

MARKETS AND FAIRS IN MEDIEVAL BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

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The importance of markets and fairs as centres for the exchange of goods, whether at local, national or international levels, has long been a truism of medieval economic history,¹ their periodicity reflecting the low intensity of demand and difficulties of transport and communication characteristic of medieval economic structure. It is however only from recent studies conducted on a local basis,² to which this article is a contribution, that a more detailed and exact picture of their evolution is beginning to emerge. Coke³ thought that at Common Law there was no distinction between a market and a fair; the difference lay merely in the size and frequency of the gathering. In practical terms however there was. A market was a weekly assembly, a fair an annual one. The distinction between the two was also marked in the medieval royal chancery by a remarkably consistent use of the terms *mercatum* and *feria* for market and fair respectively. They were not however invariably granted together. Five towns in Buckinghamshire had fairs only, and one had a market only.

Summing up centuries of development in the medieval law, Coke wrote⁴ that 'everyone that hath a faire or market ought to have it by graunt or prescipation'. The golden age for the establishment of markets and fairs by charter lay in the century and a half from 1200 to 1350,⁵ although this picture in part at any rate may be the consequence of the paucity of documentary evidence for much of the twelfth century, a period during which many of what later came to be called prescriptive markets and fairs were certainly coming into existence. After 1350 only a very small number of new ones were set up, and the story is instead one of the decline and disappearance of very many of those already established. Indeed it is becoming clear that those markets which were the first to be created were also the ones with the best chance of surviving the economic decline of the later middle ages, and that many of those granted in the second half of the thirteenth century and later had little chance of ever becoming firmly established.

I

With the remote origins of fairs and markets, whether in annual assemblies of devotees on saints' days or from commercial transactions among the members of the congregation drawn together for worship on a Sunday,⁶ this article is not concerned. It is clear that many markets and fairs were in existence long before the Norman Conquest. Domesday Book lists fifty-eight markets and two fairs, although such a distribution must point to the incompleteness of the Domesday record rather than to these being the only markets and fairs in existence in the whole of the country covered by the Domesday survey.⁷ It is sufficient for the present purpose to state that by the end of the thirteenth century the Crown had successfully established the claim that no-one should have a

market or fair without its licence.⁸ This claim was, however, limited in two respects. First of all the right to hold a market or fair could also be established by prescription of immemorial user,⁹ so that by claiming usage of a market or fair from beyond the limit of legal memory, which, after the Statute of Quo Warranto of 1290 came to be established as 3 September 1189, owners could claim to hold by prescription rather than by royal grant. Nevertheless, certainly in Lancashire,¹⁰ prescriptive markets continued to emerge even after 1290.

Secondly, a later grant, if made without the consent of the owner of an earlier one, was void against him if it adversely affected his rights, and he could bring a writ of nuisance.¹¹ The royal chancery seems early to have appreciated that later grants might be to the injury of preceding ones, and so from 1200 royal charters contained a clause making a grant conditional upon its not harming neighbouring markets and fairs. It became usual practice to enquire into the likelihood of a new market being to the injury of an existing one by means of an inquisition under a writ *ad quod damnum*.¹²

Harm would be caused to an existing market if a new one were established so close to it that traffic was drawn away to the new one, causing a drop in the income from tolls and stallage dues received by the owner of the existing market. Bracton¹³ wrote that a market established within $6\frac{2}{3}$ miles of another would be unlawful, but there is little evidence to show the existence of a rule so clearly enunciated as his statement would seem to imply. It was alleged by the king's attorney, William de Giselham, in one *quo warranto* case,¹⁴ that markets should be at least five miles apart, and it has been suggested that Bracton may have used the London mile of 5,000 feet when calculating his $6\frac{2}{3}$ miles, and that William de Giselham was using the old English mile of 6,000 feet, so that in practice the two distances were almost equal: $6\frac{5}{16}$ statute and $6\frac{1}{4}$ statute miles respectively.¹⁵ Nevertheless modern distribution maps drawn for medieval markets¹⁶ show that in practice this rule must have been widely ignored, if indeed it ever really existed, although it is important to appreciate that these maps can be very misleading in that they assume that all the markets were flourishing at the same time, and this is patently not true. Certainly the Prior of Coventry recovered damages in 1308 against those citizens of Coventry dwelling in Earl Street who had of late begun to sell goods in their houses and booths to the injury of the Prior's Friday market,¹⁷ and the market of the Prior of Snelshall at Mursley in Buckinghamshire was suppressed in 1287 because it harmed that of the Prior of Grovebury near Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire to the extent of ten marks because it lay between the *secutores* of his market and the town,¹⁸ although in fact Mursley and Leighton Buzzard are about eight miles apart. But in none of the other published cases concerning harm caused by one market to another¹⁹ is there a clear and unequivocal decision upholding the rule.

The rule does not appear to have been formally applied to fairs, although at least two cases are known in which fairs were suppressed. In the first, the fair of the Prior of Tynemouth was suppressed on the grounds that it had injured that of the citizens of Newcastle upon Tyne, about eight miles away.²⁰ In the second, however, the fair at Leominster was, in 1284, ordered to be quashed because of the harm done to that at Hereford, about twelve miles away, on the grounds, not of geographical proximity, but because the Leominster fair was held on 28 September through until 1 October, whilst that at Hereford began on 9 October.²¹ Fairs may have needed a larger hinterland than markets, and it is perhaps not without significance that when in 1230 it was alleged that the market of Leominster was to the injury of that at Hereford, the bailiffs of

Hereford did not appear to substantiate the claim and so were adjudged to be in mercy.²²

In a third case, however, for which no clear decision survives, the two fairs were in the same town. The Abbot of Shrewsbury claimed that his prescriptive fair, held on the vigil of St. Peter's Chains and the three succeeding days, had been damaged by the grant in 1267 to the citizens of Shrewsbury of a fair on the vigil of St. James and the three succeeding days, six days only before the Abbot's fair.²³ Perhaps after all chronological proximity was more important to fairs than geographical, although the two hospitals in Wycombe had fairs only thirteen days apart and they do not appear to have quarrelled.

Thus a market or fair could come into existence in one of two ways, either by prescription, implying undisturbed use from before 1189, or else by royal charter. Both pose considerable problems for the historian. First of all, a prescriptive market or fair could have been flourishing for a very long time before any documentary reference which has survived need have been made, and this surviving documentary evidence can be scattered, disjointed and fragmentary, as the references to the prescriptive markets and fairs in Buckinghamshire gathered together in Appendix I testify.

Secondly, although many prescriptive markets and fairs must of course have arisen spontaneously, there is always the possibility that some at least may have been the result of an effective royal grant made without any supporting evidentiary document, something which could certainly happen with transfers of land.²⁴ Thirdly, royal charters were not enrolled before 1199 and there are serious gaps even in later years. For example none were enrolled during the minority of Henry III, 1216–1226, and it may have been during this period that the lost charter for Great Missenden was issued. Thus any list of markets and fairs in a county is therefore almost certainly incomplete. It is also apparent that a royal grant did not necessarily lead to the actual establishment of a viable market or fair, so that a royal charter may be the only reference ever made to a particular market or fair. If the grant were not enrolled and the original subsequently lost, then the problem becomes insoluble. Perhaps the "ghost" markets at Padbury, Quainton and Tingewick, and fairs at Stokenchurch and Wraybury, were established in this way, if at all, but no substantial documentary evidence of their existence has been discovered and so they have been omitted from the main list in Appendix I.

