 2 stones	£4	3s.	1d.
Hides, 6 dickers		20s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>			3d.
Sum Total.	103s. 4d.		Certified.

The ship of John Pope of Lubek, called *Ostreland*, which left the port, etc., 17 September with the goods, etc.:

Gerard Cruse of Lubek had in the same in three sarplers and one bag, three and a half sacks and three stones of wool, whereon the custom £7 4s. 7½d. Increase and counterfeit money, nothing.

Arnald Keseling of the same had in the same ship in four sarplers and one bag, four and a half sacks and two stones of wool, whereon the custom £9 3s. 1d. Also he had in the same one last seven dickers and three hides, whereon the custom £4 11s.

John, of the same, clerk, had in the same three dickers of hides 10s. Of the same Gerard, Arnald and John for tronage and the *Coket* 10d.

Totals: Wool, 8 sacks 5 stones	£16	7s.	8½d.
Hides, 1½ lasts 3 hides		101s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>			10d.
Sum Total.	£21 9s. 6½d.		Certified.

⁵ Sum Total for the 23rd year (1294-1295) £252 9s. 7d. Certified.

⁵ Total of wood, 110 sacks 6 stones. - Total of money therefor, £221 9s. 3d.

THE 24TH YEAR (1295-1296).

The ship of Hugh, son of Henry of Middelburgh, which left

the port of Newcastle, licensed, on 2 January, 24 Edward I (1296), with the goods of the merchants who follow:

John Dinard had in the same ship in two sarplers, two sacks one stone of wool, whereon the custom £4 18½d. Also he had in the same ship one last six dickers of hides, whereon the custom £4 6s. 8d.

Walter of Wyndesore had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d.

Hugh Gerardin had in the same one and a half lasts of hides, whereon the custom 100s.

Roger le Dounbeor and Adam of Durham had in the same one and a half dickers of hides, whereon the custom 5s. Increase and counterfeit money, nothing.

Of the same John, Walter, Hugh and Roger for tronage and the *Coket* 9d., whereof for tronage 1d.

Totals: Wool, 2 sacks 1 stone	£4 0s. 18½d.
Hides, 3½ lasts 7½ dickers	£12 18s. 4d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	9d.
Sum Total.	£17 0s. 7½d. Certified.

The ship of Simon, son of Enoce of Middelburgh, called *Middelburgh*, which left, etc., 13 February with the goods of the merchants, etc.:

Simon Roland, Henry le Pessonner and Lupus, his fellow, merchants of Brabant, had in the same ship in seventy sarplers, seventy and a half sacks eight stones of wool, by weight, whereof the customs £141 12s. 4d. Peter le Graper had in the same in seven sarplers, seven sacks of wool, by weight, whereon the custom £14.

William Casse of Cortekin had in the same in one sarpler, one sack and one stone of wool, by weight, whereon the custom 41s. 6½d. Of increase by weight 2s., by statute. Of the same Simon, Peter and William for tronage and the *Coket* 3s. 8½d, whereof for tronage 3s. 2½d.

Totals: Wool, 78½ sacks 9 stones	£157 13s. 10½d.
Increase	2s. 0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	3s. 8½d.
Sum Total.	£157 19s. 7d. Certified.

The ship of Lambert, the son of William of West Chapel, which left, etc., called *Northman*, 1 May with the goods, etc.:

Hermann Molle of Lubeck had in the same in twelve sarplers and two bags, twelve sacks one stone of wool, whereon the custom £26 0s. 18½d. The same had in the same four and a half lasts and five hides, whereon the customs £15 0s. 20d.

Also he had in the same a hundred and fifty wool-fells, whereon etc., 20s.

Arnald Keseling of the same had in the same ship in fourteen sarplers and one bag, fourteen sacks and five stones of wool, whereon the custom £28 7s. 8½d.

Henry Lescot of Newcastle had in the same in two sarplers two sacks three stones of wool, whereon the custom £4 4s. 7½d.

Corandin of Germany had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s.

And the same Hermann, Arnald, Henry and Corandin for tronage and the *Coket* 23d., whereof for tronage 15d.

Totals: Wool, 30 sacks 9 stones	£60 13s. 9½d.
Hides, 4½ lasts 5 hides	£15 0s. 20d.
Wool-fells, 150	20s. 0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	23d.
Sum Total.	£76 17s. 4½d. Certified.

The ship of Robert of Orneham, called *The Blith of Yarmouth*, which left, etc., 24 May with the goods, etc.

Hugh Gerardin had in the same in one bag, twenty two stones of wool, whereon the custom 33s. 10½d. And he had in the same five and a half lasts one dicker and three hides, whereon the custom £18 10s.

James of Auangate of the Society of the Mozzi of Florence had in the same in twelve sarplers, twelve sacks of wool, whereon the custom £24. Certified.⁶ Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 10d., whereof for tronage 6d.

Totals: Wool, 12½ sacks 9 stones	£25 13s. 10½d.
- Hides, 5½ lasts 1 dicker 3 hides	£18 11s. 0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	10d.
Sum Total	£44 5s. 8½d. Certified.

The ship of Richard, son of Walter, of Yarmouth, called *The Margerie*, which left, etc., 24 May as above:

Hugh Gerardin had in the same five lasts four dickers 8 hides, whereon the custom £17 9s. 4d.

The said James of Auangate had in the same in sixteen sarplers, sixteen sacks of wool by weight, whereon the custom £32. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 12d., whereof for tronage 8d.

Totals: Wool, 16 sacks	£32 0s. 0d.
Hides, 5 lasts 4 dickers 8 hides	£17 9s. 4d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	12d.
Sum Total.	£49 10s. 4d. Certified.

The ship of Godewin of Middelburgh, called *Forloup*, which left, etc., 29 May with the goods, etc.:

Peter le Graper and Peter Sampson had in the same ship in ten sarplers, ten sacks of wool, whereon the custom £20.

Nicholas le Petit had in the same in three sarplers and two bags, three sacks twelve stones of wool, whereon the custom £6 18s. 6d. Also he had in the same one last six and a half dickers of hides, whereon the custom £4 8s. 4d. Also he had in the same a thousand wool-fells in eight sarplers, whereon the custom £6 13s. 4d.

Farmann Albert had in the same in one sarpler, one sack two stones, whereon the custom 43s. 1d. The same had in the same thirteen dickers and six hides, whereon the custom 46s. 4d. The same had in the same six hundred and ten wool-fells in four sarplers, whereon the customs £4 0s. 16½d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 13d., whereof for tronage 7d.

Totals: Wool, 14 sacks 14 stones	£29 0s. 19d.
Hides, 72 lasts 1 hide	£6 13s. 8d.
Wool-fells, 1610	£10 14s. 8½d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	13d.
Sum Total.	£46 11s. 0½d. Certified.

The ship of Peter Claward of Cirice, called *Skinkewyn*, which left, etc., 16 June with the goods, etc.

The same Peter had in the same ship four dickers four hides, whereon the custom 14s. 8d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 14s. 10d. Certified.

The ship of William at the Cross, called *The Wellfare*, which left, etc., 28 June with the goods, etc.:

Nicholas of Elrekerr had in the same in one sarpler, one sack two stones of wool, whereon the customs 43s. 1d. The same had in the same in one sarpler two hundred wool-fells, whereon the custom 26s. 8d.

John of Norfolk had in the same in ten sarplers, ten sacks 9 stones of wool, whereon the custom £20 13s. 10½d. The same had in the same fourteen dickers and seven hides, whereon the custom 49s. And of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 9½d., whereof for tronage 5½d.

Totals: Wool, 11 sacks 11 stones	£22 16s. 11½d.
Hides, 14 dickers 7 hides	49s. 0d.
Wool-fells, 200	26s. 8d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	9½d.
Sum Total.	£26 13s. 5d. Certified.

The ship of James Coppe of Sandwich, called *St. George*, which left, etc., 27 June with the goods, etc.:

Thomas Haterel had in the same one last 3 dickers of hides, whereon the custom 76s. 8d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 76s. 10d. Certified.

The ship of William del Sand of Yarmouth, called the *Ship of the Holy Cross*, which left, etc., 14 September with the goods, etc.:

Hermann Breton of Yarmouth had in the same two dickers and one hide, whereon the custom 7s. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 7s. 2d. Certified.

⁸ Sum Total for the 24th year (1295-1296) £423 16s 9½d.

⁹ Sum Total of the 25th year.¹⁰

Wool, 66 sacks 1 stone	£332	0s.	18½d.	} £423 16s. 10d. ¹¹ Certified.
Hides, 23 lasts 8 dickers				
4 hides	£78	0s.	16d.	
Wool-fells, 1960	£13	0s.	16¼d.	
Increase		2s.	0d.	
Tronage		10s.	7d.	⁹

THE 25TH YEAR (1296-1297).

