

THE MIDDLESEX POLL-TAX OF 4 RIC. II., 1380-1381.

A DISCOVERY AT THE P.R.O.*

BY

SIDNEY J. MADGE, B.Sc. (Econ.).

(*Hon. Editor.*)

The paucity of materials for the early economic history of Middlesex, so long regretted by students, finds adequate expression in the pages of the "Victoria County History," Vol. II., particularly in reference to the deplorable loss of records concerning the Peasants' Revolt. Professor Oman, too, in "The Great Revolt of 1381,"† in his List of the surviving Poll-Tax Rolls, given on pages 160—161, significantly writes "*Nil*" in the case of Middlesex.‡ It is true that "Summary accounts" exist for all the counties of England, save Durham and Chester ("Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Enrolled Accounts: Tax Accounts, No. 8"), while the clerical population of England, with the exception of Carlisle, is summarised under dioceses ("Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Enrolled Accounts: Subsidies, No. 4"). The entire information available from these two sources, therefore, is as follows :—

* The discovery was made on June 18th, 1921, during the progress of the writer's search for Middlesex Place-names, when the Subsidy Rolls, Clerical and Lay, were examined. An announcement of the discovery first appeared in "*The Times Literary Supplement*" of July 14th, 1921, on page 452.

† Clarendon Press, 1906.

‡ "*Nil*" also for Cornwall, Cumberland, Devon, Northumberland, Westmorland and the West Riding of York. As a matter of fact no single county is complete.

Summary Accounts.	Area Included.	51 Edw. III. [1376-1377] <i>One groat p.h.</i>	4 Ric. I. [1380-1381] <i>One shilling p.h.</i>
I. Lay :	County of Middlesex* ..	11,243†	9,937‡
[L.T.R. Enr.	City of London ..	23,314	20,397
Acts (Tax	County of Essex ..	47,962	30,748
No. 8.]	Town of Colchester ..	2,955	1,609
	<i>Totals for England</i> ..	1,355,201	896,481
II. Clerical (Dioc.	Archdeaconry of		
of London) :	Middlesex.	—	433
[L.T.R. Enr.	" London.	—	895
Acts (Sub.)	" Essex.	—	404
No. 4.]	" Colchester.	—	444
	<i>Totals for England</i> ..	22,091	20,676

A NEW ROLL OF 4 RIC. II., 1380—1381.

Now the Public Record Office is known to contain some 800 lay and clerical subsidy rolls relating either to Middlesex or to the Diocese of London, and of these about four per cent. certainly belong to the reign of Richard II., 1377—1399. But hitherto, the only accessible material, supplementary to the "Summary Statistics" quoted above, has been two small records of a fragmentary character, one referring to certain parishes within the City of London, and the other to certain places in a couple of remote Deaneries. § Therefore, it is a matter of exceptional interest to record here the discovery of the missing returns for the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, 4 Ric. II., 1380—1381.

In the MS. Calendar of the Clerical Subsidy Rolls for the Diocese of London, Vol. 16, appears an entry quite out of order, ||

* The figures for Herts. are 19,975 in 1377 and 13,296 in 1381.

† The Middlesex figures for 1377 and 1381 are the lowest in the country, with the exception of Rutland (5,994 and 5,593) and Westmorland (7,389 and 3,859).

‡ For 1381 only, there are smaller returns than those of Middlesex in the case of Cumberland (4,748, but 11,841 in 1377) and Lancaster (8,371, but 23,880 in 1377). It is perfectly clear that there was considerable evasion of the tax in 1381.

§ Both refer to the poll-tax of 4 Ric. II., 1380-1381; and even the fragments, apparently, have been overlooked by Professor Oman, since he does not refer to them in his work.

|| It is at the end of the volume, after the rolls of Charles II., and properly should be in Vol. 15 (box 42, with an early number, say 10).

relating to a roll in box 44, number 347. For many years the entry has stood thus :—

“ 44/347. Clerical Subsidy.
Archid' Midd'

“ 4 [*] Pticule compoti Prioris Sancte Trinitatis London
Collectoris cuiusdam subsidii Regi a clero *Anno quarto* Concessi in
Archid. Midd. Videlt' de eodem subsidio.”†

THE ROLL TESTED.