II

There is no overt reference to a market or fair in Buckinghamshire in Domesday Book. Nevertheless there is indirect evidence for the existence of markets in the county before 1086. Place-names would seem to indicate the presence of at least two. The element *port*, denoting 'town, market town, market', is to be found in Lamport, now only a hamlet near Stowe, and in Newport Pagnell.²⁵ Lamport must have quickly lost all pretence to be a market town, since there is no documentary evidence of it as such at all. Newport Pagnell however was, like Buckingham, a borough by the time of Domesday, in that burgesses are referred to in both,²⁶ and so there is a distinct possibility of a market in both. It would be interesting, but unprofitable, to speculate where the old *port* was if Newport Pagnell was a new one before 1086. There was probably also a market in Aylesbury by 1086, since Domesday Book notes that the toll there was worth £10 by tale.²⁷ The addition of Chipping, a Middle English derivation from the Old English *ceping*, market, is found at Marlow and at Wycombe, although not

before the fourteenth century,²⁸ by which time their markets had long been established, so that this element is of little value for the early history of markets in the county.

There are eight Buckinghamshire markets for which no foundation charters survive.²⁹ These are almost certainly prescriptive and so would not owe their origins to a charter in any case. This of course is only a presumption. They may well have been chartered, but if so the documents have not survived. An account, written in the second half of the thirteenth century, of the descent of the fee of Wendover, notes that the market in that town was established by Hugh le Gurnays in the time of King John,³⁰ but his grant of 1214 refers only to a fair,³¹ and so the Wendover market has been treated as a prescriptive one in this article. All eight were also boroughs.³² Four – Aylesbury, Brill, Buckingham and Wendover – were also on Ancient Demesne, whilst Brill, and possibly Aylesbury, was a hundredal market.³³

The first undoubted documentary reference to a market in Buckinghamshire comes in a charter of 1187 by which Gervase Paynell grants to the monks of Tickford Abbey licence to buy and sell their necessities free from all toll within and without the *forum* of Newport Pagnell.³⁴ Then in 1194 Richard I granted to Gilbert Basset and Egelina his wife a Sunday market in their manor of Strafford, which can now be identified with Stony Stratford.³⁵ This was renewed in 1199 and confirmed in 1200.³⁶ In July 1200 the king granted a Friday market and a two day fair at Amersham to Geoffrey son of Peter, Earl of Essex, and in 1204 Roger de Caux received a market for his manor of Water Eaton, which included Fenny Stratford. After this, as Table 1 shows, grants of markets by charter followed in quick succession. There were eventually forty-one different markets in the county. By 1250 the eight prescriptive,³⁷ together with fourteen chartered ones, were in existence, and by 1348 all but seven of the final number had been established. Of the remaining seven those at Iver (1353), Great Horwood (1447) and Eton (1453) were established by 1500. The other four were at Princes Risborough, granted in 1523, at Colnbrook, established in 1543, at Wolverton, established in 1842, and at Slough, where the private auction of cattle began in 1850, and a weekly cattle market was instituted in 1863. Long Crendon was the only market town which did not also have a fair.

Table 1: Market Chronology in Buckinghamshire

Prescriptive	before 1200	1200–1250	1251–1300	1301–1348	1349–1500	post 1500
8	1	13	6	6	3	4

This Table comprises only first grants of markets to separate towns. It does not include the second market at each of Mursley, Worminghall or Wing. It does not include confirmatory grants. Great Missenden has been included under 1200–1250.

This chronological pattern is by no means unique to Buckinghamshire. If the numbers of those markets whose dates of establishment are not known but are presumed to be medieval in their origins are added to those certainly known to have been established by 1348, then in Suffolk ninety out of one hundred and two, and in Kent eighty-one out of ninety-eight, were established by this date.³⁸ In Herefordshire by 1349 there were thirty-seven markets in existence, and only three more were added after the Black Death.³⁹ There were in Lancashire by the time of James I thirty-seven chartered markets.

Only eight of these were chartered in the century after the death of Edward I, and only seven more in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Of thirty-one separate markets established by charter in Gloucestershire before 1465, only two were founded after 1348.⁴¹ In Staffordshire forty-five markets are recorded before 1500. All save two of these are from before 1350.⁴² In Derbyshire no grants of new markets were made after 1350.⁴³ For Yorkshire there are on the Charter Rolls alone grants of one hundred and twenty-two separate markets. Of these one hundred and eleven were made before 1350.⁴⁴ Of sixty-six markets in Shropshire, sixty were chartered before 1330.⁴⁵

There appear to have been six prescriptive fairs in Buckinghamshire, one at each of Aylesbury, Buckingham, Brill and Wycombe, and two at Marlow. Table 2 illustrates the chronological development of fairs in the county. It includes all grants of fairs, irrespective of whether or not there was already one in a town, since grants of fairs seem almost always to have been of new ones rather than confirmations of existing ones, leading to the gradual accretion of a number of fairs to a town over the centuries, whereas in only three towns in Buckinghamshire, Mursley, Wing and Worminghall, is more than one market day mentioned. Thus there were eventually four fairs at Wendover and five at Little Brickhill.

Table 2: The Chronology of Fairs in Buckinghamshire

Prescriptive	1200–1250	1251–1300	1301–1348	1349–1500	post 1500
6	17	15	14	11	4

Sixty-seven different fairs on forty-three sites. Great Missenden has been included in 1200–1250.

This table shows the same broad chronological pattern for the establishment of fairs within the county as there was for markets – a third were in existence by 1250, and only fifteen new fairs were granted after 1348, of which five were additional fairs granted to towns which already had them. The only new towns to be granted fairs after 1348 were the same as those which also received first market grants after that date: Colnbrook, Eton, Great Horwood, Iver and Princes Risborough, together with Wooburn, where a fair, but not a market, was established in 1459. There were five towns – Chetwode, Datchet, Luffield, Twyford and Wooburn – with a fair but no market.

In Buckinghamshire, as elsewhere in England, the century and a half between 1200 and 1350 was indeed the golden age for the establishment of markets and fairs.

III

The location of markets and fairs in Buckinghamshire is shown in Fig. 1. The circles are drawn with a radius of six miles from each market, save that these circles have not been drawn for that handful of places which had only a fair. Nor have they been drawn for the four post-1500 creations – Colnbrook, Princes Risborough, Slough and Wolverton.