The ship of William Cronan of Newcastle, called *The Wellfare*, which left the port of Newcastle, licensed, 11 October with the goods of the merchants, etc.:

Hermann Molle of Lubeck had in the same ship in ten sarplers, ten sacks by weight, whereon the custom £20. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 7d.

Totals: Wool, 10 sacks	£20	0s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>			7d.
Sum Total.	£20	0s.	7d.

Certified.

The ship of Walter, the son of Richard of Saltcott, called *The Cateline*, which left, etc., 1 November with the goods, etc.:

Nicholas of Elrekerr had in the same ship in seven sarplers and one bag, seven sacks eight stones of wool, whereon the custom £14 12s. 4d.

The same had in the same two and a half lasts of hides, whereon the custom £8 6s. 8d. The same had in the same one hundred wool-fells whereon the custom 13s. 4d.

Peter le Graper and Peter Sampson had in the same ship two and a half lasts of hides, whereon the custom £8 6s. 8d.

The same Peter and Peter had in the same two hundred wool-fells, whereon the custom 26s. 8d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 9½d., whereof for tronage 3½d.

Totals: Wool, 7 sacks 8 stones	£14 12s. 4d.
Hides, 5 lasts	£16 13s. 4d.
Wool-fells, 300	40s. 0d. ¹²
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	9½d.
Sum Total.	£33 6s. 5½d. ¹³

The ship of Richard Gerard of Dunwich, called *St. John*, which left, etc., 6 April with the goods, etc.:

The same Richard had in the same ship four dickers of hides, whereon the custom 13s. 4d.

Lupus Bouretat of the Society of the White Friscobaldi had in the same ship in forty seven sarplers, forty seven sacks of wool, whereon the custom £94.

The same had in the same one and a half lasts six dickers six hides, whereon the custom £6 2s. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 2s. 3½d., whereof tronage 23½d.

Totals: Wool, 47 sacks	£94 0s. 0d.
Hides, 2 lasts 6 hides	£6 15s. 4d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	2s. 3½d.
Sum Total.	£100 17s. 7½d. Certified.

The ship of Robert of Runeham of Yarmouth, called *The Palmer*, which left, etc., 8 April, etc.

Robert Pope of Yarmouth had in the same ship in one sarpler, one sack and one stone of wool, whereon the custom 41s. 6½d.

The same had in the same eleven dickers 6 hides, whereon the custom 38s. 4d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 2½d.

Totals: Wool, 1 sack 1 stone	41s. 6½d.
Hides, 11 dickers 6 hides	38s. 4d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	2½d.
Sum Total.	£4 0s. 1d. Certified.

The ship of William, the son of Peter of Flissing, called *Paradis*, which left, etc., 12 April with the goods, etc.:

The same William had in the same ten stones of wool in three bags, whereon the custom 15s. 5d. The same had in the same fourteen wool-fells, whereon the custom 22¼d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 17s. 5¼d. Certified.

The ship of Walter Scot of Newcastle, which left the same 12 April, etc.:

Adam of Durham had in the same two dickers of hides, whereon the custom 6s. 8d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 6s. 10d. Certified.

The ship of John, Abbot of Blakeney, called *Joyland*, which left etc., 16 April, etc.:

Gilbert of Blakeney had in the same two and a half lasts four dickers three hides, whereon the custom £9 0s. 12d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, £9 0s. 14d. Certified.

The ship of John Prest, called *Backebrad*, which left, etc., 20 April with the goods, etc.:

Peter Sampson had in the same ship in ten sarplers, ten sacks of wool, whereon the custom £20. The same had in the same one last one dicker of hides, whereon the custom 70s.

Walter of Cowgate had in the same in four sarplers, four sacks of wool, whereon the custom £8. Richard of Emeldon had in the same in five sarplers, five sacks of wool, whereon the custom, £10. The same had in the same three lasts of hides, whereon the custom £10. The same had in the same a hundred and fifty wool-fells, whereon the custom 20s.

Cecilia, the widow of Alexander le Furbeor, had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereon the custom £4. The same had, etc., one last of hides 66s. 8d.

William of Pouncy had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d.

Guy of Barnard Castle had in the same in four sarplers, four sacks four stones of wool, whereon the custom £8 6s. 2d. The same had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d.

John le Especer of Durham had in the same in four sarplers, four sacks of wool, whereon the custom £8.

John Prest of Arnemuth had in the same in one bag, four stones of wool, whereon the custom 6s. 2d.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 2s. 6½d., whereof for tronage 14½d.

Totals: Wool, 29 sacks 8 stones	£58 12s. 4d.
Hides, 10 lasts ¹⁴ 1 dicker	£33 10s. 0d.
Wool-fells, 150	20s. 0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	2s. 6½d.
Sum Total	£93 4s. 10½d. Certified.

The ship of John, the son of Mathew del Swyne, called *The Rose*, which left, etc., 23 April with the goods, etc.:

The same John had in the same in one bag, six stones of

wool, whereon the custom 9s. 3d. And the same had in the same three dickers of hides, whereon the custom 10s.

Roger Peyteuin of Newcastle had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d. Robert of Norton of the same had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d. John Lubald of the same had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereon the custom £4. The same had in the same fifteen dickers of hides, whereon the custom 50s. William le Porter of the same had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d.

Roger of Burneton had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s. The same had in the same half a last of hides, whereon the custom 33s. 4d. Matilda la Barber had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereon the custom £4. The same, etc., in the same half a last of hides, 33s. 4d.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 18½d., whereof for tronage 2½d.

Totals: Wool, 5 sacks 6 stones	£10 9s. 3d.
Hides, 4½ lasts 8 dickers	£16 6s. 8d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	18½d.
Sum Total.	£26 17s. 5½d. Certified.

The ship of William Fichet of Dunwich, called *St. John*, which left, etc., 23 April with the goods, etc.:

Adam of Irbi had in the same in three sarplers and one bag, three sacks ten stones of wool, whereon the custom £6 15s. 5d. The same had in the same two lasts one dicker of hides, whereon the custom £6 16s. 8d. John of Blakedenn had in the same five dickers of hides, whereon the custom 16s. 8d.

Agnes, the widow of Sampson le Cotiler had in the same in three sarplers, three sacks two stones of wool, whereon the custom £6 3s. 1d. The same had in the same one last of hides, whereon the custom 66s. 8d. The same had in the same sixty wool-fells, whereon the custom 8s. 1½d.

Thomas of Tyndal had in the same in five sarplers, five sacks of wool, whereon the custom £10. The same in the same half a last of hides, whereon the custom 33s. 4d.

Peter Sampson and Peter le Graper had in the same in ten sarplers, ten sacks of wool, whereon the custom £20. The same in the same one last one dicker 70s.

William of Pounty had in the same half a last one dicker of hides, whereon the custom 36s. 8d.

Cecilia, the widow of Alexander le Furbeor, had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereof the custom £4. The

same in the same half a last of hides, whereon, etc., 33s. 4d.

Elias, the servant of Alexander le Furbeor, in the same half a last of hides, whereon the custom 33s. 4d.

Walter le Orfeuere had in the same in three sarplers, three sacks of wool, whereon the custom £6. The same in the same three dickers seven hides, whereof the custom 12s. 4d.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 2s. 7d., whereof for tronage 13d.

Totals: Wool, 26 sacks 12 stones	£52 18s. 6d.
Hides, 6½ lasts 1 dicker 7 hides	£21 19s. 0d.
Wool-fells, 60	8s. 1½d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	2s. 7d.
Sum Total.	£75 8s. 2½d. Certified.

The ship of Gau, the son of Hugh of Caumfre, called *The Blithe*, which left, etc., 23 April, etc.

Nicholas of Elrekerr had in the same in four sarplers, four sacks, whereon the custom £8. The same had in the same six hundred and sixty wool-fells, whereon the custom £4 8s. 1½d. The same had in the same one and a half lasts of hides, whereon the custom 100s.

Walter of Cowgate had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereon the custom £4. The same had in the same one and a half lasts of hides, whereon the custom 100s. The same had in the same four hundred wool-fells, whereon the custom 53s. 4d.

Cecilia, the widow of Alexander le Furbeor, had in the same fifteen dickers of hides, whereon the custom 50s. Agnes, the widow of Sampson le Cotiler had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereon the custom £4. Elias, the servant of Alexander le Furbeor, had in the same eleven dickers of hides, whereon the custom 36s. 8d. The same had in the same one hundred wool-fells in one bag, whereon the custom 13s. 4d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 14d.

Totals: Wool, 8 sacks	£8 0s. 0d.
Hides, 4 lasts 6 dickers	£14 6s. 8d.
Wool-fells, 1160	£7 14s. 9½d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	14d.
Sum Total.	£38 2s. 7½d. Certified.