On June 18th, 1921, a series of tests was applied to the document in order to discover its probable date. The roll consisted of six membranes, repaired in places, but otherwise in good order. The first clue was “ *Anno quarto*,” contained in the heading, but a regnal reference could not be detected. The writing appeared to be late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Variant spellings of place names, especially the form “Haringeye,”‡ also suggested the fourteenth century. The most likely dates to consider, therefore, appeared to be these :—

- (a) 4 Edward III. viz. 1329—1330.
- (b) 4 Richard II. „ 1380—1381.
- (c) 4 Henry IV. „ 1402—1403.
- (d) 4 Henry V. „ 1415—1416.

On testing the names contained in the roll, by reference to Dugdale's “ *Monasticon* ” (1846) and Hennessy's “ *Novum Repertorium* ” (1898), it became clear that the persons referred to lived within the period 1330 to 1415. A careful analysis of “ *Appointments* ” and “ *Vacations* ” followed, in order to restrict the data to coincident cases ; for there were many instances of persons being appointed early in the period, and many, too, of those who, by resignation, death or exchange, vacated their offices late :—

* The blank is now filled in with “ Richard II.,” and a note below reads :—
“ See names in Hennessy's *Repertorium*, H. J., 18-6-21.”

† The entry concludes : “ A roll of 6 \bar{m} s (*membranes*). In good condition.”

‡ This spelling is almost entirely confined to the fourteenth century. It occurs, for example, in the will of Bishop Ric. de Gravesend, 1302, in Patent Rolls between 1318 and 1347, the Episcopal Registers 1321, Feet of Fines 1340, Hustings wills 1348, Court Rolls 1375 and Letter Books of the City of London 1385. The Subsidy Rolls contain thirty variants of the parochial name, but this form only occurs once, viz., in 1380.

i. *Appointed in the reign of Edward III.; vacated under Richard II. :*

1353-1382	John (de Brokhampton), R. of Ickenham.
1361-1381	Richard (de Pertenhale), R. of Acton.
1362-1386	Nicholas (Litlington), Abbot of Westminster.
1362-1394	Richard (Mansell de Marcham), V., of Hampton.
1363-1380	John Corbii, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1365-1392	William Wenlok, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1365-1394	John (Bakere), R. of Hanworth.
1367-1383	Henry (Casse), R. of Cranford.
1368-1385	Richard (de Quadring), V. of Stanwell.
1368-1389	Thomas (Gilmyn de Hermeston), V. of Staines.
1369-1396	William Sleford, Dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1370-1390	John (de Ekyndon), V. of Enfield.
1371-1386	John (Bunting), V. of Heston.
1372-1385	Thomas Orgrave, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1372-1389	Thomas (de Eure), R. of Hendon.
1372-1394	William Denle, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1372-1396	Thomas Midilton, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1373-1399	John (Berford), V. of Feltham.
1374-1386	Richard (Wilkin), V. of Ealing.
1375-1380	John Welyngboruth, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
1375-1386	Michael (de Shires), V. of Twickenham.
1376-1384	Edmund (Letys), R. of Greenford Parva.
1376-1399	Ralph Kesteyn, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.

ii. *Appointed and Vacated under Richard II. :*

1378-1381	John (del Chaumbre), V. of Harmondsworth.
1378-1383	Lawrence (de Hesham), V. of Isleworth.
1379-1386	Nicholas (Dene), V. of Stepney.

iii. *Appointments held during the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV. (and in two cases, Henry V.) :*

Vac. 1401	Nicholas Salesbary, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1376.
„ 1405	Robert (Crull), R. of Stepney, 1368.
„ 1406	Thomas (Strete de Knesworth), R. of Stanmore, 1373.
„ 1408	Richard (de Thorp), R. of Stanwell, 1368.
„ 1413	William (de Shirbourne), R. of Fulham, 1369.
„ 1414	Thomas (de Myddleton), R. of Hackney, 1372.