This map shows clearly the markets of Buckinghamshire falling into two distinct regions, corresponding closely to the principal geographical and economic regions of the county.⁴⁶ North Buckinghamshire is an area of low, rounded hills and clay vales, watered by numerous streams. In the middle ages it was characterised by large common

fields and nucleated settlements, and in the fifteenth century was much affected by enclosure for pasture and consequent depopulation. Two lines of communication of more than local importance crossed this part of the county, Several roads, running in a southwest to northeast direction, connected Oxford and the southwest with Cambridge and East Anglia, whilst Watling Street ran in a northwesterly direction through Little Brickhill, Fenny Stratford and Stony Stratford, all three market towns, connecting London with the midlands. Here in the north of the county there was only one very small segment, to the southwest of Twyford, which was not within six miles of a market, and in any case all of this area would have been covered by the market at Bicester, in Oxfordshire.⁴⁷

The north of the county is marked off sharply from the south by the line, marked on Fig. 1, of the chalk scarp of the Chilterns, which rises steeply out of the plain to a height in places of over 800 feet. The hills then dip gently in a southeasterly direction, often capped with clay-with-flints, until the chalk is masked by the clays and gravels of the Thames valley. The hills are deeply dissected by valleys so that the intermediate ridges and plateaux, often heavily wooded, point like fingers towards the Thames. The hills are almost entirely devoid of running water, save in the principal valleys, where also are found the main roads and the largest towns, Chesham, Amersham and High Wycombe, which, with Great Missenden, were also the only towns actually in the Chilterns to have had markets. This difficult terrain had a profound influence upon the cultivation and settlement patterns of the region. The Chilterns in the medieval period were characterised by numerous, comparatively small, common fields, interspersed with closes held in severalty, areas of woodland, scattered hamlets and isolated farmsteads. It is this topography which must explain the gap in the location of markets between Chesham and High Wycombe on the one hand, and Wendover on the other. Great Missenden can be largely ignored in this context since it was stated in the grant of 1367 of a fair and market to Thomas de Mussenden that Henry III had granted a fair and market to Joan late the wifc of Hugh de Sanford, but that the market had never been used. The grant of Henry III has not so far been traced. South of the Chilterns, on the clays and gravels of the Thames and the Colne, markets are thickly distributed.

It is however clear from a closer study of the grants themselves that geographical and economic factors played only a subsidiary role in the initial establishment of markets and fairs by charter. Much more important were social and political influences. All those markets and fairs for which foundation charters survive were established by means of a grant purchased from the Crown by a lord, lay or ecclesiastic. In only two instances do we read of inhabitants or burgesses being involved, whether as petitioners or recipients, in the obtaining of a grant, and they are the Wendover charter of 1465 and the Wycombe final concord of 1226. In both towns the markets were prescriptive and had long been established.

Once it had become clear that markets and fairs could only be held by a grant from the Crown, then only those who were wealthy enough to buy one, or sufficiently influential to be given one, would receive such a grant. In Buckinghamshire prescription played a comparatively unimportant role in the multiplication of fairs and markets. This is in contrast to the situation in Lancashire, where, by the beginning of the seventeenth century charters had been granted to thirty-seven places, but there were also twenty-nine prescriptive markets.⁴⁸

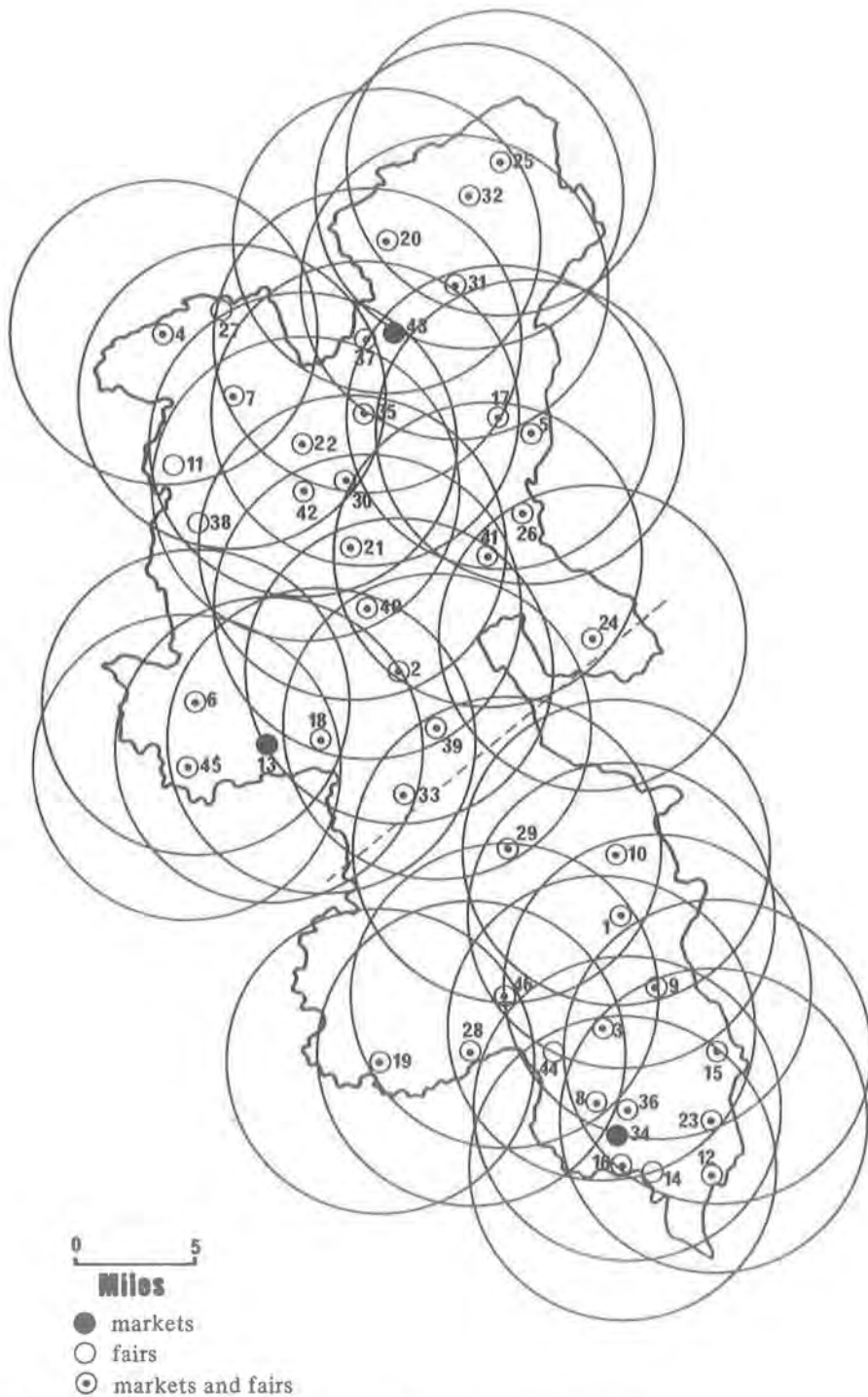


Fig. 1. The location of Markets and Fairs in Buckinghamshire.