The ship of John of Yarmouth, called *The Wellfare*, which left, etc., 14 May, etc.:

Henry of Dunkirk had in the same two and a half dickers of tanned hides, whereon the custom 8s. 4d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 8s. 6d. Certified.

The ship of Richard of Paris, called *The Nicholas*, which left, etc., 14 May, etc.:

The same Richard had in the same one hundred wool-fells, whereon the custom 13s. 4d. Of the same for the *Coket* 2d. Total, 13s. 6d. Certified.

The ship of Gilbert Makerell which left, etc., 30 May with goods of the lord King and of the other merchants who follow:

¹⁵The lord King had in the same ship in seventy sarplers, seventy sacks, £140.¹⁶ The same had in the same three lasts nine dickers three hides, whereon the custom £11 11s.¹⁷

John Sywater del Dam had in the same three dickers of hides, whereon the custom 13s. Of the same for the *Coket* 3s. 1d.¹⁸

Total, £152 7s. 3d.¹⁹ Certified.

The ship of Adam Mouton of Great Yarmouth which left, etc., 30 May with goods of the lord King and of the other merchants, etc.:

¹⁵The lord King had in the same in sixty four sarplers, sixty four sacks of wool £128.¹⁶ And four lasts of hides, whereon the custom £13 6s. 8d.¹⁷

Villan Iscoldi of the Society of Black Circles had in the same in fifteen samplers, of wool of Karram, fourteen sacks eleven stones of wool, whereon the custom £28 16s. 11½d.

Elias of Crikelawe had in the same in one sarpler, one sack three stones of wool, whereon the custom 44s. 7½d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 3s. 9½d.²⁰

Totals: Wool, 89 sacks 14 stones²¹ £159 0s. 18½d.²²

Hides, 4 lasts £13 6s. 8d.

Tronage and the *Coket* 11½d.

Sum Total. £172 12s. 0½d.²³ Certified.

The ship of William, son of Alard of Cortekyn, which left, etc., 30 May with goods of the lord King and of the other merchants, etc.:

¹⁵The lord King had in the same in seventy sarplers, seventy sacks of wool, £140.¹⁶ And three lasts and six hides, whereon the custom £10 2s.¹⁷

Ingelram of Cologne had in the same in two sarplers and one bag, two and a half sacks one stone of wool, whereon the custom 101s. 6½d.

William Bayard had in the same three tanned hides, whereon the custom 12d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 3s. 6d.²⁴

Totals: Wool, 72½ sacks 1 stone²⁴ £145 0s. 18½d.²⁵

Hides, 3 lasts 9 hides²⁶ £10 3s. 0d.²⁷

Tronage and the *Coket* 3s. 6d.²⁸

Sum Total. £155 8s. 0½d.²⁹ Certified.

The ship of William Ermeboud of Berflet, called *Wellfare*, which left, etc., 30 May with the goods of the merchants who follow, etc.:

Villan Iscoldi, merchant of the Society of Black Circles, had in the same in fifteen sarplers, fourteen sacks eleven stones of wool, whereof the custom £28 16s. 11½d.

Isabel de Vesci had in the same in forty one sarplers, forty two and a half sacks two stones of wool, whereon the custom £85 3s. 1d.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 2s. 8d., whereof for tronage 2s. 4d.

Totals: Wool, 57 sacks ³⁰	£114 0s. 0½d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	2s. 8d.
Sum Total.	£114 2s. 8½d. Certified.

The ship of Peter of the Mill, called *Crusebergh*, which left, etc., 2 June with the goods of the merchants, etc.:

The same Peter had in the same in one sarpler, one sack two stones of wool, whereon the custom 43s. 1d.

John of Wolp had in the same in one sarpler, one sack one stone of wool, whereon the custom 41s. 6½d.

Clays, the son of Walter, and Tankard, the son of Laurence, had in the same in eight bags, twenty five stones of wool, whereon the custom 38s. 5½d.

Clays, the son of Walter, had in the same five hides, whereon the custom 16d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 11d.

Totals: Wool, 3 sacks 2 stones	£6 3s. 1d.
Hides, 5 hides	20d. ³¹
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	11d.
Sum Total.	£6 5s. 4d. Certified.

The ship of Arnald of Cortekyn, called *The Cloftre*, which left, etc., 23 June, etc.:

The same had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s. William of Cortekin had in the same three and a half stones of wool, whereon, etc., 5s. 4¾d. For tronage and the *Coket* 4½d.

Totals: Wool, 1 sack 3½ stones	45s. 4¾d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	4½d.
Sum Total.	45s. 9¼d. Certified.

The ship of James of Fenying, called *Faireweder*, which left, etc., 6 June with the goods, etc.:

¹⁵The lord King had in the same in eighty three sarplers, eighty two sacks six stones of wool,¹⁶ whereon the custom £164 3s. 1d.³² And two lasts six and a half dickers of hides from the County of Cumberland, whereon the custom £7 15s.¹⁷

John del Dam had in the same in six sarplers, six sacks of wool by weight, whereon the custom £12.

Laurence of Fenying, Eustace of Kaleys, William, son of Henry, and John le Katter had in the same seven stones of wool, two dickers and two hides, whereon, etc., 18s. 1½d.

Gocelin of Bruges had in the same in five sarplers and one bag, five sacks one and a half stone of wool, whereon the custom £10 2s. 3¾d.

The same had in the same three and a half dickers of hides, whereon the custom 11s. 11d. And the same had in the same three hundred and thirty wool-fells, whereon the custom 44s. 0¾d.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 5s.³³

Totals: Wool, 93 sacks 10½ stons ³⁴	£186 16s. 2d. ³⁵
Hides, 2½ lasts 2 dickers 2 hides ³⁶	£8 14s. 0d. ³⁷
Wool-fells, 330	44s. 0¾d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	5s. 0d. ³⁸
Sum Total.	£196 5s. 4¼d. ³⁹ Certified.

The ship of Peter Loef, called *Sauueterre*, which left 4 August, etc.:

The same Peter had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s.

Boidin Babard, Hanekin Mase, Peter, the son of Boidin, and Henry, the son of Mabill, had in the same in four bags thirteen stones of wool, whereon the custom 20s. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 10½d., whereof for tronage ½d.

Totals: Wool, 1½ sacks	60s. 0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>	10½d.
Sum Total.	60s. 10½d. Certified.

The ship of John de Camera, called *Gronewold*, which left 4 August with the goods of the merchants who follow:

Richard of Emelden had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s.

The same had in the same fifty wool-fells, whereon the custom 6s. 8d.

Nicholas Coleuil had in the same in one bag, sixteen stones of wool, whereon the custom 24s. 7½d.

Nicholas of Ellrekerr had in the same in five sarplers, five sacks of wool, whereon the custom £10.

The same had in the same one hundred wool-fells, whereon the custom 13s. 4d.

Peter le Graper had in the same in six sarplers, six sacks of wool, whereon the custom £12.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 14d., whereof for tronage 6d.

Totals: Wool, 12½ sacks 3 stones	£25	4s.	7½d.
Wool-fells, 150		20s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>			14d.
Sum Total.	£26	5s.	9½d.

Certified:

The ship of William de Cruce, called *Bayard*, which left 16 September:

Richard of Emeldon had in the same in three sarplers, three sacks of wool, whereon the custom £6.

Nicholas of Elrekerr had in the same in ten sarplers, ten sacks of wool, whereon the custom £20.

John of St. Omer had in the same in four sarplers, four sacks of wool, whereon the custom £8.

Walter Goldsmith had in the same in five sarplers, four sacks of wool, whereon the custom £8.

Simon of Brabant, Godfrey Edeler and John Perceval had in the same in six sarplers, six sacks of wool, whereon the custom £12. The same had in the same 3½ lasts 4 hides, whereon the custom £11 14s. 8d. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 2s. 3½d., whereof for tronage 13½d.

Totals: Wool, 27 sacks	£54	0s.	0d.
Hides, 3½ lasts 4 hides	£11	14s.	7d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		2s.	3½d.
Sum Total.	£65	16s.	11½d.

⁴⁰ Sum Total for the 25th year (1296-1297), £703 5s. 11½d. 19s. 3½d.

⁴¹ Total of the 25th year:

Wool, 551½ sacks, 5 stones	£1103	7s.	8½d.	} £1297 15s. 9d. Certified.
Hides, 53 lasts 4 dickers 9 hides	£177	9s.	8d.	
Wool-fells, 2264	£15	2s.	0d.	
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		36s.	4½d.	

Of which:

Of the wool of the lord King 286 sacks 2 stones,⁴² whereon the custom £572 3s. 1d.⁴³

Of the hides of the lord King 12 lasts 16 dickers 4 hides, whereon the custom £42 14s. 8d.