No appointment, however, was discovered to be of *later* date than 1380; on the other hand, no removal from office was found to have occurred *earlier* than 1380. The “crucial instances” were four in number:—

i. *The latest date of “appointment” :*

1380. John, Vicar of Chiswick.

ii. *The earliest date of "removal" :*

1380. John Welyngboruth, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster (appointed 1375 ; vacated 1380).
 1380. John Corbii, Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster (appointed 1363 ; exchanged 1380).
 1380. Roger Slatburn, Vicar of Hackney (exchanged).

From these considerations it was clear that the coincident date was 1380, for all the persons referred to in the record (within the broad limits of the tests applied) were alive in Middlesex in that year ; therefore the reign was that of Richard the Second, and the roll contained the returns for the Archdeaconry of Middlesex of the Poll-Tax of 4 Ric. II., 1380—1381.

This assignment of the record to 4 Ric. II. has received confirmation in two directions.* In the first place, the roll includes the names not only of the clergy in full orders, regular and secular, but also of nuns, and persons in minor orders, such as acolytes, sub-deacons and the like ; and in the Summary at the end of the document the following totals are definitely stated :—

- (a) Number who paid at the 1/- rate : xlix.
 (b) Number, both regular and secular, who paid larger sums : ccc. iiij^{xx} iiij.

In other words, the total for the Archdeaconry of Middlesex was 49 *plus* 384, or 433 in all—a figure which agrees with the number recorded in the "Summary Account" already quoted (L. T. R. Enr. Acts, Sub., No. 4), which proves that we have here the very document from which the summary was made.

In the second place, the names of the monks of Westminster, as given in the roll, were compared by Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Worcester,† with the names recorded in his work "The Monks of Westminster."‡ He is of opinion that the former list of monks "is perfectly consistent with the assignment of the document to the year 1380. Every one of them was alive and was a member of the house in that year." He adds the interesting note that the names of the monks, as given in the roll, "follow with very few variations the order of seniority prevailing in the monastery at that time, and that twenty-eight out of the complement of forty-four are included."

* The results of these tests were submitted to Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., and Mr. H. Jenkinson, F.S.A., of the Record Office, by whom they were accepted on June 18th, 1921. A new entry now appears in the MS. Calendar, Vol. 15, under date 4 Ric. II. : "For the returns of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, see Subs. 44/347, described in the next volume (No. 16 in this Press)."

† *Times Literary Supplement*, July 31st, 1921, p. 468.

‡ Cambridge Press, 1916, pp. 95 ff.

THE AMOUNT REALISED BY THE TAX.

The details contained in the roll proved of considerable interest ; for not only were the individual and variable rates of payment recorded, together with the total realised, but the names of 58 places in the county were given, as well as the names of 433 persons living in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex—and as many of these names do not occur at all (or else occur with dates that may now be advanced to 1380) in the pages of Dugdale or Hennessy, the value of the record is very great.

The total amount of the subsidy for the Archdeaconry reached £130 9s., of which sum 49 persons contributed “ xlix. s.,” and the remainder (384 persons) paid “ cxxviiij. li.” The Deanery of “ Middilsex ”* alone provided £64 13s. The rates varied from 1s. in 58 cases to 3s. 4d., 9s. and even more. Thus the Rectors of Finchley and Haringey paid 7s. 9d. each, but the Rector of Brentford 17s. 3d. The Dean of St. Stephen’s, Westminster, contributed 21s., while his Vicars paid 3s. 4d. each, and his Canons 9s. Similarly each of the 28 Monks of Westminster Abbey paid 3s. 4d., but Abbot Nicholas was assessed at £14 13s. 4d.† It is of interest to note that whereas Thomas Orgrave, Master of the Hospital of St. James, Westminster, and Sub-Treasurer of England, paid 3s. 4d., Robert de Hales, Prior of St. John’s Hospital, and Treasurer of England, paid nothing at all. Both of these men were marked as “ Traitors ” by the men of Kent‡ in their proscription list of all those whom they intended to put to death ; the former escaped, and was still at St. Stephen’s in 1386, but the latter was murdered by the rebels and his Priory at Clerkenwell burnt to the ground.§

PLACE-NAMES.