Buckinghamshire clearly shared with other counties in that outburst of market foundation which characterised the period 1200–1348, and the same motives of political and personal prestige are at work as are found elsewhere.⁴⁹ To obtain a grant of a market was almost a status symbol, and the more the better. Little attention could have been paid in many cases to the likelihood of the newly created market becoming a viable institution. The extreme is probably the grant which Bartholomew de Badelesmere received in 1315, when he obtained a Monday market and a fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Bartholomew, a significant saint's day, at Hambleton, together with no less than seventeen other markets, including, among others, those at Erith, Tonge and Kingsdown in Kent, Bourne in Sussex, Shifnal in Shropshire, Castle Combe in Wiltshire, Thaxted in Essex and Market Overton in Rutland.⁵⁰

Both multiple grants and grants reflecting the political influence of the grantee are to be found in Buckinghamshire, sometimes in the same charter. Thus Sir John de Moleyns received grants of markets and fairs at Stoke Poges, Brill, Wendover and Datchet, and the Earl of Oxford those at Whitchurch in 1245 and Chesham and Stony Stratford in 1257. Even more powerful and influential was Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who obtained the grant of the market at Beaconsfield in 1255,⁵¹ whilst William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick obtained the market at Hanslope in 1292 and Hugh le Despenser those at Marlow and Hambleton in 1325. The king's brother was the recipient of the market at Mursley in 1415, and Humphrey, Earl of Buckingham that at Little Brickhill in 1441. The names of these great ones in the land tend to overshadow the lesser ones, such as that Ralph son of Nicholas, who had the grant at Twyford in 1250, or Henry son of Gerald who had a market at Wing in 1218.

But lay grantees, great and small, are only part of the story. Seventy-one grants and confirmations are listed in Appendix I. Of these forty-nine were to laymen, whilst twenty-two, or 30%, were to ecclesiastical establishments of every kind, including hospitals and colleges. Thus the abbey of St. Albans was granted a market on its manor at Winslow in 1235, the Prior of Rochester received one for his manor at Haddenham in 1295, and the Bishop of Winchester one for his manor at Ivinghoe in 1318. The king's chapel at Windsor received a Wednesday market and two annual fairs for its manor at Iver in 1353, and New College Oxford was granted a market and fair at Great Horwood in 1447. Several Buckinghamshire religious houses received grants. The Abbess of Burnham had markets at Beaconsfield and Burnham. The Prior of Snelshall had one at Snelshall and another at Mursley. The houses at Chetwode and Luffield each had a fair, whilst Biddlesden had both market and fair. The Prioress of the convent of St. Margaret of the Wood had a fair at Ivinghoe in 1227, and the hospitals of St. Margaret and St. John in Wycombe also each had a fair, in 1229 and 1239 respectively, whilst it was to the Provost of the College that the market and fairs at Eton were granted in 1443 and 1452.

The proprietary interests of lords of every kind were the dominant factors in the initial establishment of markets and fairs, and have perhaps been underestimated by modern economic historians, preoccupied with the creation of commercial and trading centres. Seigneurial interests also meant that it was possible for one town to have two or more markets and/or fairs, each owned by a different lord, creating a potential point of conflict similar to that already mentioned at Shrewsbury. Thus at Wendover for example the market, a prescriptive one, was confirmed to the tenants and residents within the town in 1465, together with two fairs, in April and September. But the fair

on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. John the Baptist, (23–25 June) was granted to Hugh de Gurnay in 1214, and that on the vigil, feast and morrow of St. Barnabas (10–12 June) to Sir John de Moleyns in 1347. At Wycombe the burgesses had a weekly market and an annual cattle fair, whilst the two hospitals each had their own two-day fairs, on 6–7 July and 19–20 July, and this apparently without the two houses falling out because their fairs were chronologically so close together.

It is impossible to analyse fully the complex of motives which lay behind the seeking and obtaining of these grants. Certainly pride and consciousness of position played a not inconsiderable part, but more mercenary motives were also at work. The grant of a market implied the right to levy tolls on those who traded there,⁵² and the creation of a centre for the exchange of goods would in any case make it a focal point for the hinterland, however restricted, so that an overall increase in prosperity might not be unexpected. These expectations are most clearly apparent in the grant of 1414 to the Abbess and convent of Burnham, when, by reason of their great poverty, they had confirmed to them their Thursday market and annual fair at Burnham and their annual fair at Beaconsfield. Doubtless the convent was hoping the receipts from tolls would improve its financial position.

But the tolls from markets and fairs may not always have yielded as much as their founders might have wished. For example in 1307 rents from tenants of the borough of Great Marlow were worth £8 13s. a year, free tenants paid £13 13s. 6d. and customary rents were worth £18 4s. 1d., but the market toll yielded only 10s.⁵³ At Brill in 1252 the tolls of market and fair were said to be worth 36s. a year.⁵⁴ The market at Chesham was said, in 1264, to be new but of no profit.⁵⁵ At Wendover in 1302 the total value of the manor and borough was £66 12s. 8¾d., to which the market contributed 30s.⁵⁶ At Newport Pagnell rents of the burgesses were worth 100s. in 1272, and the work of 29 customary tenants was worth £21 4s. 11½d., but pleas of the market, tolls and an oven were all together worth only ten marks.⁵⁷ These tolls, however, could fluctuate, and too much importance should not be attached to an isolated figure. Thus, at Brill again, the receipts from tolls and stallage were 10s. in 1313–1314, 40s. in 1314–1315 and 1315–1316, and 18s. in 1316–1317.⁵⁸

IV

The days of the week on which markets were held in Buckinghamshire are marked on Fig. 2, and together with the months in which fairs were held, are listed in Table 3.

Table 3: The days and dates of Markets and Fairs in Buckinghamshire

<i>Markets</i>		<i>Fairs</i>			
Sunday	1	January	—	July	10
Monday	6	February	1	August	6
Tuesday	3	March	2	September	15
Wednesday	6	April	6	October	7
Thursday	12	May	4	November	—
Friday	3	June	9	December	—
Saturday	2				

This Table is compiled from Appendix I, omitting post-1500 creations and using only those grants in which the dates of markets and fairs are clearly stated. This means that a number have been excluded, especially the prescriptive ones. The earliest references to the markets at Buckingham, Aylesbury and Marlow show them to have been held on a Saturday. That at Wycombe was held on a Friday, that at Olney on Monday, whilst the day for that at Brill has been lost. All have been omitted from Table 3. However, that at Newport Pagnell, a prescriptive Saturday market, has been included because it was confirmed in the charter of 1270, whilst that at Wendover has also been included because it was confirmed in the grant of 1465. The days of the week for prescriptive markets have, however, been marked on Fig. 2.

The commonest market day in Buckinghamshire was Thursday. Nearly a third of all markets were held on this day. It may be possible to recognise a market cycle in the southern part of the county. Three were held on a Monday, one on a Tuesday, four on Wednesday, one on Thursday, two on Friday and one on Saturday. This would mean that although the markets were close together geographically, there would not have been any real clash of interest since those where the market days were the same were six or more miles apart. It cannot however be assumed that this cycle was in any way consciously evolved. The pattern is very nebulous and in any case depends upon the very doubtful proposition that all the markets were flourishing at the same time.

No market cycle of any kind is recognisable in the north of the county, and there would in any case be several clashes of interest. Thus the three Thursday markets at Worminghall, Long Crendon and Haddenham were close together, as were the Wednesday and Thursday markets at Great Horwood, Mursley, Snelshall and Wing. But, as in south Buckinghamshire, too much importance should not be attached either to the overlapping of market hinterlands or to market cycles, since there is a very good chance that several of the markets either did not survive for very long or were never started at all.