For tronage and the *Coket* of the same wool 12s. 6½d.

Total £615 10s. 3½d.⁴⁴

And this is the total whereof the Customers ought to answer

£683 19s. 3½d.

Certified.

THE 26TH YEAR (1297-1298).

The ship of William Deuener, called *Annota*, which left the port of Newcastle, licensed, 4 October, with the goods of the merchants, etc.:

Villan Iscoldi of the Society of Black Circles of Florence had in the same in twenty five sarplers, twenty four sacks of wool, whereon the custom £48. Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 14d., whereof tronage 12d.

Totals: Wool, 24 sacks	£48	0s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>			14d.
Sum Total.	£48	0s.	14d.

Certified.

The ship of Thomas de Burgo, called *The Carite*, which left 16 October:

Richard Sparwe had in the same ship in eight sarplers, eight sacks of wool, whereon the custom £16.

Richard de Emeldon had in the same in five sarplers, five sacks of wool, whereon the custom £10.

The same had in the same one and a half lasts of hides, whereon the custom 100s.

The same in the same fifty wool-fells, whereon the custom 6s. 8d.

Robert of Garton had in the same in four sarplers, four sacks of wool, whereon the custom £8.

Richard of Hoga had in the same in three sarplers, three sacks of wool, whereon the custom £6.

Hugh Hangard had in the same in seven sarplers, seven sacks of wool, whereon the custom £14.

The same had in the same six dickers four hides, whereon the custom 21s. 4d.

John Thorald had in the same in two sarplers, two sacks of wool, whereon the custom £4.

The same in the same five dickers four hides, whereon the custom 18s.

The same had in the same one hundred wool-fells, whereon the custom 13s. 4d.

Adam Lockesmyth had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s.

Simon of Brabant had in the same in nineteen sarplers, nineteen sacks of wool, whereon the custom £38.

Peter le Graper had in the same in three sarplers and one bag, three and a half sacks of wool, whereon the custom £7.

Elias of Crikelawe had in the same in one sarpler, one sack of wool, whereon the custom 40s.

Of the same for tronage and the *Coket* 3s. 10½d., whereof for tronage 2s. 2½d.

Totals: Wool, 54½ sacks	£109	0s.	0d.
Hides, 2 lasts 1 dicker 8 hides	£6	19s.	4d.
Wool-fells, 150		20s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		3s.	10½d.
Sum Total.	£117	3s.	2½d.

⁴⁵Sum Total for the 26th year to this time £165 4s. 4½d. Certified.

Totals: Wool of these two ships, 78½			
sacks	£157	0s.	0d.
Hides, 2 lasts 1 dicker 8			
hides	£6	19s.	4d.
Wool-fells, 150		20s.	0d.
Tronage and the <i>Coket</i>		5s.	0d.
Sum Total.	£165	4s.	4d. Certified.

From this 16 October to 4 January nothing in receipts, because here the receipts of the *New Custom* ceased.

FOREIGN RECEIPTS.

22nd Year (1293-1294).—15 September (1294) received from John le Pestur of money received by him and the collector of the *New Custom* in the Ward of Glendale, taken from the realm of England to Scotland, £6 16d. by the little *Coket* delivered to the same John by Rolandin Trentacost. Received from the same 25 September, 5s. increase of the said £6 16d. arising from weight, by statute. 23 October, received from the same John, 20s. of fine that he would be under pledge until, etc., because he allowed wool to be taken from the realm of England to Scotland, after the arrest made by the King's writ, without warrant, namely eighteen sacks, not weighed, as appears by inquisition taken thereon. The same 23 October, received from John Leger of Baumburgh, keeper of the little *Coket* in the Ward of Cockedale assigned by the said Lombard, 13s. 4d. of fine as appears by inquisition, etc. The same day, received of William Arkyl of Woolouere, 13s. 4d. of fine that he would be under pledge until, etc., because he wrongfully allowed wool to be taken from his house after the arrest made, without custom, to Scotland, as appears by inquisition taken thereon, etc.

Total. £8 13s. Certified.

23rd Year (1294-1295).—18 December (1294), received from

Thomas of Burton and Alan, the son of Richard, Burgesses of Corebrugge, 66s. 8d. of customs of one last of tanned hides, taken to Scotland, from the first arrest made by the King's writ to the said 18th day. 21 June (1295) received of the same, 9s. custom on two dickers and seven tanned hides. 24 May, received of Robert of Dunbarre, Burgess of Berwick, 41s. 3d. custom of twelve dickers, taken to Scotland by Robert, whereof by increase 13d. by weight and thereof from the *Coket* 2d. 26 June, received of Robert of Norton and Nicholas Mole, 6s. 8d. for pledge of William Duyt of Ipswich, for custom of two dickers of hides. 8 July, received of Robert of Norton and John Raynecok 13s. 4d., for pledge of Hugh Fyn of Grimsby of custom of four dickers of hides. 14 September, received of Roger Peyteuin and Thomas of Sylkesworth, 20s. for pledge of William Hayl of Vseford of custom of six dickers of hides. 16 September, received of Robert of Pertan, Burgess of Carlisle, and his fellows, for the custom there of eight dickers of tanned hides, 26s. 8d. Received of the same Robert and his fellows, for the same custom, by the hand of Michael of Hertcla, Sheriff of Cumberland, 26s. 8d.

Total. £10 10s. 3d. Certified.

24th Year (1295-1296).—Of Foreign Receipts, nothing.

25th Year (1296-1297).—4 May (1297), received 20s. for eighty wool-fells in the ship of Thomas Fayreweder of Yarmouth, found and forfeited because without licence, etc., and sold by the hand of Symon of Tyndale in parts overseas. The same day, received 3s. for four hides sold and found in the same ship and forfeited because without licence, etc.

Total. 23s. Certified.

Sum Total of Foreign Receipts, £20 6s. 3d. Certified.

⁴⁶The Roll of Customs of the lord King at the said Newcastle from 4th January 26 Edward I (1298) to 9 June, the same day counted, whereof the writ.

NOTES ON APPENDIX.

¹This roll (E122/105/3) consists of six membranes, all indented on the right-hand side, 10½ inches wide and varying in length from 9 inches to 28 inches. It has two schedules attached to the left-hand side as indicated below. It is well written and, except for some holes caused by damp in the first membrane, legible throughout. The few missing sections can be accurately supplied.

- ² Each main entry has the word *probatur* written in full or contracted after the totals in another hand, doubtless on audit.
- ³ This memorandum is written in the same hand as the text.
- ⁴ This memorandum is written under the sum total in the same hand as the text, but smaller.
- ⁵ These two lines are cancelled by having a line drawn through them.
- ⁶ The position of this *probatur* is unique in this roll.
- ⁷ Altered to this from 1 last 19½ dickers 6 hides, which is cancelled by being crossed through.
- ⁸ This line is cancelled by having a line drawn through it.
- ⁹ Schedule 1 attached here.
- ¹⁰ This is clearly an error for the 24th year. See below.
- ¹¹ Corrected from 9¾d.
- ¹² Corrected from 26s. 8d.
- ¹³ Corrected from £32 13s. 1½d. No certified entry follows, the correction having been made on audit.
- ¹⁴ Corrected from 7.
- ¹⁵ In the left-hand margin is inserted *Lana Regis*—the King's wool.
- ¹⁶ Inserted.
- ¹⁷ *Nichil* cancelled by a line through and the sum inserted above.
- ¹⁸ Corrected to 3s. 1d. from 2d. which is struck out.
- ¹⁹ 13s. 2d. crossed out and this total substituted.
- ²⁰ Corrected to 3s. 9½d. from 11½d. which is struck out.
- ²¹ Corrected to 89 sacks 14 stones from 15 sacks 14 stones which is struck out.
- ²² Corrected to £159 18½d. from £31 18s. which is struck out.
- ²³ Corrected to £172 12s. 0½d. from £31 2s. 6d. besides the wool of the lord King which is struck out.
- ²⁴ Corrected to 72½ sacks 1 stone from 2½ sacks 1 stone which is struck out.
- ²⁵ Corrected to £145 18¼d. from 101s. 6d. which is struck out.
- ²⁶ Corrected to 3 lasts 9 hides from 3 hides which is struck out.
- ²⁷ Corrected to £10 3s. from 12d. which is struck out.
- ²⁸ Corrected to 3s. 6d. from 5d. which is struck out.
- ²⁹ Corrected to £155 8s. 0½d. from 102s. 11½d. which is struck out.
- ³⁰ After the 57 sacks appears half a sack 13 stones which has been struck through.
- ³¹ Corrected to 20d. from 16d. which is struck out.
- ³² Corrected to £164 3s. 1d. from £162 9s. 6d. which has been struck out.
- ³³ Corrected to 5s. from 17½d. whereof for tronage 5½d. which has been struck out.
- ³⁴ Corrected to 93 sacks 10½ stones from 11 sacks 8½ stones and the 10½ stones being further corrected from 13½ stones which has been struck out.
- ³⁵ Corrected to £186 16s. 2d. from £16 2s., the 16s. 2d. being further corrected from 2s. 4d. which has been struck out.
- ³⁶ Corrected to 2½ lasts 2 dickers 2 hides from 5½ dickers 2 hides which has been struck out.
- ³⁷ Corrected to £8 14s. from 19s. 3d. which has been struck out.
- ³⁸ Corrected to 5s. from 17½d. which has been struck out.
- ³⁹ Corrected to £196 5s. 4¾d. from £25 17s. 10d. certified which has been struck out.
- ⁴⁰ The line is cancelled by having a line drawn through it. In the right-hand margin, in a small hand, is written 82 sacks 2 stones.
- ⁴¹ Schedule 2 is attached here.
- ⁴² Corrected to 2 from 6 which has been struck out.
- ⁴³ Corrected to £572 3s. 1d. from £570 9s. 3d. which has been struck out.