The place-names of the county included in the record embrace “ Okeborne ” (Ruislip Prior and Vicar), “ Braynford ” (Hanwell), and “ Marichche ” (? place),|| but exclude Ashford, Drayton, Edmonton, Friern Barnet, Hadley, Hampstead, Harrow,¶ Hayes,

* Membranes 4, 5 and 6 of the record.

† The Prioress, Sub-Prioress and 12 Nuns of Stratford also paid 3s. 4d. each.

‡ Oman, “ *The Great Revolt.* ” p. 60.

§ The omission of the Prior’s name from this roll is very significant, for payments are recorded from the heads of all other Priories, Hospitals and Nunneries in the county.

|| The name is indistinctly written, the first three letters being very faint (? “ Monchche ”).

¶ Harrow and Hayes are found in Canterbury Rolls. “ Schordych ” occurs in Mx. Cler. Sub. Roll 42/9 (3 Ric. II, 1379), and “ Stokenewenton ” in the Cler. Roll 42/10a (4 Ric. II, 1380).

Holborn, Islington, Paddington, St. Pancras, Shoreditch, Stoke Newington, Teddington, and Twyford. The remaining names occur in the Hundreds of Edmonton (3), Elthorne (11), Gore (5), Hounslow (4), Ossulstone (23), and Spelthorne (10), the most interesting spellings being "Bedefont," "Chelcheth," "Chesewyk," "Coucle," "Jelyng" (Ealing), "Egiswere," "Fynchisley," "Hakyneye," "Haringeye," "Herefeld," "Hdyngton" (Harlington), "Hermedesworth," "Eston," "Hylingdon," "Hondeslowe," "Ikynhñ," "Istillworth," "Kylborn," "Kyngisberii," "Lithyngton" (Littleton), "Stronde" (St. Mary-le-Strand), "Southmimys," "Schepton," "Stains," "Stebenheth," "Strattford," "Sunebery," and "Wilisdon."

PERSONAL NAMES.

Personal names to the number of 433 are recorded for the Archdeaconry, the county portion being represented by 171. These Middlesex names include an abbot, a dean, 11 canons at St. Stephen's, 28 monks at Westminster, several priors, prioresses, masters, and nuns. In five cases (namely, at Fulham, Hackney, Hendon, Stanwell, and Stepney) the lists give both rectors and vicars, and at St. Stephen's 11 vicars are recorded. Hennessy correctly names 18 of the rectors and 21 of the vicars in the county, although in 13 instances an earlier date may now be given; but the roll differs from Hennessy's lists in regard to Finchley (John, R. 1380), Hillingdon (Wm., V. 1380), Ruislip (Philip, V. 1380), and Willesden (Thos., V. 1380).^{*} Many gaps, moreover, may now be filled up both in Dugdale and Hennessy's volumes. For instance, Hennessy overlooks Wm., Minister of Hounslow; Ric., V. of Sunbury; Thos., R. of Shepperton; John, R. of Greenford Magna; John, V. of Tottenham; Peter, R. of Littleton; also Wm. of Stanmore Parva, Wm. of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Ric. of Kingsbury, Philip of Harefield, Walt. of Edgware, and Wm., chaplain of Tyburn (Marylebone). John, chaplain of "Marichehc," has not been located; the place cannot be St. Mary-le-Strand ("Stronde" in the record), or St. Mary's, Whitechapel (where John does not occur in 1380), and as the old church of Tyburn ("Tyborne" in the roll) was "pulled down about 23 Oct., 1400," it would appear improbable that "St. Marylebone" was already in existence in 1380 with a separate chaplain.