A quarter of all the fairs in the county were held in September, and nearly two thirds of the total between July and October. This suggests their importance as centres for the sale of agricultural produce after the harvest and of livestock in preparation for the winter. None was held in November, December or January, when travelling would have been made difficult by bad weather, and only three were held before April.⁵⁹ Little Brickhill had the largest number of fairs, five in all, extending altogether over thirteen days. Next came Wendover, with four fairs over twelve days. But the longest single fair was that held at Hanslope in July. This lasted fifteen days.

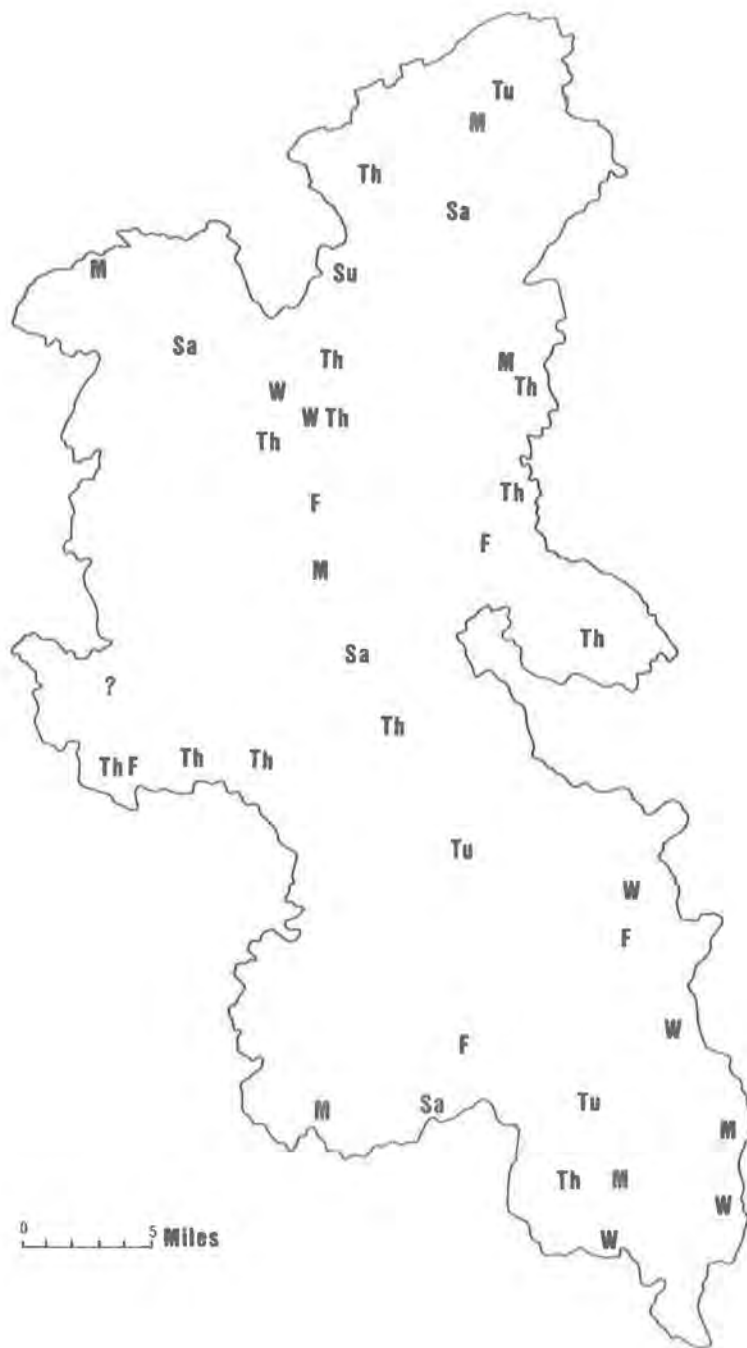


Fig. 2. The days of the week of Medieval Markets in Buckinghamshire.

Finally we may look at the survival of markets and fairs in Buckinghamshire beyond 1500. Tables 4 and 5 list the survivors.

Table 4: Markets in Buckinghamshire after 1500

<i>pre-1500 creations</i>		
	date	borough
Amersham	1200	*
Aylesbury	prescriptive	*
Beaconsfield	1255	
Little Brickhill	1228	*
Buckingham	prescriptive	*
Chesham	1257	
Fenny Stratford	1204	*
Ivinghoe	1318	
Marlow	prescriptive	*
Newport Pagnell	prescriptive	*
Olney	prescriptive	*
Stony Stratford	1194	*
Wendover	prescriptive	*
Winslow	1235	*
Wycombe	prescriptive	*

post-1500 creations

Colnbrook
Princes Risborough
Slough
Wolverton

This Table was compiled in the first instance from three principal sources,⁶⁰ between which there are some discrepancies. Blome does not mention a market at Marlow, only Adams includes Chesham, whilst none includes Fenny Stratford, although the market there was renewed in 1608.⁶¹

A list of this kind can be as misleading as a distribution map since it imposes the same spurious air of permanence upon what was in fact an ever-changing situation. Thus the prescriptive market at Marlow seems to have fallen into decay some time before 1600, since in that year John Rotherham left £40 in his will towards the expense of obtaining a charter and a market for the town. This seems never to have been acted upon, and it was the end of the eighteenth century before Marlow again had a market.⁶² Similarly, the market at Fenny Stratford was discontinued after the Restoration, almost certainly a casualty of the plague outbreak of 1665–1666, but was revived by Browne Willis in 1702;⁶³ and at Wendover it was stated in 1630 that in 1613 the inhabitants revived an ancient market and caused the Church House to be laid open and converted into a Market House.⁶⁴ Only fifteen of the thirty-seven markets established by 1453 survived beyond 1500, and of these all save that at Ivinghoe were in

existence by 1257. Of those to survive 1500 seven were prescriptive. Indeed the only prescriptive one not to survive was that at Brill. Only three of the fifteen were not also in borough towns, and the only borough markets to fail by 1500 were those at Brill, Denham and Whitchurch. All of those towns in which a market survived 1500 also had at least one surviving fair.

The survival of fairs after 1500 has been less studied than that of markets.⁶⁵

Table 5: Fairs in Buckinghamshire functioning after 1500

	<i>pre-1500 creations</i>	market did not survive 1500
Amersham	1200	
Aylesbury	prescriptive	
Beaconsfield	1269	
Little Brickhill	1228	
Buckingham	prescriptive	
Burnham	1271	*
Chalfont St. Peter	1229	*
Chesham	1257	
Eton	1443	*
Fenny Stratford	1252	
Hanslope	1292	*
Iver	1353	*
Ivinghoe	1227	
Lavendon	1249	*
Marlow	prescriptive	
Newport Pagnell	1270	
Olney	1316	
Stony Stratford	1257	
Wendover	1214	
Winslow	1235	
Wooburn	1459	no market
Wycombe	prescriptive	

post-1500 creations

Colnbrook
Princes Risborough

This Table lists only those towns in which a fair continued to be held at some date after 1500.⁶⁶ It does not attempt to distinguish individual surviving fairs in any one town, since it is the eighteenth century before there is sufficient evidence to enable this to be done with any degree of accuracy, and in any case the Act of 1751 for the reform of the calendar altered the dates upon which a number were held.