⁴⁴ Corrected to £615 10s. 3½d. from £613 16s. 5½d. which has been struck out.

⁴⁵ This line is cancelled by having a line drawn through it.

⁴⁶ This is the last entry on the roll and there are no signs that any other membrane was ever attached to this, the last of the roll. The abrupt ending suggests that another roll commenced for the 26th year.

NOTES.

¹ Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, especially Chapter XIII, "The Crown and the Merchants," pp. 618-643. Other works, in addition to those mentioned in succeeding footnotes, which will be found useful are: Hubert Hall, *A History of the Customs Revenue in England*, 2 vols. (1885); S. K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England*, ed. S. Painter (1951); J. H. Ramsay, *A History of the Revenue of the Kings of England, 1066-1397*, 2 vols. (1925); W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I (1910); W. J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Vol. I (1894); *The English Government at Work*, Vol. II; *Fiscal Administration* (1943), Chapter IV, "The Collector of Customs," Mabel H. Mills, pp. 168-200.

² Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 630; J. H. Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution* (1908), pp. 533-4.

⁵ Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (1941), p. 15.

⁶ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series) (1879), p. 6.

⁷ Walter of Hemingburgh, *Chronicon de Gestis Regum Angliae* (English Historical Society), Vol. II (1849), p. 120.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 124-6; W. Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales* (Rolls Series) (1863), p. 175.

⁹ E. Power, *op. cit.*, p. 18; cf. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. II (1783), pp. 126-134.

¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. I (1810), pp. 332-3.

¹¹ E. Power, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹² N. S. B. Gras, *The Early English Customs System* (1918), p. 95.

¹³ The best account of medieval weights and measures is to be found in *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XV (Camden Society, Third Series, Vol. XLI) (1929), "Select Tracts and Table Books relating to English Weights and Measures," Hubert Hall and Freida M. Nicholas. The statements given here are based upon the original *Customs Accounts*, summarized or printed below pp. 226-233, 275-296.

¹⁴ In some of the southern ports, Southampton and Sandwich, for example, the sub-division of the sack was the clove of seven pounds, which made 52 to the sack. Cf. *Pipe Rolls*, E372/125, E372/144, E372/145 and below pp. 267-271.

¹⁵ Though there has been a tendency to equate the sarpler with the sack as a measure of weight (cf. *New English Dictionary*, s.n. sarpler) it cannot be equated as a measure, but only as a container, as far as Newcastle is concerned. Cf. Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 *seq.* and p. 757.

¹⁶ Similar equation of poke as a measure (OED, s.n. poke) is equally misleading (cf. Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 753).

¹⁷ Stubbs, *Select Chartres*, 9th edit. (1913), p. 431 (19 May, 1275).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 441-2; *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXV (1910), "The First Parliament of Edward I," C. Hilary Jenkinson, pp. 231-242; for earlier

views see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 123, 201 n. 1, 256 n. 5, 554, and the authorities cited by Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 64; for later views see E. Power, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-7; Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

¹⁹ Not 7s. 6d. as stated twice in E. Power, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 77. This book was published posthumously, edited Professor M. Postan. The error is repeated in *The Cambridge Economic History*, Vol. II (1952), Chapter VI, "The Woollen Industry," E. Carus Wilson, p. 402.

²⁰ It should be noted that with the custom on the stone at 2½d. when the custom on the sack was 6s. 8d. the crown lost a penny every 26 stones. When the custom on the stone was 1s. 6½d. when the custom on the sack was 40s. the crown gained a penny every 26 stones.

²¹ *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 49; *Parliamentary Writs*, Vol I (1827), p. 1. The French text is given in Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-4.

²² *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 347; *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1293-1301*, pp. 78-80.

²³ The original rate had been five marks, which was reduced to three marks, it has been stated. The five marks was levied or imposed on a particular kind of wool. (Cf. E159, *Q.R. Memoranda Roll*, no. 64, m. 82.)

²⁴ They were revoked by the *Confirmatio Cartarum* granted by the King in Flanders, 5 November, 1297 (*Stat. of Realm I*, p. 124). The date from which they were abolished in England was, however, 23 November, 1297 (see below p. 232), the necessary interval having been occupied by the news of the abolition reaching from Flanders and to allow the necessary executive action to be taken thereon, that is for the Exchequer to inform the collectors at the various ports.

²⁵ See below p. 301.

²⁶ The term *Nova Custuma* was correctly applied to the first rates of 1275 but not so accurately applied to the *maltote* of 1294. When this was repealed by the reimposition of the old rates of 1275 to avoid confusion the old rates were naturally termed *Antiqua Custuma*. When further customs on commodities, other than wool, wool-fells and hides were placed in 1303, these again were called *Nova Custuma*. These two terms are not found in contradistinction in official use until 1303.

²⁷ The text is printed in Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-264, from the *Fine Roll* for 31 Edward I, M.16; cf. also *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, pp. 466-7; H. Hall, *Customs Revenue*, I, pp. 202-8; T. Rymer, *Foedera* (1816 ed.) Vol. II, Pt. ii, pp. 747-8.

²⁸ Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 630.

²⁹ See below p. 301.

³⁰ Some of the ports claimed exemption from these charges, or rather, perhaps, did not account to the Exchequer for them, for example Kingston-upon-Hull and Yarmouth, on the ground that the charge for tonnage was included in their farms (cf. E372, *Pipe Rolls*, 122, 144, 145) and Yarmouth that the issues of the *coket* seal were retained by the collector's clerk as his fee (*Ibid.*).

³¹ For details, see Appendix, pp. 275-295 *passim*.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ See note 30 above.

³⁴ Details of the collection of these charges will be found in the Appendix.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ A search for the full text of this Exchequer Ordinance in the *Queen's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll* for 22 Edward I (E159/64) discloses that it was not enrolled therein.

³⁷ See below p. 302.

³⁸ The charge for this must at this time have sometimes varied from the neat two pence, as half pence occur in the totals. See below p. 302.

³⁹ This charge appears to require further elucidation.

⁴⁰ A perusal of P.R.O. *List of Customs Accounts*, 3 vols., discloses that only Kingston-upon-Hull (E122/55/1) and Chichester and Seaford (E122/135/1) have detailed accounts for 3 Edward I and Ipswich (E122/157/5) a fragment of an account for 5 Edward I. These are the only detailed accounts before 9 Edward I, for which besides the Newcastle payment then is an account for London (E122/68/2). For the whole reign the detailed accounts for Newcastle are as full as those for Boston, Kingston-upon-Hull and Sandwich, and fuller than those for Yarmouth. London is the only port which has more detailed accounts.

⁴¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1266-1272*, p. 462 (24 September, 1270). Such licences were issued to the following Newcastle merchants: 18 June, 1272, Henry le Escot, Gilbert of Pampeden, Robert of Abbeville (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266-1272*, pp. 689, 692); 30 July, 1272, Henry of Burnton and Adam of Pampeden, Richard del Hay, John, son of Roger, and Richard, son of Roger (*Ibid.*, p. 703).

⁴² These licences are enrolled on the *Patent Rolls* and the details which follow are contained in *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, pp. 15-26 *passim*.

⁴³ See below pp. 301-2.

⁴⁴ One of the licences was issued jointly to Richard del Hay and Henry le Escot (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 15) so in this list 23 sacks have been credited to each.

⁴⁵ See below pp. 226-266 *passim*.

⁴⁶ P.R.O. *Chancery Sacks* (under arrangement) 20 no. 60.

⁴⁷ P.R.O. *List of Customs Accounts* records the earliest account for Newcastle as for 15-16 Edward I (E122/105/1).