Except at Westminster, it is very rare for the surname to be recorded. Thus, among Middlesex persons, other than vicars or rectors, we find in the roll the names of John of Acton, Chelsea,

^{*} Hennessy quotes a Clerical Subsidy Roll ("42/10") of 1380, giving "William" as Vicar, in succession to "John," 1324.

Enfield, Hackney, Hendon, Stepney (two), and St. Margaret's; William of Acton, Enfield, Hillingdon, Littleton, Staines, Tottenham, and St. Margaret's; also Nic. and Simon of St. Margaret's, Peter of Shepperton, Ric. of Fulham, Rob. of Stanwell, and Thos. of Hillingdon, Sunbury, and St. Margaret's, Westminster.

ADDITIONS TO DUGDALE'S LISTS.

Now that the poll-tax returns are available for 1380, it is possible to correct or supplement Dugdale's work in connection with the following places:—

PLACES.	NOTES.
1. Hosp. of St. Giles ..	Wm., <i>Master</i> ; Ric., Wm., Hy., occur in the roll.
2. Hosp. of St. James ..	Thos. Orgrave, <i>Master</i> (Dugdale has "Bygrave"), 1377; Nic. Weston, Rog. Nic., Thos.
3. Hosp. of St. John: ..	The Prior (Rob. de Hales, 1372-1381) is omitted; he was Treasurer in 1380, and was slain the following year. John, mentioned in the Roll, may be his successor, Jn. de Radington, 1381-1406. Roger, Adam, and Wm. also occur.
4. Kilburn Nunnery ..	Alice, <i>Prioress</i> ; Kath., Matilda, Marg. (2), Emma.
5. Stratford Nunnery ..	Maria, <i>Prioress</i> (Dugdale gives Mary Suharde, 1395); Felicia, <i>Sub-Prioress</i> ; Juliana, Johanna (3), Angelina, Isabella, Alice (2), Letitia, Marg. (2), Kath.
6. Harmondsworth Priory	Ric., <i>Prior</i> ; John.
7. Hounslow Priory ..	Wm., <i>Minister</i> ; Sim., Geoff., Rob. recorded.
8. Ruislip Priory ("Okeborne")	<i>Prior</i> un-named; Philip, <i>Vicar</i> .
9. St. Stephen's, Westminster	Wm. Sleford, <i>Dean</i> 1369-1396 (Canon, sixth stall, 1364-1369); with 11 canons and 11 vicars.
10. Westminster Abbey ..	Nicholas, <i>Abbot</i> (Nic. Litlington, 1362-1386); with 28 monks, the ninth being Wm. Colchester, who was abbot in succession to Nicholas, 1386-1420.

ST. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER.

None of the vicars of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, are given by Hennessy; but their names, as recorded in the roll, are Wm. Dedynton, Wm. Mayn, Hy. Wynchester, Jn. Warwyk, Thos. Grantham, Jn. Hespley, Jn. Cassell, Wm. Holstreet, Jn. Tametofts, Thos. Oxtede, and Thos. Defford. The canons of St. Stephen's are called prebendaries in the pages of Hennessy,

where most of the names occur, with variant spellings, in connexion with the 12 stalls :—

STALLS.	CANONS.*
First ..	Nic. Salesbary, 1376-1401.
Second ..	Thos. Orgrave, 1385-1386. [See ninth stall.]
Third ..	Jn. Henle, 1367-1372 and 1394-1396.
	Wm. Denle, 1372-1394.
Fourth ..	Ric. Clifford, 1396-1397. Master of St. James's Hosp.,
	Westm., 1387.
Fifth ..	Thos. Midilton†, 1372-1396.
Sixth ..	Ralph Kesteyn, 1376-1399.
Seventh ..	[See below.]
Eighth ..	
Ninth ..	Thos. Orgrave, 1372-1385. Master of St. James's, 1380. [See second stall.]
Tenth ..	Jn. Welyngboruth, 1375-1380. Preb. of Chiswick, 1377-1395.
Eleventh ..	Jn. Corbii, 1363-1380.
Twelfth ..	Wm. Wenlok, 1365-1392.