In Buckinghamshire it would appear that the mortality rate among fairs was less than that among markets. They continued to be held on almost exactly half of those

sites which had one before 1500, and many survived well into the nineteenth century, although several became either October hiring fairs or else entirely pleasure fairs, losing all commercial importance. Yet others, as at Aylesbury, Buckingham and Stony Stratford, continued as important centres for the sale of agricultural produce, especially livestock. In six towns fairs continued to be held long after their markets had disappeared, whilst at Wooburn no market was ever granted. Of the twenty-four towns where fairs were held after 1500, only five, Eton, Iver, Wooburn, Colnbrook and Princes Risborough, received theirs after 1348, whilst fourteen were established before 1257. The only prescriptive fair not to survive was that at Brill. Of fairs granted before 1250, those at Denham, Luffield, Great Missenden, Mursley, Snelshall, Twyford, Whitchurch and Wing failed to survive.

VI

The long economic recession of the later middle ages took its toll of Buckinghamshire markets and fairs as it did of those of other counties.⁶⁷ Reasons for the failures are not hard to find. It is possible that too much attention can be given to the part played by economic factors in the establishment of markets and fairs in the period between 1200 and 1350. It may be that personal and political pressures were more important than has perhaps been realised. However, no lord, however powerful, could ensure the long-term commercial success of all his ventures. Very many of the fairs and markets created in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were established in rural villis with no pretensions to urban status and with no potential for commercial expansion. It is significant that the failure rate is lowest among those markets and fairs of prescriptive origin established in borough towns. Clearly, in Buckinghamshire as elsewhere in England, the earlier a market was founded the better its chances of survival, and prescriptive ones stood the best chance of all, especially if associated with a borough. Traders and merchants had already, by 1200, chosen the majority of the sites in Buckinghamshire most advantageous for their purposes. Only a small handful of those markets and fairs, scattered so liberally over the land in the century and a half before the Black Death, took root and flourished. The rest fell upon stony ground, and almost all were never heard of again.

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 28. F.E. Harmer, *op. cit.*, 335, Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.*, 186, 200.
 29. Aylesbury, Brill, Buckingham, Marlow, Newport Pagnell, Olney, Wendover, Wycombe. The references gathered together for each in Appendix I are almost certainly not the earliest to have survived: they are merely the most accessible. Their disjointed, casual, nature adds weight to the suggestion that the markets to which they refer were indeed prescriptive.
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31. *Rot. Lit. Claus.* I 209, and see P.R.O. C.54/11 m.3.
32. M.W. Beresford and H.P.R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs* (1973), 26. For evidence of a borough at Stony Stratford see G.R. Elvey, ed., 'Luffield Priory Charters', Part II *Buckinghamshire Record Society* XVIII (1975), lxxi.
33. R. H. Britnell, 'English Markets and Royal Administration before 1200', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, XXXI (1978), 183–196.
34. For the references for the markets and fairs mentioned in the text of this article see Appendix I.
35. R.H. Britnell, 'The Origins of Stony Stratford', *Records of Bucks.* XX (1977), 447.
36. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton, eds., *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (1950), No. 295, p. 203. *Rot. Chart.* 39.
37. This is only an assumption. Only four are actually mentioned before 1250, six if the Domesday entries concerning Aylesbury and Buckingham are accepted as sufficient evidence of markets. The other two, Brill and Wendover, are first mentioned in the second half of the thirteenth century.
38. A. Everitt, *op. cit.*, 25.
39. J. O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, 189.
40. G. H. Tupling, *op. cit.*, in *Tait Essays*, 352, 355.
41. H. P. R. Finberg, *op. cit.*, 62, 86–88.
42. D. M. Palliser and A. C. Pinnock, *op. cit.*, 52.
43. B. E. Coates, *op. cit.*, 92, 99.
44. K. L. McCutcheon, *op. cit.*, 161–171.
45. D. Sylvester, *op. cit.*, 126.
46. On the topography, cultivation and settlement patterns of Buckinghamshire see, *inter alia*, M.W. Beresford, 'Glebe Terriers and Open Field Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks* XV (1951–2), 283–298, and XVI (1953–4), 5–28. W.R. Mead, 'Ridge and Furrow in Buckinghamshire', *Geographical Journal* CXX (1954), 34. E.C. Vollans, 'The Evolution of Farmlands in the Central Chilterns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* XXVI (1959), 197. D. Roden and A.R.H. Baker, 'Field Systems of the Chilterns and Parts of Kent', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* XXXVIII, (1966), 73. D.R. Roden, 'Field Systems of the Chilterns and their Environs', in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, eds. *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1973), 325–376. M. Reed, *The Buckinghamshire Landscape* (1979).
47. W. G. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, 109.
48. G. H. Tupling, *op. cit.*, in *Tait Essays*, 355.
49. B. E. Coates, *op. cit.*, 99–101.
50. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*. III, 283.
51. This grant would both explain and vitiate the complaint made in 1276 by the mayor and burgesses of Windsor that the abbess of Burnham had raised a certain market at Beaconsfield for 16 years past, but by what warrant they know not. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, 18. It seems certain that the manor of Beaconsfield was among the endowments Richard Earl of Cornwall gave to the abbey of Burnham when he founded it in 1266. *V.C.H. Bucks.* III, 158, and see *Calendar of Charter Rolls* V, 467.
52. see *Curia Regis Rolls* VIII, 267, and C. T. Flower, *op. cit.*, 334.
53. P.R.O. C133/128. No. 27.
54. H. E. Salter, ed. 'The Boarstall Cartulary', *Oxford Historical Society* LXXXVIII (1930), 201.
55. P.R.O. C132/31/1.
56. P.R.O. C133/105/3.
57. Buckinghamshire County Record Office, D/B. 143.
58. H. E. Salter, *op. cit.*, 199, 225.
59. No fairs were held in Derbyshire between 2 December and 23 April. B. E. Coates, *op. cit.*, 99.
60. R. Blome, *Britannia* (1673), J. Adams, *Index Villaris* (1680), A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, IV (Cambridge, 1967), 466–592.
61. *V.C.H. Bucks.* IV, 276
62. *V.C.H. Bucks.* III, 69–70.

63. *ibid.* IV, 276.
 64. L. H. West, *The History of Wendover* (1909), 42.
 65. but see M. T. Hodgen, 'Fairs of Elizabethan England', *Economic Geography* XVIII (1942), 391.
 66. This Table is based primarily upon that of 1792 given in the *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* I (Parl. Papers, 1888, LIII), 134 et. seq., which in its turn is based upon W. Owen, *A New Book of Fairs*. It is supplemented where necessary from the *Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire*. It is clear that earlier lists are incomplete, Richard Grafton, for example, in successive editions of *A Briefe Treatise Containing Many Tables and Rules*, (1571–1611), mentions only the Mayday fair at Little Brickhill for the whole of Buckinghamshire.
 67. On the later medieval decline in the numbers of markets see A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* IV (Cambridge, 1967), esp. 467–77.

APPENDIX I: MARKETS AND FAIRS IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

In the following list those Buckinghamshire towns which had markets and fairs are listed in alphabetical order. Each town is numbered, and it is this number which is used to mark its location on Fig. 1. Confirmations are not listed after 1500.