⁴⁸ As it is the first membrane of a roll which probably contained originally three or four membranes, there is no endorsement. It is somewhat mutilated and in parts rendered almost indecipherable by damp. It is possible that other membranes of this account and of other detailed annual accounts for Newcastle may yet be discovered and identified when the whole of *Chancery Sacks* and *Exchequer Miscellanea B* has been sorted and listed.

⁴⁹ See below p. 242.

⁵⁰ See below pp. 262-3.

⁵¹ See below pp. 244-5.

⁵² See above and below pp. 260-1.

⁵³ See above and below pp. 262-3.

⁵⁴ Hugh Hangard appears as a burgess or resident in 1297 and the same year as an exporter. See below pp. 252, 294.

⁵⁵ See note 40 above.

⁵⁶ E122, *Customs Accounts*, 55/1, consisting of 5 membranes. Printed in Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-244.

⁵⁷ E122/105/1. The following endorsement occurs on m. 3: "The Roll of the King's New Custom received at Newcastle upon Tyne from Easter 15 Edward I to Easter next following under the seals of Henry del Hay and John of Stockton, keepers of the same, with Jordon de Jurdani."

⁵⁸ See below pp. 263-4.

⁵⁹ The ship is described in the account as that of "Symon Stacirot of Tunis" and sailed 26 July, 1287, with 1 last 6 dickers 6 hides and 6 sacks 8 stones of wool of John Hangard and 1 dicker of hides of Roger Peutevin (E122/105/1, m. 3).

⁶⁰ See below pp. 253-4.

⁶¹ See below p. 257.

⁶² See above.

⁶³ See below p. 255.

⁶⁴ See below p. 256.

⁶⁵ See below pp. 261-2.

⁶⁶ See below p. 258.

⁶⁷ See below p. 253.

⁶⁸ E122/105/2, consisting of 3 membranes. On m. 1d appears: "Newcastle 20 and 21". On m. 3d: "To the Lord the Treasurer and the Barons of the King's Exchequer at Westminster by Henry del Hay and John of Stockton, deputed to the custody of the King's *New Custom* at Newcastle upon Tyne with Nicholas de Colle of the Society of Lucca. This is the roll from Easter 1292 to Easter 1293. Newcastle upon Tyne."

⁶⁹ A member of the Society of Riccardi of Lucca.

⁷⁰ See above p. 227 and below p. 263.

⁷¹ See above p. 227 and below p. 263.

⁷² See above p. 226 and below pp. 244-5.

⁷³ See below p. 255.

⁷⁴ See above p. 228 and below pp. 253-5.

⁷⁵ See below pp. 253-4.

⁷⁶ See below pp. 252, 260.

⁷⁷ See above p. 228 and below p. 255.

⁷⁸ See below p. 247.

⁷⁹ See below p. 248.

⁸⁰ E122/148/4. This roll of 4 membranes has no endorsement.

⁸¹ See below n. 145.

⁸² See below p. 257.

⁸³ See below pp. 256-7.

⁸⁴ E122/105/3 consists of 6 membranes. On m. 1d appears: "The Roll of the New Custom at Newcastle upon Tyne for the 23rd, 24, 25 and beginning of the 26th year of Edward [I]."

⁸⁵ See below pp. 275-296.

⁸⁶ See below p. 275.

⁸⁷ E372, *Pipe Roll* 145. *Nova Custuma* membrane.

⁸⁸ It is not very clear when the new rates were to begin operation, but from this account 29 July, 1294, would seem to have been the appointed day. Cf. Sir Matthew Hale, *Concerning the Customs of Goods Imported and Exported*, printed in *A Collection of Tracts relative to the Law of England* (ed., Hargrave, J.; Vol. 1, p. 155). The Boston account nominally starts 1 August, 1294, but the first shipment was not made until 20 November, 1294 (E122/5/4, m. 1; cf. Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 516).

⁸⁹ This is the official date as given more than once in the *Pipe Roll* (E372/145, *Nova Custuma* membrane; see below).

⁹⁰ See above pp. 222-3.

⁹¹ E372/145. The membrane is marked *Nova Custuma*. These accounts are not noted in P.R.O. *Lists and Indexes, XI, List of Foreign Accounts Enrolled* (1900). The membrane begins with the Account of *New Customs* at Kingston-upon-Hull. See below pp. 269-271.

⁹² See above p. 231 and Appendix, p. 275.

⁹³ E372/145, *Nova Custuma* membrane.

⁹⁴ E372/144, last membrane.

⁹⁵ E372/125, dorse of last membrane.

⁹⁶ E372/145. *Nova Custuma* membrane.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* The issues of the *Coket* seal came to 14s. 6d.; tronage to 7s. 6d.

⁹⁸ E356, *Enrolled Accounts*, no. 2, m. 22.

⁹⁹ See below pp. 262-3.

¹⁰⁰ See below pp. 262-3.

¹⁰¹ E356/2, m. 22, recto and dorse contain the accounts for the Newcastle customs also for the 1-9 Edward II (1307-1318). It also contains the accounts of the *Nova Custuma*, that is the *New Custom* of 1303 (see above

p. 223) for the whole of period 32 Edward I to 9 Edward II, the collectors being the same as for the *Antiqua Custuma*.

¹⁰² See above pp. 222-3.

¹⁰³ The following other totals appear on this account: (i) 11s. 2½d., for increase of half pence and farthings in particular sacks of wool, wool-fells and hides when customed, beyond the certain custom; (ii) 28s. 5½d., tronage; (iii) 36s. 8½d. for the issues of the *Coket*.

¹⁰⁴ The other totals (as above) were: (i) 9s. 4½d.; (ii) 76s. 1½d.; (iii) £4 0s. 0½d.

¹⁰⁵ The other totals (as above) were: (i) 7s. 1½d.; (ii) 8s. 11½d.; (iii) 26s. 2d.

¹⁰⁶ For reasons which have been given above (p. 234) these details are not dealt with here.

¹⁰⁷ The other totals (as above) were: (i) 18s. 1½d.; (ii) 49s. 4d.; (iii) 54s. 3d.

¹⁰⁸ The other totals (as above) were: (i) 27s. 1½d.; (ii) 55s. 8½d.; (iii) £4 3s. 8d.

¹⁰⁹ See below pp. 266-272.

¹¹⁰ See above p. 234.

¹¹¹ See above p. 234.

¹¹² See above p. 228. This is the first full year for which detailed accounts are available.

¹¹³ See above p. 229. This is the second full year for which detailed accounts are available.

¹¹⁴ See above p. 233 and Appendix, pp. 285-293. This is the second full year when the *malto* was in force.

¹¹⁵ See above p. 236.

¹¹⁶ See above p. 236. This total is obtained by combining the totals for the half-years number (3) and (4) above.

¹¹⁷ See above p. 236.

¹¹⁸ Cf. E179, *Lay Subsidies*, no. 158/1 *passim*. See below pp. 251-3.

¹¹⁹ For the reign of Edward I there is only one surviving *Customs Account* for Hartlepool (E122/49/1) and that is a small file of six items, consisting of writs and receipts, 33-35 Edward I, not a detailed account of exports.

¹²⁰ *Chancery Sacks*, 20, no. 60. A small cargo of hides only on 17 April, 1281.

¹²¹ Sailed twice, 5 September, 1292 (E122/105/2, m. 2) and 4 March, 1294 (E122/148/4, m. 3). The Raket family became well known in the Palatinate of Durham in the following century and later. See also note 123.

¹²² E122/105/2, m. 3. 16 February, 1293.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 8 March, 1293. Henry Mariman is one of the few Newcastle captains or owners about whom anything is known. He was an inhabitant of Newcastle (see below p. 251) and was one of the men chosen by the borough in 1294 to provide and purchase boards and other material for the building of the Newcastle galley for Edward I (*Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th Series, Vol. XXXI (1953), pp. 197-9; P.R.O. *Exchequer Accounts*, 5/20). His colleagues were John de Burgo, Henry of Wearmouth and Andrew Raket (in this account he is given as Shaket).

¹²⁴ E122/148/4, m. 1, 28 July, 1293; App., p. 286, 12 April, 1296. He was probably a member of the well-known le Escot Newcastle family.

¹²⁵ E122/148/4, m. 2, 31 January, 1294; App., p. 280, 6 June, 1295. See also note 123.

¹²⁶ E122/148/4, m. 2, 14 February, 1294; App., p. 285, 11 October, 1296.

¹²⁷ E122/105/2, m. 2, 21 October, 1292.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, m. 3, 24 January and 6 February, 1293; E122/148/4, m. 2, 30 September and 7 October, 1293.

¹²⁹ E122/105/2, m. 3, 30 January, 1293.

¹³⁰ E122/148/4, m. 2, 12 January, 1294.

¹³¹ Appendix, pp. 283, 285-6, 289-90.