Robert Derby, seventh among the Canons in the Subsidy Roll, is omitted in the "Novum Repertorium," and as the record does not name the stalls it is difficult to correctly place not only Derby but Henle and Clifford in 1380, for the second, sixth, seventh, and eighth stalls are thus filled by Hennessy :—

STALLS.	CANONS.
Second	{ Rob. de Elmham, 1364-1379. Rob. Manfeld, 1385. [Ninth stall also 1385.]
Sixth	
Seventh	Adam de Chesterfeld, 1369-1381.
Eighth	Wm. de Beverle, 1370-1395.
	Jn. de Blakeley, 1361-1382.

THE MONKS OF WESTMINSTER.

The record is of particular interest in the case of Westminster ; for some forty names are preserved in connexion with St. James's, St. Margaret's, and the Abbey Church, in addition to the long list of canons and vicars at the Royal Chapel of St. Stephen's ("Capell Regis apd. Westm."), which Edw. III. rebuilt in 1347, only 33 years before.

*The order of the canons in the roll is: (i) Corbii, (2) Orgrave, (3) Salesbary, (4) Kesteyn, (5) Midilton, (6) Henle, (7) Derby, (8) Wenlok, (9) Denle, (10) Clifford, (11) Welyngboruth, together with the Dean, Wm. Sleford.

† Hennessy styles him "Thomas de Middleton." He also includes among the Rectors of Hackney, "Thomas de Myddleton, 1372-1414." In the Subsidy Roll the Rector's name is simply given as "Thomas."

The names of the Westminster monks, as recorded in the Roll, are given below in the first column; and in the second column, for the purpose of comparison, they appear as given by the Bishop of Worcester "in the forms which, with whatever variety, they commonly bore at Westminster, omitting the 'de' before place-names." Apart from the spellings, the chief differences occur in the Christian names of No. I and No. II.

Subsidy List.	Abbey List.
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>John</i> Exec'. 2. John Mirymuth. 3. Walter Warefeld. 4. William Mordon. 5. John Wrattyng. 6. Richard Chircestre. 7. Robert Hereford. 8. John Stowe. 9. William Colchester. § 10. John Lagyngbeth. 11. <i>John</i> Onyngton. 12. John Catisbery. 13. John Faryngho. 14. William Lythington. 15. Peter Cowmbe. 16. John Gyffard. 17. William Wittlisford. 18. Roger Denh̄m. 19. Thomas Warwyk. 20. Richard Merlawe. 21. Robert Athelard. 22. Bartholomew London. 23. Nicholas Cherynton. 24. Thomas Pomfreyt. 25. John London. 26. John Str̄tton. 27. Richard Palḡue. 28. John Sandon. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Richard</i> Excestre.* 2. John Murymouth. 3. Walter Warefeld. 4. William Mordon. 5. John Wrattyng. † 6. Richard Circestre. 7. Robert Hereford. 8. John Stowe. ‡ 9. William Colchester. 10. John Lakyngbeth. 11. <i>Richard</i> Honyngton. 12. John Canterbury. 13. John Farnago. 14. William Littlington. 15. Peter Coumbe. 16. J. Giffard. 17. William Witlesford. 18. Roger Denham. 19. Thomas Warewyk. 20. Richard Merlawe. 21. Robert Athelard. 22. Bartholomew London. 23. Nicholas Chereton. 24. Thomas Pomfrett. 25. John London. 26. J. Stratton. 27. Richard Palgrave. ¶ 28. John Sandon.

* Then Prior, 1380.

† Prior in 1382.

‡ "He was studying in Oxford at the Convent's expense in 1366-1367."

§ Abbott 1386-1420.

|| "To whose prudence we owe the Purbeck pillars in the nave of the Abbey church."

¶ He should be before Nicholas Chereton (No. 23).