The following abbreviations are used:

VFM	for vigil, feast and morrow of the feast day, and +3 etc., for the number of further days upon which the fair was to be held.
<i>Bucks. Rec. Soc.</i>	<i>Buckinghamshire Record Society</i>
<i>Cal. I.P.M.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
<i>Cal. Rot. Chart.</i>	<i>Calendar Rotulorum Chartarum</i> , 1803
<i>C.C.R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
<i>C. Close R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>C.P.R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>Mon. Angl.</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i>
<i>Rot. Chart.</i>	<i>Rotuli Chartarum</i> , 1837
<i>Rot. de Liberate</i>	<i>Rotuli de Liberate</i> , 1844
<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausurarum</i> , 1833–44.

Town	date	terms and recipient of grant	reference
1. Amersham	1200	Friday market, fair: VF Nativity Blessed Virgin Mary to: Geoffrey son of Peter, Earl of Essex	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> 73
2. Aylesbury	1086	Toll mentioned	<i>V.C.H. Bucks.</i> I, 231
	1239	fair: St. Osyth +3 to: John son of Geoffrey	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 243
	1439	Fair: confirmed	<i>C.P.R.</i> 1436–1441, 350
3. Beaconsfield	1255	Tuesday market to: Richard, Earl of Cornwall., 243	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 441
	1269	fair: VF Ascension +6, to: Burnham Abbey	<i>C.C.R.</i> II, 122 <i>C.C.R.</i> II, 122
	1414	fair confirmed to: Burnham Abbey	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 467
4. Biddlesden	1314	Monday market, fair: VF St. Margaret +6, to: Biddlesden Abbey	<i>C.C.R.</i> III, 247

<i>town</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>terms and recipient of grant</i>	<i>reference</i>
5. Little Brickhill	1228	Thursday market, fair: VFM Mary Magdalen to: John de Gatesden	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 77
	1257	Thursday market, fair: VFM St. Giles to: Philip Lovell	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 473
	1318	Thursday market, fair: VFM Decollation St. John Baptist to: Hugh de Audele jun. and his wife the king's niece.	<i>C.C.R.</i> III, 395
	1441	Thursday market, fairs: VF SS Philip & James, VF St. Luke the Evangelist to: Humphrey, Earl of Buckingham	<i>C.C.R.</i> VI, 14
6. Brill	1252	market and fair worth 36s.	H.E. Salter, ed. 'The Boar-stall Cartulary', <i>Oxford Historical Society</i> , LXXXVIII, (1930), 201
	1347	fair: VFM Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr to: Sir John de Moleyns	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 55
7. Buckingham	1258	Market place mentioned	G.R. Elvey, ed. 'Luffield Priory Charters, Part II' <i>Bucks. Rec. Soc.</i> XVIII, (1975), 177, No. 514
	1305	Market and 2 day fair mentioned	<i>Cal. I.P.M.</i> IV, p 214
8. Burnham	1271	Thursday market, fair: VFM St. Matthew to: Abbey of Burnham	<i>C.C.R.</i> II, 175
	1414	market and fair confirmed to Abbey of Burnham	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 467
9. Chalfont St. Peters	1229	Wednesday market, fair: VF SS Peter & Paul to: Ranulph Briton	<i>C. Close R.</i> 1227 1231, 169
10. Chesham	1257	Wednesday market, fair: VFM Assumption to: Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 475
	1441	fair confirmed	<i>Cal. Rot. Chart.</i> 215
11. Chetwode	1290	fair: VFM Nativity Blessed Virgin Mary to: Prior of Chetwode	<i>C.C.R.</i> II, 370
12. Colnbrook	1543	Tuesday market. fairs: V+2 St. Mark, V+2 SS Simon and Jude to: inhabitants	<i>Letters and Papers of Henry VIII</i> , XVIII, 60
13. Long Crendon	1218	Thursday market to: William Earl Marshall	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> I, 363b.
14. Datchet	1335	fair: VFM Annunciation Blessed Virgin Mary to: Sir John de Moleyns	<i>C.C.R.</i> IV, 342
15. Denham	1227	Monday market, fair: VFM Nativity Blessed Virgin Mary to: Henry de Capella	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 22

<i>Town</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>terms and recipient of grant</i>	<i>reference</i>
16. Eton	1443	fairs: Ash Wednesday +3, Assumption +3 to: Provost & College	<i>C.C.R.</i> VI, 39
	1452	Wednesday market to: Provost and College	<i>C.C.R.</i> VI, 117
17. Fenny Stratford	1204	Monday market to: Roger de Caru	<i>Cal. Rot. Chart.</i> 20 <i>Rot. de Liberate</i> 81
	1252	Fair: VF+6 Nativity Blessed Virgin Mary to: John de Grey	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 412-3
18. Haddenham	1295	Thursday market. fair: VFM Assumption Blessed Virgin Mary to: Prior of Rochester	<i>C.C.R.</i> II, 461
19. Hambleden	1315	Monday market. fair: VFM St. Bartholomew to: Bartholomew de Badelesmere	<i>C.C.R.</i> III, 282-3
	1325	fair: extended 2 days to: Hugh le Despenser	<i>C.C.R.</i> III, 477
20. Hanslope	1292	Thursday market. fair: VFM+12 St. James to: William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	<i>C.C.R.</i> II, 428
21. Hoggeston	1254	fair: VFM Exaltation of the Holy Cross to: William de Bermyngham	<i>C.P.R.</i> 1247-1258, 338
	1334	Friday market. fair: VFM Exaltation of the Holy Cross to: William de Bermyngham	<i>C.C.R.</i> IV, 312
22. Great Horwood	1447	Wednesday market. fair: VFM St. James the Apostle to: Warden & Scholars of the College of St. Mary of Winchester at Oxford	<i>C.C.R.</i> VI, 72
23. Iver	1353	Wednesday market. fair: VF+2 St. Peter in Chains, VF+2 SS Peter and Paul to: Warden & Canons of the King's Chapel of Windsor	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 129, 131
	1373	confirmed	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 228
	1378	confirmed	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 245
	1461	confirmed	<i>C.C.R.</i> VI, 141
24. Ivinghoe	1227	fair: VFM+5 St. Margaret to: Prioress & nuns of St. Margaret of the Wood	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 27
	1318	Thursday market. fair: VFM Assumption to: Bishop of Winchester	<i>C.C.R.</i> III, 389
25. Lavendon	1249	Tuesday market. fair: VFM Assumption to: Paul Peyvur	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 341