¹³² For the King's shipments from Newcastle, see below p. 249, and Appendix, pp. 290-3.

¹³³ Appendix, pp. 286, 288.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹³⁵ E122/105/2, m. 2, 26 October, 1293, 16 sacks of Peter le Graper and 6 sacks 8 stones of wool 17 dickers of hides and 240 wool-fells of Robert of Abbeville.

¹³⁶ E122/105/2, m. 3, 10 March, 1293.

¹³⁷ E122/148/4, m. 1, 1 August, 1293.

¹³⁸ Appendix, p. 287.

¹³⁹ E122/105/2.

¹⁴⁰ These particulars and the details for foreign ports are derived from the five particular accounts listed above pp. 226-233. It would be quite impossible to give detailed references in the footnotes for the facts summarized below, on account of the space they would take.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Appendix, pp. 275-294.

¹⁴² It would appear that on the institution of the national customs in 1275 the Lucca merchants were appointed keepers to receive them and that they appointed Donaldus del Pope to act as their deputy at Newcastle, with two burgesses of that town to be sworn thereto. (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, pp. 45-6, 21 May, 1275.) These may well have been Henry le Escot and Hugh of Carlisle. (*Chancery Sacks* 20, no. 60.)

¹⁴³ Information is not at present available to give a date when they first became collectors, but the accounts show them as collectors, 1286-7, 1292-3, 1293-4 (E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/2, m. 1; E122/148/4, m. 1).

¹⁴⁴ As a nominee of the Lucca merchants.

¹⁴⁵ Also as a nominee of the Lucca merchants. He got into difficulties with the crown by purchasing three sacks of wool from Hugh of Carlisle after the arrest of wool, for which he had to appear before the Court of Exchequer (E159, *Q.R. Mem. Roll*, no. 64, m. 33).

¹⁴⁶ Appointed 29 July, 1294 (E159/64, m. 82) and the *Foreign Accounts* enrolled on the *Pipe Roll* show them acting to Michaelmas 1298 (E372/145).

¹⁴⁷ Appointed by the burgesses of Newcastle by virtue of a writ of 16 February, 1304, as collectors of the *Antiqua Custuma* and the *Nova Custuma* of 1303, and they appear to have been nominally responsible from 1 April to 12 July, 1304 (E356/2, m. 22 and *d*), but they were replaced (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1302-1307*, p. 162). They had acted previously under the Bayonne representatives (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, pp. 466-7, 476-7).

¹⁴⁸ The writ appointing them was dated 1 April, 1304 (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 491) and they accounted nominally from 11 April, 1304 (E356/2, m. 22 and *d*). The same *Enrolled Accounts* gives the summaries of their accounts to Michaelmas 1315. They were still acting in 1323 (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, pp. 204-5, and below pp. 262-3).

¹⁴⁹ See the writs issued, especially those of 4 July, 1300, and 28 April, 1303 (*Ibid.*, pp. 430-1, 475-7).

¹⁵⁰ See above and notes 142, 144-5 for Lucca merchants, and for Friscobaldis, *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 472; Powicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 641-2, 650.

¹⁵¹ See below pp. 260-4.

¹⁵² See below pp. 250-265.

¹⁵³ The following figures are obtained from an analysis of all the five particular accounts.

304 WOOL CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS FOR NEWCASTLE

- ¹⁵⁴ E122/105/2, m. 2. His sole customable cargo, 21 October, 1293.
- ¹⁵⁵ E122/148/4, m. 2. The remainder of his customable cargo was 12 sacks 12 stones of wool, belonging to two foreign merchants, 31 January, 1294.
- ¹⁵⁶ Here again these statements are based upon an analysis of all the five particular accounts.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Chancery Sacks*, 20/60; E122/105/1, m. 2; E122/105/2, mm. 1-3; E122/148/4, m. 1.
- ¹⁵⁸ E122/148/4, m. 3, 22 March, 1294.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, m. 1, 1 August, 1293.
- ¹⁶⁰ See below p. 252.
- ¹⁶¹ E122/105/2, mm. 1-2; E122/148/4, m. 1.
- ¹⁶² E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/2, mm. 1-2; E122/148/4, m. 3.
- ¹⁶³ E122/105/2, m. 2; E122/148/4, mm. 1-2.
- ¹⁶⁴ E122/105/2, m. 2, 23 July, 1292.
- ¹⁶⁵ E122/148/4, m. 1, 22 April, 1293.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 2, 20 September, 1293.
- ¹⁶⁷ Appendix, p. 283.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 277, 280.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 283.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 285.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.
- ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 281.
- ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 282. Simon had bought 70 sacks and paid duty of £140 directly to the Exchequer, for wool which he had in the Abbey of Newminster (E159/64, m. 88 d).
- ¹⁷⁴ Appendix, p. 293.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294.
- ¹⁷⁶ Roland de Podio followed Luke of Lucca as the leader of the Riccardi in England after 1279 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, pp. 532, 544; Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 632). He was keeper of the change at London and Canterbury (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, pp. 106, 141) and early received payments from the collectors of customs at Newcastle (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 532).
- ¹⁷⁷ E122/148/4, m. 2.
- ¹⁷⁸ In his earliest appearances in the accounts he is described as Hugh Gerardin of Lucca, but he is described as a burgess of Newcastle (E101/126/7, m. 6). See below pp. 252-4.
- ¹⁷⁹ E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/2, mm. 1-2; E122/148/4, m. 2.
- ¹⁸⁰ Appendix, p. 286.
- ¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1, 294.
- ¹⁸² E122/105/2, m. 2; E122/148/4, mm. 1-2.
- ¹⁸³ Appendix, pp. 276, 279.
- ¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.
- ¹⁸⁵ The details of the consignments will be found in Appendix, pp. 290-1.
- ¹⁸⁶ See Appendix, pp. 290-3, and footnotes.
- ¹⁸⁷ E122/105/2, mm. 2-3; E122/148/4, mm. 1, 3; Appendix, p. 284.
- ¹⁸⁸ E122/148/4, m. 2, 8 November, 1293.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 30 September, 1293.
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 June, 1293.
- ¹⁹¹ E122/195/2, m. 1, 21 July, 1292.
- ¹⁹² E122/148/4, m. 2, 30 August, 1293.
- ¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 30 September, 1293.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, m. 3, 26 March, 1294.
- ¹⁹⁵ Appendix, p. 285.
- ¹⁹⁶ E122/105/2, m. 1; 6 July, 1292.
- ¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, m. 3; 6 February, 1293.

¹⁹⁸ Appendix, pp. 282, 287.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

²⁰⁰ E122/148/4, m. 1; 12 January, 1294.

²⁰¹ E122/105/2, m. 1; Appendix, p. 287.

²⁰² E122/105/2, m. 3.

²⁰³ P.R.O. E179, *Exchequer Q.R. Subsidy Rolls*, 158/1, being the assessment of a 11th and 7th for the county of Northumberland, 25 Edward I. The roll, which is in excellent condition, consists of 62 membranes and a number of schedules. I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Johnson of the Public Record Office for calling my attention to this valuable document.

²⁰⁴ An "M" has been placed before the name of each merchant who appears as an exporter in the detailed accounts and "C" before each collector of custom. In a few cases, those of a similar surname to merchants who exported have been included to identify families.

²⁰⁵ E179/158/1, m. 16.

²⁰⁶ m. 17.

²⁰⁷ m. 18.

²⁰⁸ m. 19.

²⁰⁹ m. 14.

²¹⁰ m. 25.

²¹¹ m. 26.

²¹² m. 30.

²¹³ m. 36.

²¹⁴ m. 40.

²¹⁵ m. 45.

²¹⁶ m. 47.

²¹⁷ m. 49.

²¹⁸ m. 53.

²¹⁹ E122/105/2, m. 3 (28 February, 1293); cf. also E122/148/4, mm. 1-3 (nine times in all). Hugelinus of Gerardin of Lucca was presented by the crown to a portion in the church of Burford, in the diocese of Hereford, on 23 October, 1291 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 447).

²²⁰ Pampeden was a fairly common surname in the county of Northumberland in the reign of Edward I. In 26 Edward 8 a Hugh of Pampeden was returned as owing 4½d. rent for a carucate of land in Cramlington (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, Vol. III, p. 346); a Lemman of Pampeden who resided in the parish of All Saints in 1297 (see above p. 252) with his son William was named among the burgesses of Newcastle in 1281 (*Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions*, Vol. I, pp. 365-6). In the *Subsidy Roll* Isolda is described as a daughter of G[ilbert] of Pampeden (E179/158/1, m. 18). This Gilbert of Pampeden, a merchant of Newcastle, received licence to export wool 18 June, 1272 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266-1272*, p. 692), but is not met with later.

²²¹ E122/105/2, m. 3; E122/148/4, mm. 1-3; Appendix, p. 283.

²²² E102/105/1, mm. 1-2; E122/105/2, mm. 1-2.

²²³ Peter Graper, with John le Escot, were the two Newcastle representatives appointed by the crown on 22 January, 1297, to make ordinances and dispositions with John, Earl of Warenne, Keeper of the March of Scotland, concerning the site and state of the town and port of Berwick-on-Tweed. (*Documents and Illustrations of the History of Scotland* (1870), Vol. II, p. 150.) In 1301 he had land in Newcastle replevied to him which had been taken into the King's hand for his wife's default before the Justices of the Bench (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 496).

²²⁴ E122/105/2, mm. 2-3; E122/148/4, mm. 2-3; Appendix, pp. 284-294.

²²⁵ These consignments were exported jointly by Peter Graper and Peter Sampson, Appendix, p. 284-8.

²²⁶ E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/2, m. 1; E122/148/4, m. 2; Appendix, pp. 284-8.

²²⁷ Despite his importance he does not appear in any of the calendars of Chancery Rolls or Inquisitions.

²²⁸ E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/2, mm. 1-3; E122/148/4, m. 3.

²²⁹ Appendix, pp. 288-9.

²³⁰ E122/105/2, mm. 2-3; E122/148/4, m. 2.

²³¹ Appendix, pp. 287-9.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ E122/105/1, mm. 1-2; E122/148/4, m. 2.

²³⁴ E122/105/2, mm. 2-3; E122/148/4, mm. 2-3; Appendix, pp. 287-9.

In 1299, with John Thorald, Walter of Cowgate was appointed two of the collectors of murage in Newcastle for five years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 435).

²³⁵ E122/105/2, m. 3.

²³⁶ E122/105/2, mm. 2-3; E122/148/4, mm. 2-3; Appendix, p. 294. See above, note 234.

²³⁷ E122/148/4, m. 2.

²³⁸ E122/105/2, mm. 1, 3; E122/149/4, m. 2.

²³⁹ E122/105/2, mm. 1-2; E122/149/4, m. 2.

²⁴⁰ E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/2, m. 2; E122/148/4, m. 1.

²⁴¹ E122/105/2, mm. 2-3.

²⁴² E122/105/2, m. 2; E122/148/4, m. 2; Appendix, p. 288.

²⁴³ E122/105/2, m. 2.

²⁴⁴ E122/105/2, m. 3; E122/148/4, m. 3; Appendix, pp. 290, 294.

²⁴⁵ Appendix, pp. 281, 287, 292-4; Richard of Embleton became Mayor of Newcastle later (*Cal. Misc. Inq.*, Vol. II, no. 1900). In 1318 he was appointed to a commission to pursue evildoers and disturbers of the peace co. Northumberland lately in insurrection against the King. (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1307-1319*, p. 351.)

²⁴⁶ Appendix, pp. 284-5, 289, 293.

²⁴⁷ *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, Vol. 1, p. 366.

²⁴⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 60.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

²⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 229 (23 September, 1276); *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 375, 377, 388; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-1292*, pp. 159; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 427.

²⁵¹ E163, *Q.R. Mem. Rolls*, no. 68, m. 82 (19 July, 1294).

²⁵² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 175.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

²⁵⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 290. The other local witnesses were Hugh of Carlisle and John le Escot who was probably his less successful brother, who in 1284 had been allowed to pay a debt due to the Exchequer by instalments of five marks a year "out of compassion of his poverty" (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 207). Among his debts to the crown was 50s. for his relief (E372, *Pipe Roll*, no. 121, m. (b).) He must have recovered his standing shortly after as in 1295 he was appointed a collector of murage (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, p. 189) and in 1297 was appointed with Peter le Graper as a Newcastle representative to make ordinances for the town and port of Berwick-on-Tweed (*Doc. Illustr. of Hist. of Scotl.*, Vol. II, p. 150).

²⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-1307*, pp. 291-2.

²⁵⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 32.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁵⁸ *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 12. Both Thomas of Carlisle and John le Fleming had previously suffered similar losses (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266-1272*, pp. 125, 280; 587-8; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1268-1272*, p. 439).

- ²⁵⁹ *Chancery Sacks*, 20, no. 60; E122/105/1, mm. 1-2; Appendix, p. 283.
- ²⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, pp. 159, 427; *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, Vol. 1, pp. 365-6.
- ²⁶¹ Thomas of Tyndale is recorded as making one shipment only, of five sacks of wool and $\frac{1}{2}$ last of hides on 23 April, 1297. He was then a collector of murage (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 159). Appendix, p. 288.
- ²⁶² E101, *Q.R. Exch. Accts.*, 126/7, m. 6.
- ²⁶³ E372, *Pipe Roll*, no. 141; Northumberland membrane dorset.
- ²⁶⁴ E101, *Q.R. Exch. Accts.*, 126/7, m. 6. Other Newcastle merchants who dealt in this arrested woad were Hugh Gerardin and Hugh Hangard, who made a single shipment of 7 sacks of wool on 16 October, 1297. (Appendix, p. 294.)
- ²⁶⁵ E122/105/1, m. 3; E122/148/4, m. 2; Appendix, p. 288.
- ²⁶⁶ See above p. 260 and nn. 256-8.
- ²⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266-1272*, p. 125. Commission of *oyer* and *terminer* issued 25 November, 1266.
- ²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 577, 641.
- ²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 689, 18 June, 1272.
- ²⁷⁰ E122/105/2, mm. 1-2, 15 July and 4 September, 1292.
- ²⁷¹ *Chancery Sacks*, 20, no. 60.
- ²⁷² E122/55/1, m. 5; Gras; *op. cit.*, p. 244. He is recorded as selling 3 sacks of wool to a Lucca representative in Newcastle (E159/64, m. 33), so perhaps he was mainly a merchant not an exporter.
- ²⁷³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 195; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1288-1296*, p. 150; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 290.
- ²⁷⁴ E356, *Enrolled Accounts*, no. 2, m. 22.
- ²⁷⁵ *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-1327*, pp. 204-5; cf. also *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 99, 135-6, 145-6.
- ²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1302-1307*, p. 143; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-1307*, p. 219.
- ²⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 427.
- ²⁷⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1302-1307*, p. 162; cf. E356/2, m. 22; *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, pp. 466-7.
- ²⁸⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-1307*, p. 259.
- ²⁸¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1266-1272*, p. 641; *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, Vol. 1, pp. 365-6.
- ²⁸² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 133.
- ²⁸³ *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 133 (16 September, 1280); cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 431; E372/141, 143. Northumberland mm.
- ²⁸⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 159.
- ²⁸⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 60.
- ²⁸⁶ E122/105/1, m. 1; E122/105/L, m. 1; E122/148/4, m. 1.
- ²⁸⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 345.
- ²⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-1317*, pp. 305, 334; cf. *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1307-1319*, p. 281.
- ²⁸⁹ E179/158/1, m. 19.
- ²⁹⁰ E122/105/2, m. 1; E122/105/2, m. 2; E122/148/4, m. 1; Appendix, p. 288.
- ²⁹¹ Appendix, p. 291.
- ²⁹² *Cal. Close Rolls, 1296-1301*, p. 104.
- ²⁹³ Cf. Appendix, pp. 281-294.
- ²⁹⁴ *Chancery Sacks*, 20, no. 60.
- ²⁹⁵ E122/105/1, m. 1.
- ²⁹⁶ E122/105/1, mm. 2-3.
- ²⁹⁷ E122/148/4, m. 2.
- ²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ E122/205/2, m. 1.

³⁰¹ Appendix, pp. 295-6.

³⁰² See above p. 233.

³⁰³ See above pp. 235-6.

³⁰⁴ E372/144. Last membrane. The total was £8,108 13s. 5d.

³⁰⁵ E372/125. Dorse of last membrane. The total was £8,411 19s. 11½d.

³⁰⁶ E372/145. *De Nova Custuma* membrane.

³⁰⁷ The account covers the first quarter of the year only.

³⁰⁸ The account covers three-quarters of the year.

³⁰⁹ When the duties reverted to half a mark the sack and one mark the last.

³¹⁰ See above.

³¹¹ A number of considerations on this matter have been stated in "Shipping and Trade in Newcastle upon Tyne, 1294-1296" in *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th Series, Vol. XXXI (1953), pp. 197-200. The final conclusions cannot be reached until Edward's policy and operation have been worked out in detail.

³¹² *Arch. Aeliana*, *ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

³¹³ E101, *Q.R. Exch. Accts.*, 126/7, no. 6.

³¹⁴ Cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 432; E159/64, m. 82 d—85.

³¹⁵ *Stat. of Realm*, Vol. 1, pp. 332-3.

³¹⁶ *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Eileen Power and M. M. Postan (1933), "The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century." E. Power, p. 43.