<i>Town</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>terms and recipient of grant</i>	<i>reference</i>
26. Linslade	1251	Thursday market. fair: VF+6 Nativity Blessed Virgin Mary to: William son of William Beauchamp	<i>C.C.R.</i> , I, 367
27. Luffield	1230	fair: VFM Exaltation of the Holy Cross to: Prior & monks of Luffield	<i>C.C.R.</i> , I, 114
28. Marlow	1228	market mentioned	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> , XIII, 167
	1307	market, fairs: St. Luke Wednesday in Whitweek mentioned	<i>Cal. I.P.M.</i> , IV, 316
	1325	fair: Wednesday in Whitweek extended 2 days to: Hugh, son of Hugh le Despenser	<i>C.C.R.</i> , III, 477
29. Great Missenden	Henry III	fair and market	see next entry
	1367	Tuesday market. fair: VF Assumption to: Thomas de Mussenden. Henry III had granted a fair and market to Joan, late the wife of Hugh de Sanford, but the market had never been used.	<i>C.C.R.</i> , V, 208
	1449	confirmed, the originals having been lost.	<i>C.P.R.</i> , 1446-1452, 296
30. Mursley	1229	Wednesday market. fair: VFM Assumption to: Robert le fizNeel	<i>C.C.R.</i> , II, 479
	1230	Thursday market to: Prior of Snelshall	<i>C. Close R.</i> 1227-1231, 339
	1242	Wednesday market. fair: VFM Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary to: Warin, son of Gerald and Agnes	<i>C.P.R.</i> 1232-1247, 351
	1416	Wednesday market. fairs: VFM Assumption Blessed Virgin Mary, VFM Nativity Blessed Virgin Mary to: the king's brother	<i>C.C.R.</i> , V, 483
31. Newport Pagnell	1187	market mentioned	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> , V, 203
	1270	Saturday market. fair: VFM+5 St. Luke to: Roger de Somery	<i>C.C.R.</i> , II, 131
	1327	fair: VF+8 St. Barnabas to: John Butetourt	<i>C.C.R.</i> , IV, 12
32. Olney	1223	market mentioned	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , I, 531
	1316	fair: VFM SS Peter & Paul to: Ralph Basset	<i>C.C.R.</i> , III, 306
33. Princes Risborough	1523	Wednesday market. fair: VFM Nativity St. Mary, VFM St. George to: inhabitants	<i>Letters & Papers of Henry VIII</i> , III, ii. 1337
34. Slough	1850	private auction of cattle begins	<i>M. Fraser, History of Slough</i> (1973), 98.
	1863	weekly cattle market	

<i>Town</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>terms and recipient of grant</i>	<i>reference</i>
35. Snelshall	1226	Thursday market, fair: VF St. Mary Magdalene to: Prior of Snelshall	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> II, 159, 162
36. Stoke Poges	1331	Monday market, fair: VF+5 St. Barnabas, VF+5 St. Giles to: Sir John de Moleyns	<i>C.C.R.</i> IV, 231, 258
	1333	fair: VFM Annunciation Blessed Virgin Mary to: John de Moleyns	<i>C.C.R.</i> IV, 303
37. Stony Stratford	1199	Sunday market to: Gilbert Basset. resealing of a grant made in 1194	L.C. Loyd & D.M. Stenton, eds., <i>Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals</i> (1950) No. 295, p. 203
	1200	Sunday market confirmed to: Gilbert Basset	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> 39
	1257	fair: VFM St. Giles to: Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 475
	1290	fair: VF St. Mary Magdalene to: Hugh de Ver	<i>C.C.R.</i> II, 351
	1441	fairs confirmed to: John, Earl of Oxford	<i>Cal. Rot. Chart.</i> 215
	1462	Ratification to Anna, late the wife of Aubrey de Veer of her estate including the market of Stony Stratford	<i>C.P.R.</i> 1461-1467, 76
38. Twyford	1250	fair: VFM Assumption to: Ralph, son of Nicholas	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 349
39. Wendover	1214	fair: VFM St. John Baptist to: Hugh de Gurnay	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> I, 209
	1250-1300	market established in the time of King John	J.G. Jenkins, ed., 'The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey', Part 1, <i>Bucks. Arch. Soc. Records Branch</i> II (1939) 244-5
	1302	market mentioned	<i>Cal. I.P.M.</i> IV, 60
	1347	fair: VFM St. Barnabas to: Sir John de Moleyns	<i>C.C.R.</i> V, 55
	1465	Thursday market, which they have always had. fairs: VFM St. Matthew the Apostle, VFM SS Philip & James to: tenants and residents within the borough or town	<i>C.P.R.</i> 1461-1467, 370
40. Whitechurch	1245	Monday market, fair: VFM St. Matthew to: Hugh de Veer, Earl of Oxford	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 287
41. Wing	1218	Friday market to: Henry, son of Gerald	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> I,
	1255	Thursday market, fair: VFM St. Michael to: John de Warena	<i>C.C.R.</i> I, 449

<i>Town</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>terms and recipient of grant</i>	<i>reference</i>
42. Winslow	1235	Thursday market. fair: VFM St. Lawrence to: Abbot of St. Albans	C.C.R. I, 190
43. Wolverton	1842	Weekly market established by the London and Birmingham Railway Company	M. Courtman, <i>Wolverton: A Study in Urban Geography</i> . Unpublished University of London M. Phil. thesis, 1968. 231, 241.
44. Wooburn	1459	fair: F+2 Translation of St. Edward the King to: Alice, late the wife of Sir William Lovell	C.C.R. VI, 130
45. Worminghall	1304	Friday market. fair: VF Invention of the Holy Cross	C.C.R. III, 40
		Thursday market. fair: VFM SS Peter & Paul to: John de la Ryvere	C.C.R. III, 46
46. Wycombe	1223	common market mentioned	M.W. Hughes, ed. 'A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for the County of Buckinghamshire'. <i>Bucks. Arch. Soc. Records Branch</i> , IV, (1940), 49
	1226	cattle fair and market mentioned	ibid. 53
	1229	fair: VF St. Margaret to: Hospital of St. Margaret	C.C.R. I, 96
	1237	Inspeximus and confirmation of the Final Concord of 1226	C.C.R. I, 228
	1239	fair: VF Translation of St. Thomas to: Hospital of St. John	C.C.R. I, 244
	1285	Inspeximus and confirmation	C.C.R. II, 305
	1400	Inspeximus and confirmation	C.C.R. V, 394

Uncertain

Some authorities refer to markets and fairs in certain towns in Buckinghamshire. However no independent documentary evidence has yet been found for their existence, and they do not appear in the card index of grants of markets and fairs in the Round Room of the Public Record Office. They are listed here rather than in the main body of Appendix I, and have not been included in any of the Tables or Figs. in this article.

Padbury	"the layout of the east end of the main street points to an existence here at one time of an open space suggestive of a market-place or, perhaps, a village green".	<i>V.C.H. Bucks.</i> IV, 210
Quainton	market cross N. Pevsner, <i>The Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire</i> (Harmondsworth, 1960), 228 calls it a village cross.	ibid. 92

Tingewick	market 1245 The grant of 31 Henry III of a market to Theobald Englechevill for his manor of Teignweek (Teyngwyke) Devon, may have been the source of the Lysons' statement. The <i>First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls</i> , I, (Parl. Papers, 1888, LIII), 108 also assigns it to Tingewick, Bucks, but see <i>Cal. Rot. Chart</i> , 64, and <i>C.C.R.</i> I, 311.	D. and S. Lysons, <i>Buckinghamshire</i> , (1806), 649.
Stokenchurch (in Oxfordshire until 1896)	Enclosure in 1861 reserved the common for the annual pleasure and horse fair Mentioned in <i>First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls</i> , 193	<i>V.C.H. Bucks.</i> III, 96
Wraysbury	Right to hold a wake or fair recognised in the enclosure act of 1799. Not mentioned in <i>First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls</i> , I, 140.	ibid. 321